Winyan Okodakiciye: Indigenous Resurgence & Women Society Lifeways

Mahpiya Waci Win
Brook Spotted Eagle

A dissertation

submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

University of Washington

2021

Reading Committee:

Chair Jean Dennison

Dian Million

Sareeta Amrute

Program Authorized to Offer Degree:

Department of Anthropology

University of Washington

Abstract

Winyan Okodakiciye: Indigenous Resurgence & Women Society Lifeways

Mahpiya Waci Win (Brook Spotted Eagle)

Chair of the Supervisory Committee:

Jean Dennison

American Indian Studies

Winyan okodakiciye and Indigenous women led collectives and organizations play a vital role in our communities and movements. This dissertation examines the ways *winyan okodakiciye* work to address the community impacts of settler colonialism, colonial patriarchy, violence and historical oppression by nourishing resilience and providing community-care through Indigenous resurgence. The community care provided by *winyan okodakiciye* rooted in a deep relationality linking resilience to the powerful knowledge systems cradled within ceremony, language, cultural systems & structures. Following the works of Indigenous scholars of Glen Coulthard and Leanne Betasamosake, this can be recognized as a place-based lifeway standing upon a historical grounding of Indigenous systems and reveals living, breathing precolonial formation contemporarily driven by concepts and acts of rematriation, resistance, and resurgence.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements

This work was made possible through the generously shared knowledge and support of the *Cante Ohitika Okodakiciye* and the women we are in relation with. *Wopida tanka*.

To every woman who has supported me in this journey – please know, you mean the world to me. *Wopida tanka*.

This manuscript is dedicated our Dakota/Nakota/Lakota people, who have been deeply misrepresented and impacted by the epistemic violence of historical documentation and academic literature.

When my mom was a little girl, she was walking with her grandma on a hot summer day. She was startled when her grandma abruptly to a sharp turn, walked through the ditch and began heading towards a field.

"Grandma seemed to know exactly where she was headed." My mom just followed and waited.

My mom was raised by grandma, who lived to be 104. I can tell when she is lonesome for her. That's when she starts telling stories.

That day, she says it felt like they walked forever. She said her little legs hurt and she was hot. As abruptly as Grandma turn off the dirt road, she suddenly sat down on an embankment that seemed like no place special.

"*Takoja, iyotaka*," she patted the ground next to her. My mom came and sat down.

She began digging in the ground, between her feet and beneath her legs. Searching. My mom looked on. Grandma eventually sat up straight and held two small clumps of dirt. She handed one to my mom.

"*Wota*."

My mom looked down at her hand and stared at the dirt. The first time I heard this story, I remember quickly asking what she did. She answered, "I took a bite."

On their way home, my mom asked, "Why did we eat dirt, Grandma?"

"She said our bodies need that sometimes and I eventually learned what that meant."

When I asked my mom how she learned that it meant, she answered, "Because that when I started sitting with grandma and eat dirt with her." My mom makes herself giggle with that part. That's where the story ends.

Recently my mom told the story again, but it was after talking about her great-grandmother, *Tunka Inajin Win (*Standing Stone Woman). My mom was named after her and as she began talking, I realized she was sharing something because it related to this dissertation.

During the Whitestone massacre, *Tunka Inaji Win* knocked a soldier off his horse and rode off with it. She found her little brother and took them to safety as our people were being killed. My mom explained, that when they eventually got caught, they were taken to Crow Creek & were not allowed to leave.

My mom's grandmother would tell her stories that lingered around people long after her grandmother passed away. Late at night, people would hear soft rustling moving towards the direction of some nearby trees. Moments later, *Tunka Inaji Win* would be seen walking swiftly walking away, cradling a bundle in her arms.

When my mom was a little girl, she remembers her grandma would go out to the trees before bedtime. My mom talks about one tree out at the Old Place. Her grandma would store her medicine up in that tree, every night – the same bundle that belonged to *Tunka Inajin Win.*

My mom shared the stories again a few days ago, but this time she focused on where *Tunka Inajin Win* would go at night. She explained she would go provide medicine for people who needed help. She said that for a very long time, people kept that memory alive. It was very dangerous and put her life at risk. But this never stopped *Tunka Inajin Win*.

This was *the point* of the story for the moment. My mom told me she had been thinking about my questions. I have a lot of them, but recently I've had more than usual.

She concluded by saying, "*Okodakiciye* were practical. They met their needs. That's a lifeway we all came from, it is simple. You care for your relatives, no matter what the risk entails."

My mom explained that this is the root of *okodakiciye*. To meet the needs that are needing to be met – for your people. "You learn things like that by watching and experiencing," she says. "And you can't take people where you haven't gone."

My questions aren't always immediately answered, especially the ones about certain peculiarities in our stories. But answers always eventually reveal themselves and emerge when they are often needed most. Just like this story…two days before the completion of this dissertation.

Introduction:

An estimated 5.6 million Native people live in the US, making up 1.7% of the population.[1] Although accounting for only a small amount of the US population, research has shown that the majority of American Indian and Alaskan Natives (AIAN) are victims of violence in their lifetimes (83%)[2]. The rates of sexual assault impacting Native communities largely focuses on Native women, as 1 in 2 (56.1%) Native women experience sexual violence in their lifetime, and according to the same reports, AIAN people experience violence at a higher rate from non-AIAN perpetrators (for women 97%, for men 90%). Solid, accurate rates of rape that AIAN women are victimized by AIAN are difficult to find and honestly, even more, difficult to trust. This will be discussed more below. However, in terms of the sexual violence Native men

experience, the estimates are more difficult to determine, as men on a wider scale have a greater resistance to reporting sexual assault. While over half of all AIAN women experience sexual violence in their lifetime, 1 out of 4 AIAN men in the US have survived some form of sexual violence in their lifetime and 1 out of 9 of these men was raped.[3] This number is higher than the national average of sexual violence that 1 in 6 US non-Native men.

Concerning the territories this research covers, the rates of sexual violence and limitations on data collection are reflected in the Sexual Violence in South Dakota Data Report of 2019. South Dakota's rate of rape is the third-highest rate in the nation at 72.6 per 100,000, which is significantly higher than the national rate of 42.6 per 100,000.[4] Native people in South Dakota are overrepresented in both rape victims, offenders, and arrestees. Natives make up 9% of the South Dakota population, 29% of rape victims, 23% of rape offenders, and 18% of arrestees.[5]

Even more so concerning are the crimes reported to tribal law enforcement in the same 2021 report which are of particular concern, especially about missing data and my research. According to rape rates per 100,000 calculated using population estimates provided by the U.S. Census Bureau's *My Tribal Data Tool*, four tribes reported a higher rate of rape on and off-reservation tribal trust lands than the state average between 2015-2019. Although higher than the state average, the Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe reported rates of 98.7 per 100,000 and the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe reported 92.9 per 100,000. Significantly higher, however, are the Lower Brule Tribe at a rate of 202.1 per 100,000 and the Crow Creek Tribe at a rate of 248.6 per 100,000.[6]

Natives experience the highest rates of poverty and Native youth suicide rates are 2.5 times higher than the national average.[7] Additionally, Natives experience substance abuse at

much higher rates than other racial and ethnic groups.[8] In addition, Natives also experience the highest risk of IPV victimization compared to other racial/ethnic groups is experienced by Natives.[9] Native women and men also have the highest probability of IPV victimization.[10] Research on Natives indicates experiences of IPV may be prevalent among both men and women.[11] Studies suggest that 27.5% of Native men have experienced sexual assault and 43.2% have experienced physical violence by an intimate partner. Concerning Native women, 56.1% have experienced sexual assault and 55% have experienced physical violence by an intimate partner.[12]

I documented an oral history of the women's society I grew up in my previous research.[13] This dissertation is an extension of that work. The oral history reveals important reasons why our *winyan okodakiciye* now provides an annual coming-of-age ceremony for the community called *Isnati Awicadowanpi*. The ceremony provides an integral source of care needed for our beloved girls and women.[14] The same reasoning behind why *Isnati* became a communal event rather than an isolated ceremony stems from the same reasoning grandmothers and mothers began mobilizing *okodakiciye* as a lifeway: to heal trauma[15].

It is true, we come from very traumatized communities. Historical trauma has significant impacts on Native people, this construct alone cannot account for what is happening here with these numbers, however. The statistic and health disparities that Native people experience are symptoms of generational structural violence. Historical oppression is a framework useful in understanding issues like IPV and connections to Native women. Historical trauma is conceptualized as a part of the critical discourse of historical oppression. A key factor in the perpetuation of disparities and oppression is emphasized through forms of structural violence, which include discrimination, microaggressions, economic inequality, and marginalization.[16]

There is a link between negative, physical, social, and mental health outcomes and oppressions imposed through colonization.[17] The implications for Native communities in this regard are concerning.

When looking into the details of how violence is expressed in our communities and how extreme lateral violence can manifest, this research revealed how many questions arise surrounding potential diagnosable disorders associated with the collective trauma of surviving genocidal colonial violence. That is, what exactly does intergenerational trauma post-traumatic stress disorder *look* like in the post-apocalyptic reality[1] of Native communities? Questions like this are powerful. Yet I think they should be accompanied by critical questions surrounding what Eve Tuck calls the US settler colonial metanarrative of knowledge production as a "spectatorship for pain" with a "preoccupation with documenting and ruling over racial difference"[18] . Settler colonialism is a nation-state building project that functions through the elimination of Native people. It is a structure that perpetuates genocide and violence. Frameworks constructing a lens of analysis on Native issues must provide a holistic perspective that does not obscure distinct structural forms of violence Native people experience.

Certain elements of historical trauma discourse do obscure structural violence and may indirectly misplace blame onto Native communities and family systems for the outcomes created by structurally violent systems of oppression. This gives rise to important questions, such as how historical trauma discourse fuel longstanding perceptions might be used to justify federal paternalism that perpetuate a mistruth that Native people are not fully functional as modern

[1]Native people survived an apocalypse. I use post-apocalyptic in relation to the experience of moving through a where the echoes of loss resound through every colonial structure atop every Indigenous land base – this is the loss of realities of being. The lives of Native people and their realities were shattered with settler colonialism.

human beings. What are the implications for bolstering an already lauded clinical construct that reinforces harmful misconceptions?

Overview

Given the demographics, the hyper-focus of research on social problems is understandable. Yet, the severity of some of these issues reflected in the demographics also reveals a striking level of resilience[19] cradled within our communities. This dissertation focuses on just one of the many sites of resilience that exist throughout our Indigenous territories. *Winyan okodakiciye* and Indigenous women-led collectives and organizations play a vital role in our communities and movements. The stories and perspectives that speak to their importance are shared through the voices of women and men located at the core of these movements. The fluid, adaptable characteristics of organizing through *winyan okodakiciye* as structures, or guiding concepts, may lend to the congruencies, contentions, challenges and contradictions that arise amongst and between various approaches to organizing through *winyan okodakiciye* that tie directly to whether collectives remain grassroots or choose to become a non-profit organization.

Okodakiciye thus provides a strong lens of analysis on the contemporary realities within *Oceti Sakowin* communities, movement-building, and grassroots organizing. Although not obvious at first glance, *okodakiciye* are systems of governance that often work outside of tribal programmatic structures and governments. This point is central to this project and research on *winyan okodakiciye* and within the scope of decolonization, offer important contributions to Indigenous scholarship regarding the work being done on the frontlines of *Oceti Sakowin* community activism, grassroots governance, and movement-building.

In contemporary *Oceti Sakowin* communities are impacted by the accumulation of stacked trauma associated with federal genocidal attempts of elimination, patriarchy, cultural and

structural violence, and economic devastation, recovery, and contemporary strife. Not only does settler colonialism act to efface identity, but the innate character of settler colonialism is directly structured by patriarchy[20]. Thus, settler colonialism either instils or exacerbates patriarchy. However, this research is not intended to further marginalize the resilient lives of Indigenous people, instead of how the tangled history of the US and Canada reveal the need for collective healing. In this respect, it should be clear that *winyan okodakiciye* are used today in ways that seek to fulfil that need. But to speak to the full extent of their labor and care, there are some hard, uncomfortable truths regarding our people that will be told throughout this research. To assist in framing many of the difficult topics this research covers the following will discuss conceptual approaches that help frame this research and the work done by *winyan okodakiciye*.

Methodology

This dissertation centers critical roles of *winyan okodakiciye* in *Oceti Sakowin* communities. I use autoethnographic research to gathers information from the experiences, perspectives, stories, love, and cultural knowledge of *Oceti* women in relation to *winyan okodakiciye.* As an Indigenous autoethnography, this dissertation centers my experience and perspective as an Indigenous woman through an Indigenous lens allows for respect for cultural values, beliefs, teachings, and community that remains widely overlooked by Eurocentric research. This provides grounding for Indigenous autoethnography as a decolonizing methodology.[21] My life and thinking have been shaped by the structures and lifeways of *winyan okodakiciye.* I utilize reflection and concepts stemming from Indigenous perspectives that will continue to develop and grow throughout my life. This is a narrative on living, breathing, moving lineages of society women and what the embodiment of their roles, legacy, and being means in

the present day. My use of story to preface chapters of this dissertation is rooted in an autoethnographic approach and speaks to methodologies that place storytelling as a central transmission of Indigenous knowledge and teachings.[22]

The conceptual frameworks that are woven into this dissertation center Indigenous methodologies that are critical in establishing an understanding of winyan *okodakiciye* as collectives defined by lifeway grounded in Indigenous systems of care. The following sections offer and a conceptual braiding of Indigenous perspectives that remain in dialogue with the stories of *winyan okodakiciye.* The conceptual braiding and weaving center on honoring the heartbeat of *winyan okodakiciye* resurgence: the decolonization of relationality as community care.

Indigenous Feminism

To discuss the care these perspectives can frame within *winyan okodakiciye*, it is important to define what care refers to. I will discuss two frameworks that I recognize as deeply important to *Oceti* communities and North American Indigenous communities overall due to the epistemic violence of erasure, the production of knowledge, and Western systems of knowledge. Canella and Manuelito explore radical rethinking of the purposes, methods, and interpretations of research applicable to the construction of social justice in contemporary hypercapitalist patriarchy.[23] As these authors work towards a conceptualization of social science research that would increase social justice from within difference, the authors seek to create transformative solidarities with the potential to generate unthought possibilities as humans who care for each other. Further, this approach is steered by a call to refocus efforts on ways to know and produce

knowledge within Indigenous, feminist, and womanist anticolonial frameworks for marginalized scholarship and activism to utilize in dismantling hypercapitalist power structures of coloniality. In being critical of one another's accepted approaches to liberation in constructive ways that center liberation, Native feminisms, marginalized feminisms and womanism provide care.[24]

Canella and Manuelito claim that decolonization is not a possibility by discursive efforts alone and will require a reworking of decolonial frameworks towards an anticolonial social science that braids together a reflexive scholarship and activism.[25] Additionally, this must center anticolonial rearticulating and reconceptualizing as a form of care and relationality between Indigenous feminisms, marginalized feminisms and womanism.[26] In this way, the reconceptualization that acts as a form of care does the work of rejecting any further entitlement to knowledge or knowing about marginalized, Indigenous people.

I am understanding care following the works of Canella and Manuelito[27], care is reconceptualizing a way to rearticulate emancipatory scholarship in ways in which hold scholars accountable as activists that A.) are not entitled to knowing or producing knowledge about other groups of people, B.) lovingly and radically working from a space that is both rooted in reflexivity in productive ways that flatten decolonizing frameworks that have become hierarchized and C.) reconceptualizing our initial efforts seeking "decolonization" with an anticolonial, anticapitalistic framework for liberation specifically centered on avoiding rearticulating colonial subjectivities, indigenous erasure and separation based on notions of relationality.[28]

This perspective and its implications for *winyan okodakiciye* have the potential to discursively frame the existence of *winyan okodakiciye* as precolonial testaments of Indigenous women and their structures as the targets of erasure from written historical records, framing

women's societies as evidence of a failed settler colonial project and more importantly, the living embodiments of love and care that went into their strategic erasure as a means of protection from further colonial violence against Oceti women and family structures.[29] Additionally, Canella and Manuelito assert a position that I believe would resonate with *Oceti* communities and societies concerning working to delegitimize Western entitlements to knowledge and knowledge systems rooted in marginalized communities.[30] I believe *winyan okodakici*ye care for their communities in ways that assert self-agency in the process of knowledge production through ongoing support for *Oceti* members pursuing education and activism.

Regarding notions of care associated with caring labor and intimate labor defined by earlier feminist theories, Hall specifically analyzes the labor of Indigenous women's roles as a site of decolonizing struggle. Hall elevates the creative labors Indigenous women deploy in the protection and strengthening of relations on community and intimate levels between people and the land as forms of resisting white settler capitalist oppression, restructuring, and exploitation.[31] When framed in this light, the labors of Indigenous women roles stand as the enactment of forms of being and knowing that transcend Western capitalist ideologies.[32] Hall is attentive to two expansions on an analysis focusing on the mixed economy. The first being family as a way of being beyond the nuclear through community and extended kinship networks. The second includes the relations of care that extend to non-human relatives (animal nations) and land. As such, Hall emphasizes Indigenous social and reproductive labor as a site of creative resistance to "settler patriarchal ideology and presumed totality of capital"[33]. With the use of Indigenous feminism and decolonization as a framework of analysis, Hall centers Indigenous women's caring labors, their relations within the scope of community and land, and "their bodies as primary sites of decolonizing struggle and decolonizing creation".[34]

Using Hall's framework as a lens, the work and functions of *winyan okodakiciye* directly demonstrate care for *Oceti* human nations, non-human nations, and land. It should be stated here that *Oceti* societies are collectives with specific roles as community social and political sub-structures that function in ways that resemble *Oceti* kinship systems. The activism and community advocacy that women's societies are most associated which stands out as the most obvious demonstration of care. Much of this advocacy links the processes of healing with decolonization while offering space in movements that include roles of protecting water and land from pipeline development, protecting sacred sites and burial sites, and protecting the bodies of Indigenous women from the colonial violence of rape, sex trafficking and exploitation associated with the man-camps located near pipeline development. To address the heightened rates of rapes and sexual violence that occurs with the establishment of man-camps, *Oceti* women societies are considering the development of semi-permanent encampments strategically placed near certain man-camps neighboring Native communities. Hall's perspective has great potential to offers an effective lens within the scope of examining the levels of care Oceti societies offer their communities.

Finally, it is important to note the potential to offer levels of care regarding decolonizing gender relations using *okodakiciye*. Many North American Indigenous feminisms and feminists are critical of the ways Indigenous men perpetuate colonized behaviors that reflect toxic masculinities.[35] While *okodakiciye* discussed in this dissertation advocate for the decolonization of gender relations, the potential for powerful decolonizing work in communities is exemplified by the events and teach-ins organized by *Oceti* men. The actions that *Oceti* men are taking are a direct response to calls-to-action made by *Oceti* women leaders in the communities. These are products of Indigenous feminist work and care that has always occurred on a grassroots level.

Indigenous Methodologies

Decolonizing/Indigenous methodologies are rooted in tribal knowledge systems and as such, afford another way of thinking about the process of research.[36] Decolonizing methodologies work to develop, complicate, deconstruct and sharpen critical interventions centered on exposing and dismantling the colonial structural power base of Western knowledge systems. Settler colonial knowledge systems do the work of producing active colonial subjects in ways to uphold the larger systems of a settler colonial and capitalist system, which in turn work to reproduce hegemonic notions of gender, race, sexuality, nationality, etc.[37]

Indigenous researchers work to resist the settler colonial apparatus by carving out decolonizing methodologies as a site of resistance and resurgence. This dissertation utilizes decolonizing methodologies as a contribution to wider projects of restructuring Eurocentric research processes and thus, the wider collective consciousness of North America within the scope of anticolonial/anticapitalist activist scholarship. A focus is given on specific strains of Indigenous resurgence methodologies that are most pertinent to this research.

Decolonizing methodologies provide frameworks to identify the role of knowledge production in projects of colonization that structurally reinforced systems of power and domination. Western knowledge and science are beneficiaries of Indigenous colonization and as Tuhiwai Smith argues, in drawing a history of Western knowledge down into a colonized world, we can map the relationships between knowledge, research and imperialism.[38] The process of colonization has structured our ways of knowing and ironically, the knowledge gained through Indigenous colonization was in turn used in the colonization of Indigenous minds.[39] Further, by applying the use of archive metaphorically, Tuhiwai Smith conveys the process in which the

West draws on an expansive history of itself and various traditions of knowledge to incorporate and normalize Eurocentric tailored views of reality, time, and space.[40]

The colonial nature of domination becomes even more evident with Tuhiwai Smith's contextualization of knowledge production within Said's notion of "positional superiority" in conceptualizing knowledge and culture as "playing as big a role in imperialism as raw materials and military force".[41] In this view, knowledge is something to be discovered, extracted, appropriated, and redistributed through systematic processes "accepted as regimes of truth".[42]

Dunbar articulates the need to identify models of research that do not support ways of knowledge of Eurocentrism and argues that examining the indoctrination process in universities afford a site to better understand the impact of colonialism on research methods. Dunbar and many others postulate within Indigenous methodologies the researched subject/other/object is described by members of dominant culture models of knowing – these models of knowing to have the power of informing other critical perspectives and approaches to knowledge produced by other marginalized, BIPOC scholars with common goals of liberation.

The implications of how this work of decolonization and decolonizing methodologies unfold in our communities are important and my concern is exploring how such radical processes of governance are rooted in cultural practices and why emancipating ourselves through our ways of knowing offers an entry point for liberation. However, the challenge of decolonization is one in which requires Indigenous people to emancipate ourselves and our thinking from the colonial institutionalized entanglements of the settler colonial project.

Many scholars have argued a need to incorporate decolonial methodologies into disciplines beyond Native studies such as political economy, post-colonial/settler colonial, as

well as fields like biomedicine, social, natural and behavioral sciences, public/global health, sexual and reproductive health.[43]

Researching engaging and building on certain forms of theory do so in ways that seamlessly incorporate Indigenous epistemologies into Western approaches such as critical race theory grounded theory and methods, including, for example, conversational method community-based participatory action research biopolitics and queer theory.[44]

Indigenous perspectives expose specific socialized blind spots within systems of a settler colonial project in North America and therein lies the power of potential that Indigenous perspectives offer. Our communities are marked for dispossession and disappearance due to our territoriality – given the implications of maintained connections to land stemming back to time immemorial, Indigenous people are born into very political identities. Subsequently, Indigenous research is strongly contextualized by and critical of systems and impacts of colonialism and consequently, scholars and activists apply and mobilize notions of resurgence as an articulation of decolonization.

Coulthard addresses the dispossession of Indigenous peoples as the foundational modus operandi of cities in settler colonial contexts is too often erased from the political economy and urban studies scholarship, highlighting the ways Eurocentric assumptions continue the traditions of Western systems of knowledge.[45] In response to a need for drawing the lines of complex connections between settler colonialism, economic and political structural oppressions, Coulthard applies Fanon's position on Hegel's master/slave dialectic, the social dynamics of internalization of colonialism, and decolonization to deepen his critique on Marx's primitive accumulation.[46] Coulthard ultimately centralizes colonialism as a condition and not the setting for which the transformation from feudalism to capitalism occurred, thereby illuminating the role

of exploitation with respect to territoriality and the coloniality of capitalism within the scope of advancements of globalization. This framework is valuable to decolonization because Indigenous land base is always at the risk of dispossession for the sake of exploitative developments seeking to attain natural resources located on tribal territories. In doing so, Coulthard applies the concept of grounded normativity at an angle that positions much of Indigenous activism and movement-building, however, is the power and dynamics behind grounded normativity that Coulthard places importance on avoiding the politics of recognition as a means for change and argues for a resurgent politics of recognition within our own structures and cultures as a starting place for decolonization.[47]

I find Couthard's notion of grounded normativity helpful in framing *Oceti okodakiciye* that have not been absorbed into the nonprofit industrial complex, as these structures afforded foundational work for movements leading up to Standing Rock and beyond. *Oceti* lifeways seamlessly fit the framework Coulthard offers, based on resurgent politics of recognition that center Indigenous liberation and emancipation in distinct contexts to lead communities to rely on their own sources of knowledge systems. This approach centers on defining future anticolonial and anticapitalist resurgence movements as opposed to further engaging the politics of recognition as another colonial entrapment of a settler colonial project. *Oceti* societies are the living embodiments of a refusal to go away as framed by the works of Audra Simpson.[48]

Coulthard places importance on building and nurturing our relationships with our comrades, both human and non-human alike. Coulthard calls for a resurgence of place-based cultures and language in what oppression while advocating for the development of Indigenous movements are a central core aspect defining decolonizing methodologies.[49]

Whether the settings are rural, urban, on or off-reservation, Indigenous societies have sustained collective place-based existences that are perpetually located in the crosshairs of settler colonialism. Settler colonialism, as Patrick Wolf argues, is not an even, but a structure – the construction of this project is a process that has yet to reach completion in North America because we are still here.[50] Given that our disappearance is a condition needed for settler colonialism as a project to reach a state of completion, Indigenous societies continue to be targeted for dispossession exactly because of territoriality. The process of dispossession relies on systemic power and domination. The methods and modes of settler colonial dispossession occurs at different levels that have a direct impact on policy. Most important to this dissertation, however, is the use of Western knowledge systems as a mode for the settler colonial project and the development of decolonizing methodologies as a creative means to resist further colonial epistemic violence against Indigenous people and other marginalized communities.

I take issue with academic discourse when it is not defined by the communities and is not engaged beyond small portions of said communities. Audra Simpson goes beyond the politics of recognition in positioning the existence of Indigenous nationhood on a grounded refusal as a valid alternative to political recognition. Simpson argues that the politics of refusal rejects assertions that frame Indigenous structures as "different" per the translations of the dynamics of settler governance.[51] In highlighting Idle No More as a movement moment based on a longstanding lineage of movements defined by Indigenous people, Barker speaks to how the politics of recognition can impact movements and argues for the need for emphasis on resurgence.[52] Barker notes that other sects of the community expressed disapproval of the blockades activists organized around as direct actions based on the annoyances such direct actions caused settlers.[53] In the context of movements moments such as Idle No More and *Mni*

Wiconi, I do wonder what differences and similarities exist between framing these tensions the politics of recognition versus the recent currents of discourse on respectability politics (as countered pertaining to Black American politics and activism). I am not sure if scholars have placed these two concepts in conversation, however, I have witnessed and engaged dialogue within movements that interrogate respectability politics and the politics of recognition within the scope of grassroots organizing spaces.

Our presence is a danger to settler-nation states, as evidenced through the intricate efforts of settler nation-states seek to eradicate and erase our existence. Indigenous knowledge systems pose a danger of exposure to certain aspects of knowledge systems and fictitious national narratives bolstered by settler nation-states like the US and Canada. Our maintained presence is an articulation of many different methodologies utilized by Indigenous communities through actions-based lived experience enabling Indigenous people to survive. So are our ways of knowing. Within the scope of my own work, articulations of decolonization regarding resurgence and grounded refusal are present in community practices that intersect governance with Coulthard notion of grounded normativity. Further, these articulations ultimately do impact governance, they do so from outside official colonially imposed structures of tribal governance. That is, resurgence and grounded refusal within Oceti communities are spiritually, politically, and socially embodied within ceremonial settings. It is important to contextualize ceremonial settings here as any *Oceti* organized event and those in which occur (but are not isolated to) outside official tribal governance beyond federally imposed tribal systems. The emphasis on this point is integral to the heart of my work and in what the communities regard as the heart of the Oceti: spirituality is not just a dynamic aspect of decolonization and movement; it is at the core of decolonization and the movements.

I have written elsewhere *Oceti* collectives have always been organized on practical need-based cultural perspectives and *okodakiciye* structures that demonstrate this dynamic in historical and contemporary forms.[54] Our communities have always had a united goal for our people: to live. At this moment, we can see then that Standing Rock was one of many examples of a publicly expressed need for decolonization articulated by *Oceti*-led movements to protect Mother Earth. However, not everyone in our communities has a clear definition of decolonization. This is where a lot of the grassroots is located – in settings that intertwine activism and education. *Oceti okodakiciye* that function outside the confines of settler colonial programmatic structures can afford not only a different way to knowing with regard to conceptualizing not only movements organized around decolonization but ultimately a reconceptualization of how Indigenous systems in a modern context continue to strive even from within and beyond dynamics of a settler colonial nation-state. The implications of this type of precolonial organizing are powerful regarding decolonization and especially with respect to settler studies, as frameworks based on settler colonialism often offer few solutions to the settler colonial conditions.

Indigenous Resurgence

The core of Indigenous resurgence movements center on a call for Indigenous people to turn away from the state and normative structures and systems of the US and Canadian colonies. The drive to "turn away" is rooted in the inherent hostility, disregard, and ongoing structural violence associated with the US as a settler colonial nation-state. From this perspective, efforts and energy should be directed towards revitalizing Indigenous nationhood and culture. Some of this would include re-establishing sustainable economies, and traditional forms of governance;

reconnecting with language and lifeways; building relations with solidarity networks working towards radical transformation.[55]

Through the lens of resurgence, as it pertains to this research, the "turn away" would also include colonial capitalistic systems and programmatic structures associated with the non-profit industrial complex. I argue that the non-profitization of *okodakiciye* essentially colonizes an otherwise pre-colonial Indigenous structure/system and restructures it to function as a capitalistic system within a larger industrial complex. Therefor resurgence in the context of *okodakiciye* means remaining in the grassroots as a form of resistance and remaining unfettered by the terms and conditions of a 501c3. Concerning culture, language, and lifeways, *okodakiciye* provides a structure where reconnections can and do occur. Resurgence is also a protective measure that grounds *okodakiciye* structures outside the reach of colonial systems of violence so reconnections to culture, language, and lifeways remain safe for their members. This concept is also very closely connected to relationality. At the heart of *okodakiciye* is the general principle of being a good relative by providing care and meeting needs in practical ways. Resistance to capitalism structurally is a choice made based on being a good relative.

Resurgence is also woven into methodology and approaches to all developing projects and organizing taking place with *Cante Ohitika Okodakiciye*, which involves filtering their work through the Dakota language and requires deep examination and strategic planning to ensure their actions are rooted in anticolonialism and decolonization.

Dissertation Summary

This dissertation is a comprehensive examination of *Oceti winyan okodakiciye* lifeways and structures that contribute to gender studies, feminist studies, and settler colonial studies; but most importantly it pushes back against the hyperinvisibility of Indigenous women and girls in

both the wider US society and academic literature. Notions of Indigenous resurgence are often discussed in the scope of framing and defining. This dissertation offers a view into what a women-led form of Indigenous resurgence can look like, in motion. This research is intended to inspire hope and to encourage more engagement around difficult questions.

Chapter 1 centers around the collective utilization of *okodakiciye* as a response to meeting the needs of *Oceti*. A general history and timeline of *Cante Ohitika Okodakiciye* is the focus of this chapter. The development of this *okodakiciye* emphasizes Indigenous community engagement and research as a specific methodology devised by *okodakiciye* members in the early phases of development. This chapter additionally discusses *winyan okodakiciye* in the historical context of documentation and community perceptions making key points on issues of gender, erasure, settler colonialism, and imperialism.

The second chapter provides a critical examination of the nonprofit industrial complex in the context of developing winyan okodakiciye. To do so, this chapter centers around a particular story that emphasizes the potential risks of harm involved with the non-profitization of *okodakiciye*. Finally, this chapter offers a solution-based perspective on obtaining resources and funding for *okodakiciye* while maintaining a resistance to non-profitization.

The last chapter focuses on issues of gender-based violence, colonial patriarchy, and sexual violence as symptoms of historical oppression. I situate these issues in context with the work and perspectives provided by members of various *winyan okodakiciye*. The discussion broadens out to a wider discussion on social problems involving mental illness and the complications associated with historical trauma discourse with regard to structural violence.

Notes

[1] US Department of Health & Human Services, Office of Minority of Health: https://minorityhealth.hhs.gov/omh/browse.aspx?lvl=3&lvlid=62.

[2] Rosay, A. B. (2016). *Violence Against American Indian and Alaska Native Women and Men: 2010 Findings from the National Intimate Partner and Sexual Survey*. US Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice.

[3] National Institute of Justice's: *Five Things About Violence Against American Indian and Alaska Native Men and Women,* which largely summarizes points from Rosay, A. B. (2016). *Violence Against American Indian and Alaska Native Women and Men: 2010 Findings from the National Intimate Partner and Sexual Survey*. US Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice.

[4] Crime in the United States report cited in McMahon, T., Walstrom, B., & Kerkvliet, J. (2021). *Sexual Violence in South Dakota 2019 Report*. South Dakota State University: Population Health Evaluation Center, (pp.13).

[5] McMahon, T., Walstrom, B., & Kerkvliet, J. (2021). *Sexual Violence in South Dakota 2019 Report*. South Dakota State University: Population Health Evaluation Center, (pp.15-16).

[6] United States Census Bureau. (2019). My Tribal Area, American Community Survey, 5-year estimate, and Table 2 on pages 16-17 of McMahon, T., Walstrom, B., & Kerkvliet, J. (2021). *Sexual Violence in South Dakota 2019 Report*. South Dakota State University: Population Health Evaluation Center.

[7] More information on Native demographics can be found at the National Congress of American Indians: https://www.ncai.org/about-tribes/demographics.

[8] American Addition Centers: https://americanaddictioncenters.org/rehab-guide/addiction-statistics.

[9] Bachman, R., Zaykowski, H., Lanier, C., Poteyeva, M., & Kallymyer, R. (2010). Estimating the Magnitude of Rape and Sexual Assault Against American Indian and Alaska Native Women. *The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, *43*(2), 199–222; Bohn, D. K. (2003). Lifetime Physical and Sexual Abuse, Substance Abuse, Depressions, and Suicide Attempts among Native American Women. *Issues in Mental Health Nursing*, *24*(3), 333–352; Bryant-Davis, T., Chung, H., & Tillman, S. (2009). From the Margins to Center: Ethnic Minority Women and Mental Health Effects of Sexual Assault. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, *10*(4), 330–357; Bubar, R. (2009). Cultural Competence, Justice, and Supervision: Sexual Assault against Native Women. *Women & Therapy*, *33*(1–2), 55–72; Dugan, L., & Apel, R. (2003). An Exploratory Study of Violent Victimization of Women: Race/Ethnicity and Situational Context. *Criminology*, *43*(3), 959–979; Hamby, S. L. (2000). The Importance of Community in a Feminist Analysis of Domestic Violence among American Indians. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, *28*(5), 649–669; Perry, S. W. (n.d.). *American Indians and Crime* (No. NCJ203097).

[10] Bubar, *Cultural Competence, Justice and Supervision: Sexual Assault against Native Women*; Matamonasa-Bennet, *"A Disease of the Outside People": Native American Men's Perceptions of Intimate Partner Violence*; Rosay, *Violence against American Indian and Alaska Native Women and Men*.

[11] Rosay, A. B. (2016). *Violence against American Indian and Alaska Native Women and Men: 2010 Findings from the National Intimate Partner and Sexual Survey*. US Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Spotted Eagle, B. (2013). *The Brave Heart Society: An Oral History of an Indigenous Women's Society* [Master of Arts]. The University of Montana.

[14] The Kitchen Sisters cover *Isnati* in their NPR limited series, *The Hidden World of Girls.* In their 7-minute coverage, numerous members from the Brave Heart Women's Society share their perspectives on the annual ceremony and speak to the need for similar approaches to harm reduction. Many of the participants in this segment's interviews are direct contributors to my research on Oceti women's societies. See, Silva, N. (n.d.). *Four Days, Nights: A Girls' Coming-Of-Age Ceremony*. https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=129611281.

[15] See Risling-Baldy, C. (2018) for discussion on cultural revitalization as a form of decolonizing praxis and how this demonstrates how Native nations challenge settler colonialism through Native feminisms and build revitalization movements. I have spoken about these issues as well in Spotted Eagle, B. (2013). This work moves more towards resurgence rather than emphasis placed on revitalization particularly because these lifeways did not die, nor did they entirely go away for any amount of time. As such, the lifeways and ceremony did not need to be revived. Although they took on different forms, names, or were practiced privately, these lifeways continued on in existence post-contact despite efforts to extinguish them by the US settler colonial nation-state.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Burnette, .; Gone, ;Duran, ;Woodis, :Weaver, .

[18] This perspective is informed by a call to interrogate settler colonial metanarratives rather than produce more damage centered research on Native communities. See, Tuck, Unbecoming Claims: Pedagogies of Refusal in Qualitative Research.
[19] LINK resilliance
[20] Paul Colm Hogan, *Colonialism and Cultural Identity*, 2000,85-86
[21] Pham, *Autoethnography as a Decolonizing Methodology: Reflections on Masta's What the Grandfathers Taught me.*
[22] Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts.*
[23] Carnella, *Feminisms from Unthought Locations, Indigenous World Views, Marginalized Feminisms, and Revisioning Anticolonial Social Science.*
[24] Ibid.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Wilson, *Research is Ceremony*.
[29] Albers, The Hidden Half: Studies of Plains Indian Women; Spotted Eagle, *Brave Heart Women's Society*.
[30] Carnella, *Feminisms from Unthought Locations, Indigenous World Views, Marginalized Feminisms, and Revisioning Anticolonial Social Science.*
[31] Hall, *Caring Labours as Decolonizing Resistance.*
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Green, *Making Space for Indigenous Feminism*; Monture and McGuire, *First Voices: An Aboriginal Woman's Reader*.
[36] Denzin, *Handbook of Critical Indigenous Methodologies*; Wilson, *Research is Ceremony*; Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts;* Lamber, *Research for Indigenous Survival: Indigenous Research Methodologies in the Behavioral Sciences*.
[37] Byrd, *Transit of Empire*; Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologie*s; Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Mask*s; Lambert, *Research for Indigenous Survival: Indigenous Research Methodologies in the Behavioral Sciences;* Morgensen*, Spaces Between Us: Queer Settler Colonialism and Indigenous Decolonization.*
[38] Smith*, Decolonizing Methodologies.*
[39] Ibid.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid.
[43]Byrd, *Transit of Empire*; *Red Skin, White Mask*s.
[44] Driskell, *Queer Indigenous Studies: Critical Interventions in Theory, Politics, and Literature*; Morgensen, *Spaces Between Us: Queer Settler Colonialism and Indigenous Decolonization*; Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts*; Denzin, *Handbook of Critical Indigenous Methodologies*; Tallbear, Introduction*: An Indigenous, Feminist Approach to DNA Politics*; Pierce, *American Indian Adolescent Girls: Vulnerability to Sex Trafficking, Intervention Strategies*; Richards*, Community-based Participatory Research to Improve Preconception Health Among Northern Plains American Indian Adolescent Women.*
[45] Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Mask*s.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Simpson, *Mohawk Interruptus.*
[49] Barker, *'A Direct Act of Resurgence, a Direct Act of Sovereignty': Reflections on Idle No More, Indigenous Activism, and Canadian Settler Colonialism.*
[50] Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Mask*s.
[51] Simpson, *Mohawk Interruptus.*
[52] Barker, *'A Direct Act of Resurgence, a Direct Act of Sovereignty': Reflections on Idle No More, Indigenous Activism, and Canadian Settler Colonialism.*
[53] Ibid.

[54] Spotted Eagle, B. (2013). *The Brave Heart Society: An Oral History of an Indigenous Women's Society* [Master of Arts]. The University of Montana.

[55] Alfred, *Indigenous Pathways of Action and Freedom*; Simpson*, Dancing on a Turtle's Back*; *Indigenous Resurgence and Co-Resistance.*

Calls to Action: Needs & Okodakiciye

To Sing over Those Dwelling Alone

A storm was coming, and it was big. Ceremony time in the summer is often when the *Wakinyan* make their presence most pronounced, and on this third day of our annual womanhood ceremony, the *Wakinyan* provided quite the greeting. As the storm hit, this four-day rite-of-passage gathering called *Isnati Awicadowanpi* reconvened inside the safety of the society's van, *Tatanka*.

Sixteen little faces watched the grandmother step into the driver's seat, struggling to find a comfortable position. Amidst the loud hushes and darting glares of the quieter girls aimed at the louder girls, the grandmother spoke, "You girls are stuck in this van and now you have to listen". Quiet giggles arose as she gave them a mischievous smile.

"Societies are called *okodakiciye*. That means a very special group of relatives with a common purpose. There is protocol. These things are age-graded. Gramma Ella Deloria said that a long time ago, as Lakota/Dakota people, if you did not belong to a society, you were no one. During these four days, you are our little girls; you are beloved. Your role is to listen and learn about what it means to be a Dakota woman today.

The grandmother paused abruptly, calling out to the young women outside the van who had completed the ceremony in the previous years. "Your older society sisters and aunties are going to talk about some hard things now." It was apparent by the look on everyone's faces this was not planned.

"We as Dakota people know the violence of colonization. As Indian women, the violence is sexual, and it happens to our body like it does to our *Unci Maka* (Grandmother Earth). It's not fair that many of you precious girls have already survived this kind of violence."

Tatanka was of full of shock. The surprise was palpable and already, you could see the tears welling-up in their eyes.

The grandmother went on, "We have always had societies and now, these societies are giving protection from things that rarely ever happened in our camps until invasion. *Wasicu* people and systems hurt us and that hasn't stopped. They hurt our women in ways that we still experience. Our people were taught to repeat violence and we can't keep that a secret. So, these young women, your sisters and aunties, are going to tell you why ceremony and *okodakiciye* protect us."

From oldest to youngest, each *okodakiciye* sister spoke until their stories fit together, revealing a much larger picture of the spaces where the little girls fit. Where they belonged. They expressed their love for them and shared their stories of survival, speaking directly to the youth suicides occurring all over our reservations at the time. As the storm passed, the older sisters and aunties concluded their stories, and it was nearly time for bed.

"Next year," the grandmother said, "you will have a different role. Just like the older girls, you will help your little sisters become women. This is how we survive. Our ways are beautiful and strong – these ways were preserved for you. This is your birthright and every single one of you are walking prayers of the grandmothers who suffered through the invasion and genocide. That is how special you are. You are so loved. You are sacred, and you must live."

Indigenous Practicality: Healing & Resurgence

Why did I tell you that story? In the simplest terms, this story embodies the ways ceremony and *okodakiciye* are strategically woven together to address painful realities that young Indigenous women and people face throughout the US and Canada. On a deeper level, this story illuminates the ways in which harm-reduction is grounded in a place-based cultural approach and

anchored in ceremonies that have existed since time immemorial.[56] This dialog also demonstrates how powerful discussions surrounding issues settler colonial systems of violence can be normalized and modeled from within the context of ceremonial settings.

Winyan okodakiciye throughout the *Oceti Sakowin* such as the White Buffalo Calf Women's Society and *Cante Ohitika Winyan Okodakiciye* (Braveheart Women's Society) have a long history of addressing gender violence associated with settler colonialism within their communities. Although the majority of *winyan okodakiciye* historically have sharpened a focus on wider implications of sexual colonization and sexual violence, certain efforts have become increasingly tailored to address how this violence ties to capitalistic resource extraction as the missing and murder Indigenous women (MMIW) movement gains more visibility and momentum. As such, it should be clear that these efforts are also seamlessly worked into specific events, ceremonial settings and everyday practices and functions of *winyan okodakiciye*. That is, this form of harm-reductions is based on a grassroots methodology of decolonization that has ultimately become central to a *winyan okodakiciye* lifeway.

Following the works of Indigenous scholars of Glen Coulthard and Leanne Betasamosake, this can be recognized as a place-based lifeway standing upon a historical grounding of Indigenous systems and reveals living, breathing precolonial formation contemporarily driven by concepts and acts of Rematriation, resistance, and resurgence.[57] Discussions in my previous research on historically documented misinformation on Sioux "warrior societies" lends an added layer of reasoning behind the approaches and reasoning behind why elders and grandmothers in our communities continue to Rematriate concepts of *okodakiciye* through direction-action.[58] The distinct ways resistance and resurgence are associated with concepts of *okodakiciye*, are visible in the ways certain *winyan okodakiciye*

lifeways came into being in a contemporary context. One specific group called *Cante Ohitika Winyan Okodakiciye* applied a methodology they designed early on in their development to reawakening *okodakiciye* lifeways.[59] One aspect of their methodology included an ethnohistoric approach.

Founding *Cante Ohitika* elders pursued ethnohistoric research through various archival resources during the organization's initial development. The process which reportedly lasted a year, was methodical. Obtaining accurate information aimed to ensure that families associated with past *okodakiciye* were allotted respect. Given the state of surrounding *Oceti* communities, organization and development can be often met with resistance and criticism. This is another dynamic of internalized oppression. As a means to circumvent backlash, these elders carefully aimed to meet appropriate *Oceti Sakowin* standard of conduct. In doing so, *Cante Ohitika* mobilized both ethnohistoric sources and living oral sources to obtain knowledge regarding *winyan okodakiciye*. A particular emphasis was vested in the ways which historical women were taught leadership throughout the course of a year. With this process, the society quickly became aware of how little written evidence exists on this subject:

> We know this was a way practiced in our camps. But we didn't know where we knew this from. Just from people telling us, I guess. So when Faith wrote that grant to go do research on the societies, it was really a learning experience. It's just like you said, there's really not good records and not good recollections of women's societies. And the value of having these societies. There was not, it was just like, well yeah they had women's societies. They did different things and whatever, but not like the Tokala societies [policing and warrior societies]. Those were much more, they were given the lime light. They were more acknowledged. Maybe more honored than what women did. And it was expected of them, but not as respected in the writing or honored as what men did. [elder (Ihanktonwan), 2013][602]

[2] The structure of this chapter differs from the subsequent chapters. My use of block quotations is not intended to separate the society members from their work or this research – that would not be possible due to their core role in constructing this dissertation. Members additionally had the final say in how their voices would be conveyed.

Because the development of *Cante Ohitika* required a tedious research process, oral sources commonly make mention that *Oceti Sakowin* women's societies are invisible in historical record. The elders express a distaste for anthropology, as the early literature marginalizing Indigenous women is clearly realized. Oral sources regard this marginalization as another aspect of a dark US history which further defines their perceptions of anthropology. However, with as much oral knowledge that has been preserved about *Oceti Sakowin* lifeways, members refer to anthropology humorously and with an apparent ease.

Despite insufficient documentation, *Cante Ohitika* grandmothers nonetheless benefitted from archival research. Members became increasingly familiar with Ella Deloria's work in ethnography. However, many *Ihanktonwan* members disagree with Deloria's documentations regarding certain *Ihanktonwan* ceremonial practices. The major source of disconnect is within Deloria's assertion that the *Isnati Awicadowanpi* (the coming-of-age ceremony for girls connected to the story introducing this section) was not practiced in *Ihanktonwan* bands. Existing *Ihanktonwan* oral histories within various family systems along with additional first-hand experiences of *Ihanktonwan* elders tell otherwise. While the elders express a sincere respect for Deloria, they also strongly contest this point.

The development *Cante Ohitika Winyan Okodakiciye* was a response to a community need for a system of cultural tailored forms of care and support, empowerment, culturally defined approaches to concepts of trauma and healing. However, members stress the importance of the okodakiciye remaining outside of programmatic/tribal systems structuring their tribes. One account from an adult member from *Cante Ohitika* affords an important perspective as to both

---

The use of a block quotations style on these topics in particular, centers on allowing space for their full wording & therefor, their voices, to speak for themselves. Some of these women have passed on since the completion of this dissertation, making direct quotes even more meaningful. The quotes are powerful, and I have chosen to not decontextualize or fragment their meaning to match writing structures in other chapters.

why *winyan okodakiciye* exist in *Oceti Sakowin* communities in relation to tribal programmatic structures, stating:

> You know, the high rates of violence, murder and sexual crimes, the kids and the suicide. Oh my god, I can't believe what everybody [in tribal governments] is fighting for. They're fighting for the power! They're fighting for money! All these council people are just up there fighting for bullshit. I'm like, who in the hell is fighting for our kids?! Our babies?! Who is going to do anything for them, so they want to live?! Our kids are hurting. They're killing themselves because they're hurting so much. They're dying. [adult member (*Oglala*), 2013][61]

This perspective highlights a major source of concern regarding the heightened rates of youth suicides and suicide contagion that periodically snowball across *Oceti Sakowin* communities. In the scope of why *Cante Ohitika* was formed, one founding *Ihanktonwan* grandmother explains overarching impacts of colonization that continue to remain at the core of winyan okodakiciye community work:

> We are facing the challenge that we live in a traumatized society. The UN language refers to us as a post-conflict society. And we realized that in order for us to help our people protect themselves as a people, we had to go to the root of the trauma. And to begin to call back their spirits. And so, we went back to relying on an old-time ceremony which was called: *Nagi Kicopi* or calling back the spirit of the individual who had been *tansag'ktat*, or shocked, by the trauma because we believe the spirit jumps out of our bodies and goes to a different place. In non-Native culture in the mental health fields, it's known as disassociation. But long time ago, our people were wise psychologists. So, they always knew about *tan sagkta*, or disassociation. The way they would call the spirits back helped our people function in a better way. This was our way of healing. The realization came about that many of our people are not living in full spirit. And so, after this realization came about, gifts of healing came about. [elder member (*Ihanktonwan*), 2019][62]

In explaining the act of providing ceremony for trauma survivors in their community, this grandmother emphasized the first step towards the initial development of their *winyan okodakiciye*. This initial step of realization led to the becoming of a winyan okodakiciye, which in turn resulted in distinct methods designed by *Cante Ohitika Winyan Okodakiciye* to address

specific issues impacting women and family systems are the product of over two decades of work done by *Cante Ohitika* grandmothers.

The driving force behind why the grandmothers chose this mode of organization can be seen beyond *Cante Ohitika*. The past work of a Lakota grandmother who organized her women's society highlights an important need for birthing ceremonies and women's ceremonies in *Oceti Sakowin* communities.[3] In this sense, this elder's work can be recognized as a form of Rematriation. In many of our conversations, this grandmother consistently emphasized importance of taking back our roles in birth work from settler colonial institutions. For obvious reasons, *winyan okodakiciye* affords a strong grounding where this work can be done. However, this grandmother often expressed the need for *winyan okodakiciye* as resources for women and young girls to safeguard against to potential of abuse by spiritual leaders in various communities.[63] It is common knowledge among *winyan okodakiciye* that this type of abuse stems directly from the history of sexual colonization. Within ceremonial contexts and from the conversations I held with other women on this topic, many people shared in similar concerns. Issues concerning Indigenous masculinities and gender violence will be addressed in more depth below, but the point is, among many *winyan okodakiciye*, spirituality and ceremony not only play a core role in reawakening and developing these organizations, but also in the protection from potential violence and abuse of predatory men who are spiritual leaders. Although she has since passed on, the teachings left behind by the elder from this women's society on women's ceremonies and medicines continues to impact and influence her community into the present-day. This grandmother emphasized another theme in our discussions surrounding the role dreams

[3] This *okodakiciye* has been kept anonymous for privacy purpose. Additionally, my use of the term women's society to refer to *okodakiciye* was done in line with this grandmother's terminology used throughout this research.

play in developing contemporary *winyan okodakiciye* lifeways that connects to a wider thread spanning across these organizations. For instance, elders belonging to both her women's society and *Cante Ohitika Winyan Okodakiciye* have expressed experiences of dreams that afforded guidance in developing these collectives. Dreams have always had an influence on *okodakiciye* in the *Oceti Sakowin*, which is obvious in historical documentations on dreaming societies.

Winyan Okodakiciye: Erasure

In the scope of the current discussion, is must be understood that *okodakiciye* roles within historical bands of the *Oceti Sakowin* have been vastly misunderstood. Anthropologists such as Clark Wissler and Royal Hassrick termed such groups as societies or cults.[6465] The Dakota/Nakota term *okodakiciye* supplies a less definable concept for these systems then what is discernable from Eurocentric conceptualizations of the term "society" or even worse, cult with regard to collectives of women in the *Oceti Sakowin*. As noted in earlier sections, anthropological literature largely regards societies as masculine and cults as feminine. It is important to discuss gender briefly, as the available documentation regarding Dakota/Nakota/Lakota societies are indeed skewed by Western biases. It is true that divisions existed between genders in *Oceti* societies, and for good reason. However Indigenous gender divisions were gravely misunderstood within Western analyses.

With regard to precolonial forms of governance, social structures and cultural systems, the elimination of Indigenous collectives was central to the settler colonial project of nation-state building and achieved through numerous systematic approaches which include: genocidal violence, assimilation policies, administrative regulations on Indigenous belonging, and imposed incorporation into a settler colonial nation-state model. In accordance with the "logic of

elimination" at its very foundation settler colonialism is a structure and project "destroys to replace".[66] Within the scope of historical documentation on Dakota/Lakota/Nakota women, the role of erasure central to project of settler colonialism is particularly recognizable within the context of *Oceti Sakowin* women's societies. Supplanting these narratives surrounding *okodakiciye* acted to additionally impose westernized notions of patriarchal gender structures on the complimentary nature of gender roles in *Oceti Sakowin*.

The most comprehensive record of historical women's societies is provided through the works of Clark Wissler from 1912.[67] Though this text makes more mention of *Oceti* women's groups, little information was attained, and discussions are decontextualized. A commonality present in the few manuscripts which mention women's groups is discussed through varying descriptions of *Sinte Sapana Winyan* (Black Tail Deer Woman) and *Anog Ite* (Double-Face Woman), feminine figures which revealed the status of *Winyan Nonpapika Ihanbdapi* (Double Woman Dreamers). "Double Woman Dreamers" were women who had received dreams or visions with messages associated with medicines, war, healing, quilling, tipi- making, dances, and a number of other qualities.[68] Both dream figures were representative of a *wakan* (holy/sacred) blessing, as woman dreamers were given powers to create *wakan* cultural articles, shields, and war medicines.

Beatrice Medicine discusses the paths Double Woman afforded a choice between reckless fun and various sexual partners, or a life of a skilled artisan with the virtues of Dakota/Nakota/Lakota women.[69] Choosing the former path was likely a rare occurrence, yet such women were associated with masculine qualities. Medicine further explains this role may have been similar to the feminine roles of *winkta*.[70] Though gender roles differed greatly, and divisions of labor were strictly defined, these roles were considered complimentary and practical.

Individuals existing outside of gender norms were simultaneously perceived as both unfortunate and *wakan*, as many held distinct medicinal roles in *Oceti* groups.[71]

The concept of an *okodakiciye* loosely translates to a group of friends committed to one another. Born in 1889, Ella Deloria's documentations offer a distinct view into *Ihanktonwan* frameworks of *okodakiciye* by demonstrating how animal culture acted to shape *Oceti* camp approaches to living. [72] Deloria mentions little about women's *okodakiciye*. Nonetheless in the biographical manuscripts recorded by Sarah Emilia Olden, *Tipi Sapa* (Black Lodge – Deloria's father) makes specific mention of what resembles women's societies.[73] *Tipi Sapa* was born into a life rooted in *Ihanktonwan* value systems structured by camp lifeways and references a subgroup of women present in his past camp. *Tipi Sapa* frames the group using the term class, however, clearly class in *Ihanktonwan* culture differed from class in Western culture. *Tipi Sapa* illuminates elements of society-hood in the following excerpt in relation to women's gatherings:

> "They spoke beautifully of their mothers and said that any virtue in themselves was owing to the good teaching they had received from them. These girls generally remained a long while at the meeting, exhorting one another 'to love and to be good works.' They laid great stress upon being kind to the poor; and also agreed to look after their weaker sisters in the Circle, to try to keep them from going astray. These meetings were bound to have good results in that their influence was direct and far-reaching."[74]

It is clear that certain groups of women cared for other women in need. *Oceti* societies were gendered not only in roles, but medicines and ceremonies. Groups of women preformed women's ceremonies, such as *Isnati Awica Dowanpi* (Sing over Those Dwelling Alone), the coming-of-age ritual held for *Oceti* girls. While Deloria asserts that *Ihanktonwan* bands did not provide *Isnati Awica Dowanpi*, many *Ihanktonwan* women in present-day disagree.[75] *Tipi Sapa* confirms the medicinal qualities held by women stating, "There were many medicine women, who sucked disease from the skin of anyone ill. Both had, also the gift of conjury, and were

eagerly sought after as fortune tellers".[76] It is possible such women may have been associated with the war medicine societies mentioned in Wissler's texts.[77] Though women's roles structured the core of a camp, war medicine women's societies afforded a particularly powerful female contribution to such exterior cultural domains structured by men.

Contrasting early analyses on Dakota people, fundamental qualities structuring Dakota culture affords an effective rebuttal against assertions that Dakota groups were patriarchal. The *Canupa Wakan* (Sacred Pipe) and a structural set of spiritual teachings were brought to the *Oceti* by a woman: *Pte San Win* (White Buffalo Calf Woman). Further contrasting are linguistic associations with *Ina Maka* (Mother Earth) and the feminine strength connected to *eglushaka* (pregnancy or to grow strong) and the *wakan* energy of women's menstrual cycles which act to weaken male medicines and war bundles.[78] In pregnancy, a woman grows stronger. After birth, lifecycles occur upon *Ina Maka*. In death, spirits travel from *Ina Maka* along the *Wanagi Tacanku* (Trail of Spirits) and are met by *May Owicapaha,* a woman who then decides whether spirits will go to the "happy hunting grounds", or back to *Ina Maka*. Thus, humans are welcomed into life physically from a woman, progress through lifecycles upon woman, and in death are then led to another life by woman or sent back again to exist upon a woman.

In the present-day, *Oceti Sakowin* communities are clearly impacted by the accumulation of stacked trauma associated with federal genocidal attempts, patriarchy, cultural violence, and economic devastation, recovery, and contemporary strife. Not only does settler colonialism act to efface identity, but the innate character of settler colonialism is directly structured by patriarchy[79]. Thus, settler colonialism either instills or exacerbates patriarchy. However, this research is not intended to further marginalize the resilient lives of Indigenous people, yet the ways which the tangled history of US and Canada reveal the need for collective healing. In this

respect, it should be clear that *winyan okodakiciye* are used today in ways that seek to fulfill that particular need.

Okodakiciye histories as they connect to present their formations thus, provide a strong lens of analysis on the contemporary realities within *Oceti Sakowin* communities, movement-building, and grassroots organizing. Additionally, this research demonstrates *okodakiciye* are powerful systems of governance that often work outside of tribal programmatic structures and governments. This point is central to this project and research on *winyan okodakiciye* and within the scope of decolonization, offer important contributions to Indigenous scholarship regarding the work being done on the frontlines of *Oceti Sakowin* community activism, grassroots governance, and movement-building.

Winyan okodakiciye afford a collective political voice to surrounding issues of Indigenous rights to self-determination and rights to maintain a living relationship with various land bases in order to nurture spiritual and cultural place-based lifeways, regardless of existing jurisdictional conflicts. Taiaiake Alfred defines sovereignty as a foreign concept of political power imposed by Western forces; thus, a power that is granted is also a power that can be taken away.[80] In this regard, Alfred further argues for the need to shift away from the concept of sovereignty towards the concept of self-governance as it pertains to the concept of Indigenous nationhood (a state of being).[81] In doing so, tribal self-governance will be restored as a social process that acts to shape the political process. Collective forms of Indigenous governance centered on social processes that shaped a collective. Alfred, in agreement with Deloria, asserts that tribal sovereignty fosters a process fully centered on the political, rendering the social obsolete.[82] Adhering to concepts of sovereignty has fostered the removal of the very communal social aspects that defined political roles within a collective. Present-day *okodakiciye* are often

collectives expressing concerned with social processes and as organizations defined by cohesive relational responsibilities between members, *okodakiciye* are able to implant the social back into the political through the reawakening of a collective form of self that possesses political power, which in turn has awakened dormant tribal values attached to the concepts of autochthonous Dakota women/warrior societies and their social/political functions. For the purposes of decolonization, it should be clear why there is often a desire held by many members of winyan okodakiciye to keep these lifeways as grassroots as possible.

The topic of maintaining the positionality *winyan okodakiciye* as grassroots collectives is a consistent discussion coursing through the continual discussions held between *okodakiciye* women. Several members associated with *Cante Ohitika* hints at the power of care provided by *okodakiciye* for the reason that these systems are not defined by the bureaucratic barriers to the importance of relationality posed by tribal programmatic structures. A level of high sensitivity is expressed towards the perceived strict programmatic structure present within Western organizations consisting of paperwork, sign-ins, charting, etc. A 70-year-old *winyan okodakiciye* member demonstrates an interesting display of resistance as she details her annoyance with non-tribal organizational approaches. It is probable this attitude stems from a long history of federal intervention and federal/state/tribal program mismanagement which gestated the present condition of *Ihanktonwan* communities.

> I think the people who get jobs in these programs, these federal programs, they know the program is not going to belong to the people. It's going to belong to the government. And they turn it into what *they* want it to be. It's so bureaucratized. Documenting every little thing. You know, it's just a mass of paper from beginning to end. It takes the whole heart out of healing; out of the teachings. Then there's nothing left. So, I've always appreciated that the government doesn't pull our strings. Makes us dance to their tune. Because our society does what we think we need to do and we do it together. [elder member (Ihanktonwan), 2013][83]

Though this is less fluidly verbalized within conversations held with younger member of various *winyan okodakiciye*, it is an aspect of programs that *okodakiciye* elders especially take issues with. Resentments towards various state and federal government programs are indeed boldly expressed throughout multiple discussions and interactions held during this research. This particular theme emerged organically, as this was a subject not outlined within the interview guide. Subsequently, much of the data exposes an expressed anger in connection with historical domination and the contemporary hardships faced in *Ihanktonwan* territory and other communities alike.

Certain dynamics present in Western structures appear to trigger elements of historical trauma. One particular 65-year-old elder details an experience she had with a specific mental health resource on the *Ihanktonwan* reservation.

> The care our women society sisters have for each other - that helps. You know that love that you don't find. I tried the other way, but I missed an appointment because I couldn't get to Marty. I called and left a voicemail. Then I got a letter! I called and said, "Could I set up another appointment?" And here he said, "We dropped you." I said, "WHAT?! You dropped me? Why?" And he said, "Because we schedule appointments and we have families, we work, we have a life, blah, blah, blah." Then I called my sister and I said, "They dropped me! After I spilled my guts, those suckers!" I was really mad because I thought they wanted to help me! [elder member (Ihanktonwan), 2013][84]

This member's perspective provides an important angle regarding boarding school trauma and mistrust for Western systems. The concept of caring seems to be impeded by the acknowledgement that therapist is paid. That is to say, they are "just doing a job", whereas the *Cante Ohitika Okodakiciye* system is viewed as a lifestyle within a collective. The above quotation presents an issue within systems perceived as structurally impersonal. This elder explained her willingness to seek help from this particular resource, though she had reservations about the structure. Her history consists of mortifying memories of the trauma and abuse she

experienced at Catholic boarding school, which will not be shared within this study. The structures of Western systems are expressed by most members as a constant reminder of the staunch restricting religious/governmental structures from past eras. *Wasicu* influences perceived to exist throughout mental health systems are suspect to members. Because the severe distrust for *wasicu* people has not fully dissipated from this population's consciousness, it is no wonder why members are resistant to receiving emotional support from these systems. Especially those with strict regulations of paperwork, intakes, and hardline appointment regulations. When asked about her perception surrounding counseling, this member goes on to explain:

> I guess I wanted to share how I felt. I wanted someone to explain to me why I was having anxiety attacks. Someone I could trust. Because by then I already went into that world of *wasicu* counseling or whatever. They go by the book. They go by appointments and it just so reminded me Marty [a boarding school]. I just couldn't open up. [elder member (Ihanktonwan), 2013][85]

Seeing as these systems have multiple strikes of perceptions against them from the start, it is unfortunate that the distrust is often reinforced by workers and policies grounding these structures. Further, poverty is a known issue that has major impacts *Oceti Sakowin* communities throughout what is now known as South Dakota. Clients lacking transportation and other resources should ideally be given leniency, however situations which arise resulting from lacking resources may be a source of frustration for human service workers. This oral source illuminates a line of reasoning behind why cultural systems of support act to culturally address the need for moral, familial, and collective support. *Okodakiciye* (society) lifeways are solely based on relationships. The distinct and isolating forms of systematic trauma from similar histories of lived experiences are present in *Cante Ohitikia's* unit, lending a cohesiveness to the *Cante Ohitika* sisterhood.

Winyan okodakiciye members believe *wasicu* counselors are inherently unable to grasp their circumstances. Levels of doubt for Western systematic approaches are also felt by younger members, demonstrating the generational transference of distrust. Members express additional issues associated with race and gender. One 35-year-old member states:

> Yeah, the white man's treatment won't work. Why would we trust it? I once had counseling in school. And just talking to the counselor, everything coming out of his mouth, I couldn't understand anything he was saying. He was using such terminology that I didn't feel, I couldn't relate to. They used a male. A male counselor! I know he couldn't relate to things that were happening in my life. I felt he was just another male and he was White. It was a male that had traumatized me, so I didn't feel comfortable. They still wouldn't send a woman to talk to me. A woman's society I understand because it was not only coming from a mother perspective, it was coming from a grandmother perspective -- as a protector. So, I felt comfortable and safe. [adult (Ihanktonwan), 2013]

Not much explanation is needed to understand the draw towards *winyan okodakiciye* lifeways Indigenous women. Recalling the background sections, high rates of abuse are present throughout Indian Country. The *Ihanktonwan* do indeed follow this pattern, which is commonly addressed in the trauma healing provided through an *okodakiciye* circle. Interviews reveal the hybridity of Western and *Oceti Sakowin* conceptualizations of healing which are verbalized through culturally distinct emotional expression.

Okodakiciye Systems and Decolonization

Winyan okodakiciye establish contemporarily visible forces which projects not only a spiritually based collective subjectivity, but also a unified political voice. As longstanding systems of care, *winyan okodakiciye* are expansive and flexible in their various formations. In the scope of narratives shared by members of *winyan okodakiciye* are inherently political community knowledges that underline the importance of what Dian Million refers to as felt experiences.[86] These community knowledges are kept, grounded and normalized through *winyan okodakiciye*.

As Million argues, "to 'decolonize' means to understand fully as possible the forms colonialism takes in our own times".[87] Million also asserts that as Indigenous women and people, "our voices are still positioned in a particular way reminiscent of the past silences we know so well, contingent to our colonized positions now."[88] From this perspective, this research demonstrates the ways in which Indigenous women come in *winyan okodakiciye* are coming to know and understand fully the forms colonization takes in their own times and further, working together through community knowledges ways to interrupt and unsettle colonization through grassroots organizing defined by structures that have presence throughout our territories and social systems since time immemorial.

The emotional content that Million terms felt knowledge associated with knowing and intimately experiencing colonialism is central to the political work of governance being done by *winyan okodakiciye* because they are able to collectively able to address heteropatriarchy and misogyny as a product of settler colonialism permeating Indian County using a lens focused on decolonization. That is to say, their felt experiences are lived within the scope of both colonization and decolonization. As such, it should be clear that *winyan okodakiciy*e play a vital role in sovereignty movements. Million highlights how sovereignty movements led by Indigenous men can replicate dominate colonial patriarchal values.[89] In additional to the many roles these groups fulfill throughout communities, *winyan okodakiciye* also provides women and other people a certain type of age-graded collective protection from the rampant misogyny that causes so much harm throughout the *Oceti Sakowin*. Family and community matriarchs hold an extremely powerful presence in *winyan okodakiciye*, which enable members to counter community gatekeepers of political power, culture knowledge, language, spirituality and ceremony.

Winyan okodakiciye at their core are Indigenous systems that provide care and services for our communities as a means to offset the detrimental repercussions of ongoing settler colonial violence. In addition to the many roles, they take on, the care and flexibility these collectives provide offer powerful contributions to Indigenous scholarship surrounding resurgence and resistance taking place in Indigenous communities, which this project builds on in deeper discussions in subsequent sections of this research. Their work is one example of many, as Indigenous communities, grassroots efforts and frontline organizations throughout the US and Canada do work centered around a distinct awareness of the symptoms of settler colonialism and settler colonial violence. In more recent years, there has been a heightening of awareness and public outcry around the extractive industry's assault on Indigenous lands and bodies.[90] Indigenous collectives are increasingly grounding their efforts in the powerful intersection of land and body, calling attention to a link too often overlooked and discounted by wider environmental and social justice movements.

The harm caused by extractive industries that drill, mine, and frack on the lands on or near resource-rich Indigenous territories follows along the long history of land acquisition and territorial expansion central to the settler colonial project of nation-state building in the US and Canada.[91] The work coming out of Indigenous communities today is grounded on the foundational work of earlier generations of Indigenous movement-building by Indigenous people who have long-recognized the connections intimately linking land and body.

Direct or indirect manifestations of trauma inform the current lived realities experienced within indigenous collectives. Communal and individual perceptions further define the effects of trauma and ways in which trauma is dealt with. Tribal systematic social webs of conflict are intricate and extremely difficult to understand unless deeper connections to this ongoing trauma

are made. Studies focusing on US tribal communities are grounded on concepts of intergenerational trauma and commonly used terms such as, internalized oppression or internalized racism, are virtually meaningless unless one witnesses the direct actions taken by frontline Indigenous communities to address these issues.

In one unifying way, Indigenous feminism did not gain a wider breadth of visibility as a concept, field of study, and movement until fairly recently relative to other forms of feminism.[92]Within the scope of activism, nonprogrammatic tribal governance and *winyan okodakiciye*, Indigenous feminisms help frame the ways the collectives are unified by the dynamic of colonization for Indigenous people to experience environmental destruction and dispossession given their proximity to natural resources targeted by resource extractive global corporations, Pipeline construction also leads to the influx of outside laborers, in particular man-camps, on or in close proximity to rural Indigenous communities. Resource extraction and settler violence against Indigenous bodies, land, and water are thus deeply connected. These colonial connections of gender violence associated with energy resource extraction, make clear the ways in which a capitalistic economy is an apparatus of colonial power. The work being on the grassroots level by Indigenous activists around the pipeline construction and heightened rates of MMIW is contoured by the labor of *winyan okodakiciye* and collectives associated with Native women located in and around *Oceti Sakowin* communities. Indigenous feminisms used by activism associated with *winyan okodakiciye* offers a lens of analysis helpful in articulating the power systems and tools of violence distinctly associated with settler colonialism, the Indigenous land/body connection of gender violence, and the importance of Indigenous sovereignty and rights to self-determination.

This discussion will now shift towards the various distinct contexts in which this work is taking place. Subsequent sections explore the conflicts, contentions, and contradictions that arise amongst and between various approaches to organizing through *winyan okodakiciye* that tie directly to whether collectives remain grassroots or choose to attain a 501c(3) status. As such, the following sections will delve deeper into issues involving tribal governance, neoliberalism and the nonprofit industrial complex, anticolonialism, and abolition.

Note

[56] This observation was shared with me by one founding grandmother of a Lakota winyan okodakiciye that was organized to provide birthing ceremonies for Dakota/Lakota/Nakota women in Oceti communities.
[57] Coulthard and Simpson. *Grounded Normativity/Place-Based Solidarity.*
[58] For more on Rematriation, also see works provided by Rematriation Magazine: Returning to the Sacred Mother.
[59] Brook Spotted Eagle, *The Brave Heart Society: An Oral History of an Indigenous Women's Society*.
[60] Personal communication, 2013.
[61] Personal communication, 2013
[62] Personal communication, 2019
[63] Personal communication, 2019.
[64] Clark Wissler*, Societies and Ceremonial Association in the Oglala Division of the Teton-Dakota*.
[65] Royal Hassrick, *The Sioux: Life and Customs a Warrior Society*, 1964.
[66] Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native*, 2006, 388.
[67] Clark Wissler, *Societies and Ceremonial Association in the Oglala Division of the Teton-Dakota*.
[68] For more on the discussion surrounding historical roles of gender, women, and societies in the Oceti Sakowin see, Patricia Albers and Bea Medicine, *The Hidden Half: Studies of Plains Indian Women*; James Walker, *Lakota Belief and Ritual*; Julian Rice, *Ella Deloria's the Buffalo People*.
[69] Patricia Albers and Bea Medicine, *The Hidden Half: Studies of Plains Indian Women*.
[70] Ibid, 247
[71] Ibid, 243
[72] Ella Deloria, *Origins of Dakota Societies: A Legend*, 1932.
[73] Sarah Emilia Olden, *The People of Tipi Sapa*, 1918.
[74] Ibidd, 43.
[75] See Ella Deloria, Origin of Dakota Societies: A Legend and *Pregnancy, Birth, and Infancy*.
[76] Sarah Emilia Olden, *The People of Tipi Sapa*, 1918.
[77] Clark Wissler, *Societies and Ceremonial Association in the Oglala Division of the Teton-Dakot*a.
[78] Bea Medicine, *Warrior Women: Sex Roles Alternatives for Plains Indian Women*, 141.
[79] Paul Colm Hogan, *Colonialism and Cultural Identity*, 2000,85-86
[80] Taiaiake Alfred, *Peace, Power, Righteousness: An Indigenous Manifesto*.
[81] Ibid, 89.
[82] Ibid, 89.
[83] Personal communication, 2013.
[84] Personal communication, 2013.
[85] Personal communication, 2013
[86] Dian Million*, Felt Theory*.
[87] Ibid, 55.
[88] Ibid, 54.

[89] Ibid, 55.
[90] See the following report by Women's Earth Alliance and Native Youth Sexual Health Network: *Violence on the Land, Violence on our Bodies: Building an Indigenous Response to Environmental Violence*, 2014.
[91] Ibid
[92] Hall, *Navigating Our Own 'Sea of Islands': Remapping a Theoretical Space for Hawaiian Women and Indigenous Feminism*.

Grassroots Rematriation

"Be careful who you share your dreams with, Takoja"

Ceremony rarely goes as planned. The structure is interruptions. The process is imperfections. It unfolds. It humbles. It reminds. It is over too soon. Ceremony is as lonesome for you as you are for ceremony.

"When you feel you're unworthy, not clean, shame – these are the best times to go", she said.

The thunderheads were building. With her strong, dark hands, this mother gently taught the 15 young girls transitioning into womanhood beneath the blue tarps. 15 parfleche knife sheaths for 15 society belts. Next year, we will include one for their awls.

In four days, *Kunsi* will paint their forehead and scalp red. Their mothers tie on their plumes. Their new society sisters will gently adorn each of them with society earrings. Society aunties will envelope each precious young woman into the embrace of a *chu-wignaka* (society skirt).

But today, is only the third day. The clouds are dancing into spirals, reaching out to *Unci Maka*. With strands of hair standing straight up from the electricity of an encroaching thunderstorm, the girls we comforted by the booming of thunder. These skills spoke to them, these teachings with parfleche stirred their spirit. They looked more like themselves. They were whole in spirit.

"Um, gramma – where will we go when the tornado comes?"

Kunsi Judith laughs, "Well we'd go where the tornado decides to take us. But tornados go around during ceremony, my girl."

Kunsi Mary remarks, "You know, that one year a storm came like this. It made the river began flowing the other direction – remember that, *Maske*?"[4]

The wind suddenly picked up. We gathered the *Kunsi Judith's* chair and bumbled towards the Suburban. Outside the vehicle, Ina called out to the older sisters and aunties. She asked us to sing. "We need to ask for the storm to split."

And it did, which kind of still feels all too casual to say. But that's what happened.
Even the local news lady on TV was surprised.

Twin tornados cleared a path for ceremony and made space in time for story.
These are the times when the stories come. Sitting next to *Kunsi Judith*, accepting it was entirely possible we could get swept away by a tornado or get struck by lightning.

"*Kunsi*, how did your society start?" I asked.

"Our societies are sisters. We came about with the dream knowledge. I was told to do it. I took the dream to ceremony and from there, I was given a commitment. So, I listened."

This is how it happens. This is how story weaves knowledge.

"You know, last year a mom killed her baby and some of our fathers are in prison because they can't handle their baby crying. And the domestic violence…"

My young *tojan*[5] Maya gave me a wide-eyed looked in the rearview mirror. Moving closer, she leaned her head on *her grandma's* shoulder.

Kunsi Judith went on, "We have ceremonies to help that, but our programs are so white. Our leadership is so white. In the 1990s, some of us worked very hard to develop our children

[4] A term for sister-friend in Lakota
[5] The term for niece in Dakota

protections services program with the tribe. That didn't work. What happened to sovereignty? What happened to those leaders saying our children are the most vulnerable. That is my commitment. This came from my great-great-grandparents. This is from a prayer they taught me, and I am continuing that prayer."

"During this time," she said, "the mortality rate at this time was so high and our little babies were dying of SIDS. We didn't have our birthing ceremonies. We have them for each stage in pregnancy. Our babies, their spirits are entering from the big dipper from the southeast. We have ways to welcome them. Ways for ceremonies of transference of character. So, we had a wiping the tears ceremony for all the babies lost. Our spiritual leaders, our ceremonies told us that we have a history of SIDs because you're not receiving their spirits in ceremonial ways. They are born into violence by a white doctor, physically jolting them, hitting them to make them cry."

They were encouraged to bring back the ways, "We did this, so they did not leave us, and go back home – we did this to show them they are beloved. So, I already knew this was my responsibility."

She became very serious, turning around and looking directly at *Maya*.

"You know, you have to be careful with how you organize these things, my girl. These white programs, they throw the medicine out. It's secondary, but our people have learned to cater to the *wasicu* way. They will even steal a dream and turn it into a program, then disassociate from the dreamer."

"*Takoja…Tojan* - you need to be careful who you share dreams with. Even of your own sisters-friends. We have forgotten how to be a relative. The society came to protect our women, our babies, and to welcome them into each phase in life. We were the grandmothers and mothers who you would come to if a girl has a dream. Our medicine men, they're not safe. We know the need for ceremony makes the girls and their mother's vulnerable. Now, the society is no longer in our home. It has become something for domestic violence. I come here now because it is safe. Things are not done in that way."

"*Kunsi*," Maya said, "Why? How can that happen?"

It was difficult. Witnessing her hands shaking. Her breath became short. The tears rolled down her cheeks. Sitting with grief is intimate. Not filling space with words. Just being. This is not usually how talks with her go and for some reason, that felt almost…frightening. We don't witness giants cry very often, but it was our turn to provide the medicine.

Voice trembling, *Kunsi* responded, "Our own people become even more violent – it's a certain kind of way of violence within those programs. Programs help, but they are not our way. They make you employees, not relatives. Societies are not about money. They are old, but they can always fit – just not into programs. Programs should take on the society ways, not the other way around."

Co-opting Dreams from the Dreamers

A few months before the conversation that opened this chapter, *Kunsi Judith* blew into the last day of the Dakota Women's Society conference hosted by local women at the Braveheart Lodge in Ihanktonwan territory. She had just been released from the intensive care unit in Sioux Falls. "I almost died. I'm here, so that's good." There was an ever-present urgency to her knowledge-sharing. For good reason. At this event, she said something that will continue to resonate throughout every word in my own writing for duration of my life: *"We need our societies back to live. If we want to survive and be Lakota/Dakota, we need our societies. We need old societies. We need new societies. We must wake them up."* Death is normalized in our communities and when engaging work like this, doing story becomes urgent.

Our *kunsi* was a very special *kunsi* who began showing up more and more to the *Cante Ohitika Winyan Okodakiciye* annual coming-of-age ceremony throughout the duration of my

research. It was a gift. She knew she was going to make her journey soon. This past summer, she began that journey and we are still grieving. Like many of the *kunsi* involved in sharing knowledge in this project, *Kunsi* was not only open to being recorded, but she also readily suggested doing so during events and conversations concerning *winyan okodakiciye*.

Her presence was relished. Her stories were delicious. With her there, it felt safer. But there were quiet moments that she openly held close a certain kind of sadness that many of the younger girls were aware of but did not know the reasoning for. I asked her about her society in the Suburban that day because it felt right – it was entirely possible a tornado could have swept us away. Waiting storms out in cars are great moments for stories and although I was a little nervous that she may not want to talk about this while my younger niece was present, what she did share lives on. She was hurt. She was sad. She was upset. And she needed to talk.

Kunsi was a dreamer. She had a responsibility to start a society to care for girls, women and do birthing ceremonies and work. The knowledge driving her creating this society was dream knowledge that she took to ceremony in which came her instructions. Along with all the other types of work *Kunsi* engaged, this brought an accepted responsibility to birth a women's society. Several years ago, I remember very clearly witnessing a discussion between the grandmothers of several *winyan okodakiciye* on the banks of *Mnisose*[6] during one *Isnati*. The conversation covered various aspects of societies and cultural protocols concerning knowledge, practice, and relations. I would have never imagined that such a powerful society could be dismantled in such a way.

There is a certain level of intrigue that arises when I discuss my research with folks both inside and outside academia. It is almost palpable. Due to the lack of a standard definition of

[6] The Dakota name for the Missouri river.

what Native women's societies actually are, the concept or their existence leaves plenty of room for imagining thereby leaving the door to the default romanizations and essentialism tied to Indigenous people wide open. The experience of *winyan okodakiciye* often quickly smashes these strange wishful ruminations of imagined collectives of Indigenous matriarchal purity.

Winyan okodakiciye are pre-colonial infrastructures. They have always held a role in governance. These ways are alive and often take for granted because they have existed since time immemorial. As a 12-year-old Yamni member explains, "societies get things done that need to be done and the grammas protect you." These very practical structures continue to be seamlessly adapted by many contemporary Native communities to meet present-day community needs.

Whether they fall apart or survive ties directly to what level of access these groups have to funding and economic resources. They are also not without their flaws, as the dynamics in any collective or group today will reflect the dynamics of a wider community gravely impacted by the project of settler colonialism. Our communities are not "nice" – they are full of survivors of trauma and state-sanction, ongoing colonial violence. Survivors who have learned to renegotiate what it means to be who we are relatives and nations. Therefore, *okodakiciye* can also be very violent spaces if decolonization and healing trauma are not central to their work. Nonetheless, *winyan okodakiciye* and collectives led by Indigenous matriarchs play an imperative role in our communities and movements.

Winyan okodakiciye lifeways are messy and that is because settler colonialism is messy. Nothing comes out untouched. Nothing remained static about Native people across Turtle Island, including their social structures. The failures, conflicts, contradictions, challenges, and losses of relationships in these stories are just as important (if not more) as the successes, resolutions, and deepening of relationships. It is a part of resurgence. Reawakening what *okodakiciye* was, is, and

can be is arduous, but is also where the lessons are located. And that is a very important lesson to take away from this work – relationality is messy. It is complex and often, relationality can be derived from toxic experiences.

This chapter will share *winyan okodakiciye* stories and perspectives through the voices of the women and men located at their core. Situating Indigenous society structures within conceptual frameworks of social justice organizing reveals pre-colonial infrastructure distinctly accessible to respective Indigenous people across various tribal nations are alive and have existed since time immemorial. Societies are very practical structures that have been seamlessly and continuously adapted by many contemporary Native communities to meet present-day community needs. This chapter will explore how the fluid, adaptable characteristics of organizing through *winyan okodakiciye* as a structures or guiding concept, with its inherent congruencies, contentions, challenges and contradictions, is starkly at odds with entities that become non-profit organizations, what *Kunsi* described as forgetting how to be a relative.

Settler colonialism has had devastating impacts on Indigenous communities. While *winyan okodakiciye* can be used to combat these impacts, they are not immune to its many lures and traps. This chapter will begin by describing some of the economic structural challenges that contour the grassroots work *winyan okodakiciye* are engaging and the some of the impacts these challenges have on their relationships. It will then go on to discuss ways funding and chosen modes of organizing in *winyan okodakiciye* directly shape resurgence, or lack thereof. Finally, it will conclude with a discussion on *winyan okodakiciye* as an Indigenous methodology *for Oceti Sakowin* resurgence rooted in the labor of *okodakiciye* matriarchs. Specifically, this chapter will demonstrate the need to frame specific place-based, forms of community resurgence as defined,

unfolding methodologies that Indigenous scholarship must commit to both centering and being in ongoing relation & conversation.

Women's Society, Inc.

Before we can understand the full power of grassroots rematriation, it is helpful to explore a cautionary tale surrounding funding, specifically the shifting of a society into a 501c3. Issues relating to how funding impacts relationships often arose in discussions throughout this research but is best illustrated by a situation that unfolded between two separate *winyan okodakiciye* rooted in different communities in what is now known as South Dakota. In the context of this research, this example speaks to why Indigenous community grassroots initiatives and organizing must begin having critical discussions on the impacts non-profitization[93] can have of on our cultural systems, kinship relations, and ultimately, work towards decolonization.

Within the scope of wider social justice movements in the United States, significant numbers of people are employed in the non-profit sector. Competing for government and foundation funding is at the heart of the Nonprofit Industrial Complex (NPIC), which is a system that require nonprofits to professionalize and subsequently shift to a focus on funding sources rather than fulfilling their original mission.[94] "Sacrificing mission for funding" is a cycle that organizations perpetuate when participating in the NPIC and as Jennifer Ceema Samimi argues, "disenfranchises their constituents".[95]

There are many definitions of non-profit organizations. According to the Internal Revenue Service, nonprofits differ from corporations in two major ways: they are assumed to serve the public good by meeting a need, and their funds are not "earned," but donated. David C. Hammack outlines six organizational characteristics that each nonprofit possesses: they are

formal organizations as well as private entities, they do not distribute profits and are self-governing, voluntary and provide a public health benefit.[96] Furthermore, nonprofits must register as a 501c3 organization Internal Revenue Service to receive donated funds. An additional incentive for recognition as a 501c3 is access to grant money from foundations, corporations and the government without paying income tax.

In 2008, *Yamni Okodakici*ye and *Wanji Okodakiciye* began building a deeper relationship. Elders from *Yamni Okodakiciye* worked closely with mothers from *Wanji Okodakiciye* during events such as their annual community *Isnati Awicadowanpi*. The link between *Wanji* and *Yamni* were the connections among women intensely focused on healing, learning, and providing a better future for their daughters and granddaughters. Part of ensuring a better future for young Dakota/Lakota girls requires the mentoring of younger women to carry on Dakota/Lakota ways. This ultimately is what defined the relationship between Wanji and Yamni.

All *okodakiciy*e ultimately overlap, as being part of a larger *Oceti Sakowin*. With regard to winyan *okodakiciye*, many more overlaps exist due to the gender, culture, spirituality, and impacts resulting from settler colonialism. *Wanji* is an *okodakiciye* that grew out of one Lakota grandmother's dream in the late 1990s. She took this dream to ceremony and subsequently, she was given a name for the *okodakiciye* which she was instructed to build. *Wanji* was an okodakiciye that centered on birth work, birthing ceremonies, and women's medicine, dreams, and ceremonies. Additionally, *Wanji* afforded a source of harm-reduction for young girls seeking spiritual guidance, mentorship, and resources that often make them vulnerable to spiritual abuse. It is a common understanding throughout all *okodakiciye* in this research that ceremony has become a hunting ground for predatory men posing as spiritual leaders in our communities. *Wanji* sought to intersect them. The Lakota grandmother often explains that her work as a human

has always been to protect and provide for children. Her *okodakiciye* was driven by that very same purpose.

Yamni Okodakiciye was developed in a very similar way, which involved dreams, ceremony, consulting, and the work of multiple grandmothers to protect and nurture the spirits of women and girls in their communities. Initially this okodakiciye began in the early 1990s as a means to provide a non-programmatic cultural system to address trauma and healing through ceremony and community. It soon grew beyond trauma-healing work to provide ceremonies like *Isnati* and opportunities for their community to get involved with their language nest, gardening and food sovereignty project/events, powwow regalia-making classes, lacrosse games, and eventually, their very political presence within activism in Indian Country.

Contemporary *winyan okodakiciye* are critically reliant on economic resources for the structures to survive and further, thrive. It is common for *okodakiciye* members to become highly efficient at locating funding, though often only one of the two members assuming the role of grant-writing continues to do so. However, for *winyan okodakiciye* to continue growing, money is not the only source of support needed. One *Ihanktonwan* community member argues that an *okodakiciye* needs more members to grow stronger and explains that growth requires people to consider these groups as significant enough to care, "I think what's important is that caring connection Like said, I don't know. I know you must survive with money. I do know that. But I also know the Creator is more powerful than money. Either, nobody has cars, nobody has gas, you have to provide everything to get them there. Instead of them really wanting to because it's in their hearts." From her perspective, this individual explains that poverty creates barriers to mental health that impact their willingness to participate in events that are cultural. She notes her frustration with "having to pay people to even make an appearance or show support.

Poverty is a major barrier affecting *Oceti Sakowin* communities involved in *okodakiciye* organizing. Though immediate needs clearly take precedence over meetings, it is similarly possible that lacking participation correlates with an aversion to use already sparse resources to attend events that are perceived to lack significance. Members express concern on this point, explaining that it is difficult to "make people care" about decolonization, prioritizing relationality, and recognize the bigger picture of *okodakiciye* as a lifeway. Limited time, energy, and resources can create somewhat of a paradox when it comes to inviting more community participation. Some members perceive community members resistance as an expression of disregard for "being relatives". As a one grant-writer from *Yamni Okodakiciye* explains, "It's a catch-22 though, they can't care unless they see what caring looks like. So somehow the resources need to come while we do this other stuff over here. We can't make them care. You have to reteach it, if you provide everything for them to get to a meeting and make things easier for them, then it can happen."

Yamni is critical both of non-profits and programmatic systems due to the longstanding history of federal dispossession and structural violence. This fuels elder members' resistance to mirroring any resemblance to a program. One founding grandmother of *Yamni Okodakiciye* explains that programs within tribes are often federally funded. Thus, programs are subject to federal standards that at their core, are fundamentally designed to fail. *Kunsi* Mary's approach to organizing rejects looking to federal policy reform for solutions to the structural violence and that reformist-only perspectives fuels misconceptions that settler colonial systems are no longer "designed to exterminate Indians". *Yamni* members refuse to participate in furthering the project of colonization and argue that the resurgence of okodakiciye lifeways must stringently oppose taking federal funds. Federal policies of systematic dispossession had long-term impacts on tribal

development growth. Considering the devastation caused by a half-century of harmful federal policies, the trepidation, anger, hesitancy, and suspicion held by *Yamni* grandmothers is valid. They were alive and remember failed programs such as the 1964 Economic Opportunities Act, which resulted in entrenching *Oceti Sakowin* tribes beneath a further layer of poverty that many tribes have yet to recover from.[97] Yamni's refusal to engage federal programs and funding is grounded on a long history of federal mismanagement of economic resources as evidenced through ineffective policies for tribal economic development.[98]

In connection to their refusal of federal funding, *Yamni* has subsequently refused to become a tribal program. Several *Yamni* grandmothers argue that federally imposed tribal systems pose a threat to resurgence. However, *Yamni* members do advocate for treaty rights and nonetheless believe that tribal systems have a purpose and offer tools for their community. Members of *Yamni Okodakiciye* are incredibly versed in treaty issues and advocate for protecting treaty rights, they just do not see treaties and tribal governments alone as the answer for decolonization. Any substantial systemic change in the majority of *Yamni* members' tribe for example, would require the approval and oversight of the Secretary of Interior.[99]

The issues connected to the realities of Federal Indian Policy are complex and enmeshed with settler colonialism. That is why members in *Yamni* stress the need for their community to attain a felt understanding of settler colonialism as a project of Indigenous dispossession and the ways systematic disparities of power reinforces, justifies, and furthers harm within their communities.[100] The *Yamni* members I talked to are in agreement that the conversation and education on settler colonialism within a community context is an ongoing need they attempt to address by providing events and teach-ins that are open to all community members. These spaces allow members to also interrogate the nuanced webs of a colonial capitalism within the nonprofit

sector to help bring about a wider awareness of how *okodakiciye* organizing can either participate in further colonization, or work towards decolonization. Discourse related to elements of decolonization vary throughout Indian country, however *Yamni* women conceptualize this process from the very distinct angle of a place- based collectivity molded by the Rematriation of grassroots leadership.

Funding not only defines the feasibility of an *okodakiciye* organizing but also plays a major role in the survival of an *okodakiciye* structure. Quite simply, *Yamni* grandmothers to sustain the lifeway of Yamni Okodakiciye, younger members must acquire grant-writing skills. Individual healing is often an ongoing, long-term process. Trauma can residually impact confidence, producing fear and impeding a willingness to apply newly attained skills. And while members are very driven to see the *okodakiciye* grow and succeed, they also experience times of discouragement, exhaustion, and frustration. All of which continuously emerge with ever-present and changing multidimensional challenges that can easily hinder further development of the an *okodakiciye*. The perceived reasoning behind many failed attempts to train members in grant-writing is explained by a Yamni grandmother in the following:

> They get scared…I've tried to get our younger women to practice grant-writing over the years. They're afraid that people will look down on them if they fail. People always say, "*Yamni* needs to have more events. *Yamni* could be so huge if more people got involved. They could change everything." But they don't realize how much money that takes.

Because the role of locating resources for various different projects has been occupied by the same *Yamni* grandmother since the okodakiciye has reawakened, funding needs have become ever more imperative. However, the actual process involved is largely unknown or unrealized.

Though the approaches taken *Yamni Okodakiciye* has proved considerably effective, the labor of remaining grassroots is tedious. Members express an overall positive outlook concerning

the okodakiciye, but things are certainly not perfect. The planning and development phases of new events are strenuous and rarely experienced by much young members, as the grandmother and mother doers are apt to naturally take care of what needs to be done quickly and effectively. Community and *okodakiciye* members can be scarce during these phases when their presence is much needed. This may be due to certain aspects intrinsic to mothers and grandmothers of a modern-day *okodakiciye* structure, as doers are insured things will get done if they do it themselves. Undeniably, this makes perfect sense if younger members are lacking in numbers during organizational phases of an event. The grandmothers need help.

W*inyan okodakiciye* and individuals have worked together to find funding to foster community events, ceremony, meetings, etc. As such, it is not uncommon when definitive differences of opinion arise among members of an *okodakiciye* regarding modes of organizing and sources of funding. "Organizing takes money – it's expensive," explains a grandmother from *Yamni Okodakiciye*[101]. Although ceremony is usually a central overlap that deepens the work done by *okodakiciye* members, *okodakiciye* grandmothers have nonetheless experienced several implosions between members and okodakiciye that have driven them to begin questioning the motives of individuals wishing to obtain knowledge about okodakiciye systems. Especially with regard to the individuals that express the need to carry back the teaching to their own neighboring communities.

Although the grandmothers between each *okodakiciye* had a relationship, the mentoring aspect of the *okodakiciye* work occurred within the home territory of *Yamni okodakiciye* during both ceremony and various cultural events. As time went on, there was a decision made by women from *Wanji Okodakiciye* to pursue funding sources for their own *Isnati* as well as the development of somewhat of a toolkit for other several other communities. *Kunsi* Mary[102], a

Yamni Okodakiciye grandmother, recounts a conversation she had with the Lakota grandmother founder of *Wanji okodakiciye* during this time. *Kunsi* Mary explains, "I got a call from Judith, and she sounded weird. She told me she didn't agree with the direction they're wanting to take the ceremonies and society. She felt the younger women were trying to push her out of *Wanji*, but her husband told her that was her dream and to take it back!"

Kunsi Mary received a call from the younger women of *Wanji* and they offered to provide *Yamni* with funding and structure for their next *Isnati*. This caught *Kunsi* Mary off guard, explaining her discomfort, "I think I probably sounded shocked, or maybe taken aback. I didn't accept the money. I've always told women we work with that we can't fit our ceremonies in a curriculum or toolkit. None of our sacred rites belong in a curriculum, or some other pre-packaged framework. You can't standardize ceremony and detach it from the roots our spirituality. There's no binder full of instructions. It's learning and nurturing relations through experience. People don't seem to understand that." As *Kunsi* Mary went on, she made a particular striking observation about the concept of relationality, "They want a template. Your relationships are the template. The grammas are the template. You learn by watching and doing it together." She eventually rejected the funding. When I asked *Kunsi* Mary if she told them why, she answered, "I was clear about why – the way it was being organized was in accordance with the funder. This is why we are careful about where we look for funding."

Kunsi Mary made the connection between the women from *Yamni*'s move towards organizing multiple *Isnati* and the tensions arising in *Wanji Okodakiciye* with the founding grandmother. Shortly after *Kunsi* Mary rejected the funding offer, one mother from another *winyan okodakiciy*e in a neighboring community contacted her, "They were offering the funding to two women that had previously went through our *Isnati*. One young mother who went through our

Isnati as a teen called me. She asked the *Wanji* women if they were working with *Yamni* because *Yamni* was known for offering this ceremony."

Kunsi Mary went on to note that it was at this point in when the women from *Yamni* began disparaging *Tuwin* Judith, "These women told her, "Mary got angry and talked bad about us." I never got upset, nor did I talk bad. This is what I suspect they probably did to Judith because Judith disagreed with them. "

It was not long after that the work between the two *okodakiciye* ceased. Incidentally, *Kunsi* Judith began participating and attending *Yamni Okodakiciye* events on a regular. She often stated that she felt good being around *Yamni* because it felt safe, which really stood out to Yamni members. *Kunsi* Mary reflected on this and explained, "They *harvested* her knowledge and pushed her out. Judith said these women developed an organization that ended up being a non-profit. They just wanted to put on these ceremonies and used *Wanji's* name, but the ceremonies were being done out of their organization. I think that was a problem"

Kunsi Judith eventually came around to understanding the issues *Kunsi* Mary had with non-profits. She explained that years later, *Kunsi* Judith told her, "*Maske!* You were right. What those non-profits do, what the money does, they did exactly what *Yamni* said would happen. They came in and took the knowledge. It ruined the relationships."

The same women now have careers that began with the development of their non-profit. According to some community members, the ceremony is still provided, and the women continue to use *Wanji's* name. When I asked what *Kunsi* Judith meant when she said *Yamni* was right, *Kunsi* Mary answered, "Judith was enamored by the idea of doing this work from a program or even a non-profit. Years ago, we had a conversation about why Yamni refuses certain sources of funding. We explained that Western systems and programs have always co-

opted the work of Native women. They use our work to make money. This isn't about activism or social justice; this is about survival. You can't hire people to do ceremony. That's a kinship responsibility." The *Kunsi* of *Yamni* often use the term protocol when mentoring younger women and passing on knowledge on the ceremonies and events they provide for their community. They have stressed the important for a formal way of passing a ceremony onto another *okodakiciye* – they have stressed a need for this type of situation to never cause harm to another elder again.

This situation continues to be discussed when women come to *Yamni*, seeking guidance on how to start a *winyan okodakiciye*. The non-profit that was developed through harvesting the teachings grounded in the relationships in both *Yamni* and *Wanji Okodakiciye* has become very well-known. While the services they provide centers around women, the focus of the work largely surrounds providing templates and support for domestic violence organizations, not individual domestic violence victims. In a sense, it has morphed into a society of non-profits. On a deeper level, it has caused harm to community elders. It hurt the heart of several grandmothers that mentored the workers involved in this non-profit, as they felt discarded and used. The non-profit now provides a toolkit for shelters that wish to provide ceremonial and cultural resources for victims of domestic violence, centering specifically on the children staying in their shelters. *Kunsi* Judith passed away in the fall of 2019.

Winyan okodakiciye are not exempt from compromising efforts to meld into NPIC. The competitive nature of locating funding introduces tensions between organizations that de-centralizes relationality and essentially compartmentalizes an organization as an island. However, the professionalization of activism has incentivized de-radicalizing community organizing.[103] This becomes all the more attractive considering the severe lack in resources available to our communities.

When for-profit industries work in tandem with organizations seeking social change with state sanction and subsequent legal protection, an industrial complex is created. The pay and status of professional activists relies on the continuation of the system as it is. This is an important characteristic of the NPIC to consider with regard to notions of resurgence. The status-quo system is mutually beneficial and perpetually reproduces service-needy oppressed individuals and rewards organizations for diminishing radical activism. As Paul Kivel notes, professional activism is incentivized and encouraged to, "…suppress potential opposition from community members - no matter how illogical, exploitative, and unjust the system is."[104]

Alleviating immediate suffering as a sole focus does not work to end the structural sources of suffering perpetuated by the project of settler colonialism. The NPIC encourages collectives prioritize funding over radical social change. The same can be said for the impacts this industry can have on Indigenous resurgence. This NPIC requires a compromise that entails collaborating with industries and the State. This in turn works to quell dissent and maintain oppressive social structures.[105] Organizations maintain a tolerated and protected presence by themselves to state institutions and the public. Gaining legitimacy from government institutions is easier when a social movement works to reform structures rather than dismantle it. Subsequently, this means that organizations are thrust into competition for legitimacy, fragmenting notions of relationality

As with the example given with the story shared above, the efforts of some *Wanji* members were redirected towards the anti-violence against Native women movement. *Kunsi* Judith and *Kunsi* Mary explain that there is money and resources easily accessible in domestic violence work. A recent public statement made on Facebook about a Lakota domestic violence organization. As a last-ditch effort, the Lakota woman took to Facebook seeking support and

services from the community due to being denied access to critical service this particular non-profit professes to offer local victims in crisis. The woman went on, making clear that she understood organizations lack funding and resources, but questions their purpose in tribal communities beyond that of providing a salary for their staff and travel funds for monthly vacation-trainings. She is not wrong – her situation is also not an isolated case.

Questions surrounding the motives of anti-violence non-profits are legitimated and warranted. Especially given the lack of available resources seemingly does not apply with regard to their paid positions as administrators, staff, and advocates, albeit workers in this sector are notoriously overworked and underpaid. But this casts a focus on larger implications associated with taking the paved route to community activism and advocacy through non-profitization. This becomes all the more relevant within the scope of the anti-violence organizing and movements, as such movements often overlap with the community work of *winyan okodakiciye*.

The more people started tapping into government and law enforcement as solution for violence – the less likely to see state/law enforcement as a source of violence or critique. Anti-violence movements - arms of the state. Creating more laws will create more violence - the rise of criminalization with anti-violence movements.

A lot of the critical work needing to be done to end violence isn't always legal in the scope of a non-profit structure – organizations are limited in NPIC because of insurance, boards of directors because of funding streams and if you accept government funding. Tearing families apart during moments of crisis where one person is so heavily penalized and incarcerated sometimes the right person, or wrong, or both are guilty. Regarding intergenerational cycles of trauma coursing through Indigenous communities and family systems, the impacts of this accepted mode of organizing pose a major barrier to healing and breaking cycles.

In the scope of *okodakiciye*, this would mean reclaiming systems that have existed since time immemorial. In spite of their drawbacks, non-profits nonetheless provide vital services and care for communities. The purpose of this section is not to create a binary between non-profits and grassroots, but to highlight the creative solutions and approaches that arising from inter-organization relationships between funders and *winyan okodakiciye*. It is not my intention to discredit the current or past efforts and accomplishments engaged within Indigenous communities' byway of Indigenous led organizations. This research is concerned with creating space to critically examine, discuss, and support the ways Indigenous grassroots organizations and collectives such as *okodakiciye*, embody what has been termed as Indigenous methods and methodologies on a basis of necessity to meet the needs of their communities.

Grassroots Rematriation & Resurgence

W*inyan okodakiciye* are not just organizations, they are also philosophies that can be used to structure research and modes of organizing through a focus on place-based oral systems of knowledge. W*inyan okodakiciye* are developed on the frontlines, within their respective Indigenous communities. They are direct actions. If decolonization and resurgence are a central guiding point of for Indigenous scholarship and organizing, the ways of knowing with regard to specific systems beyond and outside of settler systems are we engaging should be located, discussed, and engaged within the context of our own cultural grounding. *Okodakiciye* offer an example of how communities are tapping into their own knowledge and socio-political systems to decolonize. Decolonization and resurgence cannot and will not be done within an industrial complex that confirms and makes possible the existence of non-profit organizations. The question here is not how we as Indigenous researchers are engaging Indigenous methodologies in

our research, but how our research methodologies are being developed in our community, by our community to meet the needs of our community.

Rematriation is a term Indigenous women and communities are applying to their organizing, which currently is coursing through social media. Indigenous collectives and activists who are often from matrilineal societies have taken up the language of rematriation to reference returning human remains and funerary objects to the earth.[106] In the context of *okodakiciye*, the conceptual language of rematriation is relevant to the direct historical role and contemporary involvement of *Cante Ohitika Okodakiciye* in the rematriation of human remains and funerary objects.[107] Further, *winyan okodakiciye* work stems from matrilineal systems and are now associated with defending land, protecting water, birthing and nourishing relationality with *Unci Maka*. The use of rematriation also centers on asserting existence and pushing back at the erasure of *winyan okodakiciye* in historical records and early anthropological literature.[108] However, regarding *Yamni Okodakiciye* and the unfolding work of *Topa Okodakiciye*, rematriation is conceptualized in a framework that stresses:

- Indigenous matriarchs and co-creators at the core of who we are as people from the *Oceti Sakowin*
- Without the physical and organizational bodies of *Oceti* matriarchs, the imbalances caused by settler colonialism cannot be restore
- Restoration of the original instructions central to the governance of *Oceti Sakowin* people
- Therefor placing power of the matriarchs back where it belongs: at the center
- The experience, harnessing and, cultivating of Dakota knowledge within a matriarchal perspective as a means for decolonization and resurgence
- Rematriating structural protocols of family systems and communities rooted in *Kunsi* methodologies such as *okodakiciye* lifeways and integrating these systems into everyday life
- Rematriation of the political form of governance that is grounded on *Tiwahe* (Family) and the power associated with matrilineal social structures – which translates to: Ti (Dwelling) Wa (Sacred) He (Within)
    - The question that drives this concept rhetorically: Who owned the home and how can a politic exist without the core structure grounding life?

The resonance generated by this conceptual angle could arguably develop fluidly across the *Oceti Sakowin* with the development of strong relationships between existing *Oceti Sakowin winyan okodaciye*. Deepening exposure to a wider network additionally may afford access to extended systems of support for both members. In developing long-term relationships with grassroots and normalizing dialogue and awareness of the ever-present imbalance of structural power, indigenous non-profits are able to take on the role as funding sponsors for resurgence work that cannot be done within the confines of Native non-profits while simultaneously acting as buffers between grassroots and the state.

Supporting grassroots organizations by recognizing partnerships within the scope of offsetting power imbalances - not regulating or defining mission of the work. Buffering the reach of the state - sponsoring long-term community organizing, based on models of relationality and self-determination. Other solutions or approaches include winyan and *wica okodakiciye* establishing LLCs or non-profits themselves as separate offshoots of grassroots work and provide their own buffer. Grassroots Rematriation in the context of *winyan okodakiciye* resurgence is a refusal to rely on colonial systems and funding. It is a rejection to the mere potential of needing to compromise any further for to appease non-community. The community needs and relatives in Grassroots Rematriation is centered, not the agendas of private foundations and a settler colonial government.

Winyan okodakiciye as guiding concept reveals, contentions, challenges and contradictions that define. To remain grassroots is an attempt to function outside settler colonial systems. To become a non-profit is to become structurally legible as part of an industrial

complex and therefor, absorbed into a colonial capitalist system. From the perspective of *Yamni Okodakiciye*, becoming part of settler colonial system not only strengthens settler colonialism, but it also creates vulnerability to more structural harm. From this perspective, settler programmatic structures are intrinsically designed to impede sovereignty, create dependency, and aid in furthering Indigenous dispossession. This is the whole basis for Yamni's anti-capitalist approach that centers Indigenous resurgence. It is a difference between becoming recognizable and receiving State recognition as a legitimate capitalist entity or rejecting being absorbed into the fold of a structure targeting the very existence of Indigenous communities.

I would argue that as Indigenous scholars, what would lend to sharpening all Indigenous research and methodologies requires researchers to consistently put their work in direct conversation with the place-based resurgence methodologies of movements that are continually occurring across varying grassroots contexts in Indian country. Both Indigenous researchers as a community and Indigenous scholarship as a body of work must demonstrate the role of being a good relative. Doing so would mean offering our younger generations storied evidence of hope.

While it is not possible to know exactly how many Indigenous grassroots organizations are engaging in scholarship on decolonizing and Indigenous methodologies, it is likely many collectives are discursively impacted and further, engaging Indigenous scholarship. Necessity is a driving force behind why Indigenous community methodologies are developed and ever-enfolding. It is important for Indigenous researchers to not only examine how our work is directly informed by the labor and work on-the-ground and examine how our work supports directly supports and centers resurgence in our own communities. Indigenous knowledge production involves our communities and citing sources is certainly not new concept in our communities. If we are going to truly define our methodologies on the basis of "being a good

relative," the labor and direct actions taken in our communities must be regarded as legitimate sources of scholarship and thus, credited and afforded the same reverence as methodologies developed within the academy. Resurgence is done on-the-ground, within communities throughout Indian Country. There is a pressing need to braid Indigenous research scholarship together with long-standing, action-based commitments as Indigenous scholars. Resurgence occurs beyond the academy, it cannot be written about only as a possibility, but as something living, moving, breathing that resurgence scholarship must support and be in relation with.

Note

[93] Non-profitization is a term used to describe the transitional process organizations go through to obtain a 501(c)3 status. See, INCITE Women of Color, *The Revolution will not be Funded*.
[94] Ibid.
[95] Ceema, *Funding America's Nonprofits: The Nonprofit Industrial Complex's Hold on Social Justice.*
[96] Hammack, *Nonprofit Organizations in American History: Research Opportunities and Sources.*
[97] Maroukis, *Peyote and the Yankton Sioux: The Life and Times of Sam Necklace (Civilization of the American Indian).*
[98] Kalt, *The State of the Native Nations: Conditions under U.S. Policies of Self-Determination.*
[99] Maroukis, *Peyote and the Yankton Sioux: The Life and Times of Sam Necklace (Civilization of the American Indian).*
[100] Million, *Felt Theory*.
[101] *Wanji* in Dakota language mean the number one – in this context, this name translates to Society One. The names of specific *okodakiciye* are replaced using the numerical terms in Dakota. The use of pseudonyms in reference to specific *okodakiciye* is essential in this research, as the stories throughout this work center around sensitive issue and circumstances. In total, this research connects or focuses on four *winyan okodakiciye*. Their names are as follows: *Wanji* (1) *Okodakiciye*, *Nunpa* (2) *Okodakiciye*, *Yamini* (3) *Okodakiciye*, and *Topa* (4) *Okodakiciye*. In the sections that *okodakiciye* are named, it is done within general contexts, and it should not be assumed that said names are tied to any of the pseudonyms listed above.
[102] Pseudonyms for Individuals who have participated in this research have also used due to the same reasons listed above.
[103]INCITE Women of Color, *The Revolution will not be Funded*.
[104] Kivel, *Social Services or Social Change? Who Benefits from your Work?,* 139.
[105] Ibid.
[106] Eve Tuck discusses the use of rematriation in Devon Mihesuah's work and her reasoning to invoke the language for her work in curriculum studies. Tuck, *Rematriating Curriculum Studies*.
[107] Spotted Eagle, *The Brave Heart Society: An Oral History of an Indigenous Women's Society.*
[108] Ibid.

Healing, Decolonization, and Re-Imagining Okodakiciye

It was a cold winter late afternoon at the Oceti Sakowin camp on Standing Rock and the last to enter the warm yurt was the elder *leski*[7], the *kunsi*[8], and a younger Dakota woman. Quickly, the seven young men stood. They offered chairs and space to sit, then each young man sat on the ground and settled in. Bundled up, smelling like campfire smoke and sweat, the young men looked relieved to rest. Quietly cracking jokes and visiting, they waited.

The elder Lakota man began, “You’re here now, standing for The Horn. You’ve been asked by some of the *naca*[9] to do this. It's not permanent, but not all of them can be here. Of course, you know they are not having you here to be in power or to speak for all the people. But some decisions need to be made every day – you have to talk to the people and do your best. It's winter and you're young. So that said, we are here to say some things to you.

The elder man consulted with the kunsi in Lakota. She responded in Dakota, and they visited for several minutes. The young men, each from a different *ospaye*[10] of the *Oceti Sakowin*, listened intently.

The elder Lakota man began again, "You're standing as leaders and relatives, as one – not all the people will agree and see you this way. But you were asked, so you're going to need to be here and stay here. Every day and every night. Each of you, speak to your tribal camps, to families, and your people. Consult with them. You will need to be patient and fair. Before you go further with leading, there are some things you will constantly thinking about and part of that has to do with what this colonization has done to our minds and spirits."

As most Lakota/Dakota men do, these men showed an immense amount of respect for this older man as he spoke gently to them. Later, they would share that they don't have many healthy older men to teach them and how that impacts their lives. Many of the men grew up without fathers. Many have histories that will always follow them resulting in dysfunctional relationship dynamics. All of them are from the *Oceti Sakowin*. All of them are fathers. Several of them have been referred to as abusers. Many of them have experienced abuse in some regard. None of them are disposable.

Leksi continued, “This *kunsi* is here for you and I think you need to think about what she is going to say. We also have a younger *winyan– tojan*[11]has some perspectives that we all need to hear. The womenfolk and the women's societies can help us. Some bad things are happening in the camp. Some women have been hurt by men. There have been rapes. We need to listen."

---

[7] Leksi is the term for uncle in the Lakota dialect
[8] Kunis is the term for grandmother in the Dakota dialect
[9] Naca refers to leaders of a camp that are older men
[10] Ospaye is the term referring to Lakota/Dakota bands of the Oceti Sakowin
[11] Tojan is the Dakota kinship term for niece.

As the kunsi spoke, ease of comfort came washed over the young men. Many of them were either raised by or held very close relationships with their mothers and grandmothers.

“I am so proud of you boys, and I know you can do this in a really good way – we need you,” the kunsi began. “When we began working with our women, we did it because there was so much trauma our young women were trying to mother through. The grandmothers knew that something had to be done – they needed something. Our actions initially centered around a need, and to meet that need grew a society. Our *okodakiciye* now centers around a lot of different needs – which is why we have been fighting the KXL pipeline for so long. There's a need. But to meet those needs required leadership and leadership like this requires healing because the trauma has a root embedded in colonization. Every step requires healing to be at the forefront of your mind and spirit. What we discovered is this: if you do not make healing an integral part of your leadership and role, you will act like a colonizer. And if you are a man in a leadership role, you were groomed to inherently behave in a colonized and colonizing manner. We can't have that here because the colonization has already reared its head. Women are getting raped."

Instead of looking down at the ground or their hands, the young men were completely still, silent, and staring directly at the kunsi. Turning to the older man, in Dakota she told him that she asked her daughter to explain settler colonialism and gender violence. She stated that between her daughter’s explanations, she wanted to translate to him in Dakota. The older man responded, “Haun.”

After translating for the young men in English, the kunsi turned to her daughter and said, “Speak, my girl – go ahead.”

"I'm a PhD student," the daughter began. "The information I've been asked to share is the same information I routinely bring back and discuss with my community. This information is not new to our communities, and I don't know a lot, but I do know it offers a way to organize how we think about the issues. It affords a language and terms. It's not so close and the way I might be able to frame this can feel safer to hear because it's a framework. It's kind of sterilized because the framework can feel clinical. There's a formula here and at the core of healing, you have to recognize how this design has unfolded and works."

The daughter paused, as the kunsi spoke in Dakota. The older man nodded.

“Before I go on, I need you to know that I’m going to say somethings that are uncomfortable – but, I also want to tell you, each one of you, that I love you – even those of you from our oyate, the men in here I’ve grown up with. I want you all to know that we want you to heal. We need you to heal because we believe in you.”

The daughter went over the genocidal dynamics of settler colonialism as they relate to gender violence, cis-heteropatriarchy, misogyny, and rape. She told the young men that the statistics show that although Native people are one of the smallest populations in the US, yet Native communities & people had the highest rates of rape and sexual assault in the nation. She told them that was not an accident. She told them, “Again, this is part of a formula. This is part of a design. This is systemic. This is not an accident.”

"This is where I'm going to say some uncomfortable things. There have been multiple rapes in camp. It is something you are not going to ignore. We hear about the rates of rape and sexual abuse as they pertain to Native women more than Native men. Even though there are fewer data available on this point, we all know that those rates are high. We all know that our men get hurt like this. We know our men have survived many forms of abuse. That's a reality we grow up knowing, but it's not talked about."

The daughter went on carefully, "And I want you to know that the healing we are going to discuss more with you throughout the upcoming weeks will need to include specific types of abuse some of you survived. This is colonial violence. It is a form of gender violence our fathers and grandfathers also survived with colonization, and it was ingrained into our communities and our family systems. I want to say that I'm so sorry if you've survived it. I want to tell you that I pray for you. I want you to accept that it does not make you any less of a man. It was not your fault. I want you to know that you can heal from it and to do this work, you must begin to heal. This will directly impact how you approach the violence in camp, the predators, and the survivors."

At this point, the kunsi began translating. As the older man and kunsi held a conversation in the language, one man raised his hand. The kunsi giggled, saying, "you don't need to raise your hand."

The young man laughed, told her, "I've been raped. I've been hurt. I've never healed, and I want to. I don't know-how. I know what she is saying is right."

The older man leaned forward and took off his hat, placing his elbows on his knees he bowed his head and listened. The kunsi made a humming sound that is often a way to convey love or care. When the young man finished, the yurt was silent.

"*Toska*, you are so strong for saying this. I'm proud of you and I'm sorry you experienced this – you are not alone."

Then, another voice cracked from behind the first young man, "I went through it too – I was abused like that. But I need to say something else. I've also been abusive towards my partner. Not sexually, but I've hurt her, and I haven't been good in relationships."

One by one, the young men disclosed various traumas associated with similar forms of violence. Many of them associated the abuse with their dysfunctional patterns of behaviors. This is where their work privately began. For some of them, this work continues far beyond Standing Rock and the fight against the Dakota Access Pipeline.

There are few spaces to heal for our Dakota/Lakota men. Societies can provide that space. It has been demonstrated by the outgrowth of a permanent camp on one Lakota reservation and a developing men's society. Both stem from the ongoing conversations like the one that unfolded in this story. It began at Oceti Sakowin camp.

Post-Apocalyptic Structures of Resilience

As the *kunsi* explained many times throughout this time at Standing Rock, our societies by their nature offer cultural spaces to heal, support, and foster leadership roles, provided that healing and decolonization are at the core of their inner workings. This form of healing and collectivity, however, also subsequently results in an indirect form of governance and if built upon, societies have the potential to offer so much. There is a need, and not just for Dakota/Lakota women. Several courageous young men are now attempting to meet this need through *okodakiciye*.

The impacts sexual colonization has had on Indigenous masculinities is a reoccurring theme that emerges within Dakota/Lakota women's society grassroots work and organizing. This theme highlights a distinct set of connections between settler colonialism, sexual violence, misogyny, and power. In part, these particular topics are discussed among Dakota and Lakota women naturally, due to the social problems that consistently arise with the rampant rates of sexual violence and abuse that afflicts our communities. However, there is another reason why these particular connections quickly became a theme in this project. Put simply, the men readily engage on issues associated with misogyny and in general, are readily open to sharing their perspectives, curiosities, and stories in the appropriate contexts. The #NoDAPL movement and encampment made space for an appropriate context for these discussions to be held and this is only one snapshot of one story among countless stories that emerged during my research.

The fight to protect water and defend land has been an Indigenous-led global movement with limited media attention for many years. However, in the Spring of 2016, the Indigenous-led resistance movement against the Dakota Access Pipeline gained international attention when the hashtag #NoDAPL going viral. The standoff between Indigenous water protectors and their

accomplices against the Dakota Access, LLC and the US federal government occurred in Oceti Sakowin territory on the Standing Rock reservation in what is now called North Dakota. The plan for DAPL centered on connecting the oil-rich Bakken formation in northwest North Dakota with an oil terminal near Patoka, Illinois, approximately 1,172 miles for $3.8 billion[109]. The proposed path of the pipeline, which was to be constructed under Lake Oahe and the *Mnisose* (The Missouri River), was the driving force behind the Indigenous uprising.

Amidst several lawsuits filed by The Standing Rock Sioux Tribe to halt construction of the pipeline legitimacy as a means to protect sacred sites and the tribe's sole water supply from poisoning, strategic planning occurred between and among wider networks of *Oceti Sakowin* communities. Various collectives of women and individuals belonging to women societies were and are at the heart of Indigenous pipeline resistance movements in the Northern Great Plains. This resistance is part of their inherited responsibility of not only protecting land and water but also Indigenous people and more specifically, Indigenous women and girls from the ever-impending uptick in gender-based violence brought about with the establishment of man-camps and influx of pipeline construction workers. The strong presence of Indigenous women's collectives and societies in anti-pipeline organizing highlight a specific land/body connection to colonial violence on Indigenous women and girls directly associated with the US settler colonial nation-state's extensive patterns of invasion. While dynamics of this fight played out in US courtrooms, other integral aspects of resistance scaffolding these courtroom battles involved grassroots organizing and movement building. Subsequently, the standoff and other anti-pipeline grassroots resistance movements are grounded by decolonization and Indigenous resurgence.

This project initially centered on women's societies; however, this story speaks to why issues afflicting *Oceti* women, girls, and two-spirit people cannot be addressed in full without

simultaneously addressing how Oceti men are also impacted by the legacy of sexual colonization and gender-based violence. We cannot address the alarming rates of sexual violence Native women face, sexual colonization, and the national crisis of missing and murdered Indigenous women without having more honest, open discussions on how these issues are too often perpetuated by our people, which many people in my community suspect is not reflected in the data. In part, I am referring to the lateral violence and internalized misogyny that cause harm among Indigenous women, girls that are survivors of sexual assault. The in-depth, ongoing dialogues I share with several Dakota men on these issues highlight an aspect to this point that is nuanced and often silenced. According to one young Dakota man's perspective that resonates across all shared discussions: "People act like our women are going missing and being murdered by the boogeyman, but it's us – *we* are the boogeyman."

My upbringing was anchored by matriarchs. The movers, shakers, and breakers who fed & fiercely loved the babies, sustained multigenerational households on one income, staved off language extermination, refused to be erased from the culture, protected their sisters, and survived violent husbands and relatives. All while founding the first Indigenous domestic violence shelter in the nation. They created the shelter to protect Native women from Native men. Many of these same women held close ties to various *winyan okodakiciye*.

These matriarchs were my aunties and mothers because aunties are mothers. You learn to listen to aunties early on – it's a relationship that exists at a different frequency that commands respect and makes you listen. When I misbehaved, my mom left me with my aunties. It all makes sense now. The earliest memory of this was burned into my mind during a mother-daughter power struggle one night before bedtime. My ina wanted me to brush my teeth and go to bed. I wanted to watch *Alf*.

I kept my back to them both. I could feel *twin's* eyes and that somehow made the room seem quieter. “Niece, do you know what happens when you don’t brush your teeth and listen to your mom?” Oh no, I learned my lesson on being gullible in this family many moons before. They tease hard and laugh harder. I could hear her smile.

My response was careful. “Huh-uh.” Silence. *Alf* the hairy alien wanted to eat his human’s pet cat again. *Pay attention to Alf.* My ina mischievously watched and waited.

"Well turn around den, look at me." Admittedly, I was curious, but I was more suspicious, and even more, I was stubborn. I sat motionless for a minute, saying nothing. *Alf, come back.* Commercial. I had enough sense I was about to get humbled, yet the power-struggled ensued.

“Baby girl,” she said gently. I softened, immediately and turned around. Then I screamed. She cackled. She had no teeth. “Where did they go?! Where are your teeth?!” Wild, bushy hair, blankets pulled up to her chin, she smiled, mouth wide open, bellowed with laughter, shameless. My mom spread out comfortably on their bed, stretching next to *Tuwin*. Satisfied. Turning over, with her back to me, sharply, *Tuwin* said, “Go brush your damn teeth and get to bed. I mean it.”

In full belly-laughter, we recalled that memory years later when I was a teenager during a summer road trip. Suddenly it hit me – I hadn’t realized until that moment, “Mom, you never told me what happened to her teeth?” She got quiet and made the smallest gestures she makes signaling exasperation (that only her daughter could read) and said, “She had a mean husband.” As I sat for a minute staring ahead at the enormous thunderheads, my stomach dropped. “Mom?” She looked out the side of her eyes at me. I couldn’t read that expression, but it was different. I couldn’t get couldn’t read my mom’s body language and facial expressions, which made this a rare moment. “Did Auntie Bee have a mean husband too? Her teeth are always on her nightstand

when she falls asleep reading." My mom stared forward without blinking. It was an awkwardly long pause. Turning to look at me, the expression.

She kept this away from me. This topic, those stories, the impending increase in danger that first, our moon times brings. She pleaded with me to keep playing with dolls. She told me it was okay to still be a kid, "Stay that way for as long as you can – play." She delighted in me anytime I got silly and outrageous. Unbothered, mismatched, dirty, frizzy, inquisitive, and beloved. I didn't realize then what I realize now – the closer I grew to become a young woman the more unbearable my mom's fear almost became. She looked terrified. That was the expression. "Yes, she had a mean husband too."

In the following sections, several topics are covered pertaining to violence and data. Lateral/horizontal violence and intergenerational trauma are terms used often to characterize social issues that arise in Native communities yet cannot account for the descriptions of what violence actually looks like in the community. Recent studies confirm the prevalence of antisocial personality disorder, borderline personality disorder, and several other cluster disorders and diagnoses are high in Native communities. There are frameworks to help make sense of the causes beyond a historical trauma framework. Historical oppression lends insight to wider discussions on violence in tribal communities.

To further contextualize, the latter sections discuss perspectives on women's societies that are congruent with historical oppression discourse and the harm caused by structural violence in relation to the impacts of historical trauma. Finally, I conclude by thinking through needs-based community approaches to developing Indigenous methodologies defined by earlier society members and work. Grassroots work in communities demonstrates how research is engaged from within our communities. The work organized by our *winyan okodakiciye* aims to

offset the impacts of violence and historical oppression by nourishing resilience and providing community care through Indigenous resurgence. The community care provided by *winyan okodakiciye* as a framework is rooted in a deep relationality linking resilience to the powerful knowledge systems cradled within ceremony, language, cultural systems & structures. developing events, organizing, spaces, and projects. There is a degree of incredible practicality to the grassroots work done in our community despite the complexities of structural oppression and violence. The work is necessary, so it is necessary to do the work. This Indigenous community need-based approaches used in *winyan okodakiciye* grassroots is grounded and defined in community, by community, for community. To recognize the striking breadth of our resilience, we must recognize the severity of problems caused by structural violence and be honest about the harm. This chapter focuses on why resurgence is a necessity for thriving Indigenous futurity. The answers and solutions are in cultural our knowledge systems and traditional structures of social organization, we just must trust them and think outside of a dominant paradigm that viable solutions for structural violence can be developed within programmatic structures of colonial systems that perpetuate violence.

Sexual Violence, Safety, & Silence

Research has shown that the majority of American Indian and Alaskan Natives (AIAN) are victims of violence in their lifetimes (83%)[110]. The rates of sexual assault impacting Native communities largely focuses on Native women, as 1 in 2 (56.1%) Native women experience sexual violence in their lifetime, and according to the same reports, AIAN people experience violence at a higher rate from non-AIAN perpetrators (for women 97%, for men 90%). Solid, accurate rates of rape that AIAN women are victimized by AIAN are difficult to find and

honestly, even more, difficult to trust. This will be discussed more below. However, in terms of the sexual violence Native men experience, the estimates are more difficult to determine, as men as a whole on a wider scale have a greater resistance to reporting sexual assault. While over half of all AIAN women experience sexual violence in their lifetime, 1 out of 4 AIAN men in the US have survived some form of sexual violence in their lifetime and 1 out of 9 of these men was raped.[111] This number is higher than the national average of sexual violence that 1 in 6 US non-Native men.

On its own, these numbers are alarming as these estimates are based on the minimum numbers of assaults reported and males who do have such experiences are much less likely to disclose them than females[112]. Within the scope of how small the population that Natives makeup, the rates and underestimates are all the more alarming for our communities, especially because rape among Native adults is grossly under-reported each year.[113] Speaking to this point, only 16% of men with documented histories of sexual assault and abuse considered themselves to have been victimized, compared to the 64% of women in the same study with similar documented histories.[114] Additionally, male victims carry the stigma of becoming a potential offender or less of a man. There is some truth that many offenders who sexually abuse have histories of sexual abuse, however, it is not true that most boys who are sexually abused will likely go on to sexually abuse others. While the vast majority of victims of childhood sexual abuse do not abuse others, available research shows that 75% or more of perpetrators abused themselves.

Due to available data provided through sources of public health data, probably, the full extent to which the levels of sexual violence impacting our Native communities has yet to be fully reflected concerning not only women but also men and all other genders. Concerning the

territories covered in this research, the rates of sexual violence and limitations on data collection are reflected in the Sexual Violence in South Dakota Data Report of 2019. South Dakota's rate of rape is the third-highest rate in the nation at 72.6 per 100,000, which is significantly higher than the national rate of 42.6 per 100,000.[115] Native people in South Dakota are overrepresented in both rape victims, offenders, and arrestees. Natives make up 9% of the South Dakota population, 29% of rape victims, 23% of rape offenders, and 18% of arrestees.[116]

In the initial statement on page 3 of the Sexual Violence in South Dakota 2019, it is disclosed that various data sources present differing, and at times conflicting statistics due to differing crime definitions and jurisdictional coverage. This disclosure goes on to state that the rates included in "this report are likely the minimum rates of violence, with the true number of incidents much higher than those provided in this report." When taking into account tribal jurisdiction and data collection, which is typically done by federal surveys for tribes, this is concerning.

Even more so concerning are the crimes reported to tribal law enforcement in the same 2021 report which are of particular concern, especially about missing data and my research. According to rape rates per 100,000 calculated using population estimates provided by the U.S. Census Bureau's *My Tribal Data Tool*, four tribes reported a higher rate of rape on and off-reservation tribal trust lands than the state average between 2015-2019. Although higher than the state average, the Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe reported rates of 98.7 per 100,000 and the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe reported 92.9 per 100,000. Significantly higher, however, are the Lower Brule Tribe at a rate of 202.1 per 100,000 and the Crow Creek Tribe at a rate of 248.6 per 100,000.[117]

The rates of rape were only available for six of the nine tribes in South Dakota. Three tribes are missing from this report, including the Dakota tribe that much of this research focuses on, the Ihanktonwan Dakota (Yankton Sioux). There are many reasons why these three tribes did not participate in the report including a lack of data, reporting of zero incidents, changes in the reporting, or the data being covered by another agency.[118]

Native women are raped at the highest rates in the US and again, South Dakota ranks 3rd as one of the states with the highest rates of rape. This is alarming. It also needs to be stated, several victims of rape that I know have disclosed their assaults throughout this research. These victims were all members and/or relatives associated with winyan *okodakiciye*. Furthermore, I have witnessed victims make numerous attempts to report their rapes but were met with very limited communication by tribal police. When I called out the tribal police department to inquire why it has taken 4 months for a victim to be interviewed, I was told my tribe does not have a criminal investigator. The victim has since left the reservation due to being harassed threatened and intimidated by women relatives of her alleged rapist. I can say in full confidence, there were rapes reported by Yankton Sioux tribal members.

There are resources on the Yankton Sioux reservation and these resources have been involved with national publications surrounding jurisdictional issues Native women face. On this point in particular for example, the Native American Women's Health Education Resource Center is located on the Yankton Sioux reservation, as is the founder and executive director of the organization Native American Community Board, which provides domestic violence services to the local Yankton Sioux community. This organization's founder, released *The Indigenous Women's Health Book – Within the Sacred Circle*, the first Indigenous women's reproductive health book, and organized the first Indigenous reproductive rights coalition.[119]

Victims often seek out our women's society and often disclose that they avoid domestic violence services for privacy reasons – this is not to say anything is intrinsically wrong with the organization. It is simply to point out what has been expressed. Along with privacy concerns, often programs also lack immediate resources unless victims are facing a life-threatening situation[120]. A few women have also expressed concerns due to the relational connections that workers may have had with offenders. This is complex, but not uncommon in small towns and Native communities.

One survivor stated recently that victims should never *have to* come out on social media and disclose their assault as a last resort to get law enforcement to move on an investigation. I witnessed this happen during this project. Regardless of the context, feeling the need to disclose a rape publicly to hold law enforcement accountable is harmful and indicative of rape culture. However, it is worth noting, doing this on a small reservation is dangerous and absolutely a sign of desperation. From lived experience, there is no doubt in the communities that this happens a lot

When applying these same questions in terms of male victims, it should not be difficult at all to see why so many male abuse victims, both adult and youth, refuse to report given the stigma and how small our communities are. Rape and sexual abuse do not remain a confidential matter on reservations, especially when a victim *attempts* to report. It is simply not safe because victims will be publicly shamed and receive backlash from an alleged perpetrator's family. Often, it is the women who are an abuser's most staunch defenders – some women involved in this study have stated that some of the cruelest, most baffling forms of misogyny stem from attacks launched on victims by the women relatives of a Native male rapist. The destructiveness of internalized misogyny recently ruptured close relations within one particular *winyan*

okodakiciye with the sexual abuse and rape allegations of a few young society members. Women related to the rapist were also members of society. Upon discovering that charges were filed, the elder relative & member left the society. On many occasions, the elder former member proclaimed her choice was made out of support for her male relative. This older father and community elder were convicted and are now awaiting sentencing. The victim was his daughter.

I know this is common. We all do, and we have the experiences. We have witnessed these situations play out our entire lives. And throughout this project, several incidents of sexual violence continued to occur. There is a community knowing when it comes to the prevalence of Native offenders in small, rural reservation communities. There is awareness in terms of the links between residential school sex trafficking and abuse and intergenerational cycles of family violence. There is also an over-abundance of silence. What isn't matching with our experiences, are glaringly obvious gaps in data that supposedly convey our reality.

There is limited research that examines intimate partner violence (IPV) among Native populations. Yet the highest risk of IPV victimization compared to other racial/ethnic groups is experienced by Natives.[121] Native women and men also have the highest probability of IPV victimization.[122] Research on Natives indicates experiences of IPV may be prevalent among both men and women.[123] Studies suggest that 27.5% of Native men have experienced sexual assault and 43.2% have experienced physical violence by an intimate partner. Concerning Native women, 56.1% have experienced sexual assault and 55% have experienced physical violence by an intimate partner.[124] The National Institute of Justice states that Native women are significantly more like to have experienced violence by an interracial perpetrator (most often white) and significantly less likely to have experienced violence by an intraracial perpetrator.[125] The same study discloses a major lack of data on a precise number of interracial and interracial

victimizations, yet explains there was enough data to examine whether any of the victimizations were interracial and intraracial.[126]

As discussed in the above sections, the *reported* numbers of non-Natives committing violence against Natives are extremely high – especially concerning sexual violence perpetrated against Native women. One report from 2008 suggests one-quarter of all cases of IPV against AI women involve a non-AI perpetrator, which is a rate of interracial violence fine times the rate relative to other racial groups.[127] The data on IPV however, is limited. Ultimately given how high of a rate Native women experience violence overall with more non-Native perpetrators reported, this data may indicate more of a likelihood for Native women to *report* violence perpetrated by non-Natives than Native perpetrators and less indicative of precise differences in perpetrators interracially and interracially. Although that data is sparse on Native offenders, studies are providing some percentages that may provide details on offending patterns that may prove helpful. In 2016, for example, service provider agencies in New Mexico reported on the percent of offenders of each race/ethnicity who are the same race/ethnicity as their sexual assault victims. Of the offenders who were Native, 95% were the same race/ethnicity as their victims.[128] Natives had the highest percentage of intraracial sexual assaults.

Some characteristics are unique to Native victimization including the susceptibility of physical injuries, use of weapons, and high rates of potential homicide. Native women victimized by IPV are likely to have physical injuries than, specifically white or African American women.[129] In a 2004 study, 39% of the 312 Native women surveyed had been victims of severe forms of physical violence.[130] Participants reported being punched (28.2%), choked (21.2%), "beaten up" (19.6%), being kicked, and being bit.[131] Native women are reported to be more likely than non-Natives to have a weapon used during physical violence and more likely to

acquire injuries that require medical attention.[132] There is a gap in the overall data, which presents a barrier to gain a consistent, accurate grasp on many factors and dynamics of IPV and sexual violence in Native communities. Concerning my experiences on-reservation and from perspectives shared in this research, Natives are simply less likely to report other Natives – especially within the scope of gender-based violence. Yet qualitative research, as opposed to qualitative studies based on metadata, provides insight on IPV and sexual violence. Quantitative research allows space for personal narrative, experiences, and contact with human victims and in turn, access to more nuanced questions.

Catherine Burnette's work exposes an absence of research on the experiences of Indigenous women and girls across all levels and asserts this poses a profound barrier to knowledge development and violence prevention and mitigation.[133] In addition to the paucity of research on IPV among AIAN women, Burnette found even more of a lack in research on the consequences of IPV among AIAN women. Indigenous kinship systems are tight-knit and the ramifications of IPV reach across the family systems. Considering the amount of clinical research that has gone into developing a historical trauma discourse and intergeneration cycles of trauma, it is bewildering that very little inquiry has been dedicated to the ramifications of experiencing IPV for victim's & family systems. Five empirical studies exist that centered on the after-effects of IPV which focus on women – no studies were found on the consequences of IPV on children and families.[134] However, studies have found that AIAN women begin experiencing violence at a young age, which is related to depression, substance abuse, and attempted suicide.[135] While rates of violence for AIAN women are "epidemic" and its effects reach across multiple levels dearth, research on what violence does to Indigenous victims and family systems

is nearly non-existent. Metadata will not tell stories. Burnette recommends ethnographic research must be used to address this urgent matter.

Arieahn Matamonasa-Bennett[136]'s qualitative community-level work offers insight into elements of IPV in Native communities and colonial patriarchy from Indigenous male perspectives. Many Natives believe the presence of IPV in pre-contact Indigenous societies was rare. Indeed, this is believable when considering the oral history and the stories on systems of justice – for *Oceti Sakowin* bands, consequences for harming women, children, and family systems were swift, brutal, and victim-centered. Matamonasa-Bennett reveals that Indigenous men understand IPV as a growing problem that is not part of traditional culture, but a symptom of colonization with the introduction and weaponization of alcohol.[137] Although the men involved in this study recommend a return to traditional tribal values as key to sobriety and nonviolence, what are the implications for traditional tribal values if the perceptions of what these values entail are viewed through the lens of colonial patriarchy?

Some insight into implications on this point emerges when examining specific harm-reduction strategies used by women in both *okodakiciye* and wider *Oceti* communities to protect girls and women from sexual violence. If young women or girls are seeking anything involving spirituality or ceremony, they are told to seek out women. Girls are groomed, sexually abused and sexually assaulted in ceremonial contexts. Male domination is a manifestation of colonial patriarchy in cultural and ceremonial contexts. This is a known truth, and it emerges across the breadth of this research. In many discussions with men, they have made it abundantly clear they are aware of this issue. They have daughters. A few of these men felt compelled to confront the normalizations of colonial patriarchy by publicly denounce any form of gender-based violence, misogyny and womanizing and following up their denouncement by removing men exhibiting

toxic behaviors from their encampment. This was met with vitriol from both men and women in certain areas of the communities, but their *okodakiciye* has held its ground.

There are ways toxic relationality, misogyny, and internalized misogyny intersect with toxic Indigenous masculinities, law enforcement, social services, and sexual colonization. This is something I often discuss with one of my society brothers after leaving the *Oceti Camp* in Standing Rock. He is part of a group of men that set up a permanent encampment on another reservation. The work he's done on himself and the growth he's committed to is inspiring, but he's come to realize what comes with untangling ourselves from colonial webs. In a more recent conversation, he detailed another power struggle between men that emerged in relation to misogyny and toxic colonial patriarchy. He is tired. We all are. But when I asked him how he felt about the ones who just outright refused to engage concepts like misogyny and its ties to violence, he remarked, "I've just accepted that there's no hope for some of them. They'll always be this way because it's gone too deep, there's something else to this. I don't know if they're scared or what, but I quit trying with some of them. It's either that or bully them into listening – that's almost the only thing that will get them to listen."

The introduction story provides access to a district method to mitigate elements of misogyny that was used by the *kunsi*. This was a moving approach filtered through the relationality of the Dakota/Lakota language. Accurately identifying nuanced elements that structured this encounter requires knowledge grounded in language and culture that speak to a very special approach and particularly so when there are generational & gendered differences. One approach to mitigating barriers that arise during movement organizing is quite recognizable throughout this story. It is held within the style of exchange between the *leksi* and the *kunsi*. Dynamics of toxic Indigenous masculinities are painfully obvious to women involved in

organizing, and especially within the context of *winyan okodakiciye* – so much so, that it is not uncommon to witness this in the context of gendered power struggles when older men refuse to acknowledge our societies as *okodakiciye* & rather often, publicly refer to the women of an *okodakiciye* as a program or a group despite being bluntly corrected. However, this is not just an issue with toxic Indigenous masculinities, but colonial patriarchy and misogyny.

It's worthy to note that misogyny can be expressed across all genders. The following sections center around gendered issues that arose during this research. First, I explore various expressed reasons and themes that arose with this research that partially speak to why assaults committed by Native perpetrators may be grossly underreported by Native victims. I will state it again: it is not safe. The question is why?

Internalized Misogyny and the Camp Circle

In a very recent kitchen-table discussion, issues related to "girl violence" arose after my *ina* was made aware of a tragedy involving Sagkeeng First Nations teenager Serena Mckay in Manitoba. Serena's body was discovered on April 24th, 2017, after being killed by two other First Nation teenage girls. The brutal beating was recorded on video, which went viral on social media platforms, and due to a recent sudden increase of social media visibility surrounding Serena's murder, a surge of TikTok videos made by Native youth have been making their rounds across social media platforms. The footage is just over 43 seconds long and shows both girls beating and kicking as the younger girl tells Serena she is going to kill her. Moments before kicking her in the head & Serena losing consciousness, she can be heard repeating the words, "I'm so sorry, I'm sorry." Serena's killers were minors and went on to serve two years in prison. While some account users have callously posted the footage of Serena's murder, the majority of

users provide videos that focus on commentary and raising awareness under the hashtag #JusticeForSerenaMcKay.

My *ina's* eyes welled up with tears as we talked about Serena and the video. She abruptly told me, "I will never get over what those girls did to you – they could have killed you. Sometimes I don't think there is hope for some of these girls. They are so brutal and cruel." The words were heavy, and I sat quietly for a bit, swallowing the lump building in my throat. "I hate what they did, and I that they were acting like their mothers."

Just like sexual violence, fighting has become a rite-of-passage for teenage Native girls on the rez. That needs to change; however, it is unavoidable unless the youth are kept out of town and school, off the grid, and in the bush (even then, escaping that first, inevitable adolescent scrap isn't guaranteed). In many cases, you either learn to scrap, or you eventually get beat up and bullied. While bullying, in general, reveals how cruel kids can be, what are the implications for the type of bullying occurring within communities of Indigenous genocide survivors?

The discussion on Serena's murder led to a discussion on Emily Blue Bird, whose body was found in a creek in Pine Ridge in January of 2016. After a night of drinking with Emily, Elizabeth Ann Lebeau struck her in the head with a hammer multiple times and then strangled her to death. Subsequently, Elizabeth and her boyfriend Fred Quiver hid Emily's body underneath their home for two weeks before moving her to the creek. Elizabeth was convicted of second-degree murder and sentenced to 25 years in prison.

The discussion on Emily's murder seamlessly flowed towards the suspicious deaths of 16-year-old Selena Not Afraid, then on to another teenage girl who was lured out of her house by her friends and stabbed to death several years ago on an adjacent reservation. We came to a hard

stop when her name was said – she was a young mother, she was our sister, she was part of our society since the age of 7, and her death remains unsolved. Stating bluntly what the rest of the community knows, my *tojan* said, "She was murdered."

"Those girls could have killed you. I do believe they wanted to kill you." My ina was visibly angry. I quietly asked her, "Do you think our people are cruel." From the other side of the table, my *tojan* resolutely stated, "Yes". Looking back over at her *kunsi*, my *ina* took a deep breath and said, "Yes, absolutely." We sat quietly for a moment, and then she went on, "This is why we started *Isnati*. Red rage is rage we carry from colonization. And it's a justified rage -- it is resistance, but we kill each other's spirits with red rage because we don't know where else to put it now."

The oral history of the women's society I grew up in is documented in my previous research.[138] Part of our story includes how and why our *winyan okodakiciye* began providing an annual coming-of-age ceremony for the community called *Isnati Awicadowanpi* to provide an integral resource needed for our tribal girls and women.[139] The same reasoning behind why *Isnati* started stems from the same reasoning behind why women in our community began mobilizing *okodakiciye* as a lifeway: to heal from trauma. However, the commonly referenced impacts of "historical" trauma such as substance abuse, domestic violence, poverty, etc., often lack particular descriptions of distinct behaviors and specific patterns that arise in the everyday realities of communities. When looking into the details of how violence is expressed in our communities and how extreme lateral violence can manifest, this research revealed how many questions arise surrounding potential diagnosable disorders associated with the collective trauma of surviving genocidal colonial violence. That is, what exactly does intergenerational trauma post-traumatic stress disorder *look* like in the post-apocalyptic reality of Native communities?

There are many social workers, mental health clinicians, and counselors involved in the social work my research centers on. As a result of societies having deep connections with professionals in the fields of social work, social services, and the mental health field. So, it probably should not have surprised me that personality disorders concerning trauma were a theme that many discussions involved. There is something to these observations, as I learned when delving into some of the research on mental health disorders impacting Native communities. Research has shown that Native women and men suffer from personality disorders at a significant rate. Results from the National Epidemiologic Survey on Alcoholic and Related Conditions (NESARC) suggest that 2.7% of US adults meet the diagnostic criteria for borderline personality disorder (BPD). Racial and ethnic differences evident in this study suggest that on average, Native Americans (5%) and Black Americans (3.5%) have significantly higher rates of the disorder. The study also states that individuals with a BPD diagnosis likely have a co-occurring mood disorder, anxiety disorders, substance abuse disorders, and other personality disorders.

Maria Brave Heart Yellow Horse along with several others research suggests that 70% of Native men and 63% of Native women meet the criteria for at least one lifetime DSM-IV disorder.[140] This is the first study to provide national approximations of the prevalence and treatment of psychiatric disorders among American Indians/Alaska Natives, by gender. Although researchers state that the prevalence may be overestimated due to cultural limitations in measurement, the research shows a pattern of higher prevalence of psychiatric disorder was found relative to non-white Hispanics. Most striking, however, were the significantly higher rates among both AIAN men and women for "any lifetime personality disorder, with both genders more likely to qualify for paranoid and antisocial personality disorder and men for the

schizoid disorder." Limitations to the cultural measurements and unmeasured risk factors are across all populations that need to be accounted for and further investigation is needed, especially for AIANs.

It is also stated in this study that much of these results tie directly to high rates of violent trauma exposure and contextualizes much of the trauma experienced by AIAM communities tie directly to colonization. Heightened rates of disorder clusters in Native communities are symptoms of the brutality of settler colonialism and the settler systematic targeting of Natives. These disorder clusters, particularly ASPD and BPD, provide insight into what intergenerational trauma *looks* like in a post-apocalyptic reality of Native communities.

Personality disorders are mental health conditions that affect how people think, behave, and relate to others. The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, Fifth Addition (DSM-5) identifies three main clusters of personality disorders. ASPD and BPD fall into the same grouping of cluster B personality disorders, along with histrionic and narcissistic personality disorders. Typically, people with these disorders may appear dramatic, erratic, or extremely emotional and tend to have difficulty regulating emotions and maintaining relationships. Additionally, personality disorders are likely present alongside other mental health conditions, including anxiety disorders, mood disorders like depression, or substance abuse disorders.

As a diagnostic entity, BPD poses continuous challenges to clinicians and researchers across the world. BPD is a psychiatric disorder but is also a type of cultural phenomenon.[141] Anthropological research has contributed to clinical perspectives on BPD. By drawing connections to socio-cultural factors between diagnostic criteria reflected in many BPD characteristics that attach well to postmodern elements of social life embodied by the US.[142]

Social scientists have described collective happenings during the 1960s and 1970s about issues reflecting instability, identity, or impulsivity. For the 1980s and 1990s, similar topics along with others, like chronic emptiness, intense anger, issues of control and power, and paranoia "populated the stage of America."[143]

I have stated that settler colonialism and genocide are the root cause of personality disorders in our communities. This stems from both trauma and structural violence. Studies outline BPD as a powerful example of a multitude of interactions between culture psychopathology, which is compelling considering that the two populations with the highest rates of BPD are Natives and Black Americans. Incidentally, these two populations survived the brutally horrific traumas of genocide and chattel slavery. It should come as no surprise there are major correlations between BPD and trauma associated with abuse and sexual violence.

The causes are not fully understood; however, research has suggested that BPD is a product of an interaction between psychosocial, genetic, and neurobiological influences that affect brain development.[144] Research has shown significant factors associated with the disorder including, childhood abuse/neglect. An additional factor includes having a parent with alcohol or substance abuse problems, having a diagnosis of drug abuse, major depressive disorder, and post-traumatic stress disorder.[145] And finally, recent studies have shown associations with the familial transmission of BPD, which means that having a parent with BPD is a risk factor for the development of BPD.[146] The disorder can be intergenerational.

The ways that BPD impacts the way people think and feel about themselves and others is central to the causes this mental health disorder causes in problems with functioning in everyday life. BPD causes issues with self-image, difficulty managing emotions and behavior, and a pattern of unstable relationships. BPD also results in intense fear of abandonment or instability

and difficulty being alone.[147] Yet the disorder is also characterized by inappropriate anger, impulsivity beginning adulthood, and frequent mood swings, which can result in others being pushed away.[148] The diagnostic criterion for BPD is determined by having five or more of the nine following symptoms:

- Chronic feelings of emptiness
- Emotional instability in reactions to everyday life
- Frantic efforts to avoid real or imagined abandonment
- Identity disturbance with markedly or persistently unstable self-image or sense of self
- Impulsive behavior in at least two areas that are potentially self-damaging (e.g., spending, sex, substance abuse, reckless driving, binge eating)
- Inappropriate, intense anger or difficulty controlling anger (e.g., frequent displays of temper, constant anger, recurrent physical fights)
- Patterns of unstable and intense interpersonal relationships characterized by extremes between idealization and devaluation (also known as "splitting")
- Recurrent suicidal behavior, gestures, or threats, or self-harming behavior
- Transient, stress-related paranoid ideation or severe dissociative symptoms

(Salters-Pedneault, 2021)

Although BPD and ASPD fall into the same cluster of personality disorders, the common features of ASPD include deceitful, manipulative, and criminal behavior. People with this disorder tend to behave in a manner that shows a disregard for the rights and needs of others. Generally, males are up to five times more like the receive the diagnosis than females.[149] As stated above, there is a higher prevalence of ASPD among Native men and women at similar rates, which is described as being a striking result of this study.[150] People with ASPD can be reckless, sometimes violent, and if they take part in criminal activity, they feel little to no remorse for their hurtful actions.[151] Other symptoms include unstable employment, homes, and relationships, risky behavior, excessive use of drugs/alcohol, financial irresponsibility, may be abusive, exploitative in sexual relationships, and unable to remain monogamous.[152]

Symptoms for ASPD become visible in childhood, such as fire-setting, cruelty to animals, and a disregard for the pain of others, however, it is not diagnosable until adolescence

or adulthood.[153] There is not a consensus among doctors whether psychopathy is the same disorder, as some doctors do believe psychopathic personality is a similar, but more severe disorder. Like BPD, the causes of ASPD are unknown. The factors that are believed to contribute to the development of the condition are both genetic and environmental. For example, people who have an alcoholic or antisocial parent are at an increased risk – the disorder is more common among first degree relatives with ASPD.[154] Additionally, most people with ASPD are found to also have substance abuse disorder and often ASPD is comorbid with impulse control disorder, attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder, or BPD. A pronounced symptom of ASPD is a lack of empathy. A clinical criterion for diagnosis of ASPD requires a person have:

- A persistent disregard for the rights of others

This disregard is 3 or more of the following:

- Disregarding the law, indicated by repeatedly committing acts that are grounds for arrest
- Being deceitful, indicated by lying repeatedly, using aliases, or conning others for personal gain or pleasure
- Acting impulsively or not planning ahead
- Being easily provoked or aggressive, indicated by constantly getting into physical fights or assaulting others
- Consistently acting irresponsibly, indicated by quitting a job with no plans for another one or not paying bills
- No feelings of remorse, indicated by indifference to or rationalization of hurting or mistreating others
- Patients must have evidence that a conduct disorder has been present before the age of 15

(Zimmerman, 2021)

A study examining perceptions of violence focused on 14 Native participants from a Northern Plains Native community. They all had ASPD. One remark made in this study stood out to me, as I stated earlier in this chapter that labels and terms do little to describe the actual behaviors and realities perpetuated in our communities. The authors note: *"*Throughout the course of this work, the research team was repeatedly struck by descriptions of severe and

pervasive trauma. One of the most striking facets of traumatic experience on the reservation was descriptions of violence among fellow community members."

Applying a conceptual framework to this issue provides insight into internalized oppression and lateral violence, but again, here are those terms again. What does that look like in everyday life? Going back to the girl violence and internalized misogyny, an incident occurred that caused embarrassment across Indian Country. Northern Cheyenne councilwoman Silver Little Eagle was attacked on May 16th, 2021, at 3 a.m. The two women stole her car and smashed out the windows. They stole her identification as well as her cell phone. Silver is the youngest person in history to be elected to the Northern Cheyenne Tribal Council and part of the historic election. The five seats of the tribal council, tribal presidency, and vice presidency were all filled by Northern Cheyenne women. The women who attacked Silver were also Cheyenne women. After the attack, while Silver was hospitalized and what occurred on social media was an embarrassment to our communities.

A Cheyenne Facebook group that has since been removed was full of comments that referred to Silver as a whore and deserving of getting beat. However, it wasn't until a Go-FundMe was posted by her father for assistance with hospital expenses that the uptick in vitriol went next level. Cheyenne women were making statements about Silver making a mockery of the MMIW crisis. had a statement about MMIW and the violence in our communities pertaining to the overall lack of safety for Indigenous women – including council members. Comments poured in about how Cheyenne women were modest, as Silver began getting slut-shamed publicly by older "traditional" men. Soon after the attack increased online, one very well-known MMIW advocate from a reservation in Washington State went live. Her grandfather's van windows were broken out and the family faced further vandalism, bullying, and harassment for

months. She made a powerful statement and asked everyone why this did not apply to Silver. She followed up and asked, “Do you think Indigenous women are not murdered by other women? If a Native woman was almost killed by other Native people and succumbed to her injuries, would the indigeneity of her murderers mean she would no longer be considered an MMIW?” Silver was a councilwoman – an elected official. This is what violence in our communities look like.

Natives appear to experience higher rates of traumatic events and suffer higher alcohol-related death rates than any other ethnic group in the US. Both disorders discussed have associated risk factors that certainly do correlate with trauma and abuse, however, the cause of BPD and ASPD is unknown. This point may offer some perspective. Both the presence and high prevalence of ASPD and BPD in Native communities are direct results of settler colonialism and genocide. That is not a result of historical trauma. The risk factors that increase the chances of developing these disorders permeate Indian Country: child abuse/neglect, alcoholism, poverty, and violence. The link between cluster disorders and other diagnoses and Native people is structural and that has a direct impact on conditions associated with the risk factors prevalence in Native peoples lives. Structural violence is vastly destructive to the mental health of people. That should be deeply considered when looking at other issues like gender-based violence and sexual colonization. The disorders are treatable and while it is important that cultural differences are accounted for in diagnosing ASPD and BPD, I think the significant focus should be placed on developing culturally tailored treatment models and approaches.

The historical trauma/soul wound discourse refers to a construct that Joseph Gone defines as calling attention to the “complex, collective, cumulate, intergenerational” effects that both past and present settler colonial policies psychosocial lives of Indigenous people.[155] From this perspective, traumatic events continue to affect individuals and communities across

generations.[156] To make sense of social issues such as disproportionately high rates of IPV, alcohol and substance abuse, youth suicides, mental illnesses, etc., historical trauma is often referenced as a causal narrative or explanatory model.[157] Some scholars are critical of the overuse of historical trauma as a trope among Indigenous people to explain the impacts of colonization and cultural suppression. Additionally, historical trauma is referenced as a framework that explains continuing disparities and rationale to focus on social, cultural, and psychological interventions.[158] The important contributions of historical trauma theory is undeniable; however, some scholars emphasize the need for a greater delineation and explication for it to be useful in explaining social problems among Indigenous people.[159] It is further argued that many of the important elements of rooted in structural issues such as discrimination and poverty cannot be captured through the construct of trauma.[160] Additionally, the rates of suicide, alcoholism, IPV and sexual violence are higher in Native communities and have steadily increased over the past twenty years, suggesting that there are more causal factors to account for the incidence of suffering in contemporary Native populations.[161] While healing psychic wounds is important, healing is also incredibly important in the context of livelihoods. Our people must see a viable future woven together in the material realities of their communities.

Historical oppression is a framework useful in understanding issues like IPV and connections to Native women. Historical trauma is conceptualized as a part of the critical discourse of historical oppression. A key factor in the perpetuation of disparities and oppression is emphasized through forms of structural violence, which include discrimination, microaggressions, economic inequality, and marginalization.[162]There is a link between negative, physical, social, and mental health outcomes and oppressions imposed through colonization.[163] Scholars have argued that if this connection is a working construct and exists, it must be

measured and used to address the many facets of systemic oppression. In the scope of this research, I find this framework particularly useful in understanding how oppression may be perpetuated within groups after it has been imposed by external sources for so long.

Earlier sections discussed the lack of data regarding intraracial violence and pervasive and chronic systemic oppression. The factors of oppression structurally cannot be explained through the construct of historical trauma. Grounding this approach in the critical framework of Paulo Friere, it aims to better understand the structural causes of violence by considering historical oppression. Applying this lens to examine IPV in Native women's lives offers a lot of insight into specific ways internalized oppression occurs in Native men through the internalization of patriarchal colonialism. This framework is rooted in critical theory and provides prospective using conquest, cultural invasion, divide and rule, and manipulations, along with breaking down power disparities through concepts including domination, dehumanization, internalization in contextually nuanced ways that can be applied to Native family systems. IPV is held to be a response to historical oppression. In the scope of a lack of wider research and discourse on Native IPV offenders, this dynamic of sub-oppression and internalization of colonial patriarchy. Due to long periods of so much violence and exploitation, oppressed communities learn it's safer to avoid interactions with their oppressors. Mistrust for the dominant populations and the oppressors eventually is displaced onto family and community, which tends to heighten conflict and facilitate secrecy, which "may preclude the opportunity to rectify violence in the relationship". Put another way, response to historical oppression led to the use of coping mechanisms that had unintended negative impacts on individuals, families, and communities over time while possibly inadvertently perpetuate the very problems driven by historical oppression.

This leads back to another conversation topic and several questions I asked male friends, community members, and relatives throughout this research. In one conversation, in particular, I asked a male relative, "Do you think we will ever publicly address how many Native women have been killed by Native men?" He chuckled and said, "No and that's because places like South Dakota, well the rest of the country doesn't understand this place. We are garbage to these white people. They are already disgusted by us, can you imagine?" I cannot imagine, no.

My relative went on to say, "This is the only way to make a change. We need something for the men and the boys – they need more. We need something. I'm trying." The podcast Unreserved in Canada spoke to this point in an episode *called Indigenous Masculinity and the Lasting Impacts of Colonialism.* In a discussion between a First Nations father and son, the same reasoning was given and spoken about at greater length. The connections made are linked to racism and stereotypes, and genuine fear.

As discussed above regarding IPV, some of the data is not matching up with many people's experiences. There is almost a complete silence around Native offenders of IPV and sexual violence when pursuing various meta-analysis research studies on violence against Native people. However, the smaller studies provide narratives and results that speak otherwise. Pertaining to this research, healing is something very central to the work done in the societies and collectives. However, the perspectives of many women doing *okodakiciye* work do not necessarily align with the theoretical framework of historical trauma. That isn't to say that historical trauma as a framework doesn't have its uses. It does, just not with the initial steps many members take towards healing. The healing associated with societies largely center on healing from traumas directly experienced, first-hand. I discuss this in my previous research concerning the use of a ceremony called *Nagi Kcopi* that centers on calling back parts of our

spirits that we believe jump out during times of trauma – this ceremony allows us to heal in full spirit, even though parts of ourselves may still be at the age when parts of our spirits left. Western psychology may call this disassociation. We have our own frames of reference that are very old and preserved through ceremonial practices. As one grandmother told me during the interview phase of my oral history research project, "Our people were wise psychologists and they had/have a ceremony for *everything* because it was needed. They knew that."

The focus of *Nagi Kcopi* is a first step that all subsequent steps after are grounded in full spirit. The immediate concern is the immediate traumas that causes our people's fight/flight or freeze response. It is important to state that the function of our societies is extremely practical. A lot of the solutions that societies seek are incredibly pragmatic because largely, their actions are decisions are driven by communal needs-based approaches. However, the healing associated with historical trauma as a framework center on education surrounding decolonization – this healing seems more closely associated with waking up dormant parts of ourselves and untangling our thinking from colonial patriarchy while using frameworks like settler colonialism to conceptually organize where we are located structurally in society.

This is something modeled in the introduction story. Historical trauma is framed through a structural lens, and this is usually something that takes place after the initial steps are taken towards healing after ceremony. The purpose of continually having a running dialogue on these issues is very practical – we have important work to do and the most destructive dynamics that tend to implode organizing are intimately related to colonial patriarchy, internalized misogyny, internalized oppression and lateral violence. We simply cannot afford ruptures without the repairs.

When looking into the details of how violence is expressed in our communities and how extreme lateral violence can manifest, this research revealed how many questions arise surrounding potential diagnosable disorders associated with the collective trauma of surviving genocidal colonial violence. That is, what exactly does intergenerational trauma post-traumatic stress disorder *look* like in the post-apocalyptic reality of Native communities?

Questions like this are powerful. Yet I think they should be accompanied by critical questions on the US settler colonial meta-narrative[164] and certain elements of historical trauma discourse that may obscure structural violence thereby perhaps misplacing blame on Native communities for outcomes created by structurally violent systems of oppression. This gives rise to important questions, such as how might historical trauma discourse fuel longstanding perceptions that Native people are incapable of s If you know the answer to that question first-hand, then you know how crucial Indigenous resurgence is for the futures of our people and communities.

Indigenous Community & Methodology: Conclusion

The work of *okodakiciye* organizing centers around decolonization and the effectiveness of this work reveals how powerful Indigenous resurgence of cultures, ceremony, and languages becomes when utilized in ways that combine healing with decolonization. There is a. cultural wisdom and intuitiveness required to seek solutions through ceremony. The older women in our *okodakiciye* were afforded aspects of upbringings cradled by that wisdom. Tapping into one of our seven sacred rites as *Oceti* people for answers demonstrates a natural logic connected to our cultures.

Isnati Awicadowanpi is one of our seven sacred rites as Dakota people. The modeling of the first communal *Isnati* created a much-needed space for distinct forms of harm-reduction for our precious girls. *Isnati* has been adapted & is now used in similar ways by numerous *winyan okodakiciye* across the *Oceti Sakowin* in the present day. However, having the wisdom to tap into aspects of cultural solutions and executing an approach to those solutions are two separate things.

There was a methodology used to awaken *okodakiciye* lifeways. The intuitiveness involved in developing this methodology was defined by a need-based culture. This methodology was developed through *community* research. The community did not act as mere participants, but as principal investigators engaging in ethnohistorical research. This process enabled access to know appropriate cultural protocols needed to ethically awaken dormant okodakiciye lifeways. The process took two years of conducting archival research and extensive conversations with elders.[165] But the point I am making here focuses on not only the ability of Indigenous *communities* to do their research but also community research as right for self-determination and the need for institutional support for such research by way of providing training. This present research project has revealed a perspective of many folks in my community that is striking – universities and institutions should be focused on developing ways to offer training to Indigenous communities within Indigenous communities to do their research on their communities. As one Lakota woman stated, "this is how these institutions could ensure consent while also paying rent for being on our territories."

The suspicion surrounding research will always be present in our communities, which have led to refining participatory action research methods as more inclusive approaches that work closely with Indigenous communities. This shows improvement and I am not here to take

away from that. However, I emphasize *community research* throughout this dissertation because scholarship is not exclusive to academic institutions. The politics of knowledge production are real, as are the associated structural disparities in power. Despite that all being true, research is still being engaged and used by the community that is based on community need. I choose to not go much further on these points as a protective measure. Indigenous skepticism around researchers and colonial institutions derives from wisdom. There are very important questions the emerge from critical Indigenous perspectives and it would behoove researchers to engage these perspectives.

The concept of universities paying rent was engaged in a humorous statement above. However, she was not joking. She believes research is only ethical in our community when an Indigenous person is a principal investigator. She considers anything outside of that as a form of harvesting. She does not deny there are benefits to outside perspectives. Nor does she ignore the positive impacts of research. She simply stands firm on our rights to self-determination. She is unwavering about notions of justice and liberation. And within the scope of justice, the harm caused to our people by academic institutions and education systems provide solids grounds for her stance.

The genocidal gateways that Indigenous children were forced through was our introduction into this educations system. Thousands of Indigenous children remain hidden beneath the grounds of US residential schools. The high school I graduated from was one of those schools – there are known places where children were buried. Many former students who endured the sex trafficking and abuse present in the US education system are still alive. They have used their voices. They have disclosed. They have pushed back. They are the reason we know about the incinerator at my boarding school. That is where the babies born from rape met

their end. They were burnt alive. One of the child-mothers still lives in our community. She was forced to witness the incineration of her baby. This is the history of education systems. This is the foundation of academic systems in the US. There is a strong logic behind this Native woman's humor.

Indigenous community developed research methodologies are presently being utilized by our *winyan okodakiciye* in projects that include community gardening projects, interventions surrounding the crisis of murdered and missing Indigenous women, plans for tribal co-management of the Missouri river byway of developing a bioregion, and helping several of the men from the story that introduced this chapter to build a men's society while interrogating aspects of toxic Indigenous masculinities. This research centers on a thriving Indigenous future.

The story that introduced this chapter was also a demonstration of such a developing community methodology framework, which is hard to spot without 1.) a culturally nuanced understanding and 2.) an intimate knowledge of the thick levels of misogyny and internalized misogyny our communities are saturated in. This approach to talking with young men was also defined by gendered protocols and influenced by trends of contemporary family dynamics, such as female-led households and absent fathers. And finally, the approach to that discussion involved first-language speakers and the use of language filtering. These approaches cannot be created outside of a community. These methodologies unfold and develop from within the internal core of the Indigenous community based on need and while I will not go too far into detail for privacy reasons, I will say that like everything else, it takes money and resources. The most viable way to locate funding quickly often leads to a harmful transition into the non-profitization of grassroots organizing. In this work, earlier sections discussed an intentional approach to avoiding the route of non-profitization by one society in the development and

deepening a twenty-six-year relationship with a fiscal sponsor that now provides a funnel for funding and structural protections.

What is needed for grassroots Indigenous structures like *okodakiciye* work to grow and continue is support for these systems to remain outside of yet another process of colonization (read: non-profitization) while maintaining their ability to function. Similar models are needed to outline and build upon as a template for non-profits, grassroots organizations, and *okodakiciye* – the model needs to be distributed among collectives to demonstrate the possibility of resurgence and decolonization without non-profitization. And finally, what's needed is hope. If healing and resurgence are kept at the core of *okodakiciye,* the possibility to re(imagine) a different way is the first step towards change. *Okodakiciye* lifeways and work can be at the crux of change in movements, relations, conceptualizations, systems, and governance. It just requires placing trust in the legacy of our lineal systems of knowledge. We already have the answers.

Notes

[109] Estes, N., & Dhillon, J. [109] McMahon, T., Walstrom, B., & Kerkvliet, J. (2021). *Sexual Violence in South Dakota 2019 Report*. South Dakota State University: Population Health Evaluation Center. K. (Eds.). (2019). *Standing with Standing Rock: Voices from the #NoDAPL Movement*. University of Minnesota Press.

[110] Rosay, A. B. (2016). *Violence Against American Indian and Alaska Native Women and Men: 2010 Findings from the National Intimate Partner and Sexual Survey*. US Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice.

[111] National Institute of Justice's: *Five Things About Violence Against American Indian and Alaska Native Men and Women,* which largely summarizes points from Rosay, A. B. (2016). *Violence Against American Indian and Alaska Native Women and Men: 2010 Findings from the National Intimate Partner and Sexual Survey*. US Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice.

[112] Holmes, G. R., Offen, L., & Waller, G. (1997). See No Evil, Hear No Evil, Speak No Evil: Why Do Relatively Few Male Victims of Childhood Sexual Abuse Receive Help for Abuse-Related Issues in Adulthood? *Clinical Psychology Review*, *17*, 69–88.

[113] Caponera, B. (2018). *Sexual Violence Among Native Americans (American Indians and Alaskan Natives) in the United States and New Mexico* (pp. 1–72). New Mexico Coalition of Sexual Assault Programs, Inc.

[114] Widom, C. S., & Morris, S. (1997). Accuracy of Adult Recollections of Childhood Victimization Part 2. Childhood Sexual Abuse. *Psychological Assessment*, *9*, 34–46.

[115] Crime in the United States report cited in McMahon, T., Walstrom, B., & Kerkvliet, J. (2021). *Sexual Violence in South Dakota 2019 Report*. South Dakota State University: Population Health Evaluation Center, (pp.13).

[116] McMahon, T., Walstrom, B., & Kerkvliet, J. (2021). *Sexual Violence in South Dakota 2019 Report*. South Dakota State University: Population Health Evaluation Center, (pp.15-16).

[117] United States Census Bureau. (2019). My Tribal Area, American Community Survey, 5-year estimate, and Table 2 on pages 16-17 of McMahon, T., Walstrom, B., & Kerkvliet, J. (2021). *Sexual Violence in South Dakota 2019 Report*. South Dakota State University: Population Health Evaluation Center.

[118] See, *Crime Data Explorer: South Dakota [Data tool].* (2019). FBI Uniform Crime Reporting Program. https://crime-dataexplorer.fr.cloud.gov/explorer/state/south-dakota/crime

[119] See, *Amnesty International USA Honors Indigenous Activist Charon Asetoyer*. (2017, October 10). Amnesty International USA. https://www.amnestyusa.org/press-releases/amnesty-international-usa-honors-indigenous-activist-charon-asetoyer

[120] See, The National Network to End Domestic Violence for more information on the funding shortages available for domestic violence victim services: https://nnedv.org/content/funding-appropriations/

[121] Bachman, R., Zaykowski, H., Lanier, C., Poteyeva, M., & Kallymyer, R. (2010). Estimating the Magnitude of Rape and Sexual Assault Against American Indian and Alaska Native Women. *The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, *43*(2), 199–222; Bohn, D. K. (2003). Lifetime Physical and Sexual Abuse, Substance Abuse, Depressions, and Suicide Attempts among Native American Women. *Issues in Mental Health Nursing*, *24*(3), 333–352; Bryant-Davis, T., Chung, H., & Tillman, S. (2009). From the Margins to Center: Ethnic Minority Women and Mental Health Effects of Sexual Assault. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, *10*(4), 330–357; Bubar, R. (2009). Cultural Competence, Justice, and Supervision: Sexual Assault against Native Women. *Women & Therapy*, *33*(1–2), 55–72; Dugan, L., & Apel, R. (2003). An Exploratory Study of Violent Victimization of Women: Race/Ethnicity and Situational Context. *Criminology*, *43*(3), 959–979; Hamby, S. L. (2000). The Importance of Community in a Feminist Analysis of Domestic Violence among American Indians. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, *28*(5), 649–669; Perry, S. W. (n.d.). *American Indians and Crime* (No. NCJ203097).

[122] Bubar, *Cultural Competence, Justice and Supervision: Sexual Assault against Native Women*; Matamonasa-Bennet, *"A Disease of the Outside People": Native American Men's Perceptions of Intimate Partner Violence*; Rosay, *Violence against American Indian and Alaska Native Women and Men*.

[123]Rosay, A. B. (2016). *Violence against American Indian and Alaska Native Women and Men: 2010 Findings from the National Intimate Partner and Sexual Survey*. US Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice.

[124] Ibid.

[125] Ibid.

[126] Ibid., 7-9.

[127]Greenfield & Smith, American Indians Crime, supra note 2, at 8.

[128] Caponera, B. (2018). *Sexual Violence Among Native Americans (American Indians and Alaskan Natives) in the United States and New Mexico* (pp. 1–72). New Mexico Coalition of Sexual Assault Programs, Inc.

[129] Bachman, *Estimating the Magnitude of Rape and Sexual Assault Against American Indian and Alaska Native Women.*

[130] Malco,

[131] Ibid., 5.

[132] Bauchman, *Estimating the Magnitude of Rape and Sexual Assault Against American Indian and Alaska Native Women.*

[133] Burnette, "*It will Always Continue Unless We Can Change Something": Consequences of Intimate Partner Violence for Indigenous Women, Children, and Families.*

[134] Ibidd.

[135] Bohn, *Lifetime Physical and Sexual Abuse, Substance Abuse, Depressions, and Suicide Attempts among Native American Women*.

[136] Matamonasa-Bennett, *A Disease of the Outside People': Native American Men's Perceptions of Intimate Partner Violence*

[137] Ibid.

[138] Spotted Eagle, B. (2013). *The Brave Heart Society: An Oral History of an Indigenous Women's Society* [Master of Arts]. The University of Montana.

[139] The Kitchen Sisters cover *Isnati* in their NPR limited series, *The Hidden World of Girls.* In their 7-minute coverage, numerous members from the Brave Heart Women's Society share their perspectives on the annual ceremony and speak to the need for similar approaches to harm reduction. Many of the participants in this segment's interviews are direct contributors to my research on Oceti women's societies. See, Silva, N. (n.d.). *Four Days, Nights: A Girls' Coming-Of-Age Ceremony*. https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=129611281.

[140] Yellow Horse Brave Heart, M., Hasin, D. S., Lewis-Fernández, R., Beals, J., Hasin, D. S., Sugaya, L., Wang, S., Grant, B., & Blanco, C. (2016). Psychiatric Disorders and Mental Health Treatment in American Indian and Alaska Natives: Results of the National Epidemiological Survey on Alcohol-Related Conditions. *Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology*, *51*(7), 1033–1046.

[141] Alarcon, Cultural Intersections in Psychotherapy of Borderline Personality Disorder, 177.
[142] Ibid, 177.
[143] Ibid.
[144] Kulacaoglu*, Borderline Personality Disorder: In the Midst of Vulnerability, Chaos, and Awe*.
[145] Ibid.
[146] Fatimah, *Familial Factors and the Risk of Borderline Personality Pathology: Genetic and Environmental Transmission.*
[147] For a full description from the Mayo Clinic, see: https://www.mayoclinic.org/diseases-conditions/borderline-personality-disorder/symptoms-causes/syc-20370237
[148] Salters-Pedneault, *Borderline Personality Disorder Criteria for Diagnosis*.
[149] Smith, *What to Know about Cluster B Personality Disorders*
[150] Brave Heart, *Psychiatric Disorders and Mental Health Treatment in American Indian and Alaska Natives: Results of the National Epidemiological Survey on Alcohol Related Conditions.*
[151] See, Harvard Health Publishing for more on this definition: https://www.health.harvard.edu/a_to_z/antisocial-personality-disorder-a-to-z
[152] Zimmerman, *Antisocial Personality Disorder*.
[153] See, MentalHealth.gov for more on these descriptions https://www.mentalhealth.gov/what-to-look-for/personality-disorders/antisocial-personality-disorder
[154] Ibid.
[155] Gone, *Redressing First Nations Historical Trauma: Theorizing Mechanisms for Indigenous Culture as Mental Health Treatment.*
[156] This body of collective work has been growing for the last 20 years and originates from Eduardo Duran, Bonnie Duran, and Maria Yellow Horse Brave Heart-Jordan's clinical readings/writings on Indigenous trauma and social issues.
[157] Hatala, *Reframing Narratives of Aboriginal Health Inequity: Exploring Cree Elder Resilience and Well-Being in Contexts of Historical Trauma*.
[158] Ibid.
[159] Gone, *Redressing First Nations Historical Trauma: Theorizing Mechanisms for Indigenous Culture as Mental Health Treatment.;* Kirmayer*, Rethinking Historical Trauma.*
[160] Kirmayer*, Rethinking Historical Trauma.*
[161] Ibid.
[162] Ibid.
[163] Burnette, *Historical Oppression and Intimate Partner Violence Experienced by Indigenous Women in the U*S; Gone, *Reconsidering American Indian Historical Trauma*; Duran & Duran, *A Postcolonial Perspective on Domestic Violence in Indian Country;* Weaver*, Examining Two Facets of American Indian Identity: Exposure to Other Cultures and the Influence of Historical Trauma.*
[164] This perspective is informed by a call to interrogate settler colonial metanarratives rather than produce more damage centered research on Native communities. See, Tuck, *Unbecoming Claims: Pedagogies of Refusal in Qualitative Research.*
[165] More information on this topic can be found in my thesis research. Spotted Eagle, *The Brave Heart Society: An Oral History on an Indigenous Women's Society.*

References

Albers, Patricia, and Beatrice Medicine, eds. *The Hidden Half: Studies of Plains Indian Women*. Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1983.

Alfred, Taiaiake. *Peace, Power, Righteousness: An Indigenous Manifesto*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

"AMERICAN INDIAN ADOLESCENT GIRLS- VULNERABILITY TO SEX TRAFFICKING, INTERVENTION STRATEGIES (Pierce).Pdf," n.d.

Amnesty International USA. "Amnesty International USA Honors Indigenous Activist Charon Asetoyer," October 10, 2017. https://www.amnestyusa.org/press-releases/amnesty-international-usa-honors-indigenous-activist-charon-asetoyer/.

Bachman, R., H. Zaykowski, R. Kallymyer, M. Poteyeva, and C. Lanier. "Violence Against American Indian and Alaska Native Women and the Criminal Justice Response: What Is Known.," 2008. https://www.ojp.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/223691.pdf.

Bachman, R., H. Zaykowski, C. Lanier, M. Poteyeva, and R. Kallymyer. "Estimating the Magnitude of Rape and Sexual Assault Against American Indian and Alaska Native Women." *The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology* 43, no. 2 (2010): 199–222.

Barker, Adam J. "'A Direct Act of Resurgance, a Direct Act of Sovereignty': Reflections on Idle No More, Indigenous Activism, and Canadian Settler Colonialism." *Globalizations* 12, no. 1 (2015): 43–65.

Bohn, D. K. "Lifetime Physical and Sexual Abuse, Substance Abuse, Depressions, and Suicide Attempts among Native American Women." *Issues in Mental Health Nursing* 24, no. 3 (2003): 333–52.

Bryant-Davis, T., H. Chung, and S. Tillman. "From the Margins to Center: Ethnic Minority Women and Mental Health Effects of Sexual Assault." *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse* 10, no. 4 (2009): 330–57.

Bubar, R. "Cultural Competence, Justice, and Supervision: Sexual Assault against Native Women." *Women & Therapy* 33, no. 1–2 (2009): 55–72.

Burnette, C. E. "Historical Oppressions and Indigenous Families: Uncovering Potential Risk Factors of Indigenous Families." *Family Relations* 65, no. 2 (2016): 354–68.

Burnette, C. E., and C. R. Figley. "Historical Oppression, Resilience, and Transcendence: Can a Holistic Framework Help Explain Violence Experienced by Indigenous People?" *Social Work* 62, no. 1 (2017): 37–44.

Byrd, Jodi A. *The Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2011.

Caponera, Betty. "Sexual Violence Among Native Americans (American Indians and Alaskan Natives) in the United States and New Mexico." Albuquerque: New Mexico Coalition of Sexual Assault Programs, Inc., February 2018.

Carnella, Gail S., and Kathryn D. Manuelito. "Feminisms From Unthought Locations, Indigenous World Views, Marginalized Feminisms, and Revisioning Anticolonial Social Science." In *Handbook of Critical Indigenous Methodologies*. Los Angeles 45-60: SAGE Publications, 2008.

Ceema Samimi, Jennifer. "Funding America's Nonprofits: The Nonprofit Industrial Complex's Hold on Social Justice." *Columbia Social Work Review* 1 (n.d.): 17–25.

Coulthard, Glen, and Leanne Betasamosake Simpson. "Grounded Normativity/Place-Based Solidarity." *American Quarterly* 68, no. 2 (n.d.): 249–55.

Crime Data Explorer: South Dakota [Data Tool]. Clarkesburg, WV: FBI Unniform Crime Reporting Program, 2019. https://crime-dataexplorer.fr.cloud.gov/explorer/state/south-dakota/crime.

Deloria, Ella. "Origin of Dakota Societies: A Legend.," 1932. Chamberlain, South Dakota. Ella Deloria Archive.

———. "Pregnancy, Birth, and Infancy," 1938. Chamberlain, South Dakota.

Denzin, Norman K., Yvonna S Lincoln, and Linda Tuhiwai Smith. *Handbook of Critical Indigenous Methodologies*. Los Angeles: SAGE Publications, 2008.

Driskill, Qwo-Li, ed. *Queer Indigenous Studies: Critical Interventions in Theory, Politics, and Literature*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2011.

———. "Stolen from Our Bodies: First Nations Two-Spirits/Queens and the Journey to a Sovereign Erotic." *Studies in American Indian Literature* 16, no. 2 (2004): 50–64.

Dugan, L., and R. Apel. "An Exploratory Study of Violent Victimization of Women: Race/Ethnicity and Situational Context." *Criminology* 43, no. 3 (2003): 959–79.

Dunbar, Christopher. "Critical Race Theory and Indigenous Methodologies." In *Handbook of Critical Indigenous Methodologies*, 1–21. Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications, 2014.

Duran, E., B. Duran, W. Woodis, and P Woodis. "A Postcolonial Perspective on Domestic Violence in Indian Country." In *Family Violence and Men of Color: Healing the Wounded Male Spirit*. New York: Springer, 1998.

Estes, Nick, and Jaskiran K. Dhillon, eds. *Standing with Standing Rock: Voices from the #NoDAPL Movement*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2019.

Fatimah, H., B. M. Wiernik, C. Gorey, M. McGue, W. G. Lacono, and M. A. Bornovalova. "Familial Factors and the Risk of Borderline Personality Pathology: Genetic and Environmental Transmission." *Psychological Medicine* 50, no. 8 (2020): 1327–37.

Gone, J.P. "Reconsidering American Indian Historical Trauma: Lessons from an Early Gros Ventre War Narrative." *Transcultural Psychiatry* 51, no. 3 (2013): 387–406.

———. "Redressing First Nations Historical Trauma: Theorizing Mechanisms for Indigenous Culture as Mental Health Treatment." *Transcultural Psychiatry* 50, no. 5 (n.d.): 683–706.

Greenfield, L. A., and S. K. Smith. "American Indians and Crime 8." US Department of Justice, Bureau of Statistics, 1999.

Hamby, S. L. "The Importance of Community in a Feminist Analysis of Domestic Violence among American Indians." *American Journal of Community Psychology* 28, no. 5 (2000): 649–69.

Hammack, D. "Nonprofit Organizations in American History: Research Opportunities and Sources." *American Behavioral Scientist* 45, no. 11 (2002): 1638–74.

Hassrick, R. B. *Sioux: Life and Customs of a Warrior Society*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964.

Hatala, A. R., M. Desjardins, and A. Bombay. "Reframing Narratives of Aboriginal Health Inequity: Exploring Cree Elder Resilience and Well-Being in Contexts of Historical Trauma." *Qualitative Health Research* 26, no. 14 (2015): 1911–27.

Hogan, P. C. *Colonialism and Cultural Identity*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000.

Holmes, G.R., L. Offen, and G. Waller. "See No Evil, Hear No Evil, Speak No Evil: Why Do Relatively Few Male Victims of Childhood Sexual Abuse Receive Help for Abuse-Related Issues in Adulthood?" *Clinical Psychology Review* 17 (1997): 69–88.

INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence, ed. *The Revolution Will Not Be Funded: Beyond the Non-Profit Industrial Complex*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2007.

Kahaleole Hall, Lisa. "Navigating Our Own 'Sea of Islands': Remapping a Theoretical Space for Hawaiian Women and Indigenous Feminism." *Wicazo Sa Review*, no. Fall (2009): 15–38.

Kalt, Joseph P. *The State of the Native Nations: Conditions under U.S. Policies of Self-Determination.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Kim Tallbear. "Introduction: An Indigenous, Feminist Approach to DNA Politics." In *Native American DNA Tribal Belonging and the False Promise of Genetic Science*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2013.

Kirmayer, L. J., J.P. Gone, and J. Moses. "Rethinking Historical Trauma." *Transcultural Psychiatry* 51, no. 3 (2014): 299–319.

Kivel, Paul. “Social Services or Social Change? Who Benefits from Your Work?” In *The Revolution Will Not Be Funded*, 129–50. Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2007.

Kleindienst, N., R. Vonderlin, M. Bohus, and S. Lis. “Childhood Adversity and Borderline Personality Disorder: A Meta-Analysis.” *Acta Psyciatrica Scandinavica* 143, no. 2 (2021): 183–84.

Kovach, Margaret Elizabeth. *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts*. Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Incorporated, 2009.

Kulacaoglu, F., and S. Kose. “Borderline Personality Disorder (BPD): In the Midst of Vulnerability, Chaos, and Awe.” *Brain Sciences* 8, no. 9 (2018): 201.

Lambert, Lori. *Research for Indigenous Survival: Indigenous Research Methodologies in the Behavioral Sciences*. Pablo, Montana: Salish Kootenai College Press, 2014.

Maroukis, T. C. *Peyote and the Yankton Sioux: The Life and Times of Sam Necklace (Civilization of the American Indian)*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004.

Matamonasa-Bennet, A. “‘A Disease of the Outside People’: Native American Men’s Perceptions of Intimate Partner Violence.” *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 39, no. 1 (2015): 20–36.

McMahon, T., B. Walstrom, and J. Kerkvliet. “Sexual Violence in South Dakota 2019 Report.” Brookings, South Dakota: South Dakota State University: Population Health Evaluation Center, March 2021.

Million, Dian. “Felt Theory: An Indigenous Feminist Approach to Affect and History.” *Wicazo Sa Review* 24, no. 2 (2009): 53–76.

Morgensen, Scott Lauria. *Spaces Between Us: Queer Settler Colonialism and Indigenous Decolonization.* Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2011.

Olden, Sarah E. *The People of Tipi Sapa*. Milwaukee: Morehouse, 1918.

Perry, S. W. “American Indians and Crime,” n.d.

Pierce, Alexandra. “American Indian Adolescent Girls: Vulnerability to Sex Trafficking, Intervention Strategies.” *American Indian & Alaska Native Mental Health Research: The Journal of the National Center* 19, no. 1 (2012): 37–56.

Rice, J. *Ella Deloria’s the Buffalo People*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1994.

Richards, Jennifer, and Alicia Mosseau. “Community-Based Participatory Research to Improve Preconception Health Among Northern Plains American Indian Adolescent Women.” *American Indian & Alaska Native Mental Health Research: The Journal of the National Center* 19, no. 1 (2012): 76–101.

Baldy, C.R. “We Are Dancing for You: Native Feminisms and the Revitalization of Women’s Coming-of-Age Ceremonies.” University of Washington Press, 2018.

Rosay, A. B. “Violence Against American Indian and Alaska Native Women and Men: 2010 Findings from the National Intimate Partner and Sexual Survey.” Washington DC: US Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice, 2016.

Salters-Pedneault, K. “Borderline Personality Disorder Criteria for Diagnosis.” *Very Well Mind*, 2021. https://www.verywellmind.com/borderline-personality-disorder-diagnosis-425174.

“Section 1: Performing Queer Indigenous Critiques -- Decolonizing the Queer Native Body (and Recovering the Native Bull-d,” n.d.

Silva, Nikki. “Four Days, Nights: A Girls’ Coming-Of-Age Ceremony.” NPR: The Kitchen Sisters, Hidden World of Girls, n.d. https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=129611281.

Simpson, Audra. *Mohawk Interruptus*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2014.

Smith, Amy. “What to Know about Cluster B Personality Disorders.” *Medical News Today*, 2020.

Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. Second edition. London: Zed Books, 2012.

Spotted Eagle, B. “The Brave Heart Society: An Oral History of an Indigenous Women’s Society.” Master of Arts, University of Montana, 2013.

Tomko, R.L., T.T. Trull, P.K. Wood, and K.J. Sher. “Characteristics of Borderline Personality Disorder in Community Sample: Comorbidity, Treatment, Utilization, and General Functioning.” *Journal of Personality Disorders* 28, no. 5 (n.d.): 734–50.

Tuck, E., and K. W. Yang. “Unbecoming Claims, Pedagogies of Refusal in Qualitative Research.” *Qualitative Inquiry* 20, no. 6 (2014): 811–18.

Tuck, Eve. “Rematriating Curriculum Studies.” *Journal of Curriculum and Pedagogy* 8, no. 1 (2011): 34–37.

“Violence on the Land, Violence on Our Bodies: Building an Indigenous Response to Environmental Violence.” Women’s Earth Alliance & Native Youth Sexual Health Network, 2016. http://landbodydefense.org/uploads/files/VLVBReportToolkit2016.pdf.

Weaver, H. N., and M.Y. Brave Heart. “Examining Two Facets of American Indian Identity: Exposure to Other Cultures and the Influence of Historical Trauma.” *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment* 2, no. 1–2 (1999): 19–33.

Widom, C.S., and S. Morris. “Accuracy of Adult Recollections of Childhood Victimization Part 2. Childhood Sexual Abuse.” *Psychological Assessment*, no. 9 (1997): 34–46.

Wilson, Shawn. *Research Is Ceremony*. Halifax & Winnepeg: Fernwood Publishing, 2008.

Wissler, C. "Societies and Ceremonial Association in the Oglala Division of the Teton-Dakota." Anthropological Papers of the American History of Natural History. New York, 1912.

Wolfe, Patrick. "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native." *Jounal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 4 (2006): 387–409.

Yellow Horse Brave Heart, M., D.S. Hasin, R. Lewis-Fernández, J. Beals, D.S. Hasin, L. Sugaya, S. Wang, B. Grant, and C. Blanco. "Psychiatric Disorders and Mental Health Treatment in American Indian and Alaska Natives: Results of the National Epidemiological Survey on Alcohol Related Conditions." *Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology* 51, no. 7 (2016): 1033–46.

Zimmerman, Mark. "Antisocial Personality Disorder." *Merck Manual*, 2021.