Western Ideological State Apparatuses and Native American Culture in Erdrich’s *LaRose*

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**ABSTRACT**

This research sheds light on Western use of educational Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA) as an important weapon to eradicate Native American culture. Although there have been huge research on Native American Culture and Euro-American oppression of Native Americans, very small is known about the ideological method of European oppression. The picture that appears from Louise Erdrich’s *LaRose* is that for Europeans, education is a tool to enlighten the natives. However, for the natives, education is a process of transforming their culture into Western ideology promoting Western socio-cultural norms. Ideological oppression is more adverse than subdued oppression. This study analyses Louise Erdrich’s *LaRose* through Althusser’s theory of ISA which means that people are controlled firstly by ideology, then by constraint. Europeans used both suppression and ideology to obliterate their culture by which they could assimilate them, and there would be a minor risk of resistance. As a result, Europeans have tried to eradicate the religion and culture of Native Americans through education to establish their own culture and religion. Louise Eldritch uncovers the dark side of the educational civilization process, which this research shall analyze through Althusser’s theory of ISA.

**Keywords**

assimilation; civilization; ideological state apparatuses; Native American; Native culture; Native religion

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INTRODUCTION

Education is a method to enable students to do well in society, be a responsible member of society and to get jobs but European has used education for their own goals. Through boarding schools in the veil of the civilizing mission, the white’s propaganda was to make them realize how their class was inferior to whites, and how had noble right to govern them. The government declared in 1892 that it was not “desirable to raise another generation of savages” (Davis, 2001; Freng et al., 2006; Peterson, 2012). To instill white’s ideologies boarding schools were made away from their Native residential area in order to decrease their abilities for the revival of their culture. In boarding school, students were forced to adjust to a foreign setting, an unfamiliar community, and a set of regulations designed to destroy their sense of cultural identity (Trafzer & Keller, 2006; Hutchings, 2016; Lomawaima & Ostler, 2018).

In this regard, Larose uncovers Western ideology behind their mission of civilizing Ojibwa community and atrocious treatment that they have to face during this civilizing mission. Louise Erdrich is one of the most prominent Native American authors. Her writings disclose her ancestry, family, and background. Her father was a German American by origin and her mother was a Native American Chippewa. Both heritages had a huge influence on her and her works as she considers herself in between two worlds she belonged to. She has been writing about this fluctuation in almost all her writings (Beidler & Barton, 2006; Kurup, 2015; Stookey, 1999).

Her latest novel LaRose was published in May 10, 2016. It consists of five parts that are not arranged in order. Parts 1, 2, and 4 have specific time period but rest of the part do not denote any time period. Conflict between present and Euro-American and Native American cultures has been presented in the novel. The setting of the novel is in fictional town in American Ojibwa territory. She uses many narrators in order to provide rich image of Ojibwa. The circumstances faced by characters are based upon painful history of Native Americans. Louise Erdrich presents visionary standard version of history of Native American and Euro-American intercourse through multiple narrator point of view and short story cycle. LaRose by Erdrich reveals the story of five generation of Larose. She uses disintegrated form in LaRose in order to show the characters that are emotionally disrupt as a presenter of clan trying to fit together what is the remainder of their culture after forceful assimilation.

The novel starts when Landreux accidently kills his neighbor’s son, Dusty. While using old ways of justice, Landreux and his wife Emma line decide to give their younger boy LaRose to Peter and Nola. “Our son will be your son now” (Erdrich, 2016, p. 18). As the novel moves forward, Erdrich links the ancestral history of 1839, a story of a girl, the
first from the five generations of LaRose, her mother sold her in order to get liquor and tobacco to a man named Mackinnon, who molested her and subjected to harmful treatment. LaRose and Wolfred get rid of the person by giving him poison. It then starts the history of painful memories of loss, displacement, infectious disease, drug addiction and feelings of estrangement.

At Wilfred's persuasions, without any protection of family, the first LaRose attends the boarding school for survivalist purposes. But her interaction to the Ojibwa customs and traditions became less which her mother was capable to inculcate in her. She faces difficulties because of tough routine of boarding school where each activity of the day is controlled by bells. She dies due to contagious disease, tuberculosis. Following her mother, second LaRose also went to boarding school. With the passage of the time, she realized that curriculum of boarding school present Native American as inferior race. Instead of being educated, she is trained in manual work for creation of a class inferior to Western.

Many of the elders as the First Larose, the Second Larose, Mrs. Peace, Landreaux, Romeo, and Peter are haunted by their painful memories of student age in U.S government funded boarding school, where students were disrobed of their cultural heritage and compelled them to assimilate into “western “customs. As Mrs. Peace, mother of Emmaline, recalls “we left our names in those schools and others schools, all the way back to the first school, Carlisle” (Erdrich, 2016, p. 157). Carlisle is western boarding school which was made in disguise of “civilizing” Indian but reality was something else. Western propaganda was not civilizing them to be part of mainstream, rather they were annihilating Native culture by presenting it as ‘primitive’ incapable of producing civilized and prosperous society. Every character in ‘LaRose’ deals with these assimilations of past.

**LITERATURE REVIEW**

The impact of boarding school education upon Native American society is most recurrent issues in Native American literature. The Europeans have used education for their own goals. The purpose behind this mission was to remove ‘Indianness’ in order to enforce them to accept white’s ways. The most important writers who have represented issue behind western civilizing mission are Louise Erdrich, Sherman Alexie (2008, 2009), Leslie Marmon Silko (1992, 1997, 2006), Vine Deloria (1985, 1988, 1999, 2012), D’Arcy McNickle (1949, 1973, 1978, 1988), and James Welch (2008a, 2008b, 2011). As the present study deals with the work of Louise Erdrich, the current review of literature is narrowed down to the contemporary criticism related to selected work and critical remarks about ‘Eurocentric’ system of education.
Hertzel (2016) reviewed that LaRose delineates impacts of Euro-American in various fields of Native American such as education, religion and law. LaRose is a 15th novel of Louis Erdrich, which unmask numerous issues faced by members of Ojibwa tribe after Western colonization. In LaRose, LaRose’s ancestors fought many battles against Western occupation of Native lands. After forceful dislocation of Native American, Western ideology imposed upon them. Western ideology had affected their family relationship, natural environment and, demolished their culture. Gilman (2016) articulated LaRose as a tale about “phosphorus of grief” and how affliction rises up and deplete. It is contemplation on the relevance of, customs, portrayal of family, durability and bounds of friendship, complicated impacts of “intergenerational trauma” and the capability of reiteration of irreparable loss.

LaRose unravels the aftermaths of Native American education. Boarding schools are amalgamation of fair and unfair circumstances. Native American students are provided with insufficient and unhealthy food regularly. First Larose faces many folded tribulations due to cultural extermination, contagious ailment, continuous dislocation and atrocious treatment she receives in Presbyterian Boarding school. By introducing readers with multiple stories of five generations Louis Erdrich exposes hidden agenda behind Euro-American civilization process which is nothing more than erasure of cultural recognition (Noodin, 2018).

Gill (2004) commented that early assimilation took place in the veil of education, religion. Federal government forcefully brought native children in boarding school. Many students lost their lives because they could not bear atrocities boarding school administration and leftover students of Ojibwa clan were trained according to military system to eliminate their traditions, physical appearance and their ways of living. After the deliberate destructive struggles to derelict, the boarding school educational system was another effort to dominate the Native people. Erdrich’s grandfather went to boarding school and she exposes those experiences in LaRose.

According to Marr (2004) the circumstances faced by characters are based upon painful history of Native Americans. Due to elimination of their “Indianness” the generations were stimulated to assimilate, again disintegrating their connections with original culture. The government damages Indigenous people by “force colonization, cultural deterioration, and environmental afflictions.” In 1879, Richard Henry Pratt made first boarding school in Carlisle. The boarding schools that were away from reservation were the influential tool of government in opposition of Native American cultures (Chalcraft, 2007). The reservation boarding schools played an influential role in acculturation process (Young, 2010). Pratt believed that Indians are culturally inferior and they can be “civilized” by giving them white Americans facilities. He explained that
Native Americans are savage and ignorant people and by providing them civilized environment, they will retain language and rituals of refined society (Peterson, 2012; Mitchell, 2017; Whitt, 2020).

Lomawaima & Ostler (2018) illustrated that Euro-American educational process consisted of four basic tenets: (1) that Native people are barbaric and should be educated; (2) this educational mission requires the transformation to Christianity; (3) complete subordination of Native societies to dominant power by resettlement practices; and (4) indigenous people had cultural inadequacy required fundamental pedagogical procedure essential for education of Native people. Dalal (2011) exposes that Euro-American colonized the North American continent because of their greed for riches and expansion of territory. Colonization left everlasting impacts on “the Natives”. Before the arrival of Euro-American Native people were living quite peaceful life. They were afflicted by colonization, cultural decadence and destruction of natural world. The aftermaths of Western occupation can be visible in almost all institution of native American including culture, history, educational system, norms, economic organization etc (Lee, 2007; Klimek-Dominiak, 2009). Religious customs of “Natives” started to transform. The mythological stories which were means of imparting religious and cultural norms to future generation were altered in order to inform about existence of Euro-Americans.

To sum up, the review of above-mentioned work provides sufficient ground for present research from aspects of influence of Western ideology on Native American culture and the tactics used to exterminate native culture in order to exert Western culture and religion by education.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The paradigm of research is qualitative and uses Marxism as a theoretical lens to interpret text. It analyzes the tactics that Western use to suppress Native Americans in Louise Erdrich’s *LaRose*. Textual analysis is method of research. Passages from selected text are selected according to main issues of research. The research methodology of the study is Louise Althusser’s theory of ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses. Althusser clearly describes ideology “presents of the visionary connection of person to the actual situation of presence” (Althusser, 2014, p. 35). It means that individual create “an illusions about reality or ideology distorts our views of our true ‘conditions of existence” (Althusser, 2014, p. 30). He closes out that one cannot get rid from ideology. As we know that “nothing happens outside the ideology” (Althusser, 2014, p. 41).
Althusser closely examines how these ideologies operate in society and which organizations support to circulate. These two concepts which are introduced by Althusser are Repressive State Apparatus (RSA) and Ideological State Apparatus (ISA). Althusser uses concept of State Apparatuses to reemphasize the subject that how State Apparatuses function to support capitalist agenda. Repressive State Apparatuses consist of multiple institutions such as Army, Police, Courts and judicial power. Major target of this group is violence. Ideological State Apparatus includes following institutions: religion, education, family media, school, political parties, and cultural ventures. ISA completely belongs to public organization. Ideological State Apparatus are not direct and suppress the minds of people instead of physical repression. From Althusser points of view, ideology functions by ISA is plural and disparate, but RSA functions to unite the whole (Althusser, 2014, pp. 14–15).

ISA s consist of different organizations but they are united by dominant ideologies (Ferretter, 2007, p. 80). In ISA, multiple ideologies operate to achieve same result. In schools and religious organizations, ideology is taught to community. The basic difference between the Repressive State Apparatuses (RSA) and the Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA) is that RSA basically operates “by violence” and ISA operate basically “by ideology” (Althusser, 2014, p. 16). Althusser observes that RSA functions directly to fulfill mission while ISAs function indirectly. The effects of RSA can be seen instantly but these effects are for short period and on other side aftermaths of ISAs are apparent after some time but these aftermaths are permanently.

**Education as Modern ISA**

Education is a major ISA in modern Capitalist society because it harms our notions and behavior. In order to defend and cover the atrocious activities of the state deceitful educational ISA is used. Althusser clearly explains that the ideology of dominant class is implemented over suppressed society to attain authority by using school as powerful tool. He writes that Educational Ideological Apparatuses has been established in opposition of previous ideological state apparatuses because of its long-lasting results. For many centuries, Euro-American used education to reach their ultimate end. School is a place where students spent their most precious time. Powerful class uses educational ISA because it completely seems indifferent and shields dominant class mission. Educational institutions are such places where ruling ideology is exerted upon suppressed society. In schools students gain knowledge “wrapped in the dominant ideology” (Althusser, 2014, p. 24).

Althusser observed school as “neutral environment purged ideology” (Althusser, 2014, p. 25). He comments that all activities that are taught to students are
based on purpose. Students get knowledge through punishment that assure complete submission to powerful class. Althusser asserts that in school students learnt different skills, which are directly useful in different fields of handiwork. He also realizes that ongoing societal structure would not sustain if it rests completely on power (Allison, 1991; Levinson & Holland, 1996). Furthermore, Althusser highlights that schools have taken the place of church. This is most powerful ISA due to its everlasting consequences (Boer, 2007; Leask, 2018).

**Data Analysis**

The analysis and discussion of Louise Erdrich LaRose is based upon sufferings of main characters because of Western ideological method that they used to exterminate native culture in order to exert Western’s culture and religion by education and the way they disclose their discontentment regarding boarding school educational system ingrained into Western ideology.

**RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

After Native Americans were constrained and incapacitated armed forces, western government various ISAs as religious, cultural, and educational Isa started the mission of assimilating Native Americans into dominant culture. Ideological State Apparatuses are more hazardous and perfidious as compared to Repressive State Apparatuses. Various ISAs function in LaRose, such as religious, cultural and most important of all is educational ISA, in order to accomplish the goal of creating a class devoid of cultural heritage.

**Religious ISA**

From many centuries, Religion has been viewed as efficacious ISA. Religion, in its actual condition, has done unbelievable miracles for humanity. By using religion, the clergyperson explains in various forms that the colonization is extremely important for the wellbeing of humanity. Western believed that Native Americans have no religion of their own. Columbus declared in his journal after his journey that Indigenous people can be converted to Christianity because they possess no religion. That’s why Euro-American missionaries believed it their obligation to direct Native American into Christianity. Both Spain and France dispatched Catholic missionaries to the American Indians in an effort to expedite their conversion to Christianity and eventual assimilation (Hightower-Langston, 2002, p. 3).

Althusser viewed the clergyman as ‘professional ideologist’ (Althusser, 2014, p. 24). He remarks that clergymen enable the people what activities they can perform and what they cannot, in this preaching method they disintegrate the actual condition.
Religion was also important ISA that western used for fulfilling their purpose of acquisition of Native land. Lot of Characters in LaRose was converted from Ojibwa to Christianity and they are truly devoted to this new imposed religion and the best example of this is Landreaux and his wife Emmaline.

“Landreaux was a devout Catholic.....He was married to a women even more devout than he, and had five children, all of whom he tried to feed and kept decent” (Erdrich, 2016, p. 1).

Mostly descendants of Ojibwa community, who were converted to Christianity, now they consider Christianity as their religion. All members of Landreaux family are making arrangements to celebrate Christmas day whole heartedly. On Christmas Eve the sermon that father Travis delivers to Native community also support western mission. The priest addresses as:

“Let us lay aside the works of darkness and put on the armor of light” (Erdrich, 2016, p. 68).

**Educational ISA**

Education fulfills the goal of emancipating and strengthening intellectual ability. The purpose of education within Native American society was to enable individual to do well in society while following their culture, religion, and traditional practices. Informal education was given to students by elder members who were sole means of transmitting knowledge from one generation to another. By using storytelling method the traditional practices were transmitted to children (Juneau, 2001, p. 6; McCarty, 2008; Aveling, 2012; Clark & Wylie, 2021). In contrary, the education that the Westerns provided was in opposition of Native Americans’ culture. In disguise of civilizing mission, the Westerns annihilated Native Americans’ culture. The civilizing process was thought to be less costly than wars against the eradication of native population (Native American Rights Fund, 2019, p. 6).

LaRose by Louise Erdrich discloses that how by using Ideological State Apparatuses Western tried to eradicate Native American’s culture, religion, norms and codes of life. The Carlisle Indian School situated in Carlisle and Pennsylvania played an important role for the fulfillment of western ideology. Reverend A.J. Lippincott announced during the founding of Carlisle that native Indian should perish everything Indian within them and that they cannot become an authentic American until the Native American within them dies (Child, 2000; Martinez, 2014).

In the school in disguise of education, in order to assimilate students were forcefully removed from their cultural heritage. The issue of boarding school is also present in Louis Erdrich’s novel Love Medicine. In the novel, Rush Bear has twelve children. Nector and Eli had reached the age to attend school. She was able to hide Eli from government members who came to take children but they only took Nector with
them. This novel shows the difference between both, Nector who attended boarding school has completely lost his Indian heritage on other side Eli is representative of native culture (Schneider, 1992; Sanders, 1998; Murtaza & Bhatti, 2015). Western purpose was to prepare a native race devoid of their cultural heritage. Althusser comments “one ideological state Apparatus certainly has the dominant role.it is so silent! This is School. In which child is squeezed between the family state Apparatuses and the Educational state apparatus’ (Althusser, 2014, p. 24).

In LaRose, the Native Children were removed from their families in ‘at infant school age’ to exert western ideology. The government abducted the Native American and kept them in boarding school for long period. “The missionary was sending a few young Ojibwa to a Presbyterian boarding school” (Erdrich, 2016, p. 170). The first LaRose suffered a lot because of western colonization which had long lasting impacts upon Natives. LaRose is robbed of drum which was sole thing that she inherited from her mother. For school superintendent it was just drum but for LaRose it was her old world. She employed various means to bring her drum but could not to do so. “Losing her mother’s drum was like losing Mink all over again” (Erdrich, 2016, p. 170).

First Larose, a girl, who belongs to Anishinaabe tribe but in boarding school she is called Indian, a title given by Western despite of individual differences. Change of language is an initial step for the destruction of native culture. She was not allowed to speak her tribal language and started the process of assimilation into Christianity. The students were forbidden to speak indigenous language, and they learned English in Western schools. LaRose also “learned how to imagine her mouth shut for speaking Anishinaabe” (Erdrich, 2016, p. 235). It was very difficult for LaRose to understand and to express herself in alien language but with passage of she learned newly imposed language of Western society. Althusser asserts that “in school students learnt different skills, which are directly useful in different jobs in production (one instruction for manual workers)” (Althusser, 2014, p. 5).

Native Americans were not educated in a way to get higher level of job. The purpose of Native education by western was not to assimilate fully or to make them equal to western society, but to prepare a lower level of working class. The western believed that their new form of education is essential for excluding old ways of teaching. Missionary teachers trained the girls for household work and educating their children in a civilized way. According to missionary this type of education is imperative for eradicating their inhumanness, barbarity and viciousness. “The mission teachers believed that... New ways would eliminate all primitive teaching” (Erdrich, 2016, p. 221).

The education that second Larose received enabled them to work according to western policy. During summer vacation instead of sending her back to home she is
compelled to work in White people’s houses. The training prepared her for manual labor in whites’ society and also in the houses of western. “She learned to clean white people’s houses during Carlisle outing program… Mostly she learned how to do menial labor” (Erdrich, 2016, pp. 234–235). Hence for teaching main ideology, students were punished badly in boarding schools. “It is essential to say that Ideological State Apparatuses function massively by ideology, but also function secondarily by Repression” (Althusser, 2014, p. 16).

At the beginning, Larose was not aware of boarding school environment. She was punished for not following their rules. But gradually, she started to bear the pain after getting punishment. Larose also learned ways of discipline from white, she was trained in Carlisle school the appropriate way of walking and standing in military style, and wearing gloves. She became habitual of sleeping on cold floors and to bear the bad smell of western and proper ways of arranging table.

“She learned how to stand correctly, shake hands firmly, pull on gloves and take them off finger by finger. How to walk like a white woman on hard shoes…She learned to sleep on cold floors, endure the pain of white people, and set a proper table” (Erdrich, 2016, p. 235).

Ideology directly influences the mind of individual. Althusser remarks, “Ideology is the system of ideas and representations which dominate the mind of a man or a social group” (Althusser, 2014, p. 26). In boarding school students were taught in a way to meet the needs of Western society. After getting Western education, students’ thinking was occupied by western ideology. Western education was a good source to firmly establish the concept of patriotism was also derivate of military based government boarding (Kurup, 2015, p. 14). In LaRose, Hollis and his father Romeo reveals different point of view of two generations about enlisting of Ojibwa in National Guard. Hollis declares the reason behind his decision of joining army also highlights his inward disharmony as, “My country has been good to me” (Erdrich, 2016, p. 252).

After getting education Hollis wanted to join National guard but his father, Romeo, disturbed after hearing this news. Romeo was in shock because of what Western had done with them in past, but Hollis was unable to understand his point of view. Hollis that western wiped them but he considered his community responsible for their present condition. He further revealed that: “When we fuck up now, we mostly fuck on our own” (Erdrich, 2016, p. 252). By introducing educational system Western used their best efforts for concealing their recognition as Native American. There were few characters in LaRose who had understanding of their culture that had been ignored by other characters. “They spoke Ojibwa, which Larose recognized but could not understand.
stand very well. They seemed to be discussing something about him” (Erdrich, 2016, p. 248).

Euro-American started to slaughter a large number of Indigenous people by using various tactics for acquisition of cultural superiority. Richard Pratt declared that his aim behind establishment of boarding school was complete annihilation of Native American culture. He further declared to his followers that they should protect Indigenous people physically but not culturally by introducing Western boarding school system. “I agree with this sentiment, but only in this: That all the Indian there is in the race should be dead. Kill the Indian in him, and save the man” (Erdrich, 2016, p. 236).

Euro-American spread fatal disease for which they considered Naïve people had no power from being affected by contagious diseases such as measles, pneumonia, Diabetes, tuberculosis and encephalitic meningitis. Tuberculosis was a contagious disease due to which Native people had suffered a lot. A vast majority of people died because of this fatal disease. It also disseminated in boarding schools where thousands of children of various families lost their lives because of white man disease. “Sometimes it made home in a family, or commenced its restless touring in boarding school where children slept side by side” (Erdrich, 2016, p. 219).

First Larose also became victim of contagious disease of Tuberculosis, which spread firstly from a girl named Alice Anakwad to her sister Mary and then to LaRose who was sleeping among them. LaRose became habitual of such worst atmosphere of boarding school. The students who were suffering from various infectious diseases could not survive. Some students committed suicide to liberate themselves from painful situation. “She learned how to watch her friends die quickly from measles or chokingly from pneumonia or shrieking from the agony of encephalitic meningitis” (Erdrich, 2016, p. 235).

Whole family died because of contagious diseases that White men brought for the eradication of cultural trace of Native American community. Shortly after the period of Euro-American contact almost 90 percent strength of Native American population decreased by “smallpox, measles, plague, and other old-world diseases” for which they had no power to keep themselves from being affected by contagious disease (Hightower-Langston, 2002, p. 2). Improper food was also fundamental reason for dispersion of diseases among native students in boarding school. Indigenous food was not provided to students in boarding school (Child, 2000, p. 56). Food that was given to first Larose and students in boarding school were not good for proper healthy life. It was not cooked well and she also compelled by school superintendent to drink tasteless milk. As consequences of insufficient and lack of proper food numerous stu-
students became ill. “But no matter how raw, or rotten, or strange, she must eat” (Erdrich, 2016, p. 171).

Euro-American disintegrated Native American culture by using educational ISA. During civilizing process students were forced to leave their culture. Mrs. Peace mourns the life of Ojibwa people as it was transferring and was not in its original form. Mrs. Peace’s, an indigenous woman, memories are deeply rooted in military Fort Totten boarding school. She told her daughter the bitter experiences of boarding school. Native people felt exultant for their long hair. Mrs. Peace told that after student’s entry in boarding school they were devoid of long hair which was part of their culture but for Western people it was sign of savagery and barbarity. Loss of hair meant the loss of power that Native people possessed naturally and it was very traumatic situation for them, but from Western point of view cutting of Native hair was initial step of native people conversion to civilize society. Mrs. Peace laments upon the loss of Indian braids as; “But with our hair off, we lost our power and we died” (Erdrich, 2016, p. 81).

From a long time, Western were using evil tactics for eradication of Indian from their territory for their own safety and for prevailing white culture. Western people felt insecure in the presence of native society that was the reason behind the policy they chose for exterminating Native people, because they were afraid that they could not prevail their culture and civilization in the presence of Native Americans. For fulfillment of their goals, they employed fair and foul means, it can be visible in the speech by Frank Baum in 1891, where he declared that; “...our only safety depends upon the total extermination of the Indians... wipe these untamed and untamable creatures from the face of the earth” (Erdrich, 2016, p. 82).

**Impacts of Educational ISA upon Native American Culture**

Aftereffects of Euro-American assimilation policy on Native American by providing them education can’t be ignored. Euro-American mission of Christianizing and civilizing of Native American by using educational policy severely affected the base of Native Americans’ culture and estranged lot of Native American from their own traditions, cultural norms and atmosphere. Some people exhibited inclination towards Euro-American’s tradition, past, and languages rather than their original culture, history, philosophies of life, and language (Reyhner, 1992; Deyhle & Swisher, 1997; Yeboha, 2005). The education created confusion among Native Americans about their original culture and traditions. The discussion between Snow and Josette reveals the misunderstanding regarding their ancestral profession and also demonstrate assimilation policy of Euro-American. They point out as:
“We are hunter–gatherers by nature, said Jossette. Farming is not our tradition. Wrong, said Snow. Historically we grew potatoes, beans, pumpkins. She paused so we lost our traditions, then. Just our family did, said coochy” (Erdrich, 2016, p. 409).

Love for whole members of society, sincerity, sympathy, mutual cooperation, hospitality, bravery, and kindness were important traits of Native American society, which gradually disappeared under the influence of western education, because boarding school “had left adults with little understanding of how to give love” (Erdrich, 2016, p. 122). Before the arrival of western colonizer Native American society was mostly depended upon hunting. But after the arrival of Western, educational system introduced to Native American’s society based on elimination of cultural practices. Under the influence of western education Peter Ravich is far away from cultural practices. He is slightly interested in hunting, but situation was different in case of Landreaux. “Peter was vaguely interested in traditional things Landreaux did” (Erdrich, 2016, p. 26).

Many indigenous people are dwelling between in between two cultures having ambivalent attitude. Landreaux is one of those characters who follows both Catholic and traditional ways of life following Ojibwa culture, and it can be visible during hunting: “A man who would kill a deer, thanks one god in English, and put down Tobacco for another god in Ojibwa” (Erdrich, 2016, p. 1). In spite of numerous efforts of Western government of assimilating Ojibwa, but they have maintained its position as a individual group. First Larose, who went to boarding school, taught their children language of both culture because she was well aware that without learning English language they could not progress and he taught them Ojibwa language as a mean of reviving their cultural language. She made them proficient in both languages. “She corrected there grammar in both language” (Erdrich, 2016, p. 224).

Louis Erdrich delineated the importance of cultural educational or deficiency is present in “LaRose”. Yet some characters in the novel relinquish 21st century Native people trying to get rid of second position that was entrusted to them. New generation has been raised up to accept instead of denying their “Indianness”. The struggle to revise their cultural practices and indigenous language can be visible in the scene where Sam Eagleboy teaches fifth LaRose Ojibwa language and cultural practices of seeing and conversing with spirits in imaginary and real world as:

“He was teaching him words for the plates and dishes. How the spirits were there in things, all things, and would talk with the Ojibwa. How they came in dreams, and also in the ordinary world” (Erdrich, 2016, p. 127).

Erdrich employs arduous sensation of great havoc when she gives insight to stealing and afterwards the dead body of first LaRose. Family members of first LaRose struggled to regain the dead body of their forebear from many years. Wolfred wrote letters to Dr. Hanford Ames to retrieve bones of LaRose and this process continued
from Wolfred to Lawyer and “requested the remains of LaRose Roberts” (Erdrich, 2016, p. 242). After them, the second LaRose struggled hard and this request came to an end in the hands of Mrs. Peace, the fourth LaRose.

The Native Americans were close to nature as they consider sun as father and the earth is mother for them. They were living peacefully in harmonious ways with every object of nature (Glotfelty & Fromm, 1996). Althusser (2014) declared that “law belongs both to repressive state apparatuses and to the system of ISAs”. But their lives begin to transform after Western irruption. Western, who came in Native American’s territory for trading but with passage of time, instead of trading, they were more interested in their lands enriched with natural resources. Native American try their best to protect their lands from Western lust through employing various means of resistance because their rituals were lands oriented and completely depended upon lands for their survival. This situation has been presented in the novel as “People had protected the land by pulling up survey stakes. A surveying man had even gone missing” (Erdrich, 2016, p. 16).

In 1887, the Federal Government passed Dawes Act, also famous as the General Allotment Act, due to which Native American’s tribes lost “two thirds of their lands in less than 50 years”. According to this act 160 acres were allotted to nominated member of each family. Mrs. Peace owned 160 acres and rest of tribal people had also small patches of land, but the land was not enough for building shelter and they did not use it for any other purposes. In this way their small patches of land became barren. Gradually, poverty occupied them and ultimately majority of people sold their land after the end of mentioned time period. “Many tribal descendants had inherited bits of land, but no one person had enough to put up a house. So the land stayed wild and fractioned” (Erdrich, 2016, p. 16).

Euro-American had drastically affected the lives of Native American. They justify their mission in the name of ‘manifest destiny’. “Pious land -grabbers declared that the will of God was somehow involved in so effectively destroying Indians who squat ted in the path of progress” (Erdrich, 2016, p. 227). The colonizer and missionary claimed that Native customs and credence are old and don’t belong to any specific religion and they worship nature and soul in devilish way. They believed that native people are barbaric, brutes, savage and far away from humanity. They are civilized and superior and it’s their duty to civilize them. Romeo revealed the trauma of the loss of cultural values, joint family system and loss of their most valuable sacred lands Western introduced school system and casino for further deterioration of their culture. As Romeo declared to his son Hollis as: “It is not our fault they keep us down; they
savaged our culture, family structure. We needed our land back” (Erdrich, 2016, p. 252).

The boarding school system had greatly affected their culture. Boarding school is horrendous offspring of alcohol and Mackinnon was responsible for destruction of native community due to alcoholism. At Christmas night both Nola and her husband Peter drank French wine whenever they desired to get rid from agonizing situation to accept harsh reality of the murder of their son Dusty and to accept Larose as substitute of their son. “He poured the amber froth slowly down the side of Nola’s champagne flute, then his own” (Erdrich, 2016, p. 69). In boarding school, the Westerns created such circumstances that prevailed disease and drinking habit among Native American children. School superintendent did not take any precautions for prevention of drugs. As Maggie, daughter of Peter told her father the reason for changing her school. “There are tough kids at that school. Drinking. Drugs? Drugs are everywhere” (Erdrich, 2016, p. 283).

In boarding school many students had to suffer because of “physical and sexual abuse” (Bubar & Thurman, 2004; Wahab & Olson, 2004; Lowe et al., 2019). In LaRose, Maggie was sexually abused by four boys because she took revenge from Dougie who had maltreated LaRose. Dougie and the “other boys starting putting their hands all over her…They dog-piled her, their grubby paws pinching, prodding, prying her apart” (Erdrich, 2016, p. 159). Priest which was considered highly religious person of particular society also had illicit relation with Emmaline, a Native American woman. “Once that happened, everything was easy and they slipped together like the snow along the way” (Erdrich, 2016, p. 376). Hence, Native American has faced numerous issues such as loss of their indigenous culture, spiritual power, mutual relations, fertile lands, mother tongue and traditional authority because of western intrusion.

The data analysis of Louise Erdrich Larose reveals encounter, contest and impacts of Western use of educational ISA upon Native American culture. In Erdrich’s work we can find out western use of educational ISA as an important mean for implementation of their culture and religion in order to eradicate Native American culture because without bringing transformation in language, culture, religion, customs, traditions and ways of life they cannot dominate them. Western use Christianity and boarding school’s educational system for inculcation of western culture among Native American’s children and for this reason Richard Henry Pratt made off reservation boarding schools. Western choose educational tool for accomplishment of their goal because they realize it is not costly than to engage in wars. Western construct off reservation boarding school to alienate Native Americans children from their parents in order to minimize their efforts for revival of their culture.
Environment of boarding school is arranged in such way to eradicate their culture. In boarding school students has to face diverse experiences because of assimilation process. The boarding school’s experience of each generation is different from others to some extent. Students suffer due to the loss of their cultural practices that has been part parcel of Native American live. This idea of civilizing is nothing more than genocidal attempt towards Native American’s culture. It has created traumatic historical situation and cultural estrangement.

**CONCLUSION**

Western colonizers believe that they are most superior and educated people so it is their fundamental right to educate ignorant people of Native American society. But LaRose by Louise Erdrich clearly depicts that westerns were more interested in lands instead of civilizing Native Americans and they could not achieve their goal without using education as an important weapon because education was sole mean to robe Native Americans from cultural heritage and for acquisition of their lands.

It is absolutely right but harsh reality that Native Americans characters in Larose having a particular culture and code of life lost their recognition as individual society in the hands of Western colonizer. Western colonizers raided in Ojibwa society with the intention to eliminate their tradition and culture. They occupied each institution of Ojibwa community and brought havoc to their indigenous religion, culture and their ways of living. To conclude the analysis of Louise Erdrich LaRose uncovers the tribulations that Native Americans have to suffer under western hegemony. Boarding school has adverse impacts upon the lives of First Larose, Second Larose, Mrs. Peace, Landreaux, Peter Ravich and many other characters. They suffer multiple problems because of dislocation, addiction, disease, deaths of their close one and loss of their mother tongue, lands and cultural deterioration due to educational system which Western colonizers have brought for reaching their goal.

**REFERENCES**


