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## Circling the Cross: Bridging Native America, Education, and Digital Media

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### Introduction

Here, I learn about the needs and desires of my people and my community. I learn how I can help them through remaining and participating with those I love. Thus, we will remain one house, one voice, one heart, and one mission: that mission is to strengthen the Indian way of life. . . . I learn I have learned that education and wisdom happen whenever people speak with good thoughts in a caring, supporting environment and that my teachers are all those who help me to understand the world and myself. . . . There is a larger society, a larger world in which I must learn to live and survive, but I must never forget who I am and where I came from. The past helps me to the future.

*Excerpt from the Santa Fe Indian School's Mission Statement, circa 1992*

Sociologist C. Wright Mills wrote many years ago, "Those who rule the management of symbols, rule the world."<sup>1</sup> For many Native Americans, symbols are ciphers of power, a type of symbolic "medicine." I learned this at age fifteen, when I had the rare opportunity to live in a small village on a reservation in northern Arizona that has been home to Native Americans for thousands of years.<sup>2</sup> My host was an elder designated by the tribe to convey its spiritual teachings to the outside world. He was someone who had had an audience with the Pope and addressed the United Nations General Assembly. What he shared during my stay more than twenty-five years ago remains with me today, and informs my approach as a digital media literacy educator working with Native Americans to promote interpreting and deconstructing symbols as a primary tool for critical digital literacy.

During my stay in the village, a community that had split in the 1900s because of tribal divisions caused by U.S. government and white cultural intervention, my host said that when his tribe first encountered Spaniards in 1540, they intuitively read the conqueror's intentions by interpreting their overarching visual symbol, the crucifix. His ancestors were interested in the cultural meaning of the symbol's shape: a grid formed by intersecting, angular lines indicating a linear mentality. As such, they correctly assessed the Europeans' intellectual agility and ingenuity; but what troubled them was a missing element in the Europeans' symbolism, which the tribe possessed: a cross enclosed by a circle that represented the unity of multiple elements: human, earthly, psychological, and spiritual. Also known as a "medicine wheel," it is a common emblem among North American tribes. The community assessed that whatever the Europeans intended to achieve, it would not be sustainable. Owing to a faulty thought process (or operating system in modern parlance), logic and reason without holism was ultimately doomed to fail. Although the Europeans successfully colonized the territory, it set in motion an ecologically destructive system that may, in the end, make the conquest a transient fact.

As an educator promoting digital media literacy, what interests me about this story is the genius and perceptibility the tribe's ancestors had regarding the cultural uses of signs, drawing on their metaphysical understanding of symbolism to perceive the practical application of differing paradigms. They were creative media deconstructionists before such a thing came into existence four hundred years later, and like most other tribes in North America, they still maintain a savvy, critically engaged perspective on the dominant power structure and its media systems. As such, this tribe's story presents us with a powerful lesson in comprehending socially constructed communication systems and their long-term impact on communities and the environment. As Hopi artist, filmmaker, educator, and activist Victor Masayesva Jr. stresses,

We are knowledgeable about obsessing on technology at the expense of life and living. We have experienced the impacts of technology beginning with control of water in our desert environment and the unequal powers created by such technologies. . . . personally, I have continued to reinforce the message that the Internet is only a rumor and until the context is clear we will always be cautious about the messenger.<sup>3</sup>

In terms of understanding the mentalities of the circle and the cross, Native American scholar Donald L. Fixico believes, "The wars fought between Indians and the whites were more than just over land—they were wars of the minds. The American mainstream thinks in a linear fashion, which is very different from the circular fashion of traditionalists. These two are at odds when both are not realized, as by one not knowing the other one."<sup>4</sup> In sociological terms, we are dealing with different "subjectivities," distinctive ways of perceiving and being in the world. Thus, we can extend this discussion to a broader understanding of communication systems as mental environments, or as "media ecologies." For "the five-hundred-year relationship between America's indigenous people and Europeans and their descendents may easily be described as an unending chain of rhetorical situations."<sup>5</sup> Relating this concept of media ecology to a generalized view of the impact of technology and media to our interaction with the world, media scholar Neil Postman remarks:

[N]ew technologies compete with old ones—for time, attention for money, for prestige, but mostly for dominance of world-view. This competition is implicit once we acknowledge that a medium contains an ideological bias. And it is a fierce competition, as only ideological competitions can be. It is not merely a matter of tool against tool—the alphabet attacking ideographic writing, the printing press attacking the illuminated manuscript, the photograph attacking the art of painting, television attacking the printed word. When media make war against each other, it is a case of world-views in collision.<sup>6</sup>

One of the primary battlegrounds for "worldviews" in collision is in schools. As advocates of digital media education, we understand that it is important to be cognizant of alternate modes of engagement, and to design programming that is appropriate and sensitive to these differences, not out of a tokenistic desire for multiculturalism, but out of a real engagement of difference that is positive and constructive.

While examining the training program implicit within compulsory government education, what has been more obvious to Native Americans is the manner in which education is conventionally used as a tool for control and assimilation into the dominant society. From what I've learned by working in the public school system, I'm taking it as a given that government educational standards do not necessarily promote challenging the power grid's assumptions, but rather encourage students to reinforce the economic and political structure of our society through standards. My beliefs are echoed by former teacher and education critic John Taylor Gatto when he observes that "school, as it was built, is an essential support

system for a model of social engineering that condemns most people to be subordinate stones in a pyramid that narrows as it ascends to a terminal of control. School is an artifice that makes such a pyramidal social order seem inevitable, even though such a premise is a fundamental betrayal of the American Revolution."<sup>7</sup>

While recognizing that there are plenty of excellent and well-meaning educators that do work in the system, it's important to recognize how Gatto's critique concurs with the manner in which Native education policy has played out. This analysis has implications for the broader social structure, for this discussion is also about the interplay between education, technology, and racism in our general society.

While we explore the issue of digital media and technology as it relates to education, youth, and Native America, we need to probe deeply into our own operating paradigm to understand fully what is required to nurture critically engaged youth that will not simply replicate the assumptions of our system, but will be engaged in culturally and locally relevant pedagogy. Ultimately we need to see this as not just a Native American issue, but one facing our broader society, for what happens in Vegas doesn't just stay there, it infects the entire grid. Given that we inhabit a world primarily of electronically delivered symbols that potentially replicate the power structure, it is necessary to develop an education strategy that is both practical and constructive, by way of supporting cultural integrity and sustainability. While the image of a broken medicine wheel is often used to describe the contemporary state of Native youth, its potential reconstruction and reestablishment literally represents healing. Through a strategy of community-based education and "glocalization" (combining the terms *global* and *local*) it is my belief, in the spirit of the story I learned twenty-five years ago, that the new electronic media environment has the potential to facilitate the bridging of the circle and cross.

A note on context: I am not a tribally affiliated Native American. Rather, I am a digital media activist and educator who has been invited by dozens of tribes across the United States to assist youth programs to develop media literacy and production projects. As a former teacher at a federally funded Native American boarding school, I have been a mediator between children, elders, school administrators, nonprofits, tribes, and government officials. I am aware that Native America is incredibly diverse, thus making it very difficult to make generalizations. My contribution here is to argue passionately that there is a value to incorporating media literacy within a community education model that honors local input as a way of balancing the issues related to new digital media and traditionally underserved communities. What follows is not meant to be a definitive solution or exhaustive definition of the situation. Rather, the subsequent discussions and recommendations are based on case studies from my own experiences that suggest best practices and effective ideas for how to rethink pedagogy. Finally, what is often lost in the discussion of Native American education is that, historically, there have been many instances in which the white culture learned and benefited from Native American knowledge and technology. We should consider this to be one of those instances, for ultimately how this issue is addressed has much greater implications for mainstream society than would generally be admitted.

### **The Problem with Standards and the No Child Left Behind Act**

What is more important to a community: access to the Net, or the death of an elder whose knowledge, as the saying goes, is the equivalent of a library? Local knowledge is important for all communities, and it is no different for Native Americans. Although a computer can tell you the weather, it can't show you how to tell the weather. One is not exclusive of the

other, but we have to understand that our cultural priorities need to be viewed within a historical and a cultural context. Is the intention of education in the Information Age (as tends to be the case with the status quo) to homogenize culture and reproduce hegemonic power structures? Is the motivation to provide tools so learners can critically engage the larger discourse of the dominant society? Or is it to empower participants to transcend their current conditions and transform themselves? As Native filmmaker and educator Jacques La Grange points out, the presence of new computer technology is

like a double edge sword . . . a sort of damn [*sic*] if we do, damn [*sic*] if we don't. Lets be honest our children need to know how to use technology. Especially if this is the only way to a better life. But do we give them the keys to the car without first showing them how to drive? . . . It is difficult enough for Native Americans to have a voice, but even harder for Native American Children to have a voice at all. If we do not nurture their ideas and give them a chance to succeed then it is we who have failed them.<sup>8</sup>

Usually, the discussion about technology for underserved communities begins with access, but rarely is it contextualized in terms of wisdom. For example, there are numerous programs by major computer companies that offer technology to Reservation schools and after-school programs, but they lack a pedagogy that incorporates art, ecology, or community. Part of the problem is that much digital technology programming draws on conventional thinking about education; moreover, if computers are going to government schools or institutions, their use will be subject to standards and school policies. In the context of Native American communities, it's useful to address why this is problematic.

In terms of the concept that computers empower individuals, schools have very strict filters on their computer networks, so students are often locked out of many Web sites, including chat and social networks like MySpace. More affluent students in the mainstream have computers at home that provide them with more unrestricted access; Native students, by contrast, are constrained by the policies of those who provide access and host the computer systems. This is why some of the digital divide remedies—donating computers to schools or after-school programs—don't necessarily empower students individually, because they are inhibited by institutional filters and other restrictions. Also, these remedies take decisions about access away from the families. It is reminiscent of the early days of books when Bibles were chained down in monastery libraries so that they could not be read away from the watchful eyes of proctors. This goes back to my very strong belief that technology must be accompanied by critical literacy. Students should be allowed to explore the technological world, but also must be trained to engage digital media content and production mindfully from within a community context.

In addition, with increasing emphasis on test standardization, which focuses on the core principles of pre-digital education (the so-called Three R's—reading, writing, and arithmetic), chances for teaching necessary skills for digital literacy are reduced in U.S. schools, and especially in schools that are historically underfunded. Thus it is necessary to map how educators and activists are coping with these general conditions, and how such lessons pertain to education in Native American schools, which have traditionally been devastating to Native communities.

The horrors perpetrated against Indian students at Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA)-run schools for small transgressions, including speaking their native language, are well documented, and are beyond the scope of this chapter, but can be summarized by the articulated education policy of the 1800s: "Kill the Indian, save the man." The point is not to review the history of Native education, but to trace some of the elements related to the mental

programming of alien constructs that have been imposed on Indian communities since the arrival of Columbus in 1492. Having set course for the bifurcation of our holistic sense of the world and nature, our technologies for interpreting the world, from perspective painting technique, movable type, photography, film, and TV to cyberspace have been an exponential amping-up of external stimuli that feed back on themselves. The power of mental systems as they are transmitted through the education of communications media are tools by which we pass on cultural information, which are overwhelmingly metaphysical: "Almost all Indian education studies, reports, and commissions have described, analyzed, and bemoaned a Western-inspired institution built on curriculum, methodologies, and pedagogy consistent with the Western worldview. This much-studied educational system was and, sadly, remains too often directed toward cultural assimilation into the dominant society."<sup>9</sup>

When in the twenty-first century Native Americans encounter media technology and education, the history of the clash of civilizations is also a collision of communication strategies and consciousness. Thus an important back-story is that "literacy" on the reservation is historically linked with control and colonization. In the United States, the government's primary strategy for assimilation was through boarding schools, which were instituted by Congress in 1870. By making Native Americans "literate," the intention was to "civilize" Indians by separating them from their traditional communities: "The goal of education was to 'Americanize' Indian children by teaching them to conform and obey, to speak English, and to do manual labor for a living . . . boarding schools aimed to prepare students to own private property and to become wage earners."<sup>10</sup> Part of our culturally biased thinking relates to an institutional attitude that considers our communication systems (including literacy) as rational, evolutionary progressions of civilization, a position that has been thoroughly debunked by anthropology. "The point is that very few people believe what anthropology teaches: that indigenous, small-scale traditional societies are not earlier (or degenerate) versions of our own. They are rather differing solutions to historical circumstances and environmental particulars that testify to the breadth of human intellectual creativity and its capacity for symbolization."<sup>11</sup>

Media theorist Marshal McLuhan complained that education threatened to approach new technology from a "rear-view mirror" approach; that is, our inability to comprehend the current media environment with nineteenth-century attitudes. Our multisensory "acoustic" media space is not compatible with the linearity of print literacy that is the intellectual legacy of education policy. Unfortunately, the trend toward standardized testing promoted by the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) is very much a rear-view-mirror orientation—it tests rote knowledge, and lacks a rubric for other types of learners, especially those who are more nonlinear in their learning styles. Native Americans, and minorities in general, tend to score below national averages on these tests, so being subjected to these standards puts them at yet another disadvantage, and sets them up for failure:

In summary, the body of research, although small, on learning styles of American Indian students presents some converging evidence that suggests common patterns of methods in the way these students come to know or understand the world. They approach tasks visually, seem to prefer to learn by careful observation preceding performance, and seem to learn in their natural settings experientially. Research with other students groups has clearly illustrated that differences in learning style (whether they be described as relational/analytical, field dependent/independent, or global/linear) can result in "academic disorientation." While it is not clear where Indian students fit on this continuum, it is clear from the research . . . that American Indian students come to learn about the world in ways that differ from those of non-Indian students.<sup>12</sup>

The National Indian Education Association and Center for Indian Education, in a detailed study, *Preliminary Report on No Child Left Behind in Indian Country*, concluded that:

- The statute is rigid and it tends to leave children behind.
- We need opportunity; we need resources to do that.
- (Any) Success has clearly been at the expense and diminishment of Native language and culture.
- The approach dictated by the law has created serious negative consequences.
- Schools are sending the message that if our children would just work harder they would succeed, without recognizing their own systemic failures.
- Indian children are internalizing the (school) system's failures as their personal failures.
- Children have different needs.
- It does not provide for the level of funding that we need.
- Music, art, social studies, languages—these areas are totally ignored by the law.<sup>13</sup>

These assessments are made, even though NCLB has instituted a special Native American initiative under Bush's Executive Order 13336. I saw on the ground how one successful Native American program that started out as a way of coping with the new digital media environment was negatively impacted by NCLB. At the Native boarding school where I worked, Intel financed an eighth-grade computer-building program, based on the company's "Journey Inside" curriculum. Over the course of the school year, students assembled and installed PCs, and if they kept up their grades at a certain level, eventually they could take the computers home. As part of the program, for two years I worked on a digital video documentary with student assistants, going into households and interviewing families who received these computers. Generally, we found that families were grateful for the computers and that multiple people used these systems in their households to meet a variety of needs.

In one case, a student's stepfather was a jeweler and used the system to book travel for trade shows. Another family used the student-built computer to research water issues. In all cases the computers were intrinsic to the academic achievement of extended family members (the PCs were shared by multiple users, inside and outside the home). The additional benefit is that students learned technical skills that would contribute to their academic achievement and economic success. Unfortunately, the program was discontinued after NCLBA was instituted, because science scores were shown to be below average for that grade level. The program was ended to teach to the standardized test, a cautionary example of an utterly disastrous application of Federal education standards insensitive to community needs.

### **Toward a Rez Pedagogy: Community as Text**

For the sake of clarification, I submit that two very different understandings of technology are the issue. A deeply seated (metaphysically based) Western view of technology as science applied to industrial (manufacture) and commercial objectives, versus a (metaphysically based) American Indian, or rather indigenous, view of technology as practices and toolmaking to enhance our living in and with nature. The Western conception and practices of technology are bound up in essentially human-centered materialism: the doctrine that physical well-being and worldly possessions constitute the greatest good and highest value in life. Indigenous conceptions and practices of technology are embedded in a way of living life that is inclusive of spiritual, physical, emotional, and intellectual dimensions emergent in the world or, more accurately, particular places in the world.<sup>14</sup>



Efforts to address the needs of Native America's technological challenges should not be just educational tokenism or window-dressing for funding. A fundamental shift in pedagogy must be considered and incorporated; we shouldn't just repeat old patterns of replicating the power structure. In what they characterize as "indigenizing education," Vine Deloria and Daniel R. Wildcat propose incorporating two formulas: TC3 (technology, community, communication, and culture) plus P3 (power-and-place-equal-personality). While P3 "makes for a spatial metaphysics of experience," TC3 "is an attempt to identify the natural cultural features of human beingness."<sup>15</sup> The two keys to this formula are a sense of place and community.

Deloria and Wildcat remind us that "American Indians have a long history of rejecting abstract theologies and metaphysical systems in place of experiential systems properly called indigenous—indigenous in the sense that people historically and culturally connected to places can and do draw on power located in those places. Stated simply, *indigenous* means 'to be of a place.' . . . To indigenize an action or object is the act of making something of a place."<sup>16</sup> Other experts of Native American education echo these views: "It is not enough to focus only on students' classroom experiences; expanding the focus is a central component of the change from an Anglo-conformity orientation . . . the collective historical experiences of the community must be used as the context for all learning in the school. There are no easy formulas for implementing these changes; patience, ingenuity, and a spirit of committed experimentation are necessary."<sup>17</sup>

In terms of a strategy for approaching new digital media and learning, it is useful to review how popular educator Paulo Freire speaks of literacy. He makes the connection between "word and world," recognizing that the context of life is as much of a text as a book. Here he speaks of his home environment as being his first "text":

Truly, that special world presented itself to me as the arena of my perceptual activity and therefore as the world of my first reading. The *texts*, the *words*, the *letters* of that context were incarnated as in a series of things, objects and signs. In perceiving these I experienced myself, and the more I experienced myself, the more my perceptual capacity increased. I learned to understand things, objects, and signs through using them in relationship to my older brothers and sisters and my parents. . . . Part of the context of my immediate world was also the language universe of my elders, expressing their beliefs, tastes, fears, and values, which linked my world to a wider one whose existence I could not even suspect.<sup>18</sup>

I'm moved by this passage because it reminds me of the unique and diverse circumstances the students come from at the Southwestern Indian boarding school where I worked, and how their world is so rich with text. Among the students, there were two generally dichotomous and culturally distinct groups: urban and reservation, and Diné (Navajo) and Pueblo. Among the Pueblos, there are also different language groups and a general split between northern and southern tribes. What struck me was that, with the exception of the urban students, who were generally acculturated/assimilated into mainstream society (yet they retained many characteristics of regional identity), the youth exist in various perceptual realms simultaneously. At school, they maneuver within a mediated territory fully engaged with technology, the Internet, and the mainstream educational system, learning a curriculum necessarily accommodating of and constrained by state and federal standards.

At home on the rez, though Internet access is generally limited, like typical American teens, students consume mainstream media, such as radio, movies, and television entertainment. Yet many rez teens are also participants in the ongoing, traditional ceremonial practices of their tribes. It was normal for students to disappear for short periods owing to tribal

obligations. On occasion we'd see them dancing during one of many "feast days" throughout the school year. Such occasions were school events; the staff organized vans and buses to visit Pueblos having celebrations. As teachers, we were invited to visit the homes of administrators, staff, teachers, students, and friends. We found ourselves gorging on delicious chili stew, Jell-O cake, Navajo tacos, and Jemez enchiladas at large tables with the extended community network of our students. During these gatherings I was reminded of how much of the generous and communal spirit of the tribes remain an important aspect of contemporary cultural life.

One of the reasons community context is important can be related to the particular learning style of Native American students:

Current theorists and researchers have recognized one difference in thought of oral versus literate people. People from oral traditions contextualize their articulation of thought; they depend on shared knowledge of the people who will be listening to them and do not necessarily articulate what others already know. People from literate traditions tend to decontextualize thought, to add the context that a distant audience will need to make sense of speech or writing.<sup>19</sup>

Like Freire's own sense of "text" of the world, there is the essence of tradition that remains deeply engrained within the Indian students with whom we work. Moreover, spending time in student homes is critical to my own education and pedagogy, because "teachers must become participants in the community; they must observe and ask questions in a way that communicates genuine care and concern. Teachers are learners too, and must let students (and their parents) know this."<sup>20</sup>

By working within the context of community, it brings into stark relief the extent to which youth are mediated by technology. From watching students in both environments—on the rez and at school engaging computers and other media—my sense is that they are something like 25 percent cybernetic in that there are whole portions of their personalities that appear downloaded off the Net; or in McLuhan-esque terms, they are physically extended into the technosphere. Media theorist Douglas Rushkoff describes youth as the new human prototype, and at the Indian boarding school I felt I was seeing that manifest, for many of the attitudes and beliefs I saw students adapt at school were not coming from the home environment, but clearly through engaging the national pop culture and new digital media. This is not exclusive to Indian students, but the fact became more obvious to me because of the extreme contrast between the realms within which they were navigating.

Achieving local control is not simple in a political environment that is hostile to Native American sovereignty. At the time of my tenure at the boarding school, it was funded by the BIA, but was administered under tribal supervision. The physical campus had been designated sovereign, making it a nation within a nation (requiring its own judicial and security systems so that it could run fully autonomous from U.S. federal and municipal systems). Yet even that move is a partial fiction. The school's administrators are constantly under threat by government officials who annually bang a drum to eliminate Native sovereignty nationally, and ultimately the school is subject to the standards of federal and state funding, and therefore must comply, like all other schools that receive federal funding—such as NCLB. So, though the school makes a special effort to address the needs of its student community (drawing from over twenty-five different regional and national tribes), it also is constantly under a federal microscope that some would interpret as harassment. If it is true, as critics contend, that NCLB is an effort to push America's schools into privatization structures, then this is yet another impending threat to local control of Native American schools.<sup>21</sup>



As teachers, we negotiated between the concerns of youth and elders, finding that it was not unusual to hear one group say they didn't understand the other. No doubt, contrasting experiences—one coming from a reality unmediated by the torrent of mass media, the other from a digitally mediated realm—are bound to rub against each other. This needn't be the case, though, for there are approaches being made in Native communities addressing this gap, many of which are promising. One example is the boarding school's community-based model approach in which its interdisciplinary program educates students in an assortment of subjects, including tribal law and technology. Also included are courses in the use of hi-tech gear, such as global positioning systems (GPS) and global information systems (GIS) mapping, and these services are offered to the tribes that are served by the school. The goal is to connect the technology skills students are learning in school to the needs of their communities in mutually beneficial ways. For in the past the tendency was for students who succeeded in learning specialized technology skills to be hired away by companies that did not service or benefit the students' home communities. The program collaborates with communities to best harmonize the learning environment of students that is relevant and beneficial to all parties involved. For example, one of the biggest challenges confronting southwestern tribes along the Rio Grande is the remediation of the river forest ecology. As a result, students have been asked by several tribes to map with GIS various stretches of forest. Back at the school, students learn how to incorporate the data into maps. On several projects, my specific contribution was to assist students in producing digital media documentation of these programs. Here we see a positive convergence of the school working in conjunction with tribal communities to provide technical expertise and training with digital technology to service the ecological needs of the tribe, and also to promote self-sufficiency by training tribal members to utilize cutting-edge technology.

Other models are abundant. An example of how the oral tradition can be bridged by digital media is the effort by some tribes to use digital video to preserve their languages. In northern New Mexico, one tribe is attempting to have kids interview their elders in their native language on video, and then catalog the footage on DVD for their tribal library. In Oklahoma, a high school program is re-creating traditional stories spoken in the indigenous language by using stop-motion claymation that is then edited on computers. The Cherokee Nation, in particular, is making incredible advances in using digital technology to enhance their cultural heritage.<sup>22</sup>

### **Applying Media Literacy**

In terms of a community-based model of digital media production and literacy, I'm interested in "internal" forms of production because, though it is important for mainstream society to be familiar with Native issues (and also simply to have Native Americans as a visible presence that affirms their lively existence in contemporary society), the flood of commercial media also threatens language, cultural integrity, and mental sovereignty, and performs an overall spiritually colonizing effect. The potentially troubling aspect of technological aesthetics and culture is its homogenizing effect, which is duly noted by a group of Native scholars who examine the subject closely:

Certainly some computer companies and Web sites are pushing the notion of "one world, one culture" (cyberculture, we suppose!). The idea, however, lacks an understanding that synthetic communication has a push-pull effect that works to push groups apart at the same time as it works to pull them together. We suspect that, with American Indians, it will remain largely the same as it has been, though other

more powerful circumstances, especially economic ones, may prevail, and tend to diminish ethnic boundaries.<sup>23</sup>

In my view, “internal” media (productions by and for Native audiences) should have two components: mindful engagement (literacy) and self-empowerment (production). For example, many of the communities with which I have worked are using digital media as an educational tool for health issues. In terms of connecting health with digital media, the frontline of this approach comes from the national media literacy movement of nonprofits, one of the few areas in which tools of critical engagement of media—digital and analog—are actually practiced. Although the term *literacy* is problematic because of its epistemological and semantic context, we still need a word that describes the thing we are trying to do, which is to come up with a method that enables “learners” and “readers” of media to analyze, evaluate, and communicate in some form a cogent response that reflects an awareness of how media operate, and also promotes the capacity to detect the bias of media systems and their producers. I call my own methodology “media mindfulness,” for at a minimum, students should be critical participants of media systems, and at best be active producers of their own content, reflecting an engaged awareness of media environments in the context of their community needs, values, and their own personal realities. I’m interested in a kind of mindful engagement with media forms that include Web sites, animations, video (music, narrative, documentary, and experimental), music, video games, and advertising.

When working within Native American communities, I also feel that media content should reflect directly upon their lived experiences and complex realities. This is a hard task, given that there are so few mainstream media samples to work with that reflect contemporary Native culture. One of the most interesting areas where technological and media savvy have practical applications is in tribal efforts to reclaim tobacco for sacred uses and for promoting smoke-free environments. Media literacy is considered a no-nonsense tool for health education because it differs from the conventional approach, which is to tell teens to stop doing something because it’s bad for them. The latter technique usually produces the opposite result; but if you demonstrate how massive multinational corporations use media to manipulate their belief systems, it appeals to the students’ natural sense of rebellion. Here, media literacy is not simply an abstract pedagogical tool, but also serves the practical needs of the tribe. After all, if we are dealing with education from a systems view, then the prevalence of malnutrition, drug addiction, diabetes, alcohol abuse, and domestic violence typical of impoverished communities does not suggest a positive educational environment. As such, media education, especially as it relates to commercial tobacco abuse, is literally a form of mental decolonization. Keep in mind that one of the skills Indians taught European colonizers was the “culture” of tobacco. That is, by showing them how to grow and cultivate the ceremonial plant, colonists were able to generate great wealth, so much so that tobacco leaves are featured as part of the design of the one-dollar bill. Through the deconstruction of tobacco ads and nefarious marketing practices on the Web and in film, and through the steady effort to both prevent addiction and support abatement, tribes are slowly reclaiming the power of one their most sacred plants, and reaffirming its role in their culture and society.

Because of current funding and standards implementation, there have been backdoor efforts by media educators to introduce novel approaches for digital media literacy through a variety of nontraditional education channels. In New Mexico, media literacy units have been inserted into social studies, language arts, and health education curriculum standards, but nationally these requirements are few and far between. Consequently, students are more likely to encounter media literacy in after-school or summer programs serviced by nonprofits

and funded by special grants. For example, state tobacco settlement funds have been a boon for media education specialists in various regions. In New Mexico, many literacy programs were offered through state tobacco settlement grants, administered by public school system health advocacy organizations or through county and state agencies that value media literacy as an effective public health education tool for pressing health issues, such as preventing driving under the influence (DUI). But here, too, is a cautionary tale of why cultural sensitivity and community context is so important. A lot of antitobacco media literacy activists make the mistake of demonizing tobacco, and fail to distinguish the sacred relationship of the plant with Native Americans and its abuse by commercial cigarette and other enterprises. One well-meaning program was banned from a Native-run school for this very reason. Without making the distinction between religious and commercial uses, the nonprofit conducted a survey that asked students if they used tobacco in the previous month. The unusually high percentage that said “yes” were confused because many of the students carry tobacco with them as part of their religious practice. In another misstep by a different program, a public service announcement (PSA) about DUI was made depicting Native students drinking in their car. Even though the script was written by Native students, depicting images that are already strongly embedded in the national consciousness, in particular those of Indian alcoholics, is of dubious benefit.

Native American health advocacy programs operated by tribal governments outside of schools have taken a special interest in media literacy. I have attended numerous commercial tobacco prevention conferences and “wellness” camps led by tribal health agencies to train adults and youth in media literacy strategies, and to produce grassroots, community-based PSAs for their communities. In my opinion, campaigns that have focused on producing media for insertion into mainstream media have not had nearly as much impact as those programs featuring youth designed and produced PSAs at community events that offer food and celebration. Unless you are as well funded as the antismoking Truth campaign to build a brand, I liken PSAs in mainstream media to throwing a glass of water into a waterfall. As youth media producers become peer educators, they inspire the wider community to produce culturally specific and community-targeted messages. Community events have tremendous power because they incorporate traditional and modern storytelling techniques in a way that brings people together, rather than isolating them. Likewise, when students at the Indian boarding school make PowerPoint presentations to their communities summarizing their fieldwork and findings, these are very important events that dignify and empower the students and their audiences. Finally, when I was working at the boarding school, we started having “film festivals” to showcase student work to the school and community.

Because of the nature of funding (which is typically based on advocacy), my methodology begins with an activist approach informed by deconstruction, and other analysis-based techniques promoting media literacy. But then I also incorporate “reconstruction” projects that enable students to enter into dialog with and respond to mass media by using digital media tools, thereby engaging its form. Part of the problem of commonly used media literacy techniques is that kids are pitted against “bad” media, and are forced to make a “with us or against us” choice, rather than being offered an alternate route. Experimental film, music videos, flash, animation, and video games are all ways to expose students to positive uses of media. Media literacy should celebrate the environment that youth occupy, while offering tools for them to engage critically with their digital world. This is the best way to inspire them to challenge the credibility of media-generated information, because it encourages their natural rebellion and desire to “question authority” (to borrow an old punk and hippie term)

as they pass through adolescence and on to adulthood as individual, knowing subjects. But also keep in mind that some tribes do not consider rebelliousness as appropriate behavior for youths, because traditionally, individuality is considered contrary to community harmony. Ultimately, in my experience, demonizing media backfires because it ultimately challenges the veracity of a world that kids find very real. If you focus on the likely intent or potential benefits of media producers (such as commercial tobacco or alcohol), you get a much better response.

### Connecting Ecology with Digital Media Literacy

Deloria and Wildcat quote an elder who said, "If you don't know where you are going, any road will get you there."<sup>24</sup> Such can be said of the so-called information highway. Information for information's sake can get us somewhere if we don't know where we are going; but without wisdom, what sort of destination are we heading toward? What is the point of data if they have no useful meanings? What are they in terms of human experience? Many tribal people still believe in and respect the limits of digital media's inevitability (such as giving it "rumor" status). As Okanagan activist Jeannette Armstrong puts it, "I see the thrust of technology into our daily lives, and I see the ways we subvert emotional ties to people by the use of communications that serve to depersonalize. I see how television, radio, telephone, and how computer networks create ways to promote depersonalized communication."<sup>25</sup> By contrast, "In a healthy whole community, the people interact with each other in shared emotional response."<sup>26</sup>

Although it's true that one of the more demeaning stereotypes of Native Americans is that of the "noble savage" and "natural ecologist,"<sup>27</sup> of the tribes that I have worked with the most pressing issues for their communities, aside from sovereignty, are ecological or health related, both of which are intimately linked to poverty and all its attendant social ills. One way of mending this broken medicine wheel (thereby uniting the circle and the cross) and giving new digital media useful "meaning" is to ensure that there is a holistic discussion of technology that incorporates an ecological perspective. Digital technology is intrinsically a feedback system; not to broaden the concept of feedback to the greater system of production and consumption is looking only at the "angles" of the digital media environment. Consequently, one of the least discussed issues in our country is the impact energy policy and technological research exert on Indian Reservations. I would be remiss not to reflect on the fact that what we are talking about is encouraging the use of electronic devices that are powered by the consumption of extractive resources, such as coal, fossil fuels, and water. Some also believe that engaging computers intensifies this process. Jerry Mander, one of the most vociferous critics of technology and globalization, observes, "The advance of computers is contributing to a loss of ecological sensitivity and understanding, since the very process of using computers, particularly educating through computers effectively excludes an entire set of ideas and experiences that heretofore had been building blocks for developing connection with the earth . . . computers alter the pathways of children's cognition."<sup>28</sup>

However, under local control and proper pedagogy, this is a limited perspective. Take, for example, the following scenario, which is rather complex and contains a number of gray areas. Los Alamos National Laboratory (LANL), and other weapons programs across the United States, impact tribes through the production of toxic waste and contamination of tribal lands. LANL, in particular, where the first atomic weapons were developed and built, is literally constructed on the ancestral grounds of a tribe that currently lives down from

the lab's watershed. The lab itself is surrounded by four tribes, and all of them are impacted by the lab's emissions. These tribes also receive federal assistance, which ironically is how technological needs are met on some of these reservations—a bargain not taken lightly.<sup>29</sup>

A few years ago, this relationship also produced an interesting program that served both the technological and ecological needs of a tribe. A reservation bordering the lab was given a FEMA grant because a major fire damaged its lands in year 2000, which also destroyed a huge part of the town of Los Alamos. The tribe's governor committed a portion of the grant to create a summer youth employment program that was run by teachers from the boarding school where I worked, and by tribal employees. The nature of our project was twofold. One was to generate a baseline study of biological species along the Rio Grande River's cottonwood forest spanning tribal lands; the other was to do a similar study in a canyon where discharge from the town of White Rock and LANL facilities was released into the Rio Grande's watershed. The bosque (Spanish colloquial term for *woods*) study was necessary because of an overgrowth of "introduced" or "invasive" species—tamarisks (salt cedar) and Russian olive trees—were salinating the river's forest ecosystem and crowding out the cottonwoods. The tamarisks were originally planted by the Army Corps of Engineers to reduce flooding, and had been part of a fifty-year project to reengineer the river's entire system through dams, dredging, and the introduction of exotic plant species. Tribes up and down the river are in the process of repairing the river's ecology through removal of these exotic species and inducing floods to stimulate the growth of new cottonwood trees, without which the vital old-growth tree stands will die out. Our job was to document what was along the river before the exotics removal commenced, which is a very complex and disruptive process for the river's ecology. It was important to have a baseline study for before and after the procedure, to see if the ecological remediation is effective, and also to measure the program's ultimate impact on the river ecosystem, documenting in time the natural biodiversity of the local system.

The students, all paid tribal members aged 14 to 19, cordoned off sections of the forest and used GPS, GIS, and digital cameras, combined with field notes and computers, to log and document biological species (animals, plants, and insects). On alternating days, we also traveled to a canyon below the labs to test soil for contaminants and to count species there. My job was to lead a small crew of students to do video documentation of the program, and later to edit a piece for presentation in Washington, DC.

One of the most telling moments occurred that summer when we were winding up the narrow road that leads up to the sage-covered mesa where Los Alamos and its weapons laboratory reside. We stopped at an overlook from which one can observe across a canyon ancient cavates in the cliffs that sheltered the tribe's ancestors. In the shallow valley below, it is possible to see among bark beetle-ravaged pine trees the outlines of a long-abandoned pueblo that was also once the ancestral home of the tribe with which we were working. Lining the mesa ridge above are rows of desert lawn-adorned McMansions that house weapons lab administrators and staff. We framed a digital photo juxtaposing the ancient and modern lodging for input into a PowerPoint presentation we were to do a month later in DC for our state's senator and other Washington officials whose departments contributed to our program's funding. Later on, as we prepared the slide show in our DC hotel, my colleague asked the tribal governor what to title the image of the caves and mansions. Without missing a beat, he told us in a deep, grave tone, "Temporary Housing."

The governor's remark demonstrates awareness of the self-destructive logic, and ultimately cyclical nature, of empire and technology. My colleague and I were also conscious of the

other subtext of our project: we both recognized that our study of invasive species had greater implications than the biological realm we were cataloging. As educators of European descent, we too were an “invasive species.” Yet we were also bridges; we possessed the technological know-how of GIS, GPS, computers, and media. The tribe’s governor reminded the youth at the beginning of the summer program that there was a world beyond the cattle guard at the reservation’s edge, and that they would be wise to learn as much as possible about that world, so as to better survive it. Our job was to be guides within that realm.

### Conclusions/Leapfrog

Language is a part of our identity. Deeply embedded in our Native languages are philosophical ideas that skip across centuries to the center of our Native universes. Governments tried to silence us, but still we make our voices heard. Today, we use every means available to pass our languages to the next generation. We can see films made in Seneca, Zaporos, Hopi, and Inupuit; checkout websites in Quechua, Aymara, Lakota, and Cherokee; download songs in Cree Shuar, and Hawaiian. Art is a visual language and when contemporary Native artists use the vocabulary of tradition, they, too, are keeping a language alive. When they use that vocabulary in a new way, they show that we can innovate yet remain connected to our Native identity. Embracing change, while holding onto our philosophical center, is survivance.<sup>30</sup>

Recalling the broader debate concerning “globalization” and that of indigenous people from across the world, the frontline nations in the struggle between education, media, environment, and culture are those of indigenous people. This was brought into stark relief during the campus Apartheid debates of the 1980s, when students demanded that educational institutions divest from South Africa. Many of us felt that it was important to remind our country that the Reservations system in the United States also represented a kind of domestic apartheid. At the time (1985) there was (and remains to this day) an ongoing struggle in the Four-Corners region of the U.S. Southwest, in which tribes are pitted against each other in a struggle over land and natural resources. Although triggered by a historical quarrel between the tribes that pre-dates the intrusion by the U.S. government, the conflict is now exploited and exacerbated by corporate and government interests to extract coal from the region.<sup>31</sup> We invited a Diné activist to visit our campus and to build a hexagonal-shaped hogan (traditional Diné home) among the shanties constructed by students to protest Apartheid. Upon arrival, he commented that it was his first flight, and that during it he had an epiphany. “No wonder you white people are so messed-up,” he said. “You all live in squares!”

From the onset of relations with the European immigrants, Native Americans have not been self-defined, but constructed as a negative in relation to the white or European protagonists of written and mediated history. Thus Native Americans have the contention of dealing with the insidious construct of being an “Other” in relation to the development and creation of a national identity in the United States. And as outsiders from Indian culture, whether we like it or not, we are part of a what Edward Said calls “communities of interpretation.” Said warns that much of what we understand about other cultures, such as Arabs (who have been subjected to the same Wild West myths as Native Americans), is through our second-hand worlds that filter and source information from outside our daily experience: “Between consciousness and existence stand meaning and designs and communication which other men have passed on—first, in human speech itself, and later, by the management of symbols. Symbols focus experience; meaning organizes knowledge, guiding the surface perceptions of an instant no less than aspirations of a lifetime.”<sup>32</sup> Accordingly, it is vital that Native American communities be the ones defining and determining the symbols representing their



world: "Ending the digital divide in Indian country requires allowing tribal communities to craft their own solutions based on their unique environments and needs. . . . Indian people will achieve equal opportunity for the first time when they participate in shaping their own destiny by getting involved in the leading edge of technological development."<sup>33</sup> But ultimately, because of the level by which new media infuse our lives, I don't believe there is a pure culture in isolation of the greater society, and the reality on the ground with the kinds of kids with whom I've worked is that they live in a hybridized mode of perception; it is not possible to call it living in two worlds, since each world, in itself, is its own conglomeration of realities. I'm reminded of Néstor García Canclini's observation, from his vantage point of the hybridization of Latin American culture, that all cultures are border cultures.<sup>34</sup>

Also of relevance is Gerald Vizner's discussion of "survivance." In short, Vizner argues, "survivance, in the sense of native survivance, is more than survival, more than endurance or mere response; the stories of survivance are an active presence."<sup>35</sup> Survivance is a concept that appears often in new literature about the contemporary state of Native America. It adds a dimension of resistance to the mere concept of survival and "victimry"; it affirms that Native Americans are rather ingenious in their ability to respond to the dominant culture. For example, despite the colonizing effects of education and literacy, it should be strongly noted that Native Americans have a very rich tradition of indigenous literature and media production. Their ability to transform the tools of mental colonization and oppression into empowering acts of literature and art is distinctive, demonstrating "the truism that in situations of extreme oppression, the oppressed of necessity know more about the oppressors' ways than the oppressors understand the ways of those whom they oppress."<sup>36</sup>

As has been demonstrated by the resourceful harnessing of media by Australian Aborigines, communications technology should ultimately be in the service of self-determination, sovereignty, and empowerment. Anthropologist and indigenous media scholar Faye Ginsburg concludes from her work in Australia,

that the social relations built out of indigenous media practices are helping to develop support and sensibilities of indigenous actions for self-determination. Self-representation in media is seen as a crucial part of this process. Indigenous media productions and the activities around them are rendering visible indigenous cultural and historical realities to themselves and the broader societies that have stereotyped or denied them. The transitional social relations built out of these media practices are creating new arenas of cooperation, locally, nationally, and internationally.<sup>37</sup>

Consequently, Native Americans may actually be poised to take great advantage of new communications technologies. Of all the cultural groups I've worked with across the United States, I've noticed that Native Americans get digital media literacy in ways that I believe are unique to their history and culture. It is my sense that, because Native Americans are generationally closer to an oral tradition and have been less conditioned by print literacy than European societies have been, they have the potential to leapfrog us in terms of harnessing digital media. It is increasingly clear from studies of knowledge work that the beneficiaries of new modes of engagement will be those who are most adept at "symbol management." If it's true that the mentality best suited for this activity belongs to those who are visual and spatial thinkers, then it's possible that Native Americans may fare better as future operators of new media systems than those conditioned by print. "This provides us with the intriguing but perhaps no longer so unusual situation of a people's moving rapidly from 'oral' to electronic society, but bypassing print literacy. Attention to the particulars of both the traditional system and accommodation to the imposed one offers insights into the limitations

of our unexamined theories of unilineal media evolution.”<sup>38</sup> The emergent potential of the social Web (Web 2.0) based on communities and relationships could represent the most positive development of new digital technology for Native Americans and the greater society, enabling a process of organic, self-organizing affinities to develop beyond the traditional power structure:

Internet, with its particular reliance on visual imagery to be effective, is such that it is not so far removed from traditional forms of Indigenous communication—the sense of community is immediate, given without interpretation by non-Indigenous peoples, except as technicians and facilitators where needed. This may well be one of its main strengths, and the imperative to communicate, grounded in traditions of oral and visual forms of communication may, in fact, be one thing underlying the rapidity with which Indigenous peoples in First World nations have adopted the new technologies.<sup>39</sup>

In closing, I am reminded of what I learned in Kentucky when I was working with white mountain people typically labeled derogatorily as “hillbillies.” Although they are not indigenous, I think they experienced something that Native Americans often have had to endure from mainstream society. The Kentuckian’s term for do-gooders is *brain eaters*—the social workers, sociologists, and outsiders who are engaged in social engineering that began with Lyndon Johnson’s Great Society program, which was designed to lift people out of poverty, but was also very paternalistic. The potential threat of the greater social agenda of digital media education is to produce yet another set of brain eaters without being sensitive to the very real needs of Native American communities, which are still confronting the legacy of colonialism. By taking our cue from the Native insight on the use of cultural symbols, we could also learn to draw a circle around our cultural cross. For we would be remiss not to learn their valuable insight that technology without holism has disastrous consequences. By the way, in a strange twist of fate, the emblem of the circle enclosing the cross also happens to be the astronomical symbol for planet Earth.

## Notes

1. Charles Wright Mills, *The Cultural Apparatus*, in *Power, Politics, and People*, ed. I. L. Horowitz (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963), 405–406.

2. For the purposes of this chapter I am omitting the names of tribes, specific locations, and in some cases the names of tribal officials out of a desire to focus on ideas and to avoid intervening in the delicate political reality of the specific Native American groups with which I have worked. I do this with some trepidation because, on the one hand, there is a tendency of outside scholars to dehumanize Native Americans by not identifying the living beings they write about. On the other hand, inevitably when outsiders intervene, they can generate conflict. Colonized peoples live in divided and conflicted societies. In many cases, there are numerous views, opinions, and factions dealing with the outside world. My goal in this chapter is to focus on concepts without dredging up preexisting political conflicts with specific tribes. I apologize in advance if this approach is offensive to anyone, but in the interest of describing some general ideas, I feel this is the best approach.

3. Victor Masayesva, 6 – RE: Question 2: How Can Young People of Color Balance or Incorporate New Media Technology within Traditional, Urban and Rural Community Contexts? Online posting, October 23, 2006, <http://community.macfound.org/openforum>. Retrieved October 23, 2006.

4. Donald L. Fixico, *The American Indian Mind in a Linear World* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 15.

5. Ernest Stromberg, *Rhetoric and American Indians*, in *American Indian Rhetorics of Survivance: Word Medicine, Word Magic*, ed. Ernest Stromberg (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2006), 5.

6. Neil Postman, *Technopoly: The Surrender of Culture to Technology* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), 16.
7. John Taylor Gatto, *Dumbing Us Down: The Hidden Curriculum of Compulsory School* (Gabriola Island: New Society Publishers, 2005), 13.
8. Jacques La Grange, "50 - RE: Do We Need To Be Concerned About How Young People Encounter and Interact With Race and Ethnicity Issues Online and in Other Digital Media Technologies? And What Do Our Histories Teach Us?" Retrieved October 26, 2006. <http://community.macfound.org/openforum>.
9. Vine Deloria Jr. and Daniel Wildcat, *Power and Place: Indian Education in America* (Golden, CO: Fulcrum Resources, 2001), 19.
10. Sally Hyer, *One House, One Voice, One Heart: Native American Education at the Santa Fe Indian School* (Albuquerque, NM: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1990), 4.
11. Eric Michaels, *Bad Aboriginal Art: Tradition, Media and Technological Horizons* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 82.
12. Karen Swisher and Donna Deyhle, Adapting Instruction to Culture, in *Teaching American Indian Students*, ed. Jon Reyhner (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994) 86–87.
13. National Indian Education Association and Center for Indian Education, *Preliminary Report on No Child Left Behind in Indian Country*, 2005, 7–8, [http://www.niea.org/sa/uploads/policyissues/29.23.NIEANCLBreport\\_final2.pdf](http://www.niea.org/sa/uploads/policyissues/29.23.NIEANCLBreport_final2.pdf).
14. Deloria and Wildcat, *Power and Place*, 70.
15. *Ibid.*, 75.
16. *Ibid.*, 31–32.
17. Jim Cummins, The Empowerment of Indian Students, in *Teaching American Indian Students*, ed. Jon Reyhner (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), 7.
18. Paulo Freire and Donaldo Macedo, *Literacy: Reading the Word & the World* (Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey, 1987), 30–31.
19. Linda Miller Cleary and Thomas D. Peacock, *Collected Wisdom: American Indian Education* (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1998), 188.
20. Swisher and Deyhle, Adapting Instruction to Culture, 86–87.
21. Jon Reyhner and Jeanne Eder, *American Indian Education: A History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), 322.
22. See Angela M. Haas, Making Online Spaces More Native American to Native American Indians: A Digital Diversity Recommendation, *Computers and Composition Online*, <http://www.bgsu.edu/cconline/Haas/index.htm>. Retrieved October 30, 2006.
23. Larry J. Zimmerman, Karen P. Zimmerman, and Leonard R. Bruguier, Cyberspace Smoke Signals: New Technologies and Native American Ethnicity, in *Indigenous Cultures in an Interconnected World*, ed. Claire Smith and Graeme K. Ward (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2000), 86.
24. Deloria and Wildcat, *Power and Place*, 29.
25. Jeanette Armstrong, "Sharing One Skin: Okanagan Community," in *The Case Against the Global Economy*, ed. Jerry Mander and Edward Goldsmith (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1996), 468.
26. *Ibid.*, 469.

27. Jacquelyn Kilpatrick, *Celluloid Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), xviii.
28. Jerry Mander, Technologies of Globalization, in *The Case against the Global Economy*, ed. Jerry Mander and Edward Goldsmith (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1996), 356–57.
29. I am aware of this relationship because I have been involved with tribal programs that were funded by the Department of Defense and FEMA, but out of respect for the privacy of the tribes involved, they will remain anonymous.
30. Jolene Richard and Gabrielle Tayac, on a placard from the “Our Lives” exhibition at the National Museum of the Native American, Summer 2006.
31. Winona LaDuke, *Recovering the Sacred* (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2005).
32. Edward Said, *Covering Islam* (New York: Vintage Books, 1997), 46–47.
33. Thomas Davis and Mark Trebian, Shaping the Destiny of Native People by Ending the Digital Divide, *Educause* (January/February 2001): 46.
34. Nestor García Canclini, *Hybrid Cultures: Strategies for Entering and Leaving Modernity* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), 206–63.
35. Gerald Vizner, *Fugitive Poses* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 15.
36. Stromberg, *Rhetoric and American Indians*, 6.
37. Faye Ginsburg, Embedded Aesthetics: Creating a Discursive Space for Indigenous Media, *Cultural Anthropology* 9, no. 3 (August 1994): 365–82.
38. Michaels, *Bad Aboriginal Art*, 84.
39. Claire Smith, Heather Burke, and Graeme K. Ward, Globalization and Indigenous Peoples: Threat or Empowerment, in *Indigenous Cultures in an Interconnected World*, ed. Claire Smith and Graeme K. Ward (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2000), 18.