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The Heart of K'e: Transforming Dine Special Education and Unsettling the Colonial Logics of Disability

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THE HEART OF K'É:

TRANSFORMING DINÉ SPECIAL EDUCATION

AND UNSETTLING THE COLONIAL LOGICS

OF DISABILITY

By

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B.L.A. LIBERAL ARTS, University of New Mexico, 2015
A.A.S. LEGAL ASSISTING, University of New Mexico, 2012

THESIS

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For Tifa,
my precious child.

Acknowledgements

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ABSTRACT

This paper takes up the roles of ideology and spatiality as they impact Diné students and learners in understanding conceptions of normativity, neuro-diversity and bodily variance. I am concerned with how the movement and creation of Indigenous schools and their praxis still maintain and often times produce settler colonial ideologies of being, personhood, difference and ability. I illustrate the challenges that Diné planners and educators face in entrenching cultural knowledge and language into their educational initiatives, while some of the problematic manifestations and expressions of normativity present themselves through state polices, federal law and mainstream curriculum.

I focus on the discourse of ability and disability as it intersects with race and gender as it is formed through settler colonialism. This lays bare the imperial underwriting that makes possible identity formations of disability that promote normative discourse, which in turn have enabled empire, nationalism, and global capitalism. To dismantle these concealed modes of violence, particularly through ideology, we require an intervention into the ways we recognize and think about others. This demands an illumination of how colonial normative constructs permeate ideologies, and thus how we identify and mark difference and belonging both spatially and relationally. K'é, has the power to transform this violent process and become the foundation of special education for Diné people.

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Introduction

In the fall of 2010, Ałchíní Baháné Elementary School begin its journey in implementing a Navajo language immersion program for kindergarten students located on the edge of the Navajo Reservation.[1] This program was treasured by many Diné people, who have worked for years in reformatting the rubrics of what education means to Native people and more importantly, what it should embody. When I visited the school in the fall of 2017, I met with teachers from the Autism-specific classroom which had been recently developed within the last 5 years. Teachers discussed how there was not a lot of awareness regarding Autism on the Navajo Nation, which often led to late, or absent diagnoses. One teacher described the situation of students being in "limbo", because the district "didn't want to address Autism", often creating a bureaucracy in not accepting medical diagnoses and insisting that the district implement its own diagnosis for services.[2] The structural ailments of awareness and advocacy mirrored the same issues across the state of New Mexico and through various other programs that existed in border towns and on the reservation. These issues were not isolated from the larger challenges that individuals with difference face within many communities.

However, what struck me most about my visit was the actual space of the school. The school embodied everything aesthetically impressive that I would expect from an Indigenized school. The main office was a hogan, with the main doors facing east to meet the sunrise. The main hallway proceeded to the South, which is the way we are supposed to initially enter the space of the hogan. Each hallway indicated a direction and therefore, a sacred mountain associated with the direction was painted on the wall. Colors and grade

levels marked the phases of learning connected and represented through our sacred mountains. These were expressed in Diné bizaad, our Native language. Diné thought permeated the physical space, fusing epistemological essence into the aesthetic of the building.[3] Everything appeared to promote the cultural elements and foundational aspects of our worldview, merged into an educational institution created by and for us as Diné people.

The Autism-specific classroom was at the end of the western hallway. It was a beautiful room and it was clear so much attention had been devoted to this space. The educational team was welcoming and open in our conversation. One wall had a panel of Picture Exchange Cards (PECS) used to teach non-verbal children words and sentence sequencing. Puzzles and activities were organized in distinct spaces of the room. Organization of space has a specific format in Autism-specific classrooms. Labels and bins were structured in ways to format clear spaces for each activity. Each student had their own iPad for instruction, communication and leisure as a reward. I recognized the remarkable amount of planning that was invested to make this space possible. Words can't express the simultaneous pride and humility I felt to witness the amount the work invested into an Autism program at an Indigenous school. It is a vital step forward in Indigenous planning efforts to account for Native students with Autism.

However, something important was said that me realize something critical about our efforts to decolonize our educational institutions. The special education teacher mentioned to me, that although the classroom was considered a self-contained classroom, they took every opportunity to integrate students into the larger student body. They

sometimes would take the students with Autism into general education settings. However, she stated that children in the general education setting did not know how to interact with their peers with Autism and that some would move away from them as if they did not belong there.[4] In this way, these children struggled being integrated and accepted by their peers in general education. This concern has been largely addressed within the movement to advocate for inclusion or mainstreamed education, as it is reflective of larger structural struggles to find ways of inclusion that promote diversity, awareness and accountability. This situation is indicative of not only the larger scope of Autism awareness disparities on the Navajo Nation, but in also in the greater context of the states and country as a whole.

However, I was still at a loss for understanding how cultural knowledge of kin relationships had not prevailed or influenced the overturn negative assumptions of disability among Native learners.[5] I also reflected on how those modes of knowing produced reactions that illustrated the extent of how much Native learners processed difference and applied that to spatiality. I realized the challenge we faced as planners and educators, that regardless of all our efforts to remake space and entrench our cultural knowledge and language into our education and curriculum, we have to fully reckoned with the ideologies that shape and impact how we reproduce knowledge of normativity and neuro-diversity.

This thesis takes up questions of spatiality and belonging. This is entwined with an analysis of the structures of discipline embedded within educational systems, pedagogy and praxis, and how those are directly related to how people form relational understandings of difference and diversity. On a large scale, this points to the ways in which global

capitalism and imperialism mark, organize, sustain ideologies and reproduce conceptions of value, normativity, and the discourse of ability/disability. These are then transported to specific places, such as the special education classroom, thereby centering disability and conception of normativity over cultural practices of knowing which include kin relationships, or k'é. As I will demonstrate, these ideologies have been implanted through centuries of U.S. violence and assimilation through the erasure of culture and kin relationship practices over the decades.

The purpose of this thesis seeks to map out those very processes that operate in the micro-modes of knowing and organization, while also connecting them to the larger scope of imperial underwriting that makes possible the identity formations of disability, which promote normative discourses that in turn have enabled empire, nationalism, and global capitalism. By centering settler colonialism within the analysis of ability/disability, I offer an alternate lens to understand the parallels between land, place, and space in relation to knowledge of relationship. My focus therefore, centers on the ideological and socialization processes of spatiality in relation to normativity. I am concerned with how the movement and creation of an Indigenous school that centers Diné ontology still produced problematic ideologies of being, personhood and difference. What does it mean when Indigenous peoples enact their logics of Indigenous praxis, spatiality and yet still reproduce notions of belonging and being that are born and maintained through settler colonial capitalism? As demonstrated by Ałchíní Baháné, although the physical space had been transformed and nestled within Diné cultural episteme, the reality of the politics of disability remained intact. Native children with Autism were still demarcated by their difference and belonging to space by the collective body of students. If we do not address this issue of how we come

to know and relate to one another within the framework of settler colonial ideology, and how that is bound up in a historical process of structural violence, then our inclusion classrooms which operate under U.S. law, policy and educational praxis will continue to produce violent and exclusionary results within Indigenous schools. In this way, I argue that decolonization must take up these intimate spaces of being and contend with how foreign ideologies have saturated and negatively impacted the utility of our cultural knowledge that deals with knowing, recognizing, inter-relationships and accountability to others. This a vital opportunity to incorporate Diné cultural knowledge, and k'é as a pedagogy, to enact transformative education. This is a remarkable intervention in applying neuro-diversity, and bodily variance into the complex networks of how Diné understand the world and one another.

First, I explain Diné epistemology of k'é and ground its potential within my analysis. Secondly, I identify the colliding ideological praxis of Indigenous initiatives formulated through Western rubrics of knowledge production, social organization and knowing to question how those are instilled through ideology and settler colonial capitalism. I do this through an examination of Rough Rock Demonstration School, to think of how relationality to constructs of normativity impact ideology. I then examine the history of dispossession and early ideological formations of Native people and how the U.S. conceived of dealing with the "Indian Problem" which in turn grounded notions of normativity. I then move on to look at how liberalism works as a smoke screen to attach benevolent, civilized and Christian language to violence, particularly through assimilation and how that impacted ideology in enacting dominance over other ways of knowing. I focus particularly on the discourse of ability/disability within this framework, as it

intersects with race and gender and how it is formed through settler colonialism. I then discuss the process of normativity as it implants itself through binaries and creation of the Other. I take up how disability laws and educational standards, including Common Core operate on these constructs of normativity and thereby reinforce a system of human value through settler colonial capitalism. I move to examine how disability is constructed through settler colonialism, patriarchy and nationalism. The last section of my thesis takes up settler colonial spatiality and the tensions of state control in terms of curriculum and law. I complete my analysis by mapping a relational inquiry of the links of between the inception of reservation lands and the parallels of special education classrooms as spaces of belonging and the construction of organizing difference, with the intention of containment. This final part of my analysis is foundational to imagining alternative means of formatting transformative education and connecting how ideology is shaped in material ways. To conclude this thesis, I discuss decolonization and the ways in which scholars and planners must think critically about the origins of how we come to know and relate to one another as they influence the larger structures of our lives.

Indigenous peoples are at a pivotal point when it comes to examining the foundations of immersion programs and Indigenized education. With the strong movement to begin creating these schools across the reservation and bordering communities, it is important that Indigenous planning must engage in critical pedagogy in the formulation of such programs. Native people must be conscious of the assumptions that a language component of education, although deeply valued, transformative and treasured, still has its limits if the foundational ideology and structure of the institution provides for the existence of oppressive ideology and pedagogy to remain intact. Kanaka Moali scholar Noelani

Goodyear-Ka'ōpua addresses this "cultural infusion model" which other Native Hawaiian scholars have criticized as "eroticizing without empowering" Indigenous learners.[6] Within the context of Indigenous schools, attention must be given to the formulation of decolonized educational initiatives in terms of special education in Indigenous schools. It is crucial to understand how the appropriation of violent and oppressive notions of normativity, value and belonging are still subscribed to through movements to decolonize education. Native micro-participation within settler constructs of normativity, actually contribute to the larger scale of assimilative practices of the U.S. nation-state to further erase Native lives and culture from the land. Participation in such constructs of normativity as it relates to settler constructs and understandings of disability, also mark complicity in the violence of global capitalism. It does so by suturing value of perceived production capability ascribed to able bodies so that they will maintain capitalist networks. Those networks in turn cement heteropatriarchy and white supremacy as a dominant, naturalized structure. Such micro-participations with settler constructs of normativity also remain counter-productive to cultural preservation as they further decentralize and erase kin relationship practices, conceptions of knowing and perspectives diversity, including neuro-diversity thereby diminishing accountability and social organization that is predicated on an opposing value system in contrast to settler colonial law, ideology and structure.

The case of Ałchíní Baháné demonstrates this challenge. Although remarkable work has been done to transform the physical space and incorporate Indigenous knowledge and intellectual pedagogy into multi-faceted areas of learning and instruction, the ideology of being, and the politics of normativity born from the violence of settler colonial hegemony are still caught up in how learners negotiate and understand difference. Rather

than a pedagogy of relationship instilled through k'é and kin relationship, students demonstrate the troubled ripple effects of imposed ideology of personhood which is reinforced through spatiality and segregation of neuro-difference. Because of the implantation of settler-colonial logics of normativity and belonging instilled through decades of assimilation and militarization, Native people struggle to exemplify an understanding of kin relationships in their perceptions of disability and difference. Through the continued disparity of lack of awareness, discussion, planning and advocacy on the Navajo Nation regarding Autism and other differences, societal expressions and reactions mirror colonial social practices that underwrite politics of normativity and spatiality. These ideologies and spatial rules that are performed manifest through decades of colonial violence and remain on-going through liberalist disability policy and state standards for education.

The colonial construction of belonging, is predicated on deficit models that are historically anchored in the ethnic cleansing of Native people. As the U.S. nation state carry's out these constructions of normativity and belonging through law and policy, they continue to deny and erase cultural ways of thinking, ideologies and practices of inclusion. This structure and process are a violation of human rights.[7] As Diné scholar Jennifer Denetdale states, "the treatment of Indigenous people is how the U.S. transits empire".[8] The implanting of U.S. imperial power requires the vast scope of violations of human rights, which it continues to deny, and of which it continues warfare upon through concealed measures. These social rules are reflected in the larger body of U.S. law, settler colonial conquest and Federal Indian policy. It is important to apply this inquiry to a relational scale of space, to demonstrate a historically sustained ideology and practice that

examines how spatiality marks who and where someone belongs and the confusion that erupts when someone transgresses it. Larger scales of reservation for example, were situated as a means of designating belonging and removal from space to allow development, and land use of presumed civilized populations. Relating this to the space of the educational classroom, we can apply those same processes for organization, to recognize the ways in which spatiality is disciplined and cemented through the production of ideology of subjectivity. Just as Native people become subject to racist ideology as belonging only on the reservation, evident by rampant slurs to "go back to reservation", there are also social and political expectations that impact the spatiality of belonging within general education classrooms. When students cross over disciplined spaces, an ideology other than relationship praxis is manifested. This is the heart and focus of my analysis. To decolonize is not only to reshape space, curriculum and pedagogy. It is also to transform how we think and question the power caught up in what we know and what conditions make possible our knowledge of others. This is related to a larger project of colonial violence, in which processes of discipline become a major theme in this thesis, thereby linking imperial militarization, both currently and historically, to the facets of the classroom and the intimate space of the body and mind.

K'é: The Power of Knowing and Accountability

Questions of how Native students expressed attention to prevailing colonial identity formations, such as disability, became a source of inquiry into the transformation potential of k'é to re-shift conceptions of neuro-diversity and difference. How could Diné kinship allow the compliance to colonial spatial understandings of belonging? Why did k'é struggle

to manifest in material ways at Ałchíní Baháné, when students transgressed the boundaries between special education and general education classrooms? What ideological mechanisms were so deeply entrenched in the Native youth, to replicate a system of organization that stands in stark contrast to the foundations of our kin relationship practices? How is this indicative of larger issues and questions of belonging and awareness of neuro-diversity? For Diné people, kin relationships or k'é, are foundational to understanding who we are, and how we interpret the world around us.

Children are first introduced to k'é through their family relationships and extended family relationships.[9] However, it is not simply an extended family framework, but rather a complex way of knowing that connects people, informs their knowledge of inter-relationships, and links values and Navajo thought to places, people, and animals.[10] For example, "elders tell us that reciting our clans", which are representative and descriptive of a particular place, an environmental element, animals or another Nation, "reminds us of the importance of our surroundings" and how we are intimately linked to all these things.[11] In being linked to all these things, the understanding of care and respect are also embedded within our relationships.[12] Therefore, k'é is a way of knowing, a way of being, a way of understanding and " is essential to a person's inner peace and is what a person is to strive toward on a daily basis".[13] According to Henry Barber, who testified before the Navajo Commission of Human Rights and is a respected healer of the Peyote Way,

> the concept of K'é describes the relationship between the duality of every element. Respect, understanding and working together are the basis of this relationship. They support one another, hold each other accountable and in general serve to hold the balance between the good and bad of each element. For the Diné, the concept of K'é is applied and its meaning remains sacred in everything that is thought, with

actions taken and the words that are spoken…In Diné thinking, K'é is sacred and central to the divine plan for creation.[14]

Therefore, "K'é embodies the ability for an individual to find a place, their livelihood in the midst of the Navajo people. This embodiment brings about happiness".[15] Furthermore, the principles of K'é and Hozhó are inherently inclusive in that "Diné are all related to each other through kin networks". [16] K'é therefore establishes an accountability of relationship, in which foreign identity formations disintegrate in light of one's close relationship through this complex kin network. People become relatives first, before they fall within categories of dominant identity formations. The impact of k'é is that it "promotes peace in one's home and between family and clan members" and that this peace "is a result of the of the respect and sense of responsibility one person feels to another".[17]

This way of relating to one another has been foundational to Diné epistemology and Life Ways since time immemorial. K'é, has the power to transform violent processes bound up within the colonial formations of normativity and offer an alternative way of knowing, and understanding neuro-diversity. It does this through relationship and through the complex understanding of responsibility and accountability established through that relationship. It has the potential to become the foundation of special education for Diné people and change the rubrics of how disability and special education are addressed in educational institutions as it re-situates ideology of knowing and belonging. When k'é is applied to the care of individuals with neuro-difference or bodily variance, the way of knowing shifts from seeing the individual only as someone who is disabled, to seeing them as someone who is related to them and has a place in the broader scope of the world. That place is not only ideological, or through understanding clan relationships; it actually works

to connect people through their inter-relationship with all things to the broader scope of life. As I mentioned previously, clans are representative and descriptive of the world around us, and that they remind us of our inter-relationship with the world. Diné stories invoke people, places, animals, objects, natural elements to attach values and morals to those entities and things. For example, a story that was shared with me regarding Diné ontology and conceptions of disability, talked about particular people, a particular place and included references to art, pottery, birds, sunbeams and the rainbow.[18] It is not my intention to commit this story to paper, but I share this aspect of it because it illustrates the ways in which this inter-relationship of knowledge and storytelling manifest in material ways and through ideology. When the storyteller concluded his story, he said that every time we see birds or a rainbow, we would be reminded the story, which would remind us of the values of the story that dictate our accountability to those with differences and varying abilities. In this way, we are reminded about diversity, difference, kindness, love, responsibility and care through numerous aspects of our lives and through relationships with the broader context of the world. Furthermore, we not only think about our roles in relation to those people but think of those individuals as people first. These values attached to the story: care, appreciation, love and talent are embedded in the elements within the story, such as people, rainbows, pottery and birds. In this way, we can understand k'é as a foundational truth in linking individuals to the broader context of the world, in that they also have those complex inter-relationships that are honored and treasured. K'é as a practice is not isolated to knowing others solely on the level of the body. It inherently establishes a fluid understanding that ideology, being and values that are entrenched in every aspect of our lives.

Limits of the Present

In the case of my visit to Ałchíní Baháné Elementary School, we realize that a movement to truly decolonize education begins with a close examination into the way Native people adapt educational norms, pedagogy, structures and more importantly, how they understand formations of the body and ability as they are informed by the violence of Western and imperial ideology. A movement to transform space must include the geospatiality of physical building structures, and the reformation of classroom structures for inclusion, thereby rethinking the socialized impacts of cross-category and self-contained classrooms. It must also include a close examination on the level of perception of being that is influenced by the space that is organized and the methods in which students come to know about one another through spatiality. This requires interrogating he ideological foundation of how we know difference, how we understand diversity and neuro-diversity, and how those formations of knowing are bound up with structures of power.

Centralizing questions of decolonization in relation to the creation of immersion/ Indigenous schools, interrogate colonial modes of organizing, knowing and servicing students who are prescribed as "disabled". Critical Disability Studies as a discipline has done tremendous work in providing an analytic to understanding social formations and power that are related to the identity formation of the disabled subject. As a pedagogy, it has often overlapped within discourse of race, gender and sexuality to illuminate something about social and cultural reproduction as relational processes entrenched within logics of normative assumptions and the situating of dominant modes of knowing.[19] However,

current scholarship must move this forward to think about the conditions of power that are informed by the past, and the on-going metamorphosis of the colonial relation as it is entrenched through current educational laws, funding, and federal policies. Attaching the ideology of how disability is shaped historically, particularly how it relates to Native peoples, dispossession and assimilation is foundational in transcending the current limits of disability discourse.

Settler colonialism matters. The role of settler colonialism must remain centered as vital axis in understanding the material and ideological utility of the politics of normativity and disability and their formation as an identity category. Critical Disability Studies has sought to make visible connective links to the ways disability discourse can be understood as power relations that extend across gender, race and class politics. However, in mainstream analysis, the field of Critical Disability Studies has yet to examine the centrality of conquest, settler colonialism and dispossession of land, as a key inquiry into understanding power formations that underwrite the construction of and political formation of the disabled body.[20] Connecting not only the identity formation of disability to empire, but also establishing disability as impacted and resulting from the violence of empire is also important. Jasbir Puar demonstrates this in *The Right to Maim,* stating that *"*the largely unmarked Euro-American bias of disability studies has had to confront itself, as the production of most of the world's disability happens through colonial violence, developmentalism, war, occupation and the disparity of resources-indeed through U.S. settler colonial and imperial occupations, as a sign of global reach of empire".[21] Therefore, it is important to understand how settler colonialism must be centered within any discourse of disability analysis.

Furthermore, while a large segment of disability discourse seeks inclusion and recognition into dominant structures as a means of liberation and the fight against oppression, Critical Indigenous theory offers a lens to understand why such processes do nothing to unhinge power formations or the structures that instill the ideological, psychological and material possibilities imposed on bodies marked as disabled. Utilizing this optic to take up the politics of recognition, exposes the relational aspects of two things. The first, is how Indigenous peoples have been subjected to the same deficit model that permeates notions of disability. Power relations are produced through this model socially and politically, thereby constructing and reinforcing an ideological hierarchy of personhood. It was through this hierarchy that neoliberal policies enacted by Federal Indian Law dispossessed, contained and forced assimilation in hopes that one day they would disappear from the land. Articulated benevolently later down the line, Native people and the mission of assimilation would transform them into productive, civilized members of American society. Secondly, the very process of relying on recognition sustains the rules that make possible exclusion of others and does nothing to interrupt the power formations enable the settler nation to create the conditions for oppression. According to Dene scholar Glen Coulthard in *Red Skin, White Masks,* "the politics of recognition in its contemporary liberal form promises to reproduce the very configurations of colonialist, racist, patriarchal state power that Indigenous peoples' demands for recognition have historically sought to transcend".[22] Therefore, a new imagining of inclusion within classrooms requires the foundational ideology of difference to be transformed as well. Inclusion into the existing structure as it is, will only continue to reproduce the troubled ideologies and authority of the state apparatus to determine the conditions of being and belonging.

To be clear, I am not advocating for the end of special education classrooms. I am advocating for an inquiry into the roots of how segregation under the rubrics of neoliberalism in removing and segregating children under the assumptions of *for their own benefit*, mirrors modes of containment that saturate our Diné histories and settler colonial violence. I am advocating for a new way of imaging inclusivity that does not submit to power politics that uphold recognition upon the states terms nor buckle under liberalisms false promises of inclusions that enact concealed colonial violence. If we are to dismantle concealed modes of assimilative practices, particularly through ideology, we require an intervention into the ways we recognize others. We also require the illumination of how colonial normative constructs permeate ideologies, and thus, how we identify and mark difference and belonging both spatially and relationally. K'é as a relational epistemology has power to undo the violence of colonial normative formations. Highlighting these issues become central for imagining and new paradigm predicated and synthesized with the intellectual and cultural praxis consistent with k'é.

Ideology and the Illusion of Self-Determination

Indigenous schools from their inception have demonstrated troubled views of ideology that subscribed to Anglo-American tenants of civilization, normativity and inclusion. Although immersion programs for Diné emerged from decades of planning and imagining what culturally informed education looked like for Native people, I want to critically examine the origins of Diné education as they were aligned with settler colonial rubrics of normativity and belonging. In 1966, Rough Rock Demonstration School was founded and was the first Navajo controlled school under the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA).[23] Its goal was to reformat education through a Diné lens, advocating for community and parental

involvement and to implement TESL (Teaching English as a second language), thereby providing bilingual education.[24] In 1968, the school published its own recount of the first year and how its "revolutionary concept for education" had been enacted.[25] It stated that "Rough Rock Navajo Demonstration School is guided by the philosophy that the Indian can, and should, be educated to retain his identity with his native values and culture, while at the same time, learning to master the Anglo culture and to take his place in the Anglo world, if he so desires".[26] Today, the focus of Rough Rock Community School is to uphold its mission "to educate, enlighten, motivate, challenge, and assist in the proper cultural rearing of our Navajo children so they can be self-respecting, respectful of others, speak and practice their language and culture, and be totally functional in the Anglo society".[27] Although the phrasing has morphed over the course of 50 years, the school continues to imply the relevance of Anglo-society. The first statement from 1968 centers Anglo-society as a point of reference to their own positionality. The idea of ascension into the Anglo world "to take his place "is a primary objective, even against the backdrop of choice. Furthermore, the 1968 statement is also written in the context of a male, which is another way that normativity cements itself, enacted through patriarchy. Today's mission's statement echoes the ideology of belonging, in that being "totally functional" within the Anglo-world establishes that Native people are attempting to establish themselves within and up to the measures of the Anglo-world, the dominant and imposed structure, which at its core is settler-colonial. Inclusion and success into this framework remains a primary goal for educational pursuit.

Aligning from this point of departure, it could appear that from its inception, Diné people have consented to rubrics of normativity, in submitting ourselves to rules the dictate

our oppression by placing ourselves in relation to "Anglo-Society". The multi-faceted ways in which conceptions and structures of normativity implant themselves within our lives have their origins in settler colonialism. This links back to the troubled "cultural infusion model" lamented by Goodyear-Ka'ōpua, in that critical examination of how knowledge and power are bound up in settler colonial frameworks is vital to understanding the limits of our transformation of ideologies through curriculum that have already determined the hierarchy of inclusion and belonging. Therefore, any attempt to adhere to the given structures of implanted ideology, whether it be what counts as knowledge, what counts as disability, who belongs or benefits from what spaces, must always work to combat "the discursive weight of hegemonic common sense".[28] In order to lay bare the processes of making common sense, or the naturalizing of this order, as a given and predetermined facet of knowing, I will map how disciplined ideas of normativity are intimately linked to settler colonial warfare in the dispossession of land which evolved into political and ideological warfare utilized by the U.S. nation state. I will also show how the U.S. engages in militarized modes of discipline through state law and policy, particularly how it has dealt with the "Indian Problem" and how it continues to discipline those who do not conform to its standards through neoliberalist policies of education including No Child Lift Behind and Common Core. How we come to know has not been a free process, even as it is informed by U.S. assertions of democracy, liberty or in this case, Indian self-determination.

Settler Colonialism: Neoliberalism of Death and Dispossession

These illusions of choice are already historically anchored by the U.S. settler state. The metamorphosis of outright genocide and erasure of Indigenous peoples shifted to adapt to neoliberalist expressions so that it could conceal its roots in violence and militarized

discipline. In this way, it work to maintain its power and self-righteous standing as leader of the "Free World".[29] Settler ideology for dispossession was utilized by the Spanish through the *Requerimiento*, a moral justification and legal instrument to dispossess lands in order to uphold the supposed necessity of spreading the gospel in the New World.[30] The Pope "was understood as Christ's vicar on earth, and hence if any authority existed to bolster European political claims against the peoples of the New World, it would have been found in a religious context".[31] This became foundational to the doctrine of discovery, as David Wilkins and Vine Deloria explain how it laid the groundwork to be "cited by European monarchs for justification for claiming a clear legal title to lands in the New World on the basis of the fact that the monarch had authorized certain adventures to search out new lands on his or her behalf". [32] Rhetoric of religious compassion and devotion saturated polices for centuries after, with the justification that the "gift of U.S. democracy", civilization and Christianity would provide a justification for the dispossession of lands and erasure of Indigenous peoples.[33] This is demonstrated in the famous case, *Johnson v. McIntosh* in 1823, in which Chief Justice John Marshall provided the following argument,

> On the discovery of this immense continent, the great nations of Europe were eager to appropriate to themselves so much of it as they could respectfully acquire…the character and religion of its inhabitants afforded an apology for considering them as a people over whom the superior genius of Europe might claim an ascendancy. *The potentates of the old world found no difficulty in convincing themselves that they made ample compensation to the inhabitants of the new, by bestowing on them civilization and Christianity* in exchange for unlimited independence.[34]

Thus, the positioning of European supremacy, in that civilization and Christianity were necessary and fair justifications and payment for dispossession, sealed the benevolent logics of violence into law. In this way, law upheld the inferiority of Native peoples who

required dispossession for colonial settlement and acquisition of lands. However, it was framed under the ideological tenants of inherent deficiency, savagery and barbaric void of Christian doctrine. This ideology is traced through centuries of assimilative policies including allotment to ensure private property and was engrained in public discourse to further policies that would continue to eliminate tribes both spatially and physically. Continuing the work of dispossession, Christian missions would also be allowed by law to claim lands for educational purposes. According to 25 USC§ 280, "The Secretary of the Interior is authorized and directed to issue a patent to the duly authorized missionary board, or other proper authority, of any religious organization engaged in mission or school work on any Indian reservation…beneficially used and occupied by such organization solely for mission or school purposes…".[35] Christianity was therefore central to educational initiatives imposed on Native people. It not only held up beliefs that were consistent with civility including the nuclear family and patriarchy but also obedience to authority in fear of discipline, albeit framed as damnation through religious doctrine. This religious ideology would later adapt into expressions of freedom and hope by many Native people as they were assimilated. For example, Rough Rock School Director Robert Roessel gave a speech in 1967 at the Navaho Education Conference, saying " this school is the answer to many people's dreams and prayers…the school is a product of faith-the hand of man being led by the hand of God".[36] I find these parallels between manifest destiny and the doctrine of discovery to self-determined Native education, as they expressed through divine guidance under the rubrics of Christianity, most interesting. The complexities of how Christianity became engrained within Diné culture and its subsequent results are too extensive for this thesis to address. However, their importance on the level of ideology and

how that is adapted, transformed and reworked through Indigenous institutions today remains imperative to understanding the history of education for Native peoples. It also remains central to how notions of normativity became situated to Anglo-centric, Christian ideals and practices.

Clear connections also exist between Native peoples and survivors of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade, who also suffered greatly at the hands of settler colonialism and under the same the rubrics of justification. According to Captain Henry Pratt, who would later be the infamous superintendent of Carlisle Indian Industrial School,

> "for many years we greatly oppressed the black man, but the germ of human liberty remained among us and grew, in spite of our irregularities, there came from the lowest savagery into intelligent manhood and freedom among us more than seven millions of our populations, who are to-day an element of industrial value with which we could not well dispense... of slavery itself, there was concealed in them the greatest blessing that ever came to the Negro race, seven millions of blacks from cannibalism in darkest Africa to citizenship in free and enlightened America; not full, not complete citizenship, but possible - probable - citizenship, and on the highway and near to it. There is a great lesson in this. The schools did not make them citizens, the schools did not teach them the language, nor make them industrious and self-supporting. Denied the right of schools, they became English-speaking and industrious through the influences of association. Scattered here and there, under the care and authority of individuals of the higher race, they learned self-support and something of citizenship, and so reached their present place. No other influence or force would have so speedily accomplished such a result. Left in Africa, surrounded by their fellow savages, our seven million of industrious black fellow-citizens would still be savages. Transferred into these new surroundings and experiences, behold the result. They became English-speaking and civilized, because forced into association with English-speaking and civilized people; became healthy and multiplied, because they were property; and industrious, because industry, which brings contentment and health, was a necessary quality to increase their value. [37]

Therefore, American exceptionalism and identity were cemented in notions of superiority, freedom and democracy. It was grounded in ideas of ascension to Anglo-sensibility, civility and religion. Ideology was implanted from its inception of colonial dispossession into how

U.S. positioned itself against Native and Black peoples. It is clear how ideology fixed itself into how the U.S. came to know itself and how it would continue to formulate educational initiatives which centered its assertions of normativity. With this history in mind we should question why we, as Indigenous peoples, would continue the work of violent settler colonial initiatives. This would mean that we also examine the validity of their standards, and for the purposes of this thesis, their rubrics for determining knowledge, capacity and belonging.

Binaries and the Situating of Normativity

If we examine the binary of how Diné people conceptualize the Anglo-world and the Native world within the context of Rough Rock Demonstration School, the movement to transgress ideological spatiality of being and development is informed by colonial notions of *becoming*. These notions require that the dominant model, or in this case, the colonial model of Anglo-centric ideology establish the conditions for what is, and for what one is not. This is consistent with the historical process I previously outlined. It is important to emphasize that colonial violence and dispossession was intended to eliminate Natives from the land to make way for settlement.[38] It was only through liberalisms justification of benevolence and goodwill, combined with the groundwork of the doctrine of discovery that framed erasure within the rubrics of aide and ascension into civilization. It was through the doctrine of discovery that dispossession was conveyed as being for the good of transforming Native people, and thus aiding in their quest to become civilized.   In this way, I want to draw attention to how the use of neoliberalist language and ideological posturing carry over into structures. For example, in the disciplining of difference, the constructs of ability and imposed standards for special education classrooms all emerge

within the context of helping students rise up. As I will demonstrate, this rhetoric is exposed as contrary as it conveys that positionality is already pre-determined within settler society, and that settler colonial capitalism does nothing to impede the very social conditions that create violence and inequality.

The type of enduring ideology over the span of 50 years of Rough Rock's mission, from "taking his place in the Anglo-world" to being "totally functional in Anglo Society," continues the work of establishing colonial-centric ideology of becoming.[39] This is bound up with not only ideology, but ideas of capacity, as I will outline later, to think not only of how "disabled" individuals are subject to the process of *becoming* but caught up with the racialized aspects of "Indians" *becoming* civilized through settler colonial ideology and conquest. These ideologies and colonial processes form a foundational power structure, which are then incorporated into our educational systems, to which we adhere. Therefore, we are made complicit in our own subordination. This power structure operates through a centered ideological framing paired with the liberalist notion of progress, choice and self-determination. A historical accounting conveys that these modes, processes and conditions are already predetermined and enacted through settler colonialism.

Furthermore, identifying the ideological formation with Rough Rock's mission statements conveys a conformed attachment to the normative narrative, particularly the harmful assumption that Diné peoples have to live and walk in two worlds. Because settler colonialism utilized the framework of binaries in creating the civilized/savage paradigm, which enabled and justified conquest, and would later manifest in law and policy, part of the initiatives to decolonize should be weary of replicating this types of reductionist model.

Care must be exercised as reductive processes have been historically seized through hegemony, in the process of domination and subordination in the quest for empire. It is already overdetermined that Anglo-society is centered, in which policy, dispossession and law provide for its authority, not only to dispossess, but to rely on the ideological formations that allow dispossession. In this way, the illusion of self-determination in teaching culture for the purposes of integrating or fully functioning in the dominant, Anglo society upholds the hegemony that Native people are willing to submit themselves to the measures of success in the Anglo world. This requires that Native people consent to the ideologies that permeate and validate what constitutes as value, thereby upholding violent normative conceptions. Unfortunately, consent to the standards of Anglo hegemony illustrates our complicity in warfare, both ideologically, and through knowledge production through the very institutions that are supposed to liberate us.

Other

Binaries have numerous violent functions which are also imperative to the ways in which conceptions of normativity operate. In terms of disability discourse, binaries are foundational to establishing a method for categorizing people. This was evident in the ways in which students from Ałchíní Baháné identified and reacted to other students, as those ideological formations of belonging and difference were deeply engrained. One can see that categories associated with spatiality, particularly in terms of the special education classroom and general education classroom, rely on binaries. In fact, the very construction and discipline of space mark those distinctions. The definitions between these two spaces and populations convey a reductionist ordering of space, in which they are deeply engrained not only in law but in ideology too. In terms of replicating this ideology, this

process enforces a lived and psychological blueprint of organization, in which thoughts are ordered through simplistic processes that substantiate seeing the world only in binaries. This process is naturalized and in turn establishes and maintains a social and ideological hierarchy. It creates the terms in which ascension into one world is made possible and subsequently inherently designates it more power.

A connection exists between how Native peoples have been historically situated to aspire into dominant Anglo, settler society, and also how "disabled" individuals are also expected to ascend to a space of normalcy, or within dominant society embodying the skill sets valued U.S. settlers to make them valued. For example, according to the Legislative Intent of Public Law 94-142, The Education for All Handicapped Children Act of 1975, amended in 2004 to the Individuals with Disability Act (IDEA),

> ….recent statistics provided by the Bureau of Education for the Handicapped estimated that of the more than 8 million children…with handicapping conditions requiring special education and related services, only 3.9 million such children are received appropriate education…the long-range implications of these statistics are that public agencies and taxpayers will spend billions of dollars over the lifetimes of these individuals to maintain such persons as dependents and in minimally acceptable lifestyles. With proper education services, many would be able to **become productive citizens, contributing to society instead of being forced to remain burdens,** Others, through such services would increase their independence thus reducing their dependence on society.[40]

Little question is given to who, or what structure determines what is useful or productive in this sense. Within the framework of settler colonialism as the violent system that creates assumptions of normativity bound up with settler capitalist values of productivity, frugality, and ablest constructions of "independence", we can see that *being* is defined in terms of human value. It depends on how much individuals can contribute to the

maintenance of capitalism, as a naturalized order of how the world works. I return to this later to discuss the tensions between notions of ability/disability, value and social death.

It is clear that the invocation of binaries in the case of disability creates clear-cut measures; able/disabled or normal/abnormal. Particularly as it becomes framed within U.S. settler identity formations of masculine, Anglo-Americanism, as I will later demonstrate. This in itself creates the inherent conditions for hierarchy to occur within the context of an already violent and hegemonic society, particularly through settler colonial capitalism. Binaries created through this process inherently works to "other" people and to formulate places of belonging. With the institution of normative power relations, such structures always require this process of Othering. The Other is designated as the unknowable, illegible subject, placed against the backdrop of the perceived normative which is naturalized and bound up with the power relations of so called common sense. Normativity therefore re-enforces the instilled conception of abnormal or deficit being in relation to perceptions of the normate through this instilled hierarchy. If we allow subjectivity to this framework, then we automatically other ourselves. As I have shown, the process of othering was demonstrated through the Marshal case regarding the doctrine of discovery, and subsequent conferences where civility and notions of Indian progress were still positioned in relation to European settlers. Edward Said's work continues to illustrate this process, as his analysis of Other, can be appropriated to understand the ways in which history and place have secured notions of Other to obtain power. According to Said, this methodology lays bare the ways "European culture gained in strength and identity by setting itself against" the concept of "Other".[41] Europe and settler-colonies placed

themselves against the whole of the New World, Native peoples and enslaved Africans, and secured its power formations both legally and politically when doing so.

When appropriated to the context of disability, and Indigenous disability particularly, the utility of creating Other, makes and strengthens the identity and power of that which it is set against. As I have mentioned, this is intimately connected to conceptions of disability and the social construction that marks the body as deficit, while prioritizing its value through a hierarchy of being in relation to instilled norms in which everything exists in relation to. Evident in initiatives of Common Core, naturalized ideology supports values of productivity framed within the confines of the nation-state and settler colonial capitalism of the "modern world".[42] For example, according to tenants of NM State Common Core, "New Mexico has always prioritized rigorous learning goals for students. New Mexico adopted the Common Core State Standards in 2010 with the goal of better preparing students with the skills and knowledge they need to succeed in college and careers…to make our students globally competitive…all students, starting in kindergarten will be learning advanced skills in core subjects like English and mathematics that *they must* have if they are to be successful in the modern world".[43] Again, state laws uphold deficit models of personhood without the ever questioning the history of settler colonialism. Positioned as an individual failure paired with assumptions of aspiring to pull oneself up by the bootstraps to become more competitive globally, ignores that settler colonialism has already foreclosed the possibility of an equal playing field. The phrasing provides a liberalist illusion of aid, whereas historically contextualized, actually lays bare how hierarchies become naturalized. Standards to create the normate or equal playing field,

actually works to create a greater divide, in assuming that "all children" should know the same things.[44]

This spills over into ideological and social practices that we are witnessing today. Especially in how we are witnessing the care and reactions to members of the neuro /bodily-diverse community. It has been a historical process that continues through liberal law and policy. According to Rose Marie Garland Thompson, "the normate as the figure outlined by an array of deviant others whose marked bodies shore up the norm's boundaries". [45] Just as Native and African individuals were designated as deviant, so are disabled individuals within the rubrics of normativity. Again, within settler colonialism, Anglo-American values, including domesticity, private property, individualism, patriotism, patriarchy and religious piety were framed as civilized, examples of the progress of a just and advanced society, and therefore was centered as the focal point of referencing normativity. Ability to carry out these projects associated with American values, as I will demonstrate, were also necessary. Therefore, ability was also historically determined through settler colonialism. Normativity therefore is a power formation with roots in settler colonial capitalism and empire.

The very origins of Native boarding/vocational and industrial schools and special education classrooms emerge from these normative frameworks. These frameworks have their roots in settler colonialism, with the benevolent justification of transforming Native peoples for their own good. According to 25 U.S.C. §302, "The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, is authorized and directed to . . . specifically provide an Indian Reform School, and to make all needful rules and

regulations for its conduct, and the placing of Indian youth therein….That the consent of parents, guardians, or next of kin shall not be required to place Indian youth in said school."[46] Native communities and families were forced to submit their children to the Anglo-world of education, even as that world devalued their very lives. Capitan Richard Henry Pratt, gave a speech at National Conference of Social Welfare in 1892 on Indian Policy in which he uttered these famous words, "mere association of Indians with whites has brought about entire change in them, but perhaps no one will dispute the potency of these influences. A great general has said that the only good Indian is a dead one, and that high sanction of his destruction has been an enormous factor in promoting Indian massacres. In a sense, I agree with the sentiment, but only in this: that all the Indian there is in the race should be dead. Kill the Indian in him and save the man."[47] In this way, Native people were already determined for death and erasure. They would become human as they morphed unto the frameworks of settler values of being. Therefore, the power and authority to determine this required that Anglo-centric values and practices be instilled nationally and as the natural order. The Anglo-world situated its authority as the standard of the normative. This violence also has its roots in colonial laws for people with disability, who were referred to at the time as the "feeble-minded".[48] The connections of transit, of *becoming* human is evident in how education and discussions of ability were caught up within settler colonial logics.

Education, Discipline and Patriotism

When we are mapping the history of education and social processes for addressing disability, it is important to note how ideology was attached to not only bodies but also the formations of space, which many individuals with neuro-diversity and varying ability were

subjected to. One of the earliest schools in the U.S. that was created to address disability was "The Massachusetts School for the Idiotic and Feebleminded Youth", founded in the 1850s by Samuel Gridley Howe. [49] Many schools were state-operated mental institutions for the greater part of the 19th century and well into the early 1920's, where individuals were institutionalized rather given the opportunity to join their peers in educational programs.[50] Early discussions regarding uniform procedures in the territories and States of the West, were presented in Denver at the Conference for Social Welfare in 1892. According to the Stephen Smith, Chairman of the Committee of the Commitment and Detention of the Insane, "here is virgin soil in which to plant true principles of government…to adopt and promulgate the most liberal ad enlightened views in regard to the obligations of the State to this class of dependents."[51] Colony laws were initially adapted from England during this time, which called for the arrest, detainment and potential chaining of the people. This resulted in vast, disastrous and inhumane treatment as "the insane in public care [being] found in every jail, despised even by the criminals with whom they associated, and in the vast majority, were chained".[52] Such remedial discussions in late the 19th century took up settler discourse, referring to "virgin soils", as new, empty lands. Movement to address "the insane" came from the values of American nationalism, and within liberal and "enlightened views" consistent with Anglo sensibilities of modernity, individualism, and civility.

According to education scholar D. Antonio Cantu, the return of disabled veterans from World War I and World War II, brought a visibility to disability and therefore, "public perception of individuals with disability improved significantly".[53] Within the context of the nation state and body of U.S. nationalism, disability became recognizable and

legitimized to the extent that able bodies transverse and sacrificed for the nation, leading them to become disabled. The conditions for recognition of disability are thus linked in relation to the military, which disciplined an assumption of the types of disability that were deserving of recognition, although they hailed from the position of prior able-bodiedness. In this way, inclusion into the nation-states' ideological conditions for being, albeit through citizenship, assimilation, or in relation to the military conquest and empire, are what allow disabled subjects to *become human* and recognizable to the nation state.[54]

This is also the case with discussion of how to solve the "Indian problem". As I have already pointed out, Native people were aligned within the same process of becoming albeit as becoming Christians, civilized or productive people who mirrored American values. They were not recognized as human unless they also transverse change. William F. Slocum who was president of Colorado College in 1892, also weighed in on assimilative policies to aid in remedying the Indian problem. His solution was inclusion into the military apparatus. He elaborated,

> The evidences I have been able to secure from those who understand the practical side of this problem better than I do leads me to say that a considerable number of our Indians should receive the training that the life of a soldier will give them. The general testimony is that they soon love the national uniform, and that this army life calls into activity certain excellent traits many of them possess. Then the fact that some of them are in the United States Army leads them to feel that not only are they part of the government, but that they have special duties to it. This, together with the order and discipline of a soldier's life, has been of great educational value… Everything should be done to bring our Indians into the closest possible contact with the forces that have made civilization. I have referred to the army, because it may represent to them obedience and patriotism.[55]

A means of assimilation therefore operated through containment and inclusion into the military apparatus. Implanting American values through militarization was a primary

objective in forming the colonial relation and upholding the authority of new nation state. What was framed as an educational endeavor, a way of shifting ideology and perspectives Native peoples had about the settler state, concealed another objective of the U.S. nation state, to further assert its rule and empire over Native lives and lands. It absorbed them in order to manage them. Appropriating Audra Simpson's analysis of culture in *Mohawk Interruptus*, she describes difference in the eyes of the U.S. settler state, as something" that had to have been contained …[and] that now needed to be made sense of, ordered, ranked, governed and processed".[56] This enacted a violent process which provided for "empire to speak of, and for it".[57] This was not only a movement to further assimilate Native peoples, it was a movement to contain them. In containing them, the U.S. could thereby uphold the hegemony of asserting U.S. dominance through inclusion and absorption into the nation state.

Therefore, Indigenous peoples have not only been situated against conceptions of normativity in being framed as savage, uncivilized and uneducated, but also that their relationship to the U.S. nation state is naturalized through dispossession, law, militarized violence and inclusion. U.S. empire's creation and scope could not be complete without the military. We cannot ever talk about normativity or discourse of ability/disability without discussion of the pivotal role of the military. We must also be aware of the ways that the military acts in concealed ways through shaping public opinions and ideas about ideologies associated with neo-liberalist rhetoric of democracy, freedom and modernity as they relate to the settler state and thereby identity formations. This ideology was the intended to include them as the "Army leads them to feel that not only are they part of the

government, but that they have special duties to it" to thereby implant patriotism and nationalism to the very entity that was used for Indigenous erasure and death.[58]

This section hopes to pinpoint the ways in which the military reveals itself, both implicitly and explicitly, through infrastructure as an educational project in shaping of social ideologies. Within the context of settler colonialism and in relation to the warfare enacted through dispossession and assimilation into the larger scope of U.S. empire, the making of the American subject not only happened through settler colonial conquest, but by the very liberalist endeavors illustrated by William F. Slocum, including Native men into the framework of U.S. patriotism and nationalism. Therefore, the process of establishing normativity was also a patriarchal enterprise.

Patriarchy, Ability and Gender

Locating awareness of disability through the formation of the masculine abled-bodied turned disabled, speaks to the troubled past of how ability/disability have historically been over-determined as deficit and unworthy unless they have transgressed from the position of prior able-bodiedness. This is not divorced from the logics that have underwritten settler colonialism and Christianity which have cemented patriarchy into the social and political fabric of empire as evident with the *Requerimiento* and doctrine of discovery. Appropriating feminist Carol Gilligan's religious work, patriarchy, established "male life as the norm" through Christianity.[59] The story of Eve in the Garden of Eden demonstrates the fall of man and their dissention from perfection and from the presence of God. I argue that this also frames a notion that the fall from grace creates ideas of disability, in that the fall from perfection resulted in turmoil, suffering and the burden of pain from childbirth

that incapacitates women. Furthermore, this transition from perfection to suffering, and therefore disability, was the fault of Eve, and therefore the fault of women. This story enacts the ideological and political foundation which formats woman as the "deviant" other while normalizing the positionality of man.[60] Therefore, as feminist Simone de Beauvoir illuminates, "woman is defined in relation to man, as deficiency and lack, as the Other" thereby centering the male subject and strengthening patriarchy.[61] This is bound up with religion. The grounding of Christianity within the process of discovery, assimilation and education thereby implanted patriarchy on an ideological and religious level.

Expanding on the role of Christianity, Native people could also be understood as inherently disabled through this framework, as they became subject to transit, in that their becoming Christian subjects also transformed them ideologically as abled-bodied. They would presumably take up the fruits of their labors and enact the values of civilization and development of settler ideology. Education through the ownership of property was viewed a making this possible.[62] Discussions at the National Conference of Social Welfare in 1982 continued to point to the ways in which, "private ownership of property… makes real to them[Native people] the idea of law and a self-respecting individualism, which is to be sought for them, as the destruction of individualism always leads to barbarism".[63] This very process of instilling private property normalized masculine discourse. Men after all, are the inheritors of property rights and their bodies are associated with the dominant political imaginary of the nation state in representing freedom and the glorification of conquest. This is also entrenched through a variety of mediums which extend to assumptions of male superiority and right to domination, as he is the head of the nuclear family, responsible for

governance, and entitled to space through conquest and the upholding of settler private property rights.

Feminist scholarship has thus contributed greatly to unpacking how assumptions of the normative are already tied to the body. Within Critical disability theory, much work has been done to map discourse through a variety of intersectional frames to draw parallels between assumptions that gender, particularly positioning of female and queer bodies as handicapped, as they are viewed against the white, masculine, subject. This is clear with the previous analysis of patriarchy. It further instills notions that "the idea that disability is inherently contaminating".[64] The story of Eve provides the perfect example. Christian ideology has already established women being predetermined as handicapped through patriarchal frameworks. It was Eve's choice that contaminated their lives and provided for their exclusion from the Garden of Eden. The transgression of space, from perfection with leaving abundance of the garden to be expulsed to a world of thorns, represents a transition from a perfect world to a contaminated world. Ideologically, this became associated with women. Drawing on Kim Q. Hall, there are "conceptual and lived connections between gender and disability…mak[ing] visible the historical and ongoing interrelationship between all forms of oppression".[65] Therefore, the processes of disciplining the ideology and how one comes to understand normalization remains foundational to any analysis of disability, gender and settler colonialism.

Through the legal frameworks and history, I have provided, I want to further examine how masculinity, patriarchy and settler colonialism are entwined with normative structures of the able-bodied. Scholar Sarah Jaquette Ray's work provides a useful optic to

examine the links between masculine, settler colonial conquest and ability. According to Ray, spaces of wilderness are intimately linked to the able bodied masculine subject. Conquest in the construction of empire and naturalizing this as a patriarchal endeavor created an "imagined body politic" that "produced ideal Anglo-American men".[66] Ray's analysis makes visible the links between ideology, environment/wilderness, and American colonial identity making. She demonstrates that ideology of wilderness is connected to notions of purity which, are linked to nation-building. The Anglo-American male is a central figure of the glorification of the "fit body" who can carry out this project.[67] This grounded notions of the able-bodied male, and produced the imaginary of the ideal American subject, who is a conqueror of the frontier, which also becomes the national identity formation in which racialized and "disabled" bodies become relative to.[68] Not only is settler colonialism a masculine project that upholds patriarchy, it is also the framework in which able-bodiedness conceived of in order to conquer the frontier.

Therefore, the construction of the nation state is inherently a disciplining process, as it produced the rubrics for the disciplining of the body as an agent of conquest. As a militarized process, the national conception of the new nation was intimately linked to this formation and upheld the rubrics for determining the normate subject consistent with its identity. *The ability to enact conquest thus relies on notions of ability that are foundational to colonization and the production of the American subject who represents freedom and ablest conditions to make whatever one wishes from one's life. This process of identity formation is reliant on the ability to make war, dispossess and conquer to fulfill the nationalized ideology of the American subject.[69]* Racialized and disabled bodies are inherently othered within this framework, further illuminating how settler colonialism

remains a foundational analytic to understanding to correlation between land dispossession, nationalism and conceptions of ability.

This is the basis of U.S. settler framework that enables the construction of disability. It is not only linked to reductive cites of the body and mind, but rather indicative of a larger structure of settler colonialism. It is embedded in the conquest of people and land, the imposition and construction of knowledge formations and their reproduction. Therefore, disability through the lens of settler colonialism creates "assumptions about bodies and social order," in that disability is taken up and viewed as a threat that "undermines the images of freedom and masculine ideals of independence that have been central to the American identity".[70] Therefore, the settler state engages in political strategies of inclusion, such as education to assimilate as we saw with discussions from the National Conference on Social Welfare. This worked to maintain their dominant ideologies and power.

Settler Colonial Spatiality and The Tensions of State Control

It is difficult to imagine how this history of inclusion and able-bodiedness in relation to U.S. empire and colonization remains firmly rooted in the past, with little resistance to the ways it continues to work itself in our educational systems and the everyday aspect of our lives. What would happen if this history was centered within Indigenous movements to decolonize their educational systems? How would ideologies of being, ability/disability and refusal to embrace and adapt liberalist lies, change within our planning? Would the social conditions of knowing change if we disavowed Anglo-American disability identities and reformatted our knowing through our traditional kin relationship practices? What would happen if we identified people as relatives first before they are anything else? How

can we create ways of knowing that do not uphold normative frameworks rooted in settler colonial violence?

Decolonization of spatiality is equally as vital, as relational modes of power are evident between not only bodies, but spaces as well. I am interested in how we organize places, rooms, buildings, or for the purposes of this thesis, classrooms and communal learning spaces. The way we separate space is reflective of the ways in which our minds separate people and bodies. In the context of the Indigenous classroom, why do segregated "special education" classrooms or self-contained classrooms exist? Determined by the district, what are they trying to separate and for what purposes? This section of the thesis interrogates the conditions that create segregation, to expose how the nation state has already determined ability and use, based on its rubrics for capitalist success. The very standards they have imposed through law inherently create the conditions that make this possible.

The historical analysis of ideologies I have mapped provide a lens to understand how current organization and spatiality were made possible and instilled in dominant social practices to the extent that society accepted them as a naturalized process that was best for everyone. Attention to the liberalist language of Common Core and segments of IDEA, particularly, Least Restrictive Environment (LRE) are important to understanding how those very laws work in tension with what actually happens the ground. Assumptions that space should format itself to the liberal expressions of the law, ignores the reality that imposed regulation standards create the conditions that foreclose its possibility. My argument, is the subsequent results of space and segregation are already predetermined

because of the impossibility of the standard requirements, and that it is concealed by benevolent, liberal rhetoric that pretends it works within the best interests of all people.

Spatial analysis illuminates the way in which the classroom is geopolitically charged. Space is organized for optimal control over bodies. I will show how challenges with standardized high-stakes testing actually results in determining what bodies are identified to what spaces for the purposes of control. On the ground, it would appear that adaptive and inclusive policies would be ideally implemented within general education. For example, according to 20 U.S.C. §1400 (C) (4) "having high expectations for such children and ensuring their access to the general education curriculum in the regular classroom" is by law the ideal condition to service children who are identified as disabled. However, facing possible recourse from failures in high-stakes testing, including impacts to funding, teachers assert that "district recommended timelines created pressures on teachers to cover content at a rapid pace, which took precedence over maximizing student learning".[71] Bodies therefore become sorted to meet the criteria of normative and standardized practices and assumptions of performance. It is not about forming inclusive practices in which they receive accommodation. In fact, schools are so deeply underfunded that teachers and educational assistants are lacking in classrooms to support such diverse ranges of students. Is student success and inclusion the goal of such policies? Even as the law provides the illusion that these situations be inclusive, it must surely be aware of how they play out on the ground. I.D.E.A (2004) makes convincing claims that children with disabilities should be included within the general education classroom as much as possible. However, what we often see is that there are clear disparities in reaching timelines for content instruction, which in turn impact how students prepare for high stakes testing

resulting in fluctuating scores on standardized tests. This results in how students become sorted to best manage on the ground operations and to secure precious funding that is often subject to massive budget cuts. [72] These conditions of normative standards, actually work contrary to the liberal assertions of the law that claim that inclusion is the primary goal. Unfortunately, it makes possible the severance of students into certain spaces which impacts the ideological ordering of people into those spaces.

  Through the liberalist framing of IDEA, disabled people are often segregated into spaces designed to provide for accommodation for their "special needs". Even as IDEA, claims that "special education can become a service for such children rather than a place where such children are sent", we do not see it playing out that way, particularly with the challenges that high stakes testing provides.[73] According to the legal framework of disability law, §300.114 LRE Requirements, the Least Restrictive Environment asserts that,

> the public agency will ensure that special classes, separate schooling, or other removal of children with disabilities from the regular educational environment occurs only if the nature or severity of the disability is such that education in regular classes with the use of supplementary aids and services cannot be achieved satisfactorily.[74]

This questions the very function and benefit of standardized testing in general. It actually limits the possibility of inclusion. I am skeptical of the ways neoliberal rhetoric of help and accommodation are utilized. I am also not convinced that the standards and legal frameworks that the law provide actually play out as they are articulated. Children become subject to the type of ordering that helps manage the outcome of meeting standards through

high-stakes testing that are actually founded on settler colonial capitalism. Inclusion is not about the ways in which we socialize and teach others about difference and diversity. It becomes a way of sorting that upholds colonial rubrics of ability. It becomes a way of sorting people based on their ability to enact settler colonialism capitalism. That is after all, the goal of Common Core, to become globally competitive without the changes to the lived conditions that underwrite structural racism, violence and socio-economic disparities.

Such liberalist language and benevolent claims mirrors settler colonial laws, the doctrine of discovery, removal, dispossession and forced placements into boarding school. For Native people, this should sound all too familiar. The problem is, is that we have separated the past from the conditions of our present. Education must center our histories to understand they patterns of liberalism that permeate our lives and entrench us in hegemony. To make clear, I am not saying that children with differences do not need specialized therapies and interventions. Those services are so desperately needed and are necessary in helping individuals live a life of dignity and meet their fullest potential. I am advocating for us to start questioning the purposes of education and the very sites of knowledge production as the contribute the settler colonial capitalism and violence. These sites already disavow the value of diversity and people. They create the conditions in which children are subjected to a hierarchy that already devalues their lives. I am not advocating for the end of special education. I am saying that the ways in which special education is enacted through law, mirrors the liberalist lies that are evident in Indian policy throughout the decades. Those laws already devalued the lives, knowledge and inherent sovereignty of the people they claimed to want to help. I am asking us to recognize the roots of settler colonialism and how illusionary ways of talking about special education and meeting needs

of diverse students, does nothing to unpin normative, hegemonic structures that are responsible for violent oppression.

Spaces of Containment

Looking at a larger scale of containment, I want to relate it to how self-contained classrooms impact ideology, and therefore socialization of attitudes toward difference. Looking at how liberalism forms the justification of segregation and containment within the scope of beneficial conditionality, such practices reaffirm ideologies of belonging and foreclose possibilities of inclusive transformation. Mirroring the relation of the reservation, liberalism promised that "any Navajo can now settle this Territory, and he will get a piece of land that is not occupied…[and] will now be subject to the laws of the country".[75] The conditions of control and containment were maintained through the reservation under the guise of aid and promises of goodwill. According to General T. Sherman, "the Government has fed and done for you what was considered necessary to make you a thriving people".[76] Today, with over 1/3 of the Navajo Nation living under the poverty level, the reality of these lies weigh greatly upon us. [77]

Connections between the spatiality of the special education classrooms and the reservation should register with Native people as they seek to transform special education. Discourse of confinement through settler colonial expansion of Diné territory can be traced to the removal of Diné people to the Bosque Redondo in 1864. When the Navajo Treaty of 1868 was signed, spaces of belonging were clearly marked. According to Council Proceedings at Ft. Sumner in 1868, regarding the return of Diné people back to their ancestral homelands from Bosque Redondo, General W.T. Sherman is recorded as saying

"if we agree, we will make a boundary line outside of which you must not go, except for the purpose of trading-we must have a clearly defined boundary line and know exactly where you belong to".[78] In this way, boundaries defined literally mark spaces of belonging but physically and ideology. When children at Ałchíní Baháné transgress these spaces of ideological boundaries created by the binary of able/disabled, general education/special education, they are in the same way, also deemed as not belonging. The confines of the special education classroom, and particularly the utility of self-contained classrooms mirror the intent behind the creation of reservation, a space one must not transgress, marked by difference.

The ways that containment manifest through education matter. According to Nishnaabeg scholar Leann Simpson, state education systems are "primarily designed to produce communities of individuals willing to uphold settler colonialism".[79] It is not only about segregation, it is about sustaining ideologies bound up with power that relied on set standards of normativity. In relation to spatiality, Noelani Goodyear Ka'ōpua states that "containment can manifest in geographic forms as reservations or small school spaces, in political forms as legal-recognition frameworks that seek to subsume sovereignty with the settler states laws and in ideological forms".[80] It is important to identify the ways in which space is marked through segregatory practices of confinement, rather than spaces of Indigenous meaning-making[81]. In order to further erase Indigenous sovereignty, the attack of ideology and ways of knowing was instrumental to settler colonialism.

Attacking the very epistemological and relational ways of thinking of Indigenous peoples required a manipulation that would force them into understanding themselves in relation to the U.S. settler state. Values of relationship have always underscored Indigenous

ways of knowing and interacting in the world. In this way, values were utilized as a weapon against Indigenous peoples, in utilizing processes of knowing formed and molded from relationships and shifting those relationships into a colonial framework which would exploit them. Native peoples begin to see themselves in relation to colonizing forces and not through their cultural ways of knowing.

Returning to Rough Rock Community School, their current educational object states,

> Our sacred Navajo Philosophy teaches us to set high standards for ourselves and to challenge ourselves. Therefore, Rough Rock Community School sets high ACADEMIC and MORAL standards for our students so that they can be challenged mentally, emotionally, and spiritually, thus developing their AMBITION, MOTIVATION, ABILITIES, and the tools needed in the quest to live the SI'AHNAAGHEI BIK'EH HOZHOON way of life. These life and career enhancements are applied to the discipline of our children to the degree that they can be competitive in any society, whether they choose college or vocational school, knowing and practicing their sacred uniqueness as Navajo individuals.[82]

It is not my intention to divulge the sacred nature of Si'ahnaaghei Bik'eh Hozhoon (SNBH). However, SNBH embodies being a good relative and living a beautiful life. It is the epitome of everything balanced and beautiful in one's life. It is hard to imagine how SNBH could be reconciled with the ordering of settler colonial capitalism, or how it could be balanced with a system that relies on demeaning, inhumane and violent modes of being and knowing. In relation to last segment of the statement, should our end goal be to compete in the global world? Or should education be to know one's self, live well, live with happiness and pursuing and cultivating inherent interests and fulfilling one's fullest potential? The way our goals are situated have us firmly rooted in settler colonial capitalism. This is challenge we are facing with trying to organize incompatible systems of ideology and praxis. They inherently work against one another. Every aspect of Indian education has been historically militarized and a Christianized process that shaped ideology

and enforced conceptions of normativity born from the inceptions of American empire. The mission of Rough Rock Demonstration School illustrates this the conformity of reconciling Indigenous cultural practices within the structural and ideological tenants that propel U.S. empire including to adherence into their mission to be fully functional in the Anglo-world. One should ask themselves, in light of this history and these challenges, why would we accept that into our decolonial efforts and through what is understood as our self-determination? Rough Rock Community School further states that,

> It is also the responsibility of this school, the community, and the Tribe, to utilize one another's wisdom and knowledge to cooperatively dream, plan, and implement those concepts that will fulfill the objective and the responsibilities set forth. The Navajo Way is the foundation of this institution and the concept of **K'é** needs to be followed and adhered to, because it is the proper teaching of respect, compassion, and a sacred disciplining mechanism; all of which are extensions of the larger, Navajo holistic way of life.[83]

Returning to k'é as a transformative way of creating accountability through discipline predicated on relationships is powerful. As a philosophical framework it competes and collides against settler colonial capitalism. It has the power the dismantle notions of individualism, private property, and settler governance. It was part of the intention of boarding schools to physically make possible the severance of family connections and kin relationship because it was such a threat to the nation state. K'é in a way can be understood as means of social order, in that relationships through kinship forms strong networks of accountability and responsibility.

Rough Rock demonstrates so much potential as they form this as foundational within their school. The challenge is, is that it is paired with colonial educational formations that inherently devalue certain people, relationships and responsibility. Again, care which exercised to those who require more of it, such as our people with neuro-

diversity and bodily difference, is often framed as being a burden within settler society because of the ways in impacts ideas of independence and financial implications upon nation state. K'é disrupts this, because people are relatives first. Being a relative within the complex system of k'é has the power to create entire communities that are accountable to one another. K'é has transformative potential to change the way we think of difference and therefore the way we respond and treat diversity. K'é is another way of knowing and beautiful ideology that can change our Diné Nation and education. It is a time for a new way of moving forward.

Value

In thinking about Common Core more broadly, I want us to think about value. I have traced how certain lives and bodies have been historically devalued. I want to conclude with final thoughts about settle-colonial value, as I believe not only does special education need a complete metamorphosis, but that education in general needs to change for all children. In thinking of how to unhinge and separate settler colonial capital from every aspect of our lives, we must understand something about how ideologies of value and power can make and unmake it. Within the larger scope of disability law, much attention is given to ideas of independence. Returning to IDEA (2004), "education of children with disabilities can be made more effective by having high expectations for children" …so that they can "be prepared to lead productive and independent adult lives…and become productive citizens, contributing to society instead of being forced to remain a burden". [84] At the Critical Disability Studies Cactus in Chicago in late 2017, discussions about value and productivity emerged in relation to thinking about disability. Panelist Jina Kim argues, that disability as a pedagogy unhinges "power dynamics" and "questions of who the producer of knowledge

is and who becomes the object of knowledge".[85] As I have shown, the "disabled" subject is cast against the "able" subject, in marking their utility as producers of capitalist expansion. People are thought of in terms of their ability to produce labor, as I previously outlined with colonial discussion of Black African slaves. This violent ideology also carries over in relation to disabled people, as they are objectified by a system that only values their productivity. In this way, "disability" is naturalized as a presumed inability to contribute to a capitalist system that is concerned only with maximum fiscal outcomes. Human value, exists in relation to capitalism through settler colonialism. Lisa Marie Cacho illuminates this aspect as she states,

> …human value registers as human capital, and social worth is evaluated from the perspectives of "real" and "speculative" markets. We can attribute value by recounting a person's useful and unique assets, talents, skills and investments, and we can speculate about a person's future value: What can we expect this person to contribute to U.S. society in the future?[86]

The utility of one's life and presumed contribution predicated on identity formations or characteristics are already overdetermined within the framework of settler colonialism. Therefore, addressing the very core of what education means, what learning means, outside the scope of competition and contributing to the global markets would drastically shift the paradigm of how we enact education. We need to imagine "new ways of rethinking and reimagining the body and embodiment as a critical way for making lives that have been excluded from the realm of human and threatened with annihilation, visible as lives at all."[87] We need a new way of knowing that honors the dignity, diversity and life of people. We need to accept the multiple ways of being within our Native societies, and in larger

society in general. We need to acknowledge the dignity of people. Identifying the conditions that have already determined hierarchies of success, ability and inclusion became foundational in this context. Following the work of Judith Butler, we need to thoroughly examine *"what makes possible a life that can be lived".*[88]

Imagining the Future

I have presented an argument that the proliferation of educational institutions for Native people, including boarding were predicated on tactical methods in order to assimilate and transform spaces, communities and ideologies of Indigenous peoples into inclusion of larger colonial, nation state apparatus. Understanding this methodology, and centering this as the genealogy of modern day educational organization, particularly special education, lays bare the entanglement of colonial violence enmeshed with modes of knowledge production. They relied on establishing normative frameworks, thereby dismantling of Indigenous social systems and governance. It also challenges Native planners and educators to think critically about the promises of inclusion and the specificities which they require to avoid consent to the nation states' terms of belonging, recognition, ideology and being.

This ordering of the world, embraced the normative ideas and practices. It provides the naturalization of segregation of space, both in terms of the reservation as a place of belonging for Native nations and its peoples, as well as the segregation of disabled students as they relegated to self-contained classrooms. In this way, I call us to examine how schools segregate based on notions of normativity and how Native people format those organizations through our consent in dominant forms of ideology. We have to always

remember and be critical in the ways in which we think. Decolonization is as much about ourselves as is it about the structures, systems, language, and culture.

Conclusion

To imagine the future, we have to revisit what decolonization means. Decolonization is many things for different people. Because of the issues I have addressed in this thesis, I hope that we can collectively begin to think though these questions to examine their potential and possible limitations of our movements for decolonization and self-determination We must be careful of the ways in which decolonization and its efforts are often utilized, in ways that mimic hopeful neo-liberal rhetoric while simultaneously reproducing colonized formations. According to Eve Tuck and Wayne Yang, "decolonization is not a metaphor…the easy absorption, adoption, and transposing of decolonization is yet another form of settler appropriation".[89] Therefore, a critique of how decolonization is taken up in relation to Indigenous education is vital. As planners and educators, we must be aware not to confuse the false sense decolonization with actual development within our institutions, particularly as they embody the potential to re-enact colonial violence.[90]

In this thesis, extensive attention was given to the social reproduction of normative ideology. My intervention asserts that we must examine both the historic and current micro-levels of how people have been shaped to think, how they come to know and how they interpret the world around them. Decolonization as a method, is a way of rethinking how people process their thoughts about what they know, and how they organize thoughts

to form reality. It is also examining how these intimate processes of knowing are historically warped through ideology and thus are linked to empire and power.

I have attempted to expose the ideological disparity of how Native peoples are replicating foreign systems of value predicated on the imposed normative, ablest constructions whose roots are in settler colonialism. Decolonization must account with the reckoning of how we as individuals are socialized to think and the examination of how our thoughts have been ingrained to serve the broader scope of settler colonial violence. Our work as scholars must interrogate the sites of violence we are implicated in and examine those links to our structural organizing. We must question and explore the ways in which we subscribe to violent, systemic conditioning that has indoctrinated and socialized us how to think even within our own institutions and through the false self-confidence that we are doing so through self-determination.

Within the process of Indigenous planning for immersion programs, critical examination must account for the ways in which people appropriate organizational structures of being and capacity, and how that is linked to a history of violent dispossession, assimilation and erasure. We have to reckon with the ways in which we replicate systems and ideologies of domination and subordination in our interactions, but also in *how we come know* those around us. Indigenous planners and educators must be careful not to sabotage initiatives for decolonization by replicating the very ideology that sutures its power. We cannot create "decolonized" educational systems without destroying the very ideology that underpins violent oppression and the othering of individuals. We cannot "decolonize" if we still enact a system that upholds violent processes of normativity, the

disciplining of the "right" kind of body, mind and ability. This requires a deeper analysis of conceptions of normativity as they have grounded mainstream institutions and social organization since the inception of education for Native peoples.

In order to move forward to must confront the past and realize how it implicates the present. We have also had to address this as a violation of Human Rights. Indigenous Education continues to grapple with state control that pursues modes of obedience, punishment and violence in order to assimilate. Colonialization is a process that upholds a power relation. Article 8 of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), states, "Indigenous peoples and individuals have the right not to be subjected to forced assimilation or destruction of their culture."[91] We are continuing forced assimilation through our educational systems and through the imposed standards that dictate everything in our lives. This system controls what is considered knowledge, what is considered value, what is considered useful, and who is considered normal. This is assimilation, and it is effectively creating an unjust condition to those who have been violently targeted for erasure and presumed death for decades. Article 14 of UNDRIP states, "Indigenous peoples have the right to establish and control their educational systems and institutions providing education in their own languages, in a manner appropriate to their cultural methods of teaching and learning". [92]We need to think through UNDRIP and the right to enact our own institutions based upon our own intellectual knowledge and pedagogy and refuse state practices that uphold violent ideology. And finally, Article 15, "Indigenous peoples have the right to dignity and diversity of their cultures, traditions, histories and aspirations which shall be appropriately reflected in education". [93] These are

the rights set forth in a resolution by the United Nations. These rights are ignored and denied, as the U.S. remains an entity who has not ratified this declaration.[94]

With these challenges, I advocate the need to center k'é within all our planning as Diné people. K'é carries to potential to shift colonial ideological conceptions that have enacted remarkable violence within our planning for children with varying abilities. K'é has potential to bring these types of colonial violence to the collective level. It helps us understand that a violation of one Diné students' right is a community issue. It is so, because of how relationships are networked and because of the philosophical grounding of accountability enmeshed in k'é. As our relation, we are not separate. In this way, individual rights are commonly foregrounded within the larger sphere of collective rights according to the Navajo Nation Human Rights Commission. [95] This is why this issue belongs to the wide scope of Diné people, in which we all are accountable to those in our communities. We require a new way of imagining inclusion and education for our Diné children. Decolonization cannot only take up questions of curriculum, language and arts. We need to change how we know and understand those around us. This can only be done by understanding why settler colonialism matters in how we know ourselves and others. In confronting the past, we can imagine a new future.

[1] I use a pseudonym for this particular elementary in order to protect the identity of the school. I visited this school as a parent. The discussions I had were concerned with how Autism awareness was presenting itself within the school and larger community as a whole.

[2] Discussion/Visit, Ałchíní Baháné Elementary School, October 13,2017. I was interested in learning about what programs, if any, could support families in the surrounding area.

[3] I use Diné, rather than "Navajo" in this paper. It is the name of the nation in Diné bizaad, or Navajo language. Many Diné people use this term to self-identify themselves as a collective group as they move away from their prescribed collective name, Navajo.

[4] Discussion/Visit, Ałchíní Baháné Elementary School, October 13,2017.

[5] Discussion/Visit, A Ałchíní Baháné Elementary School, October 13,2017 in relation to inclusion analysis from Antonio D. Cantu "Role of General Educators in a Multi-Disciplinary Team for Learners with Special Needs", *Advances in Special Education*, 30A, (2015) 39. I am combining the many aspects of the inclusion movement in contrast to kin relationship practices of Diné, in that relationship through clans form the basis of identity formation. Therefore, identity is not predicated on abstract notions of difference but rather through relationship practices, that transforms clans into extended family members and groups. See Nicholas Ashley "Nihigaal bee íina: Journey for Existence", produced by *Broken Boxes*, podcast, accessed April, 2013, http://www.brokenboxespodcast.com/calendar/2015/4/21/nihgaal-bee-iin-journey-for-existence

[6] Noelani Goodyear-Kaōpua, *The Seeds We Planted, (*Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013), 103. In this section she is drawing upon the works of Kaoma's "A Curriculum of Aloha?" and Herme's "Ma'iigan Is Just a Misspelling of the Word Wolf", to put them into conversation with one another about the limits of creating and enacting culturally submersed educational pedagogy and curriculum.

[7] Jennifer Denetdale, "An Inquiry into the Death of Loreal Tsingine: Human Rights Challenges to Police and Border Town Violence Against Indigenous Women and People", Panel Presentation, Institute for American Indian Research, Albuquerque, New Mexico, October 19, 2017. The use of "ethnic cleansing" stems from numerous presentations by Dr. Jennifer Denetdale, in which she identifies numerous forms of erasure under the rubrics of ethnic cleansings in order to combat the sanitized historical recounting of settler colonial violence.

[8] Jennifer, Denetdale, Sanctuary and Sovereignty Symposium, Presentation, Friday March 9, 2018.

[9] Evangeline Parsons Yazzie and Margaret Speas, "K'é: Clan Relationships", *Diné Bizaad Bínahoo'aah: Rediscovering the Navajo Language*, (Flagstaff: Salina Bookshelf Inc., 2007), 69.

[10] Ibid, 70.

[11] Ibid, 70.

[12] Ibid, 70.

[13] Ibid, 69.

[14] Navajo Nation Human Rights Commission "The Status of Navajo Women and Gender Violence", (2016), 19.

[15] Ibid 25.

[16] Ibid. 59

[17] Evangeline Parsons Yazzie and Margaret Speas, "K'é: Clan Relationships", *Diné Bizaad Bínahoo'aah: Rediscovering the Navajo Language*, (Flagstaff: Salina Bookshelf Inc., 2007), 70.

[18] Private discussion and communication, March 2018.

[19] Panel, Critical Disability Caucus,(presentation, American Studies Association National Conference, Chicago, IL, November 9-12, 2017).

[20] Jasbir, Paur, *The Right to Maim*, (London: Duke University Press, 2017), xx. I am drawing from Paur's analysis of how Critical Ethnic Studies, Indigenous Studies and Post Colonial Studies all ground "debilitating" effects of racism and colonialism. Yet, they are never framed in terms of disability. I position this critique within the larger discourse of the U.S. nation state and the colonial relation discussed by Critical Indigenous Scholars such as Nick Estes.

[21] Jasbir, Paur, *The Right to Maim*, (London: Duke University Press, 2017) ix.

[22] Glen Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014), 3.

[23] "Welcome", Rough Rock Community School Website, D.I.N.E. Inc. 2018, http://www.roughrock.k12.az.us/Welcome.htm

[24] Broderick H. Johnson, *Navaho Education at Rough Rock*, (Rough Rock Demonstration School, Rough Rock, Arizona, D.I.N.E. Inc., 1968), 3.

[25] Ibid, 15.

[26] Ibid, 15.

[27] "About", Rough Rock Community School Website, D.I.N.E. Inc., 2018, http://www.roughrock.k12.az.us/About_Us.htm

[28] Noelani Goodyear-Kaōpua, *The Seeds We Planted, (*Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013) 115.

[29] Shelley, Streeby, "Empire" and Donald E. Pease, "Exceptionalism", *Keywords in American Cultural Studies,* NYCU Press, retrieved online http://keywords.nyupress.org/american-cultural-studies/author/sstreeby/, http://keywords.nyupress.org/american-cultural-studies/essay/exceptionalism/ The "free world" framed the United States as a defender against communism, particularly as it related to the Soviet Union during the Cold War.

[30] Vine Deloria and David Wilkins, *Tribes, Treaties and Constitutional Tribulations*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999), 4.

[31] Ibid, 4.

[32] Ibid, 4.

[33] Jennifer Denetdale, "Indigenous Feminisms",(Lectures from undergraduate course ,University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM, Spring 2014 semester).

[34] 116 U.S. 1882, 138.

[35] 25 USC§280, http://uscode.house.gov/view.xhtml?req=granuleid:USC-prelim-title25-section280&num=0&edition=prelim

[36] Broderick H. Johnson, *Navaho Education at Rough Rock*, (Rough Rock Demonstration School, Rough Rock, Arizona, D.I.N.E. Inc., 1968), 15.

[37] Captain R.H. Pratt, "The Indian Policy: The Advantages of Mingling Indians with Whites", (Official proceedings of the annual meeting: National Conference on Social Welfare., National Conference of Social Work (U.S.), National Conference of Charities and Correction (U.S.), Conference of Charities and Correction (U.S.), Conference of Charities (U.S.), Conference of Boards of Public Charities (U.S.), American Social Science Association, Denver, CO, June 23-29, 1892), 50-51. Retrieved from Graduate Library University of Michigan, https://quod.lib.umich.edu/n/ncosw/ACH8650.1892.001?rgn=main;view=fulltext

[38] Patrick, Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and Elimination of the Native", *Journal of Genocide Research,* Vol.8, No.4,(2006), DOI: 10.1080=14623520601056240

[39] Broderick H. Johnson, *Navaho Education at Rough Rock*, (Rough Rock Demonstration School, Rough Rock, Arizona, D.I.N.E. Inc., 1968), 15 and "About", Rough Rock Community School Website, D.I.N.E. Inc., 2018, http://www.roughrock.k12.az.us/About_Us.htm

[40] Pam Wright and Pete Wright, Public Law 94-124, "I.D.E.A. Overview and Intent", *From Emotions to Advocacy,* 2nd Ed.,(Hartfield: Howard House Law Press, 2006), 132.

[41] Edward Said, *Orientalism*,(New York: Random House, 1979), 3.

[42] " What Will My Children Be Learning?" New Mexico Common Core Official Website, https://newmexicocommocore.org, Reference is to "the modern world" in which skill sets are developed for.

[43] Ibid.

[44] No Child Left Behind, 20 U.S.C.§6301

[45] Kim Q. Hall, "Reimagining Disability and Gender Through Feminist Studies", *Disability Studies*, (Bloomington: Indian University Press,2011), 3.

[46] 25 U.S.C. §302, Retrieved from http://uscode.house.gov/view.xhtml?req=granuleid:USC-prelim-title25-section302&num=0&edition=prelim

[47] Captain R.H. Pratt, "The Indian Policy: The Advantages of Mingling Indians with Whites", (Official proceedings of the annual meeting: National Conference on Social Welfare., National Conference of Social

Work (U.S.), National Conference of Charities and Correction (U.S.), Conference of Charities and Correction (U.S.), Conference of Charities (U.S.), Conference of Boards of Public Charities (U.S.), American Social Science Association, Denver, CO, June 23-29, 1892) Retrieved from Graduate Library University of Michigan, https://quod.lib.umich.edu/n/ncosw/ACH8650.1892.001?rgn=main;view=fulltext

[48] Stephen Smith ,"Colony Rules for the Feeble Minded", (Official proceedings of the annual meeting: National Conference on Social Welfare., National Conference of Social Work (U.S.), National Conference of Charities and Correction (U.S.), Conference of Charities and Correction (U.S.), Conference of Charities (U.S.), Conference of Boards of Public Charities (U.S.), American Social Science Association, Denver, CO, June 23-29, 1892), 94-101. Retrieved from Graduate Library University of Michigan, https://quod.lib.umich.edu/n/ncosw/ACH8650.1892.001?rgn=main;view=fulltext

[49] Antonio D. Cantu "Role of General Educators in a Multi-Disciplinary Team for Learners with Special Needs", *Advances in Special Education*, 30A, (2015), 37.

[50] Ibid. 37.

[51] Stephen Smith ,"Colony Rules for the Feeble Minded", (Official proceedings of the annual meeting: National Conference on Social Welfare., National Conference of Social Work (U.S.), National Conference of Charities and Correction (U.S.), Conference of Charities and Correction (U.S.), Conference of Charities (U.S.), Conference of Boards of Public Charities (U.S.), American Social Science Association, Denver, CO, June 23-29, 1892), 94-101. Retrieved from Graduate Library University of Michigan, https://quod.lib.umich.edu/n/ncosw/ACH8650.1892.001?rgn=main;view=fulltext

[52] Ibid, 95

[53] Antonio D. Cantu "Role of General Educators in a Multi-Disciplinary Team for Learners with Special Needs", *Advances in Special Education*, 30A, (2015), 37.

[54] I am using Lisa Lowe's work in *The Intimacies of Four Continents,* to think through how any subject becomes humans through state sanctioned conditions of possibility. She explores this through slavery-emancipation, in that absorption into the nation state, thereby creating a political emancipation that individuals "became human through citizenship" (14). I am thinking on broader scales here to illuminate something about the absorption into the terms of being or relations with the settler state that inherently form the hegemony and uphold those conditions of possibility. This is further illustrated by *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954, in which the Civil Rights Era ushered in questions about racial segregation that connected to segregation experienced by disabled populations. The rhetoric was grounded on recognition and inclusive demands that upheld the structures that determined hierarchy thereby rooting inclusion into demands for equality and citizenship into the state apparatus. Thus, neoliberalism under the guise of accommodation appeared to grant rights without shifting the overarching power formation.

[55] William Slocum ,"Education of the Indians", (Official proceedings of the annual meeting: National Conference on Social Welfare., National Conference of Social Work (U.S.), National Conference of Charities and Correction (U.S.), Conference of Charities and Correction (U.S.), Conference of Charities (U.S.), Conference of Boards of Public Charities (U.S.), American Social Science Association, Denver, CO, June 23-29, 1892), 73,75. Retrieved from Graduate Library University of Michigan, https://quod.lib.umich.edu/n/ncosw/ACH8650.1892.001?rgn=main;view=fulltext

[56] Audra Simpson, *Mohawk Interruptus,* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2014), 97.

[57] Ibid,97.

[58] William Slocum, "Education of the Indians", (Official proceedings of the annual meeting: National Conference on Social Welfare., National Conference of Social Work (U.S.), National Conference of Charities and Correction (U.S.), Conference of Charities and Correction (U.S.), Conference of Charities (U.S.), Conference of Boards of Public Charities (U.S.), American Social Science Association, Denver, CO, June 23-29, 1892), 73,75. Retrieved from Graduate Library University of Michigan, https://quod.lib.umich.edu/n/ncosw/ACH8650.1892.001?rgn=main;view=fulltext

[59] Carol Gilligan, "Woman's Place in a Man's Life Cycle", *The Second Wave,* (New York: Nicholson and Routledge, 1997), 199.

[60] Ibid, 199.

[61] Kim Q. Hall, "Reimagining Disability and Gender Through Feminist Studies", *Disability Studies*, (Bloomington: Indian University Press,2011), 3.

[62] William Slocum, "Education of the Indians", (Official proceedings of the annual meeting: National Conference on Social Welfare., National Conference of Social Work (U.S.), National Conference of Charities and Correction (U.S.), Conference of Charities and Correction (U.S.), Conference of Charities (U.S.), Conference of Boards of Public Charities (U.S.), American Social Science Association, Denver, CO, June 23-29, 1892), 73. Retrieved from Graduate Library University of Michigan, https://quod.lib.umich.edu/n/ncosw/ACH8650.1892.001?rgn=main;view=fulltext

[63] Ibid, 75.

[64] Kim Q. Hall, "Reimagining Disability and Gender Through Feminist Studies", *Disability Studies*, (Bloomington: Indian University Press, 2011), 4.

[65] Ibid, 4.

[66] Sarah J. Ray, *The Ecological Other*, (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2013), 9.

[67] Ibid, 4.

[68] Ibid, 9.

[69] Ibid,36, 37.

[70] Ibid, 37.

[71] Mastroponi, M., Scruggs, T., Graetz, J., Norland, J., Gardizi, W., McDuffie, K. "Case Studies in Co-Teaching in Content Areas", *Intervention in School and Clinic,* Vol. 40, No. 5. (2005), 268.

[72] I am weaving together numerous sources for this statement. They begin with IDEA Section 1400, 20 U.S.D §1400 Congressional Findings and Purpose 5. Also, funding rules established through The Elementary and Secondary Education Act (No Child Left Behind) Title I. Subpart 1-Basic Programs SEC. 1111. STATE PLANS (g)(1)(A). I also utilize interviews conducted in "Case Studies in Co-Teaching in Content Areas: Successes, Failures, and Challenges" by Margo Mastropieri, Tomas, E. Scruggs, Janet Graetz, Jennifer Norland, Walena Gardizi, and Kimberly McDuffie, *Intervention in School and Clinic*, Vol. 40. No. 5. (2005), 260-270. Conversations from this publication discuss challenges in reconciling high-stakes testing and servicing students with disabilities in inclusion classrooms. These sources together convey that despite the objectifies of IDEA, teachers are faced with punitive laws that can impact their funding, thereby impacting how inclusion and its teaching methods are impacted.

[73] 20 U.S.C. §1400 (c) (5C)

[74] Arizona Department of Education, Retrieved from: http://www.azed.gov/specialeducation/forms

[75] The Navajo Treaty- 1868, Treaty between the United States of American and the Navajo Tribe of Indians/ With a record of discussion that led to its signing, K.C. Publications, Law Vegas, Library of Congress 68-29989, 1968,5.

[76] Ibid. 6.

[77] "Navajo Nation Community Profile", Retrieved from http://nptao.arizona.edu/sites/nptao/files/navajo_nation_2016_community_profile.pdf

[78] The Navajo Treaty- 1868, Treaty between the United States of American and the Navajo Tribe of Indians/ With a record of discussion that led to its signing, K.C. Publications, Law Vegas, Library of Congress 68-29989, 1968,5.

[79] Leann Simpson, "Land As Pedagogy: Nishnaabeg intelligence and rebellious transformation", *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education and Society,* Vol. 3. No.3, (2014),1-25.

[80] Mishuana Goeman, "Land as Life: Unsettling the Logics of Containment*", Native Studies Keywords,(*2015). 72.

[81] Ibid.72-73

[82] ""About", Rough Rock Community School Website, D.I.N.E. Inc., 2018, http://www.roughrock.k12.az.us/About_Us.htm

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[84] 20 U.S.C. §1400 (c) (4ii)

[85] Jina Kim, Critical Disability Studies Caucus: Critical Disability Pedagogy, American Studies Association National Conference, Nov.9-12,2017, Chicago.

[86] Lisa Marie Cacho, *Social Death*, (New York: New York University Press (2012), 161.

[87] Kim Q. Hall, "Reimagining Disability and Gender Through Feminist Studies", *Disability Studies*, (Bloomington: Indian University Press,2011), 6.

[88] Ibid, 6.

[89] Yang, W and Tuck, E. "Decolonization is not a metaphor" *Decolonization, Education and Society,* Vol 1. No.1, (2012), 3.

[90] Ibid,3.

[91] UNDRIP, United Nations, 07-58681, March 2008

[92] Ibid

[93] Ibid

[94] "US Acts on UN Rights of Indigenous Peoples Declaration", *Pine Tree Legal Assistance,* Retrieved from https://ptla.org/wabanaki/us-acts-un-rights-indigenous-peoples-declaration

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