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Visions of Sovereignty: Tribal Sovereignty through the Lenses of Postcolonialism, Indigenous Film, and Visual Anthropology

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VISIONS OF SOVEREIGNTY:
TRIBAL SOVEREIGNTY THROUGH THE LENSES OF POSTCOLONIALISM, INDIGENOUS FILM, AND VISUAL ANTHROPOLOGY

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Visions of Sovereignty: Tribal Sovereignty through the Lenses of Postcolonialism, Indigenous Film, and Visual Anthropology

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Abstract

Tribal sovereignty has been a topic of discussion since the beginning of colonization in America. Anthropological thought, especially postcolonial theory, addresses how colonialism can be analyzed to gain a better understanding of Indigenous perspectives on sovereignty. Visual sovereignty, an example of Indigenous Film, is an interdisciplinary approach that can contextualize specific histories and social interactions all while serving individual tribes, depending on which tribe the filmmaker represents. A film, for instance, can be edited in a way to convey Indigenous ideas of time and space and staged presentations of oral histories that are nearly impossible to display through written words. Anthropological film studies, or Visual Anthropology, have also been gaining notoriety in the academic world as a powerful and useful tool in education. Indigenous film makers creating anthropological films, therefore, could provide a unique way of expressing, teaching, and learning about Indigenous issues such as tribal sovereignty and postcolonialism.
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**Preface**

I can remember the first time I heard the words *tribal sovereignty*. I was probably eight or nine years old and my parents took me along to some sort of presentation in a large building on the Metra Park fairgrounds in Billings, Montana. I was lifting my head, looking around various towering adults to see who was speaking. To this day, I do not know if there was a main speaker or if it was just some sort of public meeting on the concept of Tribal Sovereignty. I recall that there was scattered shouting from within the audience, angrily debating some passionate issue. My brain at the time could not comprehend anything that was being said. In fact, I can remember being very confused to the point of near frustration. What was this mysterious word, *sovereignty*?

I have had an interest in video cameras since my early years as an adolescent. In high school, I took a class on video editing; I have been filming and editing short video projects since then. These projects include documenting American Indian Science and Engineering Society (AISES) convention trips, college course assignments, and those for entertainment purposes. This thesis culminates at the nexus of exploring tribal sovereignty and my love for creating short films.

A note on terminology:

When discussing one of the numerous tribes that lived on the North American continent prior to the “discovery” and colonization of the “New World,” there are many terms used: Native American, Indian, American Indian, Native Indian, Indigenous, Aboriginal, First Nations, Original Americans, etc., etc. For the sake of limiting confusion, I will use the terms “Native American” and “Indigenous” interchangeably, unless any of the other synonyms appear in a quote or citation.
Chapter 1: Introduction

In resistance to this colonial rule, indigenous political actors work across American spatial and temporal boundaries, demanding rights and resources from the liberal democratic settler-state while also challenging the imposition of colonial rule on their lives. This resistance engenders what I call a “third space of sovereignty” that resides neither simply inside nor outside the American political system but rather exists on these very boundaries, exposing both the practices and the contingencies of American colonial rule (Bruyneel 2007: xvii).

If one examines the history of *Homo sapiens*, it is plain to see that every human group on the planet today has had an ancestry of hunting and gathering as a way of life. A majority of Native American groups were practicing this subsistence economy at the time of first European contact. The primary difference among cultures on Earth in the recent past is the time separation between hunting and gathering and a culture of state society. In the context of the Native American experience, the expanding European powers had legacies of generations and millennia in state-like societies separated from hunting and gathering as the means for survival. The history of colonialism in North America included wars, tragedies, travesties, and massacres of life and culture. This history includes the eventual Indigenous populations’ separation from hunting and gathering.

If a group of people is forced to change their way of life, they have experienced an affront on their sovereignty. The European empires encountered an Indigenous sovereignty practiced in an entirely different manner; therefore it was deemed lesser while the colonization occurred. In 1871 the U.S. formally ended the treaty-making era with Indigenous tribes. This decision created a political environment where “no future U.S.-indigenous agreement would ever attain the status of a treaty” and would never achieve “the legal standing necessary to supersede
extent federal law” (Bruyneel 2007:79). Legal explanations of tribal sovereignty often times cause an overdose of confusing law jargon. Many books have been written on the subject and many more are yet to be written (e.g. Pevar 2012; Wilkins 2005).

Anthropologists and Indigenous people both can address differing ideas on explaining and practicing sovereignty. Solutions to these problems might stem from finding more ways of looking at the concept of tribal sovereignty and identifying effective venues and media to educating people, young and old. The focus of this thesis is to examine tribal sovereignty through the lenses of postcolonialism, Indigenous Film, and Visual Anthropology.

Sovereignty all boils down to the individual’s human right to choose how to live. Because all members of any given society have this personal agency, the group in its entirety naturally follows a collective way of living, which is basically a definition for culture. The concepts of sovereignty and culture are usually categorized separately, but the concepts of sovereignty will vary from culture to culture. Is there a common ground between all concepts of sovereignty? Is it possible for different cultures to interact justly with each other because of varying concepts of sovereignty? My argument is that tribal sovereignty is in such a unique political realm because the sovereignty that was an inherent right for Native American tribes is only possible in the absence of colonialism. Future research on this subject has implications beyond mere discussion in academia.

Video in Anthropology has a chance to address these concepts in an accessible manner for non-academia and academia alike. The Society for Visual Anthropology was founded in 1984 and has been addressing anthropological studies through photographs and videos. Meanwhile, a genre called Indigenous Film has been on the rise; it is seen as a beneficial way to practice self-representation. Basically, an Indigenous film is where the Native person is in charge of every
aspect of creating a film from the beginning to the end of the production process: writing, filming, acting, editing, and publishing their final video. A film, for instance, can be edited in a way to convey Indigenous ideas of time and space and staged presentations of oral histories that are nearly impossible to display through written words (Raheja 2010:194, 196). Therefore, it can be argued that an anthropological film, created by an Indigenous anthropologist, has the potential to help educate others on topics such as tribal sovereignty and anthropological insights, and to help prevent continued impacts on Native lands and lives caused by vast misunderstanding of, and or, disregard for sovereignty.

A recent project (Task Order 002 / TO 002) at the University of Montana involved an example of how such an inquiry could be put into practice to benefit the future. The project includes a training manual, discussing issues such as tribal sovereignty, for United States Air Force Base personnel. As a compliment to the manual, I, an Indigenous anthropologist, created short films to be used as “CBT,” an integral component of an educational tool kit. The short films featured interviews with Native American tribal officials and academics. Since a lot of the Air Force’s interaction with the tribes revolve around archaeological and natural resources, multiple Tribal Historic Preservation Officers were interviewed.

Why would submitting short documentaries be viable as part of a thesis? If a picture is worth 1,000 words how much is a video worth? To avoid asking any more hypothetical questions, I will attempt to answer this with my empirical opinion. Video makes it possible to explain large concepts in a relatively short amount of time. Reading an encyclopedia attempting to do the same would take an exponentially greater amount of time. This is not to say that the written word is obsolete or inferior to video. Rather, it builds on Raheja’s (2010) point, and my own argument, that film can serve as an efficient and effective educational tool.
Issues discussed above including sovereignty, and postcolonialism can be seen and heard in the short films. Videos allow for many voices to be heard in a relatively short amount of time. If, for example, five people were scheduled to talk at a conference, each speech would easily take a lot of time. By interviewing the same five people and editing their speeches down to their most poignant and precise statements, the audience has a greater chance to take away something of learning value.

Learning in a holistic, interdisciplinary manner is an important thing. Educational films can help to spread the important ideas that anthropological studies have to offer the current human population of Earth. The ideas discussed in this paper and in the films, are but a means of exposing a unique point of view from a Native American studying the field of Anthropology. This thesis represents one among many contributions working toward a complete interdisciplinary view of the North American continent’s history, underscoring the effects of this history on Indigenous tribal sovereignty.
Chapter 2: Tribal Sovereignty and Postcolonial Theory

...postcolonial does not mean after colonialism, as if colonialism is over. No postcolonial theorist or critic make such a claim. Rather, postcolonial refers to the consistencies, contingencies, and fissures in the practices of colonization and decolonization. In other words, postcoloniality denotes the idea that complete socioeconomic, cultural, and political colonization and decolonization do not occur in the purest sense of the terms; that is, the colonizer’s impositions, be they cultural, economic, or structural, are never fully exhumed from the colonial context, and the so-called colonized are never fully without agency or independent identity (Bruyneel 2007, xviii).

Colonialism

Rather than studying legal documents and court cases, this chapter employs anthropology, specifically postcolonial theory, to examine what tribal sovereignty means for the Indigenous populations of North America. Colonialism has taken place all over the world and is “the major cultural and historical fact of the last 500 years and to some extent the last 5000 years” (Gosden 2004:5-6). An empire spreads and an invader oppresses another culture. Defining colonialism, to begin with, has many attributes that can be shown through examples across the globe. To generalize the example given by John L. Comaroff of South Africa, colonization has many aspects “determined on the battlegrounds of history—the bodies and societies, the territories and cultural terrains,” which are simultaneously occupied lands and lost lands (Comaroff 1989:681). Besides the meager land holdings of tribal reservations today, the entire continent of North America can be seen in this way; Native Americans lost land and U.S.A. now occupies that land.

Colonialism, as defined in a postcolonial glossary written by John Thieme, is “imperialist expansion into overseas territories and the social and cultural formations that issue from such
contact, though the term is sometimes used loosely as a synonym for “imperialism”’ (Thieme 2003:54). Colonialism was “widely practiced in most eras of human history, although it assumed a new dimension in the nineteenth century as the overseas arm of imperialism” (Thieme 2003:54).

In South Africa, the native population was confronted with different types of colonialism. John Comaroff explains these different types as “models” of colonialism: state, settler, and civilizing. Much like the Lewis and Clark expedition of America, during “state” colonialism, the British first interacted with the natives in South Africa with intentions of exploration and creating peaceful relationships through trade (Comaroff 1989:672). The attributes of “settler” colonialism manifest themselves often through violence, the creation of alliances, and taxation of labor. The goal of the “civilizing” model was to encourage assimilation with the help of the Christian missionaries (Comaroff 1989:673). These three models directly relate to the Native American experience and clearly impacted the traditional hunting and gathering economies—and sovereignty—of the people indigenous to North America. Using video as a medium to present such experiences with broad educational goals can help to illustrate how colonialism is still shaping current Indigenous concerns.

In postcolonialism, legacies of a colonialist past will linger in the present. In Kevin Bruyneel’s book, *The Third Space of Sovereignty*, he describes the idea that postcolonialism is merely the state between colonialism and decolonization. In the epigraph at the beginning of this chapter, Bruyneel explains something that is pertinent to the study of tribal sovereignty, noting sovereignty exists in a “colonial context” and the colonized group is “never fully without agency or independent identity” (Bruyneel 2007:xviii). The concepts of postcolonialism and tribal sovereignty, as applied to contemporary Native American and Indigenous issues, are mutually
exclusive. The effects of colonialism can be examined with an anthropological study of postcolonialism and tribal sovereignty.

Edward Said’s book, *Orientalism*, goes in to great detail about colonialism in the context of the interactions between Europe and Asia, between East and West. The coining of the term *oriental* was developed purely to distinguish the exotically different others. Said’s main critique of orientalism is not only that the prejudices and generalizations of the East are untrue and a moral issue, but that the very idea of creating a boundary between East and West should not have occurred in the first place (Said 1979). The same can be said in reference to the European colonizers’ relationship with the Indigenous people of the Americas.

Said (1985) reexamined “general issues addressed in *Orientalism,*” his own book from 1978, responding to some of the many criticisms, both constructive and destructive, written about his well-known book. Said addresses other researchers’ conduct that implies that “since the Orientals cannot represent themselves, they must therefore be represented by others who know more about Islam than Islam knows about itself” (Said 1985:97). This statement is merely an observation of the ways in which “outsiders” view “Orientals,” or anyone different for that matter. A statement like the quote above, Said continues, “is a statement of power and a claim for relatively absolute authority. It is constituted out of racism, and it is made comparatively acceptable to an audience prepared in advance to listen to its muscular truths” (Said 1985:97-98). This is the type of psychological power that colonial empires inflict on “other” cultures to maintain control. In history, this has played out repeatedly in the interactions between colonizing powers and the colonized.

At the heart of colonialism lies the notion of historicism. This is the idea that history, if not recorded by a Western observer, does not exist until it “culminated in…Europe” or was
witnessed by a European (Said 1985:101). The oral histories of many Indigenous cultures come to mind when analyzing such notions. Ignoring other cultures’ media of recording history seems to be a mechanism to legitimize the subjugation of people. It is commonplace today to discredit Native American oral histories as fairy tales and myths. Different cultures have different ways and means of getting important messages across to their own people and to the outside world. In contemporary times, Indigenous people are able to contest historicism in more creative ways with the use of video, which will be discussed in depth in the next chapter.

Messages and stories of the colonial past can be seen in a binary frame. The concept of viewing the world in a binary frame, such as good versus evil, has been part of human philosophy for millennia. For example, both the religious community and the anthropological community have attempted to examine violence among Native American groups in a binary fashion. During active colonialism the empire doing the colonizing imparted their rules onto the colonized. Oftentimes this included bans on culturally accepted violence, such as Native American warfare and horse raiding in the northwestern Great Plains. This type of interference with how the social structure was derived caused much disruption in everyday life for the colonized. On the other hand, one can see “how the government’s agent uses a language of pure violence,” meaning that the laws and restrictions had a devastating effect on cultural practices, from hunting and gathering to spirituality (Fanon 1963:4). In this context, anthropologists began studying cultures in “the relative stability of colonialism” (Meneses et al. 2014:87).

Frantz Fanon was an early scholar of colonization and its psychological and political impacts on people. Fanon’s influence on postcolonial thought and decolonization is quite substantial. Fanon said, “this passionate quest for a national culture prior to the colonial era can be justified by the colonized intellectuals’ shared interest in stepping back and taking a hard look
at the Western culture in which they risk becoming ensnared” (Fanon 1963:148). Fanon goes on to describe a colonial power as a mother. This “colonial mother is protecting the child itself, from its ego, its physiology, its biology, and its ontological misfortune” (Fanon 1963:149). Later in this thesis, it will be implied that Indigenous Film can be seen as an “antidote” to this colonial mother force.

Interdisciplinary Applications of Postcoloniality

In Anthropological studies theories help researchers develop sound explanations of human behavior; often, theoretical frameworks from other fields provide insight into anthropological inquiries. An example of this is in Ilan Kapoor’s research comparing dependency and postcolonial theory. Kapoor observes that dependency “relies on social science methodology and ‘field’ research,” whereas “postcolonial theory emerges out of literary studies” (Kapoor 2002:650). Both dependency and postcolonial theory have a way of reacting “to the West’s tendency to neglect examining its past” and accentuating “the study of colonial and imperial history” (Kapoor 2002:653).

Imperialism can be defined as the “systems and practices” enacted by an Empire. Colonialism can be seen as the stretched out arm of an Empire, enforcing these same “systems and practices” in a new place (Thieme 2003:125). Colonialism is when a nation exerts control over an Indigenous people outside of the colonizer’s territorial boundaries. The expansion of the colonizer, and subsequent diminishment of sovereignty of the colonized is a huge part of this process. Economic gain has been inherently intertwined with colonization for centuries, going back to the days of Roman expansion and colonization of new lands. Empires have, and will continue to seek out the highest profit and monopolies (Lenin 1975:97-101).
Food represents an example of the causes and effects of this economic narrative. For instance, the digestive systems of Europeans were accustomed to the food they ate for hundreds, or even thousands, of years. Robert J.C. Young writes, “colonization is often described by historians in terms of the transformation of the indigenous economy” (Young 2001:24). Capitalism affected the bison herds and foraging grounds, for example. Therefore, the formation of the United States has made it nearly impossible to live with the pre-colonial Native American economic system as well as their traditional sources of nutrition. This diminishes tribal sovereignty because Native American groups were—and still are—forced to participate in an economic system that was not of their choosing, underscoring how indigenous communities in America are continuing to live with the repercussions of colonialism. Moreover, “colonial institutions allocated resources in systematically uneven ways and thereby constituted the collective actors that subsequently drove development outcomes” (Mahoney 2010:266).

In the past decade historical archaeologists have acknowledged that many important Native American sites during the early reservation era are located off current tribal land holdings. Along with this statement comes the realization that many of these types of sites are not likely to be preserved as “symbols of American colonialism” in the form of “parks or historic places” (Lightfoot 2006:284). Instead, historic archaeological Native American sites can hold important information about the time of diminishing tribal sovereignty. Rubertone (2000) explains that more historical archaeological research could contribute to a better understanding of Native Americans in protohistoric and historic time frames. These studies drew from written accounts, and emphasized research topics like acculturation in the years following the advent of historical archaeology as a discipline (c. 1970s), producing a skewed understanding of the past, with overwhelming projections of Native American culture transforming, or assimilating, into
European culture. Even so, more recent research has drawn attention to European trade goods holding spiritual power (e.g., in burials), drawing attention to the fact that the use and role of trade materials could have various meanings for any given Indigenous community, most of which had nothing to do with acculturation, assimilation, or dependence (Rubertone 2000:425-430). These archaeological materials represent evidence of the ways in which “outside” material goods were integrated into one culture, as opposed to the material goods changing their culture into a Euro-American one.

These types of archaeological interpretations have the chance to address how issues like sovereignty can be threaded through every seam of culture, right down to the use of trade objects. Using specific examples such as this should be analyzed on their own accord and it is important to avoid pan-Indian assumptions and interpretations about the past. Archaeological analyses have the potential to shatter more of these stereotypical views of Native Americans; Native American historical archaeology includes evidence from the interaction between Indigenous people and European Americans.

Many historic Native American sites lie in the path of European exploration, where subsequent first meetings occurred. The Native American world has always been full of diverse peoples, and this should be accounted for when studying the material culture of their historical sites. What may seem like assimilation could mean something else because of the different ways Native Americans adapted to colonialist forces. Given this backdrop, Rubertone (2000:440-446; see also Atalay 2012) argues that the study of colonialism lies at the heart of historical archaeologies of Native Americans, specifically projects that include Native American descendant communities, and can subsequently shed light on the way their future was made. If this approach is used, and Native Americans are included in the investigative process, more
narratives of how indigenous people actively “confronted and mediated” everything dealt to them will emerge (Lightfoot 2005:181).

Instead of political control, “the control of American academia over knowledge and theory” has allowed for the continuation of active colonialism. Tripathy (2009) argues that a true postcolonial state “points to a colonial presence that is to be interrogated, and replaced by indigenous knowledges” (Tripathy 2009:46). Researchers are now pointing towards a more holistic view of colonialism and postcolonialism. It is important to adopt this concept because of the ignorance, or conscious forgetfulness of the effects of colonialism in the United States and in other countries. Marouf Hasian ends one of his short articles with a positive remark: “postcolonial criticism… provides us with [a] fruitful means of combating such forgetfulness” (Hasian 2001, 27).

This type of research is not part of a futile effort. Currently, there are tribes still seeking to be federally recognized by the United States. The process of becoming federally recognized is a near impossible task. The federal government seems to ignore the fact that these cultures had to adapt, or die, in order to survive. There seems to be a misconception that tribes are not as they were at the time of colonization and do not constitute being called a federally recognized tribe. Contesting sovereignty issues, such as this one, should not be taken lightly. This is why more researchers should continue to study the effects of colonialism on Indigenous people (Lightfoot 2005:239). Moreover, the use of video can be used as a powerful tool to combat forgetfulness and to advance sovereignty awareness. Using modern technology to express how the past has affected present-day Indigenous communities is how this postcolonial condition can be addressed to enhance educational outcomes. An exploration of how this method can be successful is essential.
Conclusions

It is interesting how America has the most postcolonial studies departments, but until recently they have not been writing on the postcolonial condition in the United States (Mackenthum 2000:34). Capitalism has encouraged “profit-motivated state violence,” and that is what postcolonial studies should aim to combat. Postcolonial studies should address the negative side effects of the legacy left behind in the wake of colonialism (San Juan 2002:28), and video can be used as an engaging, educational “antidote” for such side effects, documenting the historical realities of social injustice, among other things. Some social injustices, however, are very hard to identify because of the levels of complexity involved in concepts such as tribal sovereignty. Indigenous film has the potential to engage all of the topics addressed in this chapter in a way that can successfully educate people of all ages.

It is becoming more apparent that in order to cause a shift in what is studied by Americans today, more Indigenous people need to be trained and welcomed into the anthropological community. Linda Tuhiwai Smith is one of these calling for “researchers committed to producing research that documents social injustice, recovers subjugated knowledge, helps create spaces for the voices of the silenced to be expressed and ‘listened to,’ and that challenge racism, colonialism and oppression” (Smith 1999:198). There are some positive examples, however, involving culturally sensitive relations in government-to-government interactions. Postcolonial studies are important because they represent an intrinsic part of the history of human beings. This history is full of inequality, mistrust, and cultural exchange. Not all experiences with colonialism were outright bad, in and of themselves. For the most part, though, colonialism has dealt a negative blow to many cultures. While some cultures
have recovered, many have not.

Looking around today, it is hard to tell just how much postcolonial subject matter really affects day-to-day life in America. Globalization and capitalism have left a homogenizing affect across Earth. Many nations have either had, or are currently navigating, an era of colonialism or postcolonialism. Much of what we know today about world history includes many examples of how colonized lands have become part of other countries and nations. This history, however, is now being met with improving justice for Indigenous peoples in their relationship with their colonizers. Understanding sovereignty is important to pave the way for social justice movements and negotiations between nations.

When it comes to cultural and environmental consultations, governmental officials are legally required to consult with Native American tribes. It is important to note, as well, that tribal officials are also recognizing their power and ability to demonstrate their sovereignty in these consultations (Nissley and King 2014:120-134). It should be considered a great responsibility for U.S. Tribes to demonstrate and exercise their inherent right of sovereignty. Indigenous people are now able to easily and creatively express themselves in sovereign acts; film, especially Indigenous film, can be a legitimate way to communicate ideas within academia and the political environments of Indigenous people.
Chapter 3:
Indigenous Film and Visual Anthropology

Classroom, [film] festival, and televisual presentations of Native perspectives on legal and political issues such as affirmative action, legal and hunting rights, sovereignty and tribal recognition issues... provide a way to get these topics into the open for discussion in ways that might not otherwise be possible. Thus, Native media have the positive potential to become catalysts for social change [and] the act of making a video itself can be seen as a rhetorical act. The existence of indigenous media is an expression of the tie between visual and political self-representation (Leuthold 2001: 63, emphasis added).

Indigenous Film

There could not be a more perfect opening passage for this chapter than Steve Leuthold’s words in the epigraph above. The quotation came from Leuthold’s article, entitled, Rhetorical Dimensions of Native American Documentary. In that publication, Leuthold goes on to explain that the act of an Indigenous person creating a film is just as important as the video subject matter itself. An Anthropologist, Terence Turner, observed that Indigenous “individuals involved in the activities of camera work and editing are viewed by the Kayapo community [of Brazil, for example,] as fulfilling the prestigious role of mediator with Western society” (Turner in Leuthold 2001:64).

Elaborating on the “Rhetorical Dimensions” of Indigenous documentary film, Leuthold describes how aspects of Native American documentaries can be used to teach people about Indigenous issues in many different settings, observing how “alternative video has grown as a communication tool for political movements throughout the world” (Leuthold 2001:55). The technological advances in digital video equipment have made it easier and more affordable to
create high quality productions. Therefore, it is easier to establish an “alternative ideological framework” in contrast to “the dominant culture” (Leuthold 2001:55).

Indigenous films have a strong correlation with tribal sovereignty. The very act of creating a film as a Native American can be seen as a “rhetorical act,” meaning that this “self-representation implies selfhood distinct from the influence of foreign nations” (Leuthold 2001:57). Michelle H. Raheja describes this as Visual Sovereignty that has its basis in three ideas of sovereignty developed by Jolene Rickard, Beverly R. Singer, and Robert Allen Warrior, respectively: “expanding the boundaries of discourse around sovereignty to the arts, … cultural sovereignty… [and]… intellectual sovereignty” (Raheja 2010:194). Rickard’s idea is self-explanatory. Singer’s “cultural sovereignty” can be seen as the way in which Native American tribes can draw from their traditional practices to live productively today. Robert Allen Warrior’s idea of “intellectual sovereignty… involves critical and kinetic contemplations of what sovereignty means at different historical and paradigmatic junctures” (Raheja 2010:194).

Video can be seen as a useful place “for exploring how sovereignty can be a creative act of self-representation that has the potential to both undermine stereotypes of Indigenous peoples and to strengthen” Native American “communities in the wake of genocide and colonialism” (Raheja 2010:194). Visual sovereignty is an interdisciplinary approach that can contextualize itself in specific histories and social interactions all while serving individual tribes, depending on which tribe the filmmaker represents.

If successful, visual sovereignty in films can appeal to international audiences, which results in the spread of the knowledge of issues that affect Indigenous people, including concerns with land and the teaching and revitalization of languages. Even the technology involved in the editing process is important. A film, for instance, can be edited in a way to convey Indigenous
ideas of time and space and staged presentations of oral histories that are nearly impossible to display through written words (Raheja 2010:194, 196).

Furthermore, Raheja suggests “a discussion of visual sovereignty as a way of reimagining Native-centered articulations of self-representation and autonomy that engage the powerful ideologies of mass media but do not rely solely on the texts and contexts of Western jurisprudence” (Raheja 2010:197). This alludes to the avoidance of law jargon that was mentioned in the introduction of this thesis. In this way, sovereignty can be used to illustrate the differences between Indigenous people and immigrant populations in America; sovereignty, in this aspect, can be seen as the “attempt to survive and flourish as a people” (Raheja 2010:198).

Sovereignty was part of Native American lives well before European contact. It was the means by which Indigenous people distinguished themselves from other self-governing groups. Today, tribal sovereignty has the influence of Western ideas deeming it paradoxical. Even so, there is no problem with the paradoxical notion of sovereignty both “within and without Indigenous discourse… [noting that it] does not make it any less powerful or valid a statement of political, individual, or cultural autonomy” (Raheja 2010:198).

New technologies of videography make it possible for expressing, through self-representation, “more imaginative ways” of conveying cultural models of the “spiritual and dream world” (Raheja 2010:200). These cultural beliefs normally are not seen in legal or political proceedings involving sovereignty, though this has no bearing on the degree of interest in political arenas carried by visual sovereignty. For example, it is commonplace to see depictions of the arctic to warn about the dangers of global warming. However, it took an Indigenous film to express the fact that humans actually live in the arctic; Igloolik Isuma, an Indigenous production company located in Nunavut, Canada, created the film Atanarjuat.
Igloolik Isuma is a great example of how Indigenous film can help create autonomy. The production company’s primary goal is to serve visual sovereignty. It also serves as beneficiary to many Inuit communities in Canada:

- forging much-needed economic opportunities in depressed markets; educating younger generations alienated from community elders and tribal epistemologies through diasporic conditions; and addressing the lingering effects of colonization, natural environments in immediate peril, and high mortality, substance abuse, and incarceration rates (Raheja 2010:201).

The company also benefits the broader international Indigenous community through its online free broadcast network, Isuma TV. The online division’s mission statement includes spreading Indigenous ideas about the past, present, and future. Isuma TV sees the different ways of interacting with the world as “a human strength” (Raheja 2010:202).

Michelle Raheja’s ideas about visual sovereignty abound in the examples that could be given. Her explanations of self-representation in a world of contradicting concepts of sovereignty can show just how powerful Indigenous film can be, even in the context of political activism. Indigenous film has a lot to combat in terms of stereotypes depicted through videos over the decades. The documentary short films accompanying this M.A. thesis were grounded in similar goals to use Indigenous Film as a tool to teach non-Indigenous audiences about sovereignty and to help combat stereotypes.

**Visual Anthropology**

Academically, and in general, “we cannot dismiss the stereotypes as unimportant film portrayals because hundreds of millions of people the world over have acquired their beliefs
about North American Indians through motion pictures” (Price 1973:154). The academic world should strive to spread the truth about Native Americans and to dispel the fallacies taught in American pop culture through seemingly meaningless Spaghetti Westerns using Indigenous Film as an engaging medium.

The Society for Visual Anthropology (SVA), a subdivision of the American Anthropological Association (AAA), was founded in 1984. Their website provides a thorough description of what they stand for:

We promote the study of visual representation and media. Both research methods and teaching strategies fall within the scope of the society. SVA members are involved in all aspects of production, dissemination, and analysis of visual forms. Works in film, video, photography, and computer-based multimedia explore signification, perception, and communication-in-context, as well as a multitude of other anthropological and ethnographic themes… The Society encourages the use of media, including still photography, film, video and non-camera generated images, in the recording of ethnographic, archaeological and other anthropological genres. Members examine how aspects of culture can be pictorially/visually interpreted and expressed, and how images can be understood as artifacts of culture. Historical photographs, in particular, are seen as a source of ethnographic data, expanding our horizons beyond the reach of memory culture. *The society also supports the study of indigenous media and their grounding in personal, social, cultural and ideological contexts, and how anthropological productions can be exhibited and used more effectively in classrooms, museums*
Margaret Mead’s introduction to Volume 7 of the journal *Film Comment*, says a lot in only one paragraph. The introduction, entitled “More Smoke than Fire,” is literally only one page consisting of the title, author’s name, and one singular paragraph with a very powerful and relevant message for Indigenous Film. She begins by proclaiming that there is an unlimited amount of “controversy about ethnographic films” that centers on a simple question: “Should the ethnologist learn filmmaking or should the filmmaker learn ethnology?” (Mead 1971:34). This sparked additional questions related to my broad inquiry here: Should the Indigenous filmmaker learn anthropology; and since the benefits of Indigenous people participating in the filmmaking process have been discussed for decades, why has that very act not taken a hold in anthropological academics?

Mead goes on to posit another question about whether or not “films of scientific usefulness” and “artistic” films can be made from the same anthropological study. She even questions the very agency and intentions of the anthropologists creating films. She implies that anthropologists should actively realize the significance of their work as anthropology, “and not merely as an adjunct to the written word” (Mead 1971:34). This is an important statement because it speaks to the relevance and significance of film. Should not film, especially Indigenous Film grounded in oral history, be viewed with the same reverence as the world accepts written words on paper?

Scientific critiques of academic films abound, especially in reference to Robert Flaherty, whereas the successful scientific films that have been produced over the decades are often
ignored. The possibilities of successfully preserving Indigenous peoples’ cultures and languages across the globe are also ignored. Mead finishes her introduction with a powerful admonition:

Neither print nor [audio] tape can ever capture the essence of a culture; only film can do this, and yet it is film for which [anthropology has] hardly any resources for training and for the necessary fieldwork and post-field work processing. If we saw someone standing beside a deep lake, letting priceless, finely wrought ancient Cretan and Egyptian and Incan ornaments slip one by one into the water, there would be an outcry. But these precious records of ways of life developed through thousands of years are being let go – with hardly a murmur from the surrounding world (Mead 1971:34).

Watching cultures and languages disappear before our eyes should be reason for outcry. Preserving Native American cultures and languages should be a goal of Anthropology in America, which has its roots in salvage anthropology.

This idea of “salvage anthropology” is sometimes seen as an academically archaic way of thinking. In general, the idea behind salvage anthropology was that the Native American race was on the path to extinction, therefore salvaging as many cultures as possible was the goal. Many of the cultures studied during this era have ethnographical books in print, including The Crow Indians, written by Robert H. Lowie in 1935.

Mead’s argument, on the other hand, is focusing on the culture of individual groups being lost to the mainstream culture, which is noticeably happening. Rather than the Indigenous tribes dying out, their cultures adapted to survive (e.g., Carter et al. 2005; Carlson 2006; Wilcox 2009, 2010). Even though the modes of production have changed in tribal ways of life, the ceremonies and rituals are still viewed as vital and have evolved to include other tribal and Euro-American
influences. Beverly R. Singer said, “trusting in the older ways and adapting them to our lives in the present,” is an important aspect of imagining “cultural sovereignty” outside the confines of legal matters (Singer in Raheja 2010:194). If one combines Mead’s argument with Singer’s, there are clearly positive paths for Native Americans to envision their future by utilizing film to preserve traditional cultural knowledge and practices. This could help to create new ways of living in this world of environmental concerns and uncertainty (e.g., Tainter 2010, Rockman 2012).

The importance of Visual Anthropology and the validity of its learning value are evident from the discussion above. One of the primary goals of this thesis is to underscore Indigenous Film’s important role in defining, practicing, and teaching tribal sovereignty. Indigenous film makers creating anthropological films, therefore, could provide a unique way of expressing, teaching, and learning about Indigenous issues such as tribal sovereignty and postcolonialism.

Indigenous Film in Visual Anthropology

Films have positive applications to the disciplines of anthropology, including, for example, historical archaeology. A major part of historical archaeology involves historic, written documents and photographs with the investigation of specific archaeological sites. In some instances, archived film is available since the general guideline for dates of historical archaeology includes anything older than fifty years; video cameras have been in use for well over fifty years. Native American sites that fall in the date ranges of early interactions with European-Americans often have written records in the form of journals, logbooks, ledgers, letters, and government agent correspondence, associated with them. In some cases, film is among the archival sources associated with these sites. An anthropological film integrating
archaeological data, historic photographs, historic video, and Native American involvement in the production, would make contributions toward understanding what colonialism really means in American history and in the history of Indigenous people.

An example of Indigenous people directly involved in Anthropological video production comes from a 1966 study by Worth and Adair with the Navajo. In 1966, the Navajo Film Project culminated in Sol Worth and John Adair’s “seminal work,” entitled, *Through Navajo Eyes*, “as well as seven short films produced by Navajo filmmakers” (Peterson 2013:29). Worth, a communications scholar, and Adair, an anthropologist, set out to teach Navajo people “only the technical aspects of filming… not the dominant film aesthetics and conventions of the time” (Peterson 2013:29). This was done because they wanted to see what an unaltered perspective depicted in film looked like for the Navajo.

The seven films, collectively entitled *Navajo Film Themselves*, are important because they convey many things. First, an implication can be made that this type of project could arguably be done in any Indigenous community throughout North America with mostly positive results. Some criticisms of this study can be overlooked because “[to] view the original filmmakers and films as pawns or products of a colonial experiment, or in terms of Western filmic aesthetics and genres, is to deny agency to the seven participants and the community as a whole” (Peterson 2013:37).

The Navajo experience with these films in the 1960s shows that the project was more than just an academic study; the films have become “a part of local Navajo histories” (Peterson 2013:30). When these films were shown to the same Navajo community in 2011, it was the result of the University of Pennsylvania Museum Film Archives, the Library of Congress, and the Navajo Nation Museum, all working together. The films were returned, new relationships were
made with institutions, and the development of future work with the films occurred. These examples represent a transition to what Raheja calls “visual sovereignty” (Peterson 2013:30).

The Navajo filmmakers did not see their films as “ethnographic” data. Rather they saw the films’ value for ordinary and practical purposes. The participants chose topics that could potentially benefit their culture: “… a way to earn money, a documentation of their daily lives, … a way to market jewelry and rugs,” and so on (Peterson 2013:31). However, even the observations of the audiences during the screenings did hold anthropological value. One of the major actions done by audience members was simply laughing. By focusing on what the audience laughed at, “gulfs and chasms between those with shared sociality and those without” were revealed (Peterson 2013:35). In other words, Navajo-specific elements fostered an intimate relationship between the films and the Navajo audience. This intimacy, therefore, could not be replicated with someone who grew up non-Navajo. Analyzing and “understanding affective bonds and contextualizing diverse audience reactions are integral to the emergence and further development of visual sovereignty” (Peterson 2013:35).

Native Americans can take this example with the Navajo and apply it to their specific tribes. These kinds of films can be part of the overall postcolonial image and self-representational video depictions that define “the resignification of [Indigenous] concerns in film” (Peterson 2013:30). Steps toward visual sovereignty can be taken through Visual Anthropology “with contemporary cultural producers directly engaging their mediated past [and] rearticulating the meanings, uses of once-colonized imagery” and “would certainly take teaching and learning into new directions” (Peterson 2013:36).
Using Film in Education

Using film in educational settings helps to build more complete understandings of the subject matter. Films about Indigenous people have the potential to help children and teens, for example, learn early in their life about different perspectives. A journal article written in 2014 by Jeremy Stoddard, Alan Marcus, and David Hicks argues for the positive advantages of using Indigenous Film in high school classes. They display that the common popular belief that “history is written by the victors” is also prevalent when it comes to the depiction of history in film. The primary focal point for their paper is showing that Indigenous Film has the potential to be a great catalyst for students to learn parts of history that are often disregarded, primarily relating to Indigenous peoples’ experiences (Stoddard et al. 2014:9-10).

Stoddard, Marcus, and Hicks, representing the History “side of campus,” help to create an interdisciplinary insight on the subject of this thesis. Before a more detailed look into their conclusions is done, a passage from their journal article published in The History Teacher gives a clear overview of how using Indigenous Film in educational settings is important:

The value both for indigenous peoples as well as for the rest of the world is the knowledge that can be learned and preserved from indigenous peoples, both of the past as well as scientific, environmental, agricultural, and cultural or spiritual knowledge. It is this knowledge and worldview that presents so much potential for indigenous film production to provide rich and powerful learning opportunities for the classroom (Stoddard 2014:12).

A good and thorough education is seen as an indivisible right in America. Virtually every child in America, and in many other countries, makes their way through learning institutions,
generation after generation. If a new way of presenting truth is found, schools should be willing
to improve how and what students are learning.

Central to this idea of Indigenous Film in the classroom is how the genre should be
examined; the concept, “burden of historical representation,” is developed “as a model for
examining how well films represent the pasts and perspectives of historically marginalized
groups” (Stoddard 2014:15). Mainstream films have a near impossible chance to carry this
burden because of the culture of the movie industry and its primary goal of making money.
Therefore, analyzing all aspects of production (who made it, who funded it, etc.) is important,
not only the final product. A major production aspect of film that is often overlooked is the
“views and contexts of the time and place it is produced” (Stoddard 2014:16, 30).

The article goes on to analyze four fiction films, none of which will be directly addressed
in this thesis. Though the films analyzed were fiction, the ideas expressed can easily be applied
to documentary film as well. The research in the article

has shown the rich historical perspectives of indigenous peoples [that] are filled
with themes and perspectives that not only could lead to a more nuanced
understanding of the complexity of history, but could also develop critical media
literacy skills and aspects of citizenship around issues of diversity, justice, and
inclusion (Stoddard et al. 2014:34).

The issues addressed above should not be confined to a high school classroom; Indigenous Film
can help present the Native American experience in professional settings, such as on the job
training. The Stoddard et al. article has an example of an Indigenous film allegedly being shown
for officer training at the Pentagon in 2003 preparing for the conflict in Afghanistan (Stoddard et
al. 2014:30). The next chapter describes the contexts around four short films that were created by
an Indigenous film-making anthropology graduate student for the purpose of exposing Native American issues to U.S. Air Force Base personnel.
Chapter 4:  
A Case Study of Indigenous Film in Visual Anthropology

The rhetorical qualities of Native media are those that invite or urge us to empathize with the point of view of the Native speaker (Leuthold 2001:56).

Introduction

In the summer of 2014, I joined a project on the campus of the University of Montana. Being a graduate student I began employment as a research assistant with the goal of using my experience on that project as a topic for my M.A. thesis. The goal of the project, which was part of a larger Army Corps of Engineers contract with the Center for Integrated Research on the Environment, was to develop a training manual for United States Air Force (USAF) bases to help improve the relationships with the tribes impacted by USAF activities. Affected tribal nations include those on reservation lands bordering USAF bases, and those with ancestral claims to the land now occupied by the U.S. Air Force. I will be referring to this project by its internal title, Task Order 002 (TO 002).

Over the first few weeks of involvement in the project a clear objective was defined as part of my duties; I was to create several short film documentaries to help educate Air Force personnel on Native American issues and perspectives. The idea stemmed from my experience of making short films in the past and a suggestion from the Air Force that multimedia avenues could be utilized. This led to my personal discovery of the ways films can be a viable means for expressing anthropological ideas.

The process of creating these videos included making a list of potential interviewees, ordering camera and audio equipment, and scheduling the interviews. Completing an online
human subjects course was also required as well as completing an application that was approved by the campus Internal Review Board (IRB). The documentation from the IRB process is included in Appendix B. The IRB concluded that my project was exempt but still maintained that the interviewees read and sign consent forms. As part of the project budget, the interviewees were also awarded a monetary honorarium for their time in assisting with the project.

I proposed a list of potential people to interview in one of our weekly TO 002 meetings. From this list we agreed on who would be beneficial to hear from. To secure times and locations for filming the interviews I contacted each person by email and/or phone calls. I then drafted the questions to ask and got them approved. To perform the interviews I traveled to the Northern Cheyenne Reservation, the Crow Reservation, the Flathead Reservation, the town of Hardin, Montana, and the University of Montana campus in Missoula, Montana. After arriving at a location I essentially served as the producer, director, camera operator, sound engineer, and editor. The process of recording and editing these films included months of work. The complete transcriptions of the four videos can be found in Appendix A.

Creating the Short Films

These individuals were interviewed for the TO 002 videos: Alvin Windy Boy, James Walks Along, Conrad Fisher, Emerson Bull Chief, Gerald “Jay” Harris, Anna Whiting-Sorrell, Aaron Brien, and Leon Stewart. Every person interviewed is a member, or citizen, of a Native American tribe of Montana. I attend the University of Montana and I have lived in the state of Montana my whole life, therefore I chose to interview tribal people from Montana. Another reason for this was budget and time restraints.
Alvin Windy Boy is a member of the Chippewa-Cree tribe located on the Rocky Boy Reservation in central Montana. He is currently the Tribal Historic Preservation Officer and CEO of the Chippewa-Cree Cultural Resource Preservation Department. Windy Boy has established an active Tribal Cultural program that routinely partakes in consultation activities with federal, and state, agencies. He is a grandfather to many grandchildren and has their future in his thoughts when working for his people.

James Walks Along is the former Tribal Historic Preservation Officer for the Northern Cheyenne Tribe. One of his main goals is to have the tribal voice recognized in government-to-government interactions on the topic of the grizzly bear delisting issue.

Conrad Fisher is currently the Vice-President of the Northern Cheyenne Tribe located in Montana. He has previously served as the Tribal Historic Preservation Officer for the Northern Cheyenne Tribe.

Emerson Bull Chief is currently operating his own firm, 7 Bison Cultural Consulting, LLC. He was the previous Crow Tribal Historic Preservation Officer. He recently received his Ph.D. degree in American Studies from Montana State University.

Gerald “Jay” Harris is a member of the Crow Tribe and is currently serving as the Big Horn County Attorney of Montana. He was previously the attorney for the Crow Tribal Legislative Branch. His views on tribal sovereignty come from his background as an Indigenous person who thoroughly studies Native American law.

Anna Whiting-Sorrell is a member of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes of the Flathead Reservation located in northwest Montana. She is currently the Director of Operations, Policy, and Planning for the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribal Health Department.
Aaron Brien is a Crow tribal member who has recently received his Master of Arts degree in Anthropology from the University of Montana. He is currently an instructor of Tribal Historic Preservation for the Native American Studies department at Salish Kootenai College on the Flathead Reservation. Aaron has a passion for learning and preserving the Crow cultural life ways and has worked on important cultural projects including a National Geographic photography camp for Crow tribal youth and documenting archaeological fasting sights in the Pryor Mountains of Montana.

Leon Stewart is a Crow tribal member and a United States military veteran. He has utilized the discipline from being in the Marines to become a successful businessman while still maintaining his respect for cultural traditions.

Everyone interviewed in the films has a unique perspective all framed in lives experienced as an Indigenous person. I, too, am a Native American, a member of the Apsáalooke Nation, also known as the Crow Tribe. Every decision in the creative process, as a filmmaker, ultimately comes from the perspective of an Indigenous person. A Native American filming other Native Americans on Native American issues can be seen as an act of tribal sovereignty, as was discussed in detail in Chapter 3 of this thesis.

Analyzing the Short Films

Making these videos involved editing together different sections of individual interviews and trimming their whole interview down to the specific and most pertinent statements on the questions I am trying to answer. The completed four short films focused on one question each and are outlined in the analyses below. Rather than end each film summary with a “conclusion-
Defining Tribal Sovereignty:

In the short film, *Defining Tribal Sovereignty*, I ask the broad question of, “What is Tribal Sovereignty?” The learning objective of this video was to express the many aspects of tribal sovereignty. The video, therefore gives a chance for numerous people to express their personal ideas of what sovereignty means in a condensed manner.

To begin the video, James Walks Along uses a phrase that is often times inseparable from the concept of tribal sovereignty: “inherent right.” This concept is touched upon at the end of the video with Anna Whiting-Sorrell’s observation that treaties would have not been negotiated without the fact that Native American tribes were indeed sovereign.

Gerald Harris, who is a lawyer, seemed to draw upon the legal and political aspects of the act of making laws and being “governed by them.” Harris argues that tribes have a history of “cultural standards and norms” that could be seen as laws because those cultural rules had the same effect of governing how individuals interacted with one another. Conrad Fisher’s input on the subject, although simple, is definitely an acknowledgment that should be made when discussing sovereignty. He says that there are many perspectives to think about besides just a political one. The other perspectives include legal, environmental, and cultural.

Emerson Bull Chief’s statement about sovereignty “that is given to us,” alludes to the fact that Native American tribes are not living in the traditional “symbiotic” way. Some may see this as a direct contradiction to the “inherent right” concept brought up by Anna Whiting-Sorrell. I believe that both ideas can be true, because Native American tribes did practice sovereignty style” statement and influence readers’ perspectives, I wanted my analyses simply to guide readers to consider the impacts of the Indigenous voices on the topics being presented.
before contact, and still are sovereign nations. Some may argue, however, that the changes to the environment, such as the reduction of the bison population, does not permit Native Americans to practice pre-contact sovereignty, but a quasi-sovereignty “given” to us by the United States as legal descriptions.

_The Road to Meaningful Consultation:_

This film addressed the question, “How can government-to-government interactions improve between United States government agencies and Native American tribes?” Since I am studying under the field of Anthropology, I chose to interview many tribal officials involved in cultural resource management. In this field, there are a lot of examples from consultation in reference to archaeology. The interviews in this video display a common positive outlook for the future improvements in governmental relationships with Indigenous populations.

Anna Whiting-Sorrell starts off by bringing up the point that Native Americans should be involved in decision-making processes, rather than have decision made for them. This seems like an obvious statement but it is worth pointing out. Aaron Brien then discusses how Indigenous people should not be seen as “resources.” They should be viewed as partners in the process of defining the terms involved in the descriptions of cultural resources, such as “ethnographic landscapes.”

Jay Harris discusses his thoughts about how federal agencies should address problems with consultation while keeping tribal sovereignty in mind. He also brings up an interesting topic that could be addressed with future research; when federal agencies are dealing with Native American tribes they are often times dealing with the “Tribal Governments.” Alvin Windy Boy discusses the simple ways in which consultation can be improved. He suggests periodic informal
meetings over coffee or lunch where discussions on Native American perspectives can take place.

Crow Veteran:

This video is unique in comparison to the other three videos in this study; Crow Veteran is a film based off of one interview with Leon Stewart, an Apsáalooke (Crow) veteran of the U.S. Marine Corps. The primary reason for the creation of these films was, of course, to supplement a training package for the U.S. Air Force. My thought process included the idea that by interviewing a Native American veteran, military service could symbolize a common denominator between the Air Force personnel and Stewart. But of course, his words come from the perspective of an Indigenous person.

Stewart saw the military as one of a very limited number of opportunities for a Native American high school graduate in 1987; he thought, “college was for rich, smart, white people and [he] was none of the above.” He relates his ranking as a scout-observer with the history of Crow warriors serving as “scouts” for the U.S. military in the 1870s.

Native ideas about land and landscape conveyed through video have political applications for Indigenous rights (Leuthold 2001:61). Leon Stewart describes how the Crow people have fasted in specific locations throughout history and into today. Stewart’s description of important places and the role they play in Crow culture shows an intimate understanding of how ceremonies are crucial to life. His experience with ceremonies played an integral role in his successful and healthy return to civilian life.
**Warrior People:**

This film revolves around questioning if the warrior traditions of many Native American tribes can benefit Indigenous relationships with the U.S. military. *Warrior People* begins with singing by Aaron Brien. The song is called “Goes Ahead’s Song.” This song is a traditional Crow song that was written in honor of Goes Ahead, a renowned Crow warrior. The song is translated with text in the video: “Goes Ahead, many have heard the shots of your gun - what you have done is a great thing.” It was common practice for prominent warrior to have songs written about them to sing at public gatherings. Today, this type of song is sung in public gatherings for the honoring of a descendant of whom the song was composed for.

The song begins to shape a picture of how Native American people have positively viewed military service in their traditional cultures. Many of the statements made by the interviewees allude to a transferring of the honor in traditional warrior activities to service in the U.S. military. The high proportional percentage rates of enlisted soldiers, in terms of Native American population size, is also brought up multiple times. Jay Harris concludes the video with a statement about how Native Americans will continue to use cultural traditions of fighting for their people as a “legitimizing factor” for joining the armed forces of the United States, and “that is something all American Indians can be very proud of.”

**Air Force Trial Training**

The main goal of Task Order 002 was to create a training manual for Air Force base personnel. A main component of this was the inclusion of a Computer Based Training (CBT) slideshow presentation that could be read through individual or group training sessions. The four films I created were embedded into the CBT to be viewed by the trainees.
In February of 2016 a trial training for USAF Tribal Relations was held on the University of Montana campus. Various Air Force employees and officials were invited and attended the trial training. It was called a “trial training” because it was a preliminary presentation of what was still being developed for the Air Force. Tribal officials also attended to ensure that tribal voices were included in the event. Their opinion and input was needed because this program was for the benefit of both the Air Force and the tribes with whom they are developing relationships and with whom they are legally required to consult. In all, thirty-eight guests attended the event.

Included in the trial training was an introduction to the training manual, training exercises to be done at other Air Force trainings, and the presentation of my films at various times throughout the two-day event. Personally, I received numerous examples of positive feedback through conversation with the participants in attendance. These four short films are but a few examples of how Indigenous Film in Visual Anthropology can benefit learning outcomes for both non-Indigenous and Indigenous viewers.
Chapter 5: 
Conclusions and Future Research

...if we cannot look toward the future to imagine new possibilities and solutions for a history... marred with fear, violence, institutional discrimination, and deep-seated ambivalence, then where else? (Nama 2008:172)

Conclusions

Visual sovereignty is an interdisciplinary approach that can contextualize itself in specific histories and social interactions all while serving individual tribes, depending on which tribe the filmmaker represents. Indigenous Film has a way of portraying cultural ideas that written words cannot. With the advent and continuing growth of Visual Anthropology, film is becoming an important way to improve learning outcomes in a variety of settings. Margaret Mead brought the discipline of anthropology to the masses with her explorations of film in academia. Although there are many criticisms of her work, she ultimately demonstrated that film was a useful tool in attracting attention to the importance of anthropological thought. Indigenous film makers learning anthropological thought and applying it in the medium of film could provide useful ways of teaching and learning about Indigenous issues such as tribal sovereignty and postcolonialism.

A film can also be edited in creative ways to convey Indigenous ideas of time and space that are nearly impossible to display through written words (Raheja 2010:194, 196). The possibilities of creating films that depict enacted oral histories are endless. These films can educate audiences about Indigenous history, philosophy, religion, and will even aid in language preservation efforts.
Language is a powerful transmitter of culture. Often times, there are no words to translate important conceptual words that are critical in certain cultures. Colonized people have special challenges to revitalize Indigenous language. A writer, for example, who switches to writing in a native language, confronts a complex linguistic dilemma; there are pressures involved that are not present if an English speaker writes in English. When an Indigenous language is written, it often carries an English organization. This fact has many implications on the conservation of said Indigenous language. This is the ongoing dilemma with the colonized that should not be overlooked by postcolonial theorists (Nagy-Zekmi 2007:130).

Indigenous languages have been under attack since colonization began, with the conquering culture’s language eventually and systematically becoming more prevalent than the Indigenous one. Walsh discusses things that have stemmed from this language colonization in his article. Issues with preserving Indigenous languages range from defining what an Indigenous language is to sign language, and even cultural practices that inhibit language revitalization efforts. For example, the Igar language is facing problems from “a strict taboo on conversation between opposite-sex siblings” (Walsh 2005:297). By creating a film in the Igar language, the taboos can be bypassed because they will witness conversations as an observer.

The benefits of Indigenous Film and Visual Anthropology have represented more prevalently in the past decade. Examples include how films about Indigenous people, even of the fiction genre, can improve the learning outcomes in classrooms. The subjects of history, political science, Native American studies, and anthropology could all benefit from the inclusion of more multimedia, especially film. Expressions of Visual Sovereignty can infiltrate their way into Visual Anthropology to provide a productive learning environment to discuss complex issues like tribal sovereignty.
The Future of “Future” Research

The concept of sovereignty in general involves aspects of the other and the separation that exists between two or more mutual others. In order to solve problems in our current American culture there needs to be an acknowledgement that humans have all come from the same place. We do not have to go as far back as the separation of the evolutionary branches. If only we can all agree intellectually, academically, and socially that all cultures on earth have a common history of egalitarianism or hunting and gathering at one time in our individual ancestries. In this sense, the known Indigenous cultures of the contemporary world merely have a shorter distance of separation from a hunter-gatherer, egalitarian past. Many conflicts have been born out of focusing on these differences.

Throughout 2016 and into the beginning of 2017 Indigenous peoples from across North America joined the Standing Rock Sioux tribe to protest the construction of an oil pipeline, the Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL). During that time, a form of Indigenous Film on social media occurred and it made a big impact on American culture. The DAPL is proposed to be a 1,134-mile long pipeline that will run through North Dakota, South Dakota, Iowa, and Illinois. Indigenous peoples and their allies engaged in a months-long standoff with an oil company, their mercenaries, and regional law enforcement personnel. The protests were seemingly the result of a failed consultation process where the Standing Rock Sioux tribe felt their opinion had no bearing in the approval of the pipeline. In the midst of this political demonstration, a form of live Indigenous film broadcasting occurred across several multimedia platforms, mainly Facebook, documenting injustices while they occurred.
I personally witnessed several live broadcasts of video during protest activities. Both non-Indigenous and Indigenous filmmakers contributed to these “Facebook Live” videos. Some even had a television-news format reaching into views of the thousands. No matter who was making the videos, these were all examples of Indigenous film, because the videos featured Indigenous people demonstrating on behalf of their sovereign rights to decide what will affect their reservation lands and the important cultural landscapes that exceed the boundaries of their reservations. Shooting film to spread information in this manner will surely be used again in the future.

An article that directly addresses the future is entitled, “Decolonizing Encounters of the Third Kind: Alternative Futuring in Native Science Fiction Film.” William Lempert, the author, focuses mainly on the concept of indigenous futurism. He also elaborates on the importance of science fiction film. Lempert’s article begins with a very succinct Arthur C. Clarke quote about the genre of science fiction being “more concerned with real issues” than commonly thought (Clarke in Lempert 2014:164). One of the most important arguments he makes is the statement that although imagining the future will always be considered fiction, it does have a place in anthropological discourse. This thesis, in a way, serves as evidence how the following statement is valid: the “need for continued theorizing [and] scholarship on Native science fiction will be able to draw from and creatively contribute… to established anthropological scholarship on science fiction and the future” (Lempert 2014:173).

David Valentine writes in his article from the *Anthropological Quarterly*, that anthropologists should “engage [the] future” because it “opens up possibilities we may not have thought of” (Valentine 2012:1065). One way anthropologists can start engaging the future is by asking the elders of Indigenous communities about their knowledge of “deep cultural futures,”
which would provide “possible roadmaps for younger generations” (Lempert 2014:173). After all, the goal of the anthropologist should be to study the human condition, both past and present, in order to understand thoroughly what the future of the human race can look like. These ideas about “futuring” are becoming more prevalent in anthropological thought (Voss in press). In a future imagined through film, literature, and anthropology, the Indigenous people of America can finally begin to reacquaint themselves with true sovereignty after centuries of colonialism. With this thesis as a template for successful educational outcomes, the possibility for a career in the study of Indigenous Film in Visual Anthropology is promising.
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societyforvisualanthropology.org

Stoddard, Jeremy, Alan Marcus, and David Hicks  

Tainter, J.A.  

Thieme, John  

Tripathy, Jyotirmay  
Valentine, David

Voss, Barbara L.

Walsh, Michael

Wilcox, M.V.


Wilkins, David E.

Young, Robert J.C.
Defining Tribal Sovereignty

James Walks Along, former Northern Cheyenne Tribal Historic Preservation Officer: Tribal sovereignty, like you said, is a broad subject. It means that we have an inherent right to conduct things that are important to us as a nation. And we independently, we will call our subjects of interest, what interests us, we expound upon it as our tribal rights to see that it is honored.

Gerald “Jay” Harris, Big Horn County Attorney, Montana: Tribal sovereignty is the ability of Indian tribes to make law, or to make rules, and to be governed by them, to the exclusion of other sovereigns. The concept of tribal sovereignty derives from the history of tribes as self-governing entities; distinct identifiable groups of people that had rules, cultural standards and norms, that we could draw equivalency today to laws, that governed the relationship that members of the tribe had with each other.

Conrad Fisher, Northern Cheyenne Tribal Council Member: Sovereignty, I think, encompasses many different aspects. We can look at it from a legal perspective; we can look at it from an environmental perspective, a political perspective, a cultural perspective. So it entails all that and I think many times we think about the political aspect of what sovereignty means.

Emerson Bull Chief, Crow Tribal Historic Preservation Officer: I know the type of sovereignty that was prior to European contact, we didn’t really own the land, the land owned us.
So in that sense we were governed by the landscape, the environment, the community of where we grew up, which included not just other people, but animals, landscape, and environmental factors. … True sovereignty would be a return back to that symbiotic relationship that we experienced with all of the cosmos. So today, I don’t really feel like the sovereignty that is given to us is true sovereignty.

Anna Whiting-Sorrell, Confederated Salish & Kootenai Tribal Health Department: It is something that we inherently have as tribal people of the Confederate Salish & Kootenai Tribes. Something no one can take away from us. … It’s up to us to implement that. And so sometimes when I hear people say, “Well, that would diminish our tribal sovereignty.” If we were to say we’re going to enter into a relationship with the state of Montana, I would argue it’s the exact opposite. The more times that we can get other governments and other entities to acknowledge our sovereignty, our ability to govern ourselves as a people, the stronger our sovereignty is. I’ve had a chance to work in a lot of different places and I think people forget that it isn’t something that the United States government gave us in our treaties; it is something that we had before the treaties were ever negotiated or signed. They wouldn’t have signed treaties with us if we weren’t sovereign.

The Road to Meaningful Consultation

Anna Whiting-Sorrell, Confederated Salish & Kootenai Tribal Health Department: I think the most important thing that we can, as Indian people, now ask for is to be at the tables where decisions are being made for Indians. The time has come that decisions aren’t being made for Indians, but with Indians.
Aaron Brien, Crow Tribal Member and Anthropologist: You associate this land with a tribe and then they answer [a] question. And that’s where I think you put tribes in the driver’s seat and that’s also where you get them involved in the process. And therefore, they feel like they got a helping hand. You’re giving them a helping hand, which is ultimately going to help the resource. I mean, that’s what consultation is supposed to do. So, we get them involved in the process of defining cultural landscape, defining cultural resource, defining heritage … defining ethnographic landscape. All that stuff. Defining it, the tribes have to be not a resource to us, but a partner. We can’t look at tribes as resources.

Gerald “Jay” Harris, Big Horn County Attorney: How the federal agencies recognize those types of problems and deal with them affectively while recognizing tribal sovereignty is one of the key issues, I believe, that agencies need to address, and need to do so in a way that is going to be productive with the tribes. There’s always a balance; we’re talking about working with tribes because we’re talking about, really, working with tribal governments.

Alvin Windy Boy, Sr., Rocky Boy Reservation Tribal Historic Preservation Officer: Communicating, talk to me. Talk to me, and I will give you another perspective on how to proceed, particularly as it relates to the Chippewa-Cree tribes in Montana. And every tribe should be saying that because my difference might be different from the Crows or the Cheyenne’s or the Blackfeet’s. It’s just having the ability to sit down with them and communicate. Come share coffee, buy us lunch, walk with us and we’ll show you another perspective on how that environment looks. Look through my eyes when you look at the country.
James Walks Along, former Northern Cheyenne Tribal Historic Preservation Officer: 13175, “Consultation with tribes is paramount.” It has to take place. So that’s where we’re at with that and I utilized this 13175 on the grizzly delisting issue. And presently, the federal agency, the Fish and Wildlife, has contacted my office and we’re going to set up a government-to-government consultation. It has gone up the ladder. As a matter of fact, the beginning of next month I will be in Washington D.C. to meet with officials … to discuss this grizzly bear issue. 13175 plays an important role to help with our Section 106 in consultations.

Anna Whiting-Sorrell, Confederated Salish & Kootenai Tribal Health Department: I think what we’ve learned through that long history that you described is that when people are doing something for us, it’s not going to work. We have to be doing it for ourselves. And we can. Talented individuals, educated individuals all up and down this country. And so it’s about engaging us in [the] meaningful decision making and allowing us to sit at the table where decisions are made.

Crow Veteran

Leon Stewart, Crow Tribal member and Veteran: My name is Leon Stewart. I grew up as Leon Old Elk on the Crow Reservation. My Crow name is Akchawakiialakkuash, “One Who Goes Out And Prays Often. I grew up, like I said, on the Crow Reservation and graduated from Harding High School in 1987. From there I joined the Marine Corps. One of the things that I thought about: a lot of my classmates, a lot of my friends wanted to join the service and some
wanted to go to college. I didn’t think I had the intellect to go to college; I always thought it was for rich, smart, white people. And I was none of the above.

I spent eight years in the Marine Corps. My first four years with an infantry unit called Second Battalion Marines, Gulf Company. I was with the weapons platoon. And that’s who I went to the Persian Gulf War with and was part of Task Force Papa Bear and Task Force Grizzly. And my last four years I was with a unit, a specialized unit, airborne unit, called ANGLCO: Air Naval Gunfire Liaison Company. In the Marine Corps there’s only a few airborne units and was fortunate to be part of an airborne unit. One of the unique things about being with ANGLCO was we [became] scouts, scout observers. One of my great-great-grandfathers was a scout for Custer, Curley. I thought that was pretty neat that later in life that I’d become a scout just like my great-great-grandfather.

And when I came back … they told me that, “They’re gonna great you.” I just thought my family was gonna be there. And then when I was going to get off the airplane, they told me to stay back because there’s a lot of people there. But what a powerful welcome that was there. All my elders that were alive at the time were there. They sang these songs for me, they sang these welcoming songs for me. They said all these prayer songs for me. A majority of those elders aren’t there today, but a lot of my family still is.

And sometimes people talk about seeing things that they probably shouldn’t have seen, or seeing things that most people shouldn’t see or deal with. Yeah, I can share some war stories that way but I’m not going to get in to that, but it is true. What was happening at that moment, the welcoming, is the beginning of a healing process of what we had gone through. And it takes time. Rather than going to counseling, rather than seeing a doctor, or being put in a hospital, our ceremonies do that for us: our sweat lodges, our fasting, our sun dances, our clan mothers, our
clan fathers, our different societies, all that is still alive and well amongst our people. That’s what heals us.

One of my uncles was just here this past week and he named one of my sons with his name. And he talks about these sacred mountains that are off our reservation, the Crazy Mountains, Aalaxaaweepia. With these Crazy Mountains, there’s history, I guess there’s documentation there that shows that Plenty Coups fasted there, Old Crow fasted there, and numerous others, Bell Rock. I could probably go on and on that all these folks have fasted there. And to this day there’s still people that are making that trek up there to fast. And he was one of them that did that and he named my son with his experience there. And just because we are now restricted to our reservations, does that mean that’s all we get to live on? No, there’s all these other sacred sites that are all over the United States that are beyond the boundaries of our reservations.

And if you think about all the wars that you can think of, I’m not a history buff, but if you look back on all the battles, all the different skirmishes, the history of the United States and the military, Native people have always been a part of that. And I know there’s different statistics that are out there per race … I think our numbers are way up there. And we’re part of every single battle. And the thing is we sit there and there’s no wonder why we’ve never forgotten our veterans in our prayers, our warriors.

**Warrior People**

The beginning contains a traditional Crow song used to express the prestige of Goes Ahead, a Crow warrior who was a scout for General Custer during the Battle of the Little Big
Horn. Translation of the song, which is in the Crow language, is displayed on the screen: Goes Ahead, many have heard the shots from your gun. What you have done is a great thing.

Anna Whiting-Sorrell, Confederated Salish & Kootenai Tribal Health Department: I think that we are only as strong going forward as we are when we remember our past. My uncles and the generations before me certainly served in our military. We as Indian people serve at a higher rate than any other population in this country. I can remember [when I was] young, and my great uncles coming home and talking about their military service. So from the time I was a little girl, I know how important it was that we served this country. And we have done it under circumstances that other groups didn’t. I had an uncle that was shot many times [in WWII] and came home and would go into a bar and the bar would say, “We don’t serve dogs and Indians.” And yet here he had been in World War II.

James Walks Along, former Northern Cheyenne Tribal Historic Preservation Officer: The Northern Cheyenne were noted for their skills in warfare. And throughout history we’ve had many veterans that have served in some of the major conflicts in the world: in World War I, World War II, the Korean, and the Vietnam conflict, and as of today, the conflict that’s going on in the Middle East, Desert Storm, Afghanistan. Just recently we honored the lady veterans of these conflicts with a Cheyenne Flag Song. And it has been only sung about three or four times in public. So that tells you what we’re about.

Gerald “Jay” Harris, Big Horn County Attorney, Montana: Tribal members have served knowing that they’re fighting for the United States, but they’re also fighting for their tribe,
they’re fighting for their home, they’re fight for they’re homeland. They’re fighting for integrity even though the United States doesn’t have a sparkling history of just treatment of Indian Tribes. You’ve got tribal members that have taken up arms in defense of the United States and in defense of their own tribes. To me, that is something that should resonate. Warring tribes, militaristic societies, the Crow tribe was a militaristic society, that is something that continues today, but in the form of military service in the United States armed forces. So I think it is something that can and should be drawn upon heavily as we move into the future because those same principles that have served as a legitimizing basis for American Indian service in the military will continue in the future, for the foreseeable future. And that’s something that I think all American Indian veterans and, in fact, all American Indians can be very proud of.
## Appendix B:

**Institutional Review Board (IRB) Documentation**

Form RA-108 (Rev. 09/13)

**THE UNIVERSITY OF MONTANA-MISSOULA**

Institutional Review Board (IRB)  
for the Protection of Human Subjects in Research

**CHECKLIST / APPLICATION**

At the University of Montana (UM), the Institutional Review Board (IRB) is the institutional review body responsible for oversight of all research activities involving human subjects outlined in the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services’ Office of Human Research Protection and the National Institutes of Health, Inclusion of Children Policy Implementation.

**Instructions:** A separate application form must be submitted for each project. IRB proposals are approved for no longer than one year and must be continued annually (unless Exempt). Faculty and students may email the completed form as a Word document to IRB@umontana.edu, or submit a hardcopy to the Office of the Vice President for Research & Creative Scholarship, University Hall 116. Student applications must be accompanied by email authorization by the supervising faculty member or a signed hard copy. All fields must be completed. If an item does not apply to this project, write in: n/a.

### 1. Administrative Information

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Details</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Project Title</td>
<td>US Army Corps of Engineers-UM Contract, Task Order 0002, Tribal Relations Training</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Principal Investigator:** Kelly Dixon  
**UM Position:** Professor  
**Department:** Anthropology  
**Office location:** SS 244  
**Work Phone:** 406-243-5681  
**Cell Phone:** 612-247-6414

**All Research Team Members** (list yourself first)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Email</th>
<th>Date Completed</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kelly Dixon</td>
<td><a href="mailto:kelly.dixon@mso.umt.edu">kelly.dixon@mso.umt.edu</a></td>
<td>4/1/2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martin Lopez</td>
<td><a href="mailto:zion.noiz@yahoo.com">zion.noiz@yahoo.com</a></td>
<td>6/24/2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicholas Shankle</td>
<td><a href="mailto:nicholas.shankle@umconnect.umt.edu">nicholas.shankle@umconnect.umt.edu</a></td>
<td>1/26/2015</td>
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<tr>
<td>Katie Stevens Goidich and Bethany Hauer (staff)</td>
<td><a href="mailto:katie.stevens@mso.umt.edu">katie.stevens@mso.umt.edu</a>; <a href="mailto:bethany.hauer@mso.umt.edu">bethany.hauer@mso.umt.edu</a></td>
<td>6/20/2015, KSG; 6/15/2015, BH</td>
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### 2. Human Subjects Protection Training

(All researchers, including faculty supervisors for student projects, must have completed a self-study course on protection of human research subjects within the last three years [http://www.umt.edu/research/complianceinfo/IRB/] and be able to supply the “Certificate(s) of Completion” upon request. If you need to add rows for more people, contact the IRB office for assistance.)

**Project Title:** US Army Corps of Engineers-UM Contract, Task Order 0002, Tribal Relations Training

**Package**

- **PI**
- **CO-PI**
- **Faculty Supervisor**
- **Research Assistant**

**DATE COMPLETED Human Subjects Protection Course**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<td>6/20/2015, KSG; 6/15/2015, BH</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3. Project Funding

(If federally funded, you must submit a copy of the abstract.)

For UM-IRB Use Only
IRB Determination:

____ Not Human Subjects Research

____ Approved by Exempt Review, Category # ______ (see memo) ______ Approved by Expedited
Review, Category # ______ (see Note to PI) ______ Full IRB Determination

____ Approved (see Note to PI)

____ Conditional Approval (see memo) - IRB Chair Signature/Date: __________________________

____ Conditions Met (see Note to PI)

____ Resubmit Proposal (see memo) Risk Level: ________________________  ______ Disapproved (see memo)

IRB Protocol No.: ________________

Is grant application currently under review at a grant funding agency? Yes (If yes, cite sponsor on ICF if applicable) No

Has grant proposal received approval and funding? Yes (If yes, cite sponsor on ICF if applicable) No

Agency

Grant No.
Start Date
End Date
PI on grant

US Army Corps of Engineers- US Air Force

Note to PI: Non-exempt studies are approved for one year only. Use any attached IRB-approved forms (signed/dated) as “masters” when preparing copies. If continuing beyond the expiration date, a continuation report must be submitted. Notify the IRB if any significant changes or unanticipated events occur. When the study is completed, a closure report must be submitted. Failure to follow these directions constitutes non-compliance with UM policy.

1 Final Approval by IRB Chair/Manager: __________________________ Date: ______________
Expires: ______________

2 <In an effort to be environmentally responsible, please expand/reduce box size as needed.>

4. Purpose of the Research Project (not to exceed 500 words): Briefly summarize the overall intent of the study.

Your target audience is a non-researcher. Include in your description a statement of the objectives and the potential benefit to the study subjects and/or the advancement of your field. Generally included are literature related to the problem, hypotheses, and discussion of the problem’s importance. Expand box as needed.

As part of the University of Montana's (UM's) cooperative agreement with the US Army Corps of Engineers, we have been tasked to develop materials to support the annual meetings required by the new Air Force Instructions (AFI) 90-2002: Air Force Interactions with Federally-Recognized Tribes (19 November 2014). The newly published AFI requires wing and/or base commanders to: A) Appoint Installation Tribal Liaisons; B) More fully engage the leaders of their affiliated federally-recognized tribes; and C) Meet together with tribal leaders at least twice per year or at a frequency mutually agreed upon, as stipulated in section 2.9.1 of the AFI. The AFI goals are to increase the effectiveness of AF consultations with federally-recognized tribes, increase collaborative planning between tribes and installations, and more fully meet the requirements and intents of federal laws that require federal agencies to consult with tribes concerned about natural and cultural resources on agency lands.

To uphold the AFI 90-2002 requirements, UM Department of Anthropology Professor Kelly J. Dixon's Center for Integrated Research (CIRE) Cultural Resource team has been tasked with providing Tribal Relations Training Package services to the Air Force Civil Engineer Center (AFCEC) to complete two separate tasks for AF installations in 49 States (note that we are not working with USAF installations in Hawaii). Task 1 is to design a Sustainable Tribal Consultation Program to implement and educate USAF personnel about best consultation practices and the logistics of running annual or biannual meetings. Task 2 represents the training package that accompanies Task 1; as part of Task 2’s training package, the UM CIRE team will provide an instructional workshop dedicated to guiding USAF commanders and/or staff through the Program. The two tasks are called out separately for reporting purposes, but are intended to be two interdependent components of the project and will adhere directly to the regulations outlined in AFI 90-2002.

As part of this project, we will be sending out surveys to USAF base commanders/staff and Tribal Government officials to evaluate tribal relations with the USAF so that information can be included in the training package. We will also want to have the participants in our trial run training session (tentatively scheduled for March 2016) fill out surveys that evaluate the training session. Documentary film shorts will be part of the training package as well; thus, we will be interviewing people (USAF/DoD and Tribal representatives) about their experiences with tribal
consultation for some of these documentary segments, with the intent the the interviews will be used for educational/training purposes that dovetail with the requirements of AFI 90-2002.

4.1 What do you plan to do with the results? If not discussed above, include considerations such as whether this is a class project, a project to improve a program/school system, and/or if the results will be generalized to a larger population, contribute to the general field of knowledge, and or be published/presented in any capacity.

The results of this research will be included in the training package noted in Item #4 above and will also be summarized in the M.A. theses of Department of Anthropology graduate students Martin Lopez and Nicholas Shankle.

Is this part of a thesis or dissertation? No Yes If yes and other than the PI’s, then whose? Martin Lopez and Nicholas Shankle.

5. IRB Oversight
Is oversight required by other IRB(s) [e.g., tribal, hospital, other university] for this project? If yes, please identify IRB(s):

6. Subject Information:
6.1 Human Subjects (identify, include age/gender):
Yes No

We are not sure at this juncture. After discussion with UM's IRB, we came to the conclusion that UM's IRB will be enough. However, if we end up doing a training session in Montana at some point in the future, then we may want to present this to the Montana-Wyoming Tribal Leaders Council.

Subjects are professionals who work for the US Air Force (e.g., Base Commanders, Tribal Liaisons, Cultural Resource Managers) or who work for Tribal agencies (e.g., Tribal Chairs, Tribal Council Members, Tribal Historic Preservation Officers). These individuals will be targeted because of their job titles and will be asked questions about their jobs, specifically the history of interactions and consultation between Department of Defense and Tribal agencies. There may also be instances in which a subject suggests another possible source (snowball effect) to address questions about the history of such interactions. The subjects will be both male and female, and in ALL cases subjects will be over the age of 18. Appendix B includes the correspondence with the USAF about the role of the survey results in the overall training package the USAF has asked us to prepare; this correspondence demonstrates the collaborative efforts between UM and the USAF and the USAF's role in assisting with connecting us with the appropriate parties.

6.2 How many subjects will be included in the study? ~1500
6.3 Are minors included (under age 18, per Montana law)? Yes No If yes, specify age range: to
6.4 Are members of a physically, psychologically, or socially vulnerable population being specifically targeted? Yes No

If yes, please explain why the subjects might be physically, psychologically or social vulnerable:

6.5 Are there other special considerations regarding this population? Yes No If yes, please explain:

6.6 Do subjects reside in a foreign country? Yes Specify country:
If yes, please fill out and attach Form RA-112, Foreign Site Study Appendix (http://www.umt.edu/research/complianceinfo/IRB/Docs/foreign.doc).
No

6.7 How are subjects selected or recruited? Include a bulleted list of inclusion/exclusion criteria. (Attach copies of all flyers, advertisements, etc., that will be used in the recruitment process as these require UM-IRB approval)

Subjects are selected based on the fact that they work as professionals involved in tribal consultation--either as tribal members working as a Council Member/Tribal Historic Preservation Officer or as US Air Force staff working as Tribal Liaison/Cultural Resource Manager. There may also be instances in which a subject suggests another possible source (snowball effect). The graduate students working on this project are preparing a list of contacts working in these positions at 75 US Air Force bases and for 566 federally recognized tribes.

6.8 How will subjects be identified in your personal notes, work papers, or publications: (may check more than one)
Identified by name and/or address or other
(Secure written [e.g., ICF] or verbal permission to identify; if risk exists, create a confidentiality plan.) Confidentiality Plan

(Identity of subjects linked to research, but not specific data [e.g., individuals identified in ICF but not included in publications]; identification key kept separate from data; or, data collected by third party [e.g., Select Survey, SurveyMonkey, etc.] and identifiers not received with data.)
Never know participant’s identity
\textit{(An ICF may be unnecessary \[e.g., anonymous survey, paper or online\] unless project is sensitive or involves a vulnerable population.)}

6.9

information maintained. If you are using a Confidentiality Plan (as checked above), include in your description a plan for the destruction of materials that could allow identification of individual subjects or the justification for preserving identifiers.

Describe the means by which the human subject’s personal privacy is to be protected, and the confidentiality of

Subjects will be identified by name, if necessary, more for the purposes of giving credit for information or quoting than any other reason. Materials collected will be archived in the University of Montana's Department of Anthropology (Social Science Building Room 244 and Room 259b) unless otherwise specifically stated (i.e. Mansfield Library Archives and Special Collections). This project will be using the Informed Consent Form (Appendix A) and/or a Statement of Confidentiality (Appendix C) that will accompany the online survey. Appendix C is the statement of confidentiality that will introduce participants to the online survey; please note that we will have made previous contact with participants before they receive this survey and statement of confidentiality.

Appendix D includes a pdf version of the draft Qualtrics surveys developed in consultation with the USAF.

6.9a Will subject(s) receive an explanation of the research – separate from the informed consent form (if applicable) – before and/or after the project? Yes (attach copy and explain when given) No

7. Information to be Compiled

7.1 Explain where the study will take place (physical location not geographic. If permission will be required to use any facilities, indicate those arrangements and attach copies of written permission):

7.2 Will you be working with infectious materials, ionizing radiation, or hazardous materials? Please specify.

7.3 Subject matter or kind(s) of information to be compiled from/about subjects:

7.4 Activities the subjects will perform and how the subjects will be used. Describe the instrumentation and procedures to

be used and kinds of data or information to be gathered. Provide enough detail so the IRB will be able to evaluate the intrusion from the subject’s perspective (expand box as needed):

7.5 Is information on any of the following included? (check all that apply):

Sexual behavior Drug use/abuse
Alcohol use/abuse Illegal conduct

Information about the subject that, if it became known outside the research, could reasonably place the subject at risk of criminal or civil liability or be damaging to the subject’s financial standing or employability.

7.6 Means of obtaining the information (check all that apply). Attach questionnaire or survey instrument, if used:

The surveys will be emailed to individuals on the contact list via a tool such as Survey Monkey, unless respondents prefer a hard copy. We will reach out to the individuals first via email and will follow-up with teleconferences if necessary. However, the bulk of the survey will rely on electronic correspondence and so the physical location of the ”study” taking place will be in our laboratories and offices in the Social Science Building (e.g., SS 244 and SS 259b).

N/A

Information collected from subjects will be about the history of subjects' professional experiences related to tribal consultation. The information will be related to what they do for their jobs -- thus, this survey is intended to fall within the parameters of professional positions in the field of cultural heritage.

Activity will primarily include completing surveys. In a few limited cases, some subjects will be asked to provide their responses via audio and/or visual recording for documentary film segments that will be used as part of the training package the US Air Force has tasked us with creating.

Field/Laboratory observation Blood/Tissue/Urine/Feces/Semen/Saliva

Sampling (IBC Application must be submitted) Medical records (require HIPAA form) Measurement of motions/actions
Use of standard educational tests, etc.
Other means (specify):

7.7 Will subjects be (check all that apply): Videotaped Audio-taped
In-person interviews/survey Telephone interviews/survey On-site survey
Mail survey

Online survey (attach Statement of Confidentiality) Examine public documents, records, data, etc. Examine private
Photographed N/A

(secure additional signature is recommended on consent/assent/permission forms)

Explain how above media will be used, who will transcribe, and how/when destroyed:

7.8 Discuss the benefits (does not include payment for participation) of the research, if any, to the human subjects and to scientific knowledge (if the subjects will not benefit from their participation, so state):

Consent to be photographed and recorded (audio and visual) is included in the Informed Consent Form. In the case of audio or visual recordings for the documentary segments that will be part of this project, the recordings may be archived with the Mansfield Library Archives and Special Collections on the University of Montana campus if given written permission from the subject. An additional form can also be obtained upon placing the documentation with Archives and Special Collections which provides the opportunity for the subject to request the documentation to be unavailable for further research activity for a specified period of time.

The research being conducted will add to the knowledge base about the US Air Force's interactions and relationships with Tribal leaders that will contribute to the USAF’s mission as stated in AFI 90-2002.

7.9 Cite any payment for participation (payment is not considered a benefit):

N/A

7.9a Outline, in detail, the risks and discomforts, if any, to which the human subjects will be exposed (Such deleterious effects may be physical, psychological, professional, financial, legal, spiritual, or cultural. As a result, one can never guarantee that there are no risks – use “minimal.” Some research involves violations of normal expectations, rather than risks or discomforts; such violations, if any, should be specified):

7.9b Describe, in detail, the means taken to minimize each such deleterious effect or violation:

8. Informed Consent

An informed consent form (ICF) is usually required, unless subjects remain anonymous or a waiver is otherwise justified below. (Templates and examples of Informed Consent, Parental Permission, and Child’s Assent Forms are available at http://www.umt.edu/research/complianceinfo/irb/forms.aspx).

A signed copy of the consent/assent/permission form must be offered to all subjects, including parents/guardians of subjects less than 18 years of age (minors).

Use of minors

o All minor subjects (under the age of 18) must have written parental or custodial permission (45 CFR 46.116(b)).

o All minors from 10 to 18 years of age are required to give written assent (45 CFR 46.408(a)).

o Assent by minor subjects: All minor subjects are to be given a clear and complete picture of the research they are being asked to engage in, together with its attendant risks and benefits, as their developmental status and competence will allow them to understand.

o Minors less than 10 years of age and all individuals, regardless of age, with delayed cognitive functioning (or with communication skills that make expressive responses unreliable) will be denied involvement in any research that does not provide a benefit/risk advantage.

§ Good faith efforts must be made to assess the actual level of competence of minor subjects where there is doubt.

§ The Minor Assent Form must be written at a level that can be understood by the minor, and/or read to them at an age-appropriate level in order to secure verbal assent.

Is a written informed consent form being used? Yes (attach copy) No (justify below) To waive the requirement for written informed consent (45 CFR 46.117), describe your justification:

Is a written parental permission form being used? Yes (attach copy) No (If yes, will likely require minor assent form)

Is a written minor assent form being used? Yes (attach copy) No (If yes, will likely require parental permission form)

Principal Investigator’s Statement

By signing below, the Principal Investigator agrees to comply with all requirements of The University of Montana-Missoula IRB, the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services Office of Human Research Protection Guidelines, and NIH Guidelines. The PI agrees to ensure all members of his/her team are familiar with the requirements and risks of this project, and will complete the Human Subject Protection Course available at http://www.umt.edu/research/complianceinfo/irb.

I certify that the statements made in this application are accurate and complete. I also agree to the following:

I will not begin work on the procedures described in this protocol, including any subject recruitment or data
collection, until I receive final notice of approval from the IRB.

I agree to inform the IRB in writing of any adverse or unanticipated problems using the appropriate form. I further agree

N/A
N/A

not to proceed with the project until the problems have been resolved.

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I will not make any changes to the protocol written herein without first submitting a written Amendment Request to the IRB using form RA-110, and I will not undertake such changes until the IRB has reviewed and approved them.

It is my responsibility to ensure that every person working with the human subjects is appropriately trained.

All consent forms and recruitment flyers must be approved and date-stamped by the IRB before they can be used. The forms will be provided back to the PI in PDF format with the IRB approval email. Copies must be made from the date-stamped version. All consent forms given to subjects must display the IRB approval date-stamp.

I understand that it is my responsibility to file a Continuation Report before the project expiration date (does not apply to exempt projects). This is not the responsibility of the IRB office. Tip: Set a reminder on your calendar as soon as you receive the date. A project that has expired is no longer in compliance with UM or federal policy.

I understand that I must file a Closure Report (RA-109) when the project is completed, abandoned, or otherwise qualifies for closure from continuing IRB review (does not apply to exempt projects).

I will keep a copy of this protocol (including all consent forms, questionnaires, and recruitment flyers) and all subsequent correspondence with the IRB.

I understand that failure to comply with UM and federal policy, including failure to promptly respond to IRB requests, constitutes non-compliance and may have serious consequences impacting my project and my standing at The University of Montana.

Signature of Principal Investigator: Kelly J. Dixon Date: June 28, 2015 (Type for electronic submission; sign for hard copy)

NOTE: I AM AWARE that electronic submission of this form from my University email account constitutes my signature.

Students and Faculty Advisors: Student applications must be accompanied by either an email authorization from the supervising faculty member or by a signed hard copy (below).

Faculty Supervisor:
My signature confirms:
1) I have read the IRB Application and attachments.
2) I agree that it accurately represents the planned research.
3) I will supervise this research project.

Faculty Advisor Signature: Date: (Type for electronic submission; sign for hard copy)
Department: Phone:

Appendix A: Study Title:

SUBJECT INFORMATION AND INFORMED CONSENT

US Army Corps of Engineers-UM Contract, Task Order 0002, Tribal Relations Training Package
Kelly Dixon, Associate Professor, The University of Montana, Department of Anthropology, 32 Campus Drive, Social Science Building, Missoula, Montana, U.S.A. 59812, kelly.dixon@mso.umt.edu, 612-247-6414

Martin Lopez, Graduate Student, The University of Montana, Department of Anthropology, 32 Campus Drive, Social Science Building, Missoula, Montana, U.S.A. 59812, martin.lopez@umontana.edu, 406-214-5012
Nicholas Shankle, Graduate Student, The University of Montana, Department of Anthropology, 32 Campus Drive, Social Science Building, Missoula, Montana, U.S.A. 59812, nicholas.shankle@umconnect.umt.edu, 406-214-7753

You are being asked to take part in a survey about your professional experience working with the US Department of Defense or with Tribal Leaders on projects that involve tribal consultation.

As part of the University of Montana’s (UM’s) cooperative agreement with the US Army Corps of Engineers, we have been tasked to develop materials to support the annual meetings required by the new Air Force Instructions (AFI) 90-2002: Air Force Interactions with Federally-Recognized Tribes (19 November 2014). The information you provide in this survey will be used to evaluate Tribal relations with the USAF so that your feedback can be included in the training package we are preparing.

The information you provide will also be included in the M.A. theses of UM graduate students Martin Lopez or Nicholas Shankle; both theses will report on and evaluate the results of this project.

The survey includes questions about your professional background and about your interactions with Tribal Government officials and/or about your interactions with DoD/USAF officials.

The online survey will take approximately 10-15 minutes.

Survey results and other materials collected will be archived with other research from the project at the University of Montana (Social Sciences Building, Room 244 and Room 259b) and will be available for review by subjects at any time.

There is no anticipated discomfort for those contributing to this study, so risk to participants is minimal.

There is no promise that you will receive any benefit from taking part in this study.

If the results of this study are presented in a report, written in a scientific journal, presented at a scientific meeting, or in any publication (including but not limited to the primary researcher’s master’s thesis), your name will not be used without your consent.

Your initials __________ indicate your permission to be identified by name in any publications or presentations.

If you do not want to be acknowledged by name in any publications or presentations,

**Purpose:**

**Procedures:**

- Your decision to take part in this research study is entirely voluntary.
- You may refuse to take part in or you may withdraw from the study at any time.
- If you have any questions about the research now or during the study, please contact Martin Lopez or Nicholas Shankle (contact information listed above) by email or by phone.
- You can also contact the UM Institutional Review Board (IRB) at (406) 243-6672.

**Risks/Discomforts:**

**Benefits: Confidentiality:**

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**Voluntary Participation/Withdrawal:**

**Questions:**

- If you have any questions about the research now or during the study, please contact Martin Lopez or Nicholas Shankle (contact information listed above) by email or by phone.

**Statement of Consent:**

I have read the above description of this research study. I have been informed of the risks and benefits involved, and all my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. Furthermore, I have been assured that any future questions I may have will also be answered by a member of the research team. I voluntarily agree to take part in this study. I understand I will receive a copy of this consent form.

Printed Name of Subject
Statement of Consent to be Photographed and/or audio/visual recorded:

- I understand that photographs/audio/video recordings may be taken during the study.
- I consent to having my photograph taken and/or being audio/video recorded.
- I consent to use of my photograph/audio/video in presentations related to this study.
- I understand that if photographs/audio/video recordings are used for presentations of any kind, names or other identifying information will not be associated with them without consent.