“THAT’S WHY WE ALWAYS FIGHT BACK”: STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE AND WOMEN’S RESPONSES ON A NATIVE AMERICAN RESERVATION

BY

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DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

This project explores how women who live on a southern California reservation of the Kumeyaay Nation experience and respond to violence. Using a structural violence lens (Galtung 1969) enables a wider view of the definition of violence to include anything that limits an individual’s capabilities. Because the project used an inductive research method, the focus widened a study of intimate partner and family violence to the restrictions caused by the reservation itself, the dispute over membership and inclusion, and health issues that cause a decrease in life expectancy. From 2012 to 2018, I visited the reservation to participate in activities and interviewed 19 residents. Through my interactions, I found that women deploy resiliency strategies in support of the traditional meaning of Ipai/Tipai. This Kumeyaay word translates to “the people” to indicate that those who are participating are part of the community. By privileging the participants’ understanding of belonging, I found three levels of strategies, which I named inter-resiliency (within oneself), intra-resiliency (within the family or reservation) and inter-resiliency (within the large community of Kumeyaay or Native Americans across the country), but all levels exist within the strength gained from being part of the Ipai/Tipai.

Sociological contributions include a richer description of the lived experiences of southern California Kumeyaay, agency of Native American women despite constraints of living on a reservation, and mechanisms associated with excess death among Native Americans. This dissertation attempts to encourage a centering of the participants so that strategies for interactions that will be more meaningful and effective.
DEDICATION

For those who opened their hearts to me and taught me the ways of our ancestors: the way to shell acorns without tossing them on the ground, to sew a ribbon on a skirt without breaking seam rippers, and to decorate the church for an anniversary wake with fabric and mementos, pictures, and clothes. Thank you for sharing the experiences and work that leads to an aching body that symbolizes giving yourself to the community.
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GLOSSARY

**band** – A smaller subset of a Nation of Native Americans; a distinct group within a Nation.

**identity work** – The way in which individuals negotiate their own ethnicity (or other ascribed status). Waters explains that usually only whites can opt into their European ethnicity or opt out at will.

**Intersectional framework** – A method and theory privileging the lived experiences of individuals, explicating that each person lives in an intersection of her or his identities that provides certain advantages and disadvantages.

**Ipai/Tipai** – “The People” (Kumeyaay). Traditionally, everyone who was fully participating in the group was considered part of the family.

**Kumeyaay** – Nation of Native Americans made up of 12 bands settled on reservations to the north and south of the U.S./Mexican border.

**Nation** – The group of Native Americans at the most broad category (formerly termed “tribe,” but I am choosing to use less colonizing language).

**resiliency and resistance strategies** – Ways in which members of a subjected population survive and fight back to protect themselves, their families, and their communities.

**Peon games** – A traditional game played over a campfire with two teams of four facing each other behind blanket. The goal is to win all of the sticks by guessing which bone (black or white) is being held by each member of the other team.

**Sha-wee** – A traditional Kumeyaay acorn mush food, now prepared for celebrations but formerly a staple of the Kumeyaay diet.

**structural violence** – Anything that inhibits someone from living up to her full potential.
CHAPTER 1: STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE AND NATIVE AMERICAN WOMEN

Native American women experience more violence, and worse violence, than do non-Native women. In the United States, sexual assault of Native women is higher than for any other demographic (Bachman et al. 2008; Gebhardt & Woody 2012; Tjaden & Thoennes 2000). Tjaden and Thoennes (2000) used the 1995–1996 National Violence against Women Survey to find that the primary form of violence against women is intimate partner violence—the ongoing control that one partner exerts over another though physical, emotional, psychological, or sexual abuse and/or restricting access to family, friends, or money (Fawole et al. 2005; Iliyasu et al. 2011; Price 2012, Deer 2018).

One in three women reports being sexually assaulted or physically attacked during her lifetime, and nearly two of every three incidents are at the hands of an intimate partner or ex-partner (Tjaden & Thoennes 2000). Native women are sexually abused twice as much as non-Native women (Gebhardt & Woody 2012), and they suffer violence at the hands of an intimate partner much more often and more severely than do their non-Native counterparts (Pedersen, Malcoe, and Pulkingham al. 2013; A. Smith, 2012). Black et al. (2012) used the 2010 Center for Disease Control’s National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey to find that 46% of American Indian and Alaskan Native (AIAN) women experience intimate partner violence during their lifetime. White et al. (2013) caution that this does not take into account differences within groups, and they cite Robin (1998), who found an intimate partner violence rate of 91% on a specific reservation in the Southwest.

The framing of intimate partner violence suffers from the historical context of family violence’s being considered a private, personal, or family matter. Much of the research on family violence focuses on the psychological state of victims and perpetrators or uses a social work
perspective of prevention and care. Public health solutions and human rights approaches that focus only on the individual are notoriously difficult to tailor to single situations and to enforce. By placing the impetus on the individual, whether through victim blaming or relying on the victim to leave an abusive situation, past approaches overemphasize the agency of the individual without understanding how historical and sociopolitical contexts constrain agency. However, I find these individual approaches unsatisfactory because often psychological explanations can be better understood within the context of the social structure of family and the social structures that create the site for violence. I use a structural violence framework to examine family violence as a systemic problem (Galtung 1969, Price 2012). This framework more aptly underscores the site of Native American women who live on reservations and the additional structural violence inherited from the colonialism of the past and the present (Farmer 2005; Pedersen et al. 2013; Weaver 2009).

In addition, my project utilizes an intersectional, feminist approach to privilege the experiences and voices of women who are dealing in their lives with violence created by the reservation system as a colonial structure. By using an intersectional framework, I can consider the different positionalities of my participants to explore potential impacts of globalization and proximate social structures in their lived experiences to further examine ways in which family has been influenced and structural violence emerges. A more rigorous theoretical framework will emerge with the discovery of the interconnectedness between personal problems and social issues (Mills 1959).

Native women are individually located within a web of oppression based on their Nation, race and ethnicity, class, gender, sexuality, religion, and ability; in this study, I privilege their lived experiences. I will explore how the continued violence of the colonization of Native
Americans (Wolfe 2004; Pedersen et al. 2013; Weaver 2009) is reflected in the increased prevalence of family violence as well as other structural violences found on reservations. I seek to give voice to the participants of their experiences of violence from the macro-, meso-, and microstructures they encounter.

Finally, the reservation system as an artifact and an ongoing site of oppression upholds the colonizing genocide of the past (Wolfe 2004). It is within this site that resiliency has emerged. I interrogate how Native women employ resistance and resiliency strategies to find culturally appropriate ways to attend to violence on the reservations. Because researchers have found connections between settler colonialism and gender relations (A. Smith 2003), I want to extend Wolfe’s framework to the analysis of violence that women face. Settler colonialism processes were and continue to be ways that the state and Eurocentric cultural ideals exert power over Native Americans. Through interactions at the macro-, meso-, and micro- levels, colonialism undermines indigenous views of family and causes additional hardship for already disadvantaged women.

Understanding how external interventions have helped and hindered women dealing with intimate partner violence and gaining a better understanding of how women themselves have utilized their agency to save their own lives, family, and health can more fully explain the problem of structural violence on Native American reservations.

This project consists of 19 in-depth interviews as well as visits from 2016-2019 to participate and observe a band (about 100 individuals) from the Kumeyaay Nation located in San Diego County, California.¹

¹ To protect confidentiality, I will not refer to the band by name.
Brief Historical Context

Archeologists have shown that the Kumeyaay Nation descends from the same Native Americans who have lived in southern California for 10,000 years (Shackley 2006, Shipek 1982). Individual bands made up the Nation, distinguished by different dialects and areas of migration. The Kumeyaay traveled from the desert to the mountains to the coast in order to sustain their complex lifestyle. Before contact with Europeans, they harnessed their environment in very sophisticated ways. The individual within the band specialized in a trade and was given time to become an expert. The crafts included basket weaving, pottery, making arrowheads, and making portable grinding stones (Shackley 2006). The Kumeyaay were master agriculturalists who not only gathered but grew crops and cross-pollinated plants to create early hybrids. They grew maize, beans, and squash and used local plants and animals for food (Shackley 2006). Those living closer to the ocean built sea kayaks that took them into the ocean to fish.

The Kumeyaay have a storied history with first the Portuguese explorers, then the Spanish, and finally the Mexicans before the State of California was settled. At this time, the Kumeyaay Nation was divided by the U.S.-Mexican border, with 12 bands remaining north and three south of the border (see Figure 1 for a map of the lands of the original Kumeyaay Nation). As the figure depicts, the Kumeyaay lands extended from Los Angeles to 60 miles into Mexico and more than 50 miles to the east. The open dots are current Native American reservations of the bands of the Kumeyaay; the solid dots are current U.S. cities.
Figure 1. Kumeyaay lands. (Source: www.kumeyaay.info.)

Setting

The band I visited occupies a 3,580-acre reservation, fifty miles east of San Diego in the infertile land of the mountains. The band earns money through running a horse ranch/RV park and by applying for temporary grants for development projects. They are always looking for additional economic development opportunities but have yet to achieve the success of some other bands. Mostly this is due to their location far from population centers. There are no local law enforcement, courts, or health facilities. Instead, the San Diego County Sheriff’s Office responds to calls for law enforcement, and a neighboring band houses the Southern Indian Health
Council, which provides the health clinic for the local bands. The closest office of the tribal police is located in Yuma, Arizona, over 100 miles away.

I will use critical ethnography to show how early Spanish and then Mexican colonizers attempted to eliminate the Kumeyaay people and how subsequent interactions with the U.S. government maintain this imperialist relationship.

I use a structural violence framework, which explains violence as anything that limits a person from living up to her full potential (Galtung 1969), to elucidate how women living on this reservation understand and fight back against the imperialist structure. This reservation is uniquely situated for a study of structural violence because of the ongoing effects of colonization. Whereas some Native bands are located near major population hubs and have sustained great advances in economic development, the band I studied has gained little traction in becoming financially independent. Their reliance on federal economic grants ensures that they remain tied to the strictures of the imperialist relationship.

The lack of opportunity also causes more and more Westernization and loss of indigenous understandings and culture. Throughout most of the history of the interaction of the Kumeyaay Nation with the colonizers, they were referred to as the Mission Indians; as described below, the Native Americans were conscripted into building and working as forced labor for the Spanish missions. However, the Nation reasserted its indigenous name and currently uses the name *Kumeyaay*, but they are also referred to as *Ipai* and *Tipai*, which are also the names of the language spoken by the Kumeyaay. Whether used as the Nation’s name or the name of the language, the words *Ipai/Tipai* embody a multilevel understanding of “family”: *Ipai/Tipai* is an all-inclusive family; those who are present and participating are family.
I have used Johnny Saldaña’s found-word-poetry data analysis to compile the following poem. I use the actual words of certain participants, who were discussing their deceased chairperson. I rearranged their words to create a remembrance of him because many spoke fondly of him (Saldaña 2012). In doing so, I realized this helped create nuances in the definition of Ipai/Tipai. The words they use to represent the Nation, the people, the family. Using this advanced interpretative method, I literally centered their words and let them lead me to the analysis.

*Ipai/Tipai*

“Trying to bring traditions back to us
Trying to bring it all back to reservation
Get all involved
Told girls how proud he was—just beaming
Makes us do better

One hell of a long talk with me about the reservation
Only one who would speak honestly to me
Taught us
Taught me a lot about being an Indian
So helpful with everything

Gave each person a certain amount of knowledge that he knew
As a team, we can make up the things that he knew
Blessed to learn from him
Scary to know we have stand up without him
Remember what he taught us

Step now
Continue on
Find our own voice
We’re family and we need to stick together
Be there for each other . . . everyone . . . anyone

We’re the next ones who have to say it
It’s time for us to find our voices and tell people

He’s looking down and smiling because we’re doing this.”

(Participants: Ann, Lisa, Rita, Leila, and Kelly)
Although the participants were discussing a former chairperson, they all acknowledged the importance of bringing back the traditions and including everyone as part of the family, or Ipai/Tipai. It is through this understanding that I can elucidate how the women deploy their resistance and resiliency strategies.

**Topic**

In this dissertation, I use a structural violence framework, which specifies that anything that limits someone from living up to her full potential is a form of violence, to unpack how the structure of the reservation works in myriad ways to continue the colonization of the past and present to undermine the authority of this band, primarily as it relates to family. Based on the work of anthropologists and archaeologists before me, I outline a brief history of the Kumeyaay Nation and a more nuanced history since the Spanish invasion to illustrate how structural violence has meted out actual physical, historical trauma and has disempowered the Kumeyaay people, including ways that they were hunted, assimilated, or simply declared extinct. The analysis was completed with ethnographic observations and semistructured interviews to center the experiences of women to begin to understand how they view the situation and how they employ their agency to overcome the effects of colonization. Chapter 2 begins with a review of the literature of family and the connection to intersectionality as it pertains to life on a reservation. In Chapter 2 I also elucidate the research question that will arise in connecting the structural violence framework with the family literature. Chapter 3 expands on the setting and methods of research. I use data primarily from in-depth interviews with participants and those who serve the Native community, as well as using historical documents, research of archeologists and anthropologists, and a visit to the Museum of Man. Chapter 4 provides a
historical overview of the Kumeyaay Nation that I have compiled from researching anthropologists, archeologists, and biographers of the Nation. Chapter 5 explicates the structural violences found within the reservation, focusing primarily on how the reservation disempowers women through a breakdown of traditional beliefs of what it means to be Ipai/Tipai and how changes in family structure have affected the whole community. Chapter 6 outlines the creation of a resiliency typology that my participants and I created through combining their stories with the sociological levels of interaction. My participants employ resiliency strategies through reliance on the ideal of Ipai/Tipai. Chapter 6 also discusses how interactions with indigenous bands must be made within the framework of their culture. In this dissertation, I focus on women living on a reservation in southern California to provide insight into how the understanding of families must be expanded when encountering indigenous populations and how the tenacity and strength of women must not be discounted when proposing policies to improve lives.
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW AND QUESTION

Structural Violence

To help shed light on the harsh conditions of life on a reservation, I connect Johan Galtung’s framework of structural violence and imperialism to Native American reservations. According to Galtung, violence occurs when someone is not able to live up to her or his full potential. Direct violence is observable and has a perpetrator and victim, but structural violence is often hidden in the institutions of society. Structural violence can become enmeshed in society through imperialist relationships. Galtung explicates imperialism through a multilayered framework that shows the types, phases, and mechanisms of imperialism that cause domination of one government over another (1969, 1971). I use this framework to show how the actions of European colonial settlers exemplify an imperialist assault on indigenous populations through a review of the types, phases, and mechanisms of imperialism. Through imperialism the settlers created the scaffolding of perfect structural violence, giving rise to control of the reservations by the U.S. government without further need of physical violence. The consequences of the imperialist structure and its structural violence are that individual Native Americans do not fulfill their potential and also have worse health outcomes than other groups in the United States. I am particularly interested in connecting structural violence/imperialism to Native American women, who suffer more prevalent and more severe intimate partner violence than any other group in the United States (Pedersen, Malcoe, & Punkingham 2013; Smith 2012) and a higher number of both lifetime and annual assaults (Bachman et al. 2008). By showing how the interactions between the U.S. government and Native people typify a structural violence/imperialist relationship, I show how the outcomes of this structural violence include unequal health outcomes for Native women.
During the 1960s, Galtung created a more robust theory of violence to include structural violence in addition to overt physical violence caused by a specific actor. Through the decades, others have examined more specific issues of structural violence, including Farmer in the area of health and social oppression, Prontzos in economic and political oppression, and Picciotto and Weaving and David Roberts in the area of human insecurity (Roberts 2008). These theorists all looked for mechanisms to make structural violence visible. They have found that by identifying inequality (especially inequality that is justified through victim blaming or claiming something is “just how it always has been”) can be used as a marker for further investigation. The inequality can be linked back to structural violence that is perpetuated through a social structure. For example, the view of residential segregation changes from an individual’s problem to a structural problem when we remember the redlining of residential loans.

Galtung’s argument begins by considering peace to be a social goal, not impossible to achieve, that is agreed on by most and insists on “absence of violence” (Galtung 1969). For Galtung, “violence is present when human beings are being influenced so that their actual somatic and mental realizations are below their potential realizations” (1969, p. 168). Violence can be measured (although in reality measurement is nearly impossible to accomplish) by the difference between the lived experience and the potential lived experience. Anything that limits someone from living up to her or his full potential is violence. This is obvious in interpersonal violence but less visible when structures are in place that prevent someone from living up to full potential, because we do not know the person’s full potential. In addition to the difficulty in measuring structural violence, there is difficulty in measuring mental violence. In order to research violence, we must find out if a perpetrator or a structure is what is exerting influence on a victim. Usually violence is considered to have occurred when a subject performs a damaging
action on another person (or object). Subjects commit physical or psychological damage in the form of hurting someone else either physically or mentally or by limiting her or his potential through restraining the body. The perpetrator exerts positive or negative influence by way of rewards or punishments. To understand if influence is violence, we have to judge the effect of an action: Is it preventing the “victim” from realizing his or her full potential? (Galtung 1969).

Galtung explores six dimensions to consider when studying violence: 1) physical and psychological violence, 2) negative and positive approaches, 3) whether the object is hurt, 4) whether there is a subject, 5) whether there is intention, and 6) the difference between manifest and latent violence.

Personal violence can be physical or psychological or both. Physical violence directly hurts or constrains the body; psychological violence affects the mind. By expanding the definition of violence to include psychological damage, Galtung includes the incentives and disincentives that widen the gap between actual and potential actualization. When an abuser hurts the body of a victim, there is evidence of the violence, and the difference between what a person should be able to do and what she or he is now able to do is more obvious. If a wife has a facial bruise or a broken bone, she may be forced to stay indoors. However, psychological abuse creates its own constraints; they are not visible, but they prevent a victim from living up to his or her potential. Had Galtung focused only on physical violence, the ways in which the psychological damage prevents actualization would be lost.

Second among Galtung’s dimensions of violence to be considered in how influence can be accomplished using negative and/or positive approaches. Whether the victim gains more freedom or less, more punishment or more rewards as a result of the violent action(s), those who study violence must analyze the gap between actual and potential realizations to determine if
violence is increasing or decreasing. Someone being controlled through rewards is still being controlled, but by manipulation rather than by overt violence. To Galtung this is still a form of violence, because the individual is restricted.

A third dimension to be considered is this: Can there be violence if no one is hurt? Galtung uses the example of large countries with nuclear capabilities to show that such countries are indeed exerting violence, constraining other countries and causing psychological damage simply with the threat of using nuclear weaponry. The destruction of things which is not actual violence on a person can be psychological violence, either through foreboding or threat of personal harm, as in the case of bombings. In a case of intimate partner violence, no one is hurt when a perpetrator merely threatens to harm children or pets, but the threat certainly causes psychological violence to the partner.

Galtung’s fourth dimension to be considered: Must violence have a perpetrator? If there is an influencer, the violence is personal or direct. However, with no influencer, the violence is structural or indirect. Without an abuser, the analysis looks for structural violence. Galtung gives examples of structural violence, such as unevenly distributed resources (including income, literacy, and healthcare) and the ability to decide the distribution of resources. Often those who receive more resources in one metric also have more on other metrics and are more likely to be the ones with decision-making power. Galtung refers to this disparity as social injustice.

The fifth dimension of violence is intention and with it, perhaps, feelings of guilt. Galtung asks us to avoid the typical Judeo-Christian view that violence requires someone to feel guilty for violence to have occurred. If we believe that violence happens only with someone’s intention and/or guilt, then much personal violence and all of structural violence are removed from analysis.
A sixth dimension that Galtung explores is the difference between manifest violence, which is observable, and latent violence, which is not yet present but may emerge. Latent violence occurs when a structure improves so that someone’s potential increases but outcomes do not follow, or actual violence decreases but the potential still does not catch up. As long as there is a gap, there is violence; if there is a change in potential without a change in the individual, or a change in violence toward an individual without a change in the structure, latent violence is occurring. Latency in personal violence indicates the time before the actual violence happens that decreases someone’s potential through limiting freedom. This can be seen in intimate partner violence, when the survivor is waiting for the next outburst. For a structural example, Galtung uses the case of a revolution, after which the victors have a more democratic structure for a time but then revert to the original undemocratic one.

Galtung argues that structural violence and physical violence cannot be separated because each includes some of the other. To eliminate all violence from a structure, both must be eliminated. For example, when there is low structural violence in a country, the government must use physical force to maintain control over the population; however, as the power becomes more structural, less physical violence is needed for maintaining power. Therefore, violence is present for control; however, it usually shifts from overt, physical control to structural violence the longer a regime is in power. Galtung theorizes that the level of violence stays constant if we look at both overt (physical) violence and structural violence, so a country will need more overt violence to control a population until the structural violence is in place. At this point, the structural violence will control the population, reducing physical violence. When we think about the Europeans’ colonizing Africa, they divided the continent and used physical violence to
enforce their authority. However, as their power became embedded in the social structure, they were able to maintain control with a few colonists because of the embedded structural violence.

Galtung’s typology widens the definition of violence to show that only through understanding the difference between someone’s potential and actualization can we find all the violence in a situation. Some of the violence may be more easily identifiable when it is physical or psychological, but for violence to be eliminated, any constraints must be categorized as violence. Violence can be identified by looking at both positive and negative influences that ultimately end up exerting control. Under this definition, violence does not necessitate someone’s being harmed, someone doing the harming, or someone having intent or guilt about doing harm. Although manifest violence may be more obvious, latent violence can control the actions of individuals through threat. Finding violence requires being cognizant of the difference between what someone is capable of doing and how she or he is prevented from doing it. When evidence of violence is not readily seen, we must look for structural violence in order to eliminate all violence.

Paul Farmer (1998) illustrates how structural violence arises when the poor do not have access to scientific and social progress. They also lack equal access to power, and very few are able to benefit from medicine and health care that those in power can access. Because those in power have access to healthy lifestyles, their health outcomes are better and seem natural, although it can be seen that the differential access to resources creates a system of health inequalities. Using a structural violence framework eliminates victim blaming, and it is possible to find structural violence embedded in a system of limited access to scientific solutions.

David Roberts focuses on human security, such as how the statuses of environment, natural resources, and poverty actually threaten human life (2008). Like Galtung, Roberts
examines the range of violence from personal to structural. Focusing on mortality, Roberts considers human insecurity to be avoidable death. He examines the global structures and incidents of violence that create and perpetuate crises, rendering them visible, and identifying areas of change. He finds most structural violence to exist in the international practices of capitalism, deregulation, and privatization found in neoliberalism (Roberts 2008). One example of the implementation of structural violence is the taking of loans from the International Monetary Fund by many countries in the Global South, which in turns requires the countries to implement austerity measures. One measure routinely implemented is the privatization of medicine and education, forcing users to pay fees. For richer people, this presents no problem, but most of the country is poor, and the implementation of fees causes a loss of access to healthcare and educational opportunities. Such lack of access keeps individuals from living up to their full potential.

Most importantly, though, Roberts examines gender to show that women’s lack of privilege is entrenched in global hierarchies and contributes to gender-based violence. Because of Anglo-normalized social rules, male domination in economic and political systems empowers men at the expense of women. This structural violence normalizes and justifies gendered violence, which renders those without power even more invisible (Roberts 2008). By using a structural violence framework, Roberts adds an intersectional understanding of the differing levels of injustice (2008).

Joshua Price (2012) widens structural violence further to examine the full range of violence against women, looking for spaces and locations where violence against women occurs. From the existence of prisons with inadequate health care to border patrol and police officers who return women to domestic violence situations, he urges widening the definition of domestic
violence. By examining where the violence occurs, Price uncovers heterogeneity of violence. Therapeutic models often assume domestic violence to be physical violence against white women in their homes at the hands of heterosexual spouses. These assumptions mean that many victims do not receive adequate assistance, both because they do not match the assumed characteristics of a victim and because the violence against them does not correlate to what is considered domestic violence. This lack of protective assistance makes those with little power even harder to see (Price 2012).

Price discusses how most social work solutions for intimate partner violence further disempower women in making coercive-control regulations (such as mandatory arrests, no-drop policies, and mandatory reporting) through the criminal justice system. The government also contributes to intimate partner violence through structural violence by disempowering women in economic, political, and social standing. The government’s complicity in the system that causes gendered violence eliminates the government as a good solution (Price 2012). The state continues holding racist and classist views that make it less supportive of those who do not fit the assumed typology. Price asks for a movement against domestic violence that includes all violence and focuses on differences rather than similarities. Instead of solutions that focus only on white middle-class women who experience physical violence from their spouses, first is to widen the definition of violence. This would help create solutions that take into account the psychological damage of restricting access to economic resources or to friends and family. Complete solutions to intimate partner violence are possible only when all the different types of victims and perpetrators and violent actions needing to be addressed are seen. Next, an understanding of different situations needs to be encouraged instead of simplifying and thus
prioritizing a certain type of victim, perpetrator, and action. When intimate partner violence is essentialized, many victims are marginalized.

Mary Anglin (1989) extends this understanding to show how the globalization process itself has been based on a gendered-violence framework. The consequences of assuming that existing social structures are natural further contributes to the misunderstanding of how lives are lived. By examining each woman’s physical space, researchers will be less likely to reduce the victim to either matching or not matching a supposed ideal.

Following the global processes of violence, Osirim (2003) examines Zimbabwe’s physical and sexual violence against women and sheds light on other violences including economical and psychological. She finds that violence is rooted in history of colonialism, white minority rule, changes in gender roles, and political crises. Zerai (2014) connects this to globalization processes which translates into state-sponsored violence or nearly invisible structural violence embedded in the government that further disempowers women.

Using a structural approach to understanding violence in general and violence against women in specific helps illuminate the wide expanse of violence that women face. A global perspective illuminates how violence exerted against indigenous populations trickles down into structural violence against women.

**Family Structure and Violence**

Studies of intimate partner violence have focused mostly on individuals, using quantitative, qualitative, and mixed-method approaches. Many studies have been completed by examining large surveys. Tjaden and Thoennes (2000) used the National Violence against Women Survey to find that intimate partner violence is the primary form of violence against women. One in three women report being sexually assaulted or physically attacked during their
lifetime, with 64% of the incidents being at the hands of an intimate partner or ex-partner. (Tjaden & Thoennes 2000). Many authors reference Tjaden and Thoennes’s article when using other methods that help contextualize intimate partner violence in the United States. Xu, Kerly, & Sirirsunyaluck (2001) used a random sample of women to participate in a survey in Thailand to assess risk of intimate partner violence.

Perhaps the largest quantitative investigations into intimate partner violence were performed by Garcia-Moreno and her team, who used the World Health Organization’s Demographic and Health Surveys for a multicountry study to compare women’s health, including the results of violence, in countries of the Global South. Their studies comprised a general overview of women’s health (Garcia-Moreno 2005, Garcia-Moreno et al. 2005); intimate partner violence connected general physical and mental health outcomes (Ellsberg 2008) to pregnancy (Devries et al. 2010) and abortion (Pallitto et al. 2013), to suicide (Devries et al. 2011) and alcoholism (Devries et al. 2014, and to neighborhood effects (Kiss et al. 2013).

Qualitative studies have also been used to understand intimate partner violence. Rose et al. (2000) studied 31 African-American women of primarily lower economic status in a major city in the United States using a semistructured interview technique in three visits over 2-1/2 years. McClosky, Williams, and Larsen (2005) and their research team conducted 1,044 face-to-face interviews in Moshi, Tanzania, using a cluster sample to obtain 150 different clusters within 15 wards. They then identified 18 random households in each of the clusters to identify one woman between ages 15 and 44 for the interview.

The research trend seems to be moving toward a mixed-methods approach whereby researchers begin with survey data and then expand to interviews or vice versa. In 2010, Clark et al. completed a mixed-method approach by using focus group discussions (n=105) followed by
clinical surveys. Koenig et al. (2003) combined an action-research project with survey data analysis in two rural communities in Bangladesh.

Finally, one of the most compelling articles of intimate partner violence came out of a study from Burton et al. (2009), who while performing a longitudinal ethnographical study of welfare programs were able to find and analyze trends of intimate partner violence. This method was especially effective because the researchers were interviewing the respondents closer to the time of the incidents, which helped with recall. In addition, they could observe behavior themselves that a respondent may not have considered abusive.

Although these studies can help explain the risk of intimate partner violence, examination has been lacking of the resiliency and resistance strategies of individuals, especially how Native women have continued to use their agency to protect themselves and their families and to maintain their ethnic identity.

A few studies have been completed that seek to understand governmental and political effects on intimate partner violence. These firmly reinforce the importance of a structural violence framework in intimate partner violence issues by using an ecological model. The cultural norms and values affect the safety of families. Annan and Brier (2010) show how women kidnapped into the Northern Ugandan army as “wives” of commanders suffer when they return from physical and emotional abuse from families as well as from intimate partner violence. The authors attribute this reality to gender inequality. Zerai (2014) theorizes that the hypermasculinist culture of the political regime in Zimbabwe condones state violence. By using a structural violence framework, the effects of larger structural issues such as government and political action can influence situations within communities and families and the importance of studying the structures to fully understand intimate partner violence.
Most recently, research into intimate partner violence has focused less on psychological issues of the victim and perpetrator, looking toward social structures to begin to understand the prevalence and severity of intimate partner violence. The theoretical framework that was explored in this summary comes from a tradition of structural violence that illustrates how structures cause the violence. Many authors highlight structures of poverty, of disparities in income and decision-making power, of belief in and strict adherence to traditional gender roles, and of societies that are more violent and contain risk factors for increased intimate partner violence.

By examining intimate partner violence from the perspective of what structural violence is at play, I will further the understanding of how structural solutions in concert with agency can reduce or eliminate intimate partner violence and of the role policy makers could play in making significant structural improvements. In addition, I will gain insight into how some attempted solutions and policies have not been helpful in reducing intimate partner violence.

Because of the deleterious public health effects of violence against Native women on reservations, lawmakers passed the Tribal Law and Order Act of 2010. This act requires improvements for the criminal justice system, including training for tribal police—in interviewing victims, collecting evidence, and requiring a paper trail for requests and subpoenas—as well as for agencies providing services to victims, including standardized sexual assault protocol and policies to handle incidents and collect and secure evidence in remote areas (Gebhardt & Woody 2012). However, access to resources on reservations will continue to be a confounding problem, even with the new law in place. In 2013, the federal government expanded the Violence Against Women Act to include provisions granting jurisdictions for nations/bands to prosecute non-Native perpetrators of crimes against Native women. In addition,
the law requires law enforcement agency to report statistics of murdered and missing Native American women. The act is up for reauthorization at this time.

Consequences for Family

Colonization created a system in which Native American women lost their power in relationships as white patriarchal norms were accepted. One problem with patriarchy stems from the privacy of families. When there is violence in families, there is no exposure for intervention from outsiders who do not know about the actions. In some cases, children are socialized that violence is a natural part of family life (Smith, A. 2003). Due to imperialist structures, violence is much higher on reservations than in the general population. In her 1992 study, Bachmann interviewed a victim services advocate at a shelter who said that 70% of the victims had alcoholism issues in their family and 80% had unemployed partners. The violence perpetuated against these women was severe. Bachmann interviewed 12 residents of three women’s shelters and 14 social workers and counselors. The average for drinking when violence occurs is 24% nationally, but in this study, 75% of the abusers were under the influence of alcohol. In addition, 17% of the victims were under the influence of alcohol. This relates back to the introduction of alcohol to Native Americans. Bachman attributes social disorganization, anomie, and alienation to alcoholism and claims that the risk of violence is increased when abusers have been drinking. Families are places of high conflict and stress, and with the addition of drinking, violence can occur (Bachman 1992). Most of the interviewees and their partners were unemployed, which adds to a household’s stress.

Bachmann also performed her study looking at national samples of Native Americans compared to whites in regard to family violence. The limitations of the study were effects of self-identification, an oversampling of urban Native American because many rural counterparts
lacked phones, and the fact that shame or thinking small acts of violence do not count as violence may have caused an underestimation of violent incidents. Native Americans were found to live in rural areas at 41%, compared with 29% for whites; and 15% earned less than $10,000 per year, compared with 9% of whites. Native Americans were also more likely to be blue-collar workers. The incidence of violence in Native American families was 15% (a rate of 7% for severe violence) compared with 14.8% for whites. Bachmann points out that this is a 5% increase, but the other differences in morbidity and mortality seem much more heinous. She found that drinking, stress, and age are significant predictors of violence against women in families. In addition, binge drinking is more associated with violence against women.

The problems with prosecuting intimate partner violence are also complicated on Native American reservations because of the dual nature of reservations as both sovereign and dependent. Nations cannot try to adequately punish offenders of intimate partner violence because of restrictions on the court to allocate punishment to a maximum fine of $5,000, one year in jail, or both (Bachman et al. 2008). Tribes are also restricted from prosecuting non-Native offenders (Bachman et al. 2008). Finally, federal courts were originally responsible for felony cases on reservations, but in California the jurisdiction was returned to the state (Bachman et al. 2008). Confusion over which authority has jurisdiction and whether the authority has enough resources to adequately handle its cases complicates where violations should be reported. Bachman and her collaborators also found that the criminal justice system suffered from “insufficient funding, inadequate training, and victims’ lack of trust for outside authority” (2008).

Even the threat of violence can influence outcomes and is thus crucial for the study of violence in families and on reservations. The structure of families, especially in Western culture,
ensures privacy, subsumes individual identity and agency in the maintenance of the family, and creates a potentially unsafe environment. Structural violence explains how the family itself is embedded in the political and economic organization of society and in the three results of family structure limits agency and creates violence. The manner in which individual agency is limited is social injustice. Examining the ways in which intimate partner violence operates reveals that the risk factors arise when there is unequal access to power (Galtung 1969).

The social structure of family empowers some members at the expense of others and creates an environment where power can be exercised in the form of abuse. In addition to the literal violence that causes injury and death, the agency of the victim is diminished through cultural beliefs that families should remain intact, through victim-blaming beliefs of the abused, and through the lack of resources, both in money and in human capital, to change or escape a situation.

[Would like to see previous work on Native American women and the type of resistance they use and what resiliency looks like]

Research Question

The main questions of this dissertation are what violences do women and their families face and how do they deploy their agency to overcome these adversities. In order to understand the lived experiences of women on the reservation, I listened to participants tell their life stories and looked for themes related to how race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, religion, ability, and other factors are understood by the participants and their community. I observed everyday life and cultural practices to listen to how participants are affected by the reservation. I am especially attentive to social structures (e.g., family, tribal politics, and employment) within the reservation system and those external structures (e.g., health care, criminal justice system and state and
national government) that interact with band members to identify structural violence. Finally, I explore what agency the women themselves employ to eradicate or diminish the effects of the structural violence of the reservation, for themselves and for their families.
INTRODUCTION TO THE SITE

As my husband drives the last 50 miles up the Jacumba Mountains from the east on I-8 in southern California, I ride in the passenger seat, staring out the window and feeling my anxiety grow. I am a nontraditional student who returned to school for a Ph.D. in my late 30s with two young sons, who are now teenagers. Although we have traveled 1,800 miles from our current home in Illinois so I can complete my dissertation research on the reservation where my parents and grandparents have lived for the last twenty years, I feel the weight of a journey of myself—from tangentially knowing that I have Native blood to returning to begin learning what Native women experience in their lives on the reservation. I am acutely aware of how my sister and I were raised: as lower-middle-class white girls in rural Wyoming who knew that their great-grandmother began her life on a southern California reservation. We were not told many stories of her life, but one I always remembered was how my great-great-grandfather would hitch the horses to the wagon to traverse the mountain down to Ocotillo with his family. The similarities to the wagons and horses of the Old West are probably what made this memory stick, but as I gaze upon the mountain, my vision of my great-grandmother’s journey becomes more clear and more realistic as I see the towering mountain covered with scrub brush and littered with rocks and boulders of many sizes. I point out the unpaved trail that is visible snaking along the mountain. There are no trees on this side of the mountain, and I can only imagine how hot my great-grandmother must have been in 1917, a 10-year-old bouncing down the trail. Our speeding along in an air-conditioned vehicle at 70 miles an hour, up the interstate in a few minutes, compared with my great-grandma’s family journey of days, is one of many privileges of my existence I encounter over the next two months as I interact women who live on the reservation.
We have a few miles to go before we exit the interstate and begin the drive through the Jacumba, with its manzanita bushes, live oak trees, and huge boulders. The paved road to reach the reservation turns sharply over hills and through valleys. A huge sign declares the reservation to be private, with no trespassing allowed. The members of the band will have all either have met me or at least know my lineage so in that way I have some connection, but I cannot help feel like an outsider and a usurper as we pass the no trespassing sign. Turning onto the reservation, we see a pair of quail leading their tiny babies into their hiding place in the brush. The paved road becomes dirt, and we can see that the road crew has been busy. Keeping the roads from washing away when there is rain means continual structural work on barrow ditches and embankments. Crews also grade the washboards caused by residents’ driving very quickly, sending the land’s fine dust across the hills in clouds. In nearly every interview over the next two months, participants and I discuss how the land, both literally and historically, infiltrates every part of life for the Kumeyaay participants I will meet soon.

For this phenomenological qualitative project, I visited one band of the Kumeyaay Nation to perform nineteen in-depth interviews, conduct field observations, and participate in cultural activities to create a broader awareness of how families can be better understood and supported in the context of indigenous lives. In this chapter, I rely on an indigenous framework to situate my standpoint in relation to this study, the participants, and my purpose and then describe details of the research methods, including participants, data collection, and analysis.

Research Methodology

I undertook this study with a great respect for understanding positionalities and power of both the participants and the researcher. My goal was to create a truly collaborative project (Leonard & Haynes 2010), facing inequality and social injustice and being self-reflexive enough
to ensure research integrity (Smith 2012, Denzin 2010). My aim was to create an indigenous research project focusing on an indigenous methodology that is based on survival (Smith, L.T. 2010), helping to set up the focus of women as agents of change through the empowerment of their own lived experience rather than as victims.

Being especially informed by experts in indigenous methods, I borrow from Leonard and Haynes (2010), Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2010) and Walter and Anderson (2013), who ask for true collaboration with indigenous populations. Such a goal can only be accomplished by creating a research project together from the beginning. I therefore worked with my key collaborator to ensure that the research agenda is a joint endeavor with meaningful outcomes for the population. The data collection was done ethically, with constant assurances that the participant volunteered to share information and held final veto power and that the research would be shared with the community and dispersed according to its wishes. Only through creating these fail-safes could a true collaboration be fashioned, one with the outcome of empowering and not further colonizing.

Andrea Smith asks us to conceptualize research in a decolonizing politics of a social movement. “The agenda is focused strategically on the goal of self-determination of indigenous peoples. Self-determination . . . becomes a goal of social justice which is expressed through and across a wide range of psychological, social, cultural and economic terrains. It necessarily involves the processes of transformation, of decolonization, of healing and of mobilization of a peoples” (A. Smith 2010:120). I attempt to achieve this standard by creating a collaborative research agenda, by showing the utmost respect and ethical conduct, and by finding ways to use the research or my involvement in general to find benefits for the population.

Smith models how to create research informed by sharing knowledge and how to work to ensure that the research itself does not become another form of colonization (2012). Researchers
of the past, who swept into a field as “the expert” and took cultural and knowledge artifacts to further their own careers and continued to paint indigenous peoples in a colonial light, were at once unethical and harmful. This project is based on the assumption of knowledge sharing, with the ultimate outcome to be benefits to the indigenous population. To ensure that my research itself does not become colonizing, I critically examine underlying assumptions, motivation, and values that inform the research and discuss them openly with my key collaborator (Smith 2012). Smith also asks that we come to know the past, which fits perfectly with my trying to show how the structural violence of colonialism is still present on Native American reservations. To contextualize the present, I allow respondents time to retell stories of their past and stories that have been passed down. With the time to spent to understand these stories, I can also show participants how their understandings have created their own theoretical frameworks. Fixico (1990) asks us to realize that the US is not postcolonial; exploitation has never stopped. Strong relationships based on trust must be built to overcome blindness and academic arrogance. To maintain Fixico’s standards, I focus on how and why Native Americans have participated in my research and give them room to participate in the way that seems natural to them. There are other ways to understand through relations to nature and storytelling.

Walter and Andersen (2013) ask for a more nuanced understanding of methodologies among indigenous and nonindigenous researchers alike. In their model, the researcher is informed by his or her social power, epistemology, axiology, and ontology. The positionality informs the research standpoint, which informs the theoretical frame and finally the methods. Before going into the field, I begin working on understanding these axes for my own positionality, but once there I attempt to understand my collaborators and their positionalities as well.
The first axis informing my research is social power: I am a white, middle-class, heterosexual woman. The influence that I have as someone empowered by the academy to undertake social research cannot be understated. Extreme self-reflexivity measures are required to ensure that my priorities do not subsume the priorities of the participants.

A second axis is epistemology: I maintain that obtaining knowledge is not a given. There is no inherent need for indigenous populations to share their knowledge, artifacts, history, or culture with me or other researchers. I work to create a truly collaborative process emphasizing what participants consider knowledge and how it should be shared (White et al. 2013).

The axiology of the project is that a high level of ethics must be maintained. The University of Illinois Institutional Review Board does not guarantee the level of ethics that I will attempt to achieve. The board is mostly looking to protect the institution from lawsuits, but I insist that research be undertaken not only to do no harm, but to create a space to achieve good. The research must hold intrinsic and extrinsic value for the participants. I will detail more carefully in the data collection section how I continuously ensure participants are willing to share and have final approval of the transcripts and final projects.

Finally, ontologically I have great belief in the overarching power of social structures. I have combined structural violence and colonialism in this study to show the overwhelming constrictions placed on Native Americans, especially in relation to violence on reservations. At the same time, however, I believe that individuals’ agency and collective action can and do create pockets of power whereby individuals show their resiliency and survival strategies.

All of these axes combined create a standpoint that requires constant self-reflexivity as I use research to improve a situation without interjecting my own viewpoints and biases.
I realize that I bring power to the study through my positionality as a white, academic cis-woman, but I will focus on privileging the understandings of my participants. It is through this privileging that an indigenous framework can be used to help understand the formation of families, the power relations, and the resiliency and failures of dealing with violence on reservations.

Following the lead of Margaret Kovach, I will use this opportunity to explore an indigenous framework so that the research itself will be attentive to an indigenous population’s needs. “Indigenous research frameworks have the potential to improve relevance in policy and practice within the indigenous context” (Kovach 2009:13). The purpose of this project is to illuminate the context of the reservation so as to make future interactions and interventions more successful.

In total, this project seeks to privilege the experience and activism of Native women to show that against formidable odds, this group of scrappy women fight for their lives, their families, and their Nation. As shown in Figure 2, my research examines the way structural violence causes oppression and lack of freedom for women, but they use their resiliency and resistance strategies to counter the violence.

![Figure 2. Theoretical framework—violence and resistance and resiliency.](image)

Figure 2. Theoretical framework—violence and resistance and resiliency.
Research Plan

Data Collection

The primary data collection for this project occurred from 2014 to 2018. I began by corresponding by email and phone with my key collaborator. Then I visited the reservation four times between 2016 and 2018, with the primary visit being for seven weeks during the summer of 2016.

Key Collaborator

Beginning in 2012, I completed three phone calls, lasting at least an hour each, and exchanged several emails with my key collaborator, whom I call Ellen. She invited me to the reservation to provide an outsider’s input into problems and maybe to help create solutions to change the way the reservation functions. Ellen was a member of the band’s executive council and granted permission for me to visit the reservation once she became the chairwoman. She offered access to projects in which she was trying to find ways to preserve the Nation’s culture. She identified a few participants to collaborate with me on this critical ethnographic project, after which I used snowball sampling to find additional participants.

Participants

The data collection for this project occurred from 2014 to 2018; using a semistructured interview method, I gathered data in the form of life histories from nineteen women who live or have lived on a particular reservation in southern California. (See Appendix A for a list of participants and their pseudonyms. I refer to them by their pseudonyms when I am quoting them.) As discussed more fully in my methodology section, I knew that building trust would be

2 I am using pseudonyms to protect the identity of the reservation and its members.
the crucial aspect to recruiting, and I hoped that through my connection with the chairwoman and my ethics plan, I would find participants who would take an active role not only in interviews but also would provide information on how the outcomes of the research will be formed and distributed in a way that will be meaningful for them.

I interviewed nineteen women for this project, ranging in age from 21 to 88. All of the participants except one are mothers of one to four children, with most mothers having two. Due to the longevity of the project, a few participants had borne an additional child since the initial interviews. Of the nineteen, three were widowed (one of whom was also divorced from a previous husband), six divorced, five married, and two never married. The interviews lasted from twenty minutes to six hours, with the majority lasting from sixty to ninety minutes. I also saw many of the participants at cultural activities and workshops, and a few taught me cultural activities; my interactions with a few of the participants thus lasted for days.

I recorded interviews if the participants gave me permission. For the seven who did not, I wrote notes during the interview. Upon returning home, I transcribed the recorded interview or expanded my notes into paragraphs; I sent the final result for the participant’s approval. Thirteen participants responded that they concurred with transcripts or notes. (See Appendices B and C for IRB approvals and my interview protocol). Three shared them with other members of their family and expressed thanks that they had a chance to talk about their experiences with someone who listened, having never had an opportunity to talk through the challenges they faced.

Additional Meetings

In addition to my nineteen primary participants, I spoke with two men from the reservation. The interviews lasted between fifteen minutes and six hours with the median being approximately one hour. One man I spoke to in a co-interview with a female participant; the two
were in the office when I dropped by to visit the chairwoman. They wanted to talk to me, so I had each sign a consent form and followed the procedure for the interview, transcribing it and sending it to request their approval.

I also met with the former chairman of a neighboring band about ways I could contribute to his next project of bringing wellness to the Nation. Although the meeting is not part of this project, I plan to be involved in future participatory action research with the former chairman.

I interviewed the director of family services at the Southern Indian Health Clinic to discuss clinic programs to help with family violence and the challenges faced working with the bureaucracy of reservations and of their own health clinic. Finally, I visited the Museum of Man to examine its ethnographic papers and view the cultural artifacts.

**Decisions Made About Participants**

I wish to explain a few decisions I made that do not fall directly in line with my research plan. My intent was to create life histories with participants to investigate how individuals’ family structure and identity have changed throughout their lives. By interviewing respondents to trace how family structures have changed and what resistance and resiliency techniques have been employed, I began to unravel the different pressures that were exerted in the lived experiences of women on the reservation as well as ways that they counteract these violences. In the interviews, however, we often became sidetracked with stories that ultimately did not create a life history but rather produced vignettes of struggle or victory. I thus had participants review my transcripts and will give them the opportunity to review the dissertation to ensure that I did not include any errors in their quotations.

Three of my participants were not Native American but had lived on the reservation for a significant portion of their lives and had been considered part of the band as far as participating
and being family, although, technically, according to blood quantum or heritage they were not. I decided to include them because they lived on the reservation and were married to Native men, and two had borne Native children. The purpose of my dissertation is to center the experiences of Native women on reservations, and these women were considered family from the perspective of the band; centering includes using the definitions of the community, so including them as participants was consistent with my purpose.

I also interviewed a primary elder of the band who had never lived on the reservation but lived on her father’s ranch nearby while she was growing up and then moved to San Diego when her parents divorced. After her father passed away, she inherited his ranch and still maintained it during the weekends, although she lived in the city. She was adamant in making clear that she did not live on the reservation. I chose to include her because she participates in all the council meetings and serves on many subcommittees. She makes it clear that the band is important to her even though she refuses to live on the reservation.

Observations

For my observations, I participated in workshops, cultural classes, and gatherings during the seven weeks I visited in the summer of 2016. I participated in two anniversary wakes and a graveyard cleaning. I joined groups of women to make the traditional clothing for wakes and ceremonies. I met four times to learn to make Sha-wee (the traditional acorn mush that is served during ceremonies), including shelling the acorns using a traditional basket, performing the exacting rinsing process to eliminate the tannins and thus poison, cooking, and pouring out into pans to set up into a fudge like substance. Each summer and into the fall, each band hosts its own gathering. I attended three of these gatherings in addition to the “All Tribes in Recovery” gathering where the Nation and others from the Southwest joined to celebrate and recommit to a
life of recovery from drug and alcohol addiction. In the spring of 2018, I visited the Museum of Man and attended a wholesaler event where young women were direct-selling items to earn money for their own livelihoods.

I found it nearly impossible to take fieldnotes during the activities because I was busy and did not want to be distracted, so I instead wrote up activity summaries after the events.

Data Analysis

I created a rigorous multistep coding process to help provide familiarity with the transcripts, to allow rereads to hone categories, and to add insightful memos to ensure ethical treatment of participants and their stories and self-reflexive analyses of procedure and positionality.

After completing a transcript, I uploaded the files into ATLAS=.ti software. I reread through all files and then began coding using “splitting technique” (Saldaña 2012) through open coding or in vivo codes to create an inductive process that centers the women’s experiences and understandings without narrowing them to fit my assumptions. After coding five interviews, I began narrowing my codes into themes. I narrowed an initial 1,236 codes into 20 code groups: abuse; alcohol and drugs; bloodline; colonialism; criminal justice; economic development; education; elders; ethnicity; family structure; gender; health; hobbies; land; reservation life; sexuality; spirituality; traditions; work; and youth. Analyzing the three sociological levels of social structure (macro-, meso-, and micro-) makes the places of violence also opportunities for agency. As with all social structures, the levels of analysis overlap—a violence or an agency can move between the levels. I will thus explicate in the analysis when that happens. For example, when a community activist activity occurs, in this reservation the whole family is also
strengthened through group participation, so the activity is a place of resistance in both the community and at the family level. However, we begin with the summary outlined in Figure 3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of social structure</th>
<th>Place of violence</th>
<th>Place of resistance strategies and resilience</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Macro-</td>
<td>Reservation</td>
<td>Community building and activism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meso-</td>
<td>Family</td>
<td>Strength of family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Micro-</td>
<td>Self-sabotage</td>
<td>Sobriety and self defense</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

See Appendix D: Themes and Codes for a full list, a summary, and an explanation of the codes.

Figure 3. Coding summary.
CHAPTER 4: HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF KUMEYAAY NATION

I begin with a historical overview of the Nation of Kumeyaay, using background research drawn from archeologists, anthropologists, and biographers who have studied the Nation. See Figure 4 for a timeline of history. Archeologists have connected artifacts from 10,000 years ago to the modern Kumeyaay by proving that the same techniques are found in the early artifacts as in those that have been passed on to today. The first Europeans to make contact with the Kumeyaay were Portuguese explorers in 1542 (Shipek 1987). In 1769, the Mission San Diego was founded. Because of the affiliation of Native Americans to the missions, the Nation was referred to as the Mission Indians. In 1772, the Spanish mission of San Diego was moved from the bay to four miles into the hills, providing better water for crops. By 1775, the European missionaries begin to recruit Native American men as captains to help convert the Native Americans to Christianity. In November of 1775, a Kumeyaay revolt destroyed the mission. The Spanish rebuilt the mission in 1776 and settled the Mission San Juan Capistrano. The Kumeyaay continued attacking the missions. In 1781, smallpox arrived with the Los Angeles settlers. A Quechan revolt at Yuma destroyed the mission and the Spanish settlement. From 1794 to 1798, the smallpox epidemic spread, and the Spanish pushed west into the valleys with yet better water sources. The Spanish continued settling and Kumeyaay continued fighting, although many Kumeyaay were conscripted into building the presidios and missions. In 1821 and 1822, Mexico gained independence from Spain. In 1826, Native Americans able to support themselves were granted emancipation. They secularized the missions and returned land to Mexicans, although the Mexicans enslaved Native villagers as workers on ranchos. In 1827, a measles epidemic swept through the missions. With their freedom, and in some cases with Mexican citizenship, Native Americans returned home. Until 1845, mayordomos grew in number (these were Mexican
individuals who received land grants from the former missions, earned salaries from the missions, and used Native Americans as forced laborers). Eventually, California began allocating to Mexicans, as well as to some Native Americans, large tracts of lands, sometimes including Native American settlements, as ranchos. The intention was that the Native settlements within the ranchos were to be left alone, but many of the new rancho owners conscripted the Native Americans living there into forced labor as well. By 1933, all the missions were secularized.

Over the next decade, Native Americans continued to attack the missions. In 1846, U.S. soldiers streamed south, destroying Native American homes en route to the battle of San Pasqual, part of the Mexican-American War. In 1848, the Treaty of Guadalupe gave California to the U.S., with a border that divided the Kumeyaay Nation. (See Figure 1: Kumeyaay Lands for details).

In 1850, California’s Landmark Act for the Government and Protection of Indians passed, giving sheriffs jurisdiction over Native Americans to grant them land “as needed” and to mark the boundaries and protect their rights. From 1850 to 1865, the sheriffs did protect Native American land use rights to at least some extent. California was the only state that did not grant the federal government rights to interact with Native Americans. During this time, the U.S. government attempted to land the Native Americans through the 1951 Act to Ascertain and Settle Private Land Claims in California. Although the federal commission was required to both validate Mexican claims and extend the U.S. titles, they were also supposed to examine Native American land use. The commission failed to complete this task by ignoring the lands claimed within ranchos and the legal-use rights of settled villages. Native Americans were not granted these titles. The land reverted to being public land of California and became part of the homestead process that allowed U.S. settlers access to land. Native Americans remained relatively undisturbed even without land titles until 1865, when they were forcibly removed from
their homes and lands. By 1875, executive order reserves were created, but they did not provide enough land for the affected populations. In 1883, the Indian Homestead Act passed, allocating some homesteads to Native Americans, but many homesteads had already been taken by white settlers.

In 1891, the Act for Relief of the Mission Indians passed, creating the Smiley Commission, whose task it was to survey the reserve space and finalize allotments; however, some of the Indian agents purposely combined bands that did not get along with each other into the same reserve. They also did little to ensure they were contacting each group and often relied on the word of one capitán to help sort out details for other bands that should have been represented by their own leaders. Most of the San Diego county bands were settled into reservations between 1891 and 1920.³

**Figure 4. Timeline of contact.**

The sociopolitical culture was undermined by these land actions as well as by epidemics and conscription of Native Americans into forced labor. Before European contact, each band included a leader (the capitán, or Kwaaypaay) and a few families living in a primary village. The leader would decide when it was time to visit the mountains or oceans. Some villagers would remain behind, while most joined the leader.

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³ See Madley (2016).
The bands also included shamans, with specialties for women in herbs, healing, or midwifery, whereas the men might be healers, animal or plant specialists, or sunwatchers. Men also fulfilled the roles of runner and lookout. Runners delivered messages and ceremonial items between bands, while lookouts watched from a high outcrop for other runners and approaching dangers.

Although there is little evidence of a national organization for the Kumeyaay before first European contact, there must have been some, as many of the attacks on the missions included members from coastal and mountain bands rallying together.

The Kumeyaay had a very complex system of land management, not realized by the first anthropologists studying them, who assumed the Kumeyaay were a hunter/gatherer society. In addition to plant husbandry, through which they managed large fields of semidomesticated grass; burned chaparral for food sources (a slash-and-burn technique); and planted corn, beans, and squash in appropriate locations across the mountains, they maintained a stockpile of corn, beans, and squash in case of drought (Shipek 1983). In addition to the village land, the Nation also had land considered theirs for gathering purposes, such as the pine-nut or acorn outcroppings where non-Kumeyaay were not allowed, and ocean property, including the Silver Strand by the San Diego Bay. The cross-cutting trails allowed for the runners to keep the bands connected, but the imperialist interventions by Spain, Mexico, and the U.S. result in the loss of much of this land, of the sociopolitical structure, and especially of population.

**Macrostructural Level**

Reservation life and how the reservation itself fits into the U.S. political system can be seen as a colonizing and genocidal endeavor. The history of this particular reservation shows an embattled group running farther and farther up the mountains to avoid being killed. Not as
peaceful as other bands of their Nation, this band did not end up in the nicer parts of San Diego County. Reservation life poses an ongoing struggle, as the harshness of the land combined with the lack of economic opportunity creates a cycle of unemployment and lack of opportunity; the remoteness of the reservation makes transportation critical, but it is also expensive to maintain cars that drive daily over rough dirt roads. A simple trip to the grocery store or doing other chores takes most of a day to accomplish. The tribal police are located on the other side of the state, and many complaints are ignored by the county sheriff in whose jurisdiction the reservation rests. The independence of the Nation is both a blessing and a curse. Stories are told about interactions of the 1900s that greatly reduced the number of Kumeyaay, of further ostracizing of the band that continues today, the creation of a system by which many Kumeyaay have been assimilated into white culture.

*Mesosstructural Level*

Community and family are crucial to the Ipai/Tipai, but the participants in my research illustrate how these, too, are under attack. Every participant I talked to complained about either the current or present band’s administration. Because of the lack of resources and the community’s insularity, individuals in the community feel like those in power are using nepotism to set up their families and alliances to hold an advantage over those not in power in the community. The U.S. political understanding of membership has seeped into the requirements for what it means to be part of the community, creating a system by which Ipai/Tipai is undermined. Now blood quantum and DNA tests are used to confirm that Nation members are related to someone counted in the 1940s census. Having to disenroll from the Nation the children of members whose parents were not who they thought is continuing a genocide by the hands of white people and is using outsider definitions of what is considered “Native enough.” Although
family is in the name of the Nation, the indigenous conception of family is also undermined by the structure of housing requirements that are set down by the white government. Because the Nation lacks financial independence and is required to use Housing and Urban Development (HUD) funding for housing, this reservation has undermined the inclusivity of the indigenous conception of family. Before the HUD housing grants, individual families lived in paper shacks (in the 1970s before electricity and running water existed in the houses), but families were more strongly tied together emotionally and lived intergenerationally within the same house. When the HUD housing program began, parents and mothers with children were privileged in the wait for receiving housing. This reality has had the effect of privileging an individualistic understanding of family as opposed to Ipai/Tipai, which includes all generations living together, making it harder for families who were not as close physically to help raise children and care for elderly.

Microstructural Level

The ways of the white culture have infiltrated minds as well, creating less of a culture of community and more one of individualism. This shift has contributed to suicide and addiction (although I want to discuss these in terms of community, not as an individual problem). The Southern Indian Health Council provides mental and physical health interventions that stem from a Western perspective and do not take into account the Kumeyaay’s historical trauma or their indigenous practices (which have mostly been lost). The individualist way of healthcare being provided by nonindigenous practitioners also undermines indigenous culture.

I will continue to strive to ensure that this project does not create another colonizing structure as I work to use an indigenous understanding. Instead of looking for individual resiliency and resistance strategies, I center the perspectives of the participants, who all expressed that change has occurred in ways of banding together with all Native Americans,
within the community or individual families, to reify the culture and preserve the lives and culture of the Kumeyaay Nation.
CHAPTER 5: STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE

“IT’S LIKE WE GET RECONQUERED EVERY YEAR”

VICE-CHAIRPERSON

Introduction

Although the structural violence framework provides a unique lens to uncover a myriad of ways that freedom is restricted, C. Wright Mills’ (1959) framework of the sociological imagination offers a way through to remove the violence. Structural violence helps elucidate how structures can restrict the individual, but it is also important to see how individuals can change structures. The women I spoke with often talked about defending themselves, their identity, and their culture. In the words of one of my participants, “That’s why we always fight back” (Ellen 6:1). Throughout my observations and interviews, I found evidence that women living on the reservation often struggled with issues of identity, belonging, and authenticity. The original intention of Ipai/Tipai as the people, or the family, would indicate that people living and participating on the reservation would be uncontested as members. However, I will elucidate how Western understandings, competition over limited resources, and a decline in the number of members undermine the ideals of Ipai/Tipai by creating a new environment that both excludes members and includes members in new ways. Using an intersectional approach helps explain to some extent the exclusion and inclusion, but additional structural factors are at play. I explore the understanding of my participants’ multiple identities and the multiplicative effect of their disempowerment (Lorde 1984, Hill Collins 1990, Crenshaw 1989, Combahee River Collective Statement (Eisenstein 1978)). By privileging their voices, I uncover how women feel excluded
and included by the band as well as how outside forces have undermined the very meaning of *Ipai/Tipai*.

**Macrostructural Influences**

I begin my exposition with macrostructural violence to show how social structures beyond the identity of the band or the reservation itself contributed to the undermining of *Ipai/Tipai*. During the initial phase of contact with non-Natives, this band of the Kumeyaay refused to work on the missions or interact with the Spanish in order to protect their way of life; they migrated farther and farther east, up the mountains. During this time, they lost access to two of their main biomes, which severely decreased their freedom and traditional way of life. Without being able to migrate to the seas and the desert, they lost their cultural heritage and ways of survival. Just over half of my participants discussed this escape and segregation, characterizing the encounter first as fighting and then as an inability of the Spanish to force them into exploitative work or hire the Natives in later generations. The disruption of migratory patterns and hostility faced by the band from settlers contributed to a decreased number of the *Ipai/Tipai*. After the reservation was established, many residents moved off the reservation.

My participants were told stories by their grandparents—who had moved to the mountains shortly before the reservations were created—of one very harsh winter during which the Natives were forced to live in caves and eat tree rats to survive. From my participants, I learned the stories of the physical restriction, but I also was given evidence of the segregation of the bands of the Kumeyaay onto separate reservations; this segregation had a drastic effect, as the bands began to feel less like one Nation and started to gain a more Western, individualist attitude as they focused more on their own band than on the Nation of the Kumeyaay.
From first establishment of the reservation until the late 1960s, many residents moved off the reservation into San Diego County or elsewhere in the United States. They faced violence from locals, violence from each other, and lack of opportunities. Many left the reservation to ensure that their children had better opportunities than they had. By the 1960s, many were settled in San Diego County off the reservation, but members of the original 1940s roster spread to states from west—Washington, Montana, Wyoming—to east (New York). By the 1970s, those who remained on the reservation tried to entice members back. My father, one of those living off the reservation, tells a story from 1976, when he was contacted by his family on the reservation, asking if he would move to the reservation if they had electricity installed. Because of the migration from the reservation, many Natives were assimilated into white culture, and some did not even realize their cultural heritage. For example, although Susannah visited the reservation with her mother as a child and through her young adult years, she did not realize she was Native American. Her mother, Corrine, refused to visit the reservation; instead she visited her homestead adjacent to the reservation every weekend to work the cattle. I found out that the reason Corrine wanted to avoid the reservation stemmed from her teen years. When she was thirteen, she observed her uncle and brother participating in a fight. At some point, one of them shot at the other. Though the older boys did not notice, the bullet hit Corrine in the arm. She tried to get their attention for help, but they ignored her. She ended up driving herself the sixty miles to town, gunshot wound and all, to get to the hospital. After this incident, Corrine’s mother moved her into San Diego. Susannah did not realize that she was Native because the family’s homestead was only adjacent to the reservation, and her mother, Corrine, did not mention her heritage. Only when Susannah realized that people who lived on the reservation were her cousins did she become aware she was Native.
Those familiar with the history and language of the band know that *Ipai*/Tipai, the name of the Nation, means “the people” (family). In this definition, family members are not necessarily related by blood but are the people who have been raised in the culture and participate. In fact, during the early 1900s, a white man moved onto the reservation and began participating. Developing a great relationship with the Native Americans, he in time became family. “The man was part of the community and they treated him as an equal to them, not . . . sitting there and being like, ‘You’re white; thanks for helping, but you can’t have any of this food.’ They were, like, ‘No, come eat with us, you are part of the community. . . You are part of us’ ” (Rita 4:221). However, within two generations, the house that the man built was claimed by his white grandchildren, who took the band to court to deem the man’s land private land. Instead of privileging *Ipai*/Tipai, the U.S. laws encroached upon the sovereignty of the Kumeyaay Nation and gave the property to the white grandchildren.

Traditionally, the band would know who is *Ipai*/Tipai because the people who are participating are family. However, the 1940 census linked everyone by bloodline, and then as the Nation members spread throughout the United States and intermarried with white people, the bloodlines became even more dispersed; they actually came into conflict with the traditional view of family, because many people who are considered Nation members and receive an equal part of the revenue sharing are not present and never have been. By basing the Kumeyaay constitution and enrollment requirements on draft documents from the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the social structure of the U.S. government infiltrated the legal documents and undermined what it means to be *Ipai*/Tipai.

In 2007, the band used DNA testing to confirm membership in the band by tracing bloodline back to the 1940 census to show that a prospective member was related to someone on
the 1940 enrollment rolls and was at least 1/16th California Native American. Many participants told stories of when local non-Native women would put the name of a Native American man as father on a birth certificate to try to connect their children to the nation. Only in the last 15 years has the State of California required a father to sign a birth certificate to confirm paternity. The DNA tests that the band used were intended to confirm the identity of the parents, but this process ended up disenrolling at least one active member, which was devastating to the band. This process also created “surprise” relatives. One member was in jail when she reached out to Nation leaders to explain that she was the daughter of a Native man. Although at first they did not believe her, upon meeting her, they found she acted and looked just like one of the family, which was then confirmed by the DNA testing. Although the band was happy to accept the woman, there are issues with the disconnect between the original definition of Ipai/Tipai and the Western influence of what it means to be Native.

For those who are not participating, not living on the reservation, and in some cases not even claiming Native status on census forms, many find such persons’ acceptance of revenue sharing to be hypocritical and even unconscionable.

Very few people have lived on the reservation their whole lives. Some were born on the reservation, then left, and then returned; others were born off the reservation but moved onto it as young adults or adults. I also interviewed three white women who married into the band but are now divorced from their Native partners. During their marriages, they lived on the reservation and participated in cultural activities. Finally, due to the assimilation with white and Latinos, there are now residents of the reservation who live with their parents but do not have tribal rights because of their low blood quantum.
Those who were born on the reservation but left as young children—often due to parental worry about the “bad times,” primarily in the early and middle 1900s, when the reservation did not have modern conveniences like electricity or running water—were assimilated into American culture. Some Native people were killed, some youth were kidnapped and sent to boarding schools, and all lived in a very violent community. Corrine is an example of someone whose parent moved her off the reservation for her own safety. Sometimes, even generations later, the families returned. In my case, my great-grandmother left the reservation for her own safety after marrying a white man. As a widow, she moved back onto the reservation with her daughter and son-in-law and their son (her grandson) and daughter-in-law. The times were less violent by then, and the reservation provided the extended family an affordable place to live. The participants who had returned to the reservation after living off of the reservation are generally happy with their situations, and those who participate in cultural events feel more included than those more removed from the cultural activities. Ann has great memories of the reservation from when she was a child, but she was taken away by her mother and raised in town when her father died when she was 10. Once she came back as an adult, she was told by several elders that she was lucky not to have to live through the “bad times.” When she returned to the reservation, she knew her heart had always been there. She is delighted to be surrounded by so many people who were all relatives. However, she had given up a great-paying job in moving back to the reservation, and she has only been able to find odd jobs working for others on the reservation. She was expected to “pay her dues” and she would be included; she feels, though, like she pays her dues continually and that she has not received the respect or position that others have for less work.
Many participants lived in town when they were younger but visited grandparents living on the reservation. Some members were related to a person who had decided to move off the reservation before the member was born; as adults, the children moved onto the reservation. Although those adults did not return in the sense that they had lived on the reservation before, several talked about the move to the reservation as providing them feelings of returning home. Participant Kelly lived in San Diego County and visited her grandfather on the reservation. On her visits she loved to drive the old rickety trucks, use outhouses, and swim in the trough. Corrine also mentioned the trough, a small cement tub about the size of a coffee table around a natural spring. Visiting the reservation was an adventure (Kelly 6:75). Those who moved onto the reservation from living farther away have had less interaction with the band before moving to the reservation but my participants were thankful to have found a place on the reservation.

In the last two or three generations, several who would be considered Ipai/Tipai by the standards of participation and presence do not have the blood quantum to be defined as Native and do not qualify for benefits. Such individuals are mostly young people who live with their parents, but once their parents are gone, the 1/32nd generation will have no rights to housing, revenue sharing, or other amenities of the reservation.

Many participants spoke of their interactions with schools. Being raised on the reservation in a traditional family, Lily said she did not realize that her family was any different from the children with whom she went to school. However, her naiveté was eliminated when she was asked to participate in a drum circle to show her culture. At that point, she realized that she must be different or she would not have been “brought in as a showcase” [Lily, handwritten notes, page 3]. As one of the first indicators that her ethnicity was different from that of others in
her school, she found being called upon to be part of a drum circle doubly odd, because drum circles are not even part of her culture.

In the 1960s and ’70s, many of my participants did not claim to be Native American if they could pass as white. One participant who went to school in the ‘60s said, “You didn’t say that you’re Indian. You just let that slide” (Kelly, handwritten notes). Even her best friend did not know of the participant’s ethnicity until they were grown up, and she only told most people of her Native status at her 40th class reunion. Because of the stigma of being Native, students hid that part of themselves from the local community; they tried to balance their multiple ethnicities and lived a double life. Participants mentioned that either they had left or their parents/grandparents had left the reservation because of the stigma of being Native and the inability to reconcile their identity.

Due to the infiltration of white culture into Native culture, many members “check” each other to assess how white they are. Debbie tells a story of taking her children to daycare at the neighboring band and having the staff question her credentials because she looks white. Although this band may wonder who the “white person” they do not recognize is, the people on this reservation asked Debbie, “Who the f*** are you, white girl?” as she was trying to drop her children off at child care. One of the neighboring reservations—which a few of my participants referred to as “scrappy” (as in prone to fight)—is not very welcoming to those from other bands, especially individuals they perceive to be “too white.” Lisa feels that her daughter was not given a fair chance in the Native Baby contest hosted by this band because the band does not consider Lisa and her daughter Native enough. I experienced this myself in getting odd looks until my father introduced me as his daughter. Sometimes his endorsement was all it took for the look to pass; however, some never lost their skepticism toward me.
Mesostructural Issues

At a more local level, those who have lived on the reservation, through their own or their parents’ choices, are sometimes resentful of those who lived off the reservation but have returned to live there. “There is a gap; [they] were, like, ‘I’m not Indian, you know, I’m going to go live on the outside and live in a better way.’ . . . They don’t realize that they have to pay their dues. They have to come back and actually be part of it” (Stacy 11:47). Those who are newly returned want to give advice on making the reservation more efficient or more like “the outside,” while those who have lived on the reservation expect the newcomers to try to learn the language and the culture. Although Carrie was not raised on the reservation, her mother shared many stories of life on the reservation. After moving to the reservation, Carrie made a point to read everything she could to educate herself. She is chagrined that some people are skeptical of her when she feels she knows a lot more of the history than the average person who was raised on the reservation. She found many people were slow to warm to her, but once they found she was sincere, they became her friends to one extent or another (Carrie 2:2). Kim says, “I believe it is possible that people who do not live on the rez and come back to live that life and consider themselves Kumeyaay, but if they come back and they’re just you know putting on a front or putting on, I don’t know what you would call it, being phony. . . . If they are not giving themselves to the community or sacrificing for those who have passed away, then you are not Kumeyaay, in my eyes.” (16:1).

A divide exists even among those who have lived on the reservation for a long time. Those with more blood feel critical of those with less, even if those with less are participating or learning more. One common form of bullying on the reservation occurs among children who accuse others of not being Native. Ipai/Tipai is undermined because of the mixed heritage and
the U.S. government’s system of classification. “I am very proud of who my people were, and I want to make that live on, so don’t come over and try to put me down and make me feel like I’m not Native, because you know I live the Native way, I want to be Native, I want to be part of the community, I want to be, I want to dance, I want to make my culture live on. I don’t want to just sit there” (Rita 3:379).

Many individuals (about a dozen) are currently living on the reservation and participating culturally as members but do not have the blood quantum required to be considered full members. They suffer anxiety or just uneasy feelings about the future because they will no longer have a home on the reservation once they cannot live with their parents. Many who do not have blood quantum are being raised in the Nation’s traditions and participate to a much larger extent than others who do have blood quantum and who are receiving privileges such as housing or revenue sharing. These issues of stratification illustrate that the membership documents were written in a way that undermines Ipai/Tipai.

Four of my participants were local white women who had been married to Native men. The three previously mentioned no longer live on the reservation after their divorces. However, one still lives on the reservation with her son. She is permitted to stay because she lives with her son, who has tribal rights due to his blood quantum.

Many worry that as the rifts between members of the band increase and the assimilation continues, the band will have a hard time proving it constitutes a different and distinct culture, one of the requirements for maintaining U.S. classification as an American Indian Nation. Rita worries that the band might lose everything. “Sometimes I kick myself, too, and I think, Oh geez, but I still have faith that we can bring it [the language] back. We need to start learning our language again, we need to hold on to our language and culture and be always distinct and
different, you know, and we can’t lose that, and I think that is one of the most important things that is slowly being more and more lost from all the tribes” (Rita 3:250). She is right, of course, that the assimilation into white culture and more lax blood quantum requirements also sets them up against larger, more cohesive Nations such as the Navajo to the east, whose tribal rights require a much larger proportion of bloodline for membership as well as language requirements, making them much harder to remove from the enrollment files.

Several participants mentioned that Native Americans are not as united as are people of African descent, who have done a much better job of reminding the white community of the former reality of slavery and the ongoing effects. This is another structural violence of the reservation system—much time (many say too much) is spent determining who is allowed to live on the reservation and who is participating correctly and arguing between bands. This “us vs. them” mentality hides the lurking federal government and its disempowerment of the reservations. The focus at the local level (on the groups of people and individuals) means the structural violence embedded in the reservation system is ignored.

Part of the band wants to shift to a more Native understanding of membership, but this change is hard to accomplish with the colonial structures of membership in place. “I feel like it should be more of being part of the community. Whoever is actively part of the community and helping to build it up and helps better it, it doesn’t matter if you are pink, or blue, or white, or black, or it doesn’t matter if you have one drop of Indian blood or if you are full-blooded; it matters how you feel about it and how you want to make it go on” (Rita 3:322). The near-desperation in tone in this quotation is clear. The requirements of membership mean members who are far away and not participating at all remove resources from the band that is struggling, while even some who live on the reservation are not participating and/or using their voting or
political power for their own gain. It is impossible for someone to be part of the core who lives somewhere across the country, but even people living on the reservation may not support others as expected. The connection to both the past and an understanding that death is eminent is forefront in their awareness.

Some with membership have visited the reservation and found its rundown nature surprising and terrible. With their insults and promises never to return, they have alienated the people who choose to live, or who are forced to live, on the reservation. Others come back to the reservation and because they have enough blood quantum automatically think they should run for office and “make things better” without understanding the culture or the traditions.

Some members have returned and not been well received. One was warned that the members born and raised on the reservation would get priority for housing and employment as they became available. Ann says, “[The Chairman told me] ‘If you weren’t born and raised here; you’re pretty much a nobody. . . [but] it’s a good thing you’re mom took you when she did because things were ugly here.’”(14:1).

Changing the constitution will take a full membership vote, and it is unlikely that people will vote to give up their own benefits. The band has several ideas for creating a system that has shares for bloodline, participation, and other factors that will move beyond the structure of blood quantum and will reward those who are improving themselves or the band. “It doesn’t matter if you are full-blooded or 1/16th - we are equal because neither one of them want a part of the culture or keeping it alive. . . . There are other people who are 1/16th or less and they are part [of the community]” (Rita 5:223), but they do not have rights or membership. “I think that you need to come here and put time in and be part of the community instead of being like, ‘I hear I have blood, just enroll me and give me my Indian check, but I am never going to come and learn
anything’ ” (Rita 5:329). “We should share them [benefits] with the people who want to be part of the community instead of the people who have the right amount of blood. I do agree that the U.S. put that on us, but the only ones that are ever like, you know, measured by blood degree are dogs and horses” (Rita 8:225). In fact, some of the people who are receiving revenue sharing do not even claim on their census forms to be Native American (Stacy 11:43).

**Microstructural Violence**

Changes in family structure have further undermined the spirit of *Ipai/Tipai* through the spatial environment of the reservation and through changing understandings of roles and structure of family.

Today’s lifestyle on the reservation is very insular, quite different from the historical migration of bands from ocean to mountain to desert throughout the year. The distance to town makes travel difficult. People live without much contact with each other unless residents attend gatherings and meetings. People live on individual two-acre plots separated across the mountain down winding roads; they are focused on their own lives and raising their own kids.

Many participants were proud that a few of the cultural traditions had been reinstated, but they were eager to add more traditions and to improve participation. Cultural events were a huge part of historical understanding of what it means to be Kumeyaay, perhaps the most important being the death ceremonies. My participants spoke longingly of a time when everyone came to the funerals and wakes and stayed for the 24 hours or more of the ceremony (the length depending on the prestige of the deceased). Many worried about how the culture was being destroyed, since such a small percentage of members now participate in cultural events. “You don’t do shit, you don’t even, you don’t even support the people who have lost their family members by paying your respect. One of the biggest things I always heard growing up, was you
always go and pay your respects” (Stacy 11:35). Many of the participants told stories of recently passed elders who brought them to wakes to dance and show respect. Others told of being too young to cook but of helping when they could and then sleeping by the feet of their mothers in the community kitchens as food was prepared to fuel those who were singing, dancing, and paying their respects.

Lily discussed the differences between her formative experiences and the way that other children were being raised. She remembers spending many nights in the kitchen as her family cooked for funerals and gatherings. One of her friends once told her that “Indians had as many funerals as Mexicans had birthday parties” (Lily 10:49). She is also the respondent who says that she lost track of how many funerals she had attended before she learned to count.

Family Structure

Family structure is less rigid on the reservation than off. Most of the people on the reservation can be traced back five generations to a single couple. This makes nearly everyone family and involves everyone in family squabbles. As different branches come into power, the others think they are favoritizing their families. Looking from the outside, it seems to me that being surrounded by aunts, uncles, and grandparents could be a huge form of support, and in some ways it can be. However, the jealousy that arises as people insult each other for not being as “Indian” or they accuse those in power of injustice and the general animosity they hold toward each other undermines the family ties.

Babies are considered a blessing and a joy on the reservation, but there seem to be a fair number of “accidental” babies. Most women have support from their families and the band, so it is not uncommon to see unmarried women having children. A few unmarried women seem to be considered reckless and irresponsible when they have children, but it might be because of the bad
choices they make after having their babies. The pregnant women who either married the fathers of the babies they are carrying or who work to support their children are much more accepted and supported than the women who don’t “settle down.” Some feel the expectation to have children to carry on the bloodline, and even those how have struggled to have children discuss the possibility of having more. Older women commonly assumed that bearing and raising children would be part of their lives, whereas women of middle age and younger are more deliberate when deciding to have children, even though they may not have planned their first one. Because generations are mixed together, some women are the same age as their aunts and then are raised together more like sisters, at least in the community.

Many participants married because they became pregnant; my three participants who said they married because of pregnancy were happy in their relationships. They say that they want more babies and are well supported by their families. Others on the reservation, whom I did not get to interview, were in prison and thus unable to take care of their children, or their children had been removed by Child Protection Services. In these cases, extended families were taking care of the children.

With the exception of one, all of my participants always planned to have children. The ones who were older than 60 did not give having children any thought. It was just what women did. The younger women all discussed wanting many children. Although children are well loved and wanted in the community, the mothers and sometimes children have a wide variety of problems.

Debbie, who has four children, says, “I wanted five, I wanted ten if I could have them. I know I have love enough for them all” (Debbie 7:276). When Debbie was pregnant with her first daughter, she suffered anxiety. As a child she was molested, and once she got into counseling,
she was told that children who are molested likely to later molest their own children. She spent her pregnancy worried that she would abuse her child. She had three daughters with no problems, but the anxiety returned when she was pregnant with her son, as she again worried that she would abuse him. After her son’s birth and now (he is 10 years old), she has realized that the counselor was wrong. She is angry about the depression she faced because of the insensitivity of counseling. She advises her daughters to “make sure you are not having sex with a person you would not want raising your child” (Debbie 7:132).

Lisa had a baby out of wedlock ten years before our interview and had recently had another baby. She is angry that people think her getting pregnant was an accident, as she wanted to be pregnant with both children. She has married the second father, but now she is struggling to get him into the United States, as he is a Mexican citizen. She visits him sometimes in Mexico, but she worries about bringing the baby back across the border because Lisa looks very white, and she worries Border Patrol may not believe the baby is hers.

Lily’s sister did not even realize she was pregnant until she became sick at the casino and ended up delivering the baby there. When Lily got the call that her sister was in the hospital, she assumed she was hospitalized because of a drug-related incident; she was relieved to instead have a new baby in the family. Lily and her other sister had recently had babies themselves, so they gathered everything the new mother would need and have been supportive from the beginning.

Rita did not want to have any babies until she was settled because she had helped raise her two younger brothers. Despite wanting to be settled and secure, she became pregnant with her boyfriend. She was one of the participants who married after becoming pregnant. The baby was born prematurely and stayed in the Neo-natal Intensive Care Unit (NICU) for weeks, but the
baby was able to come home sooner than expected in part because one of the nurses taught the parents to hold the baby “skin to skin,” and she made much faster progress than other babies in the NICU who were not visited often. Rita originally planned to have three or four babies, but the complications with her first child have left her unsure. She had a unique opportunity to observe families in the San Diego hospital where her daughter was hospitalized and is worried about the heroin addiction suffered by many of the infants in the NICU.

Rita also worried about the loss of sacredness of sex. “Toxic masculinity” can be seen in men’s raising their prominence by having many sexual partners; women are put in the unenviable position of being labeled prudes or sluts according to whether they participate in sexual relations.

Within households, the family structure has become more Americanized due to the way housing is allocated. In the past, the families lived multigenerationally, but since a federal Housing and Urban Development program is now used to allocate housing, houses are to be lived in by a head of household, a spouse, and children. In fact, the system has been used to give people with children priority for housing, so that those without children who have been waiting for years are often bumped down the list, displaced by young mothers who are leaving their families’ houses. In the past, these young mothers would stay with their parents for support, but now, due to the Americanized norms of parents and their children living on their own, they live in their own homes with less support being available.

Death and immigration have resulted in at least one missing generation. Many of the those who would be considered elders are not on the reservation anymore, having died an early death due to substance abuse, suicide, or health issues. These causes of death can be traced back to the structural violence of the reservation. In addition, because of the mass migration and
genocidal tactics of the 19th and 20th century, many were removed from the reservation (either themselves or their families in the generation before). Because these elders are missing, the traditions and knowledge are hard to maintain. “There’s gaps in the knowledge because at some point, somewhere either a person died, because they were killed or whatever, a lot of things, so all their knowledge went away, or in that time when they did the boarding schools and the kids were taken away at such young ages and were beaten and weren’t allowed to speak their language, a lot of people in that generation didn’t teach the next generation because their view was the kids would be better without it. And . . . even though I understand that, it’s hard because if they would have still done it there would have been more [historical knowledge] now” (Stacy 11:52). The loss of culture and heritage was expressed in about half of the interviews. Those who had moved to the reservation after being born and raised off the reservation expressed less concern about the loss, and some participants were interested in learning and participating in culture events.

There are many unofficially adopted grandmother figures, who help out single moms (or moms whose husbands are not present or contributing). These adopted grandmothers have been a part of children’s lives and always been referred to as “Grandma” because of the way they have interacted with the children. Parents refer to these supporters as Grandma or Auntie even if that is not technically their relationship (Kelly, Rita, Stacy). People who have served as foster parents are also often very close with the children as they grow up and have kept in touch with them as they have had children of their own, making their former foster parents “great-grandmas.”

Mothers were often spoken of as the strength of the family and the reservation. Many respondents said something to the effect that they knew they could be strong because their mothers or aunties had been strong. Stacy described the strength of the Native woman in this
But you will not find Indian women who have not lost children. Indian women in their 40s have all lost children—drugs, alcohol, disease, diabetes, violence of one sort or another, suicide; suicide [is] huge even yet, still today. One year there was a child that was stuffed in a freezer in Barona; in that same year, you may have read it, that same year, a 13- or 14-year-old girl in Viejas hung herself, and a 21-year-old boy jumped off the train trestle up here in Campo—and that poor woman, they were having a picnic, and he said, ‘Bye, mom,’ he was on drugs—went over and jumped off the trestle right in front of his mom. This stabbing that happened over here, right in front of [the victim’s] mom, her mom was right there, her brother was there. [Sigh.] Uh, it was “suicide by friend” a lot of times—a lot of times, [by] best friend. I have seen it—somebody gets a loaded gun, people are drinking, best friend gone right there. Jail time, ugh, jails are full of Indian people, terrible, terrible, terrible stuff. It just, your heart just goes out, man, you can’t handle it, it just [pause]—wow, Indians are so strong (Stacy 8:141-148).

Debbie ended up taking in her cousin’s child unofficially because Sophia needed a place to stay. Caring for an additional person was a huge financial burden on Debbie’s family, and now Debbie wants to use more official ways in the future to help families with such financial burdens. However, the Native way is to take anyone in who needs it. It is not uncommon for children with absentee parents or parents who cannot afford to support them to live with an aunt; sometimes this works out, but often conflict arises and the child moves in with another relative. Sometimes that relative gets too sick to support the child, who moves on. This caretaking is often done unofficially. In one case, Stephanie lived with her grandmother, and they did not get along. Outsiders think it is because they are too much like each other, although one respondent said that the grandmother is abusive. Stephanie, the 14-year-old, was allowed a trailer to live in by herself where she relied on the good will of drivers to get her to places, but she is now settled officially.
as a foster child with her aunt after being “passed around” a lot between her grandmother, a tribal grandfather figure (and his domestic partner), her mother and stepfather, her father, herself, and now finally with her aunt officially. One young woman who came up in many interviews struggled as a teenager. She had lived with her grandmother, who was ostensibly abusive, but many people saw the teenager as disrespectful and out of control. She was well known for “playing” whomever could help her the most, but she also acted really disrespectful and like she knew everything. Although many were worried about the teen, others, feeling used, had given up on her.

One participant described the various family roles this way: Mothers keep families together and take care of extended families to ensure the health of the next generation; brothers love, but do not exert themselves. Sisters make sure that the birthday parties happen and that the birthday person gets their favorite meal (Lily 10:33).

Many participants spoke of the difficulty of finding a suitable husband in the Native community. First, most people can be considered cousins. Second, many men are addicted to drugs or alcohol. My participants described having a hard time finding good husbands. Often achieving that goal entails marrying outside of the community, which continues to dilute the blood quantum.

Rita would have liked to marry someone to continue her children’s Native bloodline, but she had had only one relationship with a Native American, who was abusive. She met a man at work who, even though he was not Native, quickly began participating in cultural traditions and helping with her family. They fell in love, and after experiencing an accidental pregnancy, married. She values his commitment and could not imagine finding anyone better.
Stacy tells the story of leaving one husband for being an addict and marrying another man (who also turned out to be an addict). Her new husband has been through rehabilitation countless times and still struggles. They divorced once he met his current wife as she was a nurse in a rehabilitation center. Many people told Stacy that her husband was cheating on her, but she did not believe them. Now she admits that she did suspect him of infidelity, but she did not want to lose him. He finally told her he had found the love of his life and could not be with her anymore.

In all of these cases, a lack of suitable men to marry significantly reduces the chances that Native women will find Native husbands to continue the blood quantum to meet the requirements of membership.

Of my fourteen middle-aged and elder participants, only one was married (Leila). One had never been married; the rest were divorced, widowed, or both. (See Appendix A.) Although some of these women would like to find a partner, they had not been able to find someone suitable.

I did not have a chance to speak with any lesbian women about their experiences in finding partners or what the requirements would be for a gay couple to adopt children.

**Conclusion**

In this chapter, I have documented participants’ experiences with ways in which the ideals of *Ipai/Tipai* have been under attack from external and internal sources for the last 400 years, how the reservation perpetuates these violences, and ways in which changes in the traditional family structure affect the lived experiences of women living on reservations. My analysis attempts to provide a decolonialized perspective that illustrates how the reservation system and the changing family structures operate to subvert how participants characterize
Ipai/Tipai. They are able to imagine a future without the external pressures that have caused death, emigration, and disconnectedness. In the next chapter, I examine some of their resiliency strategies.
CHAPTER 6: USING *IPAI/TIPAI* TO FIGHT BACK

Introduction

In this chapter, I explore how women on one southern California reservation fight back to reassert their power. For many of the women I interviewed, the ways that women fight back are rooted in an understanding that they are valuable as human beings or that they do not deserve abuse. Their strength comes from a historical connection to past injustices and a tie to what it means to be Native. *Ipai/Tipai* translates broadly to “family”—the people who are present and participating. My participants lean into that definition knowingly and unknowingly as they illustrate their rights in connection to the band and Nation. By examining this relationship, I am able to explicate their resiliency strategies. Whether explicitly or implicitly, my participants use the connection to their Native identity in their strategies of rebuilding and strengthening the larger ideal of community by not focusing on themselves.

The women I interviewed displayed three types of resistance and resiliency strategies. I have named these inner resiliency, intraresiliency, and interresiliency, using the following definitions for the purposes of this project: Inner resiliency is the way that women who are suffering structural violence find power within themselves through the connection to *Ipai/Tipai* to protect themselves or to fight back against oppression. Intraresiliency is the way women join together with the band to protect themselves or to fight back in ways that build up the community. Finally, interresiliency is resistance strategies to fight back aligning different bands or Nations beyond the original band. Of course, as with all ideal types, the women borrow from multiple strategies, perhaps even within the same outcome, but I have separated them in order to focus on micro-, meso-, and macro- levels of resilience and resistance strategies.
Inner resiliency

Inner resiliency consists of the internal power that women have gained from their connection to the bloodline, land, and cultural traditions. As women on the reservation have educated themselves on the past, they recognize connections between the ways they are treated. Many use their sociological imaginations to see the connection between personal troubles and social structures to try to imagine a better world through the change of social structures. They have realized that even though the bands adopted the definition of what it means to be Native, the U.S. government provided templates that undermined the sovereignty of the individual and the bands. The bloodline paradigm undermines the original understanding of who is part of and who is outside of the Nation, including people who have biological ties but not necessarily cultural or social ties to the Nation. Examples were shown of people living across the United States who have never even visited the reservation receiving the same amount of money from revenue checks as those who live on the reservation. The women who practice inner resiliency also point out the existence of some who live on the reservation but who do not participate, but who also receive the same amount of revenue check. Because of this observation, they begin to think of ways that the rules should be changed to more accurately align with the values of the Nation. By basing their assumptions in the values of Ipai/Tipai, the women strive to create a new system that will more accurately reflect their views.

Blood is important in the participants view of Natiiveness. In addition to blood quantum, many spoke of the leadership skills that seem to be a part of the DNA of a few each generation. These leaders, who have great charisma and the ability to lead the people, reestablish traditions,
and reinstitute the ideal of Ipai/Tipai, appear also able to put on business attire and interact with the white world to advocate for their Nation. Rita says,

He could walk in both worlds; it was really neat. He could walk in the old Kumeyaay cultural world, and he knew a lot about that, but he could also put on his white man’s suit and talk with senators. . . . He knew he needed to be able to walk in both worlds (3:295).

About the former chairman of a neighboring band, Stacy (8:36) says, “He set people on their ear; everybody wanted to hear him. He is great. He brought people together; he brought tribes together so they could do something and have economic development. Tribes fight—it’s ingrained in them from the conquest days to be separate and don’t trust anybody.”

I have had the pleasure of listening to this charismatic speaker; his optimism and leadership are infectious. Some in the band are actively raising their children in the traditions and allowing them opportunities to be the leaders that they hope will be coming up through the generations.

I found a range in the ways that women deploy their own identity work. Although Western society typically views reservations as having homogenous populations, I found that there are many levels of exclusionary and inclusionary practices that contributed to how much my participants felt connected to their culture and community. The new expression of their identities happened when they moved to the reservation or when they had children. Some considered themselves mixed race and still continue to pass as white when they are not connected to the reservation.

When asked to identify their race or ethnicity, all participants understood themselves to be mixed race as defined by the U.S. census, but many spoke about claiming to be Native because they were living the lifestyle and identified as such. However, many who had lived off
the reservation admitted to times where they claimed to be white. Again, this seemed to line up with when they were living off the reservation and not maintaining the Native lifestyle. One participant said she claimed to be white until her child began school, and she realized the importance of identifying as Native. By thinking more broadly about Ipai/Tipai, some of my participants were able to privilege being part of the band, or family, to take away the stigma of being mixed race and to work to instill pride of identifying as Native.4

Those using inner resiliency also feel a tie to the land and a great strength from being Native American women. Rita worked in the desert as a Native monitor, watching construction workers and documenting any Native sites that become uncovered. On one particular day, the sun was beating down, the wind was howling, and the temperature soared to 115 degrees Fahrenheit. Rita was imagining what it must have been like to live in the desert 100s of years ago the desert. What would her ancestors have been doing? How would they manage the heat? Spying a rock about two-feet square, she sat on it, and as she rested there, she looked down and noticed petrified wood shavings around her feet. She was delighted to realize that perhaps centuries before, someone had sat in that very spot. She remembers the connection she felt across time, that someone had had the same thought she had about the perfect sitting rock.

In addition to claiming their Native identities, many women were finding ways to improve themselves, which I interpret to be building up Ipai/Tipai. With healthier bodies and minds, they can contribute to the community.

Many participants spoke to the diseases experienced by people on the reservation, especially diabetes and heart disease, and how they can be avoided by healthy eating and

4Erschbach (1993) notes that the number of Native Americans increased four times between the 1980 and 1990 censuses in part because those who previously did not claim status now do so.
exercise. Many of the elders who passed away prematurely had severe health issues. Some participants were actively finding more organic ways to become healthier. Carrie, for example, reads health magazines voraciously and speaks to youth and women’s groups about eating healthy foods. A few of my participants work with Carrie or on their own to lose weight. One of the main goals for many leaders of the band is to keep children from using drugs and alcohol. “And if we keep the kids off drugs and alcohol and all that kind of stuff— and this day and age, drugs and alcohol, they do run rampant, but like I said, it’s very few [people] that cause the bad name especially for the Indian community, especially the media in general if they talk about how many people in general were using then” (Leila 6:68). Many alcoholics became recovering alcoholics. Lily watched her parents drink a lot, get sober, get drunk again, and divorce. She drank a lot when she was younger, but once she started blacking out, she drank less, and once she found out she was pregnant she quit altogether. Stacy started “a new life” after two divorces, and she no longer drinks.

To one extent or another, every participant had some level of religion or spirituality. Those who are more spiritual include Debbie, who was raised very religiously in her foster family but was also severely abused. When she was confronted by her pastor about her “bad” behavior.

“Debbie: Then of course they brought the pastor into the house and had a conversation and I will never forget it. He said me that I was going to go to hell because I was lying.

Me: Wow.

Debbie: That these were good people, and he doesn't know what's wrong with me but God knows that I'm lying right now and if you keep lying like that, you're going to go to hell (Debbie 7:52-53).
Even in light of this, she still believes in God, but perhaps not in the same way as organized religion would prescribe. She has grown up to not trust in humanity’s religions, although she is spiritual, believing in an entity, not necessarily a man, with religion being more of a representation and based in a common creation story. She is very skeptical of the religion, as her questions cannot be answered. “I believe there is a god, a creator, whatever you want to call him—Allah, or Jehovah, I believe in him. Well, I am not sure I believe it’s a him. I know it’s an entity.” She tells her children, “Be spiritual, know that there is someone bigger than us that created us” (Debbie 7:236). Jamie also claims to be very spiritual. During my visit to her house, I was instantly swept into a peace and tranquility I had not felt at others’ houses. Her land includes a beautiful glade among the oak trees and the breeze blew through in a cooling manner, unlike the rest of the reservation, where the wind blew dirt like a blast furnace.

Lily discussed how having belief in the afterlife helped her when her brother died of alcohol poisoning. It is a relief to her to believe he is with his friends (one of whom was the first suicide of his generation and who had leaped off the bridge overlooking a gathering from where his mother watched). Many people referenced dreams they had, where a deceased loved one comforted them. They found the dream reassuring and were able to live their lives with more confidence after the dream. Some believe in reincarnation and can tell that some of the children are “old souls”—that is, that they see the world with more grown-up eyes than other children or that they have the surly attitude of a grumpy old man. Many have a hard time believing what they have learned about Christianity, especially in relation to sexuality, because there are a handful of gays and lesbians in the community. They also have read enough to know that the books of the Bible were selected by men of the church, and they find it annoying that books with more powerful women were excluded.
Others have come to practice various iterations of Christianity. They are skeptical of the Native ways, and the disconnect does cause problems. One group refuses to attend tribal council meetings on Saturday, while others do not want the meetings held on Sundays. The chairwoman tries to balance the meeting dates so that everyone can attend at least sometimes.

Most of the participants either had jobs on the reservation or were retired, and many were attending college. They often encouraged their girls to attend college. Lisa was proud that both of her daughters have degrees. Although she had a full-time job, Debbie was taking a few classes each semester. When she began taking classes, she planned to be a social worker, but once she realized the bureaucracy involved in trying to accomplish anything helpful, she turned her attention to getting her degree in public health.

Nine of the participants worked for the band or had done so in the past, in positions funded through federal grants. Some worked for the tribal council, in a position related to the Environmental Protection Agency grant, or for Temporary Assistance for Needy Families. In addition to these positions, two participants had served as Native American monitors, accompanying construction companies as they build to ensure that no artifacts are ignored. The two women who had worked as monitors were much more conversant with their Native culture and had much more pride in it than others who had not worked as monitors. “I got to ride in helicopters and hike all around the mountains and see all kinds of amazing, you know, like, our culture written in the land. It was really amazing to sit there and, like, actually go physically see it instead of just opening like a textbook and reading through it” (Rita 3:22). This experience really helped her see and value her culture, but it also helped her grow more assertive in dealing with men. At first it hurt her feelings when they would be dismissive or sexist, but then she remembered she had the support of the band, and she began standing up to them. She remembers
a time that a man from Louisiana was being dismissive about anyone living in such an ugly place, which she took as a personal affront because of her personal connection to the land. She felt empowered to stand up to him because of the personal affront.

Although in chapter 5 I discussed how the reservation constricted or eliminated Ipai/Tipai, opportunities also emerge there. Because of the reservation’s separate governance and remoteness, children living there are taught to be self-reliant. They care for younger siblings and farm animals, help with all aspects of cultural traditions, and even drive vehicles, both all-terrain vehicles (ATVs) and full-sized cars and trucks, from a young age. Because of the scarcity of people and the necessity of traversing the land, children learn from an early age to be self-reliant. This has translated into girls’ being less reliant on adults and in gaining confidence in their own and Ipai/Tipai pursuits. Perhaps it is this resiliency that affects their attitudes toward intimate partner violence.

All of my participants except one described at least one situation when they were a girl or a married woman that would legally qualify as family violence. Those who openly discussed intimate partner violence tell stories of standing up to their abusers. Several of my middle-aged and younger participants have the attitude that a partner will not physically abuse her. “It's scary how fast it [family violence] can escalate and women can keep talking themselves into that it's okay, and I think that is how I felt. No, and I think that is how I felt, but once he put his hands on me it was like, ‘Uh, Uh, uh., no, no, no, no, no - there is no more even question to this” (Rita 4:101).

One exception was Ellen who explained her marriage as one where if he hits her, she hits him back and he does not hit her anymore (field notes). As was made apparent from the stories in the
previous chapter, the survivors not only avoided being murdered but also were able to rebuild their lives. For Rita, she adopted a new attitude of self protection and acceptance.

And I don't need that in my life. He did make me feel like... like I was less than, like ‘Oh My God I am just some big Indian girl who is not going to find anyone else, he is the only one that's going to love.’ That day I was like ‘No, hell no, you’re not going to [pause] and I am going to find somebody who is going to treat me better and be my equal instead of acting like he's way up here and I am way down here, and it was like, ‘Yea, I am not going to put up with that anymore (Rita 3:63).

For Kim, maintaining bodily and spiritual integrity is the paramount goal of life, and romantic relationships interfere. “You get very connected, you share energies and that is something I don't take lightly because I know the effect because of those [others’ relationships], if I were to just sleep around with somebody I would be a hot mess because you are exchanging that energy constantly and I need that energy. If I decide to share with somebody it is going to be with somebody I love” (Kim 16:18) She is not willing to share her energy with someone and so keeps herself out of all romantic relationships, thereby insulating her from violent relationships as well.

**Intraresiliency**

For women on the reservation, many opportunities exist for collaboration and community building. I refer to these collaborations to reinforce the idea of Ipai/Tipai as intraresiliency. At a community level, the women and leaders have created many activities that reinforce the ideal of Ipai/Tipai. The activities range from small sharing circles to a proposed advocacy cultural training program. (See Appendix E for a draft program.)

Within the band, women have created women’s sharing circles. Having a safe place for women to talk about issues strengthens both the connection they feel to each other and the
conviction they feel about fighting back. Kim convened a group that met monthly for get-togethers at each other’s houses, but busyness with children and jobs has resulted in moving the physical group to a Facebook group, where the women are still able to provide moral support for one another.

Weekly language and culture classes have been formed as an intraresiliency structure to help those living on the reservation to learn their history, their culture, and the language, which was eliminated within one generation.

The band wishes to create a 40-hour training seminar so that those who are returning to the reservation or are working with the members will have a protocol similar to what is used by the U.S. Department of State. As part of our collaboration, I will help them create the training. Even those who have been disconnected on the reservation could benefit from an opportunity to understand the cultural heritage.

The state department has a protocol. If they are going to send you as an ambassador to Japan, then there’s all these programs you learn. . . . Oh, you have to learn their customs and learn how to deal with them, but when it comes to us, we have to learn how to deal with them instead of them learning how to deal with us (Stacy 11:48).

Many are working to ensure that the next generation and those newly back on the reservation understand the history of trauma and abuse of their ancestors. Through this understanding, the band will be able to grasp their shared history and create a community based on strength and healing instead of the “us. vs. them” mentality that currently exists between Native Americans and non-Native Americans, between different bands within the Kumeyaay nation, and even within the band as people feel disconnected from the leadership. This
understanding can be created by focusing on history, by being a distinct and different people, and by emphasizing the connection to the land.

Increasing understanding will put the impetus on those who are coming to the reservation to learn and follow cultural cues, thereby eliminating the expectation that the reservation should change to be more like the outside world. This training will include an understanding of the history, the people, and the land—a perfect summation of Ipai/Tipai.

The purpose of the training will be to ensure that visitors and band members alike understand the important historical facts that caused the band to live on a remote reservation. For many years, the bands avoided interaction with the Spanish (who actually went all the way through Mexico to avoid traversing any mountain) by living high in the mountains in inhospitable lands. Many participants feel great pride in their ancestors. Rita says, “We were so strong to come up here and live on this big rock. We survived two 100-year droughts, and what the people survived through is amazing” (Rita 3:331). Sitting with participants who discuss this history causes my body to become heavy with the importance of survival and how strong the participants are. The tribe also had recently received archaeological proof that they were the same people who had lived in the area for 10,000 years. Many participants felt confidence in their historical ties to the area, which reinforces the pride of individuals. These ties reinforce the historical connection, but not only is the historical context crucial to understanding the ties, current everyday life reiterates the strength of character required to live on the reservation. Although many find beauty in the landscape, the weather is harsh. The dust infiltrates houses, cars, and lungs. People have to drive 60 miles to the nearest grocery store.

Even though the land is harsh, people feel intrinsically connected to it, both through history and in their souls. The historical weight of 10,000 years of ancestors and still living on
the same “homeland” is a privilege for those who understand the historical context. When nonreservation members of the band visit and are aghast at the condition of the buildings and the inhospitality of the land, those who have always lived on the reservation are offended and insulted. The privilege held by those who have another life that they can return to is both unacknowledged by the nonreservation members and seen by reservation residents as disrespectful and hypocritical. The off-reservation members do not forfeit their revenue sharing by living away from the reservation, and they continue to receive the same monetary stipend every three months as those living on the reservation.

In addition to holding a connection to the land itself, many of my participants study herbs and natural remedies. They know when to harvest certain plants to get maximum potency. The ancestors survived in the mountains by eating an acorn dish called Sha- wee. The traditional preparation has been passed down through the generations (but no one should undertake the preparation process without guidance from an expert, because improperly prepared, acorns can be poisonous).

In my field observations I noticed at least two women who would always share some of their bottled water with a nearby tree as they were having a drink.

My participants indicated feeling a duality of citizenship. In addition to holding U.S. citizenship, they feel blessed to be classified as a distinct and different people and to receive benefits, and they feel it is crucial to pass down to their children knowledge of the reason they receive these benefits. (See chapter 4.) My participants are aware of the ingenuity and flexibility of their ancestors, who could manage the sea, desert, and mountain and knew which plants to grow and which animals to harvest. Their ancestors knew the medicines from each region and traveled across all three environments to manage them. My participants discussed how they had
to maintain state and national recognition by maintaining their classification of a distinct and different people through teaching and preserving the culture and traditions. As more assimilation occurs through intermarriage with whites, Blacks, and Mexicans, the traditions blend. Although many appreciated the expanded cultural expressions and spoke of learning more about their “Mexican side” or their “Scottish side,” for example, they all knew that they must not lose the distinctness of the band. Many are trying to reinforce the pride in being a Native American and understanding themselves as a distinct and different people. Through this connection, they reinforce *Ipai/Tipai*.

One area of great improvement in reestablishing *Ipai/Tipai* has been that of cultural traditions. During the bad times, the band stopped hosting many of the traditional activities and events beyond the death ceremony. The previous leader reintroduced many cultural traditions, created a language program, and served as an example of “walking in both [Native and Western] worlds.” Now those who are middle-aged and younger are being introduced to their cultural heritage, and they have many questions. The cultural-meeting nights provide a chance for members to learn and ask questions about the cultural traditions. The members of this reservation have visited others’ culture nights, but they are now hosting their own as well. Regarding culture and language classes, they appreciate learning with smaller groups of their own band and not having to deal with cross-band rivalries. Many felt that these rivalries should not exist, and they work to overcome them when possible. Women rally together to accomplish the immense amount of work that goes into observing the cultural traditions.

Through interviews, observation, and participation, I experienced the cultural traditions of honoring the dead. The Kumeyaay decorate the graveyard with brightly colored paper decorations. The work for this decoration begins months in advance. For the bird dancers, new
clothing is sewn so it can be burned after the dancing is finished; the sewing begins weeks before the ceremonies to finish the required clothing. As young girls, women find their calling by participating in all of the activities until they find their niche. Some whom I interviewed bemoaned the lack of elders who used to watch the children and helped direct them to their calling. It is not uncommon to find women cooking for hundreds of guests for days. For the funerals and anniversary wakes, they provide three meals a day of homemade tortillas or fry bread along with many main dishes, casseroles, and sides. They serve all of the guests and clean up. The bird dancers dance continuously for the deceased and their family, with only short respites to eat. There is a nearly tangible hum of the strength of these women carrying the burden, which they consider a privilege. As an outsider trying to fill these roles, I found the physical taxation to be immense. For the anniversary wake, we hung cloth over every square inch of the inside of the church with pushpins. The blister produced on my thumb lasted for two weeks. However, in participating in the rituals, I could feel the connection to the community and the visceral and spiritual bonds of the connection to the elder we honored as I paid the physical toll.

Stacy explains how the elder women taught the importance of each component of various cultural traditions. As these components are completed now, members remember their importance, taking time to be precise and not rushing. Everything is significant and must be done correctly (Stacy 11:98).

These cultural traditions are very expensive to maintain, however. Every gathering consists of an elaborate meal and activities that often cost additional money, but the band finds ways to cover the cost in order to maintain Ipai/Tipai. The events are great community-building exercises because, for example, when someone passes away, everyone comes together to help
with preparation, cleaning, cooking, and singing and dancing. Over death, the community shows
its strength and can (usually) overcome the petty annoyances they have with one another. Stacy
expresses worry about the few who refuse to get along, but she is happy that most can focus on
supporting one another through the hard times.

Below I document three of the cultural traditions that were specifically mentioned during
my interviews and through my own participation in two anniversary wakes, a November 2
ceremony, and observations and interviews: funeral and anniversary wakes, Peon games, and
“making acorn” (Sha-wee).

The Kumeyaay’s funeral traditions changed when the Spanish refused to let them sing
and dance, so those who stayed close to the missions and town adapted by saying the Roman
Catholic rosary. However, the bands that kept the traditions also slowly began accepting some of
the Catholic traditions. This has caused the development of a hybrid funeral service, which
includes traditional singing and dancing but also a Catholic mass, prayers, and wake.

For funerals, the band dances and sings wearing the traditional ribbon clothing. A group
of people (mostly women, but some boys and men) sew the clothing that will be worn for the
ceremony. The men wear ribbon shirts and the women ribbon skirts. These clothes are used for
the ceremony and then burned to accompany the dead person on his or her journey. There are
opportunities for working in the kitchen because the funerals, anniversary wakes, cemetery days,
and others entail working around the clock, so the kitchen serves three main meals and remains
open for people to drop by for a quick tortilla or beans in between. For the June 2 and November
2 ceremonies, the graveyard is cleaned and decorated. The nation spends months preparing all
the paper flowers and candles that adorn the cemetery. The work crew spends time cleaning
everything out of the cemetery so it will be clean and the decorations all fresh.
Public grieving is a huge part of the process of death. When someone dies, the funeral lasts from 24 to 72 hours, depending on the status of the individual. For the next year, the spirit of the person metaphysically gathers everything they left on earth down to the last toenail clipping, and family and friends are in a period of mourning. They cut their hair, wear black, and do not participate in other ceremonies. At the end of the year, the anniversary wake entails another day (or longer) of singing and dancing to send the deceased on across the next realm. The procession moves to the graveyard, where the headstone is placed and where all of the decorations are given away to participants as something to remember the dead person with. However, the public mourning is finished by then—the family now looks to the future and does not focus on the loss of their loved one.

Community support is integral to the cultural traditions surrounding death. Rita discusses how she began traveling to funerals across the nation with her grandfather when she was very young. He emphasized the importance of singing and dancing for the family to help support them. She says that when the deaths began among her own family members, she really understood the importance and significance of having a large number of people attend their funerals to support her. She remembers that in the beginning the physical toll was difficult because community members attend for the whole night, with men singing and women dancing. When she was younger, her grandfather would let her take a break during the funeral, but only in the car where she would not be seen. Attendees must be respectful at all times and not, for example, flirt or gossip as young people might do with the opportunity to stay up all night. Rita’s grandfather also taught her and others not to refer to themselves as dancers until they had danced all night to every song with the spiritual level required. Dancing in support of the person and his
or her family is not for personal show. Rita understood that she was giving up just one night to help the deceased on their journey and in support of the family.

Many participants felt that their responsibility to teach the young, those newly moved to the reservation, or visitors about funerals was an honor. My participants discussed how everyone must attend because eventually everyone would need the support of the community. For the *Ipai/Tipai* ideal, everyone needs to pay their respects and support the family.

Peon, the second cultural tradition I am documenting here, is a traditional game of the Kumeyaay. Once the sun sets, small fires (one fire for every two teams) are built in a flat area. Each four-person team sits behind a blanket on one side of the fire. The purpose of the game is to determine which bone—either black or white—each of the other players will hold up, using a complicated system of saying certain words to call out each choice for the other team. For every correct answer, the team gets one of twelve sticks. Once a team has all the sticks, that team wins. During game play, the teams sing songs asking spirits for guidance for which of the bones (white or black) to choose for each person on the other team. Observers can sit in folding chairs to watch a match, or they can wander through the campfires. Often, bets are made on both the outcome and the choices within the game. The two times I attended Peon games, I wandered through a smoky, clear evening after dark, listening to the singing and not understanding the game play. Games can take hours, and sometimes teams will switch and play other teams. Often the tournaments do not end until morning.

The band had not been participating in cultural events for several years, when the band’s previous chairman encouraged a team to begin. The girls were the only one who volunteered. The adult teams and boys could not be convinced to start one, but the girls began and now all have followed their example. Kelly explained what a delight it is to watch the young girls,
beginning at age 8, stay up the whole night singing and playing. The players are good sports if they do not win, but they have developed a reputation as one of the best teams in southern California.

Another tradition passed down through the generations has been the making of a traditional acorn dish called *Sha-wee*, which has a soft fudge-like consistency and tastes nutty and earthy. The taste varies with the amount of tannins left in the mix, and if the acorn is improperly prepared, it is poisonous. The dish is made by collecting and drying acorn, grinding and rinsing, then heating to boiling and setting in a pan. Traditionally *Sha-wee* is served by itself or with beans. The plentitude of acorn for the past hundreds of years made *Sha-wee* a staple of the mountain diet while the Kumeyaay were not in the desert or ocean biome. However, recent droughts have made acorn harder and harder to find.

Only a few people still know how to make the *Sha-wee* delicacy and the recipe is not passed around freely, most likely because of the care required to avoid poisoning anyone. I was lucky enough to help through a few steps of the process; I learned that it is a great honor and that few hold the title of someone who makes the acorn. This tradition, however, helps cement the band as elders work with younger women to teach them how to make acorn and in doing so continue the tradition. The women who have been selected as learners recently are those who have been helping or cooking in the kitchen. The tradition serves as a great bonding time for women, who all uphold the mantra that “what happens in acorn, stays in acorn” (field note).

Through cultural traditions, women practice intraresiliency, reinstating the values of *Ipai/Tipai*. In addition to being apparent in community-level activities, the changes can be seen in the family structure itself. In this analysis, I examine women, elders, and children.
Through my interviews, I heard story after story of the important roles that women play. They take care of each other’s children in formal and informal capacities, whether picking up someone else’s sick child from school or allowing children (related or not) to stay with them, sometimes for years, as the child’s family of origin deals with alcoholism, violence, or incarceration.

The actions of individual women on the reservation show a more indigenous understanding of family that is implemented to overcome the issues of the Western family structure. Many women foster others’ children, both formally and informally, on the reservation. Some took in their sisters’ or their children’s children or the children’s friends in an informal arrangement to help them avoid problems at home. Others were official foster parents who helped Native children remain on the reservation, although that did not always help alleviate troubles with the family, as homes for foster teenagers often continued to have problems. In one case, a young girl with an absent father and a drug-addicted mother came to live with her grandmother as a foster parent when her mother entered a treatment program. This foster parent was raising her own biological children and had additional foster children. The foster mother/grandmother and the teen granddaughter fought consistently, and Child Protective Services was called by another relative on the reservation. Another one of my participants said that the grandmother was abusive, and yet another said that she was a very hard woman, but CPS never found any reason to remove the teen from the grandmother’s home. When the living situation became intolerable, the granddaughter, at 14 years old, lived on her own for a few years and with other family members before finally settling into another, official foster family. Although the new foster parent was still a family member to the teen, the person went through
the official foster system in order to have guardianship and financial support. In her new home, the foster daughter successfully completed high school.

Because of the tight-knit community, the first and second foster moms (who are cousins and were best friends) do not now get along. Although everyone in the community wants to help the teen, they struggle to find a way to provide this young woman the support she needs.

Debbie took in a young woman from a neighboring band for a time in an informal arrangement that conferred no financial support from the state or any guardianship rights, which made parenting more difficult than usual. Debbie said that if she ever needs to take in this teenager again, she would go through official fostering channels or have the biological mother transfer guardianship so Debbie can have enough authority to be an effective foster parent. “If she wants to live somewhere else, she just lives there. You know, the schools are just kind of nonchalant about it. You know, like, when she was living here, the school knew she was living here. It’s how it is done—whichever shows up at your door, you just let them in and take care of them.”

Kelly cares for babies and toddlers while they are awaiting placement in other homes and has fostered over two dozen teenagers. The younger children seemed to adapt more easily, especially those who were biologically related to Kelly’s family.

Life on the reservation is remote, and there is not much interaction beyond meetings and cultural activities; however, Debbie says that she loves the reservation because even if people do not get along she knows that if her children need anything, everyone on the reservation would stop what they were doing to help them.

The women of the reservation collaborate with Child Protective Services. Two of my participants serve as the Indian Child Welfare workers who assist Child Protective Services on
their visits to homes on the reservation. They stand in for the children and do their best to ensure that children are not further traumatized by any intervention. Their main goal is to keep “Indian children in Indian homes” (Leila 6:64). They are especially cognizant of trying to keep children within their own extended families. Because they are overextended, Child Protective Services workers try to close their cases very quickly, so the Indian Child Welfare worker must make sure the child’s needs are met. This causes hardships in relationships when the reservation adult does not realize that the worker cannot and will not intervene in ways for the adult. In one devastating case, Libby lost the rights to her child, and when the father came to take the child, the Indian Child Welfare worker had to side with the father. The mother no longer speaks to the worker, even though in such a small community, they see each other frequently. Because of the close-knit community, Indian Child Welfare workers often interact with their biological cousins or aunts as well. They are apprised of what is going on in a home before they arrive, which helps them prepare for the emotional toll of removing a child. They use this opportunity to reinforce the spirit of community, even though the expense is sometimes their relationships with their own families.

In addition to learning about the changing roles of women and mothers, I learned about the shortage of elders. In the past, elders would observe children to help them find their calling. Some participants discussed how the elders would watch children to look for inclinations or talent, steering children into certain roles in the cultural traditions. Today’s lack of elders means that the children I observed participated in many activities and that the young women had settled on their own into what roles they chose to play. The middle-aged and younger members have begun to accept that they are the knowledge holders, even though they are not the elders. In this way, they must find ways to teach the youth and middle-aged and even some of the elders about
the ideals of *Ipai/Tipai*. The younger people find it difficult to teach because of cultural and religious differences of members moving on to the reservation and because their upbringing has instilled in them a respect for elders, and teaching elders basic information seems insulting or degrading.

Some of the young adults (20 to 25 years old) are trying to teach the teenagers to be respectful, but they wish that the elders were there to do it. Once Rita had to chastise a teenage girl for referring to the teenager’s own grandmother by her first name. Rita knew she might make the teenager mad, but she admonished her anyway and told her she needed to always call a grandparent by a respectful name, such as Grandma. Rita insisted that respect for elders be maintained as part of the band’s cultural distinction. She understood that the teenager might be angry with her grandmother, but she wanted to make sure the teen understood that elders are the reason that younger people exist. Even when an elder’s behavior does not deserve respect, *Ipai/Tipai* still give respect *to* their elders and receive respect *from* their elders.

Several participants noted that elders are not properly being served as they have been in the past. Traditionally, elders sat and were waited on. For example, they went through a buffet line first, where the servers are the ones who handle food as a sign of respect. The customs that defer to elders teach the children to act differently than typical American children do. The old ways teach them that the younger person must earn respect, they are not entitled to it, but the elders already deserve respect. The customs represent the respect that elders are given because of what they have experienced and because they are still present.

Youth are taught to respect elders by listening to their stories. Leila says she remembers a time when everyone would stop to listen to elders’ stories, but now children are too busy to sit and listen. Stacy says that even older members are seen disrespecting elder—she tells a story of a
tribal meeting a few decades ago, where a younger member yelled at an elder, and one of the other members knocked him to the ground for being disrespectful.

Many of my participants blame public schooling for creating the chasm between what once was done and what is now done. With outside influence and the lack of respect shown to teachers and administrators in school, the tradition of respecting elders continues to dwindle, and children bring home outside influence in inappropriate ways. Now that the band has experienced public schooling for 40 years, many of those in the role of elder recognize and bemoan the lack of respect, but they did not mention public education to me as a problem influence, although most in the younger generations did.

Despite influences encroaching from the outside, I saw children becoming involved in cultural activities when they are very small. For funerals, even the baby girls wear ribbon skirts (I did not see any baby boys in ribbon shirts possibly because of the derth of infant boys in this generation) and are carried through the dances. Children begin helping with sewing and in the kitchen from an early age. I saw girls as young as 8 washing vegetables, peeling potatoes, or sewing ribbon skirts. Many feel that to raise children in the traditions gives them a sense of belonging. “The traditions guide life and give purpose” (Lily, handwritten notes). Many believed that keeping children connected with the traditions could help keep them focused and out of trouble.

As children grow, they try different roles in the cultural traditions until they find their calling. The gender roles for traditions are not very strict, and in some cases they have moved strongly toward egalitarianism. In the past, Peon games were played only by men, but when they were reinstituted in the 1990s, women’s teams began playing, too, and they are now considered a welcome addition. In my observations, bird singing is strictly for men and bird dancing is strictly
for women. However, Lily said that in some bands women have participated in bird singing. The singing women were lesbians, but Lily did not think that was relevant (10:85). The rest of the preparatory work includes some gender crossover. Cooking, sewing, and decorating are primarily handled by women, but some boys and men participate, and they are encouraged to do so. I was not able to observe the grave digging, box building, or sitting with the body during a funeral, but these duties are primarily filled by men; at this time and in this tribe, women do not participate. Boys and even some of the older men participate in activities for the traditions that were mostly handled by women, and the culture accepted them without any qualms. In one interview I conducted, though, Rita explained how her Dad cooks and cleans and would defend himself as a man if anyone tried to demean him. Her family believes that people can participate as they see fit. Women should not be considered housewives, and men should be able to express a wide range of emotions (Rita 4:91). The attitude supporting more equity in gender roles ties into the Ipai/Tipai ideal of everyone finding their true calling. If individuals are restricted to certain tasks by gender, they might not be able to provide service in the best way for them, which also causes the band to suffer.

In addition to being observed in cultural traditions and family structure, intraresiliency can be found in the band’s protecting itself. My participants used their own experiences of intimate partner violence, as documented in chapter 5, to imagine how the younger generation might be able to avoid or escape a violent situation. Rita, the young woman of whom I spoke in chapter 5, explained that once a woman is in a relationship, she will not listen to the advice of those who she feels do not understand her. Debbie, the middle-aged woman from chapter 5, agreed that women cannot be convinced to leave once they are in a relationship. About her own divorce, Debbie said that until she was psychologically ready to leave her relationship, any
excuse to stay in the marriage would work. “When you are not ready for a divorce, you will be ready to fight for half a DVD, but when you are ready there is nothing that can stop you.” By sharing their experiences, women attempt to help girls protect themselves from abuse in future relationships. In addition to establishing women’s talking circles, my participants expect to set up talking circles in which they can tell stories of their own abuse before girls become involved in relationships. They believe the girls will value their advice more because they have experienced intimate partner violence. They hope such discussions can encourage the girls to have confidence in themselves, to take a path to learn about who they are before they invite someone else along on the path, and to make sure they are not compromising themselves for the relationship.

The band is trying to find ways to support itself independently, to have the freedom of an independent nation. In order for Native Americans to successfully negotiate for themselves, they must find leaders who can “walk in both worlds.” Many participants credited a few current leaders with being this ability—to relate to the Nation and help encourage and teach cultural knowledge, but also to don business attire and interact in the white world. For the next generation, they are looking for such leaders to continue the progress that has already begun; however, there are two missing generations.

Some bands are getting access to economic development, primarily through the development of casinos. However, in some cases, the economic development is destroying the culture. When the members turn 18 and start receiving huge revenue checks, they may not worry about how to improve their bands. “You don’t really think, ‘Hey, I am going to go learn to sing all night’ or ‘I am going to go dance’ or ‘I am going to go learn how to cook and help the cooks’ because it takes a lot of effort to go and stay up all night and, you know, half of the day, and
dance. I think that the casino tribes are . . . To me, they are blinded to their culture” (Rita 3:231). Even though some participants worry about the outcomes of too much money, all are concerned that no expected high-yield project has been successful so far. The leadership always has a supposedly profitable project in development, but for one reason or another the profit never comes to fruition. All are frustrated by this. The leadership blames the remoteness of the reservation, the permissions required from local government officials (who would not have influence if the band were really treated as an independent entity), or other members breaking confidentiality and plans being released prematurely. Others blame the leadership for being disorganized or even fraudulent.

Some participants are frustrated that no matter what opportunity comes along, it is never captured, and they have called for a change in leadership. When I was conducting interviews, a new election was coming up; the incumbents won, but this year another group is vying for leadership, including someone who has not lived on the reservation before. That person has the support of some people who are looking for a change or for a leader who has business acumen. They are not interested in the fact that the newcomer is not savvy to the culture; they believe they can teach him. Others are fearful that he will ruin the progress that has been made in reinstating the culture and that Americanizing the reservation will eventually lead to losing federal acknowledgment.

Although this band still struggles to find economic development opportunities because of the requirement that membership agree on a plan forward and because of its lack of access to tourism, being so far off the highway, many participants are hopeful that once there is economic development money in hand, it can be used in ways that benefit the band as a whole. Many believe that there need to be funds designated for healing the past. This might include proper
mental and physical health paradigms that address the historic trauma and the everyday trauma caused by living on a reservation. Many are worried at the high rates of suicide, both intentional and through accidental overdoses or accidents associated with drug and alcohol abuse. Many want a reservation school so that Native American children do not have to attend public schools and face discrimination and racism. They imagine a school where students are taught the cultural aspects of their heritage as well as the curricula of white American schools but are not exposed to the inherent racism and colonialism. This approach would provide time for the youth to participate in cultural activities and learn how to properly participate in ceremonies.

While desirous of community activities, participants also face great anxiety about the membership and bloodline requirements mentioned in chapter 5. The band’s limited membership and intermarriage with outsiders have lowered the blood quantum so that, based on the current model, many younger children lack tribal rights. Those in leadership have begun working as a group to figure out how to best solve the bloodline problem. The changes can be seen varying across the age spectrum. The chairwoman has reinstated an elders’ committee to inform and advise the tribal council. The youth of the current generation have begun participating in the cultural traditions at higher rates. However, many in the middle-aged category feel left out or even angry about the way the band is progressing. In addition to acknowledging disagreements within the membership living on the reservation, the bloodline discussion will need to include those who do not physically live on the reservation, who might not be willing to vote against what they see as their own best interest. For example, if membership is determined by participation, as in the days of Ipai/Tipai, those living off the reservation stand to lose their revenue sharing.
Through cultural traditions, family structure, and economic development, the band uses intraresiliency techniques to reify *Ipai/Tipai* within the community in order to strengthen and protect itself.

**Interresiliency**

Bands work cooperatively both on the reservation and off to participate in resistance projects. Many boards exist in the area where members serve from each of the bands to collaboratively solve issues. My participants specifically mentioned the Kumeyaay Cultural Repatriation Committee, the decolonization process at the Museum of Man, and the Southern Indian Health Council.

The Kumeyaay Cultural Repatriation Committee works with a designee from each band to remove the remains of ancestors from museums and other places where they are housed into appropriate cemeteries within the band to which the ancestor belongs.

These activities included interactions with the nearby naval base to protect ancestors’ graves under the site of a proposed building. Although the effort was ultimately unsuccessful, a ceremony was performed outside the base to honor the ancestors and to let the public know what the naval base had done. When the Kumeyaay were invited onto the base for a tour where the special operations building was to be erected, the members could see artifacts lying on the top of the dirt. However, because the naval base is federal property, an order to stop the building could not be procured.

Many participants have begun working across the Nation and with other Kumeyaay to understand the importance of acute childhood experiences on their lived lives as adults. Through these psychological connections, they have shown biological evidence for historical trauma. Participants spoke of the weight of the past they can feel with them as they are continuously
bombarded with more inequalities mentioned in the previous chapter. However, many are lobbying for a cultural understanding of trauma and acute childhood experiences to be implemented within the health care system that will provide continuous support and understanding through all life phases. Many in the band suffer with addiction, and so by combining substance abuse treatment centers with the medical facilities, elders are working together with the medical institutions to create a whole-life solution. Regardless of how an individual enters treatment, care will be based on a concrete understanding of the historical trauma/acute childhood experiences, and the person being treated will be able to move toward healing considering the aspects of history, and of current and past personal trauma as well as of current addictions and diseases.

**Conclusion**

By engaging with the historical meaning of *Ipai/Tipai*, women have found ways to strengthen their communities. They exploit some of the structures such as the reservation itself, which threatened their lives, families, and community, to reinstate the community. Throughout my research I saw women working in their callings and in groups to improve their health, their family, and their community. By theorizing the three levels of resiliency, I illustrate three sociological levels where women “fight back” against the social structures and, by leaning into their cultural heritage, make a difference. Through the insight of resiliency strategies based in a cultural milieu, multiple paths become visible for making a difference on Native American reservations through the empowerment of its women.
CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION—AN INDIGENOUS APPROACH TO FIGHTING BACK

The Kumeyaay have a centuries-long history of fighting back. From the earliest explorers of Portugal to the current land right battles against other bands or against San Diego County, the Kumeyaay have always fought back to hold some semblance of their land, heritage, and safety. With an explication of the nuances of how resiliency strategies are firmly embedded in the Ipai/Tipai culture, more sensitive research strategies and policy recommendations can be created. Through a combination of macro-, meso-, and micro- interactions, I have been able to explicate the violences women living on a Native reservation face as well as the way they fight back to assert their own identities and safety. By using an intersectional approach that privileges each participant’s story, I worked to ensure the nuances of the lived experience. Using this method, I found specific patterns in the way participants discussed their cultural ties to Ipai/Tipai as well as recognizing the levels of interaction.

Native women sit in a unique place on the web of oppression (Hill Collins 1990). Within the social structure of race, class, and gender, we might assume they are disempowered. The research bears this out, as Native women suffer more and worse physical and sexual violence. However, to some extent, women living on reservations are empowered. On this reservation the lower population means women have a better chance of holding positions of power within the government and have more freedom for participating and creating social programs in areas they find important. Two of my participants have started art programs through which they give children and whomever chooses to attend an outlet for their creativity and a way to see the beauty in the world. Young women have more freedoms for being independent, whether in learning to drive, volunteering in cultural activities, or having less supervision from an earlier age.
Indigenous Model of Resiliency

Through an understanding of the lived experiences of my participants' lives, I extracted the themes of their indigenous model of resiliency (see Figure 4). This model is framed on the three sociological levels of resiliency within the cultural construct of *Ipai/Tipai*.

![Diagram of Indigenous Model of Resiliency]

**Figure 5. An indigenous model of resiliency based in *Ipai/Tipai*.**

By examining the inter-, intra-, and inner resiliency techniques used that tie women into the traditional understanding of *Ipai/Tipai*, I have been able to privilege their understandings as well as to create a road map for future research and policies that understand cultural implications of the band. Through my use of an indigenous framework, my participants through their stories showed how their resiliency model is based through a centering of *Ipai/Tipai*.

Inner resiliency is the strength that my participants have found in their connection to their cultural roots. Whether this is a woman in an intimate partner violence situation who knows that her partner will not beat her or the connection the land with the 10,000 years of ancestral connection pulling at her heart. My participants interact with the world from a place of strength
and understanding their place in it. Those who do not feel as connected to the Ipai/Tipai have other sources of strength through their religion or spirituality. Some are fighting depression and alcohol and drug abuse and seem disconnected from the work of the band. Through my interviews and participant, I saw the band coming together to celebrate and mourn. In this way, they fight back together to protect what they have and to build a better future for their children.

Finally, inter-resiliency ties directly into the national work of the Native Americans. By understanding their connection to each other, they support and fight back together. Across southern California, the bands of the Kumeyaay host traditional ceremonial celebrations where they can all attend together. They understand the importance of attending the funerals of other bands. They lobby together in the state and national capitol for interests that affect all Native Americans. The historical and cultural heritage binds them together.

By using the structural violence framework to begin to unpack the violence faced on a southern California reservation, we created a more comprehensive theoretical framework for how this particular band of the Kumeyaay Nation are able to fight back against oppression from all levels.

Methodologically, I approached the research site with an intersectional, inductive perspective. Although I was interested in focusing on family violence, I found that family violence was a side note compared to the myriad ways in which structural violence affected women on the reservation. By privileging my participants’ meanings and understandings, I grew to understand that they did not feel heard by the rest of their community. Most of the participants were extremely grateful to have an attentive and unbiased person sit with them and listen to their life stories and life struggles.
Contributions

Sociologically, this study adds to the literature in the areas of structural violence, indigenous studies, family studies, identity work, and intersectional methods. Sociological contributions to this study include further evidence that by using inductive, participant-driven research, cultures can be described more accurately using the participants’ point of view. The sociological model of the macro-, meso-, and micro- levels of resiliency can then be subjugated to the overall cultural sense of Ipai/Tipai.

In keeping with the structural violence model, I was able to explicate how international and national pressures prohibit women from living up to their full potential. First through the creation of reservations themselves and now through ignoring the laws stating that nations are independent, the U.S. government exerts too much influence on the choices that affect the reservations. Structural violence as a theoretical framework gives as a way to explicate violences within a site. I have added to the understanding of structural violence to show that even when a site is rife with structural violence including a Native American reservation, there will still be ways for those experiencing the violence to fight back against it. We may not need a current actor to cause the violence or an understanding that harm has been done but we do have women who are living their lives and fighting for the best lives they can make.

By examining the phases of imperialism, we can see that the infighting is now happening within the local group; that is, the “Us (US) vs. them (Native Americans)” is so ingrained that the members of the tribe are causing violence to themselves. This happens because of the reservation being remote and poorly funded, but we can also see how the citizens have turned on each other. With the membership requirements being heavily steeped in US guidelines, the meaning of Ipai/Tipai is lost. Now members turn on each other to member check to see if
someone is too white or unfamiliar. Instead of warmly embracing new people into the family, the reservations are distant and watchful. They cannot be blamed due to last 400 years of ill treatment, but hearkening back to their stories of warmly embracing those willing to do the work, it is clear that something has been lost.

This study also contributes to the work done on ethnic families. Because of the intermarriages between Native, Mexicans, and European immigrants, many of the members can pass as Latina and/or white. In Waters (1990), white Americans are able to choose their ethnicity putting it on and off like an outfit in ways that people of color in the US cannot. In my research, I have found a group of people of color who through their lives have been able to claim to be Native American or Mexican or white more or less freely depending on what suits them best. Some of the older participants who were in schools before the 1970s often did not claim to be Native while they were in school and only have recently told their friends they are Native. Some of the members who did not on the reservation claimed to be white until they moved back onto the reservation. However, the children now are less persecuted, and therefore, are more proud of their cultural heritage so claim their Native status. There is great angst within the band that some of those receiving tribal benefits are not claiming to be Native. This has happened because of the reverse of what Waters showed, some of this band have switched their ethnicity depending on what works to their advantage.

Storrs (1999) found a group of mixed-race women who found their white identities to be stigmatized. They reclaimed their status as a person of color over that of being white. I found this to be true on the reservation as well when those returned and now claimed to be Native. However, even though the individuals claimed to be Native, there was still identity checking from other members of the band or other Kumeyaay bands to exclude people from the category.
This final reference to structural violence as the number of Kumeyaay decreases, some of the members have fell away from their understanding of Ipai/Tipai, have embraced an ideal of blood quantum, and instead of including all participating people, exclude them with member checking strategies. This study contributes to the area of resiliency and resistance strategies of Native American. Tuefel-Shone, et. al. conducted a literature review that found studies looking at resiliency as an individual endeavor and no community resiliency studies (2016). Through observations, I observed women working together to fight back for their lives and their way of life.

In addition to including their participants in the research, intersectional researchers attempt to provide something tangible to the site. I thus have drafted a 40-hour workshop steeped in Ipai/Tipai on which I will continue to collaborate with the band for use for visitors, workers, and returning members. (See Appendix E for a draft of the workshop.)

**Study Limitations and Future Research**

Although my participants provided me a wide perspective, there are other perspectives I need to access. I did not have access to those who were imprisoned or deceased. Because of the short lifespan of members of the reservation, I need to return to continue to gather stories of those still living. I need to return to interview the young women who have now come of age. Because my research changed from my initial plan of a study of violence against women, I would also like to expand my research to include men. Ultimately, I would like to include all bands of the Kumeyaay Nation. As I continue to make inroads into the community, I hope to be able to expand my theory to include a wider range of indigenous populations across the Americas and even around the world. I will engage with the community of California Native scholars and begin to find ways to expand the understandings of resiliency and resistance
strategies employed by Native women. The research is crucial because I have found that the indigenous understandings, at least of this group, still privilege a community-based view of society as opposed to the United States’ individualist culture, in spite of significant interactions and assimilation.

Finally, I will expand this theoretical framework to analyze structures of resiliency in other areas of high structural violence that I study. By examining the social work literature of using an ecological model to find sources of violence, I was able to flip the script to show how the ecological model can be used and reversed vis a vis the resiliency and resistance strategies can also be deployed at the different levels of analysis. I will continue to work with my participants and expand this model to investigate the relevance of resiliency and resistance strategies tied to cultural understandings in settings such as prisons, low income neighborhoods, and even globally in informal settlements.
REFERENCES


Giroux, Henry A. 1999. “Rewriting the discourse of racial Identity: Toward a pedagogy and politics of whiteness.” *Becoming and Unbecoming White: Owning and Disowning a*


more deprived neighbourhoods increase women’s risk of intimate partner violence?”

*Social Science and Medicine* 74(8) 1172-1179.


APPENDIX A: PARTICIPANTS

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Alias</th>
<th>Age (ranges defined as elder—over 60, middle—36 to 60, and young, 18 to 35)</th>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Residency</th>
<th>Lineage</th>
<th>Employment</th>
<th>Educational Attainment</th>
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<td>Blood</td>
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<td>Blood</td>
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<td>Blood</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Reservation</td>
<td>Blood</td>
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<td>Blood</td>
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<td>Event</td>
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<td>Widowed</td>
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<td>Single</td>
<td>Reservation</td>
<td>Blood</td>
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APPENDIX B: IRB APPROVALS AND CONSENT FORM

University of Illinois
AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN

Office of the Vice Chancellor for Research
Office for the Protection of Research Subjects
528 East Green Street
Suite 203
Champaign, IL 61820

December 18, 2015

Assata Zerai
Sociology
3120 Lincoln Hall
702 South Wright Street
Urbana, IL 61801

RE: "That's Why We Always Fight Back": A feminist decolonizing life course analysis to study the effects of imperialism on family structure and resistance and resiliency in Native American families living on reservations
IRB Protocol Number: 15791

Dear Dr. Zerai:

Thank you very much for forwarding the modifications to the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Institutional Review Board (IRB) office for your project entitled "That's Why We Always Fight Back": A feminist decolonizing life course analysis to study the effects of imperialism on family structure and resistance and resiliency in Native American families living on reservations. I will officially note for the record that these minor modifications to the original project, as noted in your correspondence received December 15, 2015: re-organizing the interview protocol and adding a few additional questions to directly engage the interviewee with the research questions more effectively; and making minor changes to lower the literacy level and make the interview protocol more accessible, have been approved. The expiration date for this protocol, IRB number 15791, is 08/04/2016. The risk designation applied to your project is no more than minimal risk.

Please note that additional modifications to your project need to be submitted to the IRB for review and approval before the modifications are initiated. To submit modifications to your protocol, please complete the IRB Research Amendment Form (see http://oprs.research.illinois.edu/?g=forms-and-instructions/research-amendments.html). Unless modifications are made to this project, no further submittals are required to the IRB.

We appreciate your conscientious adherence to the requirements of human subjects research. If you have any questions about the IRB process, or if you need assistance at any time, please feel free to contact me at the OPRS office, or visit our Web site at http://oprs.research.illinois.edu.

Sincerely,

Ron Banks, MS, CIP
OPRS Coordinator

c: Rebecca Morrow
June 21, 2017

Assata Zerai
Sociology
3120 Lincoln Hall
702 South Wright Street
Urbana, IL 61801

RE: "That’s Why We Always Fight Back": A feminist decolonizing life course analysis to study the effects of imperialism on family structure and resistance and resiliency in Native American families living on reservations.
IRB Protocol Number: 15791

Dear Dr. Zerai:

This letter authorizes the use of human subjects in your continuing project entitled "That’s Why We Always Fight Back": A feminist decolonizing life course analysis to study the effects of imperialism on family structure and resistance and resiliency in Native American families living on reservations. The University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Institutional Review Board (IRB) approved the protocol as described in your IRB application, by expedited continuing review. The expiration date for this protocol, IRB number 15791, is 06/20/2020. The risk designation applied to your project is no more than minimal risk.

Copies of the attached date-stamped consent form(s) must be used in obtaining informed consent. If there is a need to revise or alter the consent form(s), please submit the revised form(s) for IRB review, approval, and date-stamping prior to use.

Under applicable regulations, no changes to procedures involving human subjects may be made without prior IRB review and approval. The regulations also require that you promptly notify the IRB of any problems involving human subjects, including unanticipated side effects, adverse reactions, and any injuries or complications that arise during the project.

You were granted a three-year approval. If there are any changes to the protocol that result in your study becoming ineligible for the extended approval period, the RPI is responsible for immediately notifying the IRB via an amendment. The protocol will be issued a modified expiration date accordingly.

If you have any questions about the IRB process, or if you need assistance at any time, please feel free to contact me at the OPRS office, or visit our website at https://www.oprs.research.illinois.edu.

Sincerely,

Jennifer Ford, MS
Human Subjects Research Specialist, Office for the Protection of Research Subjects

Attachment(s): 1 Consent Form

c: Rebecca Morrow
APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

“That’s Why We Always Fight Back”: A Study of Resistance and Resiliency

Interview Protocol

Thank you for agreeing to speak with me about my project. I am working on my Ph.D. at the University of Illinois. I am especially interested in how Native women view themselves in relation to their gender and race and how you understand family and how family structures have changed.

First, we will review the informed consent document and sign paperwork. I have a copy for you and for me.

Second, we will co-create your life story to see the transitions and specific effective and ineffective resistance and resiliency strategies you have used throughout your life.

Third, after the interview, I will type up the transcript and then be in touch for you to review. I want to make sure you agree with the transcript and that you are still comfortable sharing with me everything that you did. This will be a time where we can change things to help shield your identity and you can add things if they came to you later.

FIRST, the informed consent document. [I will give a copy of the consent form to the participant. We will read through the document together or I will give her time to read completely.]

Do you have any questions about the form or study that I can answer at this point? I want to draw your attention to page two. As a mandated reporter because I work for the state, I have the obligation to report any disclosures that indicate there is harm to a child. If there is a risk of
self-harm, I will call emergency personnel. In addition, if this is traumatic to you, I will provide a resource list for counseling. Because we will be discussing family members, there is a risk to them if the files are breached. However, I will ask that you refer to family members by relationship and number if necessary—so, sister #1, for example. If you accidentally say a name, when I am transcribing the audio files I will replace the name with relationship to help ensure privacy. The audio file will be transcribed entirely by me into a document which will be encrypted and kept on my personal password-protected computer. If you would prefer not to be recorded, I will take extensive notes, which will be locked in my personal file cabinet separated from the consent forms, again with no names on the notes. I would prefer to have an audio recording for the sake of research, but if you are uncomfortable, I understand. Do you have any questions at this point? If you agree to participate, please check yes or no for follow-up interview and audio recordings and sign. Also, please indicate how you would like to receive the transcript for review. Email is probably easiest, but I want to make sure that your privacy is protected. There will be no indication in the document of who you are, but your safety is my priority. Again, I want to make sure that you have had an opportunity for me to answer all of your questions and that you are comfortable participating. You are welcome to skip any questions that you do not want to answer and also to end the interview at any time.

[If this is the second interview, I will provide the consent form #2, which removes the line giving permission for a second interview and remove that from the script.]

This form is identical to the original form you signed except it removes the opportunity for a second interview. Do you have any questions about the form or study that I can answer at this point? I want to draw your attention to page two. As a mandated reporter because I work for
the state, I have the obligation to report any disclosures that indicate harm to a child. If there is a risk of self-harm, I will call emergency personnel. In addition, if this is traumatic to you, I will provide a list of resources for counseling. Because we will be discussing family members, there is a risk to them if the files are breached. However, I will ask that you refer to family members by relationship and number if necessary—so, sister #1, for example. If you accidentally say a name, when I am transcribing the audio files, I will replace the name with relationship to help ensure privacy. The audio file will be transcribed entirely by me into a document, which will be encrypted and kept on my personal password-protected computer. If you would prefer not to be recorded, I will take extensive notes, which will be locked in my personal file cabinet separated from the consent forms, again with no names on the notes. I would prefer to have an audio recording for the sake of research, but if you are uncomfortable, I understand. Do you have any questions at this point? If you agree to participate, please check yes or no regarding audio recordings and sign. Also, please indicate how you would like to receive the transcript for review. Again, I want to make sure that you have had an opportunity for me to answer all of your questions and that you are comfortable participating. You are welcome to skip any questions that you do not want to answer and also to end the interview at any time.

Thank you for agreeing to participate. For my roster, can I have your name, age, contact information, marital status, race, ethnicity, and occupation?

SECOND: We will create your life history. [Turn on audio if agreed.]

This purpose of this research is to gain a fuller understanding of how Native women understand identity and family structure and how these understandings have changed throughout your lifetime. In this research, we will be identifying resistance and resiliency strategies of Native women as they have transitioned from children to adults and through their lives.
My research perspective is that you are the expert of your own life. You can see the historical changes through generations of how families are made and broken and how individuals find a way through. Thank you so much for agreeing to share your story with me.

I want you to tell your own life story. When did you begin to understand your identity and your connection to the U.S. community and to the Native community? I am specifically looking for times when your view of what it means to be in a family has changed. We can track when these changes have occurred and then fill in the gaps of your life history. How have outside influences affected the family? This might include things such as access to employment, educational opportunities, laws concerning marriage and divorces, child custody, interactions with police, or health services.

Can you draw a family tree and a timeline as we proceed? Please refer to everyone just by their relationship so that there will be no record of their names as a further precaution for confidentiality. So, if you have two brothers and one is older than you and one is younger, we can refer to them as older brother and younger brother, or Brother #1 and Brother #2—whatever makes the most sense to you.

For the timeline, we can proceed through your youth, where and when you lived certain places, who you lived with at those times, when you moved, who your guardians were, what their work was, when you were in school, what subjects you enjoyed, what work you did. As you transitioned to adulthood, where did you move, who did you live with, what work did they do?

Let’s think of times when your view of what makes a family changed to write on the years to begin with and then we can begin filling in the gaps.

PROMPTS IF NECESSARY:
IDENTITY: What do you consider your race? Ethnicity? Have these changed throughout your life? What do you consider your connections to the reservation? To California? To the United States? Have these changed during your life?

FAMILY: When were siblings were born, when were your parents divorced or married, when were you divorced or married, when did you have children (and/or if and when do you plan to have children), and when did deaths occur.

For each household:

Who was in the family? How did the transition come about? How did the environment change? Can you think of particularly good times? Were there bad times? What roles did individuals play during these times? Was someone particularly supportive or not supportive?

For any violent situations:

Did you know the perpetrator? What was the perpetrator’s relationship to you? Did you have to endure ongoing contact with the perpetrator, and for how long? Did you tell anyone of the violence, such as a family member or friend? Was the person you told particularly helpful or unhelpful? Did you tell an advocacy center, a health center, or anyone in the criminal justice system? Were they helpful or unhelpful?

THIRD: Finally, thank you for your participation. I anticipate returning your transcript to you through your preferred method within ___ months (depending on schedule.) Here are the reference sheets if you need them. And I want to thank you so much for your time.
### APPENDIX D: THEMES AND CODES

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<td>Ongoing effects of colonialism</td>
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APPENDIX E: DRAFT OF 40-HOUR WORKSHOP

History: Class summarizing 10,000 years of Kumeyaay History 8:30-10:00 a.m. M-F

Culture: Class explaining cultural events and responsibilities 10:30-12 M-F

Language: Basic language class – learn to introduce self and greetings 1:30-3:00

Workshops: Each day work in one area of cultural traditions 3:30-5:00

Evening dinner and cultural activities: Traditional dinner, bird singing and dancing, and Peon tournament Thursday night – 8-12