

The Native American Contest Powwow as an Implicit Religion

Steven Aicinena¹ and Sebahattin Ziyanak²

1 Professor: Kinesiology

University of Texas Permian Basin, Odessa, Texas

2 Associate Professor, Sociology

University of Texas Permian Basin, Odessa, Texas

ABSTRACT

Religion serves a variety of functions in societies. Secular items and goals serve equivalent social functions in the form of implicit religion. The role of implicit religion in Native American cultures has yet to be explored. This paper examines Durkheim's views on religion and Bailey's views concerning implicit religion as they relate to the Native American contest powwow. We employ Sage, Eitzen, and Beal's eleven shared characteristics of religion and sport to determine existing connections between religion and the contest powwow. The purpose of this study is to determine if the intertribal contest powwow can be classified as an implicit religion. In this qualitative research, we collect data through participant observation and in-depth semi-structured interviews pertaining to participants' experiences and viewpoints concerning the contest powwow. We analyze the data by employing step-by-step coding processes. Our findings yield sixteen themes and fourteen subthemes. This study unequivocally demonstrates that the contest powwow functions in Native American powwow communities as an implicit religion.

KEYWORDS: Christianity, Contest Powwow, Emile Durkheim, Gathering of Nations Powwow, Implicit Religion, Native American Religion, Sport as an Implicit Religion

Date of Submission: 25-08-2020

Date of Acceptance: 09-09-2020

I. INTRODUCTION

Religion is a creation of society that develops from the collective experience of a social group (Durkheim, 2001). Religion provides meaning and purpose to life. Further, religion serves as a foundation for social control. Through ceremonial acts of religious worship, members of the group celebrate their solidarity as social norms are reinforced (Durkheim, 2001; Ellwood, 1913).

An implicit religion serves many of the same social functions as do explicit religions including Buddhism, Christianity, or Islam. However, the origin of explicit and implicit religions differ. Rather than being focused upon transcendence, implicit religions spring forth from human experience and the secular world. The term implicit religion replaced the term secular religion in 1969 (Bailey, 2012).

According to Bailey (2012), implicit religion takes many forms and is marked by an individual's striving toward an ultimate earthly goal. Numerous secular goals can be the object of a believer's quest for fulfillment. Examples of ultimate secular goals include becoming a champion athlete, cook, photographer, or bodybuilder. Implicit religion does not determine a person's behavior, rather a person's behavior is defined by their passions and ultimate goals.

Implicit religions provide meaning and fulfillment in life (Bailey, 2002; Bailey, 1997). According to Bailey, (2012), implicit religions require commitment, must have symbols or activities that act as integrative foci, and result in intensive concerns with extensive effects. The degree of an individual's religious commitment is measured by its influence on a person's behavior (Bailey, 2012). In other words, what people really stand for is reflected in their beliefs and actions (Bailey, 1997; Bailey, 1998). Implicit religions permeate all areas of a devotee's life (Bailey, 2002). If behavior were not influenced by one's implicit religion, it would be nothing more than a hobby (Bailey, 2012).

Sport sociologists have examined the role of sport in society since the mid twentieth century (Coakley, 2017; Aicinena, 2017). Part of their scholarly inquiry involves the relationship between sport and religion. Sport is one form of popular culture that has filled the spiritual void created by the waning of the meaning of traditional religions (Oates, 1996). "Sport, like religion, provides belonging, reinforces values, is rife with rituals and traditions, and is purported to help participants become better people" (Aicinena, 2017, p. 56). For many athletes, coaches, and fans, sport serves as an implicit religion (Collins, 2014).

This investigation is derived from Durkheim's thoughts on religion. We use Sage, Eitzen, and Beal's (2019) eleven shared characteristics of religion and sport to ascertain existent similarities between religion and

the contest powwow. We also employ the work of Bailey to determine if the Native American contest powwow functions as an implicit religion.

II. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In this review of literature, we examine the contest powwow and its importance to contemporary Native American culture. We illustrate how the Christian church and American government assaulted Native American religions and culturally significant dance as a part of its assimilation policy. Finally, we explore how sport serves as an implicit religion.

Van Beek (1985) observed that religion and social behavior share a covariance. What is called for in a community's religious life is also functional within an individual's daily life (Beyers, 2017). Consequently, the importance of religion and its impact upon a culture is profound (Olson, 2011). Religion has been found to correlate highly with one's stated identity, even when acculturation into new social groups has taken place (Moskos, 1980; Oppong, 2013; Padgett, 1980; Reitz, 1980).

Scholars have advanced definitions of religion from various fields of academic study (Bruce, 2011; Durkheim, 2001; Falassi, 1987; Taliaferro, 2019). Despite the best efforts of academics, a definitive definition of religion remains elusive (Nath, 2015; Oppong, 2013). Numerous definitions of religion exist, in part, because individual definitions are impacted by personal religious beliefs and practices (Coakley, 2017). Ultimately, any particular definition seems inadequate.

Durkheim (2001) posits that members of a religion or cult worship a totem. He describes the totem as an impersonal force that remains ever present. No person is capable of possessing the totem, but all participate in its worship. The totem excites living members of the cult as it did those in the past and as it will those of future generations. The totem serves, in broad terms, as the god worshiped by the cult. The god is diffused into a multitude of things and always stays true to itself. The cult's members may be spread across large geographic areas, yet the totem still serves to unify them.

Durkheim (2001) notes early in the twentieth century that civilization has entered a post-modern era. Improvements in life due to science and technology resulted in many turning from the totem of Christianity and other religions. A void has been created that human beings seek to fill through worship of other totems that can unite and guide them.

Religions, Durkheim emphasized, do not have to be divinely inspired. Totems can be, for example, things of life or ideologies that provide meaning and significance, unite the people, and provide guidance concerning desirable behavior. We speculate that for Native Americans, the contest powwow functions as a totem.

The Contest Powwow

Native American powwows take two primary forms. Traditional powwows highlight local traditions and characteristically involve affiliates of the same tribal or provincial group (Albers and Medicine, 2005; Fowler, 2005). Contest powwows, the focus of the current investigation, are typically intertribal in nature, involving individuals from multiple tribal groups, often from disparate regions of the country. The contemporary contest powwow evolved from song and dance traditions of the Ojibwa, Blackfoot, Dakota, Pawnee, Kiowa, Comanche, Ponca, and Lakota tribes inhabiting the great plains region of the United States (Hoffmeyer, 2015). The activities comprising the contest powwows have been standardized for several decades (Scales, 2007).

Because contest powwows are not tribal or community centered events, Pan-Indianism, or Intertribalism is fostered and reinforced between participants from various tribes (Ellis, Lassiter, and Dunham, 2005). During contest powwows Native Americans celebrate traditions collectively shared among their diverse tribal groups which include generosity, song, dance, humor, family, the honoring of elders, and others.

Dance has importance in both the religious and secular realms of contemporary Native American life (Olsen, 1998). Dance is especially important as the highlighted component of the contest powwow. Dancing featured at contest powwows may include intertribals (anyone can dance), competitions, entertainment, and specials which are typically held to honor an individual (Scales, 2007).

Large intertribal contest powwows such as the Gathering of Nations held each April in Albuquerque, New Mexico, USA, can resemble collegiate or professional sport spectacles regarding their promotion and staging (Aicinena and Ziyamak, 2019). Over 3,500 dancers participate in the Gathering of Nations and in excess of 100,000 people come to the powwow grounds and Tingley Coliseum for the event each year (Gathering of Nations, 2018; New Mexico Nomad, 2020). Large intertribal contest powwows are held in arenas and civic centers where athletic events and other entertainment spectacles are held. Prize money can exceed \$200,000 at some contest powwows. Individuals and families have been known to travel the "powwow road" and make the bulk of their annual income by winning prize money, though the number who are able to do so is likely quite small (Andrews and Olney, 2007).

Contemporary powwows, particularly contest powwows, have been described by academicians as social events or secular ceremonies since World War II (Callahan, 1993; Crawford and Kelley, 2005; Gamble, 1952; Howard, 1983; Lurie, 1971). Dancers acknowledge that in contemporary powwows the spiritual focus of the powwow has been deemphasized as the events have become more commercialized and migrated from reservations into mainstream America (Rahimi, 2005).

Attacks upon Native American Religion

Five hundred and seventy-four Native American tribes are currently recognized by the United States government (Indian Affairs, 2020). Among Native American tribes, there is a great variety in the specifics of their religious beliefs and practices, however, there is a marked similarity in their core beliefs and philosophy (Rhodes, 1991). According to Silverman, (2015):

Indians across space and time have shared certain religious elements, such as shamanism, the notion of spiritual guardianship, and belief that spiritual power courses through the world and the things in it (p. 2)

No theological treatise or sacred scriptures describe Native American religion. Whether named religion or Native spirituality, the “Path” or “Road” is described as a way of life rather than a codified set of rules, beliefs, and behaviors (Owen, 2008; Weaver, 1998).

In the most current United States Census, 5.2 million citizens identify as Native American. Native Americans comprise 1.7 percent of the population (United States Census Bureau, 2012). In an extensive study of the religious affiliation of Americans conducted by Kosmin, Mayer, and Keysar (2001), only three percent of Native Americans claim affiliation with traditional Native American religions, while thirty-seven percent identify as Christian. What occurred within the history of Native Americans that resulted in only three percent of their population contemporarily identifying with explicit Native American religions?

It was the goal of the American government to rid Native Americans of their religious beliefs and practices as a means to enhance their assimilation into the dominant culture (Ellis, Lassiter, and Dunham, 2005; Spack, 2000). Many traditional cultural activities and practices were tied to Native American religions. The destruction of Native Americans’ religious practices enhanced the possibility that the people would seek spiritual fulfillment in Christianity, the dominant religion of the interlopers.

Perhaps the most instrumental action leading to the decline of Native American religious practice was the initiation of the Indian Boarding School system which was established in 1879 (Harding, 2001). The goal of the boarding school was to destroy all that was Indian within the children (Pratt, 1892). In order to accomplish this goal, boarding school students were removed from their homes, banned from speaking in their native languages, forbidden from wearing traditional dress and hair styles, and prohibited from engaging in traditional religious practices.

Government boarding schools were often run by Christians and Christianity was taught within the schools along with basic reading, writing and math. The goal was to prepare the children to farm and work in domestic trades as adults. By 1926, eighty-three percent of all Native American children of school age were housed within off-reservation boarding schools (The National Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition, 2019).

Further efforts were made on behalf of the government and Christian groups to cease the religious activities of adult Native Americans. Religious dance and ceremonial activities were specifically prohibited by governmental agencies on Native American reservations (Albers and Medicine, 2005; Ridington, Hastings, and Attachie, 2005). The religious activities of Medicine Men, important to conducting the religious practices of the people, were also prohibited (Price, 1884).

As of the last census, seventy-eight percent of all Native Americans lived away from reservations and forty-four percent reported being of two or more races in combination (United States Census Bureau, 2012). Distance from reservation communities and traditional ways of life assisted in loss of the loss of traditional culture, including familiarity with and practice of traditional religions (Straus and Valentino, 1998). Interracial marriages resulted in a further loss of traditional culture, including religion (Mihesuah, 1998).

It is hypothesized by Durkheim (2001), that as the meaning and significance of religions have waned, that individuals have looked to secular realms of life to find something to worship. Given a three percent participation rate in Native American religion, perhaps the contest powwow is a secular institution that fills the spiritual void for some. Numerous contest powwows are held throughout North America each year. The events have been described as secular by academics since World War II. This study demonstrates that the contest powwow may serve as an implicit religion.

Sport as Implicit Religion

For most Americans the contention that sport is a truly religious activity would strike them as quite odd. Clearly the two social institutions differ in their ultimate goals. The ultimate goal of religions include salvation, nirvana, entry into paradise, wholeness, oneness, freedom from continuous reincarnations, and others.

In sport, people compete for a most worldly goal, that of victory in a contest. The ultimate goal of religions is sacred and transcendent, while victory, the ultimate goal of sport, is secular (Jirasek, 2015).

Sport is incapable of serving as a true religion because it does not encompass a creator, supreme being, or sustainer of life (Collins, 2014). However, sport has been described as a form of folk or civil religion abounding with symbols, and values that bind parishioners in faith (Magdalinski, 2007). Where sport functions as a civil religion, athletes are viewed as contemporary gods, and stadia serve as cathedrals where worship ensues (Magdalinski and Chandler, 2002; Mathisen, 1992).

Sage, Eitzen and Beal (2019) identify eleven specific similarities between sport and religion. Both sport and religion are characterized by worship of something. In some religions, it is God. In sport it may be the sport itself, a highly revered performer, or a team. Both sport and religion have “saints” or legendary performers, who have passed on and live in the memory of the devoted. Both have places of worship (arena and stadia) and congregations (groups of believers who gather to worship). Each has proverbs or beliefs which the devoted are expected to internalize. Fidelity is called for (stay true to the faith, do not miss a training day, no alcohol, and no drugs). Those devoted to sport are called upon to adopt specific beliefs, traditions and practices such as how to pray, how to cheer, how to dress, etc. Religion and sport have clergy or coaches who know and share the way to properly achieve the ultimate goal. Sport and religion sponsor or are important components of holiday celebrations and festivals. Finally, sacred shrines or halls of fame memorialize important and influential events and members of the faith or sport.

Sport fills the spiritual void created as the meaning and function of traditional religions have waned in a postmodern world (Bibby, 2008; Grimshaw, 2000; Oates, 1996). For many Americans, the passion once reserved for the achieving the ultimate perfection of the Christian life has been reallocated to sport (Aicinena, 2017). According to Mohler (2014), as society has become more secularized, “Religious faith has become secondary to faith in sport” (p. 17). Today, sport is viewed by many as a sacred activity in and of itself (Shilling and Mellor, 2014).

Collins (2014), argues that both sport and religion involve considerable social activity and interaction, attract financial investment, and contribute to well-being. Each institution contributes to social cohesion, inculcation of valuable traits such as perseverance, cooperation and discipline. Religion and sport contribute to the internalization of moral behavior which benefits the social group. As such, sport is an implicit religion (Aicinena, 2017; Collins, 2014; Lord, 2006).

Contest powwows are similar to athletic events in terms of their advertising and staging characteristics (Aicinena and Ziyanak, 2019). They are competitive events at which dancers can win thousands of dollars. As such, they are quite similar to athletic contests. Is it appropriate to also classify the contest powwow as an implicit religion?

Research Questions

1. Are the eleven factors common to religion and sport identified by Sage, Eitzen and Beal (2019) found within a large intertribal contest powwow?
2. Does the contest powwow reflect the characteristics of religion as described by Durkheim (2001)?
3. Can the intertribal contest powwow can be classified as an implicit religion as described by Bailey (2012; 2002; 1998; 1997)?

III. METHODOLOGY

Data

For this study, we employ grounded theory as our main approach to collect and evaluate data collected through semi-structured interviews and participant observation. We seek to determine if the eleven factors identified by Sage, Eitzen and Beal (2019) that are common to sport and religion are found within a large intertribal contest powwow. We then turn to the question of whether or not the contest powwow can be classified as an implicit religion as described by Bailey (2012; 2002; 1998; 1997).

Participants

We select seven participants for the study. Each is directly involved in the organization and or staging of the North Plains Contest Powwow (NPCP) as a member of the Powwow Committee, as an announcer for the powwow, or as a member of the Visit North City Powwow Subcommittee. The average age of the participants is 52. The average age of the three Native American participants is 39 years of age and the average age of the four Non-Native participants is 62.

Each of the four non-Native participants serves on the Visit North City Powwow Sub-Committee. The sub-committee works directly with the powwow committee to secure funding in support of the powwow and assists with planning, advertising, and logistical activities associated with conduction of the powwow. This qualitative study enables us to examine the similarities between religion and a large intertribal contest powwow

through the lived experience of the event's organizers. Notably, all three Native American participants have extensive experience with competitive powwow dancing, two have wide-ranging experience as contest powwow announcers, and one has vast experience as a member of a drum group that competed in contest powwows over a period of several years. Participant observations are made during four sessions of the NPCP.

Participant Protection

Institutional Review Board approval is obtained from University of Texas of Permian Basin to conduct the current study. Permission to conduct interviews and observations is obtained from the President of the NPCP committee. We use pseudonyms for the name of the contest powwow (NPCP), the city in which we conduct the research (North City), and for each participant throughout this paper. We assure that participants' anonymity and confidentiality will be maintained.

Sampling

In this research, we are interested in determining if the contest powwow functions as an implicit religion. We conduct semi-structured interviews to gather in-depth qualitative information concerning the role of religion in the contest powwow. The primary question is, "What Native American religious activities have you observed to take place during the North Plains Contest Powwow?" Depending upon the participant's response, we used the follow up open-ended questions in order to secure additional clarification, and insights such as, "How does a contest powwow provide fulfillment and meaning in life?" and, "What are the examples of commitment to the contest powwow?"

Data Analysis

To generate unique findings from our research, we employ coding as a decision-making process. In order to break down our data, we transcribe interviews over a period of three weeks to prepare the data available for coding. The audio recordings yield eighty-one single spaced pages of material. All transcripts are read a minimum of four times. Our participant observation notes provide additional detail as we code the data (Soyerand Ziyanak, 2018). In the second stage of data analysis, we employ axial coding to select the terminology for our leading level categories, such as commitment and proverbs and secondary level themes, such as value family, practice generosity, appreciate humor, and value and honor elders.

We summarize and interpret our codes through selective coding. During the mapping stage, we place components of each dataset into a logical order (Corbin and Strauss, 2007). In order to examine the data through more than one sociological lens, our study is designed to test all collected data in light of Durkheim's characteristics and functions of religion, Sage, Eitzen, and Beal's eleven characteristics of religion, and Bailey's characteristics of implicit religion.

IV. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Similarities between Religion and the Contest Powwow

Sage, Eitzen and Beal (2019) identify eleven characteristics of religion that are also found in competitive sport. In order to determine if the contest powwow also is characterized by each of the eleven factors, we examine each factor in light of participant interviews, participant observer data, and field notes.

1-Something is Worshipped

In many religions, a version of a God or higher power is worshipped. In sport, athletes, teams, or superior athletes may be worshipped. Durkheim (2001) notes that what is worshipped in a religion does not have to be divine and that ideas or ideologies may serve as a totem or focus of worship. The contest powwow serves the Native American powwow community as a totem, the focus of their worship. No one person possesses the powwow, but many come to worship it. The contest powwow excites singers, dancers, organizers and spectators alike. The powwow, as a totem, diffuses itself throughout Native American culture through history, song, dance, humor, traditions, values and in numerous other ways.

Native Americans are a dancing people and the contest powwow is a means by which the people remain true to their culture. Native American culture begat the powwow totem and, as it is worshiped, the congregation worships its traditional way of life. The powwow stays true to itself as it unites Native Americans from vast regions of the country.

2-"Saints" and Legendary Champions of the Faith

On numerous occasions over the four sessions of the powwow, individuals who had passed away during the previous year are honored and recognized for dancing prowess and or for contributions made to the contest powwow community. Over the public address system announcers and family members praise the departed, and recount portions of their life stories. Photos of the honorees are displayed upon the arena's giant

LED screens as the stories are told. The departed are further venerated through the sponsorship of “specials”. Specials are dance contests that are not a part of the regular schedule of 32 dance contests. Each of the specials involve a particular style of dance (example: men’s fancy dance). Specials consist of several rounds of competition likened to a dance-off. Dancers are eliminated by judges after each round. Winners of the sponsored special receive cash prizes as high as \$1,000. They also receive gifts. Cash prizes and gifts are also awarded to dancers placing “in the money”.

The most exciting of the NPCP contest powwow’s specials has two divisions, one for youth and another for adults. Once a champion is determined in each division, there is a final dance off held between the two champions. The crowd determines the overall champion through its applause. An eleven-year-old is awarded a \$1,000 prize for winning the youth championship. He garners an additional \$1,000 for winning the dance off against the adult champion who seems to be in his fifties. Following the competition, the winner “gifts” (gives away) several hundred dollars to the “drum”(the drum group) in appreciation for its performance during the competition.

We learn that contest powwow dancers gain considerable fame and notoriety on the powwow circuit. Among the powwow community, they become famous, not unlike outstanding athletes. Corrigan (1970) noted this phenomenon long ago. Some drum groups also gain renown and develop large followings. The most prominent drum groups command tens of thousands of dollars to serve as the host drum at larger intertribal contest powwows. Outstanding drum groups are recognized annually with awards from the Canadian Academy of Recording Arts and Science in Canada. Native American drum groups have also received nominations for Grammy awards in the United States (Scales, 2012).

During the NPCP, Richard describes the host drum as “Rock Stars” of the powwow world. Once he took over the presidency of the NPCP committee, George’s first act was to bring this highly acclaimed drum group to serve as host drum. According to George, featured drums and dancers assist in drawing both spectators and competitors to the event. Competitive powwow dancers and drum groups like to compete against the best and spectators like to see the best.

There is a drum competition during the NPCP involving fourteen drums from Canada and various regions of the United States. Excitement is greatest when three drums, in particular, take their turns performing. As many as forty-five people come down from the stands and crowd around the drum with cell phone in their hands to videotape performances. The legend of some drums lives long in the memory of announcers and fans.

At various times during the powwow, the announcers highlight accomplishments of great warriors and chiefs of the past. The announcers share with the crowd great victories and accomplishments and characterize the heroes as important in fighting to keep the traditions of the people alive. In doing so, the announcers unite Native Americans present as one people.

3-A Place of Worship

Most traditional powwows take place in small gyms or outdoors in arbors. The NPCP began outdoors on the high school tennis courts. As the event grew in popularity and stature, larger venues were needed.

The NPCP is currently held in the North City Civic Center which seats six thousand spectators. Most of the country’s large intertribal contest powwows take place in arenas. For example, the Gathering of Nations is held in Tingley Coliseum which seats 11,571 and the Denver March is conducted in the Denver Coliseum which accommodates 10,200 spectators.

According to Angelina, setting up the Civic Center for the contest powwow is really no different than setting up for athletic events. It is simply carpet for the powwow and hardwood for a basketball tournament. Notably the facility has hosted religious speakers and Christian recording artists.

Dancers, spectators, food vendors, musicians, and artisans join together in the Civic Center for the powwow. All of those involved in the NPCP are drawn to the facility for four powwow sessions held during the three-day event. Many competitors and their families will travel to another powwow that will be held at another stop on the powwow circuit the next weekend.

4- Congregations

Crowds of people attend the powwow in order to watch the dancers, hear the music, and to be a part of the excitement. Harry explains that the contest powwow functions as an important means of connecting Native Americans with one another. Angelina reports that the official paid attendance for the powwow is 5,954. The vast majority of the spectators are Native Americans. Angelina also points out that there were numerous visitors who shopped in the vendor area, perhaps 1,000, that do not come in to watch the powwow.

Nine-hundred and twenty-five dancers are registered and participate in the powwow’s grand entry. Finally, approximately four thousand school children participate in a Youth Day on Friday morning at which information concerning the powwow is shared and dance demonstrations are given. In total, nearly twelve thousand individuals congregate at the site of the powwow over a three-day period.

In the case of the NPCP, a large number of people congregate to participate in the event in ways similar to those who congregate to participate in religious services. They hear the word as shared by the announcers, receive instruction concerning history, traditions, and proper behavior. They witness and participate in ceremony, share in music and song, and share appreciation and support of others through communal applause. Dancers and members of the crowd participate in intertribal dances. At other times during the powwow, spectators enter the powwow circle to console dancers or to bless them through the provision of gifts of cash.

The powwow calls out to those uninitiated into the powwow culture as does a beacon. According to George,

Every year you get people, even youth, whose family may not be into powwows but they're native and they've always wanted to be a part of it. They get to see all these other people who are into it. It's a part of their life and their culture. Some of them are motivated to want to learn more to be a part of that.

5- Proverbs or Beliefs

In our time at the NPCP we discover that several beliefs are promoted which can be equated to proverbs. We discuss the following beliefs below: Work hard to be successful, compete to win, technology is important, everyone is a winner, teamwork is important, and song and dance are important.

5a-Work Hard to be Successful

The announcers point out to the crowd that dancers work hard as they compete. We note that dancers work especially hard during the fancy jingle dance, fancy shawl dance, and men's fancy dance competitions. There are times at which dancers perform for three consecutive songs or more. Dancers are observed to be doubled over and gasping for air upon completion of their bouts of competition.

Ronald observes over the course of his life that competitive dancers put everything they have into their craft and that they, "work very, very hard." He explains that they must hold a business-like view toward the contest powwow in order to win competitions. Richard tells the crowd that dancers must work hard over a period of years to become champions. Champions must practice, physically condition, and mentally prepare for competition. Anything else leads to defeat. There is no shortcut to becoming a champion.

5b-Compete to Win

The NPCP is advertised as a championship powwow. Throughout the powwow, announcers often emphasize the importance of competition and the proper way to compete. Each of the NPCP's four sessions is characterized by competition.

Kate notes that there are winners and losers in the competitions. Winners are rewarded with cash prizes and awards, which emphasizes the importance of winning. Announcers often state to the crowd that the level of competition is high and that some of the best powwow dancers in the world are competing right here in North City. We are also told by the announcers that some of the best drum groups in the Native American world are competing for us all to witness and enjoy.

Ronald tells us that true dance competitors find a way to win, "...if you're going to win, you got to figure out a way to do that, whether it's [by changing] your appearance, your regalia or dance moves... you find a way to win." Harry explains in further detail, "You're always changing. You're always trying to find the latest on how to be a top competitor." In any form of competition, Harry says, things evolve. Harry makes it clear that more than innovation is required to achieve victory.

In Kate's opinion, the competition associated with the contest powwow has had a negative impact upon the event's atmosphere, "When I go to the NPCP and I see people that I know that aren't from here, they seem a little more jaded... Whereas, when you go to a [traditional] powwow on a reservation, it seems more authentic, more sincere and not as jaded.

George acknowledges that when competition is brought into the powwow, it changes the atmosphere. But unlike Kate, he believes the change has a positive impact upon the powwow:

I also feel that we, as the NPCP, want to use this opportunity to show how beautiful our culture of song and dance is. And if that takes adding the contest aspect to bring more people here, I'm okay with that!

5c-Technology is Important

Competitors are required to participate in each of the four grand entries. Dancers who do not participate in the grand entry have points deducted from their scores. Powwow personnel scan the dancers' numbers as they enter the powwow circle for the grand entry ceremony as a means of verifying their participation. George explains that the scanning system is new to the NPCP this year.

I am excited for the new tabulators this year. They're from Canada and they're called [Scan True]. The way they described it, their system has no flaws and we definitely do not want flaws in the point system... I think they scan the [dancers] with a barcode and they also have a camera that shows every dancer as they're

going by. So, if they say, “Oh you missed us!”, they can look at the cameras and say, “Well, here's all the dancers in your category and we don't see you!”

iPads are used in scoring by judges as a means of minimizing the degree of subjectivity in the generation of scores. Performances and presentations are shown on giant LED boards for the enjoyment of the spectators and competitors alike. Sound systems are state of the art and produce over 110 decibels of sound during the event. The powwow is advertised, and competition results are shared on the NPCP's Facebook page which has 30,000 followers.

Technology has an impact upon the regalia worn by competitors. In the past, natural fibers, furs, dyes and adornments were used in the crafting of regalia. At the NPCP many dancers wear regalia that contains artificial cloth, machine made beads, and or machine-made adornments. We even observe one dancer who has LED lights embedded within his regalia. Competitors do what they must to catch the eye of judges. As Ronald notes, when you go to a contest powwow, “It's showtime!”

5d-Everyone is a Winner

In regard to the importance of winning and losing in the contest powwow, Kate states, “I don't think anyone that comes to a powwow thinks they are a loser.” The contest powwow is a cultural event after all. Even when dancers fail to win a contest, there are still benefits afforded them through their involvement in the powwow. Specifically, they have the opportunity to participate in dance, to hear and feel the music, to eat traditional foods, and to benefit in a number of culturally significant ways.

We agree that all dancers are winners when they participate in one of the many intertribal dances, where the people dance as one. The tiny tots benefit as they dance with their parents, brothers and sisters to the sound of “Old McDonald Had a Farm” as performed by one of the best drum groups in the world. All of the dancers are winners when they allow the song, dance and pounding of the drum to take them to a place that they share with ancestors who danced long ago.

5e-Teamwork is Important

During interviews and the powwow, it is evident that teamwork is necessary to organize and stage the event, for drum groups to perform well, and for dancers to create their regalia. Many people are required to organize and conduct a large contest powwow. Richard notes that, “it involves vendors, ticket takers, singers, dancers, the arena staff and even the crowd. And it's run on a lot of just... actually, everybody! If any part were missing, it would not be a complete event.”

Good security is important to the success of the powwow. This year, the powwow security staff teams up with the North City police department to prevent problem behavior. The cooperation between powwow security staff and the city police department serves as an example of teamwork that makes the powwow a success. Numerous other city employees, business leaders, and citizens assist the powwow committee and Visit North City powwow subcommittee to make the event a success.

The music supplied by each drum group requires high levels of teamwork. Vocals are complex and require coordination and timing as does the playing of the drum. Drums are played by as many as fifteen singers who work as one, each with a drumstick and specific responsibilities within each portion of the songs. Harry makes it clear during his interview that being part of a drum group is to be part of a team.

Regalia that dancers wear is very ornate and can cost hundreds of dollars to create. Feathers, fur, leather, synthetic materials, bells, shells, mirrors, tobacco can lids, jewelry, and more are used to create the regalia of contest powwow dancers. Ronald explains how the outfitting of a dancer in regalia requires teamwork:

You know, not everybody can build all the regalia. So, grandma might be doing the beadwork on the moccasins and the grandpa or dad might be building this part of it, or somebody needs to go get those feathers for a bustle or whatever.

Family often work to make a dancer's regalia and join together in support of the family member who wears it. In truth, the family is often a part of the dancer's team.

5f-Song and dance are Important

The fact that 925 dancers participate in the NPCP and that 5,954 spectators come to the powwow is testament to the fact that song and dance are important to Native American people. The participants share with us why and how song and dance are important.

Harry likens the drum to the heartbeat of the people. The heart and its beating are essential to the life of every human being. What it means to be Native, “is ingrained in our song and dance... if we shut that off, we oppress ourselves. Then we're just going through the motions of life.” Participation in the contest powwow, “is a way to learn how to think with your heart a little more... and learn how to feel the gifts that God gave us in terms of the feeling provided by the sounds of the drum.”

Harry's youngest daughter loves to dance, and she dances whenever she can. As they walk down the road it is common for her to place her hands on her hips and to just start dancing. His daughter's behavior is not unusual because, "it's just engrained in us. When we are a part of it, we see it. We observe it. We practice it and it just becomes comfortable. It helps to ground who we are." He believes song and dance are, "integrated in who we are as native peoples."

George refers to the song and dance of the powwow as a beautiful part of his culture. Richard believes the song and dance of the contest powwow are the best means of sharing with others what Native culture is about. He explains that some of the drum groups may be performing new wave alternative songs composed a week ago. Later in the powwow they may perform a song composed hundreds of years ago. What the song is and when it was composed are not the important things. What is important is the energy that the music and song bring to the people. It makes the dancers dance and it makes the people feel good.

Kate, a non-Native American states that she is getting used to the drums at the powwow, but that it took some time to do. She observes that those who do not grow up with powwow music seem to have a hard time adjusting to it, "It's a lot of loud drumming... it's cacophonous. And my husband still goes, 'I still don't know if I can get the drum.' I said, 'Well, just hang in there.'"

George states that the actual number of dancers participating the powwow is not precise because each year many dancers join in the grand entry that are not registered and there is no record that they had danced. Many other nonregistered dancers join in the intertribal dances, which all in attendance are welcome to participate in. The intertribal dances provide a site for dancers to dance, socialize, and joke in a traditional Native American way.

As important as song and dance are to Native Americans involved in contest powwows, it has not always been a part of George's life. "It wasn't until I was switched from a mainstream school to an all Indian private Christian school that I really realized that I wanted to dance." He had been called an "apple" (red on the outside and white on the inside) because he knew much less about traditional Native American culture than others at his school. He wanted to learn more and viewed the powwow as the means to enhance his cultural understanding. He now serves as President of the board that runs one of the larger contest powwows in the Northern Plains.

6-Fidelity

Alcohol and drugs are not permitted at the NPCP. Bags are checked upon entry into the arena. The announcers share the prohibition against alcohol and drugs with the crowd during each session and emphasize that Native Americans did not use alcohol or drugs in their traditional culture.

Angelina notes that there is trouble with homelessness and alcohol in the community and unfortunately, many of those impacted are Native Americans. In the past, people who came to the NPCP expected a party and caused problems. Today, "It's totally a different atmosphere. It used to be tough. Tough crowds would come in. We would have a lot of natives come in that maybe had been drinking too much. There were some fights and that type of thing. Now you do not see that at all."

It is made clear by George and Harry that dancers must eat right, train and practice if they are expected to be competitive. Those who are sincerely devoted to victory as a secular quest must remain faithful to demands for fidelity as they seek success.

7- Devotion to specific beliefs, traditions, and practices

Devotion to the NPCP is evidenced in several ways. The fact that all involved in planning and staging the event are volunteers is clear indication that there is devotion to the event. In the days preceding the powwow, a major snowstorm blanketed the Northern Plains and Midwestern portions of the United States. Nevertheless, as a demonstration of their devotion to the contest powwow, dancers, artisans, and drum groups made their way to North City despite the snow and ice making travel difficult.

The NPCP serves to ensure that valued Native American traditions and practices such as honoring, dancing, singing, giving, traditional language, traditional dress, and others are continued. George explains, "Part of our traditions are still reflected in the contest powwow, in honoring, respecting our elders, and respecting the language and teachings." We observe each of these traditions and practices during the event.

Angelina provides insight as to why the contest powwow is vital to maintaining valued beliefs, traditions and practices:

It's very important to for them to continue the culture of their parents, grandparents, and their Elders... I think a lot of times, and now especially, a lot of Native American families are becoming more modernized, if you will. And so, they're losing a lot of that. [With the passing of generations], they're losing the language and the culture, the traditions, and that type of thing.

Harry points out that regalia styles often indicate what tribe a dancer is from. Ronald explains that beadwork used in regalia can also indicate what tribe dancers are from:

Where else can I go and see, you know, a Seminole dance next to a Lakota person and have the ability to look at their regalia and say, "Wow, that's cool!" What beadwork is that? Is that Shoshone beadwork? Or you know, that's the way Dene' people decorate! And it's all right in front of you.

Much of the contest powwow is Pan Indian in content. However, dancers and singers are still free to display components of their tribal-specific traditions and practices.

Most of our previous powwow research has been conducted at Gathering of Nations, held annually in Albuquerque, NM. We note here that the NPCP has more of a traditional feel to it. In twelve sessions of the Gathering of Nations, we never witnessed the event being stopped for a fallen eagle feather. At the NPCP, the activities are stopped on several occasions for a small ceremony performed to retrieve and return the fallen eagle feather to its owner. At Gathering of Nations, the number of intertribal dances is few in number. During the last session of the NPCP, intertribal dancing exceeds one hour. At Gathering of Nations, access to the powwow circle is restricted to dancers, singers and individuals in possession of badges distributed by the event's organizers. At the NPCP, entrance to the arena floor is not restricted. Cameras of high quality are not allowed inside the powwow grounds or arena at Gathering of Nations but are welcomed at the NPCP. The NPCP is about one-fourth the size of Gathering of Nations. More restrictive measures such as those described are likely needed to run the Gathering of Nations efficiently.

7a-Political Activism

We are surprised to see that political and social causes are incorporated into the grand entry of the NPCP as we have not seen activism displayed at Gathering of Nations. As a part of the NPCP grand entry, individuals raise awareness of LGBTQ rights, and efforts to stop the alarmingly high number of murdered and missing Native women in the country. Inclusion of these groups during the opening ceremonies demonstrates that the contest powwow can serve as a site in which Native American values and practices are contested and negotiated.

Differences between the Gathering of Nations and the inclusion of political activism within the NPCP demonstrate that powwows differ from one another in various ways. It also shows that specific contest powwows may fall on a continuum from the traditional to the pure contest based upon the beliefs and traditions important to organizers and the community within which the powwow takes place.

8-Clergy Who Share the Way

Powwow announcers act as clergy during the NPCP. When Harry is asked what makes a good powwow announcer, he replies:

I would say great announcers are telling everybody what's going on...There is so much to see and so much to learn. Most of the powwow announcers I have listened to have been really, really, wonderful in explaining what it is that you're seeing.

During the powwow, the two announcers explain what is going on. More importantly, they convey what is important in Native American life to all present. They are principal purveyors of traditions, history and culture. Richard believes strongly that what he says influences powwow participants and impacts the energy they feel during the event.

The powwow announcers also convey to those participating in the event what it means to be a culturally competent Native American. Culturally competent Native Americans: "Understand our history", "Appreciate humor", "Value and honor elders", "Value family", and "Practice generosity". Each of these ideologies are discussed below.

8a-Understand our History

Richard and Harry both recount Native American history at various times during the powwow. Richard believes that Native youth and Non-Natives know little of Native American history and by sharing it, he helps them better understand modern Native Americans and why they believe and act as they do:

Sometimes younger generations are too busy with social media or something and they don't take the time to understand our native history. But, if we can educate the non-natives about certain stuff, hopefully that'll give them a little better understanding of why we do the things we do... you know... why we value our family and our culture so much.

During the powwow, Harry retells stories of relocation, resettlement, and the massacres of the people as well as warrior triumphs. He explains why he does so:

So, I shared the history [of a famous battle] and then said, "We're all here. We're remembering who we are. We're celebrating here and we're keeping this moving forward. And we're memorializing those Warriors

that stood up at a time that we needed them.” When I shared it that way people kind’a understood. And people in the arena, man, the energy... it was awesome.

Richard uses history as a way to encourage Native American youth:

Today, I like to use history to encourage the youth to learn their history [as a way to] encourage them and remind them of what our ancestors have gone through and how far we came today as Native people. I've heard the phrase history repeats itself, but you never know where you're going if you don't know where you came from. Have you ever heard that before? Do you know what I mean? A wise person learns from his mistakes... But a wiser person learns from other people's mistakes.

Ronald points out that by going to a contest powwow, visitors are stepping into the past, “That’s one of the things that really excites me about the powwow.” The contest powwow is a slice of living Native American history.

8b-Appreciate Humor

Throughout the NPCP, the announcers tell jokes and humorous stories. Harry describes the importance of humor in Native American life, Humor is a big part of the Native American culture. It's just a huge part. And, you know, I think laughter and getting people feeling good and sharing that laughter is so important.

Richard emphasizes that in the powwow, as in life, there needs to be a balance between seriousness and levity, You keep the seriousness when it's time to be serious, and you keep the flow of the event. As a powwow announcer you recognize the spirit of the powwow, the energy of the powwow. There are different jokes that are appropriate at times and I always tell people timing is key. You got to know when to joke and when to be funny, but you also need to know when to be serious and you need to know how to balance both.

At an early age, Native American children learn to tease one another. Richard observes, “We tease each other a lot. You learn to take it and to give it back.” During the powwow, jokes are told that make fun of aspects of Native American life. Non-Natives are the brunt of several jokes and amusing stories. At times, Richard makes fun of himself.

Humor and laughter make life lovelier for Native Americans. Humor makes good times great and assists them in getting through difficult times. Native people have experienced many difficult times.

8c-Value and Honor Elders

George acknowledges that traditions are an important part of the NPCP. One of them is the honoring and respecting of tribal elders. During the grand entry, the crowd is asked to stand in honor of the Platinum Age men and women (65 years of age and over) as a visible sign of respect for them. Jennifer observes that Native Americans have great respect for their elders.

The announcers make it clear to the crowd that elders are responsible for having pulled the people through the hard times and that the wisdom passed on through the generations is responsible for their survival. The crowd is reminded that in spite of the government’s efforts to stop them from dancing, speaking their language, and maintaining traditional ways while in the government boarding schools, the elders resisted. The elders, we are told, are to be thanked for clinging to their traditions and passing them on to younger generations. Those present are reminded that they can learn much from the wisdom of the elders.

Jennifer observes that, “There are elders that are out there on that floor dancing!” Competitive dance divisions are available for elders in the Golden Age (55-64) and Platinum age (65+) for both men and women. During Tiny Tot dances, we see grandparents and great grandparents dancing with their grandchildren and great grandchildren. Through their dancing, elders demonstrate the importance of family, song, dance and the powwow to younger generations.

Elders take an active part in bringing youths into the powwow culture. Harry recalls:

My grandfather was the one who taught me how to sing and dance and he made my outfits. He taught me. He sat me at the drum at a young age and taught me how to sing. He took me around to powwows all the time, in the summer times especially.

Harry’s grandfather is his inspiration. Both his grandfather and his grandmother were instrumental in teaching him traditional powwow protocol and tribal traditions. His knowledge of powwows and traditions was also imparted upon him by a number of other relatives including uncles, his mother, his aunts, his grandmother. Grandfathers are also identified as being instrumental in socializing Richard and George into the powwow culture.

Elders are also important in the provision of feedback and the reinforcement of participation in younger dancers. George recalls, I didn't start dancing until I was fourteen but soon after that I got a lot of real positive

recognition from the elders and from the older dancers. Just hearing a comment like, “You dance that old-style and you rarely see that.” That kind of stuff makes you feel really cool. You know?

During the NPCP a Women’s Northern Traditional Cloth special is held in honor of a renowned female dancer who passed away during the previous year. Competitors are limited to women aged 55 and over. No “Bling” is allowed in competitors’ regalia as a means to honor the traditional style of dress.

Richard makes a point to visit with elders when he goes to work powwows across the country. He does so in order to learn stories and traditions that may be important in the community that is hosting the event. He notes that elders holding traditional knowledge are becoming fewer with the passing of each year. As the elders leave this world, he laments, traditions are disappearing.

8d-Value Family

We are told often by the announcers that family is especially important in Native American culture. Harry explains how the value of family is demonstrated at the NPCP:

You know, one thing about the powwow here is that you see families together and they're coming together. So, you got your grandma's and your grandpa's and your aunts and your uncles and the kids... And, of course, my aunts would also be my mothers, and that's how the culture is. So, the extended family... you see a lot of that here at the powwow.

Kate also observes that the NPCP supports the central nature of the family. According to Angelina, the powwow is special in this regard. She believes that events such as basketball games don’t serve to unite families in the same way. Jennifer declares that the NPCP is, “like a family reunion.” Richard describes those who participate in contest powwows as a big powwow family, because they see each other often at various events.

Harry explains that powwow have been important to his familial relationships, “It was fun to see family and friends and to be around a large group of people. So, we made the choice to go to those powwows.”

Family is extensively involved in the dance “specials” conducted during the NPCP in honor of deceased relatives. When the announcer states that the great granddaughter of an honoree is being brought into the powwow circle for the first time, it crystalizes the importance of family to all present.

Ronald reports that when he attends powwows, people thank God for many things. But one of the things you hear most often is, “Thank you for my family.”

8e-Practice Generosity

Native Americans have a long tradition of generosity. The man who is wealthiest in the tradition of many tribes is the one who gives the most away. Indian Commissioner Hiram Burke prohibited traditional Native American giveaways because giving away the wealth that one accumulates is contrary to what a “civilized” person would do (Talbot, 2006). In the dominant American society, the accumulation of wealth and things is expected as a sign of civilized behavior. The tradition of gifting continues at the NPCP.

The announcers and powwow committee are given gifts during specials conducted during the powwow. On several occasions, drums are given gifts by champion dancers as well as dancers who win prize money. Gifts are distributed by the outgoing NPCP Princess as one of her final acts of royalty. Drums are also gifted after ceremonies associated with fallen feathers have been completed. One giveaway is conducted within the context of a special in which those in the crowd with unmet needs are invited to come into the powwow circle to receive gifts. Finally, on four occasions members of the crowd come down onto the arena floor, enter the powwow circle and gift money at the feet of four dancers to thank them for the excellence displayed in their performance.

One of the four dancers receiving gifts is a six-year-old prodigy. He receives in excess of four hundred dollars through gifting during three of his performances. The money was given to the boy as a way for the donor to thank him for sharing his dancing gift with them. Through public giving, the traditional value of generosity is modeled and reinforced.

During the NPCP, we learn of other culturally valued beliefs that space limitations will not afford us the opportunity to explore in detail. Other valued beliefs include we are to dance for those who cannot dance, traditions are important, education is important, the powwow circle is a place for healing, and we are to value and honor our veterans.

9-Scribes

Both religion and sport have scribes who share “the word”. Before, during and after the NPCP interviews with organizers, dancers and members of the crowd are conducted by newspaper and television reporters. Reporters share with the public what they view to be of interest and value to readers and viewers. It is reported in two newspaper articles that the event is one of the largest powwows in the region, that it is open to all, that family is involved in powwow dancing, that the people are generous, what events are held and when,

that culture is displayed, that a goal of the powwow committee is to make the powwow larger, that Caucasians support the Native Community through attendance, that the powwows are proof that Native culture continues, that veterans are honored, that the organizers are grateful, that people volunteer and work together as a team to make the event a success, that the event is competitive, and that people enjoy themselves.¹ Interestingly, many of the truths identified in earlier sections of these findings are reflected in the reporting of the scribes.

10-Holidays and Festivals

Holidays and festivals are associated with religion and with sport. They are also characteristic of the NPCP. The NPCP is held annually on a national holiday weekend. Native Americans come together at the powwow to celebrate as a community. During the powwow's coordinated events, Native Americans reinforce their common ethnic bond, historical bond, and worldview. As such, the NPCP meets the definition of "festival" provided by sociologist, Falassi (1987).

11-Sacred Shrines and Halls of Fame

Halls of fame serve as sites in which revered individuals are honored for their contributions to important areas of social life. Within halls of fame visitors can often find letters, clothing and other objects once belonging to inductees. Halls of fame exist for professional athletes, including those from football, baseball, and even rodeo. Halls of fame have been created for famous jazz musicians, and people who have been important in the worlds of television and motion pictures. There are even halls of fame in the United States for villains and criminals. Similar to halls of fame, religious sites, historic locations, and buildings serve as sacred shrines that draw visitors. The Vatican, Holy Sepulcher, the Church of Mary, and Mecca serve as examples of sacred shrines.

Inductees into existent Native American Halls of Fame are typically enshrined because the success achieved in their chosen field reflects positively upon Native Americans as a people. The National Native American Hall of Fame honors famous Native Americans from many segments of Native life. Notably, it is not until 2018 that its first class of twelve inductees is announced. Six of the thirty finalists are renowned athletes as are two of the inductees. The organization does not have a physical address as of January 2019.

The National Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians was established in 1952. It consists of the busts of forty-one historically important Native Americans. Some Native American Halls of fame are tribal specific. Halls of fame have been created for Native American athletes such as the American Indian Athletic Hall of Fame.

We conduct an extensive Google search and find that there is only one Native American Powwow Hall of Fame. It is associated with the Hall of Fame Powwow conducted on the campus of the University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh. As this study is being completed, the Native American Powwow Hall of fame included only two inductees with one member inducted in 2018 and a second in 2019 (Wisconsin Powwow Hall of Fame, 2020).

Given the importance of the powwow to Native American culture, we believe efforts are needed to establish a North American Powwow Hall of Fame that will pay tribute to powwow organizers, significant financial supporters, outstanding dancers, and drum groups that have been meaningful in the continuance of the powwow tradition. Perhaps a logical site for such a Hall of Fame would be Albuquerque, NM which hosts the Gathering of Nations. The Gathering of Nations is referred to as the Super Bowl of contest powwows and is the largest powwow in the world. A second logical site would be the National Museum of the American Indian, located in Washington, D.C.

Sage, Eitzen and Beal (2019) provide eleven ways in which sport is similar to religion. Data we collect through interviews with our participants and through participant observation demonstrate clearly that the NPCP, sport, and religion share similarities in all eleven areas.

Is the Contest Powwow an Implicit Religion?

If the contest powwow is to rightly be classified as an implicit religion, it must

1. Offer an opportunity to strive toward an ultimate secular goal (Bailey, 2012);
2. Provide the faithful with a secular quest for meaning and fulfillment (Bailey, 2002; Bailey, 1997);
3. Result in a commitment (Bailey, 2012). Often commitment is demonstrated through the investment of time and money;
4. Provide integrative foci (Bailey, 2012); and
5. Result in intensive concerns with extensive efforts (Bailey, 2012)

Are each of the characteristics of implicit religion noted above observed within the NPCP?

1- The Ultimate Goal: Victory

George explains that in anticipation of competition, dancers have thoughts in their mind such as, “We’re going to try to win this year”, “I’m going to beat so and so this year”, and “We worked hard all year. This is our chance to be a champion.” At a contest powwow, winning a championship is the ultimate goal for many competitors. The NPCP provides chances for both dancers and drum groups to win championships. Young women are also provided opportunities to compete for the title of NPCP Princess. Each competitive opportunity affords contenders opportunity to experience the ultimate goal of victory.

2- Meaning and Fulfillment

In the contest powwow, dancers, singers and aspiring princesses find meaning and fulfillment through their participation. Not all can win. However, as competitors and spectators gather, important aspects of Native American culture are celebrated as group cohesion and identity are strengthened. Friendships and family ties are made and strengthened. Competitors who do not win have the opportunity to compete, to exercise, and to participate in the activities of their ancestors.

Fulfillment is achieved when George is told that he danced well, that he danced as they did in the old days, and that he makes his Grandfather proud. Fulfillment is attained as George watches the event that he and so many others planned and worked hard to prepare for. Fulfillment is realized when children, family members and the North City community join together for the powwow.

The powwow provides meaning to the lives of those who join to celebrate the powwow totem. Harry declares that song and dance are really, “who we are.” He articulates that the contest powwow is, “a place to grow. It’s a place to expand your experience as a human being. It’s a place to learn how to think and feel with your heart rather than your mind all the time.” According to Harry, the powwow helps you through hard times and gives you a passion to live. “It helps to ground who we are.” The contest powwow undoubtedly provides meaning and fulfillment to the lives of participants.

3- Commitment

An implicit religion is characterized by commitment (Bailey, 2012). Sport and religion involve a commitment of time and money. The commitment of time and money are often marked by an achieved affection toward sport and or religion (Erdozain, 2011). We find that our participants spend significant money and time on powwow activity. When speaking about the NPCP, participants express profound love and affection for it.

3a-Affection

The devoutly religious speak affectionately of their faith and their God. Those devoted to sport do the same. Those devoted to the NPCP speak of it with sincere affection. Angelina “believes” in the NPCP. Kate describes the event as a cultural gem within the city. Harry states, “The NPCP was always something I was inspired by. I mean as a singer I loved it. As a dancer I enjoyed it. I loved it!”

Harry then explains how a love for competing in contest powwows grew within in his oldest daughter:

She just was just naturally good at it cuz we were around powwows all the time. She started to place first, winning championships, winning specials, placing high all the time... She loved it. She fell in love with it because she got so much attention... she got so much money... All these things. So, we just kept going you know?

The participants in this study have an undeniable affection for the contest powwow. To dancers and singers, affection for the contest powwow justifies making the significant commitment of time and money required to participate in it.

3b-Time

The participants in this study have been sponsors and or organizers of the NPCP for an average of 10.5 Years. Their annual time commitment to the NPCP is significant.

Harry works hard to promote the powwow on social media, “I just took it upon myself to start promoting the powwow, like all the time on my social media, just promoting it all the time.” Harry crafts the powwow’s official poster each year and he actively promotes the powwow in the North City and reservation communities. He also serves throughout the year as an announcer throughout the region. As President of the powwow, George plans, seeks funding, and recruits and coordinate volunteers throughout the entire year. Jennifer, Ronald and Kate assist George in his efforts throughout the year as well. Richard announces powwows just about every weekend throughout the year, traveling throughout the United States and Canada to do so.

Ronald observes that people can really spend a lot of time powwowing. In describing the time commitment required during the years in which he competed as a dancer and a singer Harry recalls, “And then

you sacrifice sleep and sacrifice time on your job. You sacrifice a lot of things just to be there.” Richard explains that many powwow participants travel to events most every weekend. There are also, “a lot of professional people and students who must juggle schedules, lose sleep and make sacrifices to participate. Some have to race back to make class or work on Monday morning.” Some dancers travel several hours in each direction to participate in contest powwows. On our flight home, we recognize some of the dancers who are traveling back to their jobs and their schools.

An investment of time is required of dancers and drum groups to practice. Time is required to make and repair regalia. Time is also essential to engage in physical conditioning necessary for most champions to achieve success in events such as the fancy dance, fancy shawl dance and fancy jingle dance. Finally, most contest powwows require competitors to participate in the grand entry for each session. In the case of the NPCP, competitors were required to be present for three consecutive days. In sum, significant investments of time are required to plan, stage and participate in the NPCP.

3c-Money

As noted above, travel is required of competitors who are committed to success as a dancer or singer. To many competitors, each trip requires a significant investment of resources. Angelina provides an illustration:

We see tons of people that come and stay and they're staying for 5 days at hotels and they're eating in our restaurants and they're shopping in our malls... They're buying gasoline, and they're buying tickets.

Richard makes it clear that to travel from his home in the Midwest to North City, whether he flies or drives, it requires a significant financial investment. For many young families, paying for travel is difficult. Harry's family is one of them, “We loved the powwow so much, for the first ten years of marriage we went into debt just to go to powwows because we loved it so much.” Why would they do this? According to Richard, “We value our family and our culture first rather than money, right?”

Money is required for the rental of arenas necessary for larger intertribal contest powwows. In addition, the NPCP is held at a time of year in which the weather can be bad. Richard explains the importance of using indoor facilities and justifies the cost required to do so:

There's no place to set up my camp. It's the second week of [a typically cool month of the year]. It's freezing outside. It's snowing outside. It's cold. So, we're going to have the powwow in an indoor facility. We're going to have a nice indoor facility with bleachers and seating for everybody, a nice floor, and a big sound system. Well, that ain't free either!

Ronald observes that there is a commercial aspect to the NPCP. In order to draw spectators and dancers, according to Kate and George, more money is required. Angelina suggests, “As long as there's money to be made, people are going to travel and compete to try and win.”

Each year, George is challenged to secure enough money to pay out the NPCP's guaranteed prize money:

If we go out on a limb and say we're going to have this much prize money and have the poster out in April. I usually don't have the money completely raised until [the month of the powwow]. But it's always fallen into place. Since I've been president, we've never flopped. We've never gone under. We make just enough to keep the cell phone on, and the office paid for.

George takes out a personal loan at a local bank the day before the NPCP begins. He borrows the funds to secure the unmet need for the current year's prize money. After the powwow has been completed, George informs us that the attendance is sufficient for him to meet all of the powwow's financial obligations and to repay the loan.

4- Integrative Foci

What do participants focus upon during the powwow that unites them in a meaningful way? First, Native Americans gather together at a common site for the powwow. Second, the announcers explain what is happening and shares history, humor and traditions with all present. The words focus those present upon the meanings and expectations held within the powwow community. During competitions, those present focus their collective attention upon dancers, drum groups, song, dance, and regalia. During specials, all individuals present collectively honor the lives of those who have passed away. Elders receive attention and acknowledgement from all present as do the veterans. The contest powwow provides numerous integrative foci as do sports and religions.

5- Intensive Concerns with Extensive Effects

The degree of an individual's religious commitment, whether explicit or implicit, is measured by its influence upon behavior (Bailey, 2013). In other words, commitment to implicit religions require observable actions (Bailey, 1997; Bailey, 1998). If behavior is not influenced by one's implicit religion, it is nothing more

than a hobby (Bailey, 2012). Intensive concerns with an implicit religion results in extensive effects. To the most committed, implicit religion permeates all areas of life (Bailey, 2002).

Table 1: Common Characteristics of Religion and the Implicit Religions of Sport and the Contest Powwow.

Characteristic	Traditional Religion Christianity	Implicit Religion Sport	Implicit Religion Powwow
Something Worshiped	God	Sport	Powwow
Saints/Legends	Yes	Yes	Yes
Clergy	Priests	Coaches	Announcers
Scribes	Scribes	Reporters	Reporters
Place of Worship	Church	Arena/Stadium	Arena
Congregation	Worshippers	Sports Faithful	Powwow Faithful
Proverbs or Beliefs	Yes	Yes	Yes
Shrines/Halls of Fame	Yes	Yes	Yes
Fidelity Called For	Yes	Yes	Yes
Beliefs, Traditions & Practices	Yes	Yes	Yes
Sponsor Holiday or Festival	Yes	Yes	Yes
Provides an Ultimate Goal	Salvation	Championships	Championships
Provides Meaning and Fulfillment	Identity/Culture	Identity/Culture	Identity/Culture
Commitment Demonstrated	Yes	Yes	Yes
Integrative Foci	Yes	Yes	Yes
Intensive Concerns-Extensive Effort	Yes	Yes	Yes

How committed are those devoted to the powwow? The powwow permeates all aspects of the devotees' lives. The contest powwow provides a focus for the Native American community. Contest powwows are events that are looked forward to with anticipation. Time must be invested as participants prepare for, travel to, and participate in the contest powwow. Finances are impacted as money is required to build regalia, to travel and to compete. Vendors and dancers seek to generate income from their participation in the contest powwow. Family is involved in the NPCP. Extended family members are often seen during powwow travels. In summary, there is no area of a powwow competitor's life that is not impacted by the powwow totem.

V. CONCLUSION

Research Question 1

Are the eleven factors common to religion and sport identified by Sage, Eitzen and Beal (2019) found within a large intertribal contest powwow? Support for our contention that the contest powwow functions as an implicit religion is provided by the fact that it contains each of the eleven factors identified by Sage, Eitzen and Beal (2019) that are common to both sport and religion. The powwow and its related activities are the target of worship. Excellent performers are highly revered and some of them are revered to the point of becoming legendary, at least on a regional level. For larger contest powwows, worship occurs within sizeable arenas that often host athletic events. The location of the powwow circle is not important to the congregation that joins to worship. The venue is determined by the size of the event. Competitors, vendors, singers and family units may travel thousands of miles to compete and serve as a part of the congregation. Proverbs concerning what it is to be Native American are shared by announcers. Those in attendance are encouraged to internalize the proverbs. Fidelity to the concept of sobriety, training, dedication and giving one's all to the goal of success is called for. The powwow announcers serve as the powwow's clergy. Traditions, traditional practices and the ways of the elders are explained by the announcers and the people are encouraged to remember, adopt and pass them on to the youth. Large contest powwows such as the NPCP take place on holidays and are indeed festivals, celebrations of Native American culture. Native American halls of fame are found scattered throughout the United States. We did locate one that has been created to honor influential members of the powwow community.

Research Question 2

Does the contest powwow reflect the characteristics of religion as described by Durkheim (2001)? The contest powwow is a uniquely Native American event. It is intertribal in nature and evolved from the traditions and collective experiences of Indigenous people. Our research findings demonstrate that the contest powwow

provides meaning and purpose in life to dancers, singers and their family members. Through the contest powwow, Native Americans celebrate their solidarity and social norms. The contest powwow serves as a totem for Native Americans. As contest powwows are practiced throughout Canada and the United States, no one person owns them, yet the powwow totem is worshipped by many. The contest powwow totem provides excitement through song, dance, and competition and is diffused through the lives of participants as they prepare for, travel to, and compete. Finances, time, creative effort and intensity are invested by competitors into their contest powwow activities. Family, art, music, traditions and numerous other components of culture are involved in worship of the contest powwow totem. The contest powwow totem unites and guides Native Americans who are a part of its community. As such, we hypothesize that Durkheim (2001) would consider the contest powwow to function as a religion.

Research Question 3

Can the intertribal contest powwow can be classified as an implicit religion as described by Bailey (2012; 2002; 1998; 1997)? We do not claim that the contest powwow is equivalent to an explicit religion such as Christianity, Islam, or Judaism. The contest powwow as a totem cannot answer questions related to birth, suffering, death, or salvation. The results of this study, however, allow us to classify the contest powwow as an implicit religion as described by Bailey (2012, 2011, 2002, 1997). The contest powwow provides an opportunity to strive for the ultimate goal of victory. The contest powwow provides meaning and fulfillment in the lives of participants. In order to achieve success in powwow contests, commitment is required. Commitment to success in the powwow is characterized through commitment of time and money. The contest powwow provides numerous integrative foci. Finally, the dedicated powwow enthusiast demonstrates intensive concern through extensive efforts. There are few areas of the lives of dedicated powwow competitors that are not impacted by their commitment to competing in contest powwows.

Limitations and Recommendations for Further Studies

Our study has definite limitations. First, our research is focused upon only one contest powwow. We acknowledge that other contest powwows do differ from the NPCP in meaningful ways, some of which we identified as we described differences between the NPCP and the Gathering of Nations contest powwow. The exact nature of what transpires in any powwow is determined to some degree by local traditions and customs.

Second, individual motives for participation as well as lived experiences are individually defined and interpreted. Motivations and experiences impact the meaning, significance and quality of the contest powwow experience as perceived by dancers, singers and members of the crowd.

A third limitation is that our study focused upon a contest powwow and not a traditional powwow. Our findings may not be applicable to traditional powwows. Fourth, the number of participants in our study is small. However, the length and breadth of the experience possessed by each of them allows us to reasonably presume that their experiences and observations are generalizable. What they state here is consistent with what researchers have reported in previously published literature.

Finally, we report that three percent of American Indians identify with Native American religions. The paper used as the source of the information was published in 2001. What would the percentage be today? We are frustrated by the fact that we could not access more current information. Extensive web and database searches were conducted, to no avail. We contacted the PEW Research Center and were told in an email response that they could not provide an updated assessment of participation in Native American religions. Whether the number of Native Americans that identify with Indigenous religions is three percent or fifteen percent, the number is quite small and reflects the success of efforts to Christianize Native Americans as their traditional practices were purposely assaulted.

In the future, qualitative research may be conducted to further validate our findings. We also believe that additional sociological studies into the ongoing evolution of the contest powwow and its social and cultural importance to the Native American community are needed. We hold that the contest powwow is one of the few public sites in which Native American traditions are celebrated and shared.

REFERENCES

- [1]. Aicinena, S. (2017). Implicit religion and the use of prayer in sport. *American Journal of Sociological Research*, 7(1), 56-65.
- [2]. Aicinena, S., and Ziyanak, S. (2019). Examining the Gathering of Nations powwow and a NCAA division I basketball game. *Journal of Human Sciences*, 16(3), 875-884.
- [3]. Albers, P.C., & Medicine, B. (2005). The sound of the drum will revive them and make them happy. In C. Ellis, L. E. Lassiter & G. H. Dunham (Eds.) *Powwow* (pp. 1-23). University of Nebraska Press.
- [4]. Andrews, T., and Olney, J. (2007). Potlatch and powwows: Dynamics of culture through lives lived dancing. *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, 31(1), 63-108.

- [5]. Bailey, E. (2013). Prelude: implicit religion?: its meaning. *Mental Health, Religion and Culture*, 16(9), 883–886.
- [6]. Bailey, E. (2012). Implicit Religion?: What might that be? *Implicit Religion*, 15(2), 195-207.
- [7]. Bailey, E. (2002). Introduction The notion of implicit religion: What it means, and does not mean, in E. Bailey (ed.). *The secular quest for meaning in life: Denton papers in implicit religion*. Edwin Mellen Press.
- [8]. Bailey, E. (1998). *Implicit religion: An introduction*. London: Middlesex University Press.
- [9]. Bailey, E. (1997). *Implicit religion in contemporary society*. Kok Pharos Publishing House.
- [10]. Beyers, J. (2017). Religion and culture: Revisiting a close relative. *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 73, (1): 1–9.
- [11]. Bibby, R. (2008). *Canada's data-less debate about religion: The precarious role of research in identifying implicit and explicit religion*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society for the Study of Religion.
- [12]. Bruce, S. (2011). Defining religion: a practical response. *International Review of Sociology - Revue Internationale de Sociologie*, 21(1), 107-120.
- [13]. Callahan, A. (1993). *The Osage ceremonial dance I'n-Lon-Sschka*. University of Oklahoma Press.
- [14]. Coakley, J. (2017). *Sports in Society: Issues and controversies* (12th edition). McGraw-Hill.
- [15]. Collins, M. (2014). Sport, religion, wellbeing, and Cameron's big society. *Implicit Religion*, 17(2), 139–163.
- [16]. Corbin, J. and Strauss, A. (2007). *Basics of qualitative research techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory* (3rd ed.). Sage Publications.
- [17]. Corrigan, S. (1970). The Plains Indian Powwow: Cultural Integration in Manitoba and Saskatchewan. *Anthropologica*, 12(2), 253-277.
- [18]. Crawford, S. and Kelley, D. (2005). *American Indian religious traditions: An encyclopedia*. ABC-Clio.
- [19]. Durkheim, E. (2001). *The elementary forms of religious life*. New York, NY: Oxford Press.
- [20]. Ellis, C., Lassiter, L. E., and Dunham, G. H. (2005) *Powwow*. University of Nebraska Press.
- [21]. Ellwood, C. (1913). The social function of religion. *American Journal of Sociology*, 19(3), 289-307.
- [22]. Erdozain, D. (2011). In Praise of Folly: Sport as Play. *Anvil: An Evangelical Journal for Theology and Missions*, 28(1): 20-32.
- [23]. Falassi, A. (1987). Festival: Definition and morphology. In: Falassi, A., Ed., *Time out of Time*. University of New Mexico Press
- [24]. Fowler, L. (2005). *Local contexts of powwow ritual*. In *Powwow*, edited by Clyde Ellis, Luke Lassiter and Gary Dunham, 68–82. University of Nebraska Press.
- [25]. Gamble, J. (1952). Changing patterns in Kiowa dances. In Sol Tax (Ed.), *Selected Papers of the 29th International Congress of Americanists*, (pp.94–104). University of Chicago Press.
- [26]. Gathering of Nations. (2018). Gathering of nations powwow. *Gathering of Nations*. <https://www.gatheringofnations.com/history.aspx>
- [27]. Grimshaw, M. (2000). I can't believe my eyes: The religious aesthetics of sport as postmodern salvific moments. *Implicit Religion*, 3, 87-99.
- [28]. Harding, L. (2001). The Carlisle Boarding School and its literary legacy: The war with the pen. In 2001 Monograph Series, *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of African American Studies, the National Association of Hispanic and Latino Studies, the National Association of Native American Studies, and the International Association of Asian Studies* (pp. 205-240), Washington: <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED476009.pdf>
- [29]. Hoffmeyer, L. (2015). American Indian powwows: Multiplicity and authenticity. *Smithsonian Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage*. <https://folklife.si.edu/online-exhibitions/american-indian-powwows/history/smithsonian>
- [30]. Howard, J. (1983). Pan-Indianism in Native American music and dance. *Ethnomusicology*, 27 (71), 71–82.
- [31]. Indian Affairs (2020). About us. *U.S. Department of the Interior Indian Affairs*. <https://www.bia.gov/about-us>
- [32]. Jirasek, I. (2015). Religion, spirituality, and sport: From *religioathletae* toward *spiritusathletae*. *Quest Journal*, 67(3), 290-299.
- [33]. Kosmin, B., Mayer, E., and Keysar, A. (2001). *American religious identification survey: Key findings*. https://www.gc.cuny.edu/CUNY_GC/media/CUNY-Graduate-Center/PDF/ARIS/ARIS-PDF-version.pdf
- [34]. Lord, K. (2006). Implicit Religion: Definition and Application. *Implicit Religion*, 9 (2), 205-219.
- [35]. Lurie, N. (1971). The contemporary Indian scene. In Eleanor Leacock and Nancy Lurie (Eds.) *North American Indians in historic perspective* (pp. 418–480). Random House.

- [36]. Magdalinski, T. (2007). Sport and religions. In G. Ritzer (Ed.), *Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*. Blackwell.
- [37]. Magdalinski, T., and Chandler, T. (2002) 'With God on their Side: An introduction' in T. Magdalinski, T. and T. Chandler (Eds.) *With God on their Side: Sport in the Service of Religion*(pp. 1-19).Routledge.
- [38]. Mathisen, J. (1992). From civil religion to folk religion: The case of American sport. In S. Hoffman (Ed.), *Sport and Religion* (pp. 17-34). Human Kinetics.
- [39]. Mihesuah, D. (1998). American Indian Identities: Issues of Individual Choices and Development. *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, 22(2), 193-226.
- [40]. Mohler, A. (2014). The new American religion: The rise of sports and the decline of the church. *Albert Mohler*. <http://www.albertmohler.com/2014/02/04/the-new-american-religion-the-rise-of-sports-and-the-decline-of-the-church/>
- [41]. Moskos, C. (1980). Greek Americans. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
- [42]. New Mexico Nomad (2020). Gathering of Nations: Largest powwow in the world. *New Mexico Nomad*. <https://newmexiconomad.com/gathering-of-nations/>
- [43]. Nath, S. (2015). Religion and its role in society, *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 20(11), 82-85.
- [44]. Oates, J. (1996, July 12). *Lives of the latter-day saints*. Times Literary Supplement, p. 9.
- [45]. Olsen, L. (1998). *Music and dance*. In Deward Walker, ed., Vol. 12 of *Handbook of North American Indians: Plateau*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press.
- [46]. Olson, L. (2011). The essentiality of culture in the study of religion and politics. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 50(4), 639–653.
- [47]. Oppong, S. (2013). Religion and Identity. *American International Journal of Contemporary Research*, 3(6), 10-16.
- [48]. Owen, S. (2008). *The appropriation of Native American spirituality*. Continuum International Publishing Group.
- [49]. Padgett, D. (1980). Symbolic ethnicity and patterns of ethnic identity assertion in American-born Serbs. *Ethnic Groups*, 3, 55-77.
- [50]. Pratt, R. H. (1892). The Advantages of Mingling Indians with Whites. In Official Report of The Nineteenth Annual Conference of Charities and Corrections at The Nineteenth Annual Session Held in Denver, Colorado, June 23–29, edited by Isabel Barrows, 45–59. Boston: Geo. H. Ellis. <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/n/ncosw/ACH8650.1892.001?rgn=main;view=fulltext>.
- [51]. Price, H. (1884). *Regulations of the Indian Department with an appendix containing the forms used*. Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 86-91. <https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=wlgAQAAAMAAJ&hl=en&pg=GBS.PA58>
- [52]. Rahimi, S. (2005). Celebrating the powwow way of life. *New York Times*, June 18, 2005. <https://www.nytimes.com/2005/06/18/nyregion/celebrating-the-powwow-way-of-life.html>
- [53]. Reitz, J. G. (1980). The survival of ethnic groups. McGraw-Hill Ryerson
- [54]. Rhodes, J. (1991). An American tradition: The religious persecution of Native Americans. *Montana Law Review*, 52(1), 14-71.
- [55]. Ridington, R., Hastings, D., and Attachie, T. (2005). The songs of our elders: Performance and cultural survival in Omaha and Dane-zaa traditions. In Clyde Ellis; Luke Lassiter, and Gary Dunham (Eds.) *Powwow* (110-129). University of Nebraska Press.
- [56]. Sage, G.; Eitzen, S. and Beal, B. (2019). *Sociology of North American sport*. Oxford Press.
- [57]. Scales, C. (2012). *Recording culture: Powwow music and the aboriginal recording industry on the northern plains*. Duke University Press.
- [58]. Scales, C. (2007). Powwows, intertribalism, and the value of competition. *Ethnomusicology*, 51(1), 1-29.
- [59]. Shilling, C., and Mellor, P. A. (2014). Re-conceptualizing sport as a sacred phenomenon. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 31(3), 349–376.
- [60]. Silverman, D. (2015). Native American religions. *Oxford Bibliographies*. <https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199730414/obo-9780199730414-0156.xml>
- [61]. Soyer, M., and Ziyanak, S. (2018). The battle over fracking: The mobilization of local residents. *The Qualitative Report*, 23(9), 2222-2237.
- [62]. Spack, R. (2000). English pedagogy and ideology: A Case study of the Hampton institute, 1878-1900. *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, 24 (1), 1–24.
- [63]. Straus, T. and Valentino, D. (1998). Retribalization in urban Indian communities. *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, 22(4), 103-115.
- [64]. Talbot, S. (2006). Spiritual genocide: The denial of American Indian religious freedom from conquest to 1934. *WicazoSa Review*, 21(2), 7-39.

- [65]. Taliaferro, C. (2019). Philosophy of religion. *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Edward N. Zalta (ed.), <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2019/entries/philosophy-religion/>>
- [66]. The National Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition (2019). US boarding school history. Retrieved 2/18/2019 from <https://boardingschoolhealing.org/education/us-indian-boarding-school-history/>.
- [67]. United States Census Bureau (2012). 2010 census shows nearly half of American Indians and Alaska Natives report multiple races. United States Census Bureau, January 25, 2012. https://www.census.gov/newsroom/releases/archives/2010_census/cb12-cn06.html
- [68]. Van Beek, W. (1985). Cultural Anthropology and the many functions of religion. In F. Whaling (Ed), *Contemporary approaches to the study of religion in 2 volumes*(pp. 265-277). Mouton Publishers,
- [69]. Weaver, J. (1998). From I-Hermeneutics to We-Hermeneutics. In, (Ed.) *Native American Religious Identity* (pp. 1-3). Orbis.
- [70]. Wisconsin Powwow Hall of Fame (2020). University of Wisconsin American Indian Student Services. <https://uwosh.edu/aiss/powwow/>

Steven Aicinena, et. al. "The Native American Contest Powwow as an Implicit Religion." *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science (IOSR-JHSS)*, 25(9), 2020, pp. 16-35.