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GENDER, KINSHIP AND THE ECONOMY OF PLAINS APACHE IDENTITY

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A DISSERTATION APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

BY

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Abstract

This dissertation, "Honoring Kin: Gender, Kinship, and the Economy of Plains Apache Identity," addresses how Plains Apache identity is articulated, claimed, and lived by contemporary Apache people. Using American Studies scholar Philip Deloria's model of "expectation and anomaly," I argue that national narratives of Indian identity, or indigeneity, are often based upon external, Anglo-American expectations of visible, cultural difference. On the Southern Plains, indigeneity is most often associated with participation in social and ceremonial powwows, a publicly visible marker of indigeneity. Because powwow participation requires cultural and economic capital unavailable to some Apache people, these individuals and their experiences remain largely invisible to anthropologists and the general public and they, in turn, are seen as anomalous. By focusing my data collection on local Apache narratives from participants and non-participants, I argue that identity for Apache people goes beyond visible powwow participation to include behavioral requirements embedded in ideologies of gender and kinship. Although these behaviors mediate the requirements of powwow participation, they also include expectations that some Apache people may find difficult or undesirable. Through the narratives of Apache people, I not only expose the tensions and contradictions surrounding contemporary native identities, but also the creative and strategic ways that Apache people challenge and transform these cultural expectations.

Chapter One:
Expectation and Anomaly

The highway, shimmering with heat, stretched out before me as I drove westward, my ancient Buick LeSabre loaded with boxes. On either side of the road, the barren rolling hills of southwestern Oklahoma were bleached white from the July sun. Nearly to Anadarko, I suddenly heard a resounding thump*. Pulling over to the narrow shoulder, I quickly discovered the problem – a shredded tire on the passenger side. The sweat already beading on my forehead, I began to frantically consider my options. My cell phone, typically, had no service. I stared down the highway, where I could clearly see the outskirts of Anadarko, and considered the long, hot walk to my rental house in the center of town. I unlocked the trunk and examined the tire jack, depressed by the thought of changing the tire during the hottest time of day, when the temperature was already well over one hundred degrees.*

Just as I began to panic, a white car pulled slowly onto the should behind me. Two individuals jumped out, an adult woman, Arlene, and her brother. Both, as I would learn, were Kiowa. "Do you need help?" the woman asked. I hesitated – but only for a second – before I said yes. "My brother can change your tire," Arlene volunteered, and although he looked less than enthusiastic, he quickly got down to work.

Watching uselessly from the grassy shoulder, Arlene and I began making awkward introductions. It was clear, early in our conversation, that she was very curious what a young, white woman was doing driving a car, loaded with boxes, to Anadarko of all places. "Are you from here?" she asked. I explained, as best I knew how, that I was anthropologist who was in the process of moving to Anadarko to begin my dissertation research.

"What tribe are you working with?" she asked curiously.

"The Apache," I responded.

She frowned disapprovingly. "Oh, but why*? You should really work with us, with the Kiowa. I mean, Apaches are okay, but we have more culture, more ceremonies. We* speak *our language."*

"Oh, but *why*?" Arlene's question, heavy with disappointment and confusion, haunted my dissertation fieldwork in Anadarko, Oklahoma. My research with the Plains Apache often evoked similar comments from non-Apache friends, local non-Indians, and even, on one occasion, another anthropologist. Indeed, such reactions were so common that I grew to expect them. Southwestern Oklahoma, with Anadarko the self-proclaimed "Indian Capital of the World," is home to seven federally-

recognized Native American communities, as well as non-Indian residents of European, Latino, African, and Asian descent. In this multitribal and multiracial context, native communities are often judged against a complex set of expectations about "Indianness" – ideas, articulated through tropes and discourses, about what makes native people, in fact, authentically native. With a small tribal population, few fluent Apache speakers, few specifically-Apache cultural events and even fewer Apache participants in those events, the Apache community is often misunderstood as not being sufficiently culturally different to be authentically Indian.[1]

Similar perceptions of "cultural inadequacy" confronted David Samuels in his work with the San Carlos Apache. Like Samuels, I believe that "these characteristics are precisely the things that make the issue of identity…important to understand" (Samuels 2004:15). Accusations of cultural inadequacy render some native communities, like the Plains Apache, as anomalies. As historian Philip Deloria notes, anomalies expose the often implicit expectations about "Indianness," particularly expectations of cultural difference, that circulate within native and non-native communities alike (2004:4). Because native anomalies are perceived as inauthentic – somehow "less" or "no longer" Native American – narratives of expectation and anomaly police native communities, circumscribing the possibilities of individual and collective action. Moreover, because expectations blind observers to the mere possibility of alternative forms of Indianness, anomalous native communities and individuals are often invisible, their perspectives and experiences erased from narratives of indigeneity. As such, the Plains Apache and other "anomalous"

communities provide a crucial opportunity to examine the creation, lived experience, and negotiation of both anomalousness and invisibility.

Expectations of indigeneity exist, and are circulated within and between, multiple social spaces. On a large scale, national narratives of authentic indigeneity – or public, widely-circulated expectations of who or what is considered a "real" or "true" Indian – are held predominantly by the non-native public, including intellectuals. As a reaction to perceived culture loss, these national expectations are often tinged with nostalgia for "traditional" or "unchanged" native communities. In this context, visible cultural differences from other native and non-native communities through language, costume, ceremony, phenotype, class or social structure are seen as demonstrating a connection with "traditional culture." In these national narratives, then, the display of visible cultural difference marks an individual or community as "authentically" native. On the Southern Plains, as I have already suggested, "visible Indianness" is manifested in social and ceremonial powwows. Consequently, on the individual level, participation in these events serves is often seen, by outsiders, as evidence of an individual's cultural identity and authenticity as a native person.

Locally, Plains Apache tribal identity is equally contested. The Plains Apache community requires one-eighth blood quantum, or degree of ancestry, for tribal citizenship – a degree of blood lower than many neighboring native communities, like the Kiowa. For the Plains Apache, however, tribal citizenship based on a minimum degree of blood does not necessarily equate to social or cultural belonging in the community. In this context, tribal identity actually indexes multiple forms of social

belonging in Apache community – including tribal citizenship, but also Apache social and cultural identities that are interconnected with local kinship and cultural expectations. That is, even though an individual can meet the necessary blood quantum requirement, they may be considered "less authentic" or "less Apache" if they fail to meet kin or cultural requirements. Indeed, tribal identity is a socially and publicly contested category, neither mutually exclusive nor necessarily connected, informed by a complicated set of competing expectations about kinship and gender.

Fundamentally, this dissertation is an ethnography of expectation and anomaly, visibility and invisibility, and the paradoxes of contemporary indigeneity. By examining both national and local narratives of indigeneity, I analyze how some Apache people – and even, at a certain level, the entire Apache community – come to be seen, by external and internal observers, as anomalous. Through their experiences of anomalousness and invisibility, contradiction and negotiation, I suggest that individual and collective identities are structured not only by choice, but also by a combination of cultural, economic, and personal constraints. Unlike previous scholarship, I argue that national and local expectations of indigeneity are constrained and enabled by both socioeconomic conditions and personal desires. That is, the socioeconomic realities of everyday life may make it difficult for some tribal citizens to claim an Apache identity, even as others may distance themselves from this identity because of personal discomfort or distaste with some aspects of contemporary Apache culture.

Simultaneously, however, national and local narratives of indigeneity do not exist separately from each other. Indeed, their moments of overlap – when differing,

and sometimes contradictory, expectations of indigeneity rub against each other – have the potential to create moments of frustrating paradox for Apache people. Importantly, though, these overlapping moments are also spaces of opportunity, where Apache people are able to creatively and strategically negotiate multiple definitions of indigeneity in order to effectively claim social membership in the community. Indeed, I suggest that the negotiation and mediation of these limits reflect not only the multiple definitions of indigeneity, but also the multiple forms of identity and belonging that exist in the contemporary Apache community.

Like the structure of this introductory chapter, the rest of this dissertation alternates between national and local perspectives. Chapters two, three, and five engage national narratives of indigeneity with specifically Apache histories, narratives, and experiences while chapter four focuses largely on local, contemporary expectations of Apache social and cultural identities. As imperfect dichotomies, however, each chapter is also in constant dialogue with other chapters and their perspectives. Indeed, as a bridge between the national and local perspectives, chapter six represents the fullest moment of dialogue, where competing narratives of indigeneity are explored in relation to the creation and mediation of anomaly. More than simply the division of my research and interpretations into dissertation form, however, these chapters symbolize the multiple layers, the complex social worlds, that Apache people live in and negotiate between.

Theories of Identity

In the United States, popular conceptions of identity are often based on the notion that all individuals have a true or authentic self. Finding, discovering, or being "true to" this inner self have become middle-class American obsessions (Hall 1991:42). In scholarly terms, this conception of identity is known as primordialism – the idea that individual identities are static, whole, and largely predetermined by birth in one of the "great collective identities" of race, class, gender or nation (Hall 1991:42). For primordialists, individual and collective identities remain unchanged over time, retaining a true core of distinct difference.[2] In the social sciences, primordialist theories emerged as a way to explain ethnonational desires for -rule over an independent nation-state, particularly in Europe (Connor 1973, 1978). According to political scientist Walker Connor, cultural similarity within one ethnonational group spawns an awareness of a "multiplicity of customs, attitudes, and beliefs, not shared be others…which is characterized by a feeling of sameness and oneness, a sensation of kinship" (Connor 1973:3-4). For Connor and other primordialists, ethnonational groups share similar customs, practices and beliefs as well as a psychological bond that unites them.

Today, however, most scholars understand identity – individual and collective, including ethnonational variants – as a social construction, rather than the reflection of a primordial, static, whole self (Anderson 1991; Chatterjee 1986, 1993; Hall 1991; Hale 1997). Social constructionists argue that because the social categories of race, class, ethnicity and gender are socially constructed and historically variable, so too are the

identities based upon them. By assuming contemporary, shared customs are unchanged and reflect a true or authentic cultural difference, primordialist theories reify and essentialize identity by hiding "the historical processes and politics within which it develops" (Jackson and Warren 2005:559). As social constructionists have shown, ethnonational narratives reflect a process of selection, where "high" or "literate" customs and beliefs are constructed as widely shared within a community (Gellner 1983; Chatterjee 1986, 1993; Anderson 1991). In this process, other customs, beliefs and even languages are hidden, ignored, and left out of the ethnonational narrative of a shared set of distinct cultural practices.

Collective identities, even those of ethnoracial minorities, are forged in relation to the state and its interests (Alonso 1994). In the United States, the definition of a Native American community is predicated upon primordialist conceptions that hold shared cultural difference as the main criterion of federally-recognized status (Clifford 1988). As a result, much of the literature on Native American identity has focused on anomalous Indian communities, like the Lumbee, Mashpee Wamponoag and Monacan, "who have Indian ancestry but no records of treaties, reservations, an Indian language, or peculiarly 'Indian' customs" (Blu 1980:1). By examining these communities and their efforts to achieve federal recognition, anthropologists have challenged the primordialism embedded within federal recognition requirements (Blu 1980; Campisi 1991; Sider 1993, 2000). Significantly, these studies illustrate that expectations of primordialism – the idea that a contemporary native community should look, act, and speak like communities hundreds of years ago – create

anomalous communities, a classic paradox. Despite the fact that historical forces, anti-Indian prejudices and – in some cases – federal policy encouraged these communities to "assimilate" to Euro-American culture, federal recognition policies still require the maintenance of those traditions, unchanged, over time. Because federal recognition enables economic rights and obligations to native communities, expectations of primordialism have real, sometimes devastating, effects on individual and community survival.

Despite testimonies from native people that clearly illustrate the existence of such concerns (Crow Dog 1990; V. Deloria 1969), identity in native Southern Plains communities remains largely unexamined. Instead, much of the historical and ethnographic literature on Southern Plains communities focuses solely on contemporary manifestations of visible expressive culture, such as peyotism (Beals 1971; Brant 1950; Foster 1991; LaBarre 1969; Stewart 1987) or Indian Christian worship (Lassiter, Ellis and Kotay 2002; Foster 1991). Most commonly, however, scholars have focused on powwows – social and ceremonial gatherings that involve the performance of certain songs and dances (Ellis, Lassiter and Dunham 2005; Foster 1991; Howard 1955; Kavanagh 1982; Kracht 1994; Lassiter 1998; Meadows 1999; Meredith 1995). While historicizing the long tradition of dancing and reflecting the undeniable importance of such gatherings in Southern Plains communities, this literature privileges powwow participation and assumes an implicit relationship between participation and authenticity. This is particularly problematic because many

native people, including those who proudly identify as native, do not participate in powwows.

In his collaborative ethnography *The Power of Kiowa Song*, anthropologist Eric Lassiter describes the competing social realms of southwestern Oklahoma as being divided into two worlds, Indian and White. He writes:

> Participation in community activities, or "Indian doings" – like going to powwows, peyote meetings, or church services; speaking Indian or dealing with everyday life through an Indian philosophy – signifies, to a greater or lesser degree, actual existence in the Indian world. Withdrawal from participation in Indian doings, from this viewpoint, may imply the rejection of "being Indian." [Lassiter 1998: 74]

In this model participation in many types of "Indian doings" is the most crucial criterion in expectations of Indianness. While Lassiter himself does not make such claims about participation, he privileges the narratives of consultants who do make such primordial connections. Like ethnonational narratives of cultural difference, Lassiter's consultants select certain forms of culture to privilege while simultaneously denying the historical, economic and political processes that construct specific types of participation as markers of authenticity. Simultaneously, because Lassiter unproblematically privileges these narratives, he not only reaffirms these authenticating narratives, but also assumes that participation is a matter of choice, a freely made affiliation that reflects a personal commitment to native culture. Lassiter does not consider how historical and economic pressures made – and continue to make – participation extremely difficult for some tribal members.

Although Lassiter's work is the most explicit, he is far from the only scholar making implicit connections between powwow participation and authenticity. Indeed,

the almost unilateral emphasis on powwows in Southern Plains literature suggests that scholars see this form of visible, expressive culture as the most significant manifestation of regional indigeneity. My research, however, suggests a more complicated approach to both participation and identity. Fundamentally, this dissertation challenges the notion that "being Indian" or "being Apache" are freely made choices. Like Lassiter, my research identifies participation is an important aspect of Plains Apache identity – but not the only, or even the most significant, manifestation. Instead, I argue that participation serves as a vehicle to express other crucial components of Apacheness – particularly kinship ties, gender-specific roles, and generosity. Moreover, cultural participation in the "Indian World" of southwestern Oklahoma is both constrained and enabled by the socioeconomic realities of everyday life. Because powwow participation is only one aspect of Apache cultural practices, these constraints are mediated by the ability of Apache people to enact kinship and gender obligations in other social contexts, both public and private. Simultaneously, however, these local expectations of Apacheness are also constrained and enabled by similar socioeconomic conditions.

Gender, Kinship and the Economy of Plains Apache Identity

During the first weekend of August, the Kiowa-Apache Blackfeet Society holds its annual ceremonial dance on tribally-owned land in rural Caddo County.[3] Families set up camps on the outskirts of the arena, erecting sleeping tents and shade tarps around grills, fire pits and hot plates so that the smells of fresh coffee and fry bread

mingle with the scent of ceremonially-burned red cedar. The ceremonial dance takes place in the afternoon – the hottest time of the day – always beginning with the four sacred songs. Family members, guests and the occasional anthropologist watch from folding chairs around the edge of the arena. The four sacred staffs – associated with military exploits and considered to have power – are in the center of the arena, wrapped in otter skin and decorated with eagle feathers that dance in the breeze. Dressed in straight dancing regalia, male dancers take turns dancing with the staffs while the female dancers, wearing red and blue cloth Southern Plains style "T" dresses, dance in their position at the edge of the arena (see Figures 1 and 2).



Figure 1: Male Blackfeet dancers with staffs. Kiowa-Apache Blackfeet Society Annual Dance, Ft. Cobb, Oklahoma, August 2006. Photo By author.

After the honor songs, giveaways, and speeches, after the lowering of the American flag to the flag song and the singing of the smoke song, the singers sing the

four closing songs. At this time, most female spectators – even myself – stand in front of our chairs, put on our shawls, and dance to the last four songs. Dancers, singers and spectators make their way back to their family's camp to eat supper – perhaps goulash, meat gravy, or smoked kidneys – prepared by the women of the family. Children run around on the basketball court, adults visit family in different camps, and teenagers escape to the cars parked behind camps, blasting the radio and the air conditioner. As the sun goes down, the heat becomes increasingly more bearable, and the crowd grows. Kiowa and Comanche gourd dancers begin arriving for the evening gourd dancing session, setting up chairs around the arena, greeting friends at camps.[4] Although almost everyone heads back to the arena – now lit with electric lights – to watch the evening gourd dance, for Apache people the most significant event of the weekend, the Blackfeet dance, is over.

On any given weekend in southwestern Oklahoma, particularly during the summer months, native people plan, participate in, and attend powwows that are, in a very general sense, similar to the Blackfeet dance described above. Although they vary in length, location, tribal affiliation and type of dancing, all powwows are cultural performances that are deeply powerful and meaningful for participants and spectators alike.[5] For participants, "the powwow has become a singularly important cultural icon in their lives" (Ellis and Lassiter 2005:vii). Indeed, as a "cultural icon," the Blackfeet dance exemplifies the multiple, and often contradictory, expectations of indigeneity that structure the lives of contemporary native people, at both the individual and collective levels. As a form of indigenous expressive culture, Blackfeet represents

national expectations of visible Indianness, and, individually, the link between authenticity and participation. As a social space regulated by culturally-specific behavioral obligations, Blackfeet also represents local, Apache expectations of collective cultural identity. Simultaneously, these two sets of expectations work together, and sometimes against each other, to produce anomalies, individuals who do not, or can not, meet any of the above expectations.

All powwows, especially those associated with one tribal community like Blackfeet, are social spaces that require *both* cultural and material capital (Bourdieu 1977; Bourgois 1996). When an individual decides to begin dancing in regalia, they are expected to "pay their way in" to the dancing community by holding a large giveaway. Family members give away gifts such as grocery baskets, comforters, dish towels, shawls, and Pendleton blankets in honor of the new dancer. To honor relatives in the arena, women drop dollar bills in front of the dancer, with most other dancers and spectators following suit. Although not every dancer keeps the money – sometimes it is given to the singers at the drum or to an elder – money serves as a medium, a symbol, through which honor, kinship and recognition are publicly acknowledged. Dancing regalia and gas money for transportation add to the expense. Even attending a powwow as a spectator, but not dancing, requires money to honor kin, buy raffle tickets to support families and organizations, and buy blankets or grocery baskets to help relatives with giveaways.



Figure 2: Female dancers on edge of arena. Kiowa-Apache Blackfeet Society. Annual dance, Ft. Cobb Oklahoma, August 2006. Photo by author.

As should be clear, powwow participation demands, at least partially, a certain amount of material capital to dance and to honor kin. Participation also requires that social actors have a certain amount of cultural capital, such as knowledge of dances and songs. In addition, however, modes of interaction both inside and outside the Blackfeet arena require that participants have knowledge of Apache kinship and gender hierarchies. By honoring kin through specials and giveaway, kin relationships are enacted, maintained, and made publicly visible in the powwow arena. Blackfeet is also a highly gendered social space, a reflection of contemporary Apache gender ideology and a general community-wide awareness of gendered behavioral

expectations. In its original, precolonial form, Blackfeet was an all-male military association. Since its revitalization in the late 1950s, women have been allowed only marginal and secondary participation in the arena – not permitted to sing directly at the drum or dance directly behind the staffs (see Figure 2). Far more subtly, Apache women are also discouraged to speak in the arena during giveaways.

For some Apache people, the dual and interconnected requirements of material and cultural capital severely limit active powwow participation. That is, if an individual does not have the material means or the cultural knowledge , they will – potentially – be unable to participate in Blackfeet or other powwows. Because national narratives construct participation as a significant element of native authenticity, those who fail to meet this expectation appear as inauthentic, cultural anomalies. For Apache people, however, participation itself is less important than *how* one participates. In other words, when participating in Blackfeet or any other type of "Indian doing," Apache men and women are expected to meet certain gender and kinship behavioral obligations. When they do not or can not meet these expectations, they run the risk of failing to meet local, Apache standards for tribal belonging and social identity.

Unlike national narratives of indigeneity, which focus on powwow participation as the site where authenticity is bestowed, local Apache gender and kin behaviors are expected in multiple social spheres – the sacred and the secular, the public and the private. From this perspective, gender behavior in everyday life should mimic the gender ideology publicly performed in Blackeet. As a result, Apache women are

expected to a play a secondary and supporting role to Apache men not only in the powwow arena, but in their homes and in their jobs. Problematically, however, neo-liberal economic transformations in southwestern Oklahoma have created a contradiction, a paradox. Although the contemporary service-based, feminized economy created more clerical and support positions for women at tribal or federal agencies, it has also made it increasingly difficult for Apache women to follow appropriate gender and kin behaviors at the workplace. Apache women now hold jobs that require them to be publicly vocal and, occasionally, challenge Apache men, some of whom are their close kin.[6] Not only do these relationships challenge the contemporary Apache gender hierarchy, but when opposite-sex relatives interact closely at the workplace, they often transgress norms of "respect" which define specific kinship relations in the Apache community.

Thus, at both the national and local levels, discourses of indigeneity create expectations of Indianness that not only circumscribe native communities, with narratives of authenticity limiting the possibilities of certain types of social action, but are also often at odds with national hegemonic discourses of kin and gender. The contradiction and anomaly created by these contrasting expectations take three forms. The first form, a moment of contradiction between the national and local, occurs when national narratives of indigeneity create discourses that focus on expressive culture, thus at once dismissing local Apache narratives of belonging and simultaneously rendering the Apache community as an anomaly. Deeply connected to the first, the second form occurs when individual Apache people are unable to meet

national expectations of indigeneity, such as powwow participation, because of cultural, material, or personal constraints. The third form occurs when Apache people are unable to demonstrate local cultural or kin requirements because those expectations clash with hegemonic Anglo-American expectations or because they have no desire to do so.

Problematically, these contradictory expectations often take the form of a paradox. That is, to meet one set of either national or local expectations means that Apache people may have to, whether intentionally or not, ignore other expectations. For example, anthropologist Jessica Cattelino has made it clear that "poverty symbolically structures indigeneity in the United States, so that a 'rich Indian' is an oxymoron to many" (Cattelino 2004:105). Indeed, native communities are often criticized for abandoning the communalism and anti-materialism that are assumed to have differentiated their communities from the market economies found in European communities. Yet, as I will argue in this dissertation, for Apache people some access to financial capital is required to participate in powwows and for contemporary cultural reproduction.

Ironically, native communities who pursue economic development projects – especially those, like Florida Seminole, who are successful – are accused of discarding their culture even though money itself is necessary to reproduce forms of expressive culture expected by national expectations of indigeneity. Thus, to be "Indian" in the ways defined by national discourses also, simultaneously, requires some financial capital, but native financial success is also often viewed as inauthentic. Locally,

Apache women's wages are crucial for family and cultural survival, yet their interaction with kinsmen in the workplace is often, simultaneously, de-authenticating. On the one hand, these paradoxes seem to create an "impossible subject" – where communities and individuals can never meet the expectations required of them – yet they also present moments of opportunity where Apache people can challenge or expand the limits of such expectations.

The creation of anomaly and paradox are both academic and practical concerns. Academic scholarship that ignores anomalous native communities or individuals runs the risk of reinforcing overly simplistic national narratives of indigeneity, therefore denying complexity and creativity to native communities. This same scholarship also ignores alterative discourses on native belonging and the continuing relevance of alternative cultural practices in native communities. In addition, national narratives of indigenous authenticity can be used to challenge native sovereignty, and the economic opportunities associated with it, by arguing that anomalous native communities are *no longer* native or not native *enough* to qualify as Indian. As Kirk Dombrowksi notes, anomalous native people and communities "risk losing their claim to being 'natives' in ways that matter immensely" (2001:14). In this sense, anomalousness – or being *seen* as anomalous by outside observers – has the very real possibility of threatening native self-determination, sovereignty and economic development projects (Dominguez and Welland 1998; Dombrowski 2001).[7]

Hegemonic Narratives of Indigenous Authenticity

Emerging from a dominant, non-native perspective, national expectations of indigeneity reflect hegemonic American ideas about cultural otherness. In this context, I use hegemony to refer to the definition initially developed by Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci and refined by generations of cultural Marxists (Gramsci 1971; Hall 1986; Mouffe 1979; Williams 1977). While a political prisoner in Mussolini's Italy, Gramsci struggled to explain the contemporary social and economic conditions in Europe using traditional Marxist concepts – in particular, why a Marxist revolution had occurred in Russia but seemed increasingly unlikely to occur in Italy and the rest of Western Europe. For Gramsci, the answer to these questions required the development of the concept of hegemony, which is related to both the traditional concept of *culture* and the Marxist model of *ideology* but goes beyond, and simultaneously connects, both terms (Williams 1977:108).

According to literary critic Raymond Williams, hegemony is "in the strongest sense a 'culture,' but a culture which also has to be seen as the lived dominance and subordination of particular classes" (Williams 1977:108). Thus, hegemony is a type of theoretical bridge between a "classless" and conflict-free concept of culture and a completely fixed and self-interested concept of ideology. Moreover, whereas traditional Marxists consider ideology to be a "superstructure," or reflection of economic conditions, Williams suggests that "cultural work and activity" actually help to form or determine economic and social conditions. In this sense, cultural beliefs not

only *justify* current economic and social inequalities, but actively *constitute* them (1977:111).

In this dissertation, I follow Williams' interpretation of hegemony as culture, but culture constructed from the dominant classes in order to gain consent to rule from non-dominant groups. The "troubling question of consent," as Stuart Hall (1986:26) writes, has long plagued scholars who are interested in why the working classes appear to consent to their own domination – and the socioeconomic conditions that are associated with it – that seem to be counter to their own class, and personal, interests. According to social theorist Chantal Mouffe, hegemonies "had to consist in the creation of an active direct consensus resulting from the genuine adoption of the interests of the popular classes by the hegemonic class, which would give rise to the creation of a genuine 'national-popular will'" (1979:183). In other words, as culture, hegemonic ideologies are able to gain consent to rule by appealing to many different classes and groups within a particular society. Williams calls this process *incorporation*, whereby the hegemonic is composed of "otherwise separate and even disparate meanings, values, and practices" in order to create, in "the masses," a sense of self-identification with hegemonic forms. Thus, in Gramscian interpretations, consent to rule is far more subtle, complicated, and even vulnerable, compared to they way consent has been formulated in traditional Marxist theories.

The process of incorporation often produces the appearance that subordinate groups, including indigenous communities like the Plains Apache, consent to their own domination. As scholars working in a wide spectrum of indigenous communities – from

Alaska to Australia to Guatemala – have illustrated, indigenous peoples often frame narratives of identity and belonging in explicitly primordial, self-essentializing terms (Jackson and Warren 2005; Lowe 1991; Mallon 1996; Povinelli 2002; Spivak 1988; Warren 2002). Similarly, Apache narratives of authenticity connect contemporary cultural practices like gender, kinship and powwow participation to a primordial, unchanged pre-contact Apache culture. As already suggested, on the national level, these hegemonic ideas of authenticity serve to police native people by limiting native social action, innovation, creativity and even economic success – constructing the sense that any deviation from national expectations of indigeneity represent culture change, assimilation, and inauthenticity. When these hegemonic ideas are eschewed on the local level, Apache people, in essence, police themselves.

Hegemonic primordialism, however, is not simply "false consciousness" rewritten. Although primordialism circumscribes and limits indigenous social action, it simultaneously appeals to native people by emphasizing deeply meaningful cultural and historical experiences. In the context of the contemporary Plains Apache, hegemonic primordialism has incorporated the real, lived experiences of cultural difference, cultural loss and – as I will argue in chapter six – deeply personal kinship ties. Indeed, hegemonic ideologies also contain contradictions that, when experienced by subordinate peoples allow for the critique and challenge of domination – what Gramsci calls "good sense."[8] Williams suggests that, using their "good sense," subordinate groups can call upon aspects of their culture not explicitly used in hegemonic ideologies to resist domination (Williams 1977). As anthropologist Circe

Sturm has argued, however, most subordinate groups exhibit a complex of competing and often contradictory ideologies, where hegemonic ideologies exist alongside narratives and experiences which appear to challenge them (Sturm 2002:19-26). These conceptions, of course, help explain why national expectations – like powwow participation and cultural difference – also exist in the Apache community alongside of local expectations based on kin and gender behaviors. Powwow participation, especially Blackfeet, not only represents contemporary Apache cultural difference, but also appeals to Apache people as a space where local expectations of kin and gender behaviors are enacted. Indeed, the symbol of male Blackfeet dancers and the Blackfeet staffs has become the contemporary symbol for the Apache Tribe of Oklahoma, appearing on tribal license plates, stationary, and around the tribal complex (see Figure 3).



Figure 3: Blackfeet symbol on license plate.

If, however, hegemony is conceived as culture – and, like all cultures, is related to domination and is often composed of contradictory values – I suggest that social

theorists must also apply the organizing principles of hegemony to non-dominant cultural systems. Like dominant hegemonies, subordinate hegemonies reflect the complicated process of domination and incorporation, and thus, collective narratives of group difference and identity represent this process. As previous scholars have noted (Dombrowski 2001; Wolf 1999), subordinate communities – including native communities – are also internally differentiated by class, age, gender, and even cultural authority. In this sense, subordinate hegemonic ideas of collective difference and authenticity are representative of local struggles for domination – not just for the means of production, but also for the means of *cultural* production. Indeed, as I suggest in chapter five, in the Apache community these two struggles are intimately connected to, as well as mutually constituting of, one another. To add to the complexity, local hegemonies do not exist in an isolated vacuum; they are also, of course, in constant dialogue with the dominant national hegemony.

In short, I am suggesting that hegemonic relations exist on at least two different levels of interaction – the national and the local. On the national level, the dominant hegemony extends itself, nationally, over the subordinate groups – defined as those groups dominated both economically and culturally – in the United States. On the local level, subordinate groups, like the Plains Apache, construct their own hegemonic ideologies, particularly related to narratives of collective identity and cultural difference. As hegemonic ideologies, the cultural components that are included in these local narratives are selected from a larger cultural system – including of course, the cultural system of the dominant group – to represent the community.

These cultural components largely represent the perspectives of the local cultural elite, but in order to ensure agreement – a local form of consent – about the content of these narratives, also strategically include the knowledge and perspectives of marginalized and subordinate, community members. Thus, in the same way that national narratives of indigeneity create both expectation and anomaly, so do local narratives. Even more similarly, because expectations are composed of only some aspects of the contemporary Apache cultural repertoire, Apache people are able to call upon other local cultural practices, or enact these practices in alternative social contexts, in order to mediate anomalousness.

On the Plains Apache

As a community, the Plains Apache have been described by scholars and academics through the dual, interconnected lenses of expectation and anomaly. As theoretical paradigms shifted over time in cultural anthropology, so too have the various expectations of Apache culture and history. For much of this scholarship, the most pressing concern was the *origins* of the Plains Apache and whether or not they should be considered an authentic Plains community, based on the concept of the Plains as a distinct culture area that produced particular cultural adaptations and practices. During historic times, the Plains Apache community certainly demonstrated traits common to the Plains culture area, such as a nomadic bison-hunting lifestyle, a social structure composed of small, autonomous bands, and a shamanistic religion centered around four medicine bundles. Problematically, however, the Plains Apache

speak an Apachean language – one of the six that make up the Apachean branch of Athabaskan – more commonly spoken by native groups in the Southwest culture area. [9] Thus, the Plains Apache, historically Plains Apache culture was representative of both the Plains and Southwest culture areas.

James Mooney likely made the first ethnographic mention of the Plains Apache in *A Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians* (1898), but the Apache played little more than a supporting role to the Kiowa (Stokely 2003:13). As noted by anthropologist William Bittle, Mooney understood the Apache to be simply one of many Kiowa bands, later describing the Plains Apache as "practically a part of the Kiowa in everything but language" (Mooney 1907, quoted in Bittle 1962:152).[10] For Mooney, the historical connection between the two communities was sufficient to explain the origins of both groups.[11] As noted by Brant (1949), Bittle (1962) and Stokely (2003), Mooney wrote that the Apache:

> Are commonly known as Kiowa-Apache, under the mistaken impression, arising from the fact of their Athapascan affinity, that they are a detached band of the Apache of Arizona. On the contrary, they have never had any political connection with the Apache proper…The Kiowa-Apache did not emigrate from the southwest into the plains country, but have come with the Kiowa from the northwest Plains region. [Mooney 1898:247-248]

Mooney, in other words, believed that the Apache met all the same cultural expectations as the Kiowa and thus required no separate academic attention.

In contrast, William Bittle approached the Apaches as an anomaly – first linguistically, then culturally. Trained at UCLA, Bittle's dissertation focused on the linguistic relationship between the Plains Apaches – or Kiowa-Apaches, as was the

parlance at the time –and the Apachean peoples of the southwest. In Bittle's opinion, the Plains Apache:

> Are of potentially tremendous ethnological interest since they represent the easternmost extension of the Southern Athabaskan speaking peoples of the Southwest, and the only Southern Athabaskans inhabiting, in historic times, a true Plains environment. They may well provide an unparalleled example of a people deriving early from an identifiable non-Plains source and undergoing adaptation (if, sometimes superficially) to Plains economy and social organization. [Bittle 1962:152]

For Bittle, the most interesting aspect of the Plains Apache community was their anomalousness as "the easternmost extension of Southern Athabaskan speaking peoples" and the only example of an Apachean-speaking group living in a true Plains environment. This research question – and expectation – fueled Bittle's work for the rest of his career. [12]

Most ethnographers of the Plains Apache approached the community similarly to Bittle – that is, as an anomaly in relation to the Plains culture area. Charles Brant, who worked with the Apache briefly in 1948, argued that some aspects of contemporary Apache culture – including, obviously, language, but also kinship, folklore and beliefs – were more culturally similar to southwestern Apache communities than to the Kiowa or other Plains peoples (Brant 1949, 1953). Of kinship, Brant suggests that:

> On the behavorial side, the Kiowa-Apache system agreed with the Jicarilla type in such particulars as grandparent-grandchild joking relationships, avuncular-nepotic joking relations, restraint between siblings of the opposite sex, freedom with one's siblings of the same sex, including, in the case of male siblings, sexual privileges with each other's wives. Thus, the evidence from social structure seems to indicate that the Kiowa-Apache belong to a branch of Apachean peoples that also includes the Jicarilla and the Lipan. [Brant 1949:58]

Additionally, Brant argues that the folklore of the Plains Apache is much more closely associated with the Southwest. Unlike most Plains communities, the Apache tell a series of myths featuring twin culture heroes – a pattern which, as Brant notes, "has the same fundamental patterning of characters and events as the twin culture hero myths of all other Apaches tribes," despite some acknowledged divergences (1949:58).

In Brant's arguments, however, the most prominent evidence is the *anomalousness* of the Plains Apache with the traits expected of the Plains peoples. He notes that their ceremonialism "was a weakly developed imitation of [Plains] dancing societies," since the Apaches only had – according to his data – only four dancing societies, none of which were age-graded (Brant 1949:60). Additionally, the Apache did not conduct their own Sun Dance, participating instead in the dance held by the Kiowa. Thus, for Brant, Bittle, and many of Bittle's students, contemporary cultural and linguistic evidence of Plains Apache anomalousness in relation to supposedly-typical "Plains" traits suggested a relatively recent migration onto the Plains from the Southwest. As ethnomusicologist John Beatty noted, however, evidence of culturally similar traits could be the result of contemporary interactions between the Plains Apache and the Apache communities in the Southwest, particularly the Mescalero (Beatty 1965:4).

Yet, as Mooney (1898) acknowledges, the Plains Apache have their own version of their origin – one that is, in fact, very similar to Mooney's own explanation of Plains Apache origins, but seems to have been dismissed by Bittle and his students (Bittle 1962:155). In the opinion of most Apache today, their origin and emergence onto the

Plains occurred in the Athabaskan country of Canada. Anthropologist Michelle Stokely, whose dissertation was an important oral history of the last fluent Apache speaker, Alfred Chalepah, Sr., remarked that he "tells a northern origin story, describing a community who disagreed over food and subsequently split into two distinct groups" (2003:59). Like in Mooney's arguments, in Chalepah's version one group stayed in the North, eventually becoming the Canadian Sarcee, while the ancestors of the Apache moved south onto the Plains.

Although I was unable to find an extended mythological version of this tale, a similar story – short and succinct – was told to me in an interview with an Apache consultant and friend, Tony. According to Tony, the ancestral Sarcee and Apache split over a piece of meat, with the Plains Apache moving south with the Kiowa. When I asked him about the relationship of the Plains Apache to other southwestern communities, he responded:

> T: To me, the only really thing we have with other Apaches is language. There's *some* similarities in culture and ceremonies.
>
> AW: What are the similarities?
>
> T: Mmm…I can't think of 'em right off hand. There's very, very few. But the way I picture it, the way they done it, was whenever they [SW Apaches] was coming from Canada, we split with them way up north. They come down one side of the mountains, we come down the other side. [We] identified with a lot of tribes from here on this side cause we was a small group. And a lot of our culture is the same as, similar to Plains tribes than the other Apaches.
>
> AW: Seems today there is a lot interaction between the Mescalero and Plains Apaches – a lot of traveling and friendship. Are these recent, do you think?
>
> T: That's from, within in our tribe, we have people that are part Mescalero because of marriage, that's where all that comes in.

Beyond this short story, the Apache have told and continue to tell several mythological tales that clearly take place on the Northern Plains, at such sites as Devil's Lake and Devil's Tower. In contrast to the "twin culture heroes myths" cited by Brant, which were never discussed unless I raised the topic, stories about Devil's Lake, both mythological and much more recent, are openly discussed without prompting. Whatever their relation to Apache origins, today these stories are clearly those which have the most meaning for Apache people.

Today, the Apache Tribe of Oklahoma is a small Southern Plains community, numbering approximately 2,000 members, most of whom live in and around the towns of Anadarko, Ft. Cobb and Apache in southwestern Oklahoma.[13] Historically, the Plains Apache were known by the name *Kiowa-Apache*, a reference to their political and cultural affiliation with the Kiowa. Today most, although not all, tribal members dismiss the older term in favor of *Plains Apache* or simply *Apache*, and I follow that preference in this dissertation. Even though most of my research consultants were Apache and I focused on Apache history and cultural events, southwestern Oklahoma is a multi-tribal environment. Besides the Plains Apache, the Wichita, Kiowa, Comanche, Caddo, Western Delaware, and Ft. Still/Chiricahua Apache communities have tribal complexes and significant populations in the area. Because of intermarriage between all of these communities, many individuals, including some Apaches, claim several tribal affiliations even though tribal citizenship regulations restrict enrollment to one community. As a result, my research – and my consultants – are representative of the complicated and vibrant cultural landscape of southwestern Oklahoma.

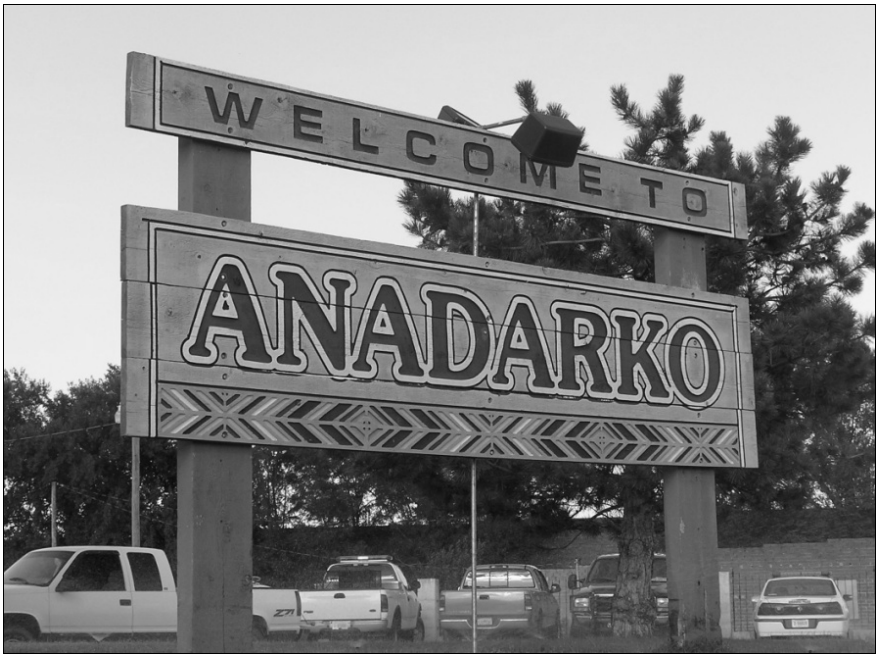


Figure 4: Welcome sign in Anadarko, Oklahoma with Native American design. August 2006. Photo by author.

Methodology and Ethical Considerations

I began my fieldwork with the Plains Apache in the fall of 2003, shortly after completing my Master's degree in anthropology. Like so many anthropologists, I initially intended to pursue a project that was more representative of my academic interests than of any major issues confronting the Apache community. As a budding feminist anthropologist, I had the somewhat vague intention of exploring the role of women in contemporary Apache life – a topic, that although highly applicable to the Plains Apache, generated only a small amount of interest in the community itself. Several prominent Apache men informed me in no uncertain terms that my project had little meaning for them. At a meeting, the tribal chairman informed me that he

had little to contribute because “this tribe is only here today because of our men, our warriors.” This comment opened my eyes to the gendered concepts of authenticity in the Apache community. More importantly, however, it encouraged me to develop a project that would be relevant to the issues of concern to the Apache people themselves.

When I moved to Anadarko in the summer of 2006, many of my new neighbors, eventually friends, were Apache. Yet few of them participated in the kinds of public cultural events usually associated with “being Indian” in southwestern Oklahoma. These events, primarily powwows and ceremonial dances, were the types of activities that I had attended during my summers of working as a “weekend ethnographer.” While I had, of course, observed that not every Apache person I knew attended powwows regularly, I did not realize how many Apache people simply did not attend these events *at all*. Karen, my neighbor and eventually one of my closest friends, was one of those that did not. Despite her lack of interest in activities like powwows that are clearly associated with Native culture, Karen still identified as Apache and is – although she would never claim to be – highly knowledgeable about Apache culture, history and genealogy.

Karen and other non-participants are representative of a larger concern among many Plains Apache people. Many tribal leaders are very concerned about non-participation because of its association with cultural loss and assimilation. As I will make clear in subsequent chapters, however, Apache definitions of participation are not narrowly defined to powwow participation; rather, they include participation in

the social and cultural world of the Plains Apache, particularly by maintaining appropriate kin relationships. It is this broad, all encompassing form of non-participation that many Apache leaders worry about, fearing that younger generations not only eshew powwow participation, but the ties of kinship, respect, and propriety that bind the community together. As a result, non-participation is seen as the antithesis to cultural revitalization and cultural reproduction. This dissertation, therefore, emerges directly out of local conversations that Apache people are having about the present and future of their community.

Because my friendship with Karen and growing awareness of these issues occurred after my initial field work, the bulk of my dissertation research comes from the eighteen months I lived in Anadarko, Oklahoma. While I collected semi-structured, audio-recorded interviews, the majority of my data came through informal conversations, daily interactions and observations, and – to a certain extent – my own participation within the community. I continued to attend the visible forms of expressive culture that Lassiter calls "Indian doings," paying particular attention to the socioeconomic aspects of powwows and dances. At the same time, however, I also paid attention to the "mundane" experiences of non-powwow-participants, many of whom became close friends. I helped neighbors like Karen run errands, do laundry, and cook. I attended the annual Lenten fish fry at St. Patrick's Catholic Church. I drove elderly friends to the Indian Health Service clinic for appointments and ate with tribal elders at the Apache Tribal Lunch. I listened to people talk about commodity food, some with disdain and others with a sense of pride. I watched as friends struggled with

the BIA bureaucracy, with alcohol and substance abuse problems, and with the complications of grass and oil leases. Above all, I tried to listen to, observe, and understand the everyday lives of both the powwow participants and non-participants.

Like all ethnographies of Native American communities, this dissertation is subject to academic expectations that require theoretically innovative research while at the same time setting high ethical standards concerning the representation of Native communities. Ethnographers are expected to work closely with Native communities to develop research agendas and adequately represent the voices of Native people without speaking *for* them (Smith 1999; Mihesuah and Wilson 2004; Cattelino 2004:35). Although this research was approved by the Apache Business Committee and all individual consultants consented to participate, I can say with some certainty that this project would be very different if it was written by a member of the Apache community. Even with this difference, however, this dissertation does reflect concerns and issues that Apache people deal with and talk about day in and day out.

That being said, this dissertation reflects *my* perspective – the perspective of a non-native, young, female, anthropologist. My interpretations throughout this dissertation, while I believe them to be validated through my data, do not necessarily represent the beliefs and opinions of Apache people. Despite my personal and emotional ties to individual Apache people and families, I remained, largely, an outsider to the community during my fieldwork. Indeed, it is likely that the constant feeling of *almost-but-not-quite* belonging made me more interested in, and more susceptible to, stories of local marginalization and anomalousness.[14] Even though this

dissertation reflects local concerns and local issues, clearly, at times, my perspective diverges from the perspectives of some Apache people. This is not an attempt to speak for this community or, even, to provide an "academic" explanation. Rather, like the Apache community itself, I hope this dissertation can be a space where many narratives, explanations, and opinions – including my own – can exist in dialogue with one another.

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[1] Throughout this dissertation, I use the terms "Indian," "Native American," "native," and "indigenous" interchangeably. Despite concerns about the appropriateness of the term "Indian," I continue to use that term here because it is the most common term used by the Plains Apache.

[2] I use the term "primordialism" intentionally here, to emphasize the general focus on an assumed ahistorical unity of thought, culture and identity. The term is generally associated with German philosopher Johann Herder, who is also credited with developing the idea of a "nation" as a culturally and linguistically similar unit (Walker 1973). In a sense, primordialism is also essentialist – in that it assumes a fixed, or essential, set of qualities define a group or community – but it goes farther to assume that these essential qualities, like language and "worldview," have a primordial existence. The term can also denote, following Geertz's usage, "primordial sentiment" or the feelings of loyalty that an individual has because of the perception of these shared and timeless cultural characteristics (Connor 1978).

[3] The name Blackfeet, or *Manatidie,* for this military society has disputed, although not necessarily controversial, origins in the contemporary Apache community. Bittle (1962:155) provides contrary data from his consultants. One consultant claimed the dance is called Blackfeet after the Blackfeet Nation of the Northern Plains who were their neighbors near the Black Hills. Several others suggested that the Plains Apache learned this dance from the Blackfeet themselves, and thus named it after them.

[4] After the afternoon dancing of the Blackfeet, other native dance organizations are often invited for an evening session. Although sometimes the evening dance is a gourd dance, occasionally Mescalero and Chiricahua Apaches are invited to perform the Dance of the Mountain Gods, which is locally called the Apache Fire Dance.

[5] The term "powwow" refers, in practice, to a variety of cultural events. The largest powwows are generally intertribal contest powwows, like the annual Red Earth in Oklahoma City, where dancers and drum groups compete against each other for prize money. Smaller, local powwows – often simply called dances – may include some intertribal dances, but also incorporate different forms of dancing, like Gourd Dancing. In the last half of the twentieth century, Gourd Dancing emerged in the Kiowa community, but has since spread to many other native communities in Oklahoma and beyond. In addition, military society dances, like the Apache Blackfeet, are the dances traditionally associated with military, or warrior societies. For a good review of the many types of contemporary powwows, see the essays in Ellis, C., L.E. Lassiter, and Gary H. Dunham, eds, *Powwow* [Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2006].

[6] Logically, of course, Apache men might face increasing critique because of their now secondary and supportive status to women, at least in terms of household economics. While this fits in the general paradigm, I avoid making this conclusion because this consequence was rarely acknowledged by my male Apache consultants. This is also likely an indication of the bias in my field work – the nature of the

Apache gender dynamics encouraged me to develop more close and personal relationships with Apache women.

[7] As a federally recognized native entity, the Apache Tribe of Oklahoma is not at immediate risk of losing their claim to self-determination and sovereignty. However, people within the Apache community see termination of federal recognition as a very real possibility. In addition, lobby groups like Oklahoma's One Nation advocate for the end to the "special status" – such as gaming rights and lower tobacco taxes – granted federally-recognized native tribes.

[8] For a discussion of "good sense," and "common sense," see Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* [New York: International Publishers, 1999 [1971]]: 323-337.

[9] Besides Plains Apache, the other five Apachean languages include Lipan, Navajo, Western Apache, Chiricahua-Mescalero, and Jicarilla. Besides Lipan, all the of these languages are spoken by communities in New Mexico or Arizona, in the Southwest culture area.

[10] For Bittle, Mooney's description of the Plains Apache created an expectation among ethnographers that the Plains Apache had little to offer in the way of cultural difference, resulting in a lack of ethnographic interest and research within the community.

[11] As Foster and McCullough argue, "the leap from ceremonial participation to political organization is not well supported" (2001:930). They note that the historical evidence clearly points to the political autonomy of the Plains Apache bands in the prereservation period.

[12] Bittle continued working with the Plains Apache for the rest of his career, eventually becoming chair of the department of anthropology at the University of Oklahoma. Bittle used his position to encourage graduate students to conduct research with the Plains Apache, even coordinating several summer ethnographic field schools in the community. As Michelle Stokely (2003:16) notes, Bittle and his students "gathered the most extensive material on Apache life and culture," with their work contributing to the Doris Duke Collection, a valuable source for oral histories and interviews housed at the University of Oklahoma's Western History Library. Without a doubt, the work of Bittle and his students remain invaluable resources for academics and for the Apache people themselves.

[13] Based on data published by Schweinfurth (2003), and confirmed by own personal conversations with Apache Business Committee members.

[14] As if my phenotype and northern accent were not enough to reinforce my difference, my surname – Wightman, but pronounced White-man – made the situation much more obvious. Indeed, to the delight of my Apache friends, who thought the whole situation quite hysterical, an error in the local phone directory not only misspelled my last name, but only included my first initial. As a result, caller IDs would show "A Whiteman calling" when I dialed anyone from my Anadarko telephone.

Chapter Two:
"I Go From One to the Other":
Alliance, Accommodation, and Historical Authenticity

Sitting in a circle around a large conference table in a building at the Apache Tribe of Oklahoma's complex, fifteen Apache girls bent over their pieces of buckskin, the room suddenly – and temporarily – silent with concentration. Having just received instructions from their teacher, the girls were busy beginning to stitch their miniature buckskin dresses, small enough to fit a doll but intended as practice for making a full-scale version. A few of the younger girls, about ten years old, called me over to help thread needles or work the stitch through the thick buckskin. I fumbled awkwardly with the thread and needles, hoping no one noticed my obvious sewing deficiencies.

After a few minutes of quiet work, the workshop teacher – an elderly woman of both Apache and Kiowa descent – began to speak, indicating that the girls should work and listen at the same time. Her hands stitching as she spoke, the elder began to tell her pupils her version of Plains Apache tribal history.

"Kiowa people," the elder said, "call Apaches thieves. You have all heard that. They say Apaches stole Kiowa ways. But don't be ashamed. You remember this – Coronado first came to Oklahoma in 1541 and the first tribe he met was Apaches. This is true. You can be proud of that."[1]

During my fieldwork with the contemporary Plains Apache, I heard the story of Coronado's expedition onto the Southern Plains – and his supposedly initial meeting with the ancestors of the Plains Apache – on only one occasion, at the buckskin dress-making workshop. The story's presence in the community, however, has a material reality. Coronado's expedition onto the Plains is the starting point, the contemporary genesis, of an official tribal exhibit formerly located in the Apache Senior Center. While it has not replaced the older tales of a Northern origin, the split with the Sarsi and the medicine power of Devil's Lake, the Coronado story serves a different purpose. As a small tribe whose historic and cultural connections to the Southern Plains are often questioned – by natives, non-natives, and scholars – the Coronado story allows the

Apache to claim a long history on the Southern Plains and reassert their connection to the land. More importantly, however, the Coronado story also allows Apache people to reinsert their community into the dominant historical narrative of the Southern Plains.

Interestingly, Apache people today rarely discuss the nature of their ancestors' encounter with Coronado. That is, the story-tellers do not explain whether Coronado was met with violence as a potential enemy or with diplomacy as a potential ally. For contemporary Apache people, the point is simply that their ancestors were the first native people to meet Coronado on the Southern Plains. Ironically, however, I suggest that it is precisely the *nature* of the encounter that matters in terms of authenticity. In contemporary American popular culture, men like Crazy Horse, Sitting Bull, Geronimo, Cochise, and Tecumseh are some of the most famous Native American historical figures.[2] As tribal leaders, they represent indigenous communities celebrated for their *resistance* to Euro-American military encroachment and cultural oppression – the Lakota, Chiricahua Apache, and Shawnee. Whether or not these perceptions are historically accurate, these native men and their communities are famous and celebrated because of a particular type of encounter, resistance to colonialism.

Plains peoples, whose martial prowess and war exploits are not only widely known but considered part of their traditional cultural repertoire, are particularly susceptible to these expectations. Generations removed from the realities of native resistance, contemporary national narratives romanticize these communities, celebrating the native people who fought against Europeans and Americans. Simultaneously, these same narratives create expectations of Indian resistance that

implicitly criticize the many native people and leaders who chose to befriend, ally, negotiate with or accommodate to Euro-American aggression. Indeed, some native people fought *alongside* European and American militias against other native communities – in The Battle of Little Bighorn, the Battle of Adobe Walls, and the Red River War, among others – while other native communities avoided direct conflict altogether. In popular imaginations, these native people are seen as "collaborating" in their own conquest or "selling out" their cultural beliefs, unsettling romanticized images of native people as loyal to their communities, land, and cultures at all cost.

Taking this expectation of resistance as a starting point, the purpose of this chapter to is provide historical context about the Plains Apache community while simultaneously connecting this specific history to contemporary tropes of indigenous authenticity. Just as authenticity is measured by analyzing contemporary native communities, the histories and historical actions of native people are also filtered through a series of expectations about indigeneity. Thus, authenticity is also structured by native histories, or at least contemporary perceptions of native histories. In one sense, the ambiguousness of Plains Apache authenticity is a reflection of this process, particularly because the history of the Plains Apache challenges the assumption that native peoples, especially Plains peoples, reacted to Euro-American colonialism with resistance. Always numerically small relative to other Plains peoples, the Plains Apache people survived in changing and challenging social landscapes by making alliances that allowed them to largely avoid direct military conflict with more powerful groups, including other native communities as well as the United States.[3]

Authenticity, however, is a highly *selective* discourse. Certain expectations – like resistance, a propensity for warfare, or the persistence of forms of expressive culture – are privileged while others, like alliance-making, kinship and gender patterns, are downplayed. Because of this selectively, some communities are thought of as "more" or "less" authentic according to whether or not they meet these standards. For the Plains Apache, their history of alliances and accommodations suggests the loss of a unique Apache culture as they made alliances with and occasionally adopted the practices of other communities, especially when these strategies were extended to colonial powers. Ironically, for the Plains Apache, the pattern of alliance-making is just as authentic and traditional as the contemporary expectations of resistance and aggression – that is, these are strategies and survival skills that have a long history within the Apache community.

Just as authenticity is selective, so is the following history of the Plains Apache. While the arguments I make about alliances and accommodations are supported by second-hand sources and the records of European or American observers, I cannot account for the historical actions of all Apache people. While I suggest that "the Apache community" pursued certain strategies, such as alliance and accommodation, it is likely that not all Apache people agreed with or even followed these strategies. The fluid nature of leadership in the historic Apache community, combined with their alliances with other native communities, allowed Apache men to participate in raiding and warfare activities even when the majority may have avoided these situations. In addition, pursuing strategies of peace does not mean that cultural beliefs about the

importance of warfare for prestige and status were lessened; these beliefs, in fact, persist in various ways today. Moreover, my reliance on the external observations of outsiders means that in most cases, Apache intentions, motivations and reflections are silent. When available, I have included Apache beliefs about this history within my narrative.

Early History: Encounters, Trade, and Alliances

As indicated in the first chapter, much of the ethnographic literature on the Plains Apache focuses, almost obsessively, on their origins and place within the Plains culture area. This obsession is fueled, in part, by what anthropologist William Bittle describes as the "opaqueness" of Plains Apache history. In the colonial period, from the mid-1500s to the mid-1800s, the pertinent historical records are comprised of accounts by European explorers, like Francisco Vasquez Coronado, René Robert Cavelier de La Salle, and Jean Baptiste Bénard de la Harpe, who encountered – or heard rumors about – the nomadic inhabitants of the Southern Plains. These accounts, however, are from clear. As Foster and McCollough note, the ancestors of the Plains Apache – like many of the indigenous inhabitants of the time – were described with "a number of often unrelated terms that obscure their distinctness and continuity as a people" (2001:926). Bittle (1971:2), for example, cites *Vaqueros*, *Padoucas, Gattackas*, *Kantsis*, *Kaskasias* and *Bad Hearts* as possible synonyms for the ancestral Plains Apache, while Foster and McCullough (2001:928) include *Pados* and *Toguibacos*.

The plethora of synonyms reflects both the nature of the historical records and the sociocultural complexity of the Southern Plains during the colonial period. Accounts were compiled by explorers or traders, who recorded the names their host communities gave other indigenous inhabitants; thus, tribal names changed from community to community *and* were different from the name the group in question called themselves. The challenge of historians, then, is tracing groups named in documents from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to the Southern Plains communities in existence today. Complicating this task is the reality of the Southern Plains during the colonial period, when many linguistically and culturally similar nations were split into politically autonomous divisions or bands, each with separate names to distinguish themselves (Wolf 1980). The community we associate today with the contemporary Plains Apache was a "crucial social unit from at least 1720," but historically may never had had a "tribal-level political organization" or "tribal-wide gatherings" (Foster and McCullough 2001:930).

As the contemporary Plains Apache remember, Francisco Vásquez de Coronado encountered the inhabitants of the Southern Plains as early as 1541. On his search for *Quivira*, Coronado first met indigenous peoples who lived in small, politically autonomous bands led by men whose little authority was gained from skill, example, and their skills of persuasion (Foster and McCullough 2001:926).[4] Many scholars have hypothesized that these groups of pedestrian bison-hunters – whom Coronado called *Quecheros* – may have included the ancestors of contemporary Apachean groups, although there is little supporting historical or archaeological evidence (John 1986:20;

Bittle 1971:2). While Coronado described *Quecheros* as practicing a mixed economy of horticulture and bison hunting, Foster and McCullough suggest that subsistence differences existed between ancestral Apachean groups, with some practicing a mixed economy of horticulture and hunting while others relied solely on nomadic bison hunting (2001:296). These subsistence differences likely contributed to animosity between the Apachean groups as they competed for trade in Pueblos and Spanish settlements, with the groups who relied exclusively on bison hunting having more pressing needs to supplement their diet at Pueblo markets and more excess bison products to barter (2001:296-297).

According to Foster and McCullough, the ancestors of the contemporary Plains Apache were one of the Apachean speaking groups living as nomadic bison hunters on the Southern Plains during the sixteenth century (2001:296).[5] Whether or not the Plains Apaches were horticulturalists at the time of Coronado's expedition, however, they were likely full-time nomadic bison hunters from the seventeenth century onwards. Nomadism, combined with the confusion of what names apply to ancestors of the Plains Apache, make it especially difficult to pinpoint a particular range in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Historical sources indicate the ancestors of Plains Apache traded horses with many Plains groups, traveling as far southwest as the Pueblos and as far north as the Arikara villages in contemporary South Dakota, with their range "anywhere between the Platte [River] and the frontiers of New Mexico" (Mooney 1898:249).

Although archival records do not record encounters between the ancestral Plain Apache and the French, La Salle and La Harpe met with native peoples on the eastern

fringes of the Southern Plains who were in contact with them. Visiting Wichita villages in 1682, La Salle noted that they received horses from a group identified as the *Gattacka*, who lived south of the Wichita and traded extensively with the Spanish in the pueblos of northern New Spain (Mooney 1898: 248; Foster and McCullough 2001:927). Similarly, La Harpe's account of his 1719 visit to the Wichitas attributed their horses to trade with groups labeled as *Cancy* and *Padouca* who lived near the junction of the Cimarron and Arkansas Rivers in what is now northern Oklahoma (Mooney 1898:251). Both groups are considered ancestral to the contemporary Plains Apache.

In the early 1700s, the Comanche moved onto the Southern Plains and began to dominate the Spanish trade, at native pueblos like Taos, in what is now New Mexico.[6] This movement displaced the Plains Apaches as intermediaries between other Plains peoples and the Spanish, forcing them away from the Pueblo markets and slightly northward. This pattern is similar to arguments made by archaeologist James Gunnerson (1960), who suggests that the the horticultural peoples of the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth century Dismal River aspect – stretching from western Kansas and Nebraska to eastern Colorado and Wyoming – were ancestral to the contemporary Plains Apache . Like Bittle, Gunnerson argues that the ancestors of the Plains Apache were part of the original migration of Apachean speakers from western Canada, who made their way to the Southwest along the western face of the Rocky Mountains and eventually moved onto the Southern Plains. According to Gunnerson, the ancestral Plains Apache were then pushed back north by the emergence of the

powerful Comanches who moved onto the Southern Plains from the Great Basin in the early eighteenth century (Foster and McCullough 2001:926; Stokely 2003:58).

The first unambiguous reference to the historical Plains Apache was in a 1785 Spanish report written by Governor General Esteban Rodriguez Miró, in reference to the *Pados* (Foster and McCullough 2001:928). He wrote:

> The Pados were in former times the most numerous nation on the continent, but the wars which other nations have made against them have destroyed them to such an extent that at present they form only four small groups who go wandering from one side to the other continually, which saves them from the fury of the other nations. [Miró, in Foster and McCullough 2001:928]

According to General Miró, by 1785 the *Pados* had been reduced to only about 350 men and lived on the southwest branch of the Platte River.[7] Only a few years later, sources first make note of the alliance between the Plains Apache and the Kiowa (Foster and McCullough 2001:928). At this time, the Plains Apaches were labeled as the "Apaches del Norte" by the Spanish, falling into a category of indigenous communities labeled "Nations of the North" thought to be recent entrants on to the Southern Plains (Foster and McCullough 2001:928).

General Miró's description of the *Pados* as decimated from decades of war – their population shrinking to merely 350 individuals divided among four bands – along with the prominence of the Comanche during this period, suggest that the Apache were forced by their circumstances to make alliances with stronger native communities. Their strategy of "wandering from one side to the other continually," as General Miró noted, saved them from "the fury of other nations" which would have been extremely detrimental to group survival considering the small Apache population. By the time

General Miró made these observations the Plains Apache had already made an alliance with the Kiowa in the mid-eighteenth century, and subsequently both groups allied themselves with the powerful Comanche around 1790 (Mooney 1898:163). Although the alliance between the Kiowa, Comanche and Apache was never broken – extending, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, to include a shared reservation and business committee – the Apache would, as changing circumstances and conditions facilitated, seek alliances with other indigenous and non-indigenous entities. Thus, for the Plains Apache, making alliances with larger, more powerful communities was a strategy of survival that provided some protection from enemy groups – and had a long history within their community.

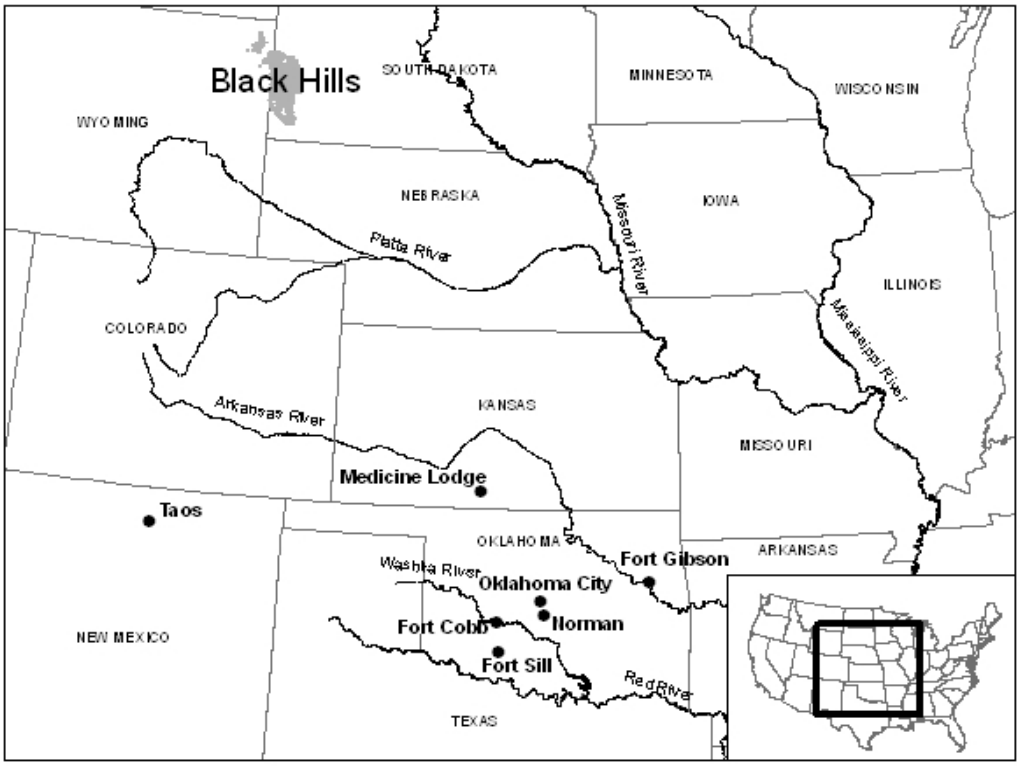


Figure 5: Map of the central United States, showing important sites and rivers in Apache history. Map by Chris DuBois.

The Nineteenth Century: Raiding, Treaties, and Disease

In the later historic period, beginning in the mid-1800s and continuing through the reservation and allotment eras, historical references to and records about the Plains Apache remain sparse. Occasional references to them can be found in historical documents, but as Bittle noted "one must assume this tribe as included in such rubrics as 'other tribes,' 'affiliated groups' and even 'etcs.,' in those reports dealing with the more numerous, more visible, and more threatening Comanche, Kiowa, Cheyenne and Arapaho" (Bittle 1971:2). This presents obvious problems to scholars, who must extrapolate the activities of the Plains Apache using the movements of other Plains peoples, particularly the Kiowa, as a guide. That is, scholars often assume that the history of the Apache mirrors that of the Kiowa. Thus, Mooney's account of Kiowa history based on the Sett'an and Anko calendars is often used as a resources for Apache history as well. Apache history can only be extrapolated from that of the Kiowa in the few cases where archival sources reference them separately.

By 1803, the geopolitical landscape of the Southern Plains had changed drastically. As a result of the Louisiana Purchase, most of the Plains territory was now controlled by the United States. Although by this time the Apache occupied land in the western and central Plains, the Apache and their Kiowa and Comanche allies roamed over a vast territory that included lands under Spanish and then Mexican jurisdiction in areas that are now western Texas, eastern New Mexico, and northern Mexico (Foster and McCullough 2001: 928). Mooney notes that Lewis and Clark mention, but do not meet the Apaches, then referred to as the *Ca' taka*. The explorers described them as

living in the Black Hills region of the northeastern Wyoming, “numbering twenty-five tipis, seventy-five warriors, and three hundred souls” (Mooney 1898:251). The Kiowa lived close by, on the North Platte River, and Mooney claims at this time the two communities had “the same alliances and general customs” and were “rich in horses, which they sold to the Arikara and the Mandan” (1898:251). Lewis and Clark’s estimate fits with other censuses taken between 1805 and 1896 that indicate the Apache generally numbered around 300 individuals (Mooney 1898:253). The population of Kiowa, on the other hand, ranged between 1,000 and 2,500 individuals (Mooney 1898:236).

During this time, there is no doubt that the Plains Apache economy and social structure fit concretely into the Plains culture area. As mobile hunter-gatherers, the Plains Apache lived in hide tepees and subsisted on a diet that included bison, small game, and plant materials. Gender served as the main division of labor, with men acting as hunters and warriors and women responsible for the processing of foods and hides, childcare, and tepee construction. Although cultural expectations and skilled, but temporary, leaders influenced individual agency, autonomy over personal choices was held in high regard. Although the Apache did not conduct their own version of the Plains Sun Dance – participating instead with the Kiowa – they shared many religious sentiments with their neighbors on the Plains, including beliefs which equated power to natural objects and to their four medicine bundles. Called *siso-ya* or grandfather, the bundles were generally cared for by leaders of residence bands and “protected the Plains Apache from all kinds of communal and personal disaster” (Foster and

McCullough 2001:932). Community members found safety in the tipis of bundle keepers during conflict and would give bundles cloth offerings – which would eventually be wrapped around the bundle itself – to ask for assistance in their lives (Foster and McCullough 2001:932).

Like most Plains communities, the Plains Apache engaged in warfare against other indigenous nations and against the growing population of European settlers in Mexico and Texas. According to Bittle, warfare "was of compelling economic and social import. Perhaps for no other area of Kiowa Apache activity are stories and recollections preserved in such profusion" (1979:34). As has been well-documented by historians and anthropologists (Bittle 1979; LaVere 2000:70-71; Meadows 1999:182-183), raiding activities served multiple cultural purposes for Plains peoples. Raids were often conducted, in small groups, for the purposes of securing horses and captives – both crucial to the survival of Plains communities, especially as diseases introduced by Europeans decimated tribal populations. Through raiding, warfare, horse-stealing and counting coup, Apache men cemented their reputations as skilled warriors and leaders.

The effects of raiding drove much of the U.S. effort to secure treaties with the "Western" tribes. Of particular concern was the safety of Anglo-American settlers moving west through the Plains, but the government was also concerned with the safety of the southeastern tribes – the Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw and Seminole – removed to eastern Indian Territory, now Oklahoma, in the early 1830s. To the Plains peoples, who required a large territory for successful hunting and gathering, the removed communities were seen as intruders who drove away herds of bison and other

small game. Since removal, small groups of Comanche, Wichita, Kiowa and, most likely, Apache warriors harassed the western settlements of the Five Tribes, stealing horses and occasionally taking captives and destroying property (LaVere 2000:71). According to LaVere, these raids were followed by retaliatory raids from the Five Tribes, creating a cycle of revenge violence that persisted for decades in Indian Territory (2000:71). As a response, the War Department formed the Stokes Commission – headed by the governor of North Carolina, Montford Stokes – to find a solution to the violence between the removed and Plains peoples in Indian Territory.

As a direct result of the efforts of the Stokes Commission, the Apache first entered into treaty relations with the United States in 1837, when representatives of the United States government signed a treaty with at least some of the Kiowa, Apache and Wichita at Fort Gibson in eastern Indian Territory (LaVere 2000:79).[8] Iron-Shoe, One-Who-Is-Surrendered, and Walking-Bear "signed" the treaty for the Apaches; they placed their mark, an X, next to their names. According to Bittle, the Ft. Gibson Treaty was described as one of "amity and peace" but had vague implications for all parties, including the United States (Bittle 1971:3). The three indigenous communities were promised presents – most likely trade goods such as metal and blankets; in return, they were to guarantee the right of United States citizens to cross their lands unimpeded by raiding, real or threatened (Mooney 1898:168-169; Bittle 1971:3).

In addition, another clause created an informal alliance between the three tribes and the Osage and Muskogee Creek, both recently relocated in Indian Territory (Mooney 1898:168-169). Indeed, in the years immediately following the Fort Gibson

Treaty, the Plains Apache created many alliances of peace with their neighboring Plains tribes. After skirmishes with the Cheyenne and Arapaho in the summer 1838, the Apache and Kiowa made peace with the two tribes in 1840 and 1841, respectively, creating alliances between the five nomadic tribes of the Southern Plains that lasted until allotment in the early twentieth century (Bittle 1971:5).

Ironically, the United States government encouraged the Southern Plains tribes to raid Mexican settlers in northern Mexico and what is now Texas during the Mexican-American War. After the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ended the hostilities, however, the Apache, Kiowa and Comanche continued to raid the settlements, much to the chagrin of the both countries. Raiding continued after Texas won its independence from Mexico in 1838, with the three tribes taking Texan captives, destroying property, stealing horses and occasionally killing settlers. Combined with virulent anti-Indian sentiment in Texas, the raids produced a cycle of violence, bloodshed and retaliation similar to the situation in eastern Indian Territory (Anderson 2005; LaVere 2000:64-85). Even after the annexation of Texas by the United States in 1845, the Kiowa, Comanche and Apache continued to think of Texas as a power distinct from the United States, justifying violence because Texans had forced natives peoples out of productive hunting areas and continued to be hostile to them (Mooney 1898:170).[9]

Now on friendly terms with the Mexican republic, the United States government was under pressure to stop the raids by what they referred to as the "Western Indians." Additionally, the terms of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo specifically stated that the United States was to secure the return of Mexican captives still held by indigenous

communities. With these pressing issues, U.S. government agents and, occasionally, military personnel, actively sought meetings with the five allied tribes. In the fall of 1948, the Kiowa, Cheyenne, Apache and Arapaho met with agent Major Thomas Fitzpatrick at Bent's Fort in Colorado, where he made clear the new political situation with Mexico and lectured the tribes against raiding, both to the south into Texas and along the Santa Fe Trail. Although Fitzpatrick wanted to enter treaty negotiations with the four tribes, he would have to wait five years until he received the authority from Washington.

The five years between the meeting at Bent's Fort and Ft. Atkinson Treaty, signed in the summer of 1853, were difficult years for all the inhabitants of the Plains. In 1849, Anglo-American migrants to Oregon and California introduced cholera to the region. The tribes were not unfamiliar with Western disease – outbreaks of smallpox had occurred periodically as early as 1816 – yet cholera, as Mooney noted, was particularly frightening because of the quickness with which it killed its victims (1898:168, 289). Called "the cramp" by the Kiowa, cholera hit the Kiowa and Apache shortly after the Sun Dance held on Mule Creek between Medicine Lodge Creek and the Salt Fork of the Arkansas River; only hours after the dance, the disease claimed its first victim and quickly spread from camp to camp. According to Mooney, the Kiowa believe that half their numbers perished. Although he dismisses this estimate as an exaggeration, he does acknowledge that "whole families and camps were exterminated and their tipis left standing empty and deserted. Many in their despair committed suicide" (Mooney 1898:290). Undoubtedly, such extreme populations losses were

devastating to all the Plains communities, but the Apache – who in 1785 were estimated at a mere 350 men – would have felt the losses severely.

Coupled with skirmishes against the Pawnee, several years of drought and the cholera epidemic, the Apache were in a weakened state when negotiations began for the Ft. Atkinson Treaty. For Agent Fitzgerald, the weakened state of the tribes was an advantage; he wrote that the Indians would "never be better suited to enter into amicable arrangements with the government than at the present time" (Fiztpatrick 1850:21, in Bittle 1971:10). Although the treaty included two problematic issues – the return of Mexican captives and permission to build army posts in their territory – the Kiowa, Comanche and Apache agreed to the terms of the treaty. In return, the United States government promised the tribes "certain annual rations" and protection against Anglo-American hostility (Bittle 1971:15). Interestingly, Mooney notes that the treaty was not even marked on the Kiowa calendar, suggesting that it was of little importance to the three tribes.

By 1857, the long Apache-Kiowa alliance began to unravel, at least temporarily. Archival evidence available from this period suggests that the two communities were separated both by distance and their approach to dealing with the Americans. In mid-August, the Kiowa were raiding near El Paso while the Apache were camped far to the north (Bittle 1971:19). The following year, Agent Robert G. Miller noted that the Apache were camped with the Cheyenne and Arapaho at the mouth of the Pawnee Fork. According to Agent Miller, the Apache claimed they would not allow the Kiowa – who continued raiding into Texas and Mexico – to associate with them (Bittle 1971:19). In

addition, Bittle notes that it is unclear whether the Apache participated, as usual, in the Kiowa Sun Dance during these years. In 1862, the Apache formally dissolved their official alliance with the Kiowa by uniting with the Cheyenne and the Arapaho at the signing of the Fort Wise Treaty. The Apache did not sign the Ft. Wise Treaty; instead, the Arapaho voted to formally incorporate the Apache into their general council, thus making the Apache *political* members of the Arapaho community.

As a result of the Fort Wise Treaty, the Plains Apache – as a distinct community, a native nation – no longer existed, at least in the eyes of the United States government. For Bittle, this was a particularly significant event, one which created an existential problem for the Apache. He wrote:

> From the point of view of the Kiowa Apache, they were at this time in their history without official affiliation or existence. They had not been signers of the treaty of Fort Wise, executed by the Cheyenne and Arapaho, at which they had been officially affiliated with them. Further, they had remained aloof enough from the Kiowa and the Comanche to have lost contact with these groups. [Bittle 1971:22]

The Fort Wise Treaty, and the Apaches decision to align themselves with the Cheyenne and Arapaho, suggest that the Apache were carefully weighing their options at a time when they were weakened by drought, disease, and war with other native communities. At the time of Fort Wise, in the mid-1860s, the Apache chose to move away from their association with the Kiowa – who continued, despite treaty obligations and threats from the U.S. government, to raid Texan and Mexican settlements. Yet the Apache community was still too small to avoid alliances altogether, so for their own protection opted to ally themselves with the slightly more peaceful Cheyenne and Arapaho.[10]

The United States erupted into Civil War in 1861, bring chaos to Indian Territory and even more hardship for the Apache. As LaVere notes, "barely had the first shot been fired when the United States withdrew its troops from the forts in Indian Territory," creating a vacuum of power the Confederacy pounced upon. Among the removed tribes, the Confederacy found some contested support.[11] Despite occupying Fort Cobb, the Confederacy did not make any explicit alliances with Southern Plains communities, although some individuals may have banded together at times to show support for one side or the other. Because of the war, trade routes were upset and promised annuities halted, since goods and food were needed by the Union Army. In addition, another wave of smallpox struck the Plains in the spring of 1862, killing more than seventy Apaches between May and June – nearly 1/6 of the total population. So few adults were able to hunt successfully that the Apache, facing starvation and virtual extinction, resumed raiding American travelers passing through the Plains on the Santa Fe Trail (Bittle 1971:21-22).

In addition, violence began to escalate between Plains peoples and the United States army (Mooney 1898:314). In 1864, a Kiowa raiding party had a hostile encounter with the U.S. army at Ft. Larned – the same year Colonel John Chivington's Colorado Militia attacked a peaceful camp of Cheyenne and Arapaho on Sand Creek.. Similarly, the Apache also faced the wrath of the United States army. In the winter of 1864, Union army troops, led by Kit Carson and a group of Ute and Jicarilla scouts, attacked the Apache, Kiowa and a group of Comanche while they were camped in Palo Duro Canyon, near Adobe Walls in the Texas Panhandle. According to Mooney, Carson and the troops

advanced up the Canadian River and attacked a Kiowa camp at daybreak. The inhabitants fled upriver to the Comanche and Apache camps, where the combined tribes fought all day to drive off the army (Mooney 1898:315-316). The specifics of the battle differ according to perspective; Indian accounts maintain that they lost five in the violence, including two Apache. Army accounts claim that more than one hundred Indians were killed (Mooney 1898:315-317). Today, this conflict is known as the first Battle of Adobe Walls.

After the Civil War ended in 1865, the U.S. government began to meet again with native communities to nullify and rewrite any treaties made with the Confederacy. Although this was necessary with the removed tribes in Oklahoma, the Southern Plains tribes had not officially participated in the fighting. Despite this, the U.S. government began treaty negotiations with the Cheyenne, Arapaho, Kiowa and Apache near the Little Arkansas River in 1865. The U.S. government gave the Apache the choice of allying themselves with either the Cheyenne and Arapaho or the Kiowa and Comanche. In response to this choice, the Apache representative Poor Bear spoke these telling words before the treaty council:

> My people are so small that my talk does not amount to much. Those about me are all relatives of mine. I always want to follow the white road and do what is right. I am pleased that you are all here; that you have come here from Washington to make peace. Neither I nor my people wish to do wrong, we are always looking for what is right, and do not wish to be responsible for what is done by others…My people are part of them north and part south, and I go from one to the other. [Sanborn 1865:533, in Bittle 1971:25].

Although it not uncommon for native men in similar positions to claim, in front of government representatives, a desire to "follow the white road and do what it is right,"

Poor Bear's words illuminate the pressures placed upon the Plains Apache. With the statement "my people are so small that talk does not amount to much," Poor Bear indicates that he and other Apache people were acutely aware that their small population translated into poor negotiating positions. Furthermore, his words suggest that Apache leaders were aware that their relative smallness made violence and warfare made them particularly vulnerable. As he notes, the Apache do not want to be held responsible for the actions – particularly raiding – of other groups, which could result in violent retributions by either the military or vengeful settlers.

Weighing these pressures, the Apache chose, in 1865, to ally themselves with the Cheyenne and Arapaho. The alliance would, however, be fleeting. In October 1867, representatives of the Kiowa, Comanche, Apache, Cheyenne and Arapaho met at Medicine Lodge Creek, in southern Kansas, to begin new treaty negotiations – and the last made between the Southern Plains tribes and U.S. government. The outcome of the negotiations, the Treaty of Medicine Lodge, reunited the Apache with the Kiowa and Comanche, dissolving their previous ties with the Cheyenne and Arapaho. The treaty also delineated the boundaries of the new Kiowa-Comanche-Apache Reservation; the three tribes gave up claims to a larger land base and accepted a reservation located between the Red and Arkansas Rivers in what is now southwestern Oklahoma. In return, they were guaranteed tools, schools, teachers, clothing and $25,000 collectively, for all the tribes, per year for the next thirty years (LaVere 2000:183-184; Stokely 2003:63).

Clearly, the Apache treaty record shows a pattern of shifting alliances. As previous scholars have noted, this strategy enabled the small Apache community to

form alliances beneficial to them (Bittle 1971:23; Foster and McCullough 2001:928; Stokely 2003:62). Although their motivations remain elusive, the effects of disease and white encroachment had taken heavy tolls upon the Apache population. The shifting alliances took place against a backdrop Mooney described as "a general Indian war on the Plains," including the Battle of Adobe Walls and the Sand Creek Massacre in Colorado (Mooney 1898: 314). In order to "avoid the wrath which would be visited upon those groups who continued at war with the government," the Apache likely made strategic choices to distance themselves from their usual allies, the Kiowa, during periods of overt conflict with the United States (Bittle 1971:25). As Poor Bear stated in 1865, this flexibility was enabled by ties of kinship and cultural affiliation that united the five nomadic tribes of the Southern Plains and allowed the Apache people to "go from one to the other." The Treaty of Medicine Lodge, however, severely restricted the ability of Apaches to call upon this strategy as they were now formally and legally united with the Kiowa and Comanche. As a result, the Apache relied upon more subtle, but equally meaningful, actions to signal the creation of new alliances and the severing of old ones.

On The Reservation: Accommodation, Allotment, and Resistance

The Treaty of Medicine Lodge forced the Apache, along with the Kiowa and Comanche, to move south to their reservation in Indian Territory. By December 1868 they were confined to their reservation, where subsistence was increasingly difficult and they were under the constant supervision of army officers stationed at Fort Sill (Brant 1953:10; Mooney 1989:324). Government policies, enforced through agents living on

the reservation, began to promote assimilation to Anglo-American culture as the solution to the "Indian problem." The social and ceremonial aspects of Indian cultural life were seen as roadblocks on the path to civilization. While government agents were concerned with relatively minor vices like gambling, they went to extreme lengths to stop Indian dances, especially the ceremonial Sun Dance. In the summer of 1890, for example, the agent ordered troops to stop the Sun Dance underway near the Washita River, but the dancers received advanced warning and left the Sun Dance unfinished (Mooney 1898:359).[12]

Despite these pressures, the Apache generally exceeded the expectations of government agents assigned to the "blanket" or "wild" Indians of Indian Territory during the 1870s (Brant 1953:9; Stokely 2003:64-65).[13] The Apache attempted to cooperate, at least superficially, by beginning to farm and supporting missionary schools (Stokely 2003:64-65). The Annual Report from 1872 describes the Apache as "better disposed than their associates" and suggests they would be more successful "if they can be removed from the evil influences of the Kiowa and Comanche," who continued raiding in Texas (Mooney 1898:329; Report 1872:138). In actuality, the Apache followed the advice of their agent during the Red River War of 1874. While most Kiowa, Comanche, Cheyenne and Arapaho "broke out" of the reservation – attacking the Wichita agency near Anadarko, burning buildings and killing six white settlers – the Apaches did not join with their allies in this last Indian war of the Southern Plains. Indeed, some Apache men assisted the United States army by becoming government scouts, helping the army round up the offending Kiowa, Comanche and Cheyenne warriors (Stokely 2003:65).[14]

Indeed, this history of cooperation with the American army is still proudly remembered in the Apache community today. One of my eldest consultants boasted that her great-grandfather had been a scout with the American army during the Red River War, and she considers him the first Apache in a long line of warriors to serve in the United States military.

Clearly, the Apache pursued strategies far different from those of their native neighbors during the early reservation period. Unlike the Kiowa and Comanche, the majority of the Apache population did not actively resist their colonizers with military force; in fact, Apache men joined with the American army to help suppress native resistance during the Red River War. The individual acts of these Apache men suggest that the Apache were attempting to forge a new alliance with the American military and government – or at least, the appearance of such an alliance. Facing dire food shortages because of inadequate rations and the near-extinction of the bison herds south of the Arkansas River, the period around the Red River War was a desperate time for the Apache community. With the U.S. government controlling rations, I suggest that the Apache people considered alliance with Americans – the latest in a long line of powerful communities – as the most effective way to secure favor and, thus, physical survival.

As further proof of their commitment to an alliance with the American government, the Apache chose to cooperate with some of the demands of the United States. Some Apache families attempted to farm, accepted some tenets of Christianity and sent some of their children – although often grudgingly – to boarding schools like Cache Creek Mission. Like the strategy of shifting alliances, cooperation with or

accommodation to the colonial power allowed the Apache to avoid overt conflict with government agents and army officers. On the Northern Plains, anthropologist Loretta Fowler(1987:62) argues that the Gros Ventres presented themselves to government agents and officials as being "civilized and assimilated" in a conscious strategy aimed at securing more government rations so they could achieve prominence in their community. Similarly, instead of overt, violent resistance practiced by some Kiowa and Comanche during the Red River War, the Apache avoided the inevitable retaliation by presenting the appearance of accommodation.

Yet, the process of accommodation – and its *strategic* implementation – were often misunderstood by anthropologists, like Charles Brant, who worked in the mid-twentieth century. Using an acculturation framework, Brant saw the adoption of Anglo-American culture as evidence of the social disintegration of the Apache community. Although acculturation theories have been discredited today, largely because they were predicated upon a highly problematic concept of culture as static and bounded, they do speak to the enormity of changes wrought by the colonial process. Brant, for example, noted that the last two decades of the nineteenth century were bleak and desperate for the Apache, claiming that the power of the Apache headmen and shamans was declining at the same time that extended family units began to disintegrate (Brant 1953:10). Military dances societies, the Kiowa Sun Dance, and medicine bundle ceremonies were both prohibited and meaningless in the reservation environment (Schweinfurth 2002: 22). With no war exploits to celebrate, the four Apache dancing

societies fell out of use at the same time as traditional leaders were unable to gain and maintain their prestige.

By the early twentieth century, most of the traditional bundle keepers had not passed on the knowledge for how to care for the bundles to younger generations. Three of the four bundles eventually came into the care of elderly Apache women. As Bittle noted, these women were able to provide "physical, but never ritual care" for the bundles (1962:154). Several of my consultants, whose grandmothers or aunts were among the last bundle-keepers, remember the taboos and prohibitions required when they were around the bundles – including acting respectfully and quietly in rooms where the bundles were hung. Because knowledge of ritual care was not passed on to younger generations, however, these three bundles were eventually buried with their last keepers.[15] Several of my Apache consultants, however, described the end of bundle-keeping knowledge as a conscious decision, a refusal to continue the tradition in a world vastly changed from their proper cultural context.

While Apache people changed some aspects of their culture strategically – and lost other aspects unwillingly – still other cultural traditions persisted, although transformed due to the conditions of confinement on the reservation. Apaches continued mobility patterns during their early decades on the reservation, moving frequently and setting up camp near family (Stokely 2003:76). While military dancing societies – like the *Manatidie*, or Blackfeet – were considered threatening by the agents, military officers and missionaries, War Dancing, ironically, was not (Schweinfurth 2002:22). The Apache received, or learned, the War Dance from the Pawnee around the

turn of the twentieth century and performed this dance not only for themselves, but for local tourists as well. During the summer, particularly around the fourth of July, Apache families would camp together to feast, renew kinship connections, and War Dance. As anthropologist William Meadows (Meadows 1999:216) suggests, these encampments may have replaced – in meaning and function – the pre-reservation military society dances. Additionally, my consultants remember large encampments at Christian missions during the Christmas holidays which may have also served similar functions as pre-reservation encampments.



Figure 6: Pearl Tso-Tuddle and Eva Redbone, Kiowas, Cutting and Drying Meat, Anadarko, O.T., 1902. Frank Phillips Collection No. 7. Western History Collection, University of Oklahoma Library. This original caption, interestingly, is incorrect. Eva Redbone was Apache.

Besides the cultural exchange that occurred with the American military and government, the Apache also incorporated other new native practices into their cultural

repertoire during the reservation period – particularly peyote and the Ghost Dance religion.[16] Of these two forms of spirituality, peyote has had a far more lasting impact and continues to be practiced by some Apache people to this day. Scholars generally believe that peyote was introduced to the Apache, Comanche and Kiowa sometime between 1875 and 1880, the knowledge of peyote use and the rituals associated with it diffusing from the Tarahumara and Huicholes in Mexico to the Mescalero, Lipan, or Tonkawa and then on to the Southern Plains (Beals 1967; La Barre 1960; Mooney 1898; Stewart 1987). Anthropologist Kenneth Beals argues that in its earliest stages, peyotism was heavily centered on shamanism, and the ritual itself included contests between shamans like the Apache medicine man Daveko. Missionary and government suppression, however, encouraged Southern Plains peyotists to exclude explicit shamanism during peyote meetings, and aspects of Christianity were eventually incorporated into the ceremony (Beals 1967:51).[17]

Under pressure from Anglo-American "boomers" who wanted access to communally-owned reservation land, the colonial process escalated with the signing and eventual implementation of the Dawes Act, also known as the General Allotment Act, in 1887. Allotment of communal land holdings occurred throughout Oklahoma, beginning with the Unassigned Lands of central Oklahoma in 1889 and ending with the allotment of the lands of the former Kiowa-Comanche-Apache Reservation. In order to begin the allotment of the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache reservation, the United States entered negotiations with the Kiowa, Comanche and Apache in 1892. Known as the Jerome Agreement, the final document stipulated that each individual Indian would

receive an allotted 160 acres of land with the “surplus” land to be made available to homesteaders in a land lottery. The majority of the reservation was allotted in 1900, although 480,000 acres bordering the Red River, known as the Big Pasture, remained jointly owned by the three tribes until dissolved in 1906. Another allotment occurred in 1908, providing land for all individuals born after 1900.

In all cases where tribal lands were allotted, the “surplus,” or leftover land after allotments were made for native people, was opened for white settlement. The earliest openings were settled through land runs, dramatic day-long miniature reenactments of American history where settlers race each other on horseback to claim homesteads. Tent cities like Guthrie, Oklahoma City, and Norman popped up over night. All of these new migrants to Oklahoma Territory, the majority of whom were white, clamored for statehood, especially for joint statehood with Indian Territory directly to the east. After years of wrangling and continuing allotment of communally held lands, the Twin Territories of Oklahoma and Indian Territory were admitted to statehood on November 16, 1907.

The new state of Oklahoma, however, faced a financial quandary. To guarantee that allotments remained in the ownership of the allottee, allotments were held in trust, or severalty, so that they could be not be taxed, mortgaged, or sold. Such a large amount of untaxable property was a huge problem for the new state, since it relied almost exclusively on property taxes to generate revenue. To remedy this problem, some allotments in severalty were removed from federal restrictions against taxation and sale on July 27, 1908. The allotments of Indians between ¾ and full degree of blood remained restricted from

purchase and taxation, but freedmen, intermarried whites and mixed bloods of up to ½ blood quantum were released from all restrictions.[18] In total, 12,002,897 acres of land were now able to be sold and taxed (Debo 1940:180). For white businessmen and land speculators in Oklahoma City, this monumental legislation promised economic windfalls, and they descended upon eastern Oklahoma – many camping in the woods near freedmen and Indian settlements –prepared to go to any length to secure land titles (Debo 1940:181-182; Walker 2008). It is precisely these lengths – fraud, intimidation and outright theft – that makes the aftermath of statehood so disturbing, as many mixed-blood native people and freedman were swindled out of their allotments.[19] Estimates suggest that between 1908-1920 , freedmen and mixed-blood Native people lost approximately ninety percent of their land titles (Debo 1940:182; Walker 2008).

Because of lower populations in general and mixed-bloods in particular, the horrors of the 1908 land restriction release were less obvious among Plains peoples – who certainly suffered severe land loss but experienced a slow, methodological loss of land titles rather than the sudden land theft experienced by the freedmen and the Five Tribes. All total, the Apache received 206 allotments in the northern portion of the reservation, closer to the Kiowa than the Comanche, in what is now Caddo County, Oklahoma (Bittle 1971:28; Foster and McCullough 2001:934). Because Apaches were able to choose the locations of their allotments, the physical landscape of allotments reflected the kinship connections of the Apache community. Two “residential clusters” developed – one near Cache Creek, in central Caddo County, and the other near the Washita River in northern Caddo County. In the ethnographic literature on the Plains

Apache, the two clusters are often associated with two dominant families – the Redbone/Tselee family to the north and the Chalepah family to the south (Foster and McCullough 2001:934).

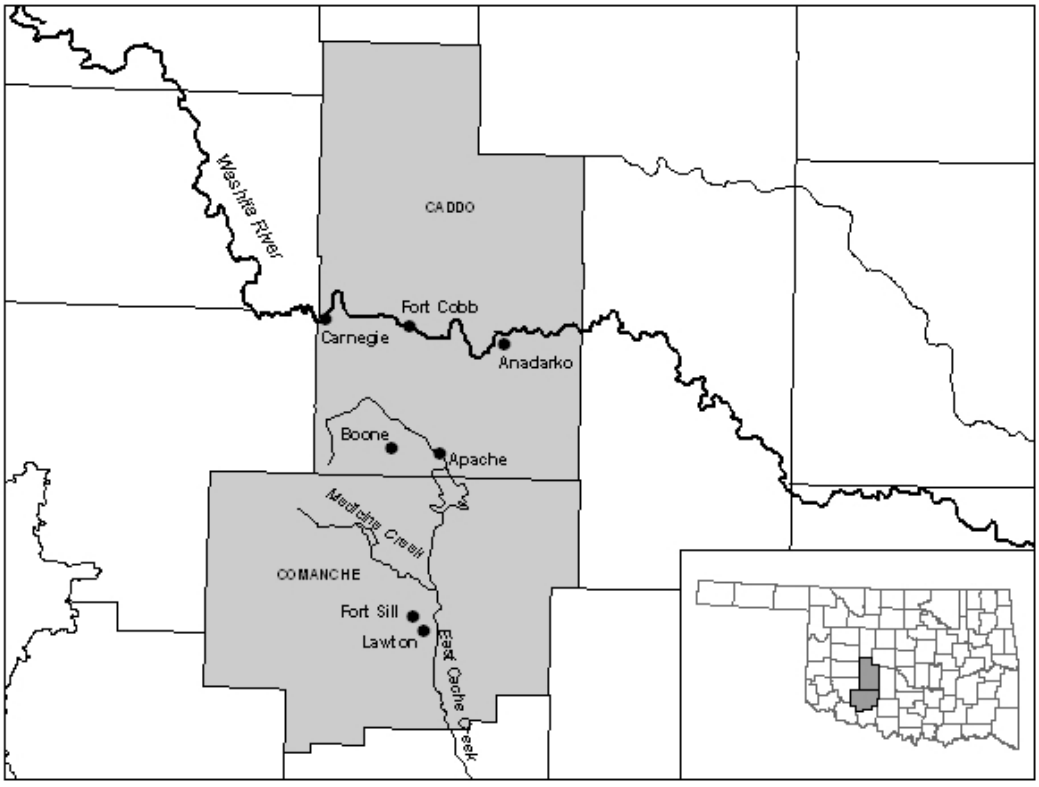


Figure 7: Map of Caddo County and Comanche County, Oklahoma. Map by Chris DuBois.

The residential clusters, however, included more than one "family;" the Washita River area includes the Wetselline and Berry families, while the Cache Creek area includes the Archilta and Blackbear families. These smaller families were connected to each other through ties of sanguinal, affinal, and fictive kinship.[20] As Foster and McCullough note, "these residential clusters were the basis for the two primary social identities that characterized political and other forms of social participation in the Plains

Apache community through the twentieth century" (2001:934). In the contemporary Apache community, people identify themselves as either "Fort Cobb Apache" or "Boone Apache," referring to the locations of the family clusters as near the contemporary towns of Ft. Cobb (Washita River) and Boone (Cache Creek).

As part of the assimilation policies, Apaches were encouraged to begin individual farming on their allotments. As Bittle notes, however, the Apaches efforts were largely unsuccessful; he estimates that no more than 10 allottees attempted to farm (Bittle 1971:28). Several of my consultants, however, remember their fathers, grandfathers and uncles being avid farmers in the early twentieth century. My friend Lena, for example, considers her father to have been one of the few Apaches that farmed. On his allotment near the Washita River, he tended a large vegetable garden and raised chicken, pigs and cattle. Lena also describes gathering wild plant materials during the summer, such as sand plums and wild grapes, which were dried and used to supplement diets all year long.

Bittle attributes this difficulty to the lack of agricultural instruction and the difficulties of dry farming in southwestern Oklahoma, although certainly the lack of credit played a significant role. Unlike their white neighbors, Indian allotments were held in trust by the U.S. government and not taxed. Along with not being able to sell their allotments for a period of twenty-five years (without permission of the agent), Indian people were also unable to mortgage their property held in trust in order to buy necessary farming implements. Similar financial constraints limited the success of individual ranching operations. In order to receive some income from their lands,

individual Apache allottees began to lease their land to white ranchers. As Bittle notes, however, this system is complicated by the inheritance practices of Indian lands. He notes “the system by which land endows all legitimate heirs with equal rights to the lease income from the original allotment of a deceased allottee“ (Bittle 1971: 29).



Figure 8: Wooden Lance (Kiowa), Apache John (Apache), and
Big Looking Glass (Comanche), ca. 1871— ca. 1907. Bureau of American Ethnology.

During the reservation period, Apache leaders such as Pacer, Whiteman, the shaman Daveko, and Koon-ka-zha-chy (Apache John) functioned largely as intermediaries between the Apache community and the agency and government officials. Originally, agents selected leaders, but this policy was eventually replaced by one that supported election of leaders – intended to break up the communal aspect of tribal politics. This functioned continued well into the twentieth century, with the three tribes consolidated in joint KCA Business Committee in the early twentieth century. Until 1936, however, the Business Committee had little power, especially the two Apache

representatives who were outnumbered by the five Kiowa and five Comanche delegates, a reflection of the Apache's smaller tribal population.

In 1936, Oklahoma lawmakers passed the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act, intended to act as a form of the national Indian Reorganization Act passed in 1934. Because Oklahoma congressman feared that the IRA would lead to reservations actually governed by the tribes themselves, they managed to exclude Oklahoma native communities from the original IRA legislation. The OIWA was similar in some respects to the IRA, especially because it encouraged tribes to organize Western-style democratic governments based on a constitution. Kiowa, Comanche and Apache tribal members, however, rejected the proposed constitution and reorganization in 1937. Thus, the KCA Business Committee continued to conduct the business of the three tribes despite a sort of limbo status as an unorganized government. Some members of the Comanche community began to call for the three tribes to develop separate governments as early as 1956, but did not succeed until ten years later (Stokely 2003:93). The Apache and Kiowa continued in a joint Interim Committee until 1972, when Apache tribal members voted in favor of a separate constitution and government, the Apache Business Committee. In March, tribal members voted to elect Frank Red Bone as the new tribal chairman.

At this time, in 1966, the three tribes were under pressure to formally organize separate governments, partially from the BIA and partially from internal desires to manage the monetary distribution of land claims settlements. In 1948, two years after the Indian Claims Commission was started to settle claims concerning Indian lands, the

KCA Business Committee filed a claim against the United States. The claim alleged that the amended Jerome Agreement, which bought two million acres of reservation land for less than one dollar an acre, had severely underpaid the tribes based on the value of the land. The settlement was finalized in 1974, with the three tribes jointly receiving a sum of $35 million dollars. Minus attorney fees, eight percent of the settlement went to individual per capita payments with the remainder set aside for the use of the tribes. According to Schweinfurth, each individual Apache received $1,700 (2002:22). Like the Kiowa and Comanche, the Apache used their tribal settlement funds to build a tribal complex with buildings for use by the Business Committee and community.

Besides vast changes in land tenure and tribal government, the second half of the twentieth century also witnessed another highly significant event – the revitalization of the *Manatidie*, or Blackfeet military society. Historically, the Apache had four dancing societies – the Rabbits, for young children of both genders, the Blackfeet (*Manatidie*), for male warriors, the Horsemen (*Klintidie*), for the most accomplished male warriors, and the Owls(*Izuwe*), for the most elderly women (Bittle 1962; Foster and McCullough 2001; Meadows 1999). As Bittle described, the Apache dancing societies disappeared by 1909, at the latest, even though dancing continued in other forms, like the War Dance (1962:152). Because Blackfeet was a military dancing society, which celebrated military acts and bravery, it began to receive increasing interest from community members as Apache men began once more to participate in military activities during World War I and II. No doubt inspired by the revitalization of the Kiowa Blackleggings Society a year before, the Apache began to prepare to revitalize the Blackfeet during the winter of

1959-1960, with the first powwow intended for the summer of 1960 (Bittle 1962:155). With the help of Bittle and elderly informants, the Blackfeet revitalization was a success. Although the original society has since splintered in two, along familiar family lines, both groups and their annual dances are significant aspects of the contemporary Apache community and remain the most obvious examples of contemporary Apache tradition and cultural difference.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have presented the history of the Plains Apache within a broader argument related to narratives of authenticity and indigeneity. Throughout their recorded history, the Plains Apache made strategic decisions that allowed their community to survive in changing, and often incredibly difficult, circumstances. Making alliances with their more powerful neighbors and accepting some aspects of those cultures – including some aspects of dominant American culture – allowed the Apache to adapt and survive. As a result, however, some cultural traditions were lost or abandoned, while other traditions were introduced or modified to fit changing circumstances. Even though the Apaches responded to American colonialism in ways that are indigenous to their community – alliance-making – these ways are nevertheless filtered through a contemporary narratives of authenticity. Preferring to make alliances, the Plains Apache never resisted – in the traditional sense of the word – American domination and even, at times, collaborated with the military to secure domination over

other native peoples. This anomalous history, particularly the lack of resistance to colonial domination, thus contribute to the Apache's ambiguous authenticity today.

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[1] This Kiowa word for the Plains Apache, which means "thieves," is *sémhát* (Foster and McCullough 2001:939; Mooney 1898:245). As my consultant described to her students, the designation is common enough today that most of the children would have been familiar with it. Today, it is usually used to accuse Apache people of "stealing" Kiowa culture.

[2] For a sense of the most famous Native American leaders in popular culture, see "Famous Native Americans:" http://photoswest.org/exhib/faves/famsNAintro.htm; "Top 15 Most Famous Native Americans:" http://listverse.com/history/top-15-most-famous-native-americans; "Famous Native Americans in History:" http://www.nativeamericans.com/FamousNatives.htm; "Ten Famous American Indians:" http://history.howstuffworks.com/native-american-history/10-famous-native-americans.htm; "Great Native American Leaders and Patriots:" http://members.tripod.com/~RFester/chiefs.html; "Famous Native Americans:" http://www.cybrary.org/indian.htm.

[3]Although it is impossible to understand historic motivations from people who left no direct records of their intentions, alliance with more powerful and more populous communities allowed the Apache to avoid potentially devastating conflict with their enemies, assuring their survival as a community to this day. Of course, all native communities experienced vast cultural changes after European contact and, to varying degrees, accommodated to Euro-American demands. Native communities also never existed in an isolated vacuum – all made alliances and participated in vast trade networks before and after contact, exchanging goods, ideas, and cultural practices. In this sense, then, the Plains Apache are no more "inauthentic" than most native communities.

[4] Q*uivira* was a mythical land, supposedly with great riches, that was believed to exist in what is now the Southern Plains of Texas, Oklahoma, and Kansas. After looking for, and failing to find, the Seven Cities of Gold in what is now New Mexico, Coronado headed east to for Quivira. He was again disappointed, finding only agricultural Wichita villages.

[55] It is unclear, however, why Foster and McCullough discount the possibility that the ancestors of the Plains Apache practiced some horticulture to supplement their reliance upon bison. The ancestral Plains Apache could have been one of several indigenous communities who moved onto the Plains during the colonial period, forgoing horticulture and their previous semi-sedentary lifestyle as bison hunting became more efficient with the newly introduced horse. On the Northern Plains, for example, Fred Eggan argued that the Cheyenne and Arapaho abandoned part-time horticulture on the Prairie Plains when the introduction of the horse allowed for success as nomadic bison hunters on the High Plains – a transition that altered subsistence, mobility, and kinship patterns. See Eggan, Fred, "The Cheyenne and Arapaho in the Perspective of the Plains: Ecology and Society," *The American Indian: Perspectives for the Study of Social Change*, Fred Eggan, ed. [Chicago, Aldine Publishers, 1966].

[6] At the pueblos of New Mexico, Plains peoples traded with Pueblo people and the Spanish at trade fairs. Before the ascendancy of the Comanche, various Apachean groups – including, perhaps, the ancestors of Plains Apache – had functioned as intermediaries between the Plains and the southwestern Pueblos and Spanish Empire. Plains peoples traded captives, kidnapped from other native communities, as well as buffalo hides for horses and manufactured goods, including cloth, knives and other metal wares (Foster and McCullough 2001:927-928; Fowler 2003:19).

[7] This number most likely refers to the entire population – men, women and children – as censuses taken only a few years later in the nineteenth century indicate 350 as an accurate count of the Plains Apache population. For estimates of the Apache population, see Mooney, James, *Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians* [Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1898] 253.

[8] The wording of the Ft. Gibson Treaty describes the agreement as applying to the "Kioway, Kataka, and Tawakaro," groups which are identified today as the Kiowa, Plains Apache and a band affiliated with the Wichita, respectively. Because of the social situation on the Plains, it is unlikely that the all of the Apache (or Kiowa) bands were present for the treaty signing, and it is equally unlikely that the Apache leaders meant their signatures to cover what the Americans considered their entire "tribe."

[9] According to LaVere(2000:84-85), Texans feared that native people would side with Mexico if there were further hostilities. Sam Houston, the first president of Texas, favored peace with native people, creating reserves for the bands of Comanches, Wichita, Caddo and Delaware living in Texas. Houston was defeated two years later by Mirabeau Lamar, who "ran on a platform of Indian extermination" and believed reserving lands for Indians stifled white prosperity (LaVere 2000:84-85). Lamar fought several wars against native people in Texas, resulting in migration and eventual expulsion north into Indian Territory in 1856. Estimates suggest that the Indian wars coast the treasury of Texas about 2.5 million dollars (LaVere 2000:84-85).

[10] As Bittle notes (1971:22), despite the official incorporation into the Arapaho community and their dissolution as a distinct nation, the Apache continued to be politically autonomous. Bittle points out, for example, that the Apache continued their tradition of camping near – but never with – their allies.

[11] Among the removed tribes, the Civil War was disastrous. Although the Chickasaw and Choctaw generally sided with the Confederacy, alliances were much more problematic among the Cherokee, Creek and Seminole. The Civil War caused smaller, intratribal civil wars within these communities, as some citizens sided with the with the Confederacy and others with the Union (LaVere 2000:169).

[12] For years before the final Sun Dance, government troops and agents had been policing the dance. Mooney reports that troops accompanied the Kiowa on their summer buffalo hunt and to the location of the dance in 1877.

[13] The term "blanket Indian" was generally used to differentiate Plains peoples from the removed tribes of Indian Territory, whose interaction with Europeans included – although not universally within these groups – the adoption of many aspects of European-American sociocultural traits, including Christianity. Thus the removed tribes like the Cherokee and Chickasaw were referred to as the "Civilized" tribes.

[14] A year passed before all the "hostiles" surrendered; as punishment, the United States sent over thirty Kiowa, Comanche, Cheyenne, Arapaho and Caddo men as prisoners-of-war to Fort Marion, Florida where they remained for three years (LaVere 2000:198).

[15] One of the four bundles, the Poor Owl bundle, continues to be kept by an Apache family.

[16] For a history of the Ghost Dance on the Southern Plains with some reference to the Plains Apache, see Kracht, Benjamin, "The Kiowa Ghost Dance, 1894-1916: An Unheralded Revitalization Movement," *Ethnohistory* 39, no 4 (1992): 452-477.

[17] For more on Plains Apache peyotism, see Beals, Kenneth, "The Dynamics of Kiowa Apache Peyotism," *University of Oklahoma Papers in Anthropology* 12, no 1 (1971):35-89.

[18] In Oklahoma, "freedmen" refers to the ancestors of African-Americans transported, both as enslaved peoples and as free people of color, to Indian Territory with the Five Tribes during their removal from the Southeast. After the Civil War, the federal government forced the Cherokee, Creek and Seminole to accept their freedmen as tribal citizens and, as a result, they were granted allotments along with their Native neighbors.

[19] On the eve of the restriction release, for example, groups of Indians and freedmen allottees were sent on "excursion trips" to Texas or other nearby states in order to isolate them from other speculators and secure their land deeds (Debo 1940:181-182; Walker 2008). Others were bribed with alcohol or promised payments that, mysteriously, never materialized. Buyers "forgot" to deposit money in the bank before the former allottees cashed the check or wrote checks for less than the agreed amount (Debo 1940:182). Freedmen often had little recourse against these actions, as white juries were often sympathetic with land speculators and particularly suspicious of African American witnesses (Debo 1940:199). And when all else failed, land speculators simply forged land deeds. Some land speculators stooped even lower. After the Curtis Act, the minor children of Indian and freedmen were given allotments – but because they were underage, were unable to sell their land. Some land speculators became "professional guardians," for

multiple children, assuming control of their finances and often leaving them penniless (Debo 1940; Wickett 2000:61-63). In one example, a man near Antlers in the former Choctaw Nation was the guardian for 161 children (Wickett 2000:62). In some cases, land speculators also wooed unsuspecting underage Indian women into matrimony. With marriage, they became, by Oklahoma statute, adults with the ability to sell their land and often promptly did so, never to see their husbands again (Debo 1940:197). Some underage allottees were "virtually kidnapped" until they became of age, with one young Creek boy taken as far as England, in order to force land sales away from wiser relatives (Debo 1940:198)

[20] In reality, these ties connect all families to one another, regardless of residential cluster.

Chapter Three
"Its Hard to Do Because I'm Broke":
Visibility, Invisibility, and the Anthropological Gaze

On a cool October afternoon, the crowds were lined up three people deep along the wide streets of downtown Oklahoma City. Much like settlers had frantically staked quarter sections of the Oklahoma Territory over one-hundred years earlier, contemporary Oklahomans claimed large sections of prime viewing sidewalk with folding chairs serving as boundary markers. Children ran around excitedly, weaving in and out of the crowds, asking their parents, "Is it starting yet?" "Where is it?" And then, almost in unison, the crowd turned their heads as the characteristic notes of a marching band signaled the beginning of the Oklahoma Centennial Parade.

Well behind the enthusiastic throngs, I stood, camera in hand, next to my husband Chris. I was taking a break from my fieldwork in Anadarko to spend the day in Oklahoma City for fieldwork of a different type. The day's parade was one of the highlights in a year-long celebration – coinciding roughly with my dissertation research in Anadarko – of Oklahoma statehood. As a scholar and an adopted-Oklahoman, I felt compelled to battle traffic and crowds to witness this event "one hundred years in the making."

The Centennial parade began with the usual fire trucks, police cruisers, and convertibles carrying dignitaries perched precariously on their backs. Immediately following this opening, however, was a huge float designed to look like a Plains-style eagle-feather headdress, with each of Oklahoma's 39 federally-recognized Native American communities labeled with large black lettering. Behind the float, two groups of powwow dancers followed – the first, a group of young fancy shawl dancers and the second, a group of male fancy dancers.

My husband nudged me, nodding at the dancers. "Do you know any of them?"

I squinted into the sun, shading my eyes. Some of the fancy dancers were vaguely familiar from my years of attending powwows throughout Oklahoma, but I did not know any personally. When I thought of my close friend Karen, who never attend powwows, I smiled grimly. Turning to Chris, I laughed. "Yeah, right."

The Oklahoma Centennial Commemoration coincided with the height of my sustained dissertation fieldwork with the Plains Apache. Ironically, while I worked to understand the contemporary lives of some of the state's native people, Oklahoma was celebrating its Centennial and, implicitly, the destruction of politically autonomous native communities that accompanied statehood. Although fascinated by the ways that the Centennial incorporated native peoples and images into what was otherwise a

traditional triumphal narrative of American history, I was more interested in the *incongruity* of those images with the lives of many of the native people I knew so well from my fieldwork in Anadarko. Centennial imagery emphasized visible aspects of indigeneity – cultural markers like eagle-feather headdresses and powwow dancing. If the only inclusion of native people in the Centennial narrative of Oklahoma history was as visible cultural actors like powwow dancers, what does that suggest about Indian identity in contemporary Oklahoma? What are the implications for Karen, one of my closest Apache friends, who does not attend powwows?

Similarly, Southern Plains scholars have privileged these publicly visible forms of social interaction and those who participate in them (Ellis 2003; Ellis, Lassiter and Dunham 2006; Foster 1991; Meredith 1995; Kavanagh 1982; Kracht 1994; Lassiter 1998; Meadows 1999).[1] Scholars also often uncritically accept native, popular, and even academic models that link participation to cultural identity so that non-participation in the powwow world indicates, as Lassiter suggests, "a rejection of 'being Indian'" (Lassiter 1998:74). Thus, both contemporary popular and academic discourses privilege powwows as an authentic form of indigeneity, with powwow participation serving as evidence of an individual's commitment to and knowledge of native cultures. Ironically, powwows have only recently begun to be seen by scholars as an authentic form of indigeneity, and thus worthy of anthropological inquiry. Why has the powwow suddenly come to signify authenticity and identity in anthropology? Perhaps more importantly, what importance do local, native discourses of identity place on powwow participation?

In this chapter, I interrogate "the powwow" in an effort to ascertain how this particular form of native gathering has come to have such prominence in both popular and academic discourses of indigeneity. Both of these external discourses, I argue, privilege *visible* forms indigeneity, and powwows are appropriately visible as well as relatively accessible to the non-native public. This convergence between the popular and academic can also be explained by the powwow's unique status as both a "traditional" native practice and a distinctly contemporary manifestation of Indianness. With both sets of narratives influenced by anthropological theories that associate native culture change with culture loss, the powwow fits neatly into discourses of native authenticity because it recalls traditional practices even as it is also a product of innovation and change.

Beyond popular and academic discourses, however, I also I asked Apache people – both participants and non-participants – about the importance of powwow participation in claiming an Apache identity. These Apache narratives provide an important counterpoint to contemporary scholarship on the Southern Plains that has so often ignored the voices and opinions of native non-participants. Although never dismissing the significance of powwows, these narratives offer a variety of perspectives on the relationship between powwow participation and Apache identity. Not only do many of these perspectives challenge the prominence of powwow participation in identity and authenticating discourses, but they simultaneously reveal the social, cultural, and material limits to such participation.

In order to account for both popular and academic focuses on visible indigeneity, I begin this chapter by detailing the construction of visible indigeneity in the Oklahoma Centennial. Although this event was representative of larger, national discourses on Indianness, the Centennial was also the product of local public discourses on indigeneity that affect Oklahoma's native citizens. I connect this popular narrative to academic discourses, linking visible indigeneity, and powwows in particular, to anthropological theories. I present this theoretical history in part to explain how powwows – once deemed culturally inauthentic by anthropologists – have come to represent, quite visibly, the epitome of contemporary Indianness. Through this process, largely out-of-fashion anthropological models about culture change and visibility continue to affect popular discourses and contemporary scholarship on native people, in particular by influencing what types of cultural activities come to be seen as both indigenous and authentic. Last, but certainly not least, I finish this chapter with narratives from Apache people themselves that situate and challenge these external discourses with their voices.

Centennial Implications

In Oklahoma, the Centennial was an ubiquitous and constant presence during 2007. Throughout the state – from Drumright to Sayre to Walters – the Oklahoma Centennial Commission provided funds for over 1,000 Centennial projects, including the revitalization of historical districts and parks, building Centennial monuments and clocks, and the installation of historical murals. At the same time, Oklahomans were

bombarded with a nearly constant stream of Centennial-related images and discourses through media outlets. Local newspapers and television news stations ran special Centennial stories about historic events, people or places. Television commercials appropriated Centennial imagery, incorporating the Centennial into advertisements and sales schemes. Universities, public schools and libraries initiated Centennial-inspired lecture series, book clubs, and curricula. Major state events – like the State Fair – incorporated the Centennial into their annual theme.

It is perhaps surprising, given the history of statehood described in the previous chapter, that many Centennial events incorporated images of native people and cultures into their themes, particularly in the "premiere events." These were the biggest, most funded, most widely viewed, and most publicized Centennial events – like the floats in the Parade of Roses and Macy's Thanksgiving Day Parade, the Centennial Exposition at the Oklahoma State Fair, and the official Centennial Parade in Oklahoma City. When Centennial events or images included Native American peoples, however, the people and cultures they depicted were almost entirely from native Plains communities. Eagle feather headdresses were prominent images in both the Parade of Roses and the Centennial Parade – in fact, actually serving as the float in both cases. Familiar to non-native people, eagle-feather headdresses were powerful symbols of martial bravery for Plains men. Contemporary powwow dancers, who appeared in both the State Fair's Wild West Showcase and the Centennial Parade , are not necessarily from Plains communities. Most powwow *dances*, however, are contemporary versions of dances with cultural origins in Plains communities, particularly southwestern Oklahoma.



Figure 9: Float in the Oklahoma Centennial Parade. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, October 2007. Photo by author.

More than simply a reflection of a popular stereotype – the stoic Plains Indian warrior – these images reflect deeper and more enduring ideas about native people. Most obviously, images like the eagle-feather headdresses on the two parade floats and the powwow dancers at the Centennial Parade and Centennial Expo reflect a popular association between native peoples and cultural difference, especially when that difference is demonstrated through the visible acts of drumming, dancing, and singing. Even more significantly, the featured powwow dancers in the Oklahoma Centennial parade create the impression that Indian people, to be considered as such in the state of Oklahoma, should participate in some form of cultural activity. Native people were not included in the premiere events except as anything but bearers of culture – not as teachers, artists, scientists, musicians, athletes, or public figures. As a result, the images

reveal a subtle connection between culture, here embodied in the visible symbols and sounds of powwows, and change. By excluding obvious examples of culture change, the Centennial reinforces the idea that adoption of certain Anglo-American cultural patterns effectively renders an individual less Indian.

The Oklahoma Centennial imagery is only one of many examples of native people in popular culture. There are, as scholars have illustrated, many popular definitions of Indianness (Berkhofer 1978; Bird 1996). Historian Robert Berkhofer, Jr. has argued that images of "the Indian" in the popular mind are often one of two types – the noble and ignoble savage, or in Berkhofer's terminology, the "good Indian" and "bad Indian." A third image, the "degraded Indian" of post-contact, reservation communities, coexists in the contemporary United States along with the noble/ignoble savage dichotomy. While these definitions have varied over time, they have also varied within particular historical moments according to the politics and purpose intended by those producing particular images. That is, whether the Indian fell into the good, bad, or degraded categories was largely the function of what a particular person or organization wanted to prove, gain, or justify. While new-age spiritualists and environmentalists, for example, native subsistence patterns indexed a "good Indian," Anglo-American settlers and land speculators viewed the same quality as laziness and waste of resources, another justification for removal and reservations. As a result, images of the Indian more accurately reflect the lives of the producers rather than the lives of the native people they purport to represent.

For the Centennial Commission, images of "the Indian" served a distinct purpose. Ostentatiously displayed in the premiere events, native images created interest and intrigue about Oklahoma. Native presence within the state – historically, and today – suggests that Oklahoma has a "unique history" and contemporary cultural distinctiveness that are necessary to attract tourists to a community without a large metropolitan area or obvious natural beauty. The continuing existence of native people, such as the few powwow dancers in local parades, suggests an openness to and acceptance of native peoples in contemporary Oklahoma – imbuing the state with an air of cultural tolerance and pluralism that creates an image of modernity and cosmopolitanism. Even more, the visible existence of contemporary native peoples and native cultures creates the impression that Oklahoma's colonial legacy did not have a lasting negative impact on native communities (Povinelli 2002). Through the construction of this pluralistic and tolerant image, the real history of Oklahoma – including violence against people of color and the reality of land theft – is conveniently obscured.

Even farther beneath this façade, however, the nature of the images and how they were included in the Centennial indicate enduring ideas of what makes an Indian actually *Indian*. In the Centennial, *culture* was the essential ingredient – preferably visible, vibrant expressive culture that recalls uncontaminated precontact life. The prominence of visible culture in these images – long the provenience of anthropological inquiry – implies the dialectical, or mutually reinforcing, relationship between popular thought and intellectual production.

The Anthropological Gaze

Ironically, powwows have only recently gained academic legitimacy as an authentic form of Indianness. Some scholars have interpreted – and continue to interpret – powwows as nothing more than a "spurious" pan-Indian phenomena with little connection to the "traditional" or "ritual" dances of the pre-colonial past (Howard 1955, 1983). As late as the 1980s, anthropologist James Howard was invoking anthropological theories to point out the supposed dangers of what he called "pan-Indianism" – or the loss of distinctive tribal cultures and adopted of generic "Indian" practices. These pan-Indian practices were generally based on Plains culture, dances, songs and dress styles, even though they might be used by native communities, like those in the northeast or southeast, with traditionally very different forms of expressive culture. For Howard, powwows represented cultural change and, consequentially, the loss of tribal customs.

As Howard's work illustrates, early American anthropologists developed models of culture and culture change through their work with native communities that would have significant implications for how powwows and, indeed, native identity would be represented in anthropological literature. From the beginning of the twentieth century to the 1950s, two anthropological models dominated anthropological approaches to the Plains: Boasian historical particularism and its successor, acculturation studies. Although the unit of analysis and underlying research questions differed, both of these models shared assumptions about culture, change, and visibility that continues to affect how ethnographers interpret contemporary native communities. While noteworthy

fieldwork took place on the Plains prior to the Boasian influence, particularly the work of James Mooney (1898) among the Kiowa and Plains Apache, Franz Boas and his many students initiated an era of professional anthropology in the United States. With few exceptions, Boas and his students worked in Native North American communities, including those on Plains. These fieldworkers were not only professionally trained, but they also approached native Plains communities with theoretical models, definitions, and assumptions already formed.

Boas developed his approach to anthropology, what has come to be called historical particularism, as a reaction to social evolutionist theories forwarded primarily by early American anthropologist Lewis Henry Morgan. Boas rejected Morgan's "comparative method" which compared traits – particularly kinship patterns – from native communities by taking them entirely out of their cultural and geographical contexts, and then using these comparisons to place communities onto a linear evolutionary scale that began with savagery and ended with civilization (Morgan 1877). For Boas, each culture had to be understood in terms of its own unique and distinctive set of customs and beliefs – that is, in each community's unique cultural difference. In the Boasian tradition, culture was defined as traits that could be *seen* in people's behavior and beliefs. These traits included the entirety of "a culture," not just the communal and ceremonial aspects – together with language, gender roles and kinship relationships. The *visible* or *audible performance* of these cultural traits was evidence of the invisible cultural system working to structure language, beliefs, art, subsistence, and all other aspects of life (Boas 1974).

Because Boas and his students argued that culture was transmitted socially, and cultural traits diffused between populations, they disentangled race from culture in anthropological models of human behavior.[2] Ironically, however, the Boasians did inherit one aspect of the earlier evolutionary models. Like Morgan before him, Boas believed that:

> Only civilization had history and dynamics… so therefore Indianness must be conceived of as ahistorical and static. If the Indian changed through the adoption of civilization as defined by Whites, then he was no longer truly Indian according to the image, because the Indian was judged by what Whites were not. Change toward what Whites were made him ipso facto less Indian. [Berkhofer 1978:29]

As a result, Boas and his students focused on the *pre-reservation* characteristics of Plains communities, when cultures and their communities were uncontaminated, or changed, by the colonial experience. Robert Lowie, for example, in his ethnographic monograph *The Crow Indians* (1935), interviewed only the eldest Crow people in order to reconstruct their "original" and "intact" cultural system. By ignoring the contemporary lives of Crow people, Lowie helped create the assumption that only pre-contact Plains cultures were authentic; these original cultures became the model of authenticity against which all contemporary forms of Plains life would eventually be judged. Even though Lowie and other Boasians recognized cultural change within and between Indian communities, all culture change as a result of Indian-White interaction was seen as the loss of pre-contact, authentic culture (Foster 1991:6).[3]

By the middle of the twentieth century, anthropology on the Plains had embraced a new approach to culture and culture change, what came to be known as acculturation studies. Acculturation studies, however, were not a dramatic paradigm

shift away from, or even a critique of, historical particularism. Rather, acculturation theories were the logical heir to the Boasian school, accepting and working within Boasian definitions of culture and the assumption that change resulted in irrevocable culture loss and inauthenticity. As Ralph Linton (1940) noted in the introduction to *Acculturation Among Seven Native American Tribes*, acculturation theory was developed because anthropologists came to realize that federal assimilation policies had failed, but at the same time, their exposure to American society and culture had not allowed them to remain "true" or "authentic" members of tribal societies.

Although originally developed to examine the exchange of cultural practices during cross-cultural encounters, acculturation models in the United States tended to focus on culture loss by comparing traits of "traditional" cultural beliefs and patterns to contemporary practices (Elkin 1940; Fowler 2003:214). Because they were based on this comparison, acculturation studies necessarily focused on *individuals*, often counting the number of "authentic" individuals who participated in certain cultural practices, comparing them to the numbers of those that did not (Elkin 1940). Like their Boasian ancestors, acculturation theorists not only determined what was considered authentic – customs, beliefs, and practices unchanged from contact – but they also privileged the *visible* displays of these cultural traits, those that could be counted, coded, and quantified.

As a result of these studies, native communities and native individuals were presented as neither authentically Indian nor authentically Anglo-American. As anthropologist Loretta Fowler writes, "anthropologists began describing 'culture loss'

and cultural disorganization and characterizing individuals as 'marginal' or psychologically maladjusted" (2003:214). Margaret Mead (1996 [1932]), for example, argued that contemporary Native people lived within disintegrated cultures, drastically different from coherent whole cultural systems of pre-reservation times. As a result of this theoretical perspective, contemporary Native people were presented as neither Indian nor white, with none of the "good" aspects of these cultures, only their vices – an image that closely resembles Berkhofer's "degraded Indian."

Although acculturation theorists refocused the field onto the lives of contemporary native peoples, they continued to argue that those individuals who had "acculturated" no longer represented authentic members of their communities. As a result, anthropologists began to see individual native people as either "more" or "less" authentic, based on whether or not they displayed the traditional cultural practices and beliefs first outlined by Boas and his students. Some scholars of the Plains developed alternative models to the acculturation approach – particularly ethnohistory and political economy – but their avoidance of culture as a unit of analysis suggests a lingering discomfort with the questions of culture change and authenticity raised by acculturation studies.[4]

Both anthropological models presented above defined culture in essentialist terms; that is, Plains communities were defined as "having" a "true" and fixed set of unique customs and beliefs. Essentialist definitions of culture assume that the "loss" of this true culture – through culture change, whether forced or voluntary – results in the loss of an authentic identity, whether this identity was Mandan, Gros Ventre or Plains

Apache. The Boasian focus on (re)creating the "ethnographic present" implicitly defined post-reservation native Plains communities and their cultures, who had been affected by white contact, as inauthentic because of these changes. It is in this context, then, that James Howard forwarded his arguments about powwows. Certainly, in some cases, his assessment was and continues to be correct – that is, some powwows are "pan-Indian," performed in new and radically different cultural contexts. But this does not, of course, make such performances spurious. Howard's interpretations, however, not only reflect his academic training, but also the times in which he worked. Clearly, anthropological ideas about culture and culture change influenced how non-academics saw and thought about Indian people, particularly in framing change as inauthentic. Indeed, the Oklahoma Centennial imagery continues to attest to the enduring power of these conceptions in popular thought.[5]

By the mid-1980s, anthropologists studying Plains communities began to return to culture by attempting to find a theoretical compromise to the problems of authenticity and culture change. As a pioneer in this movement, Loretta Fowler argued that culture change must be understood as occurring alongside cultural continuity. In her ethnography of the Gros Ventre (1987), Fowler suggests that although the Gros Ventre community has changed dramatically from the precontact and reservation periods, they are no less "authentic" than native communities who display more obvious cultural continuity and tradition practices. She argues that Gros Ventre beliefs and practices – particularly concerning generosity – continue today, even though the forms in which they are expressed, and even their meanings, have also changed.

Moreover, she points out that because these traditional beliefs and practices are often embedded within symbols, cultural meanings can be contested among members of the same community.

In a different intellectual context, Black Studies scholar Paul Gilroy developed a compromise similar to that of Loretta Fowler. Gilroy argues that the problem with trying to find authenticity and tradition in cultural forms led to a desperate hunt to identify the "unchanging same" – that is, authentic (in other words, unchanged or original) beliefs and traditions articulated through contemporary forms. As Gilroy correctly points out, such scholarly enterprises create discourses that deny certain cultural forms while favoring others, leaving leave little room for creativity or innovation in cultural production. For Gilroy, the compromise requires a theoretical shift from emphasizing "the *unchanging* same" of cultural forms to the "*changing* same." Analytically, as Gilroy notes, this compromise involves:

> …Striving to comprehend the re- production of cultural traditions not in the unproblematic transmission of a fixed essence through time but in the breaks and interruptions that suggest that the invocation of tradition may itself be a distinct, though covert, response to the destabilizing flux of the postcontemporary world. [Gilroy 1991:126]

For Gilroy, the unchanging same also necessitates a recognition that "new 'traditions' are invented in the jaws of modern experience," just as modernity is often experienced "in the long shadow of our enduring traditions" (1991:126). Contemporary traditions, in other words, are created anew even though they are always influenced by the past – albeit in unpredictable ways.

Both compromises – that of Fowler and Gilroy – are subtle and highly complex, involving the search not just for continuity but also for innovation and change.[6] In practice, this compromise is, as Gilroy notes, "a difficult task" (1991:126). On the Southern Plains, scholars found their compromise in the modern Indian powwow and its many manifestations – from large intertribal contest powwows to tribally-specific military society dances to small family honor dances. Whereas earlier anthropological models dismissed powwows because they incorporated new customs into older traditions, contemporary scholars embraced powwows for these very same reasons. They represented, in Gilroy's word's, an example of the "changing same" – forms of cultural production that resonated with earlier anthropological models of indigeneity because of their connection to precolonial customs, yet are also suitably, and undeniably, modern. Similarly, other contemporary forms of visible native gatherings, like the Native American Church and Indian Christian churches, also assumed a new prominence and authenticity (Foster 1991; Lassiter, Ellis and Kotay 2002). Powwows, however, are also appealing as representatives of the changing same because they are such strikingly *visible* performances, and indeed, are generally easily accessible to the non-native public.

Along with a return to culture, and – on the Southern Plains, at least – an increasing focus on powwows, native people and native scholars began calling for more relevant scholarship, for true collaboration with native people (Deloria 1969; Mihesuah and Wilson 2004; Smith 1999). As a response, many anthropologists and historians began working collaboratively with native participants in these forms of cultural

production, incorporating native voices and experiences in academic work that was previously dismissive, or at best patronizing, of native perspectives (Lassiter 1998). Yet thus far, scholars of Native North America have largely collaborated with prominent indigenous cultural actors, especially those who participate in forms of visible cultural expression. Although the anthropological gaze has been widened significantly to include these distinctly contemporary forms of cultural expression, it has not extended beyond the realm of the visibly cultural, publically accessible arenas.

As a result, Individuals who do not participate in these activities, or do so only infrequently, are largely excluded from these collaborations. Like my friend Karen, these culturally invisible native people and their experiences are excluded from narratives of indigeneity. Even more problematically, in their haste to assert the authenticity of powwows, scholars have uncritically privileged the narratives of powwow participants. Because these narratives often assume, or take for granted, that non-powwow participants are "rejecting" an Indian identity, visibility and participation have become linked together in local, popular, and academic discourses of native authenticity (Lassiter 1998:84).

Apache Perspectives on Participation

When I moved to Anadarko full time in the summer of 2006, many of my new neighbors, eventually friends, were Apache. Yet few of them participated in the kinds of publicly visible cultural events that are associated, locally and nationally, with indigeneity in southwestern Oklahoma. During my first few summers in Anadarko,

working as a "weekend ethnographer," these public events, like powwows, were the types of activities that I had attended in order to make contacts in the Apache community. While I had, of course, observed that not every Apache person I knew attended powwows regularly, I did not realize how many Apache people simply did not attend these events *at all*. Karen, my neighbor and eventually one of my closest friends, was one of those that did not. Despite her unapologetic non-participation in powwows, Karen identifies herself as Apache and is – although she would never claim to be – highly knowledgeable about Apache culture, history and genealogy.

I met Karen through sheer luck, a phenomenon surely common to ethnographic fieldwork although rarely acknowledged. By random chance, she and her family lived in the back of the duplex I rented in Anadarko. In her early forties and divorced, Karen lived in this small, unheated, one-bedroom apartment with her elderly mother Judy, her older half-sister Myrah, and Myrah's children – an adult daughter, Alice, a teenage son, and a young daughter. Although Alice lived elsewhere from time to time, the apartment was, from my perspective, often crowded and chaotic. Karen's mother, Judy, is Wichita but Karen's late father had been Apache and as a result, Karen was enrolled Apache. Myrah, technically Karen's older half-sister, also had an Apache father, and was also enrolled Apache. From my very first week of living in Anadarko, Karen began to slowly incorporate me into her larger network of friends and kin relations. She often came "up front" to visit on my big front porch, occasionally asking me if I could give her a ride to see friends or go grocery shopping. Through these visits, I learned that Karen's life had been far from easy, marked by years of struggling with alcohol and drug abuse. These

substance abuse problems continue to plague Karen, but they only *partially* account for her disconnect with powwows and other native cultural events.

Previous to my friendship with Karen, I diligently attended powwows and made connections with people who participated in these events, with little concept of the individuals – their stories and perspectives – that I was missing. Influenced by the extensive Southern Plains literature which connects powwow participation to cultural identity, I assumed that non-participants like Karen would have little interest in her Apache heritage or culture. Quite simply, Karen and her family changed the way I thought about Apache identity, forcing me to challenge not only my own assumptions but also a few common in my discipline. In order to listen to as many perspectives on being Apache as I could, I began interviewing both active and inactive cultural participants From these interviews, I realized that neither I – nor my intellectual ancestors – were completely wrong about the importance of the expressive culture. Many Apache people identified participation in and knowledge of native dances, especially the uniquely-Apache Blackfeet ceremonial, as crucial to being Apache. Simultaneously, however, many Apache people also emphasized that not participating did not necessarily indicate a rejection of Apacheness and, in fact, occurred for a variety of reasons.

Karen, of course, rejected powwow participation but not an Apache identity. On several occasions when we were together, she announced this identity proudly to others. One particular evening, I drove Karen and her sister Myrah to watch softball

practice at the ball fields in Anadarko's Randlett Park. The following is the account from my field notes:

> We pull up and I turn off the car. A few other cars are parked around us, some with folks sitting inside watching the practice, windows rolled down, drinking beer. The red dust from the infield is blowing in across the field like mini-tornados. Myrah gets out of the car and approaches the van parked next to me. For the moment, Karen stays in the car with me. "Do you play ball?" She asks me. "No," I say honestly. "I'm really terrible."
>
> "That's all people do around here," she responds. "People are crazy about ball." She pauses and adds, "I used to play. My daddy taught all us girls how to play. Used to be real good too. Got to Ardmore one year. National semi-finals."
>
> Jonas walks off the field, grabs a beer and heads over to us. Robin gets out to talk to him, and just as she does, a small red car drives up. A middle-aged Indian man gets out, waves and grins at Robin. "There's a Kiowa Princess!" he announces. "Hell no!" she responds, taking a swig of Jonas's beer. "I'm straight up Apache!"

In this instance, Karen could have denied her tribal identity simply by declaring honestly that was not a "Kiowa princess," thus not calling attention to her own tribal identity. Instead, Karen emphasizes that she is "straight-up" Apache, meaning that she is all Apache even though, in terms of blood quantum, she is half Apache and half Wichita. Karen's claim here, then, is a claim to a full Apache identity.

Despite her non-participation, Karen still considers powwow participation – especially, above all other powwows, the Apache Blackfeet – a crucial aspect in being Apache, a collection of customs and knowledge that she wishes she could pass down to her children. When I pressed her about her identity, something she only let me get away with because we were close friends, she would forcefully declare herself Apache even though she does not participate and even as she might have some regret about these choices. As she told me, "Now I wish I would have learned a little more about the

ceremonial dance. That's basically the only thing I wish I knew a little bit more about." And yet, even as Karen expressed these emotions, she quickly emphasized that she could still participate but she was not sure that she wanted or had the opportunity to do so.

One of Karen's distant relatives, George, felt similarly. An older man – but not, by Apache standards, elderly – George is well-known in the Apache community, both because of his family name and his previously prominent position in the Apache tribal government. George attends some powwows, especially the Apache Blackfeet, but he is not a member of the military society, an emcee, or a singer. Married to a Kiowa woman, he will also sometimes attend the Kiowa Gourd Clan ceremonials. As George put it, he may attend powwows, "but I don't take part in them." Sitting on new leather couches in the Apache tribal complex, George explained his perspective to me. "Well, to me there's more to culture than just dancing," he said slowly. "There's other things that make up culture. That's one part of it. Just because you don't take part it in don't mean you don't believe in it." Like Karen, George emphasized that non-participation does not necessarily equate to not respecting or "believing in" these forms of cultural expression.

Tony, an Apache man in his mid-forties who only rarely dances at the Apache Blackfeet, echoed George's words. "Some people say 'Yeah I know my tradition, I know my culture,'" he told me. "But powwows [are] a social thing. There's a small ceremony there, but it's a social thing. Its part of your culture, but its not the foundation." Interestingly, Tony – only an occasional powwow dancer, largely only at Blackfeet – is widely considered one of the most "traditional" Apache people by other community

members, a status which alone suggests infrequent powwow participation is not a universal factor in determining Apacheness or authenticity. Tony's traditional status, however, comes from his knowledge of the Apache language, which unfortunately few other tribal members can claim, and his participation in the Apache chapter of the Native American Church.

Like many other Apache people, Karen, George and Tony do not deny the contemporary importance of powwows in Apache culture, yet all three emphasize that participation alone does not signify cultural belonging. As most issues are, however, this perspective is far from a community consensus among Apache. One close friend, Jenny, relayed this story when I asked her questions about powwow participation during one of our interviews:

> **AW:** So do you think that people who don't go to powwows and don't participate in that, does that make them any less Indian or Apache?
>
> **J:** In my opinion it doesn't, no…But you know what, now this is the take on that. When we grew up, I remember we had some friends that didn't go to powwows, didn't go to the hand games. But whenever we would go to powwows and we would go to different functions, traditional tribal functions, if somebody came you always knew, everyone just knew everyone, even the Comanche tribe and the Kiowas…You knew who didn't go and who did. And if someone came that wanted to speak or present themselves as an authority, I would hear comments – "Why, they don't know, they don't dance, why they talking, what are they doing, they're just blowing" – you know, bragging. You would just hear that said…But they would say it, among themselves, "Look at them why are they up there?"

Even though she was careful to distinguish her opinion from those of her older relatives, Jenny illuminates what she calls "the moccasin grapevine" – a public, social world where individual action is subject to review and criticism. Importantly, however, the social critics in Jenny's account are criticizing individuals who are already participating,

particularly individuals who are trying to present themselves as authorities but lack – at least according to their critics – the knowledge and experience to do so . Karen and George, on the other hand, are both very careful to disavow any knowledge of powwow participation in order to avoid this criticism.

For some Apache people like Karen and George, the visibility of powwow participation is difficult to achieve. As my "invisible" Apache consultants told me, participation in theses events is not, as some scholars have suggested, a matter of simply choosing to participate. Karen, for example, explained to me that she would like to be able to teach her children about the Blackfeet, "but its easier said than done…Because of the situation I'm in." Karen's situation, her reasons for *not* dancing, are complex, but their scope suggests the many ways that social, cultural, economic and personal factors can limit powwow participation. Always brutally honest, Karen does not hesitate to place a lot of this blame on herself, either on her substance abuse problems – which can, at their worst moments, occupy all of her time – or on her personal choices. Dancing, she reminded me often, was never "for me. I could take it or leave it."

As Karen's narratives also illustrate, however, powwows are social spaces that require *both* cultural and material capital. Cultural capital includes knowledge of songs, dances, appropriate conduct, and – most especially – support from kin. If an individual is unfamiliar with these cultural requirements, has not been taught by kin, or has been brought up in a family with little interest in dancing, they may find it difficult to gain entry into the powwow world. George, for example, explained his lack of participation, at least partially, on being raised in a non-powwow family. During his youth,

> We didn't really go to any dances or anything like that. Later on [my grandpa] became a minister, a Baptist minister, so we went to dances but we didn't go that much…But, you know I guess I don't go to dances, or I don't take part in them, because my grandpa never did take part. We went to some, we camped at some of them, but we didn't really dance or take part.

For George, his past is directly connected to the present. As he himself notes, he does not take part in dances "because my grandpa never did take part." Because George does not specify, it is unclear as to whether this choice is because certain rules, knowledge and etiquette were not passed down or – perhaps more likely – that George, even today, respects his grandfather's choices by continuing to avoid active powwow participation.

In Karen's case, her late father chose to pass on his cultural knowledge to his daughter, Karen's older sister, instead of Karen – although, as she points out, her own ambivalence certainly enabled this choice. Sitting at my kitchen table one morning, drinking coffee, Karen got choked up as she remembered:

> Like I said, my dad really, really, really pressured [my sister]. Didn't pressure her, but taught her more than he taught me…But he always paid more attention to her, to where she learned more about Apaches, dancing-wise...But I don't let it get to me anymore. I used to, when I was young…That's where I wish, I wish my dad would have pressured me a little bit more where I would dance.

Even though Karen often blamed herself, and her lack of interest, on her father's choice to teach her sister instead of her, she did note that this preference extended beyond the powwow arena. Like many native people in and around Anadarko, Karen and her family were – and are – avid softball players and fans. Although she did not lack interest or enthusiasm on the softball field, her father still spent more time and effort working with her older sister. As should be clear from Karen's narrative, families – especially those

with many children and modest means – often focus on, or sponsor, one family member to carry on the dancing tradition.

For some – although, importantly, not all – of my Apache friends, acquiring both kin support *and* enough money to participate were both crucial components in their decisions about whether or not to dance. As George noted, "If you don't have family or money, its hard to get out there and dance." Money is needed to buy dress regalia or for the material to make it at home. As Karen explained, "Once you get into dancing, you do have to have a lot of money. Not only just to make all your regalia, but having to buy it, having to get your, you know, everything made." Family, of course, can help mediate these costs. Sometimes regalia is passed down to younger dancers or relatives will sew or make regalia for their kin free of charge. Additionally, some types of dancing require less expensive regalia than others – female Apache Blackfeet dancers, for example, generally wear a simple red and blue Southern Plains style cloth "T" dress, not a more expensive Southern buckskin dress. Obviously, Blackfeet dresses cost less for materials and construction than buckskin dresses, allowing Apache women to sew them more easily at home instead of having to have them made.

Even when families can get together the basic necessities for Blackfeet regalia, the regalia itself is often judged by other spectators and participants. When CJ, Karen's ten-year-old niece, first began dancing her regalia was – and even a year later, still is – incomplete. She does not have a proper concho belt, fan, or leggings. Her homemade dress is slightly too big for her, and without a belt, hangs too low on her waist. For many Apache people, particularly Apache women, dressing properly when dancing is

paramount. Sloppy, ill-fitting or incomplete regalia is perceived as reflecting a disrespect for the powwow arena, other dancers, and the larger kinship network that dancers represent. As one elderly women of Apache and Kiowa decent told me, "You don't just go out there *háigáhè* style!" A Kiowa word, my consultant told me that *háigáhè* is loosely translated to "any old way" and in this usage implies a lack of concern or appreciation for the powwow arena.[7] As with many aspects of participation, CJ's appearance was also subject to the "moccasin grapevine" – on two separate occasions I overheard not-so-subtle criticisms of her regalia and appearance.

Money is also necessary in order to honor relatives or friends dancing in the arena – which is done by dropping dollar bills at the dancer's feet. Generally, one of the dancer's relatives will begin the process by pulling the dancer away from the group and dropping the first dollar. Occasionally, honoring will be included in "specials," when families arrange to honor an individual, and a special song – usually of the family or honoree's choosing – is sung. In both these instances, dancers and more "marginal" powwow participants and spectators will come into the arena to place the dollar bills at the feet of the honored individual, some staying to dance behind the individual and their family being honored. From my own personal experience, and as someone with far fewer friends and relatives to honor than most Apache people, I know that honoring can be quite costly. Many powwow participants come prepared to honor with at least ten dollars in single bills, some with much more.

As dancers and spectators at a powwow, honoring is not necessarily mandatory – but it is also not, strictly speaking, completely voluntary, either. Jenny, who is an

active powwow participant and has an important job as director of a tribal agency, put it this way:

> If I would [honor] just to make myself look good, because I'm going out there putting money, I don't like that. I'm thinking, that's not what its here for. But then in my job, because I do a job that does a lot of service, I interact with a lot of families and a lot of tribes, and I feel like in my position I should, the obligation is there, that I should go out and honor someone. I can't ignore that family.

For Jenny, honoring can be a burden and, as she explains, some powwow participants use honoring as a way to show off their money and status. Simultaneously, however, she has social obligations, bonds of kin and fictive kin, that she simply cannot ignore. To do so would not necessarily signal the abrupt end to these ties, but it would imply that she did not respect that person or their family, a public snub subject to gossip.



Figure 10: Blankets and grocery baskets ready for a giveaway. Apache Tribal Princess Dance, Red Buffalo Hall, Carnegie, Oklahoma, March 2007. Photo by author.

Largely, however, the most costly aspects of powwow participation are giveaways, when families of dancers give gifts such as grocery baskets, comforters, dish towels, tobacco, shawls, and Pendleton blankets to the head staff, dancers, singers and crowd in honor of their relative (see Figure 10). Giveaways are expected, if not required, for certain powwow participants. When an individual is honored in a special, his or her family often prepares a giveaway. The first time an individual, adult or child, dances

in a regalia, his or her family is expected to provide a giveaway, an event called "paying your way in." Additionally, if a dancer or spectator is honored in a formal way, through a special, through their election as tribal or dancing society princess, or through their fulfillment of one of the positions of the powwows head staff, giveaways are generally expected.

Although the size of giveaways varies dramatically depending on the family and the type of honoring event, the cost of buying such items can be prohibitive. As Karen told me:

> Whenever you are a head lady dancer it can be real expensive – depending on what you want to get, how you want to buy it. People just give grocery baskets away to each one. Like [her sister], she's different. She buys everybody something different, material-wise. She has spent a lot of money being head lady dancer. She takes her time and when she gets a little bit of money she gets someone something.

Like Karen's sister, many participants and their families plan long-term for their giveaways. Jenny laughed as she told me how she has an extra bedroom and a new storage shed in her Lawton home that are filled with potential giveaway items, noting that "It drives my husband crazy!" Many participants save items they themselves have

been given in giveaways, such as blankets and shawls, to give at their giveaways. They also actively search in pawn shops and garage sales for good deals on these more expensive items.

Occasionally, a family will also provide supper for the entire powwow, dancers and spectators, in honor of a relative (see Figure 11). When Karen's other niece became the princess of the Wichita tribe, Karen's mother elderly mother Judy held a special dance in honor of the princess. For Judy, this meant having to arrange a location of the powwow, find a drum, an emcee and a head staff as well as organize a large giveaway and supper in honor of the new princess. As a member of the Wichita tribe, Judy was able to use the tribal grounds instead of having to pay to rent an indoor location – which can sometimes run as high as $200 depending on the building and length of the event – but she still had plenty of worries. The following is an account from my field notes:

> "Tomorrow's the big day," Judy announces, easing herself into a plastic chair on my front porch. It is a hot July afternoon in Anadarko, but the shaded front porch is cooler than the inside of both of our houses. Exchanging the stifling heat for the swarms of mosquitoes, we have taken to spending the hottest part of the day here visiting. She is holding a light purple shawl and a bag of deep purple fringe. She wants me to fringe it for her so she can give it away at [her granddaughter]'s dance. After a brief tutorial, she watches as I start to fringe the shawl.
>
> "What happens tomorrow?" I ask vaguely, tying on fringe.
>
> "Royalties," she says simply. I glance up from the shawl and give her a questioning look. "My oil lease money comes in," she continues. "I have all this to do for the dance, and its hard to do because I'm broke."

Judy, like many other native people, had to wait until she received her royalty check to in order to afford the food for supper and the items for the giveaway. Other native

people might also call upon their "lease man," usually white farmers or cattle ranchers who lease their land, to get an advance on their lease check.

As a result of theses monetary requirements, most active participants rely heavily on kin support, especially to help them gather items for giveaways and, if a family is providing supper, to help cook or donate food. In contrast to anthropologist John Moore (1993), who argues that the items given away during giveaways facilitate and formalize reciprocal kin relations, I suggest that kinship is more properly understood as facilitating giveaways themselves.[8] That is, rather than formalizing relationships between the giver and the recipient, giveaways formalize relations between givers and the family members that provide items to be given away. Maria, a middle-aged Apache woman, noted that extensive kin support helped her teen-age daughters participate in powwows. "That's one thing good about my family," she told me. "They helped a lot. But I know some…I remember this one girl, her mother and her father were the only ones that helped out. I know it was hard just me getting a little bit of things, it was hard. With the families helping it's easier." For Judy's dance, for example, I contributed two large grocery baskets to her giveaway, as well as the time spent fringing the shawl. Karen, although she never attends the actual dance itself, also sometimes helps behind the scenes, usually by making fry bread or meat pies. These supportive acts – although essential – are nevertheless largely invisible to an anthropological gaze which sees only active powwow participation like dancing, drumming, and singing.



Figure 11: Food set out for supper. Veteran's Day Dance, November 2008, Apache, Oklahoma. Photo by author.

It is precisely the availability of kin support, however, that leads to criticism of non-participants. Even though Tony clearly questioned the prominence of participation and its relationship to cultural identity, he disagreed that money – or the lack thereof – played a significant role in the decisions of Apache people to not participate. For Tony, if any person, or any native person, wants to dance they simply need to call upon family members for help. "If I knew someone wanted to dance but didn't have their regalia," Tony told me, "I would make it for them." For others, like my friend Pete, dancing or not dancing was a personal choice, unaffected by other concerns like kin support or finances. A middle-aged man of Apache, Kiowa, and Comanche decent, Pete is an active powwow participant and often serves as arena director for local powwows, including the Kiowa-Apache Blackfeet Society's annual dance each August. "Well," he told me,

"the way I look at is like this. Its like, why do some people choose to go to the movies instead of bowling? Its just like that, a choice. Some don't like it and so they do something else. Like hobbies. You know, why do any of us choose to do what we do?" Despite these words, when I politely pressed the issue, Pete agreed that some aspects of dancing do require money, although help from family can mediate these costs.

On Choices

Clearly, if an individual does not have an extensive kin network or the independent means to acquire these materials, active participation in the powwow world can be very difficult. Yet there is no clear causal factor that can explain powwow participation or non-participation. Powwow participation is ultimately a function of choice. However, as anthropologist Fredrik Barth noted over fifty years ago, all choices – all acts of individual agency – are structured by the social, economic, personal and cultural situations of individual actors (Barth 1959). Thus, unlike political economists, I am not arguing that material circumstances play a wholly determinant role in powwow participation. Clearly, some participants, like Judy, are able to successfully mediate economic constraints in order to participate. As a senior citizen, she has to support herself and many of her adult children and grandchildren with only her social security benefits, lease money and oil royalty payments. Yet somehow, even as she constantly struggles to pay her monthly bills and buy groceries for herself, Judy manages to scrape together enough money to support her kin with honor dances and giveaways. In the same token, some non-powwow participants, like George, are recently retired senior

citizens that, although on a fixed income, have some flexible income for powwow expenses.

Similarly, Jenny and Karen represent opposite ends of the participation spectrum. Both are Apache women of the same generation – but Jenny participates in powwows, and Karen does not. Jenny, a registered nurse by education, is the successful director of a tribal program, a financially secure job she has had for many years. During the summer months, Jenny spends nearly every weekend at a powwow, often serving as head lady. Karen, a high school drop-out, lives day-to-day through a combination of occasional part-time work, government benefits, and help from kin – a life she describes as "hustling." For Karen, everyday struggles to feed herself and her family take precedence over what she sees as the *luxury* of powwow participation. The following dialogue illustrates this point:

> **K:** We're not back in the olden days, you know? That's just how I look at it, in other words. Because life is hard. You have to pay now, when you have all these little kids. Like me! But you know me, money wasn't always the thing, on my part, even though I was – excuse my language – piss poor. I still had children that loved me just for who I was. But still, like I said, its not like we're back in tipi days! Anything like that. Then it would be different to teach you r kids about being your tribe.
>
> **AW:** Then it was survival.
>
> **K:** But *now* its like survival.

Clearly for Karen, daily survival does not require Apache cultural knowledge. Even more, however, she sees this knowledge – or the time, effort, and money it takes to acquire it – as a luxury that conflicts with her ability to provide for herself and her family.

Simultaneously, Karen's non-participation is clearly more than simply the result of her financial struggles. By her own admission, Karen's struggles with substance abuse

have certainly constrained her powwow participation. Karen's experiences also serves as a reminder of the role that *desire* plays in such choices. As a child, Karen was not interested in the powwow world and her father, instead, chose to teach those ways to her older sister. The result is mutually-influencing cycle, a dialectic, where Karen's disinterest in dancing led to her father's disinterest in teaching her, which only further contributed to her disinterest.

From the perspective of the accepted anthropological gaze, Judy's and Jenny's visible powwow participation – and the sacrifices they both make to do so – reflect their commitment to native culture, their identities as native people. Although shared among some native people, the uncritical acceptance of this assumption has produced scholarship that represents only this particular perspective. The complexity of contemporary indigeneity is flattened and simplified, alternative experiences and perspectives ignored, free choice privileged over limited agency. As I have shown, many of my Apache friends proudly identified as such regardless of their powwow participation. Many of these same Apache people – both those who participate in powwows, and those who do not – did not link their own participation or lack of participation in forms of expressive culture to their authenticity or cultural identity as an Apache person. Nor did they make this linkage when evaluating and determining the cultural identity of other native people. Moreover, on the individual level, achieving the public visibility of powwow participation is both constrained and enabled by a complex combination of economic and social constraints, desire, and expectation.

Yet, this emphasis on visible indigeneity – thriving in both popular and academic discourses of indigeneity, in Oklahoma and beyond – has both practical and academic consequences. Such discourses create expectations that, when not met, create anomalous Indian people, like Karen. As I will argue in subsequent chapters, anomaly has the potential to construct social marginalization and even stigma, reinforcing the personal and economic constraints that have already impacted the ability to meet these expectations. Moreover, academic emphases on visible indigeneity ignore other, local discourses on cultural belonging, some of which help mediate external expectations. As I will argue in the next chapter, participation *is* crucial to being Apache – but not only in the conventional, visible participation at powwows. As everyday, normative rules of behavior and interaction, including gendered expectations, these forms of participation are often "invisible" to anthropological gaze.

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[1] In fairness to these scholars, they have also written about other forms of expressive culture like peyote, the Ghost Dance, and Indian Christian churches. However, they also write about powwows so I include them here.

[2] Despite the attempts by Boasians to disentangle race from culture, tribal enrollment is generally – although with some important distinctions – based on race through the medium of blood quantum. Most tribal communities, including the Plains Apache, require a certain minimum degree of blood for enrollment and recognition as a tribal member, the rights of tribal citizenship, and federal consideration as a Native American. As scholars have shown (Sturm 2002), blood quantum requirements assume that a certain amount of tribal "blood" equates to membership in community often marked through cultural differences, thus confusing race and culture. Moreover, popular thought associates "full-blood" native people with tradition, cultural continuity, and authenticity, while mixed blood tribal members are often associated with cultural change and inauthenticity.

[3] This perception, of course, is similar to the ways in which alliances are often understood in popular and academic narratives, as described in chapter two. Whereas alliances were considered normal and natural between native communities, alliances between native communities and colonial powers often represent accommodation.

[4] For ethnohistory, see Jablow, Joseph, *The Cheyenne in Plains Indian Trade Relations, 1795-1840* [Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1966[1951]]. For examples of a political economy approach, see Jorgensen, Joseph G, "Indians and the Metropolis," in *The American Indian*

in Urban Society, Jack O. Waddell and O. Michael Watson, eds, [1971, Boston, Little and Brown], Wolf, Eric, Europe and the People Without History [Berkeley, University of California Press, 1982], and the essays in Moore, John, ed., *The Political Economy of North American Indians*, [Norman and London, University of Oklahoma Press, 1993]

[5] Similarly, academic thought has influenced federal policy toward native peoples. As Berkhofer notes, "White desires and ends in regard to Native Americans and the image of the Indian mutually interacted – a dialectic – and both were producers of the larger trends in White societies" (1978:114). This dialectic, or cycle of mutually-influencing ideas, is particularly clear in U.S. Indian policies. As scholars of federal Indian policy have noted, the goals of federal policies have fluctuated dramatically over the last century between the desires of assimilation and cultural survival (Berkhofer 1978; Biolsi 2002). Regardless of the particular goal at any given time, the policies put forth by the federal government were influenced by anthropological thought and on Anglo-American desires for native peoples. Thus, the termination period of the mid-century – coinciding, roughly, with the height of acculturation studies – made use of anthropological concepts of cultural change to assert that the federal government could terminate the "special rights" of certain tribal communities, effectively ending expensive federal obligations, that had demonstrated they were acculturated "enough" to no longer be considered native peoples.

[6] Not all anthropologist are interested in such a compromise, denying the validity of native communities who have changed and transformed over time. See Clifton, James, *The Invented Indian: Cultural Fictions and Government Policies* [New Brunswick, Transaction Publishers, 1990].

[7] According to Gus Palmer (personal communication), *háigáhè* is a combination of the words "to know" and "without," and thus means "without knowing."

[8] Moore (1993) argues that giveaways are a function of economic need, although not necessarily through the redistribution of wealth, but instead by making public a social network that can be used in times of need. According to my data, however, gifts are given to certain people – the headstaff and singers – at every powwow, and these people may or may not have a kinship or even friendship tie with the person holding the giveaway. In fact, on most occasions, items are not even given to kin, however fictive.

Chapter Four
"Apaches Have Old Ways":
Kinship, Respect, and Apache Narratives of Belonging

The small Baptist church, in the country south of Ft. Cobb, is crowded with mourners. Although the church is a relatively modern building, an older structure next door – now used for storage – attests to the church's historic significance for the "Ft. Cobb Apaches." In the first half of the twentieth century, the church and its grounds were used for church services and Christmas encampments, when families would put up canvas tents and stay together to celebrate the holidays and each other. Decades later, on a cool, brown winter day, the church yard is filled with haphazardly parked cars instead of wagons and horses.

Inside, in the warmth of the church, the pews are filled with family and friends attending the funeral of an elderly Apache woman. As a Baptist service, the funeral is unfamiliar to me with my Catholic upbringing. Opening prayers and Bible verses are followed by hymns, not only in English but also in Apache, Kiowa, and Comanche. After a sermon by the visiting preacher, a Kiowa, the funeral attendees are given the opportunity to speak aloud about their family member.

One by one, men and women stand in their places to say a few words about their beloved relative, share a funny story, or remind the guests that she has gone on to a better place. Finally, the deceased woman's older brother, Billy, stands to speak. His voice is thick with grief as he addresses the crowd. He begins with words common to these types of speeches – happy memories of his sister, her virtues, and how much he will miss her. Then he pauses, and his voice trembles – still with grief, certainly, but now also with guilt.

"I am an Apache man," Billy says, looking out at the crowd. "My sister was sick. She was sick. But I couldn't help her. I couldn't take care of her, I couldn't be with her when she needed me. As a brother, I couldn't help her. Those are our ways, Apache ways, between a brother and a sister."

Although details vary and disagreements are common, for many Apache people today *descent* and *behavior* are the most significant components of Apache culture, invoked by individuals to claim Apache cultural authenticity, social belonging in the Apache community, or both. At the funeral of his sister, Billy's words reflect the importance of descent and behavior to contemporary Apache people. By publicly claiming a relationship with sister, Billy acknowledged not only his place within an Apache family, but also the contemporary social obligations that such a relationship requires. Such culturally defined behaviors structure Apache social relations, creating

an Apache sociality that defines appropriate modes of kin and gender interaction. Although these components can be, and often are, enacted in the public powwow arena, they are also performed in the everyday, mundane, private worlds all-too-often overlooked by anthropologists focused on public, visible indigeneity.

This chapter details how these less visible "Apache ways" are connected to individual social membership in the Apache community and, as a result, serve as a discourse of collective cultural identity that Apache people use to distinguish their community from others, both native and non-native. Although many aspects of contemporary Apache social life are not easily visible to outsiders, I focus here on kinship because it is clearly, for Apache people, a singularly important aspect of being Apache today. As this chapter details, Apache narratives of belonging recognize multiple ways of claiming a kin-based Apache identity. Even as descent from an Apache family remains a minimum requirement for an Apache social identity, I argue that a contemporary Apache social identity also requires culturally-specific knowledge, especially the acknowledgement of kin, personal association, and the performance of gendered kinship obligations. Indeed, Apache narratives of kin-based belonging suggest that contemporary Apache people have complex, fluid, and at times situational ways of constructing contemporary social identities.

Although they index older, traditional definitions of social identity and belonging, these kinship obligations are made meaningful in a distinctly contemporary setting, discursively embedded in notions of collective cultural identity. Following Mageo (2002), I use the term cultural identity here to refer to notions of collective identity, local

discourses of cultural difference that separate communities from one another. As I suggest, contemporary Apache discourses of cultural identity have been influenced both by their colonial experiences and external pressures that equate indigeneity with cultural difference. Simultaneously, however, Billy's words suggest that even these local discourses, these distinctly Apache narratives of identity, can create frustration, tension and even guilt for Apache people.

Descent and Acknowledging Kin

Many of my Apache friends and consultants were often surprised when I asked them about being Apache. To these individuals, the question was almost nonsensical because the answer was so obvious. Apache people are Apache because they are born to Apache parents and raised by Apache families – that is, because of their Apache descent. One close friend, Jenny, a middle-aged Apache woman and avid powwow participant, laughed when I asked her this first question, responding with "What *makes* someone Apache?! Oh my gosh!" She then continued:

> I have to start out by something that occurred when I was trying to go on Fort Sill. I have to a military ID to go on Ft Sill because of the closed status because of the Iraq war. You have to have a post decal on your car and if not they have to go through it thoroughly, you know an inspection for your car. When I got up there my passenger didn't have an ID. The only thing they had was a tribal ID. And the guy said, well I can't accept this. It doesn't have an expiration date on it. And I looked at that guy, and he was a private in the army, and I said "Sir, if you expire as an Apache or as Indian, then you're not going to be showing this ID because you'll be dead!" It was just kind of funny to me, I mean like the perspective of who you are and how other people look at it.

For Jenny, her confrontation with the Ft. Sill guard was both ironic and revealing. From her perspective, there are no expiration dates on tribal ID cards because tribal identity is

fixed from birth and lasts until death. The guard's seeming misunderstanding of Indian identity suggested, to her, that he was confusing tribal identity with other forms of identity, such as state residence, which can fluctuate throughout one's life.

As Jenny finished her story, we both laughed. We were sitting in her office, at her workplace in Anadarko, enjoying a refuge from the oppressive summer heat outside. As we talked in the cool interior, we sipped on large Styrofoam containers of soda we had just purchased at the local Anadarko Sonic Drive-In. She grew more serious, however, as she continued talking. "For us, what makes you Apache is the same that makes anybody who they are," she said. "You're born to your family and the culture that you learn, that's taught to you and just by living everyday life. That's who you are." Several other Apache people echoed her thoughts, articulating that one's birth to Apache parents and an Apache family made someone Apache. Another middle-aged Apache woman, Jenny's first cousin or "sister" in Apache kinship terminology, similarly believed that having Apaches relatives – or even just *one* Apache relative – was enough to "make you" Apache.

As these narratives suggest, at its most basic level Apache identity is determined by kinship, by descent from an Apache family and a larger extended kin network. In this sense, any person with Apache relatives, who is born to an Apache family, is considered socially Apache – but only partially. As Jenny further commented, "Of course you learn the customs…To know your culture and your roots…Your family history. You know it and live it. Not just knowing it, but *living* it. That makes you Apache." Although kin-based belonging forms a baseline for Apache identity, kinship obligations include cultural

expectations that simultaneously construct an Apache sociality, or modes of appropriate social conduct, that is necessary to fully claim an Apache social identity. Indeed, Jenny acknowledges as much by connecting kinship and descent to enculturation, so that being born to an Apache family includes the process of being taught Apache ways While individuals become Apache through their birth to Apache parents or grandparents and their membership in an Apache extended family, this identity remains limited unless an individual is also exposed to and "lives" Apache customs in their everyday life.

As Jenny noted, part of "living your culture" involves knowing one's family. Superficially, this obligation seems straight- forward, but for contemporary Apache people, it is far more complicated. First and foremost, "knowing" one's family requires the ability to recall complicated genealogies in order to acknowledge one's relatives, including distant and fictive kin. Jenny, for example, told me that:

> My grandmother always taught me to be proud that you're Apache. It goes back to how I was raised Apache. It was being taught. Knowing who you are. And they always made sure I knew who my relatives were. They all always said, "Know who you're relatives are." So when we go to the powwows or anywhere, they say, "This is your grandmother or this is your aunt or this is your *dadan*, sister." They would always do that, she would take me around. It was expected of me to acknowledge them, no matter what, wherever I saw them. If you didn't – I kinda got a scolding one time because I passed one of my elders up…because my grandmother said never, ever pass them up. That's rude of you to just walk by and not say anything. I'd shake my uncles hands… when they came to Boone or we'd go to Ft. Cobb church. I always shook their hands. We were taught that as a child – to acknowledge your relatives. Then I learned who my Comanche relatives were and my Kiowa relatives were and, you know, I'd always acknowledge them.

For Jenny, and Jenny's late grandmother, being proud to be Apache – in other words, claiming an Apache social identity – was closely linked to knowing and *acknowledging* one's kin relations, especially in public venues like powwows and church.

Acknowledging kin publicly marks an individual's own kinship connections, birth to an Apache family, and place within an extending kin network, thus cementing one's claim on an Apache social identity.

"Knowing" one's family, however, also requires cultural competency in Apache systems of kin reckoning and kinship terminology. Today, Apache people continue to practice a kinship system loosely based upon their traditional, precolonial kinship system, at least as recorded by anthropologist J. Gilbert McAlister in the 1930s.[1] As was the practice of his day, McAllister interviewed tribal elders in order to reconstruct the precontact – and presumably timeless – social structure of the Apache community, embedded largely in kin terms and kin relationships. Although there are significant similarities between McAllister's work and contemporary Apache kinship, there are also clear differences. The Apache community, like most other Plains tribes, had a bilineal descent system and no clear post–marital residence pattern, although McAllister noted that newly married couples tended to live with or near the bride's mother.[2]

According to McAllister, Apache people – ostensibly before contact, but in reality in the 1930s – used the same kin terms for father and anyone he called brother (*ace*)[3] and mother and anyone she called sister (*nade*). Father's sister's were differentiated here from mother's and mother sister's with the term *bedje*, and similarly mother's brothers were called *baye*.[4] All relatives of the second ascending generation, parent's parents or anyone they call parents, are known as *soyan.* For the third ascending generation, in American kin terms a great-grandparent generation, men are called *daran*, older brother, and women are called *dadan*, older sister. Despite the differences

in terms for parent's opposite sex siblings, both parallel and cross-cousins are grouped together under the same gender-specific terms, but they are also distinguished by age, thus older brother (*daran*), younger brother (*tlaan*), older sister (*dadan*) and younger sister (*detcan*) (McAllister 1937:103).

Although this kinship system was further complicated by additional terms – such that a father would use to denote his son and his brother's son, his daughter and his brother's daughter, and his sister's children – the general outline provided above is sufficient in order to understand how this system is used by Apache people today. Regardless of their generation, contemporary Apache people in general follow a very similar kinship system as McAllister recorded, particularly for *certain* relationships, although most Apache people – except for the very elderly – generally use English kin terms. Today, most Apache people call mother and anyone mother calls sister "mother" and "grandparent" is used to denote a relationship to anyone a parent called "parent." Similarly, most cousins are considered sisters and brothers. The only consistent use of an Apache kin term today is used to distinguish one's "older sister" (*dadan*) or "older brother" (*daran*) by a "younger sister" or "younger brother" – in American kinship, the term for great-grandmother or great-grandfather.

As McAllister noted in the 1930s, because Apache people called "mother" anyone their mother called "sister," and the children of these women became siblings, the "range of relationships was wide, and as a consequence, nearly everybody in the tribe, since it was small, was related to everyone else. Frequently, of course, they were related in more than one way." Even more, these kinship relations were not always by

biological or affinal kin, as many Apache people also included fictive kin in their social networks. That is, kin included literally anyone called by a kin term – whether that term was "sister," "mother," or any other kin term – regardless of biological relatedness, a practice that, indeed, challenges the Western emphasis on the biological definition of kinship (Franklin and McKinnon 2001; MacCormack and Strathern 1980; Rubin 1975; Schneider 1980, 1984; Strathern 1992 ; Weston 1991; Yanagisako and Collier 1987).[5] This remains the case today, as most of the tribe is related in some way to other tribal members, however distantly or "fictively."[6] In some cases, more distant kin are referred to with "closer" kin terms than their actual biological relatedness in order to reflect the closeness of a particular relationship. As a result of these kin ties, most Apache people today believe that marriage to any relation, however distant or fictive, is incest. Many of my Apache friends told me humorous stories of their own encounters with potential love interests, who – after meeting an older relative, usually a grandmother – was determined to be a relative, as culturally defined.

Certainly, Apache people articulate these kin terms and relationships in a social landscape that has been influenced and affected by non-Apache, non-Indian, Anglo-American ways of reckoning kin. Some Apache people told me that have been "corrected" by non-Indian teachers and colleagues about their kin relationships. In public schools, Apache children who called their classmates by Apache kin terms – sister or brother in the English translation – were often told that these relatives were actually cousins, or in some cases, not biological kin at all. As a result, Apache people are very aware that their kinship system is different from the dominant American kinship system,

and many of my friends automatically translated their relationships into American kin terms in my presence – likely to avoid confusion from clashing kin terms – especially before they realized I had at least a basic understanding of Apache kinship.[7] Upon first meeting Karen, for example, she referred to her brother's siblings' children as "cousins," but a few months into our friendship she switched to the term "brothers." Other friends would commonly describe a relationship as, for example, "she's my sister, Apache way."

Even more, Apache people are aware that some of their kinship relationships are "improper" in the eyes of hegemonic American kinship. Nearly eighty years ago, McAllister noted that Apache women refused to call their brothers-in-law by the same Apache word for husband. Like all kin terms, the use of this specific word denoted a relationship – in general, the practice of the levirate, when a man would marry his brother's sister upon the brother's death. The use of this kin term, however, also implied that a woman was sexually available to her husband's brother while he was living (Brant 1949:58). Like McAllister, I also found that contemporary Apache women were very aware – perhaps hyperaware – of this kin term and its implication today. One friend, for example, blushed and giggled with embarrassment as she explained the kin term. Similarly, Judy believes that her first husband's brother's sexual impropriety towards her, his sister-in-law, was a result of these kinship expectations. Interestingly, of course, is that both McAllister's and my own consultants transformed what was traditionally a "proper" Apache kinship relationship into contemporary sexual *im*propriety.

An awareness of kinship differences, however, does not necessarily indicate that Apache people are culturally competent in all aspects of Anglo-American kinship.[8] Jenny, whose interview with me focused largely on kinship, often became confused about some aspects of hegemonic American kin reckoning, as the following excerpt from her interview reveals:

> **J**: I get confused with y'all's descent! I know my Apache descent, but…I do not…How do you get a "great" in y'all's? I don't know that!
>
> **AW:** A great aunt would by my grandma's sister…So that would be your grandma Apache way, right?
>
> **J:** Ok, yeah. Yeah. So that would be your great aunt? Oh lord, she's still my grandma. See, I get confused! I don't know what a great aunt is!

As Jenny emphasized with her questions about "y'all's" descent – meaning, because of my social positioning and racial identity, dominant Anglo-American kinship – Apache people invoke and articulate Apache kin terms within a complicated social space where these ways of reckoning kin are complicated and sometimes transformed by their exposure to other, often dominant, kinship systems.

Thus, although superficially simple, "knowing" one's relatives are simultaneously social and cultural acts. By acknowledging one's relatives, Apache people effectively claim their place in larger set of social relationships based on kinship. The act of claiming relatives, in other words, is also the act of claiming an Apache identity, as doing so automatically positions an individual as part of an Apache family. Yet acknowledging kin also requires the cultural capital of specific kinship knowledge – not only, of course, family histories and genealogies, but also the embedded knowledge of Apache kin reckoning, descent, and kinship terminology. Most Apache people, even of the youngest

generations, learn Apache kinship before, or perhaps alongside of, dominant Anglo-American kinship. It is, as Jenny emphasized, simply part of learning and living one's culture.

Association, Enrollment, and the Politics of Kinship

Like all federally-recognized native communities in the United States, the Plains Apache are required to define tribal citizenship by creating a tribal roll of citizens based upon certain criteria. Enrollment criteria is most often based upon blood quantum, with the general degree of blood requirement one-fourth – so an individual must have at least one-fourth tribal "blood" to qualify for citizenship. As scholars have argued, blood quantum enrollment criteria is a federal, Western imposition that reflects an Anglo-American preference for reckoning kin biologicially, with blood conceived as a shared substance (Schneider 1980, 1984; Strong and Van Winkle 1995; Yanagisako and Collier 1987). Indeed, as anthropologists Pauline Turner Strong and Barrick Van Winkle suggest, blood reckoning "fixes and delimits tribal membership with little regard for historical and cultural dimensions" of native definitions of social identity (Strong and Van Winkle 1996:556). Among the contemporary Washoe of Nevada, Strong and Van Winkle suggest that federal obligations of blood reckoning have resulted in dual "spaces" of identity. At one level, Washoe people utilize an "official" discourse based on blood quantum while simultaneously embracing an "unofficial" discourse that reflects the "nonessentialized, nonexclusive, and eminently social" aspects of historical patterns of Washoe identity.

Similarly, the Apache Tribe of Oklahoma requires a minimum amount of Apache blood, or a certain blood quantum, for tribal enrollment and citizenship. Unlike the Washoe, however, the Plains Apache have recently made changes to their original enrollment requirements, lowering the minimum blood quantum from one-fourth to one-eighth. The decision to lower the blood quantum requirement for enrollment, I suggest, was one way for Apache people to make sense of this external imposition, to take control over the enrollment process and mold it into a system that more accurately reflected Apache notions of kinship and social belonging. Lowering blood quantum requirements, was, in other words, an attempt to bridge the divide between "official" and "unofficial" definitions of community membership.

As a result of the change in blood quantum requirements, Apache enrollment numbers increased dramatically, nearly doubling the original population (Foster and McCullough 2001:935). Some of these new enrollees were children whose blood quantum was previously too low to qualify for enrollment, even though they had Apache parents enrolled with the tribe. An additional group of new enrollees, however, were the children – some of whom were now adults – of parents enrolled with other tribes, particularly the Kiowa, whose blood quantum was too low for enrollment in those communities. Because they had some Apache ancestry, these individuals were able to enroll as Apaches, thus receiving the rights of tribal citizenship but not necessarily community or social belonging.

For many Apache people I spoke to, the decision to lower the blood quantum requirement to 1/8 Apache "blood" was a necessary change. As George told me, "See

the reason they lowered it was because there were so many kids…Our families had kids that couldn't get on anybody's roll." Lowering the blood quantum requirement allowed the tribe to enroll – and thus provide tribal rights and services to – many of the children of already-enrolled Apache parents who were unable to enroll in any native community. In this way, the change was motivated by the importance Apache people place on belonging to an Apache family. Lowering the blood quantum requirements ensured that individuals who were socially Apache, because of their descent, were also given the rights of citizenship. Superficially, this appears as a kind of self-fulfilling prophesy where Apache families are Apache simply because of their inclusion in the tribal community through enrollment. In reality, however, Apache families are Apache because they have claimed their Apache heritage. In other words, the decision to lower the blood quantum requirement for enrollment allowed Apache people to "officially" claim their Apache relatives, and have that claim be acknowledged through the medium of citizenship.

The importance of claiming, or acknowledging, an Apache heritage is revealed most often in the negative sense – that is, in the negative consequences of lowering the blood quantum requirement. According to George, "A lot of them [the new enrollees] haven't claimed their Apache until they got on the roll. Then, you know, they want to claim it. And all this other time they didn't, or their folks didn't." The problem, of course, is the some of the most recent Apache enrollees do not have Apache "folks," because these families have historically not claimed an Apache identity. Instead, their families have long been considered Kiowa or Comanche, despite the existence of Apache or other tribal ancestries. Consequently, these new enrollees were not necessarily

considered *socially* Apache because they did not have acknowledged social and kin ties to the Apache community. Even though many of the new enrollees had not been able to officially enroll in the tribes of their parents, they were considered by the larger native community as belonging to that tribe regardless of their lack of citizenship, and many continued to be associated with those tribes even after their Apache enrollment. In the context of enrollment, then, the requirement of having an Apache family often distinguishes between tribal citizens who are socially Apache and those who are simply on the Apache rolls, citizens but not social members of the community.

In some cases, enrollment is complicated by the opposite problem. Instead of having too few choices for tribal enrollment, some native people in southwestern Oklahoma have too *many* choices. That is, some native people may have enough "blood" to enroll in multiple tribes, but tribal regulations restrict their enrollment to one community. At birth, parents often chose what tribe to enroll their children.[9] Based on my consultants, there does not appear to be any clear pattern to enrollment; children can be enrolled in either of their parents' tribes, or in some cases in those of their grandparents. Certainly, some Apache people choose the enrollment of their children based upon material and financial benefits, but just as many do not. Often, parents enroll tribally-mixed children in a particular tribe out of respect for an influential relative or because it was a relative's wish for them to be enrolled in a certain tribe. To complicate matters even more, once children turn reach adulthood, they can choose to change their tribal affiliation if they wish – although doing so means relinquishing the rights and services to the tribal community of their original enrollment.

Pete, a middle-aged man of Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache descent, was enrolled as Apache when he was born even though his mother is enrolled Kiowa and his father is enrolled Comanche. In both cases, his blood quantum would have been high enough for enrollment as either Kiowa or Comanche. Instead, he was enrolled Apache. When I questioned him about this, he explained, "Well, it was my father's wish that all three of us enroll as Apache. Because of his mother, you know, my grandma Sally." Despite having parents with different non-Apache citizenship, Pete's claim to an Apache social identity is largely accepted by other Apache tribal members. As Pete noted, "Well, I grew up with my grandma Sally. Out in the country, at their old homeplace. I spent a lot of time out there. And I learned to dance there." Pete's ties to an Apache family, in other words, are well-known in the Apache community and Pete himself credits much of his cultural knowledge about dancing and singing, as well as knowledge of other, less visible Apache ways, to his upbringing by his Apache grandmother on their allotment outside of Fort Cobb. Interestingly, however, Pete's younger brother Todd is also enrolled Apache and also spent a lot of time at the old homeplace, and yet his claim on an Apache social identity is far more tenuous. Although enrolled Apache, Todd *associates* today almost exclusively with his mother's prominent Kiowa family, maintaining kin ties and social relationships with his Kiowa, but not his Apache, family.

As the examples of Pete and Todd illustrate, for people with multiple tribal ancestries community visibility is important component to successfully claiming a particularly cultural identity. Many enrolled Kiowas, for example, have claims to Apache families but have spent most of their life associating with and being raised by their

Kiowa relations. In these cases, visibility is achieved by associating with one tribe over others. Association, however, does not necessarily imply participation in the powwow world – association can also simply denote an individual's participation in the lives of kin. Todd's association with an Apache family could have given him the same cultural belonging as his brother Pete, but his visible association *only* with his mother's Kiowa family negates that belonging. Of course, powwow participation is one strategy for maintaining affiliation with multiple tribal communities, as Pete's participation in Kiowa, Comanche and Apache powwows illustrates. Although he also participates in the Apache Blackfeet, Pete importantly recognizes his claim to Apacheness not only through this visible form of participation but also to his connection with an Apache family.

The emphasis on *association* reflects both the fluidity and fixedness in Apache definitions of social identity. In some cases, Apache woman who have married non-Apache men and whose social networks subsequently become focused around their Kiowa in-laws and relations, are sometimes referred to as "captured." Like captive women in historical times, these Apache women have claims to an Apache social identity but the circumstances of their life have encouraged – or forced, as was the case for historic captives – them to associate with a different tribal community.[10] Maggie, an elderly Apache woman who recently passed away, was often described by Apache people as being "captured" by the Kiowas because of her marriage to a prominent Kiowa man at a young age. Because of her birth to an Apache family, Maggie remained nominally Apache, but her nearly life-long , exclusive association with the Kiowa community negated an Apache social identity.

In turn, some non-Apache women married to Apache men, like Judy, associate so much with the Apache community that they are often described as "captured by the Apaches." As an Apache friend told me:

> Like Judy… I always thought she was Apache. Didn't know it until I was little, at one of the powwows, I mean one of the Blackfeet ceremonies…And then I realized she wasn't Apache. She's assimilated, I never think of her of Wichita! And then [another woman]. When her husband died, she always said my family – they're Kiowa of course in Carnegie – told me to move home. She says," that's not my home anymore. My home is with the Apache…These are my people now. "

Maggie, however, represents a different way of "being captured" than Judy and other women married *into* the Apache community. While Maggie was "not really" Apache because she no longer maintained her Apache social ties, Judy is "not really" Apache because her position in Apache social networks is as an affine, an in-law, thus without descent from an Apache family. Neither are fully Apache because neither can claim both desent *and* association. Yet, even though they are "not quite" Apache does not imply that they are treated with disdain by community members. When she found out Judy and others were not Apache by descent, Jenny remembers "admiring her and always thinking that of her and respecting her for being with us."

Clearly, as these narratives reveal, enrollment – even with the transformations that Apache people have made – does not always map onto individual social identities. Fixed by blood and birth, enrollment by blood quantum does not take into account the necessary Apache sociality – claiming, acknowledging, associating with kin, and performing respect behaviors – that marks an individual as fully Apache. Even more, some native people are able to maintain and claim social ties to multiple tribal

communities, thus challenging the "one tribe" policy of enrollment. In fact, as Jenny reminded me, Apache enrollment is not even a requirement for a young woman to be selected or elected as tribal princess – the ultimate representative of tribal collective cultural identity. She suggests this reflects the fact that Apaches "respect families" – in other words, respect that the reality of tribal intermarriage will inevitably result in some individuals who have claim to an Apache family but are enrolled elsewhere. As young women with Apache families and thus a claim to an Apache social identity, they are allowed to represent the Apache community as tribal princess despite their status as non-citizens. In turn, their Apache families should be allowed to claim them as *Apache* and enjoy the honor of having a princess in the family.

Indeed, by disconnecting enrollment and tribal citizenship from discourses of identity and belonging, these narratives challenge the imposition of the federal government to determine who is and who is not Apache. As Jenny noted, "I guess its funny because…we as Indians don't look at it from a white perspective, but we have to put the numbers for the government. [Enrollment] is always a numbers game…We've learned to live that way, but I know that isn't really an Indian concept." Even more, disconnecting enrollment from identity also suggests that blood plays little role in Apache concepts of belonging. For Jenny, whose father was white and whose mother was full-blood Apache, blood quantum is both problematic and inconsequential. "I was in elementary school when I found out I wasn't all Apache, " Jenny told me. "But I didn't know any different, by birth. But by being raised and enculturated and stuff I feel like I'm 100 percent." For Jenny, perhaps more problematic than her blood quantum status

is the family name she inherited from her white father. Like several other Apache people with similar ancestries, Jenny is upset that her surname is not an Apache name, in particular her grandmother's family name, because she considers herself a full member of this family. At the same time, however, her surname is embarrassing because it announces her mixed Apache-white ancestry.[11]

Even Jenny's own narrative, however, suggest a more complex relationship between Apache identity, blood quantum, and authenticity. Despite narratives and lived experiences which disconnect enrollment and blood from identity, blood quantum is still associated, to varying degrees, with culture. As anthropologist Circe Sturm has argued, both native and non-native people have accepted hegemonic ideologies in which native people with higher degrees of "Indian" blood – full-blood – are seen as more culturally authentic than those with lesser degrees (Sturm 2002). Like many Apache people, Jenny makes the connection between blood and culture in relation to the lowered blood quantum requirements. For her, the lowered enrollment requirements are not problematic, but *only* if "they teach them to be Apache, if you know your place and who your relatives are." Jenny assumes, like many Apache people, that the recently enrolled "one-eighths," as they are sometimes called, do not know how to be Apache. Importantly, however, Jenny's concerns are not necessarily, or not only, about blood – as I have argued, some of the new enrollees are members of families that have not claimed "their Apache," and thus would not have had the opportunity to learn an Apache sociality.

As evidenced above, blood can be, and is, invoked as a claim to authenticity within the Apache community. Importantly, however, blood is less often a topic of conversation than enrollment and is far less common than kinship. In fact, most Apache people only discussed blood quantum when I solicited these topics in interviews or informal conversations. One consultant, for example, complained that the "one-eighths" were running the tribal government to the detriment of the rest of tribe. Another consultant confided to me that he believes the Apache blood quantum should be moved up to one-half so that only "real" Apaches can enroll. On a few rare occasions – perhaps twice in my more than two years of field work – I heard Apache men publicly invoke their status as "full-blood" in speeches at public events and powwows. More commonly, Apache people refer to blood more subtly, through tropes about phenotype. The lighter one's skin, the more visible one's racially-mixed heritage and thus, the more obvious one's uncertain kin and social ties to an Apache family.

Although enrollment is a much more common theme than blood quantum, even this subject is not an everyday topic of conversation. Most Apache people already know how their friends, neighbors, and relatives are enrolled and have little need to discuss the issue. For some, it is simply not problematic because they are enrolled in their ancestral native community, while many others have simply followed their enrollment and chosen to affiliate with that particular community despite other tribal ancestries. A smaller number, like Pete, choose to negotiate belonging in more than one community.[12] The vast majority of my knowledge on enrollment came from questions I

asked, as an outsider without access to the vast cultural knowledge about enrollment that my consultants had.

For Apache people, narratives surrounding enrollment reveal a complex, and sometimes contradictory, set of beliefs about community belonging and social identity. The baseline for contemporary community membership, for an Apache social identity, is birth to an Apache family, and the decision to lower Apache blood quantum requirements reflects emphasis. Yet, even for those individuals who meet this basic requirement, full membership as an Apache person is also predicated upon meeting certain social and cultural obligations that construct a contemporary Apache sociality. Thus Apache identity is fixed, by fact of birth to an Apache family, even as it is simultaneously fluid and situational, tied to culturally-specific knowledge. As the narratives of Pete, Todd, and the "captured" women Maggie and Judy reveal, full social membership in the Apache community is bestowed upon people who meet both requirements of birth and behavior, sometimes in spite of their tribal citizenship.

Kinship Obligations: Respect Behaviors and Gender Propriety

Beyond acknowledging relatives and association with kin, Apache kinship obligations structure social relations by suggesting appropriate modes of kinship and gender interaction – that is, a culturally-constructed Apache sociality. Throughout his interview, Tony closely linked respect behaviors with kinship obligations and culturally-designated social roles. When I asked him what aspects of Apache culture he is trying to teach his children, Tony responded by saying, "I want them to learn, I try to teach them,

unwritten laws of respect. Respect for themselves, respect for their siblings for their grandpas and grandmas. They all have a role to play and…I want them to understand that." For Tony, these culturally-defined roles include maintaining "special" relationships with certain relatives – for a man, mentoring relationships with his father's brothers or, for a woman, an uniqueness closeness with her *dadan*, "older sister," or great-grandmother in American kinship.[13]

Even more, these "unwritten rules of respect" suggest normative modes of interaction between men and women, particularly between brothers and sisters, daughters-in-law and fathers-in-law, and sons-in-law and mothers-in-law. Between these relationships, respectful behavior dictates maintaining appropriate social distance, even to the point of avoidance. Women, for example, are expected to avoid talking to, looking at, touching, and even being in the same room with their father-in-laws and son-in-laws. In marriage, as Maria explained " the husband and the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law and father-in-law, really you're not supposed to look at each other or talk to each other…Or be in the same room." In practice, these behavioral obligations require Apache women and men to avoid most forms of contact, public and private, with their opposite-sex in-laws. Although, as I will discuss in subsequent chapters, these rules can cause awkwardness and misunderstanding – especially for Apache women and married to non-Apache or non-Indian men – many of my Apache consultants continued to acknowledge their contemporary relevance and implementation. In typical Apache fashion, however, Jenny joked that these rules can sometimes be useful – " it really helps when you don't like your in-laws!"

Relations between sisters and brothers are somewhat less strict, but beyond polite conversation, most interaction – including eating meals together, spending extended time together in the same room and discussing personal matters, particularly of a sexual nature – should be avoided if possible. As Karen notes in the conversation below, many Apaches, to this day, emphasize the prohibition against discussing personal matters with male kin. After I spent an evening with Karen and some of her family, including her sister Myrah and Myrah's boyfriend Joe, Karen used the joking, informal and often sexual nature of the previous night's conversation to explain to me how Apache siblings should *not* behave:

> **K**: Apaches are different. Apaches have *old* ways. I don't know how to explain that. They're *old*. They're different.
>
> **AW:** What do you mean?
>
> **K:** How, like, for instance, how we sit down there visiting. How we talk? You know, *bluntly*? Apaches don't do that. That's a no-no.
>
> **AW:** You mean with Joe?
>
> **K:** Remember how we were talking, teasing him? We don't do that. If I was around my cousins or whatever, I wouldn't stay stuff like that. We'd get frowned at.
>
> **AW:** Who'd frown at you?
>
> **K:** Like if I was around my Aunt Virgie or Grandma Lena. We can kind of tease our grandmas on the Apache side…but not as…*bluntly* as I was talking yesterday.

For Karen, joking about sexual matters – or as she put it, talking bluntly – is not appropriate between her and her male cousins, but it is *slightly* more acceptable between her and Joe, Myrah's boyfriend. Even more, Karen's concern is that such actions would upset her older female relatives, causing them to rebuke her.

Gendered respect behaviors also carry an obligation that Apache women support their male kin, both in the home and beyond it. Practically, Apache women are expected to cook for male kin, serve them first, clean up after them, and in general attend to their needs. Maria, for example, admitted to sometimes loosing patience with these expectations, especially with male kin who, in Maria's words, "take advantage." Maria's mother's response to her frustrations – and then, in turn, Maria's response to her own daughters – illustrates how these expectations are discursively embedded within expectations of an Apache sociality:

> My mom and them would say, "Oh you know the Apache ways, that's Apache!" My girls was crazy one time. We had a peyote meeting and I told my girls to wait on my boy. And they said "He can get it." And I said, "Hey! You know our way, Apache way." And they said, "Well, we're Kiowas!" Older men just *laughed* about that![14]

Interestingly, Maria's response to her own daughters was similar, almost identical, to the way her own mother responded to frustrations. That is, she justifies gender-specific modes of interaction as distinctly *Apache* ways. Maria's daughters, unwilling to accept these requirements, use their multi-tribal heritage as a way to avoid them – at least, jokingly.

As anthropologists Sylvia Junko Yanagiasako and Jane Fishbourne Collier (1987) suggest, in the Apache community kinship and gender ideology – local definitions of gender, or beliefs about appropriate roles for each gender – are intimately related to one another (see also B. Williams 1995). Because Apache kin ties expand well beyond nuclear and even extended family units – and in fact, unite most of the tribe to one another, either by blood or marriage – nearly all Apache women and men are expected

to abide by these guidelines of respectful interaction, regardless of how closely they are related. Both traditionally and historically, outside of the home, and away from one's immediate family, Apache women supported their male kin in their daily lives. In turn, Apache men dominated the "public sphere" of warfare, trade, and hunting, while for the majority of the twentieth century they also dominated tribal government offices (Albers 1983). Thus, the ideals of respectful kin behavior, especially the supportive role of women in relation to their male relatives, structures appropriate gender roles in the community *in general*.

Clearly, most nomadic Plains societies appear, at least superficially, to be structured by a gendered public/private sphere distinction, with men taking on public roles and women relegated to the private sphere of home and family. Anthropologist Patricia Albers (1983) critiques the negative connotation of the public/private distinction, as well the implied subordination of women, that was common to feminist anthropological scholarship in the mid-1970s (Rosaldo 1974).[15] For Albers, this work "is based on the assumption that everywhere domestic life is separated from and subordinated by a public sector; but while this state of affairs is obvious in the organization of European societies, it is questionable whether it applies to many native communities in the Great Plains and elsewhere" (1983:4-5). More precisely, of course, Plains women were not relegated only to the private sphere; rather, their public roles were supportive and secondary in comparison to the roles of Plains men. Although today these gender roles are contested in the Apache community, many Apache women find meaning and value in their roles supporting male kin. Indeed, for some Apache

women, adhering to gendered respect behaviors – and all aspects of kin obligations, including acknowledging and claiming kin – are seen as ways of honoring kin.

Cultural Identity and the Paradox of Indigeneity

Respect behaviors have likely always indexed social identity and belonging in the Apache community, positioning Apache people in a social network in relation to their kin and affinal kin that differentiated them from other native groups. Maria's story, however, also indexes the importance of respect behaviors within contemporary narratives of Apache *cultural* identity, constructions of collective self-image formed in contrast with other communities and composed of perceived cultural differences (Mageo 2002: 493). Maria's words emphasize that today, these behaviors are seen as *distinctly* Apache, distinguishing the Apache community from even their closest native neighbors, the Kiowa. It is these gendered respect behaviors – what Karen calls "old ways" – that Apache men and women most frequently describe, in this contemporary context, as uniquely Apache. Indeed, Apache people often see respect behaviors as seriously threatened, in danger of being lost, especially in younger generations.

Contemporary Apache respect behaviors are selected from a larger cultural catalog of known traditional behaviors and practices.[16] Acknowledging and associating with kin, using Apache kinship terminology, maintaining kin relationships and enacting respect behaviors remain integral aspects of being Apache today, but these patterns are not constitutive of an unchanged or unbroken kinship system. As I described earlier, the Apache practice of using the same term for "husband" and for "brother-in-law" – a term

that implied a wife's sexual availability to her brother-in-law even when her husband was living – has been discarded as an embarrassment. At the same time, certain elements of Apache respect behaviors have become highlighted in contemporary life, particularly the gendered aspects of Apache sociality. This process of downplaying some traditions and the emphasizing others – the *selective* invocation of tradition – is reflective not only of the colonial experience, but also of contemporary expectations of indigeneity.

For contemporary Apache people, a kin and gender-based cultural identity is articulated in a social landscape where, as Kirk Dombrowski (2001) suggests, native communities are defined as native, by the state, based on cultural distinctiveness. That is, they are limited to participation in the social, economic, and political landscape of the United States as native people only as cultural others. Yet this presents an essential paradox of indigeneity, because contemporary native communities were subject to assimilative policies that actively sought to destroy native cultural distinctiveness as well as to changing social circumstances that made such cultural practices untenable. Thus, the central paradox of indigeneity structures an almost unattainable goal – continuous cultural difference despite extreme assimilative forces that attempted to destroy such difference in the first place.

Today, the Plains Apache continue to define their collective cultural identity based on difference, but as I argued in the previous chapter, these kin and gender-based differences embedded in Apache sociality – like many other aspects of Apache life today – remain largely invisible to outside observers. It is, perhaps, this relative invisibility that

has enabled these practices to survive today, albeit transformed. As anthropologist Mark Tveskov (2007) suggests, some cultural patterns remained more elusive, more invisible, because they were practiced away from the colonial gaze. Other forms of "cultural esoterica," like dancing, religious practices and language use, were more obvious, more visible to colonizers, and thus targeted for extinction.[17] On the Southern Plains, social and ceremonial dances were the most visible in this sense, as were other cultural practices – such as residential mobility and extended family households. Even while these practices were both officially and unofficially assaulted by colonial Indian agents and missionaries, the changing circumstances of Apache life simultaneously rendered some cultural practices less meaningful, particularly the cultural repertoire of military and warrior activities that, after confinement on the Kiowa Comanche Apache Reservation, were impossible to enact.

Even more, I suggest that cultural practices are rendered visible and invisible in more than the literal sense. That is, some cultural practices are not literally invisible, hidden, or quiet. Rather, they hide in plain site, unnoticed because of their relative sameness to certain cultural practices of the colonizers. In particular, Anglo-American agents of colonialism did not see, did not notice, *some* aspects of Apache gender ideologies that were similar to their own.[18] Like their middle-class, Anglo counterparts, native Plains men held the highest social positions in their communities and served in leadership roles. Native Plains women, again like their Anglo counterparts, wielded some influence outside of public spaces, but their public social roles were limited, supportive, and secondary. Perhaps most importantly, Apache requirements of

respectful interaction, gender propriety, and social distance between men and women would, superficially, have not have seemed different *enough* to take notice or interest – especially in a historic context where Anglo-American men and women were, ideally at least, relegated to separate spheres of social life.

Because Plains peoples' gendered concepts of leadership and gender propriety largely resembled late nineteenth century Anglo-American gender ideology. As a result, federal policy makers on the Plains did not "need" to reorganize the gendered aspects of politics, subsistence, or even interpersonal relations like they did in other native communities – especially those in the Northeast, Southeast and Southwest.[19] In other words, Plains gender ideologies partially fit Anglo-American expectations and in turn, the respect behaviors that are so crucial today remained invisible to the colonial gaze.[20] Only since broader, national changes have occurred to Anglo-American gender ideologies in the last thirty years, have Apache gender ideologies become visible as culturally different, and thus available as a distinctive marker of Apacheness. This is not to say, of course, that these gender ideologies are "invented" traditions; rather, they have been made visible, and have come to be seen as culturally different, as Anglo-American gender ideologies shifted.

Certainly, however, the contemporary emphasis on Apache respect behaviors is more than simply a reaction to external expectations of cultural difference. In fact, the shifting view of Anglo-American gender roles, interaction and – especially – propriety make the continued articulation of Apache respect behaviors increasingly difficult. Elderly women, particularly, worry that their sons and daughters are exposed to forms

of interaction in school, and through the media, that continually contradict and challenge Apache respect behaviors. For these women, respect behaviors should be salvaged, protected, and taught to younger generations not *only* because of their connection to Apache identity, but also because respect behaviors reflect their own interpretations of and opinions about the ways that gender, kinship, and codes of propriety should structure human interaction.

Beyond the Compromise

To some degree, Apache respect behaviors represent what Raymond Williams (1971) calls "the structure of feelings" – local, community discourses and traditions that are not part of hegemonic indigeneity and can be called upon both to mediate and challenge the constraints of Indianness. Simultaneously, however, these local narratives nonetheless construct expectations for behavior in ways that may marginalize some members of communities that do not, or can not, meet them. Apache respect behaviors, as I have shown, are not only difficult to enact in daily life, but on some occasions are uncomfortable or undesirable. My opening ethnographic narrative illustrates this very problem – while the funeral provided an example of "Apache ways," it was also a site where Billy acknowledged that Apache ways *could* be problematic, difficult to meet, and emotionally painful. Similarly, gendered respect behaviors potentially cause frustration and malcontent for some Apache women, like Maria's daughters.

Thus, even local narratives of identity create barriers to claiming an Apache cultural identity – and so this dissertation must address how *all* narratives of identity create anomaly, marginality and invisibility when individuals are unable to meet certain expectations. As a result, the similar compromises of anthropologist Loretta Fowler (1987) and Black Studies scholar Paul Gilroy (1991) – who, suggested in differing ways and different intellectual contexts, studying the process of cultural continuity and transformation – cannot be the end of my analysis. However new, innovative or "inauthentic," whether they are coming from "without" or "within," all narratives of identity are also implicit commentaries on who does *not* belong. As such, all narratives of identity are also subtle narratives of expectation and anomaly. Just as anthropologists investigate how native identity is claimed and experienced, I believe it is crucial to examine how native people are limited from claiming native identities through these discourses of identity, both those from within and outside of their communities.

In subsequent chapters, I move on to examine how all these narratives – Apache, popular, academic – illuminate the everyday ways people struggle "with and against their culture" (Dombrowski 2001:10). Because federally recognized native communities are accorded certain rights and privileges, discourses of cultural identity are not simply ideological; maintaining and claiming cultural difference is simultaneously a claim on Indianness and the material realities such an identity provides. Simultaneously, however, Apache narratives suggest that continuity and innovation can be found in many aspects of contemporary life, not only in forms of cultural expression like powwows. Just as these additional forms of continuity provide alternative ways to

be Apache outside of the powwow world, they are still narratives of identity and as such serve as authenticating discourses.

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[1] In the small published literature on the Plains Apache, McAllister's account of Apache kinship remains the most significant because of its detail on kinship obligations and ethnographic quality. As a result, much later literature on the Plains Apache relies on heavily on McAllister's data and interpretations. In contrast, additional kinship literature that includes data on the Plains Apache is more comparative in nature. Morris Opler, for example, published a comparative study on the kinship systems of Southern Athabaskan-speaking communities, the Plains Apache included, but it is more concerned with kin terms and culture history than with social roles and kinship obligations. See Opler, Morris, "The Kinship Systems of Southern Athabaskan-speaking Tribes" [American Anthropologist, 38(4):620-633, 1939].

[2] *De facto* matrilocality correlates with data provided by contemporary Apache people, many of whom claim that the Apache were properly matrilocal, especially if the marriage was been an Apache woman and a non-Apache man.

[3] For the sake of consistency, these terms are in McAllister's orthography for writing and translating Apache words to English.

[4] Interestingly, many of my contemporary consultants referred to their father's brothers as "uncle" rather than "father," although they simultaneously used the term "aunt" to describe father's sisters instead of "mother." Karen, for example, refers to her father's Apache brothers as "uncles" and his sisters as "aunt," even while she refers to the children of these relations as siblings. Using a different for father's sisters than for mother's sisters reflects McAllister's kin terms, but calling father's brothers "uncle" does not. Simultaneously, Karen also calls her father's mother's sister "grandma" and Karen's daughter refers to this woman as "*dadan*," or older sister – also similar to McAllister's system. Although my data is far from clear on this point, there does seem to be a contemporary prevalence for a shift in kin terms regarding "father" and "father's brother," where fathers are distinguished from their brothers with their own term despite the continuing use of other terms.

[5] This move to denaturalize kinship is generally associated primarily with David Schneider's *A Critique of the Study of Kinship* (1984). As Franklin and MacKinnon (2001:3) note, however, anthropologists beginning as early as the 1960s had begun challenging the definition of kinship as a universal link between "nature" and "culture" espoused by structuralists, especially Levi-Strauss. For the seminal structuralist approach to kinship, see Levi-Strauss, Claude, *The Elementary Structures of Kinship* [Boston, Beacon Press, 1969].

[6] In addition, sometimes the children of individuals who use kin terms for each other will continue to carry out these close relationships. Jenny, for example, recently told me that she had to stop her granddaughter from dating a young man whose grandmother called Jenny's mother "sister." Even though this is a fictive kin relationship that makes use of the term "sister" to denote a special, close relationship, Jenny still felt uncomfortable allowing her granddaughter to pursue the relationship.

[7] This was not always the case. On several occasions, I made obvious mistakes about kin relationships when I was confused either from lack of knowledge about Apache kinship or, more frequently as my field work progressed, when I mistakenly assumed a friend was using Apache kinship and they were using Anglo-American kinship, or vice versa.

[8] One can, of course, make this same argument about non-Indian, Anglo-Americans who, for example, very often confuse the terms "second cousin" and "first cousin once-removed."

[9] In some cases, although fairly rare, parents do not enroll children at birth or when they are young children, especially if they are of mixed-tribal ancestry, so that they can choose for themselves when they turn eighteen.

[10] For historical accounts of captivity in the Southwest, see the work of historian James Brooks, especially Brookes, James, "'This Evil Extends Especially…to the Feminine Sex': Negotiating Captivity in the New Mexican Borderlands," *Feminist Studies*, 22, no. 2 (Summer 1996): 279-309 and

Brooks, James, *Captives and Cousins: Slavery, Kinship and Community in the Southwest Borderlands* [Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2002].

[11] This is particularly the case when Apache people carry non-native surnames, although there is a hierarchy of preference. Apache men and women like Jenny, who are particularly proud of their heritage but, especially, of their families, often desire to carry their family surname. Other native surnames, however, are generally preferable over non-native ones.

[12] A few of my Apache consultants were highly critical of individuals who tried, like Pete, to participate in multiple tribal communities. In this view, an individual should "go with" their enrollment, even if they have relatives in multiple tribal communities, to avoid cultural confusion.

[13] These social roles were also noted by McAllister (1937).

[14] This distinction between the Kiowa and Apache, in terms of gender ideology, is particularly complicated. When questioned directly, most of my Apache consultants agreed that the Kiowa had similar beliefs about respectful behavior, especially between related kin. Yet in every day discourses about these behaviors, Kiowas and other native communities are often constructed as being less concerned with respect behaviors.

[15] This first, early era in feminist anthropology was characterized by two emphases. The first was to "correct" the pre-existing male bias in the ethnographic literature with work that focused on women. See Weiner, Annette, *Women of Value, Men of Renown: New Perspectives in Trobriand Exchange* [Austin, University of Texas Press, 1976]. The second emphases took as a given that all women, in all communities, are subordinate to and dominated by men. As a result, this literature attempted to explain women's universal subordination. For the three most influential explanations, see Rosaldo, Michelle, "Women, Culture, and Society: A Theoretical Overview, in *Women, Culture and Society*, Michelle Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere, eds. [Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1974]; Ortner, Sherry, "Is Female to Male as Nature is to Culture?" in Women, Culture and Society, Michelle Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere, eds.[Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1974] ; and Chodorow, Nancy, *The Reproduction of Mothering: Psychoanalysis and the Sociology of Gender* [Berkeley, University of California Press, 1978].

[16] To clarify, I am not claiming that Apache people are still aware and have the knowledge to practice all aspects of precolonial life. They do not. They do however, know of – but not enact – some cultural practices.

[17] In the context of the southern Northwest Coast, anthropologist Mark Tveskov has alluded to a similarly selective process among native people in Oregon. He argues that, for the general public, the "cultural esoterica" of Northwest Coast peoples – traditional art forms, ceremonies like potlatches, and sea mammal fishing – make these communities "Indian." Yet "it is just these very public aspects of 'traditional' social experience that became untenable in the face of Euro-American conquest," (2007:438). Although Tveskov does not specify, clearly the untenability of certain cultural practices stems from their visibility to outsiders, non-natives. In the brutal colonial context of southern Oregon and northern California, such visible markers of indigeneity were dangerous, signifying membership in a community that could result in death or removal to the northern Coastal Reservation. Yet while visible "cultural esoterica" were abandoned, other cultural practices survived because of their invisibility to the colonial gaze even as they remained visible markers of social membership in relation to other native people.

[18] Certainly, since the early years of colonization in the Southeast, Europeans have noticed gender differences between their own and native communities. In many colonial contexts, including on the Plains, European and American observers vilified native women as "squaws." A highly offensive, the term 'squaw" indexes the mistaken perception that native women, especially those of the Plains, were drudges, slaves both to their indolent husbands and to their labor. Indeed, colonial commentators on the Plains noticed and were often horrified by particular aspects of native gender ideologies and relationships, especially the practices of polygyny and the "giving" of wives to visitors, dignitaries, and honored guests. Seen through an ethnocentric lens, some native gender ideologies represented the savage and "degraded" position of native peoples on social evolutionary hierarchies of civilization. Consequently, these visibly different gender roles and relationships were challenged through legal means –instituting legal marriages, outlawing polygyny – as well as through more "subtle" forms of assimilative

policies, such as boarding school curricula. For descriptions of European perception of Plains women, see Weist, Katherine, "Beast of Burden and Menial Slaves: Nineteenth Century Observations of Northern Plains Indian Women" in *The Hidden Half: Studies of Plains Indian Women*, Patricia Albers and Bea Medicine, eds [Lanham, London, and New York, University Press of America, 1983]. For a discussion of gender-based assimilation, see Lomawaima, K. Tsianina, *They Called It Prairie Light: The Story of Chilocco Indian School* [Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1994].

[19] For a description of the intersection of gender ideologies of Americans and native peoples in the Southeast, see Perdue, Theda, "Southern Indians and the Cult of True Womanhood" in *The Web of Southern Social Relation: Women, Family, and Education*, Walter J. Fraser, Jr, Frank Saunders, Jr, and John L. Wakelyn, eds. [Athens, University of Georgia Press, 1985] and Perdue, Theda, *Cherokee Women* [Lincoln and London, University of Nebraska Press, 1998].

[20] Certainly, as many authors have noted (see especially McClintock 1995 and Stoler 1991), many forms of colonialism, especially Victorian-era British imperialism, were highly gendered practices. Not only was the process of colonialism itself gendered, but colonial authorities brought their gender expectations with them to the colonies. At the same time, however, Thomas (1994) argues that terms like "colonialism" and "imperialism" need to be placed into their appropriate historic and ethnographic contexts. European gender ideologies were not simply imposed wholesale on colonial communities – how these ideologies were introduced to and interpreted by native people was, in large part, due to already-existing indigenous ideas of gender.

Chapter Five
"You Can't Do Anything Without Money:"
Powwows, Kinship, and the Cost of Culture

On a warm spring day, I sat eating lunch in Temptations Restaurant in Anadarko with my friend Lena. Located on the first floor of a local motel, "the café" as Lena calls it, is always crowded at lunch. The clientele reflects the racial and cultural diversity of Anadarko itself. The motel and the restaurant are owned by an East Indian family, while the small, formica-topped tables are filled with Indian people, African-Americans, whites and Latinos – police officers and farmers, local business people, tribal employees and senior citizens – who enjoy the home-style food on the buffet.

Lena and I sat near the buffet, our plates overflowing with fried chicken and okra, mashed potatoes and gravy, and the occasional green vegetable. She was quiet, as always, while she ate, occasionally nodding at a friend or relative whom she recognized. At eighty-two years old, Lena is one of the Apache tribe's respected "elderlies," a member of one of the tribe's most prominent families, and, at least recently, a conspicuous participant at many local powwows. Raised on her father's allotment south of Ft. Cobb, in her youth she traveled away from Oklahoma for work, and as a middle-aged wife she had settled with her husband in the eastern part of the state. As a widow with grown children, she had come home again to Anadarko.

Both of us paused to look up as an Apache couple walked into the restaurant. Lena nodded at them when they passed our table. As usual, I had to lean over the table and ask Lena quietly, "What are their names, again?"

She frowned as she told me their family name. Lena is outspoken, especially in her old age, and does not try to conceal her frustration when I can't remember what to her is simple – names and kin relationships. "They're kin," she reminded me grudgingly. "Close. They have that girl, she's running for tribal princess."

"Oh, right. Were you ever a princess, Lena?"

"Hell, no!" She said emphatically, glaring at me.

I blushed. "Why not? You didn't want to be?"

"Oh, I wouldn't have minded," she said. "They came after me, you know, to be princess. My uncles. But my dad wouldn't let me."

"Really?" From what Lena had told me of her father, I couldn't imagine why he would refuse such an honor for their family.

"Too expensive," she said simply, returning to her chicken. "Got to have money."

Even two years later, I still remember this conversation clearly. Lena's words – so simple and yet so obvious – were a revelation. Before this moment, my understanding of powwow participation had been heavily influenced by the collaborative efforts of anthropologists who worked with culturally visible participants (Lassiter 1998). Like these scholars, I had conceived of powwow participation as a function of choice, where participation is seen as simultaneously voluntary and symbolic of an individual's cultural commitment and identity. In turn, those who chose not to participate did so because they simply did not want to participate, and this choice symbolized their rejection of an Indian identity (Lassiter 1998:74). Lena's words, however, identify material constraints as limiting participation and, consequently, also contest the assumption that non-participation unilaterally indicates a rejection of an Indian or Apache cultural identity.

Beyond these indications, already discussed in chapter three, Lena's perspective suggests a duality to the relationship between money and cultural reproduction that has far-reaching implications for narratives of capitalism, indigeneity and the creation of anomaly. Clearly, as Lena points out, money represented an obstacle to her individual participation as Apache Tribal Princess**.** Simultaneously, however, money is clearly *necessary* for this particular aspect of culture – as Lena said, "you got to have that money." Ironically, widely-circulated public narratives of indigeneity often discursively construct native peoples as anti-capitalist and, more precisely, anti-materialist. In these models, native authenticity and tradition are equated with rural isolation and poverty, while monetary accumulation and material success, both personal and collective, suggest acculturation to Anglo-American ways of life – and, thus, *in*authenticity

(Cattelino 2004, 2008). Indeed, as anthropologist Jessica Cattelino argues, these connections between authenticity and poverty emerge from a broader Western intellectual tradition about the universal impact of money upon non-capitalist societies. The result of these assumptions, I suggest, is a discursive paradox, where traditional native people are expected to be *both* culturally different and anti-materialist, even as cultural difference requires money for both cultural participation and reproduction.

Through the specificity of contemporary Apache narratives about money, this chapter challenges the universal theories about the impact of money on non-capitalist societies, particularly as they have been articulated in relation to Native American communities. After presenting the themes central to these theories, I make two arguments that contests their applicability among the Plains Apache. First, I suggest that money is a general requirement for the production and reproduction of contemporary Apache culture. Although most obvious in the powwow world, where money is essential in carrying out events, money is also necessary for the maintenance of kinship ties and obligations, as well as – in a very practical sense – necessary to provide vital support tribal language and cultural revitalization programs. Rather than being fundamentally "de-culturizing" and promoting acculturation, I argue that money actually *facilitates* cultural production and, thus, cultural distinctiveness. Second, I suggest that Apache people have a complex and sometimes adversarial relationship with money. Because money is intimately connected with cultural reproduction, this ambivalence about money indexes political concerns over how money is used within the community, and ultimately, who controls the means of cultural production.

The Introduction of Money

As anthropologist Jessica Cattelino argues, "poverty symbolically structures indigeneity in the United States, in such a way that a 'rich Indian' is an oxymoron to many – a signal of corruption, cultural loss, or value gone awry – and a threat to some," (2004:105). The "rich Indian" is an oxymoron, Cattelino notes, precisely because contemporary narratives of indigeneity are based largely upon "the trope of the noble, communal, and ever-poor Indian" (2004: 105). This trope connects tradition and authenticity not simply with poverty, but with anti-materialist and, as Cattelino suggests, with anti-consumptionist tendencies (2004:108). In turn, however, this trope of indigeneity is based upon a Western intellectual tradition that assumes money will have a radically transformative effect on non-Western, non-capitalist societies. That is, academic approaches tend to associate the introduction of capitalist monetary relations with the replacement of local cultures by a particular universal worldview that is assumed to accompany the introduction of capitalist relations.

According to anthropologists Maurice Bloch and Jonathan Parry (1989), this particular Western intellectual approach to money has deep roots. Perhaps most well-known are the opinions of Aristotle, who condemned money because it destroyed household self-sufficiency and the ideal of production-for-use (1989:2). From Aristotle's perspective, money-making and, especially, lending with interest (usury) are unnatural acts, at odds with the natural order of life. In thirteenth century Europe, Catholic scholar Thomas Aquinas – later canonized by the church – rediscovered Aristotle's writings and popularized them through his scholarship. Aquinas' had a "medieval unease about

money" and was particularly suspicious of money gained from the merchant's profit and the usurer's interest (1989:3). For Aquinas, this "medieval unease" was motivated less by money itself than from a discomfort with certain *kinds* of money, especially money that was perceived as being earned without labor (Bloch and Parry 1989:3).[1]

Simultaneously, however, there is also a very different thread of thought in the Western intellectual tradition. In this alternative approach, money and trade are seen as benign and, even more, as facilitating freedom and modernity.[2] No matter their particular perspective about money, whether it was theorized as a negative impact or beneficent influence, money is universally seen as "an incredibly powerful agent of profound social and cultural transformations" so much so that Western philosophers and social theorists often credit it "with an intrinsic power to revolutionise society and culture (1989:3; see Polanyi 1944). Despite differences in degree about the potential positive impact of money, German philosophers/sociologists Karl Marx and Georg Simmel nevertheless agreed that money promoted individualism and, as a result, the destruction of solidary communities bound together by networks of household interdependence (Bloch and Parry 1989:3).

For Simmel, money represented the mechanism of change that transformed traditional or "primitive" communities into "modern" societies. In the German sociological tradition, these two types of human association are often described as *Gemeinschaf* and *Gesselschaf,* following German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies. More than simply a division between primitive and modern, *Gemeinschaf* and *Gesselschaf* refer to different types of human association and interdependence.[3] In this division,

Gemeinschaf (often translated as "community") represents human groups bound by common morals and household interdependence, where individual self-interest is muted in favor of community needs. *Gesselschaft*, on the other hand, describes communities with larger civil societies where individual self-interest prevails over common morality and the greater good. Thus, as a result of the transformation from *Gemeinschaf* to *Gesselschaf*, Simmel believed money "dissolves bonds between persons based on kinship" (Bloch and Parry 1989:4).[4] Money, in other words, represents modernity and those characteristics of "rationality, calculability, and anonymity" associated with it (Bloch and Parry 1989:4).[5]

Problematically, the universality of the Western intellectual tradition in suggest not only that all forms of human association can be easily be defined as either "primitive" or "modern," but that the introduction of money and capitalist relations will also have a universally transformative impact on local cultures. Money, that is, *produces* the development of a particular worldview that is no longer based on communal kin ties, but rather on rational – in other words, non-cultural – interaction between anonymous social actors. In her dissertation and subsequent monograph based upon it, Jessica Cattelino challenges these assumptions in the context of the Florida Seminole community, where sizeable gaming revenues have resulted in popular discourses that challenge their cultural distinctiveness. In many ways, my work in this dissertation and this chapter reflect the influence of Cattelino's work.

Moving beyond Cattelino, however, I suggest that these same assumptions can be dismissed in another cultural context, a native community which has not been nearly

as financially successful as the Florida Seminole. Because of their wealth, the Florida Seminole – and Cattelino's arguments – might be viewed as an exceptional case, and thus inapplicable to other native communities. By moving the cultural context to the Plains Apache, whose financial situation more closely represents those of other native communities, I extend and refine Cattelino's arguments. Like Cattelino, I suggest that in the context of the Plains Apache community, money facilitates, rather than destroys, both local forms of cultural expression like powwows and kin ties and obligations. Unlike the Florida Seminole, money is distributed far more unevenly in the Plains Apache community. As a result, the Plains Apache provide a useful context in order to examine the ways that money becomes the medium through which local battles of culture and cultural reproduction are articulated.

Money, Powwows, and Cultural Production

In chapter three, I argued that individual powwow participation requires, along with cultural capital, material capital as well. Similarly, the collective effort of organizing and carrying out a powwow also requires a substantial amount of both cultural and material capital. That is, the effort to continually reproduce the contemporary public and visible aspects of Apache culture requires a monetary and kin commitment. Of course, however, powwows are only one aspect of a larger cultural system interwoven with gendered kinship and respect obligations. Even these far less visible, and less costly, cultural components are often marked and maintained through the exchange of money and goods. Indeed, in a very literal sense, money is required for programs that

aim to specifically teach these subtle, but significant, cultural behaviors to younger generations of Apache tribal citizens.

Powwows, like the Apache Blackfeet annual dances, are often put on by a particular organization or family. The diversity in *kinds* of powwows makes generalizing especially difficult, but because it is particularly important to Apache people, I will use Blackfeet as an example. Each year, both of the two Apache Blackfeet societies hold annual dances at the tribal park near Fort Cobb. These dances usually begin on a Friday afternoon and continue until Sunday evening. The Blackfeet dance is performed in the afternoon, followed with a supper break, and then an evening dance – usually either gourd dancing or, sometimes, Mescalero Apaches are invited to perform the Dance of the Mountain Gods or what local native people call the "fire dance." Because the annual dance takes place on tribally-owned property, the organizations do not have to pay a usage fee. Other expenses, however, can quickly multiply.

Jean, who once served as the treasurer for one of the Blackfeet societies, explained to me about the costs such annual dance weekends require. For families who camp for the weekend, the organization provides rations of meat so that each family can serve dinner for kin and guests, both spectators and participants. This means buying enough meat for as many as fifteen different camps, with each family to supplement their needs. In addition, the organization often hosts games and contests, like horseshoe and basketball tournaments, before the dance begins – all which have small prizes for the winners. The organization generally pays to have the dance arena and surrounding woody areas sprayed with pesticide to keep away bugs and other

creatures. Even with the fairly recent addition of flush toilets and showers, the organizations also often pays to have a few portable toilets on site, closer to the arena, so that the elderly and differently-abled will have easier access.



Figure 12: Kiowa-Apache Blackfeet Dance, August 2008,
Ft. Cobb, Oklahoma. Photo by author.

Military societies among the Kiowa and Comanche often have smaller benefit dances throughout the year to help pay for their big annual dance in the summer. At these smaller dances, members or friends of the various organizations generally donate items to raffle off, thus adding crucial money to organization coffers that will then be used for the annual dance. In general, neither Blackfeet organization holds benefit dances. They do, however, dance at smaller dances throughout the year. They are usually paid a small amount to dance at these events. Some of this money is, theoretically, divided between the singers at the drum and the dancers and the excess is

saved for the annual dance. In reality, however, much of the Blackfeet annuals depend on money from personal donations made during the dance that took place the previous year and the raffles that take place during that particular year. Donations are often made by a family during after a special and a giveaway, where a family makes monetary pledge or donation of "beeves" for the next year's annual dance. Raffles also rely heavily on donations, although these are generally smaller and more individual – individuals might donate a shawl, Pendleton blanket, or grocery basket to be raffled off with the profits going to the Blackfeet society. Occasionally, items which have been accumulated by the society at other dances will be raffled off.[6]

In some cases, individual organization members or their kin actually put up their own money before the dance, eventually getting repaid after the actual event occurs, with the proceeds from donations and raffling. Jean, just after accepting the position of treasurer, inherited an empty bank account right before the annual dance was scheduled. As she explained during an interview:

> **J**: I'm just elected in there. And I need groceries for our camp. And I had to put up. About that time – see I'm a widow – and about that time my kids' dad had died, and we started our social security. And I thought, well, what am I going to do? I had that money, so what I'd do? I buy groceries on our social security for the camp. I put that up, a check, for that. And I thought, oh I gotta get it back because we need it too! But you know, we got campers coming in and all that. I can't remember how much I put up. I did that. But anyway, that's how me made it. Because I had to buy them the first time.

From Jean's perspective, she had no other choice but to provide the money herself. With the Blackfeet annual looming before her, she was under pressure to provide – above all else – rations for the campers arriving from near and far. Providing rations is one way to ensure that campers from distances places, either relatives, fictive kin, or

special guests from other native communities, will be able to afford to make the long and expensive trip to Oklahoma each summer. Rations, in other words, ensure that the powwow will be well-attended – a requirement for it to be held each year, and, thus, to its reproduction.

As treasurer, Jean was also under pressure to sell raffle tickets and keep track of individual donations, a pressure that was no doubt heightened when her own money was on the line.

> We did raffles and everything. My uncle told me, he said, "That Friday afternoon, as soon as you hear the beat of the drum, I want you to start those raffles." He said, "Because you gotta make it." Because we had no money, that's when we first started. "You gotta come out of this. We'll be at the drum, we'll be there, but you gotta do this." I always contacted, you know always gotta have help, you got ask for help to receive help, I ask uh – I think there was about four women if they'd be able to help…Switch times and all that. And they were very faithful. And the first beat of the drum, my uncle's eyeing me, saying "Ok, get it going, girl!" Anyway, we did. And we made it the first year.

As Jean's story suggests, she was not the only person worried about "making it" at the annual dance that first year she was treasurer. For her uncle, a Blackfeet society headsmen, money concerns accompanied him to the drum even though he delegated the job of collecting raffle tickets to Jean. In turn, Jean solicited the help of other women, usually kinswomen, to help her collect the tickets. Because selling raffle tickets requires constantly walking around the arena, stopping at each clump of chairs or group of spectators, it can be tiresome – especially with as many as five items, plus a fifty-fifty drawing, raffled off each day of the annual dance.[7]

As Jean explained, "Of course its expensive…You can't do anything without money. I don't care, you just can't. You got to have a base." Despite the expense, however, Jean was quick to point out that the pledges and raffles were not intended to

be fund-raisers. That is, Jean and the other society leaders were only concerned with providing the necessary essentials through the raffles and individual donations to "break even" on their investments. In fact, if there was money left over, Jean tried to spread it out by holding a picnic after the annual:

> I had enough money left over, so went to – I contacted Fort Cobb, the lake park – so we had a cookout and I put it in the paper and I invited all the Apache Blackfeet members to come out. We had a good show up. It was in September…It was nice out there. And I bought meat. And I told them this is what you had left over. And you know, because you don't want too…Its not a money maker, it just to see you through. And that's the way we done, every year, we had just enough to have that cook out.

In addition, money collected from pledges and raffles during the annual was also used to provide the meat and other food items for the smoke ceremony, held annually – typically in the beginning of the year – for society members.

Jean's tenure as Blackfeet ended nearly a decade ago. According to Jenny, however, Blackfeet – and powwows in general – have been dependent upon some money since their revival in the late 1950s. As she said:

> We grew up, every weekend, that was our socialization, I guess. Where was the powwow this weekend? Or Friday or Saturday or Sunday. And we'd go. And if it wasn't a powwow, it was where are we going to camp, was what they used to say. We're going to camp at the Mopope's or we're going to camp at the dance ground or we're going to camp at the Comanche's. There was a circuit in the summer of places you would go for camping and people looked forward to that. I know that my grandmother would always go buy the ice blocks for our little bitty refrigerator. And they'd buy the food, we'd always have food and they'd always cook. I don't know what expenses they incurred.

Even though Jenny identifies a relationship between cultural production, reproduction and money, she nevertheless believes this relationship has strengthened in the forty years since her youth. According to Jenny, "Its changed. Its got contemporary, I guess

you would say. Nowadays, it is expensive. I've even not gone as much *because* of the expense."

Part of Jenny's discomfort with what she considers a *recent* dependence upon money is the increase in amounts of money used to honor people in the arena. As previously discussed, money and goods are used to honor individuals – by their families, friends, and fictive kin – in a variety of formal and informal ways during powwows. Most formally, families honor their relatives by holding a special and a giveway. At the most informal level, individuals are honored when money is placed at their feet in the arena. Such events are often unplanned and unaccompanied by a corresponding giveaway. According to Jenny, "I don't remember that kind of money being put in the arena…People were honored with money, but I don't know…Now its different." Despite Jenny's observations, however, many other Apache people reminisced about past giveaways that were clearly far more excessive than those taking place today, with some that included horses and, on one memorable occasion, even a car. As Jenny reminded me, these items were given away because they were needed, as a true act of generosity.

Money, Kinship, and Reciprocity

Honoring kin in the powwow arena, both formally and informally, is not merely a symbolic event, relegated to the world of visible, expressive culture. In fact, honoring suggests a more complex relationship between money and kinship obligations that extends far beyond the powwow world. For many Apache people, kinship obligations and respect behaviors require that they participate in reciprocal relations with kin

where they provide kin with monetary help if needed. In turn, kin are expected to provide reciprocal help during times of need. Indeed, kin relations are, arguably, maintained and sealed through these relationships. My own fictive kin relationships with Karen and her family members was forged and maintained through the exchange of money, goods, and services. Most commonly, I provided car rides to the grocery store, to the IHS clinic, to visit relatives, or simply to run errands. Though rarely paid for these trips with "gas money," I was often repaid – in food. Karen and her mother, particularly, often cooked me dinner, bought me groceries, or sent me home with boxes of commodity foods, including one large box holding fifteen cans of tuna. It was these exchanges that rendered me partially, fictively and temporarily, a kin relation.[8]

For families and individuals who struggle to make ends meet, kin relations provide essential cash and goods in emergencies. They also provide cash for other types of needs – including money for beer or other substances. The activities engaged in order to meet these needs, often called *hustling* by Apache people and other residents of Anadarko, are dependent upon a circle of reciprocal kin relationships. That is, when individuals are hustling they often "hit up" the same set of kin relations – although perhaps in a different order, often depending on the circumstance – to help them meet their needs.[9] Sometimes hustling requires simply asking for money outright, but many times it also includes trying to sell a good or service in exchange for cash. Goods are frequently items that the individuals owns and no longer has need for or will make do without – a more informal, kin-based kind of pawning, except without any chance to retrieve the goods once sold.

Hustling is, perhaps, best illustrated with an example from my field notes. On this occasion, Karen and her sister Myrah came over to try to sell me a child-sized winter coat, decorated in University of Oklahoma crimson and cream. They were clearly trying to come up with money for something – I was not, at first, sure for what. Early into our relationship, I am sure that I was the first stop on their hustle simply because I lived very close by, in fact sharing the same duplex. After I refused to buy the coat, I acquiesced to driving them around Anadarko so they could continue the hustle. Where they went depended on a variety of criteria – relationship, whether an individual had a child that could wear the coat, who owed them or who could afford it. We began at two houses a few streets up from our houses. My notes begin after these first two women denied them:

> Turning to me, Karen asks, "Can you take us to one more house?" I respond affirmatively, and we take off again, driving a few blocks east to a house near the Apache Tribal Complex. "Both cars are here," Karen says as we pull up and park near the driveway. Myrah gets out this time, walking up to the front door and knocking loudly. This house is larger and nicer than most in Anadarko, with impressive stone masonry walls and a beautiful brick sidewalk leading up to the front. Kids toys are scattered in the front yard – L'il Tykes cars and tricycles, balls, a basketball hoop. The new, shiny toys are a marker of relative affluence.
>
> "He built this house himself," Karen comments. "It used to be just a regular house, and then he put up all the stone." "Is he a mason?" I ask. "Can't you see all his stuff?" Karen asks impatiently, pointing toward the neighboring lot where stone and brick are piled. She glances up at the front door, frowning. "They should be here, the cars are here. They're probably sleeping, they get up early. You know, they work."

Looking back at this episode, it seems strange that Karen and Myrah would have asked this particular family to buy the jacket. As far as I could tell, this family was not particularly close to either woman. And yet, as Karen herself pointed out, as masons the

family would have had the money, as well as small children, so the coat may have been something they wanted.

Because Karen and Myrah were also denied on their third attempt, the hustle continued:

> Myrah walks back to the car. When I glance back at her, she asks "One more place?" I nod. "Sure." "We really do appreciate it," Karen says "Let's go over Benny's," Karen says. "He'll give us something for those kids." She directs me over to a house on Florida Street, near where I walk Ollie every morning. As we pull up, they both realize that he's not home. " Just as we're about to turn around and head over to Betty's, Myrah sees a yard full of kids about the right size for the coat. "Stop here," she says urgently. "Let's ask Sheila." "I'm not asking her!" Karen responds indignantly. "She works for the tribe."
>
> Myrah insists we stop, so I pull into the driveway. Karen gets out of the car, despite her previous statement, and says to a boy holding a basketball, "Tell your mom Karen wants to talk to her. Tell Sheila." Soon Sheila emerges from the house, frowning and looking slightly irritated, not noticing me at first. One of her daughters is with her, and as soon as she sees the OU coat, she puts it on and gives us all a huge smile. Shaking her head and smiling, Sheila reluctantly gives in to her daughter. She grabs her purse out of her unlocked car and pulls out a few bills, handing them to Karen. She glances over at me, and I can tell she recognizes me.
>
> "What are you doing with these ladies?" She asks, half-joking, half-serious. "Yeah," Myrah echoes, perhaps too loudly, "what are you doing with these crazy drunks?"
>
> "They're my neighbors," I respond.
>
> As we drive off, Karen points to Sheila's car, which has Wichita tags. "She's kin to us, Sheila. She's Wichita like us."

Karen's choice of words are particularly interesting here, given her usual claim to being "straight-up Apache." When necessary, Karen chooses to strategically claim certain identities in order to claim certain people as kin – and thus, include them in her social network for hustling purposes.

Although money and goods are often exchanged between kin – and, in fact, are *expected* to be exchanged – these relationships are ideally supposed to be both sincere and reciprocal. That is, kin relations are ideally structured around sincere mutual affection and an obligation to both give and receive help when necessary. When either of these conditions are not met, Apache people may become may try to distance themselves from the particular relationship. One of my friends, for example, is frequently irritated by women who claim a mother-daughter relationship with her for strategic purposes. These women "stepped in" after her mother died and began calling her "daughter." Problematically, however, my consultant claimed that these women only wanted to be her daughter when *they* needed money. As she pointed out, kinship relationships should "go both ways" – that is, should be reciprocal. Several of my other consultants have similarly adversarial relationships with their kin. As with the example above, many of these Apache people feel that using Apache kin terms like "mother" for "mother's sister" should truly represent the reciprocal nature of that relationship on both sides. One friend in particular is frequently frustrated because she helps her nieces, who call her "mother," with money, car rides, and support for their children and grandchildren, when that service is rarely returned.

As these examples illustrate, money is necessary for a variety of forms of cultural production. That is, money is required to actually put on cultural events, like Blackfeet, and to maintain kin relationships. Of course, the production of both Blackfeet and kin relationships include, inherently, attempts at cultural *re*production – both serve to teach younger generations Apache ways, especially gendered respect behaviors. Money is also

necessary for formal attempts at cultural reproduction, however. Indeed, oral history projects require funds for recording equipment, at the very least, while language revitalization projects often require far more resources for success – including computer equipment, money to create and print texts and workbooks, and to pay teachers. Although grants are available for some projects, especially linguistically-oriented ones, clearly tribal communities with independent sources of money – such as casinos and smoke shops –are able to support more local cultural reproduction projects.[10]

The Ambivalence of Money and the Politics of Cultural Production

Rather than being seen as culturally alien, I suggest that, historically, Apache people incorporated money into their cultural repertoire because some of the relations of power associated with money were not unknown in precolonial Apache culture. At the same time, however, money is not always seen as positive in the contemporary Apache community. As a source both of cultural production and cultural survival, money is often the explicit cause of political conflict and can be represented as both positive and negative. Although these negative representations of money might be interpreted as evidence for the traditional Western intellectual narrative about the transformative effect of money, I suggest that these tropes reflect community concerns about how money is used. Even more, because "appropriate use" is related to cultural production and survival, conflicts about the use of money are often connected to who controls cultural reproduction and, consequently, the *forms* of culture that are reproduced.

For anthropologist Michael Taussig, a "capitalist worldview" is not simply a move toward abstraction, individualism, and self-interest – it is also an increasing unawareness, or growing false consciousness, about the nature of capitalist relations. Indeed, as "proletarianization" accelerates among non-Western communities with burgeoning capitalist economies, Taussig suggests that socially-constructed relations of power and inequality become naturalized, a process that "robs it of all that is inherently critical of its inner form" (1980:6). Firmly entrenched in the universality found in the Marxist tradition, Taussig argues that this process occurs similarly in all societies as they are transformed into capitalist economies. Thus, fully-capitalist societies, like those in North America and Western Europe, are marked by a pervasive belief among all segments of the population that capitalist relations are natural or normal – a belief which, consequently, makes it nearly impossible to find fault with such a system. Simultaneously, Taussig suggests that the moment of proletarianization provides a unique opportunity for communities to critique capitalist relations because they are experiencing their very unnaturalness.[11]

Assuming that capitalist relations are antithetical to all "primitive" communities, or *Gemeinschaf*, is a direct result of universalizing, and in the process over-simplifying, the characteristics of so-called non-modern societies. Rather than Taussig's universality, I follow Bloch and Parry in suggesting that "an existing world view gives rise to particular ways of representing money," and further that "the meanings with which money is invested are quite as much a product of the cultural matrix into which it is incorporated as of the economic functions it performs …"(1989:19). As scholars of the native Plains

communities have argued, precolonial and historical Plains cultures were structured around the individual and individual achievement. Prominence as a leader within a native Plains community was varied and flexible – sometimes a result of military prowess, but often, especially in the reservation period, a reflection of a particular individual's generosity in providing for kin and community (Fowler 1987:62). While not the "materialist consumption" assumed to dominate a capitalist worldview, native leaders did, nevertheless, accumulate goods in order to achieve a high status in their communities or cement kin relationships – even if most goods were subsequently exchanged or given away. Thus, the ideas of individual achievement, accumulation, and exchange were not unknown or alien to native Plains peoples, and thus their introduction to true capitalism should not necessarily be assumed to have been radically transformative.

Even though Apache people have successfully incorporated money into contemporary community life and culture, money remains a contested aspect of the contemporary Apache social landscape. Like the money and goods exchanged between kin, Apache people are anxious that money is used *appropriately*, especially in relation to certain social domains within the Apache community. Of particular concern is the collective money used by the two Blackfeet societies and tribal money generated from the new Apache casino. Narratives of discontent with the use of money often index both contemporary Apache cultural values and local political concerns.

Of my Apache friends and consultants, Lena is the most critical about the ways that other community members use money – particularly the headsmen of the Blackfeet

societies. Sitting in Temptations Restaurant after breakfast one morning, Lena told me that "Nowadays, [the Blackfeet] has money problems." According to her, when the Blackfeet Society is paid for dancing at powwows, the money goes directly into the pockets of the headsmen. This situation is in contrast to the "old days," when the society never had such problems because he money payment went directly into a bank account and was then used at the annual dance. In Lena's words, "they had good rations back then, good rations" – signifying that Blackfeet was more popular during this time, often asked to dance far and wide in Oklahoma. As Lena suggests, her idea of "appropriate use" is that money collected for a collective purpose – to put on the Blackfeet annual dance, and particularly, buy rations for the campers – should, in fact, be used for that purpose. Even more, however, Lena's words suggest that money is "good" when it is used to benefit the community, but "bad" when it is used to enrich one selfishly, especially because this money was originally intended for a particular purpose.

Lena is not, strictly speaking, against making-money or achieving financial success. Instead, she is highly critical of tribal members who use tribal money to put on events, including the Blackfeet annual dances, that should be supported from other financial sources like society funds. In recent years, both of the Blackfeet societies have appealed to the Apache Business Committee to receive funds to help support their annual dances instead of using the money received from dancing at other powwows throughout the year. For Lena, this is a highly problematic practice because tribal money – and, thus partially *her* money – is being to support an event that has, theoretically, its

own funding. Even more, however, Lena finds the reliance on tribal funds *personally* shameful. That is, in her opinion part of the traditional obligation of being a Blackfeet headsmen is providing for the annual dance – with one's own money, if necessary. Generosity, then, is combined with an expectation that with a certain status comes the relative wealth in order to be generous in the first place.

In fact, concerns over the appropriate use of money caused a massive political conflict to erupt in the summer of 2007 – although the conflict had, in fact, been simmering under the surface for years and, in some ways, it continues today. Unhappy with the tribe's monetary situation, a group of tribal citizens attempted to have the Apache Business Committee chairman removed from office by a vote of the tribe's General Council, defined as all tribal citizens over the age of the eighteen.[12] Although the vote was not approved by the BIA, and thus was not official or binding, for several weeks the opposition continued to insist that it was. As a result, for several weeks there were, in effect, two separate and competing Apache business committees.

At the heart of the struggle – but definitely not the only concern – was one polarizing issue: whether or not Business Committee members should be given salaries. Of course, the (BIA-approved) ABC members and their families supported the salaries, as they would be receiving the benefits from them. Those without family members on the business committee tended to oppose the salaries. Like so many discourses within the Apache community, these individuals framed their opposition in way that connected tradition with kinship and authenticity. At the "unofficial" tribal general council meeting

held on June 2, 2007, some particularly vocal opponents of the salaries addressed the crowd:

> Iola, an older woman who lives out of state, was particularly concerned over the salaries for committeemen. Her voice shook slightly, though she made her points clearly: "Our grandfathers and fathers served on this business committee to help their people, to serve their people. They didn't expect to get paid or get money for their work. Business committeemen should serve to help us, to help the tribe. Not to help themselves." Her speech was followed by similarly-toned comments by [several other tribal members].

Iola's comments reflect Lena's concerns about the appropriate use of money, framed so that Apache tradition and authenticity, are embedded in the selfless service to the tribal community.[13] From Iola's perspective, paying committeemen for serving on the Apache Business Committee was not traditional, not the Apache way, because it was not done by their "fathers and grandfathers." To do otherwise, would thus be to dishonor those kin relations.

As these examples indicate, in the Apache community money needs to be used appropriately for it, and the persons using it, to be seen in a positive light. If not used appropriately, money – or, more precisely, an individual's *use* of money – is potentially seen as negative and exploitative. Money has this dual quality largely because it has the potential to both facilitate and limit cultural reproduction. As Bloch and Parry suggest, this duality is a universal quality of money, and thus represents a universal bridge in all contemporary cultures between "two related but separate transactional orders" (1989:24). The first "transactional order" is the short-term order of the present, where actors are concerned primarily with individual success and personal competition. The second order, in contrast, includes "transactions concerned with the reproduction of the

long-term social or cosmic order" (Bloch and Parry 1984:24). Consequently, they suggest when money is used to ensure the reproduction of the "long-term social or cosmic order" – the status quo – it is most likely to be symbolized positively within a community. However, when used to "divert the resources of the long-term cycle for their own short-term interactions," money is viewed with suspicion as a threat to the existence of an accepted social order.

In this context, Lena's concerns about the appropriate use of money take on a new perspective. Narratives that might have been previously read as anti-materialist, anti-capitalist, and anti-money are, I suggest, more accurately interpreted as concerns with how certain types of money are being used – not with monetary acquisition or individual financial success in principal. That is, Lena's concerns about Blackfeet and casino monies reflect worries that these funds are being used selfish purposes, for individual success, in what Bloch and Parry refer to as the "short-term transactional order." In her opinion, and the opinion of many other Apache people, these collective funds should be used to support cultural reproduction – that is, should be used for transactions that provide for the reproduction of the "long-term social and cosmic orders." Importantly, however, individual monetary acquisition is only seen as a threat, as negative, when it endangers the ability of the community to facilitate cultural reproduction. Money achieved through legitimate work, on the other hand, is seen as deserving.

Going beyond this, however, I suggest that money's ambivalence and contestation in the Apache community is also the result of that fact that the "long-term

social or cosmic order" itself is contested. As I have already suggested in previous chapters, the Apache community is composed of both diverse histories and diverse cultural practices, with each family having, arguably, a unique approach to and definition of "Apache ways." In this context, whoever controls the money controls not only *what* is reproduced as this social order, but also *whose* version of Apache culture is reproduced – at least, partially. That is, the control over money provides the *means of cultural reproduction* because cultural programs and research projects require funds to be conducted. Within the contemporary Apache community, these disagreements often flare up between "Ft. Cobb Apaches" and "Boone Apaches" – the contemporary residential clusters that likely reflect pre-existing tribal divisions codified through the process of allotment (Foster and McCullough 2001; Stokely 2003).

For some Apache tribal members, this is particularly a concern in relation to one prominent Apache family. Not only has this family dominated the Apache Business Committee for the past ten years, they are also frequent consultants for anthropologists and linguists working the Apache community. Those individual not related or otherwise affiliated with this prominent Apache family believe that this family's opinions are taken to represent those of the entire community, resulting in a skewed or biased representation of the Apache community. Because Lena's own family traditions are – in some cases, at least – different from the traditions associated with this particular family, she is particularly concerned that "things are wrong" in the few commercially-available books and cultural material available about the Apaches.

Interestingly, Lena also articulates these concerns in terms of the Apache community's *physical* cultural material. On the eve of the tribal elections in May 2008, Lena was worried that the election would again bring the same dominant family into political power. This possibility, which eventually became reality, would give them control not only over the means of cultural reproduction but over what Lena considers to be actual, already existing, culture. As I recorded in my field notes:

> After describing her concern with the election, Lena asked "Where is our culture?" At first, I thought she was asking a rhetorical question, referring to the place of Apache culture in everyday life. I was wrong. She clarified that she was referring to the actual cultural material that used to be housed in the tribal complex, in a room that has since been turned into office space. She thinks that the [an Apache family] took everything to their house.
>
> I told her that I heard it was all in a storage unit somewhere. She said she didn't think so, at least not all of it. She said "the good stuff" was probably sitting at their house.

Clearly, as Lena's worries illustrate, there is a concrete connection between political power, the control over money, and the control over cultural reproduction. Although these worries are fairly common in the Apache community, other Apache traditions and practices persist in spite of the dominance of one particular family.

Like the Plains Apache, all native communities are internally differentiated on the basis of class, with some social actors and groups having more access to material, monetary resources than others. According to Dombrowski (2001) and Wolf (1999), the community elites, either individuals or families, benefit disproportionately from native economic development and their control over resources secures not only their political power, but also their control over the means of cultural reproduction.[14] This argument, even though it is applied unconventionally to native communities, nevertheless echoes

a common Marxist theme where control over resources determines power in the community.[15] In the Apache community, however, I suggest a far more complicated and complex situation, one where power and the consent to rule are determined through incorporation and the deployment of local hegemonic beliefs, particularly concerning generosity (Gramsci 1999 [1971]; Williams 1977).

In this context, I suggest that members of the prominent Apache family, local elites, have been able to maintain key positions in tribal government – particularly the position of Apache Business Committee (ABC) Chairman – by sincerely meeting some of the needs and desires of their opponents (Mouffe 1979:183). As should be clear from the above discussion, many contemporary Apache people feel that most tribal revenue should be redistributed back to the community individually, in per capita payments.[16] Thus, not only has the current ABC attempted to secure and increase tribal revenue, most obviously through the opening of the tribe's Silver Buffalo Casino in Anadarko in the summer of 2006, but they have worked to provide higher per-capita payments as well. By just half a year later, in December 2006, the increased revenue was being distributed to some tribal citizens. Each year, the tribe's elderly citizens are given a special per capita payment around the end of the year, at the annual Christmas senior lunch. In 2005, elders received $50 and some food items for their holiday meals, including a frozen ham or turkey. In 2006, after the casino opened and became relatively profitable, the elders received a check for $599. In addition, casino profits have allowed the tribe, acting through the business committee, to provide a lump sum to Apache children each fall to help purchase new school clothes and supplies.[17]

The use of money to insure consent to rule may seem highly instrumental, even a subtle form of bribery. While it is certainly the case that the per-capita payments and the distribution of casino revenues are incredibly important sources of income for Apache people, redistribution also indexes local hegemonic narratives about the importance of generosity, especially in elite male leaders. As Lena's earlier narrative illustrated, the expectation is that tribal leaders will provide for – but not profit from – community members. Indeed, the efforts to increase tribal revenues are partially motivated by this expectation, even as they are also influenced by desires to facilitate tribal sovereignty and self-determination over local tribal affairs.

Even with the increasing amounts of monetary redistribution, the success of this form of incorporation and consent to rule is limited. While the ABC Chairman who presided over the casino opening and redistribution was re-elected by a sizeable majority, tribal citizens are not always sure that they are receiving their appropriate share of the profits.[18] Discursively, many Apache people still worry, and complain, about the fairness of redistribution. As I recorded in my field notes:

> I went to visit Lena this morning. We drank coffee, and while Fox News droned on in the background, Lena complained about how all the casino money was going to support [one particular family] because they currently control the Apache Business Committee. She wants the money to be distributed evenly to all tribal members, not just some on the committee.

Lena, of course, is far from alone in these sentiments. Indeed, the brief political schism that occurred in the summer and fall of 2008 reflect the continuing preoccupation with, and contested nature of, money in the contemporary Apache community.

Indigeneity and the Creation of "Impossible Subjects"

According to Bloch and Parry, Marx's nineteenth century preoccupation of the negative aspects of money and market exchange was partially motivated by "a certain romantic nostalgia for a world in which the interdependence of the human community had not been shattered by exchange" (1989:4). In the twenty-first century, this romantic nostalgia has been replaced by what anthropologist Renato Rosaldo calls "imperialist nostalgia," or the longing for the ways of life destroyed – or *believed* to be destroyed – by the imperial process and, along with it, the introduction of capitalism into non-Western, non-monetary economies (Rosaldo 1993 [1989]). By drawing upon *perceptions* of indigeneity, imperialist nostalgia functions to both define "precolonial ways" and bemoan their contemporary disappearance. In this model, if contemporary non-Western communities do not or have not struggled with the introduction of money and are not critical of capitalist relations, it is because they have already been "proletarianized" – their communities and economic systems changed so much that they have lost the ability to criticize market relations that appear as "natural." Thus, the "rich Indian" – presumably rich because she or he has accepted and successfully incorporated capitalist relations – becomes a symbol of culture loss because she turned her back on traditional, communal, anti-materialist native ways.

As I argued in chapter three, however, contemporary narratives of indigeneity are also based upon expectations of cultural difference – *visible* cultural difference. Ironically, of course, in the contemporary social landscape of the Southern Plains, visible cultural difference is often displayed through the costumed spectacles of social and

ceremonial powwows. Because money is required to both perform at and put on these functions, money is simultaneously a requirement to illustrate Anglo-American expectations of cultural difference. Indeed, as I have suggested in this chapter, money is also a requirement to enact the less visible – at least to outsiders – contemporary Apache cultural practices of kinship. Money and the exchange of goods mark these relationships, particularly the claiming and maintaining of kin relations. Even still, however, for Apache people money represents both a cultural obligation and a means of cultural production and reproduction. As such, money is used to both assert and challenge local political power.

For Apache people, however, the combination of ideas about the transformative power of money, indigeneity, and imperialist nostalgia creates a paradox based on separate and mutually exclusive expectations of Indianness – poverty and cultural difference. That is, money is required for to both express Anglo-American expectations of indigeneity – the visible cultural difference of powwow performances – as well as local articulations of cultural distinctiveness through kinship. Like the paradox of indigeneity discussed in chapter four, where native people are expected to both culturally different despite the arduous efforts of federal assimilation policies, the combination of expectations of both cultural distinctiveness and poverty produce a contradiction. The result of this contradiction is the creation of an "impossible subject," where native people are expected to reject materialism even as money is required to maintain cultural difference (Hiedbrink 2008).

[1] Because of this connection between money and labor, Tawney suggests that "the true descendant of the doctrines of Aquinas is the labor theory of value." Thus, the last philosopher truly belonging to Aquinas' school was Karl Marx (Tawney 1972: 48, in Parry and Bloch 1989:3).

[2] The most prominent thinker from this school of thought is eighteenth century Scottish philosopher and economist Adam Smith, who suggested that "the happiness and prosperity of society was founded on the individual pursuit of monetary self-gain" (Bloch and Parry 1989:3).

[3] Even though *Gemeinshaf* and *Gesselschaf* are a more complex dichotomy, they are often used to signify a simple division between primitive and modern societies. Indeed, they represent a larger tradition of making this distinction in Western thought, and even of making it based upon population size, interdependency, and the presence of civil society.

[4] In addition, money separates individuals from their possessions, and thus allows for "possession at a distance" (Bloch and Parry 1989:5). According to Marcel Mauss, primitive societies do not allow for, or cannot accommodate, this type of possession. See Mauss, Marcel *The Gift: Forms of Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies* [London, Cohen and West, 1966].

[5] In contrast to Simmel, Marx did not see money itself as the catalyst for the transformation from *Gemeinschaf* to *Gesselschaf*. Rather, money is linked to the "more fundamental phenomenon of production for exchange – this being what ultimately creates the need for an abstract money medium" (Bloch and Parry 1989:4).

[6] These are shawls, blankets, and, more rarely, monetary amounts, that are given to the society when they are invited to dance at other powwows, held by families or organizations, throughout the year. During giveaways, it is common for items to be given away to all organizations present, as well as the headstaff.

[7] In a 50/50 drawing, the total collected money for the 50/50 raffle is divided evenly between the winner and the organization. In my experience, most 50/50s average between $15 - $30 for the winner.

[8] To clarify my relationship, I was never formally adopted to the Apache tribe or given an "Indian name." Karen, however, calls me "sister" and Judy calls me "daughter." While I know my friendship with this family will last, my consideration as fictive kin will likely be shorter, as my residence in Anadarko no longer allows for close, daily interaction or the reciprocal exchange of goods.

[9] Anthropologist Carol Stack recorded similar kin relationships among low-income African American families. The existence of similar strategies across cultural and racial boundaries suggests that they may be a function of class. See Stack, Carol, *All Our Kin: Strategies for Survival in a Black Community* [New York, Harper and Row, 1974].

[10] Indeed, without money, cultural revitalization programs often falter. In the recent past, the Apache Tribe has received federal grant funding for language revitalization programs, but once the grant money was used, the programs were halted. In addition, much of the community's own cultural reproduction efforts have been focused on putting on an annual summer "culture camp" for young tribal members. Held for nearly a decade in the mid-1990s and early 2000s, the tribe hosted youth at the dance grounds where they were taught the important aspects of Apache culture – including Apache history, song and dance, language, arts and crafts, and even gendered behavioral expectations. Using collective, tribal funds, the Apache community was clearly making cultural reproduction a priority. For a variety of reasons, however – some political and some financial – the camp was put on hold indefinitely in 2005 and has not been held since.

[11] Although Taussig's arguments are based upon historically, socially, and culturally specific circumstances in Columbia and Bolivia, his attempts to universalize them to all communities are highly problematic, not to mention elitist. On the one hand, beliefs about the "naturalness" of capitalism, relations of inequality, and the movements of "the market" are, indeed, common – perhaps even hegemonic – in the United States. On the other hand, Taussig himself is critical of capitalism, thus suggesting that some people – the academic elite? – are able to see past the false consciousness Beyond scholars and intellectuals, however, any daily interaction with non-academic elites in the United States suggests that many people experience situational awareness of the unnaturalness of capitalist relations, particularly when it is hard to come by.

Because those with money control the means of cultural reproduction, the hegemony of market naturalnesss remains largely undisturbed at the national, public, and media levels.

[12] The Apache Tribe of Oklahoma has just over 2,000 enrolled members. At the most recent election, only 396 Apache citizens cast their vote for ABC Chairman (Anadarko Daily News, May 12, 2008). At this particular unofficial tribal council meeting, in contrast, I counted 55 people in attendance; a minimum of 50 was needed for the meeting to be valid.

[13] Iola's public speech was also a noteworthy example of a transgression of Apache gender ideologies, particularly concerning the role of women in public life. Such vocal speeches are generally conducted by Apache men. Iola's status as an elder, however, likely allowed her some flexibility concerning these expectations.

[14] According to Dombrowski (2001:91-109), continuing land claims benefit timber companies and elite families as long as those lands are incorporated into ANCSA corporations, because then they are not subject to federal regulations on timber harvest. In order to make these claims a success, Alaskan natives have to continue to show "cultural difference" that identify them to the outside as native people. Culture, thus, gets pulled into the mix – including subsistence, which now becomes a symbolic element of native Alaskan identity. Yet, for those who still rely on subsistence for their survival, ANCSA land claims result in clear-cutting which make subsistence work nearly impossible. Thus, these individuals and families can no longer make a living in their remote villages and are forced to look for work elsewhere – losing the ability to practice their own culture. In other words, as subsistence takes on a central place as a symbolic of native culture, those who still practice subsistence are forced to stop doing so

[15] Many scholars criticize the usefulness of applying Marxist theories to communities to non-capitalist societies (Bloch 1983). See Sahlins, Marshall, *Culture and Practical Reason* [Chicago and London, University of Chicago Press, 1976] 6. Even more, few scholars have referred to the internal workings of contemporary native communities in Marxist terms. Rather, they refer to the interaction between native communities and the federal government. See Jorgenson, Joseph G, "Indians and the Metropolis," *in The American Indian in Urban Society,* Jack O. Weddell and O. Michael Watson, eds. [Boston, Brown and Little, 1971] 67-113, Faiman-Silva, Sandra, "Multinational Corporate Development in the American Hinterland: The Case of the Oklahoma Choctaws," in *The Political Economy of North American Indians*, John H. Moore, ed. [Norman and London, University of Oklahoma Press, 1993] 214-239, and Cook, Samuel, *Monacans and Miners: Native American and Coal Mining Communities in Appalachia* [Lincoln and London, University of Nebraska Press, 2000].

[16] Per-capita payment to tribal members has a long history in the Plains Apache community. As I described in chapter two, the 1974 settlement with the United States for underselling surplus as a result of the Jerome Agreement was divided into per cap payments of $1,700.00 for each enrolled member of the Apache Tribe of Oklahoma (Schweinfurth 2002:22). The surplus money money reserved to build the tribal complex and support burgeoning tribal programs.

[17] The monetary amount of the lump sum varies from year to year, depending upon the success of the casino. During my field work, families generally received about $250.00 for each child.

[18] The incumbent ABC Chairman won reelection with 142 votes of 396. The other seven other candidates had votes totals of 87, 74, 60, 26, 16, and 7 (*Anadarko Daily News*, May 12, 2008).

Chapter Six
"Living in Two Worlds:"
Contradiction, Authenticity, and Mediation

Jenny and I are in her minivan, driving south from Anadarko on a cool but sunny winter day. As she drives, she keeps up a constant, cheerful chatter. We are headed to Lawton – about a half an hour's drive from Anadarko – to attend a birthday lunch at a Korean restaurant for one of her employee. Jenny has the radio tuned to an oldies station, but the volume is so low that we can only hear snippets of songs, punctuating our conversation every now and then. We haven't seen each other for over a week, and the our conversation begins with the usual polite inquiries about family and mutual friends.

Although Jenny is in a happy mood, there is a serious edge to her voice. As the minivan speeds past the rolling, tree-less landscape of southwestern Oklahoma, Jenny fills me in on her worries. "Work is really frustrating sometimes," she says with a sigh. Concentrating on driving, she tells me how hard it is being a program administrator for the Apache tribe and *being an Apache woman. Her job requires her to set the rules, tell people what to do, get things done, and at times be confrontational*. *She does not need to remind me that these characteristics are not culturally appropriate for Apache women; we have had this conversation many times. From Jenny's perspective, some recent problems at work were not simply normal work conflicts, but were exacerbated by the fact that she was an Apache woman trying to work with Apache men – Apache men who were, very likely, kin to her.*

Once we arrive at the Korean restaurant, we meet up with the rest of the group. Some are friends and relatives of Jenny or the honored employee – mostly one and the same – while others are simply fellow employees. After we all line up and fill our plates with bulgogi *and* kimichi *at the buffet, we all head to a large table and begin seating ourselves to eat.*

Jenny leans over the table to me. "Have you met my in-laws?" she asks politely. She nods at an elderly couple sitting a few seats away from her. Her husband, John, brought them to lunch since they live nearby, in Lawton.

It was only later, after many other conversations with Jenny, that I became fully aware of the dual meaning in the above ethnographic narrative. Most obviously, Jenny was frustrated over culturally-specific modes of kin and gender interaction – modes that challenged both her occupational authority and her social identity as an Apache person. Even more, these same gendered modes of interaction were challenged simply through the business of everyday life, through the simple act of sitting and eating with her

father-in-law. As an Apache woman, she is expected to have little close interaction with her father-in-law, but Anglo-American ideologies of politeness dictate other expectations, especially in relation to her non-Apache father-in-law. For Jenny, the contradictions of her life go beyond her work environment, go beyond public spaces into the private, where clashing expectations of interaction require constant negotiation. Even for Jenny – who is deeply committed to Apache ways – customary respect behaviors are hard to enact in contemporary life. Jenny and other Apache people describe this situation as a constant, ongoing negotiation between the contradictory expectations of "two different worlds," an Apache world and a non-Indian, white world.[1]

Clearly, non-Apache modes of kin and gender interaction often conflict with and contradict Apache respect behaviors. As a result, competing ideologies about kinship and gender make living Apache "ways" challenging for both Apache women and men. Even more, some Apache people may experience what anthropologist Kirk Dombrowksi describes as "anticultural feelings – feelings that express the failure of culture to provide a meaningful, livable life, even for those who accept it" (2001:10). In the Apache community, anticultural feelings are more likely feelings of discomfort, expressed through ambivalence to particular aspects of Apache culture. Because an Apache sociality is today connected with the collective expectations of Apache cultural identity, both cultural conflict and cultural ambivalence have the potential to create anomalous Apache people when local expectations of Apacheness are not met. Even though these

anomalous Apache people continue to be seen by their fellow tribal members as Apache by descent, their cultural authenticity and even social identity is questioned.

The beauty of Apache narratives of collective identity and authenticity, however, are their *flexibility*. Although Apache people agreed in general on the social and cultural significance of respect behaviors, these same narratives suggest multiple ways of being and claiming an Apache identity. While some Apache people act in ways that contest their authenticity as Apache people, whether by choice or circumstance, they are also able to emphasize other aspects of an Apache sociality as a way to mediate these challenges to their authenticity. Indeed, this flexibility also allows Apache people to claim different *kinds* of membership in the community – kin-based, social, cultural, political, and at times, a combination of all four. For some Apache people, their identity in relation to their community may in fact change over time, shifting between these types of belonging throughout a lifetime.

This last chapter is focused primarily around a common trope in the Apache community, narratives of "living in two worlds," particularly as experienced by Apache women. I focus here on women, and their feelings toward gender-specific Apache behaviors, because these are narratives common to my consultants. More specifically, I will focus on three themes common to these narratives – cultural contradiction, ambivalence, and local definitions of cultural authenticity. Because these narratives, through these themes, index moments of where cultural authenticity as well as social identity are challenged, this last chapter illuminates the experience, causes, and mediation of anomaly. As these narratives reveal, the form such mediation takes is

often intricately connected to the lives of each woman, either with their experience of cultural contradiction or unease with certain aspects of Apache tradition as it is articulated today. Moreover, the strategies of mediation are also determined by the specific desires, unique to each woman, regarding the type or form of community membership they are trying to claim or reclaim. Despite these differences in goals and strategies, Apache women often mediate anomalousness by drawing upon gendered modes of interaction, usually at strategic times or in intentional ways.

Respect Behaviors and the Experience of Cultural Contradiction

During my fieldwork in the Apache community, the most common narrative I heard in both formal and informal interviews concerned the experience of "living in two worlds." From the perspective of my Apache friends and consultants, these two worlds were a white world and an Apache world, each with unique and often contradictory sets of behavioral expectations. Certainly, these two worlds are neither wholly separate nor unilaterally contradictory, nor are these experiences unique to Apache women. Indeed, these narratives reflect the reality of contemporary identities, especially the multiplicity and hybridity of all subjectivities. As poststructural and postmodern social theorists have argued, all communities are internally differentiated by race, class, gender, life experience and sexual preference just as all communities are also exposed to and interact with other communities (Butler 1990; Lowe 1991; Ortner 1996). As a result, poststructural and postmodern scholars reject a "unitary subject" in favor of an approach that recognizes that all "social subjects are the sites of a variety of difference"

(Lowe 1991:42). Thus, while Apache narratives reflect the hybridity and multiplicity of all subjectivities, the binary in narratives of "living in two worlds" indexes the social experiences of living in a social environment bifurcated with contradictory cultural meanings and expectations.

Most commonly, narratives of "living in two worlds" articulate the struggles of both Apache women and men to observe respectful relationships with their in-laws. Because Apache respect behaviors dictates maintaining appropriate social distance – in actuality, avoidance – cultural norms construct expectations that can be difficult to achieve because they often clash with hegemonic, Anglo-American modes of propriety concerning respectful in-law relationships. Thus, when Apache people are married to non-Indians or even native non-Apaches – most likely with very different behavioral expectations for in-laws – these relationships can become tense and awkward, often involving misunderstanding, emotional pain, and hurt feelings on all sides.

Both Maria and Jenny confided to me that, upon their marriage to non-Apache native men, their Apache beliefs about in-law propriety have been the cause of confusion and pain. Maria told me, "Some of his relatives that didn't know our ways thought I was acting ugly toward my father-in-law. And they said she shouldn't be acting that way to you." Jenny's brother in-law was similarly disapproving. "He actually had a personal problem, an issue with me, over it," she told me. "And he told me that he was tired of me being mean to his dad." Judy, who is Wichita but was married an Apache man, experienced these issues from the perspective of a native, but non-Apache, wife:

> You know, [my husband]…He wouldn't sit with my mother. She would come visit, and he wouldn't even sit there. He would leave the room. I told him I

> didn't like it. My mother thought…thought that he didn't like her…But I didn't like it. *Ugly* ways. So one day when his mother came over, I went to bed. Went to lie down. Oooh, he was mad! I told him, why should I talk to her if you won't talk to my mother? He said that was his ways, but I didn't care. You know, after that he never did leave the room when she visited.

Clearly, social pressures from non-Apache kin, including spouses, can make adhering to in-law respect behaviors challenging. Judy even managed to convince her husband to consciously break some rules in order to meet other expectations of propriety. Such extremes are not always the case, however. Maria's father-in-law explained Apache ways to his family, his sons and daughters, helping to clarify that Maria's actions were not meant as disrespect. Indeed, from the perspective of Jenny and Maria, these modes of kin interaction are meant as a form of respect, a way to honor their in-laws.

Like Judy's husband, some Apache people avoid enacting these behavioral requirements because of the mere prospect of contributing to friction between in-laws, and subsequently with spouses as well. Others, like Jenny, who have non-Apache spouses, have to constantly negotiate cultural pressures with personal and family relationships. Her experiences with this situation are particularly revealing of the stress, worry, and emotional pain that she often endures trying to meet two competing, and often contradictory, codes of in-law propriety. During one of our interviews, she explained:

> *Even now to this day*, when we go to their house…if I'm in the room I will not sit next to him, of course stay away, opposite side of the room, things like that. I can feel it…I try to be normal and let conversation flow but its hard. I feel uncomfortable when I'm around it. And *then*, especially if my husband and his mother start talking. You know, like, you can't leave me in here by myself! They did that one day and I wasn't thinking. I was watching a TV program and I looked and it was just my father-in-law and me in the room. I jumped out of that chair so bad! I went outside where my husband was and I grabbed his shirt and said "you can't leave me in there with your dad!"…I notice that my father in law is a

> person that every time we leave – he's in his eighties, he doesn't mean anything about it – but he wants to hug. My husband hugs his dad and mom when we leave. I hug my mother-in-law and then I think, oh now I've set myself up. And then he's like [holding arms out, waiting for a hug] and I just get really stiff! I'm not comfortable. I'll give him a really evasive hug and its not any fun.

For Jenny, such negotiations and maneuvers are clearly emotionally difficult. As she pointed out, "it was hard for me to live that knowing that I was in violation of a tribal norm, a cultural norm." These norms are even more personal because she learned them from her grandmother, an important person in her life, and carrying them out in her own life is a way of honoring this very important kin relation. Jenny makes this connection quite clear when she noted "I try to be nice to him but yet keep it within my boundaries of who I am and how I'm raised. Because my grandmother, she would never be in the same room as her son-in laws."

As Jenny's struggles reveal in my introductory narrative, contemporary economic situations place women in sometimes contradictory situations in relation to the performance of respect behaviors. Most forms of stable employment in southwestern Oklahoma, and Anadarko specifically, are stereotypically "feminine" jobs – nurses, teachers, and administrative support staff. Importantly, however, the "higher" jobs related to these positions, like the doctors, principals, and managers are often not filled by Apache men. Even more, many administrative jobs have become increasingly feminized, so that many employment opportunities require skills and educational criteria more common to women. Jenny serves as the director of an Apache tribal program with seven full-time employees – five women, including herself, and two men. She also employes one elderly Apache woman in a part-time position.

Jenny's position as a program director means that she has to work closely with male kin. Sometimes, as in situations with her two male employees, she has to interact with kin as their supervisor. She also, however, has to interact with the male-dominated Apache Business Committee (ABC) in a professional manner. Such situations directly challenge Apache gender ideologies, especially because women like Jenny must make professional demands of their male relatives – over whom they often hold a higher work status– that are otherwise inappropriate. As a supervisor, Jenny must set deadlines, assign duties, and evaluate her employees, including the male employee who is also a relative. As Jenny herself has commented, these contradicting expectations can be, practically speaking, difficult to enact. In the process, Jenny must disregard modes of interaction and codes of propriety that she sincerely believes are correct. In so doing, of course, Jenny also making herself visible and potentially subject to gossip, censure, and stigma.[2]

Respect behaviors also, of course, include appropriate conduct between male and female kin, particularly siblings. Because these situations include relations between Apache people with the same general understanding of kinship behaviors, there is less likelihood for misunderstandings or hurt feelings as a result of these requirements. On occasion, however, Apache kin obligations create internal cultural contradictions, and thus following these obligations in everyday life can still be difficult in practice, not to mention emotionally trying. For example, one cool winter afternoon I took my close friend Lena, an elderly Apache woman, to celebrate the 84th birthday of her older

brother and only living sibling, Joseph. I described the event, and opposite-sex sibling interaction, in my field notes:

> We drove out to her "old homeplace" south of Ft. Cobb, just north of the Indian Road. Except for one house owned by an African American family, all the houses are lived in or owned by various members of Lena's family. Lena was born in a tent pitched outside of her parents house, a house which is still standing and occupied by her daughter.
>
> Shortly after we arrived, Joseph's daughter and granddaughter left to run back to their house and gather up the food for supper, leaving Lena and I alone with Joseph. Lena was highly uncomfortable during this time. She fidgeted and looked out the window and – most uncharacteristically – didn't say a word.
>
> After a while, Lena wanted to go have a cigarette, so I went outside with her. Later, on the way home, she told me that she had felt awkward alone with her brother, being forced to talk and interact in ways that she – and probably he – found inappropriate. She ended up smoking two in a row out there, just to waste time, and we sat quietly looking at view. It was a beautiful morning, windy but not too cool, and breathtaking as the wind whipped across the high, barren plains.

For Lena, this event represented somewhat of a *internal* cultural contradiction. While Apache customs require supporting kin, these same circumstances facilitated opposite-sex sibling interaction that challenged Apache customs, making her profoundly uncomfortable.

Respect Behaviors and Cultural Ambivalence

In addition, some Apache women feel frustrated by the highly gendered nature of contemporary social life. Some of this ambivalence stems, as I described in chapter four, from expectations that Apache will "support" male kin. Apache women like Maria and her daughters, for example, felt frustrated and annoyed with having to "wait on" or serve their male kin. Even more, some women express discomfort with the ways that

Apache roles and obligations are segregated, and structured, by gender. These narratives indicate moments where Apache women experience a "fundamentally antagonistic yet necessarily ambiguous relationship" with culture, "the sources of meaning in their lives" (Dombrowski 2001:194). For Dombrowski, discomfort or unease with one's culture is a common experience for all people, everywhere – but for Apache women these experiences are not simply a reflection of their culture, but the ways in which Apache gender ideologies and practices conflict and contradict with contemporary Anglo-American notions of gender.

For Jean, a middle-aged Apache woman, her transgression of Apache gendered respect behaviors reflected her personal ambivalence with the gendered nature of contemporary culture. In addition, her transgression created a volatile situation within the community, resulting in not only challenges to her authenticity as an Apache woman, but also in her marginalization from certain aspects of Apache culture. Over a decade ago, Jean held the position of treasurer for one of the Apache community's two Blackfeet societies. According to Jean, she was asked by the male headsmen – many of whom she considered her uncles – to take the position of treasurer. As a military society, however, Blackfeet was traditionally an all-male organization and all positions were expected to be filled by men. Yet despite her gender, Jean's uncles asked her because they wanted a young person with enough education to properly handle the society's money and bank accounts. Like most positions within the Blackfeet organization, Jean's appointment as treasurer was supposed to be for life. In actuality, it only lasted a few years.

As Jean told me, some of her female cousins began suggesting that Jean should not be allowed to hold the position of treasurer because she was a woman. Eventually, these female cousins were successful in getting the male society members to vote to remove Jean her position. From Jean's perspective, "It wasn't a graceful move out, it was just shove out...they took over. They always say it's a man's organization and no woman should be there. But *I* was. [My cousins] had big issues. It was *such* a big issue." Even though Jean was, ostensibly, ousted because she was a woman holding a traditionally male position, she suggests that these narratives were part of a larger political struggle within the organization. Although a male was appointed as treasurer after Jean, he was close kin to her opposition – and as a result, Jean contends that that her female cousins had, in effect, gained control of the Blackfeet society by calling her authenticity into question. Gender ideologies, from Jean's perspective, were used to question Jean's authority and authenticity in the all-male organization, but these were superficial discourses that obscured a deeper power struggle.

As Jean suggests, ignoring or challenging gendered respect behaviors can bring about heightened community visibility, particularly for Apache women. But, as Jean further indicates, sometimes women are thrust into situations inappropriate for their gender that they might not ordinarily choose to embrace. Sitting in her office one day, Jean told me the following story about her experience at the Blackfeet Society's annual dance:

> **J:** This one time I especially, especially remember. None of the male veterans – it's a veterans organization – so none of them were there. And it was Friday afternoon. [The emcee] hollered at me. And he said, "Come up here, come get this flag. And I said, "No, no, I don't do that."

> **AW:** Because you're not supposed to, as a woman?
>
> **J:** Well, I *wouldn't* do it…But I said "No, no, don't ask me to get it." And [the emcee] said, "Nobody's here, them guys aren't here, the ones that should get it". Anyway I said "No, we're gonna hear about this. In an hour, more or less, you're gonna hear about it." Mark my words, that's what happened. My cousin was standing in the background. Female.

Because the Blackfeet society is a military society, and centered on honoring veterans, taking proper care of the American flag that flies over the dance ground is extremely important. On most occasions, an individual's flag is flown – a veteran's flag, usually a combat veteran – out of respect for their service and their family. At the end of the day, when the flag is taken down, one of their family member's is usually in charge of taking the flag from the flag-bearers, a symbolic transfer until it is flown again the next day. When no other person was available to do so, Jean was – against her better judgment – forced into an awkward position.

As Jean warned the emcee, by taking the flag she was making both of them susceptible to gossip and scrutiny. One of her female cousins – likely from the same group that eventually contested her position as treasurer – saw the exchange and reported it to one of the male headsmen, also kin to Jean, who was not yet at the dance grounds. According to Jean, the emcee "caught it for giving me the flag that day. And he *caught* it. And he told me, he said, 'I'm so sorry, I sure did catch it from one of those guys.'" As Jean explained later, however, she does have some authority to take the flag, even as a woman. Jean's authority, in fact, comes from the fact that her late husband was a Vietnam combat veteran. Yet, despite that she *could* take the flag, Jean made a point of emphasizing that she *would* not, largely because she was aware of her

already-precarious position as a treasurer in the all-male Blackfeet organization. Although she, of course, eventually did take the flag, her hesitation suggests that she knew any additional challenges to Apache gender ideologies – on top of those she already challenged – would be fodder for gossip and censure.

Even more than a decade later, the memories of both these incidents caused Jean to become emotional. " It just…to me its just…it shouldn't been like that," she said. " I guess all tribes have a little bit of jealousy going on like that. To this day its still like that…You know our people, they'll fuss at you for a slobber!" Clearly, however, Jean was – at one point in her life, at least – more willing to take on "untraditional" gender roles than other Apache women of her generation. When I asked Jean about why she did not place much personal emphasis on following respect behaviors, she responded by saying, "We Apache women, we burned our bras!" Jean's comments are telling on multiple levels. First, Jean's invocation of bra-burning suggests her own exposure to, and acceptance of, at least some aspects of contemporary, Anglo-American gender ideologies – particularly those initiated by the Second Wave of the women's movement.[3] Secondly, Jean clearly associates Apache gender ideologies with precisely the sexism that Second Wave feminists challenged.

Unlike Maria and Jenny, Jean grew up at Riverside, a federal Indian boarding school just north of Anadarko. She did not spend a lot of time with her mother, her aunts, or her grandparents as a child. As Jean herself suggests, she was not exposed to the expectations of gendered behavioral respect in the same way as other Apache women because she was not raised with or by these elderly women. As should be clear

from the examples in this and other chapters, not all Apache women connect Apache respect behaviors to issues gender domination and subordination, especially not in the same way as Jean. That is, whereas Jean invokes concepts like gender inequality and sexism with her concern about women's rights, some Apache women see nothing sexist or discriminatory about Apache gender ideologies.

For some Apache women, however, Apache gender ideologies are so connected to Apache culture and kinship – especially because of beloved elderly grandmothers who were insistent upon their importance – that Jean's feminist ideals are not only irrelevant, but also threatening to Apache cultural distinctiveness. This divide is partially reflective of the issues that encouraged women of color to critique feminism in the early 1980s, arguing that conventional Second-Wave feminism suffered from a white, middle-class bias (Anzaldúa 1987; Anzaldúa and Moraga 1981; Davis 1981; Hill Collins 1990; hooks 1981; Minh-ha 1989; Mohanty 1993; Sandoval 1993). These scholars, however, were not simply questioning the appropriateness of applying white, middle-class definitions of gender inequality outside of that context – they were also arguing for the *specificity* of gender inequality. Unlike Second-Wave feminists, women of color and Third World women argued that women were not "universally" oppressed, because gender was intimately connected to other forms of oppression like race and class. Women of color, therefore, face multiple forms of oppression.

Gender ideologies and conventional Second-Wave feminism, however, have additional implications for native peoples, particularly in the United States – as do all discourses, whether internal or external, that critique native practices and socialities

(Dombrowski 2001; Jaimes Guerrero 1992). Because native people are limited to participation in the larger political and social worlds of the United States largely as communities marked by cultural distinctiveness, any challenge to that distinctiveness – any personal ambivalence or structural inability to maintain distinctiveness – may imply an individual is no longer native (Dombrowski 2001:12). Furthermore, meeting expectations of indigeneity helps maintain personal and community survival (2001:12). That is, for some scholars and native women, feminism appears not only as a cultural imposition, a new form of imperialism, but also as a threat to native survival and sovereignty (Crow Dog 1990; Jaimes Guerrero 1992).[4] As a result, native people, including Apache people, are tied to cultural traditions even though they may find them painful, frustrating, or incongruous with their lives. Unlike non-native people, Apaches and other indigenous Americans cannot simply reject aspects of their cultural system they find unappealing or distasteful. For non-native people, such rejection can be accompanied with social stigma and censure, but for Apache people to do so – especially when simultaneously accepting some aspects of Anglo-American culture – would also create the appearance of assimilation, the loss of cultural distinctiveness.

Culture Change and Authenticity

As the above narratives illustrate, the frustration and pain associated with mediating competing cultural expectations reflects a rigidity in Apache definitions of "traditional culture." Some Apache people, particularly elders, are highly critical of contemporary Apache people who deviate from what is today articulated as traditional

Apache culture, especially normative expectations of respect behaviors. In turn, many of these same elders believe that because Apache people are no longer respectful in exactly the same ways that behavioral rules mandate, that Apache tradition is itself dying out. As a divide between elderly and middle-aged Apache people, this conflict is partially generational (Muratorio 1998). This model of culture change, of course, extends beyond respect behaviors to include all aspects of Apache culture – language, songs, dancing, material culture – thus constructing all cultural change as threatening, all cultural innovation as essentially inauthentic. In some ways, then, the same discomfort with cultural change seen in popular and academic models of Indianness are also present in the Apache community.

Like other Apache people, Tony often accentuated the incongruity of change with tradition. During one interview, he pointed out that the Blackfeet had changed not only from its original precolonial version, but also in the almost-fifty years since its revival. As he pointed out:

> Our culture's changing so much…. Just like I said, the Blackfeet…its changing because they [some Apache people] make the excuse, "times are changing." Yeah they're changing, but there's some stuff you need to keep. So it will be the same ceremony. If you keep on changing it, fifty years from now it will be a different ceremony. Will it even resemble what it started out to be?

Within the Apache community, this concept of culture is often used to judge another individual's cultural authenticity. That is, any deviation from an accepted cultural tradition – language, Blackfeet, respect behaviors – is seen as inauthentic because changes have occurred or, in some cases, been made intentionally. Behind backs, through the "moccasin grapevine," and occasionally in direct conversation, community

members challenge the cultural authenticity of other Apache people in similar ways. The headsmen, or male leaders of the Blackfeet societies, are often accused of not acting the way that previous headsmen, now deceased elders, acted. Singers are accused of singing powwow songs – especially Blackfeet songs – incorrectly because they differ, however slightly, from earlier versions.

The Apache language, which according to most Apache people is no longer spoken fluently by any member of the community, is seen as the most concrete marker of culture change. For many community members, the language is essential to really knowing or understanding Apache culture. As Tony told me, "you have to know your language to know the culture." Jenny, too, remarked that "making a person Apache, of course the language is a part of it." Because few Apache people speak Apache proficiently, this change represents the loss of the entire cultural system. Even more problematically, Apache people who have some knowledge of the language – those who are partial or semi-speakers – are often criticized on the basis that they are pronouncing words incorrectly or, even, that they are using the wrong terms entirely. Most commonly, these disagreements arise between Ft. Cobb Apaches and Boone Apaches, where differences in word use and pronunciation are common.

On an individual level, the toll of such "battles" of authenticity can be deeply painful and frustrating. Lillian, a middle-aged Apache woman, told me about a time when her authenticity was challenged – in fact, is still being challenged – because of the way she made her Blackfeet dress. According to some in the community, Lillian's dress

was not traditionally an Apache design. Lillian, however, argues that she was taught to make Blackfeet dresses in a particular way from her grandmother:

> Okay, and I said that. Well, people said, "Well how come grandma didn't tell me like that?" Because we're kinfolks. They said, "I never heard that." And they asked other people and they said "No I never knew any tribal people wearing that, I never known it."

As Lillian's story illustrates, such concerns about tradition and authenticity are often waged on multiple fronts. Although they might begin initially between individuals, they almost always result in other kinsmen and kinswomen being called in to testify about the authenticity of whatever practice is at question.

Like Apache interpretations of enrollment, this situation delineates the distinction between identity and authenticity. No one in the Apache community would deny Lillian's identity as an Apache tribal member, committed to Apache culture. Yet, on more than one occasion, I have heard comments that challenge Lillian's cultural *authenticity,* especially concerning her knowledge of material and expressive culture. Interestingly, some fellow Apache people warned me against interviewing Lillian. Well aware of the relationship between anthropologists and authenticating discourses, Apache people believed that I was searching for the "true" or "real" Apache culture and Lillian would not be representative. Lillian, of course, is very aware of the not-so-subtle gossip and often feels angry, hurt and confused that her fellow Apache people, including close kin, dismiss her so readily. After telling me the above story, Lillian sighed, and said, "I mean, we're just *battling*." Lillian's vagueness was intentional here – in her opinion, the entire Apache community battles over everything from regalia to money to language to kinship ties.

It is tempting to explain away Apache definitions of culture as the adoption of a hegemonic definition of culture so obvious in popular and academic models. That is, Apache people equate culture change with culture loss as a result of their interactions with non-Indians – anthropologists, federal policy makers, Indian agents and the like – who have used this definition to talk about Indian people for centuries. As scholars have noted (Jackson and Warren 2005; Lowe 1991; Mallon 1996; Povinelli 2002; Spivak 1988; Warren 2002), Apache people are not alone in their use or adoption of cultural essentialism – similar cultural constructions have been documented in subaltern and indigenous communities from India to Australia to Latin America.[5]

In the context of contemporary, "late liberal, multicultural" Australia, anthropologist Elizabeth Povinelli argues that multicultural domination "seems to work…by inspiring subaltern and minority subjects to identify with the impossible object of an authentic self-identity; in the case of indigenous Australians, a domesticated nonconflictual 'traditional' form of sociality and (inter)subjectivity" (2002:6). For Povinelli, multicultural domination stands in contrast to colonial domination, which scholars like Frantz Fanon have suggested is successful because it produces, in colonial subjects, the desire to identify with their colonizers (Fanon 1968). Multicultural domination, rather, manufactures indigenous desire to identify with – or perhaps to become – the truly traditional, wholly authentic, indigenous subject, an impossibility because such a subject exists only in the imaginations of colonial and multicultural dominations. Other scholars, however, have distanced themselves from the

assumptions that hegemonic cultural essentialism has been uncritically absorbed by subaltern and indigenous communities. Instead, these scholars have explained this use of essentialism as a strategic maneuver, an intentional and politically-motivated discourse that allows indigenous movements to make social and economic gains by using hegemonic and colonial discourses about "the other" to their advantage (Jackson and Warren 2005; Spivak 1988; Warren 2002).

Apache narratives of cultural loss are significantly more complicated, however – neither wholly strategic nor absorbed completely uncritically from a dominant source. Some Apache people, for example, emphasize culture loss to refer to their colonial history and the continuing impact of colonialism. On multiple occasions, one of my closest Apache friends told me how her older (and now deceased) brother had been trained to gather wild plants and herbs that Apache women and men used to make medicine. Despite having this knowledge, he was advised by the community elders, the medicine men and women he gathered for, to not use this knowledge after they passed away. "Our world had changed," my friend told me. "It was too fast." According to her, cultural loss is a *result* of the colonial experience but – importantly – was not *forced* upon Apache by outsiders. The decision to not pass on certain traditions came from Apache people themselves, the elders, who saw their way of life changed forever.[6] These narratives manage to both critique the colonial experience while simultaneously retaining some agency for Apache people themselves.

As Apache narrative also reveal, tropes of cultural essentialism are often used strategically within the Apache community, most often to challenge the authenticity of

others and simultaneously affirm one's own authenticity. Arlene, an elderly Apache acquaintance often remarks that certain members of the Apache community do not speak the language "properly" and do not sing Apache Christian hymns "correctly." Arlene is also deeply critical and resentful of these community members, many of whom are, at least for the moment, politically powerful in the tribe. Her accusations that these community members are not speaking and singing correctly suggest cultural inauthenticity and, thus, the inability to be an effective Apache leader. For Arlene, however, the definition of propriety and correctness is that the words and hymns *sound exactly* as she remembers her father and uncles saying and singing them. Thus, changes to her memories are essentially disrespectful to her relatives.

To honor kin, in other words, is to respect them as bearers of cultural knowledge and, thus, to respect their explanations and interpretations of cultural practices. In fact, one of the most common challenges to an individual's cultural authenticity is to critique a linguistic or cultural practice with – "well my [kin relation] didn't do [cultural practice] that way." Similarly, the ongoing discussion over the authenticity of Lillian's Blackfeet dress goes beyond regalia. Indeed, the argument is more properly concerned with who can claim to be the "closest" to a shared, and equally beloved, kinswoman. Lillian's grandmother, who was closely related to many Apache people and widely considered highly knowledgeable on cultural matters, represents authenticity. Although widely loved, the emotional and physical closeness that Lillian invokes as her granddaughter also implies *closeness* to the authenticity that she, as an Apache elder, possessed.

Thus, for Apache people, change not only represents deviation from "traditional culture" but, perhaps more importantly, change also represents deviation from the ways, habits, knowledge and behaviors taught to Apache children from older relatives. Because Apache gender ideologies and modes of kin interaction are often impressed upon Apache youth by their grandparents or their *daran*/*dadan*, they tend to be especially connected with particular kin. Indeed, because of this connection with authenticity and older relatives, elderly people are arguably the most authentic members of the Apache community. As Karen put it, "the elders have a little bit more…they're a little bit more strict, you know? How my dad was raised, is… the old ways. Like, for instance, he don't talk to his sisters. They don't stay in the same room like that." As a result, to honor one's kin means following cultural obligations regarding kinship and gender propriety that Apache "elderlies" practiced and, in turn, were taught to younger generations.

Despite the apparent rigidity within Apache narratives of culture and authenticity, these concepts are simultaneously more flexible than is readily apparent – at least for some Apache people. Indeed, George laughed as he told me this story, a morality tale on the consequences of too much cultural *inflexibility*:

> A king and queen were in a boat and it tipped over and sunk. And they drowned, because nobody could help them because they couldn't touch them. Now, there should be exceptions to the rule, whatever you do! Just because you say can't do it, sometimes you have to do it. Just like us. You're not supposed to touch your mother-in-law. But if she fell down or something, I mean, it makes sense – you have to pick her up. You can't just say, "Well I'm not going to pick her up because its my mother in law."

George's point that "there should be exceptions to the rule" is critical. Apache people, like George, recognize that cultural rules are sometimes inappropriate and there are certain occasions where breaking a rule is expected rather than actually following the rule itself. More importantly, George's story suggests that some Apache people define culture as a kind of recipe, or guide, for behavior that, on the individual level, may occasionally be transgressed, changed, or reinterpreted.

In a practical sense, many Apache people I spoke with understood the difficulties of teaching and talking about Apache culture with such vast differences between community members. As Maria said:

> I heard a lot of people saying, you know, "Rocky and them don't know anything," this and that. I said, "we need to respect it anyway." And we need to bring it in, what everybody knows, bring it in and lets put it together. So it will be *our* way. You know, this is *our* way. [Otherwise] you're not going to have a tribe or your not going to have a culture. Everybody's just going to be doing what they want to do.

Maria's words, which suggest a willingness to accept alternative ways of being Apache, were echoed, occasionally, by my other consultants. Tony, who often discussed the difficulty of holding any kind of community class relating to culture because individuals would "battle" about whose perspective was correct, often lamented that the Apache community needed to get beyond this approach to culture – especially because such perspectives make any type of cultural or linguistic revitalization nearly impossible because there is little agreement as to the correctness and propriety of certain linguistic and cultural practices.

Mediating Marginality, Hyperfemininity, and Food

For Apache women whose authenticity has been challenged or contested, there are several ways to restore one's authenticity, to claim or reclaim one's cultural knowledge and social identity in the Apache community. Because Apache discourses on identity, belonging, and authenticity are so broad, encompassing many spheres of social life, Apache women whose authenticity is challenged in one social sphere – work, perhaps – can strategically mediate their position in the community by enacting Apache ways in other social spheres. Additionally, because Apache definitions of respect behaviors are broad, and vary to some extent between families, Apache people who feel discomfort or unease with some aspects of contemporary Apache culture – gender expectations, perhaps – can draw upon one of these alternative tropes to mediate challenges to their authenticity.

Moreover, these strategies of medication also suggest there multiple ways to be Apache, multiple forms Apache identity can take. For the purpose of this chapter, I focus here on only two – an Apache social identity and an Apache cultural identity. As I argued in chapter four, an Apache social identity is largely kin-based, requiring birth to an Apache family as well as the maintenance of kinship ties and the performance of kin-oriented respect behaviors. While an Apache social identity certainly requires cultural competency in kinship terms, genealogy, and respect behaviors, an Apache cultural identity is based primarily upon contemporary articulations of collective Apache cultural identity, often defined in relation to and made meaningful as a result of differences from other communities.

Because kinship obligations of respect are tied to gender ideologies, Apache women who want to claim an Apache cultural identity are expected to perform – in at least some ways and in at least some social spheres – gender-appropriate behavior. They do so, I suggest, through the adoption and performance of situational hyperfemininity. Unlike in some academic treatments of hyperfemininity, usually in Anglo-American cultural contexts, I do not use the term here to denote excessive displays of embodied sexuality or conventional Anglo-American femininity (Blackwood 1998, 2005; McKelvie and Gold 1994; Sanders 2000:482). Rather, hyperfemininity in an Apache context is the self-conscious performance of Apache femininity, particularly interaction with male kinsmen. Because of the public requirements of Apache femininity, these performances usually take place at symbolically-meaningful public events, like powwows, church events, funerals or extended family gatherings.

Jenny, for example, uses powwows and other "Indian doings" as an alternative public space where she can counter her transgression of gender ideologies in the work place. Whereas her work persona is visible and respectfully assertive, Jenny's powwow persona is quiet, supportive, and "in her place" behind the men. At the Blackfeet, Jenny clearly and meticulously follows all gender rules herself and enforces them on her other female relatives, particularly her granddaughters. Most obviously, Jenny rarely speaks publicly during powwows, especially at Blackfeet . During specials and giveaways, Jenny finds a male relative – an uncle, her husband, or one of her sons – to speak on her behalf, as she self-consciously stands behind them in the arena.

For Jenny, silence at powwows is appropriate because Apache woman should not call attention to themselves or to their achievements, a value that stands in opposition to the expectations of Apache men who are often called upon to recount important moments in their lives, although with humility.[7] As a point of comparison, Jenny told me the following story during an afternoon lunch together in Norman. Because this was not a recorded interview, the following narrative is taken directly from my field notes.

> Jenny organized a powwow at the Clarion Hotel in Oklahoma City during a tribal conference. A Comanche woman came up to the microphone and pointed out all the work she was doing. For Jenny, this was embarrassing because as an Apache woman she is not supposed to speak out or call attention to herself and her deeds.

Jenny's embarrassment at this occasion stemmed largely from a concern that those attending this powwow would believe that she had encouraged her Comanche friend to talk on her behalf. Indeed, many of Jenny's stories abound with concerns about what other communities members think of her, punctuated with phrases such as "What if someone saw?" or "Thank goodness none of my relatives were there!" Clearly, for Jenny, all social action is subject to review and, thus, all social acts must be carefully considered and controlled.

Kirk Dombrowski points to a similar situation for Alaskan native women, whose work in wage-labor employment increasingly draws them away from subsistence activities that represent traditional, culturally distinctive patterns of life. As Dombrowski notes, wages from women's labor are necessary to buy the equipment for subsistence work, yet this creates a kind of contradiction. If women are working in full-time jobs,

they are “less able to provide the sorts of support that many women provided in the past – help in processing fish, for example, or in providing child care when a spouse goes hunting or fishing” (2001:97). Even more, Alaskan native women’s “new role in the workplace further removes them, in the eyes of some, from the contemporary basis of traditional native culture and identity – that is, subsistence” (2001:99). Alaskan native women, in other words, are increasingly displaced from their traditional gender roles because of their participation in full-time employment, even as their jobs and incomes are necessary for Alaskan native men to carry out traditional activities. Even more, Dombrowski (2001:97-99) suggests that native women, in response to their displacement from “tradition” and “culture” have begun participating in native dance troupes with more frequency than native men.

Similarly, Apache women’s income is necessary to facilitate cultural production, but the very act of working challenges their cultural authenticity because work so often requires the transgression of gendered respect behaviors between related men and women. Because Dombrowski implicitly privileges subsistence activities as the “true” traditional sphere, however, he leaves little room for Alaskan native women to regain authenticity within their communities. In contrast, for some Apache women, powwows represent a moment of opportunity to reclaim, at least partially, an authenticity that has been challenged in other social situations. This opportunity does not emerge merely from participation alone – from dancing , dressing out or singing behind the drum – but comes from participating in particular gender-specific ways, especially through the deployment of hyperfemininity. Importantly, however, hyperfemininity can be

performed in many public social spaces, including church service and funerals, as well as in private or semi-private spaces. In other words, although Jenny chooses the powwow arena as a space to reclaim her Apache cultural identity, other women may choose alternative spaces with equal success.

For some Apache women, however, claiming an Apache *cultural* identity is not their intended goal. In fact, it is arguable that through their actions, some women implicitly – and perhaps, subconsciously – engage in gender transgressions in order to reject this identity. Karen, for example, frequently and quite blatantly violates gendered respect behaviors in both public and private social spaces, particularly regarding appropriate language and relationships with male kinsmen. That is, Karen often jokes with male kin about sexual matters – a type of speech she calls "talking bluntly" or, more descriptively, "talking nasty." In our many conversations, Karen was quite clear that she understood and had knowledge of these requirements. Indeed, she was one of my first local introductions to these aspects of contemporary Apache culture. Karen's choice to violate these normative modes of interaction, I suggest, indexes not only her personal distaste for such restrictions, but also her intention to distance herself from an Apache cultural identity.

Karen does not distance herself from all forms of Apache community membership, at least not all the time. As a member of a prominent Apache family, Karen is fiercely proud of her family, its history, and her relatives, both dead and living. One of her favorite material items is an athletic jacket with her family name embroidered in bold white letters across the back. Wearing this jacket proclaims her

membership into this family, but simultaneously, that she *claims them* as kin. This phenomena of proudly displaying family names is common in the Apache community. Family names are displayed on women's shawls, everyday clothing, and even on decals stuck to the rear window of cars. Thus, Karen's authenticity as *socially* Apache comes not simply from her birth into this family, but from the ways that she acknowledges and supports her kin. Ironically, Karen's support of her family is also a type or form of hyperfemininity – but instead of the powwow arena, Karen's is enacted at home, through the medium of food.

Supporting relatives can be accomplished in a myriad of ways, including by honoring them in the powwow arena. Because Karen does not attend powwows, however, this avenue is not open to her. Instead, Karen supports her relatives by cooking for them – not on a daily basis, as part of a routine of everyday life, but rather at strategic times, usually after being away from her family for days or even weeks. The timing is key, of course. Karen's substance abuse problems, precisely because they draw her away from her "place" of supporting her elderly mother and other relatives, challenge her social identity as an Apache person. As is similar to the role of women in many communities, cooking for her relatives allows Karen to reestablish these social ties and, in the process, reclaim an Apache social identity (Counihan 1999:43-50; Weismantel 1988:187-195). Importantly, the connection between food and identity in the Apache community does not center on the knowledge of traditional food production. Certainly, the Apache community defines particular foods as more "traditional" than others, such as boiled meat and meat gravy, fry bread and meat pies,

bote and kidney, and even goulash. These foods run the gamut of traditional precontact foods – like *bote*, intestines stuffed with chopped beef and boiled and kidney, both grilled and raw – to very contemporary foods that have become almost synonymous with Apache cooking, like goulash, a stew-like casserole made with elbow macaroni, ground beef, tomatoes, and seasonings.[8]



Figure 13: Fry bread at a fundraising event.
Anadarko, Oklahoma, February 2007. Photo by author.

Indeed, Karen is widely considered a very good cook, known especially for her fry bread and meat pies, dough stuffed with ground beef, potatoes, and seasoning, then fried. As the following narrative from my field notes illustrates, Karen just as frequently prepared meals that have little or no connection with Apache culture.

> Karen knocked on the door this afternoon, surprising me. I can't remember the last time I saw her, but I know it was at least a week ago. She looks impossibly thin.
>
> "I'm cooking," she told me. "Come over to Vi's in a while. Bring a plate."
>
> Her words are not an invitation, really more of a request – so I followed her orders and walked around the corner to Vi's little house holding a plate and, because of previous experience, a knife and fork. Most of the Karen's immediate family is there, including two of her sisters and their children. The only people missing are Judy [Karen's mother] and Rob [her teenaged nephew]. Everyone is milling about in the kitchen or laying on the sofa in front of the television. Vi's drinking a beer at the kitchen table.
>
> Karen is hovering over the gas range, browning ground beef. It turns out she's making taco salad, one of the best I've ever had. She mixes taco meat and all the fixings with nacho-cheese flavored Doritos instead of plain tortilla chips and dishes out some to each of us. The big pot is still nearly half full, so Karen tells her sister to call Rob and his friends to come and eat. Then she prepares a bowl of taco salad for her mother and her aunt, and later in the evening we drive over to drop them off.

For Karen, the effort to take care of, support, and acknowledge relatives by providing meals for them restores some authenticity to her claim on an Apache social identity. Thus, it is the act of cooking itself, not the type of food prepared, that bestows authenticity upon Apache women.

Karen's experience is similar to Jean's. After her public removal from her position as Blackfeet treasurer, Jean withdrew from any involvement with the organization and, simultaneously, attempts to claim an Apache cultural identity. Although Jean never returned to Blackfeet as treasurer, she does attend this dance every summer – but not as a dancer or even as a spectator. Instead, Jean stays largely at the camp of her family and cooks. Under a shade, Jean cooks fry bread and other food in the August heat, usually with her elderly mother providing guidance. After the dance on each of the three nights, Jean's food is served to a large number of extended family

members, including dancers and singers, close kin and more distant or fictive kin. In each of the twenty or so additional camps, other Apache women are doing the same for their family members. Indeed, because of the inter-related nature of the Apache community, many individuals receive several offers to eat at a particular camp, and some make the rounds to several each evening. The act of cooking for, and eating together, recreates these kin relationships in a public space, for all present to notice. For Jean, cooking at Blackfeet – as well as bringing food for funeral feeds, fund-raising events, or to sick relatives – re-establishes her social identity as an Apache person. At the same time, her move from the dance arena to the shade of her mother's camp symbolizes her rejection of an Apache cultural identity, with its required gendered behaviors.

The Performance and Performativity of Apache Identity

During my fieldwork in Anadarko, I heard narratives these narratives about cultural contradiction, of "living in two worlds," so often that my notes and interviews are literally filled with examples. Clearly, for Apache people, the experience of cultural contradiction is fundamental aspects of being Apache today. For both Apache women and men, these experiences can cause frustration, irritation, and even pain as they feel the daily pressure of competing, and often contradictory, cultural expectations. In a very real sense, however, these narratives are also connected to concrete bodily performances that take place in a multitude of social spaces, both public and private. Some of these performances, like Jenny's powwow hyperfemininity, are intentionally

cultural – the performance, through gendered behaviors, of an Apache cultural identity. Some performances reflect a more subtle rejection of an Apache *cultural* identity, even as these same Apache people still consider themselves Apache and strive to illustrate their social membership in the Apache community.

Indeed, the frequency with which these narratives are told and retold also suggest their place in maintaining the *experience* of cultural difference . On an individual level, the discomfort, incongruity and contradiction Apache people often feel about their own culture – a result of competing ideological systems, economic and material circumstances, and personal abhorrence or distaste – continually construct and reconstruct the difference between Apache and Anglo-American gender ideologies. Even while these narratives reflect real emotional trauma and personal conflict, they are also necessary to highlight the continuing cultural distinctiveness of the Apache community. In this sense, like gender itself, these narratives are also *performative* – that is, they are not only descriptive, but prescriptive (Butler 1991, 1993). The descriptions of cultural difference reinforce the significance of difference in general and, specifically, the cultural aspects of contemporary Apache social life that create difference. In doing so, these narratives highlight the behaviors necessary to be Apache, essentially prescribing modes of kin interaction and gender propriety.

[1]This dichotomy into "Indian" and "white" worlds was also expressed by Lassiter's consultants (1998:74).

[2] In turn, the feminized employment situation in Anadarko also creates a similar, but opposite, problem for Apache men. In addition to a broader, national social landscape which increasingly questions their superior and privileged status, Apache men must work in close contact with their female relations. Although the Apache Business Committee is dominated by men – there has never been, for example, an Apache Business Committee Chair*woman* – many other positions in the tribal government, in the Apache casino, and in various tribal programs are filled by women. While some higher-level managerial positions, like the tribal administrator, tribal director, and director of education, are now or were at one time filled by native men, even these are increasingly held by women. During 2008, for example, an Apache woman served as tribal director, a position that coordinates the Apache Tribe's involvement with the American Indian Exposition held in Anadarko each August.

[3] The Second-Wave of the women's movement occurred in the mid-1970s. Having achieved suffrage because of the work of First-Wave activists in the early twentieth century, Second-Wave feminists sought to call attention to continued gender inequality in the home and workplace. In academia, Second-Wave feminists argued that all women, in all cultural contexts, were universally oppressed. See Rosaldo, Michelle, "Women, Culture, and Society: A Theoretical Overview, in *Women, Culture and Society*, Michelle Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere, eds. [Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1974]; Ortner, Sherry, "Is Female to Male as Nature is to Culture?" in Women, Culture and Society, Michelle Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere, eds.[Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1974]; and Chodorow, Nancy, *The Reproduction of Mothering: Psychoanalysis and the Sociology of Gender* [Berkeley, University of California Press, 1978] and Rubin, Gayle, "The Traffic in Women: Notes on the 'Political Economy' of Sex," in *Feminist Frameworks: Alternative Theoretical Accounts of the Relations Between Women and Men*, Alison M. Jaggar and Paula S. Rothenberg, eds. [New York, McGraw Hill, 1984].

[4] Recent scholarship tries to move beyond this binary that pits feminism against sovereignty, with feminism seen as a form of neo-colonial imposition, including the later work of Jaimes Guerrero (1997, 1998). See the essays published in American Quarterly June 2008 especially Smith, Andrea and J. Kehaulani Kauanui, "Native Feminisms Engage American Studies," *American Quarterly* 60, no 2 (Summer 2008): 241-249; Barker, Joanne, "Gender, Sovereignty, Rights: Native Women's Activism Against Social Inequality and Violence in Canada," *American Quarterly* 60, no 2 (Summer 2008): 259-266; and Ramirez, Renya, "Learning Across Differences: Native and Ethnic Studies Feminisms," *American Quarterly* 60, no 2 (Summer 2008): 303-307.

[5] Beyond subaltern and indigenous communities, essentialism is, of course, a strong current in Western thought, especially concerning social identities.

[6] This account is similar to stories told about the four Apache medicine bundles described in chapter two, particularly the three no longer in use. Like the medicine in the story above, many story-tellers claim that medicine bundles were buried with their last keepers because the ritual knowledge used to care for them was no longer known. The decision to bury the bundles, however, was precisely that – a choice. Such a distinction may seem small and inconsequential, but it suggests that Apache people are emphasizing both their agency and the role of colonialism in their historical circumstances.

[7] When the Blackfeet is danced, for example, if any dancer's regalia falls off in the arena, a male veteran must speak of his war deeds before the entire group before the dance can continue.

[8] Interestingly, Lena, a reknowned cook, claims that Apaches learned how to make goulash when the women were given cooking classes at Riverside Indian School. Lena also suggests that goulash is often served to large crowds at funerals or powwows because it is cheap to make for a large crowd and goes a long way.

Conclusion:
Indigeneity on Parade

On November 4, 2008, American citizens elected Barack Obama as the forty-fourth president of the United States. In President-elect Obama's election night victory speech in Chicago, he acknowledged American diversity by naming the nation's major ethnic groups – including Native American people along with blacks, whites, Asians, and Latinos. Such mention may well have passed the notice of most listening to Obama's speech, yet it struck a cord with me.[1] I remembered it, and chose to conclude my dissertation with it, both for its hopeful promise and for its analytical value. With less than one percent of the national population, native people are often excluded from the business of politics, even symbolically. Most American politicians, for example, exclude Native American communities from the lists of racial and ethnic interest groups they often acknowledge in their speeches. With such a small, seemingly insignificant numbers, this exclusion is perhaps not a surprise – nor does symbolic acknowledgement of racial and ethnic difference in political discourse necessarily indicate that a politician has the interest of those citizens at heart. Even still, this form of exclusion contributes implicitly to a larger national narrative that defines native peoples as belonging properly to the past, effectively writing native communities, and their concerns, out of the present.

President Obama's attempt at inclusion of native peoples extended, seemingly, to the inaugural parade held in Washington, D.C. on the afternoon of his inauguration. The parade included four specifically Native American groups – The Crow Nation of

Montana, Oneida Nation Veterans, United Tribes Technical College of North Dakota, and the Suurimmanitchuat Eskimo Dance Group of Alaska (Presidential Inaugural Committee: 2008). Such a large native representation in the inaugural parade had not been seen since Teddy Roosevelt's inauguration, which featured six Native American leaders: Quanah Parker, Comanche; Buckskin Charlie, Ute; American Horse, Oglala Sioux; Little Plume, Piegan Blackfeet; Hollow Horn Bear, Brule Sioux; and Geronimo, Chiricahua Apache [see Figure 14].[2] According to Jesse Rhodes, a contributor to the online *Smithsonian*, Roosevelt's choice to include native leaders was not without controversy. Woodward Clum, a member of Roosevelt's inauguration committee, asked the new president why he invited Geronimo, "the greatest single-handed murderer in American history," to march in his parade. Roosevelt's answer, simply stated, was that he wanted to give parade spectators a "good show" (Rhodes:2009).

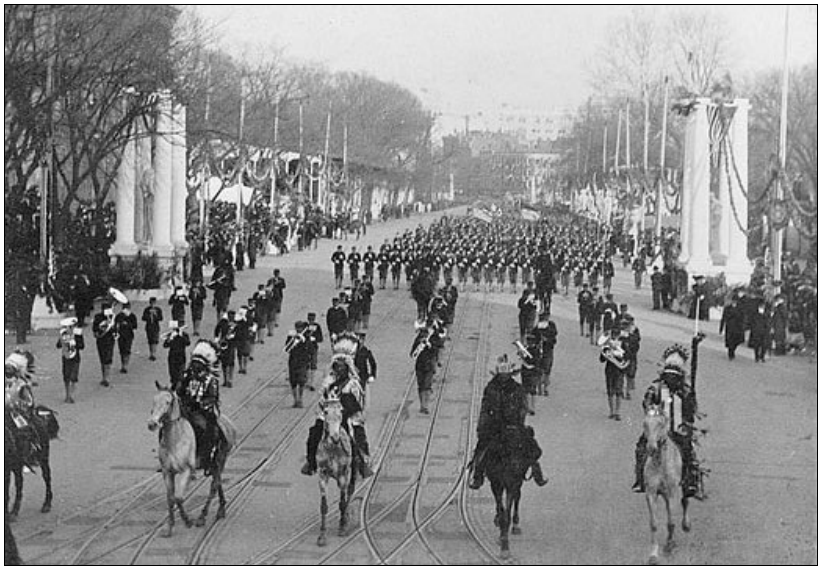


Figure 14: Indian chiefs headed by Geronimo, passing in review before President T. Roosevelt, inauguration, March 4, 1905, Washington, D.C., U.S.A. Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-56009.

Similarly, contemporary media endeavored to present the entertainment value of Obama's inaugural parade, to make the news coverage of the parade into a "good show." Even though the inaugural parade included native people both in and out of traditional costume, media coverage focused largely on only two of the four native groups – the representatives from the Crow Nation of Montana and the Suurimmanitchuat Eskimo Dance Group from Barrow, Alaska. Of the Crow delegation, the men rode horses, wore traditional clothing and – most prominently – large, eye-catching eagle-feather headdresses. Although dressed more quietly in comparison to the Crow, the Suurimmanitchuat Eskimo Dance Group stopped in front of the presidential grandstand to perform a traditional song and dance for the Obama family and staffers in the new administration.

In contrast, there was little mention of the other two native groups in the television news coverage nor any record, later, in photographs of the parade. Because of the length of the parade, many participants did not receive much, if any, live coverage by the national media. At the same time, however, the media clearly chose to highlight the Crow Nation delegates and the Suurimmanitchuat Eskimo Dance Group. These groups, of course, displayed the most visible – often breathtakingly so – aspects of indigeneity. Despite the availability of other native participants, who represented a wide spectrum of indigeneity including veterans, politicians, and college students, the media focused only on the native people who fit most concretely within already existing expectations of indigeneity.

Despite what I can only assume were the best intentions of the Obama administration, the attempt at native inclusion was only partially successful. Just as contemporary native people are written out of present with their exclusion from contemporary political discourse, native people who do not fit expectations of indigeneity are excluded from representations of indigenous communities, and thus from the experience of indigeneity itself. Once more, *visible difference* – through costume, song, or dance – was rewarded in the inaugural parade, again revealed as the primary determinant in marking not only cultural otherness, but a connection to tradition and authenticity. Thus, President Obama's inaugural parade represents not only the existence of this larger, national narrative on visible indigeneity but also the ways this narrative is simultaneously reproduced in contemporary American society.

As I have tried to argue in this dissertation, the issues of expectation, anomaly, and invisibility are simultaneously of political, material, and academic interest. In turn, both the issues and interests at the heart of this study are interconnected to each other, interwoven so that they often both challenge, and yet also reproduce, both local and national discourses on indigeneity, identity, and belonging. Working with the Plains Apache, I have focused this dissertation on how Apache identity is articulated, claimed, and lived among contemporary Apache people. Using American Studies scholar Philip Deloria's model of "expectation and anomaly," I argued that narratives of Indian identity, or indigeneity, are often based upon external, Anglo-American expectations of visible, cultural difference. On the Southern Plains, indigeneity is most often associated with participation in social and ceremonial powwows, a publicly visible marker of

indigeneity. Unfortunately, those individuals who do not participate in these visibly "Indian" activities remain largely invisible to anthropologists and the general public and they, in turn, are seen as anomalous.

Indeed, the complexity of Apache identity narratives means that there is no simple way of claiming social membership in the Apache community. While such flexibility is useful to Apache people, who are able to draw upon alternative claiming strategies if other options are closed to them, it also presents an analytical problem. For Apache people, contemporary identity is not black or white, in or out, Apache or not-Apache – and as a result there is no clear or simple definition of Apacheness today. In this respect, Apache identity simulates postmodern theories about the constructed, fragmented, and inherently hybrid nature of contemporary identities. For Apache people, however, the fluidity of identity is likely more reflective of earlier definitions of belonging, before federal policy forced standardized, and culturally alien, requirements for tribal citizenship.

In part, this dissertation also examined the socioeconomic factors, requirements of cultural capital, and personal desires that combine to limit how Apache people can claim an Apache identity. By focusing my data collection on local Apache narratives from both participants and non-participants, I argued that identity for Apache people goes beyond visible powwow participation to include behavioral requirements embedded in ideologies of gender and kinship, most particularly through gendered respect behaviors. Following gendered respect behaviors, for Apache people, is the most appropriate way to honor kin; in turn, honoring kin is the most concrete way that Apache people, on an

individual basis, claim an Apache social identity and belonging in the Apache community.

Although these behaviors mediate the requirements of powwow participation, they also include expectations that some Apache people may find difficult or undesirable – especially gender ideologies which require Apache women to take on secondary, largely invisible, roles in public life. Thus, even as local Apache discourses on identity and belonging mediate national, hegemonic narratives of visible indigeneity, these local narratives are themselves fraught with limits, constraints, and frequent frustration on the part of Apache people who fail to meet them. Just as the national hegemonic narrative of indigeneity is selected from a broad catalog of meanings to ensure consent of subordinate groups, so to do local Apache narratives of identity represent a process of selection, incorporation, and indeed, struggle over the content of such narratives.

Through such tensions and struggles, I have revealed the complicated reality of the lived experiences of being Apache today. Indeed, much of contemporary Apache life is structured by paradox. Even though native peoples have been subjected to federal assimilation policies, they are expected to display cultural difference. Similarly, while national narratives of indigeneity connect poverty with authenticity and tradition, I have suggested that money, ironically, is intimately connected with cultural production and reproduction, on both individual and collective levels. Ultimately, these dual paradoxes produce "impossible subjects," because neither expectation can be met without subsequently failing the other. In the most obvious way, of course, Apache people are

not impossible subjects – and the mere fact of their existence suggests that, despite the incongruity of national narratives of indigeneity, native people are still asserting their right to define their communities in their own ways.

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[1] President-elect Obama opened his victory speech with these words: "If there is anyone out there who still doubts that America is a land where all things are possible; who still wonders if the dream of our founders is alive in our time; who still questions the power of our democracy…tonight is your answer. It's the answer told by lines that stretched around schools and churches in numbers this nation has never seen; by people who waited three hours and four hours, many for the first time in their lives, because they believed that this time must be different; that their voice could be that difference. It's the answer spoken by young and old, rich and poor, Democrat and Republican, black, white, Latino, Asian, *Native American,* gay, straight, disabled and not disabled – Americans who sent a message to the world that we have never been a collection of Red States and Blue States: we are, and always will be, the United States of America" [Barack Obama, November 4, 2008, emphasis mine]. For full text of Obama's speech, see: http://elections.nytimes.com/2008/results/president/speeches/obama-victory-speech.html#

[2] According to an exhibition at the National Museum of the American Indian, *A Century Ago: They Came as Sovereign Leaders*, the six native leaders had their own strategic reasons for participating in Roosevelt's inaugural parade. They hoped to bring their concerns, and the concerns of the communities they represented, before the president. See Monsen, Lauren. 2009. "Legendary Indian Chiefs: Leaders Who Advocated For Their Tribes." Electronic Document. http://www.america.gov/st/arts-english/2009/February/20090213154252GLnesnoM0.3933069
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