



PROJECT MUSE®

Re-Membering Our Own Power: Occaneechi Activism, Feminism,
and Political Action Theories

Marshall Jeffries

Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies, Volume 36, Number 1, 2015, pp.
160-195 (Article)

Published by University of Nebraska Press



➔ For additional information about this article

<https://muse.jhu.edu/article/576875>

Re-Membering Our Own Power

Occaneechi Activism, Feminism, and Political Action Theories

MARSHALL JEFFRIES

The feminist decolonization project seeks the integration of spiritual, psychological, and physical health, or rather the recognition that these elements cannot exist outside of their interrelation. The question of how to hold all these elements together in our thinking and activism is a question of practice. Reconstructing tradition and memory is a vital element of indigenous survival, and there is nothing simple or one-dimensional about the process of reconstruction.

Lisa Kahaleole Hall, Kanaka Maoli scholar

Tucked away in the rural township of Pleasant Grove, North Carolina, a small American Indian tribe formally known as the Occaneechi Band of the Saponi Nation (OBSN) fights to maintain a modern existence. The area now known as Pleasant Grove was settled by Occaneechi farmers and tenant farmers in the 1780s and would come to be the permanent home of the tribe, which had migrated in response to violence, encroachment, and force.¹ By the early 1980s members of the Occaneechi community recognized the growing threat of full assimilation and cultural extinction and formed a tribal organization that would spend nearly twenty years fighting the state of North Carolina for tribal recognition.

Since state recognition was achieved in 2002, members of this small, tight-knit community have been engaged in grassroots efforts to undo the many damages caused by white settler colonialism. While members of the community proudly proclaim activist identities, little of their postrecognition achievements would appear to result from legitimate political action as it is understood in academic discourses. Activism is normally defined by attempts to directly challenge the power of the state, leaving little room for the types of work that Occaneechi activists describe.² This analysis will draw on the work

of feminist and Indigenous scholars to demonstrate the fundamentally political nature of this small tribal community's courageous efforts to reclaim power over their own history and identity and to restore traditions that have been all but annihilated through the legislative efforts of the state and a toxic local racial environment.

Because of a shared position in the local agricultural economy, along with residential proximity, Occaneechi residents of Pleasant Grove have forged deep alliances with African Americans and poor whites in the region. The realities of racial mixing and cultural assimilation are apparent, along with long-lasting effects of eugenic and antimiscegenation laws that directly challenged the legal identities of local American Indians.³ Despite these realities many families in the community have held on to traditions and an American Indian identity. Yet some Occaneechi continue to live in fear of publicly identifying as Indian because of the ongoing legacy of racism and white supremacy.

The legal pursuit to gain recognition paid off in 2002 when a state Supreme Court ruling declared the OBSN the eighth state-recognized tribe in North Carolina. The legislative fight for recognition took a great deal of effort and was accomplished with severely limited resources. In addition to petitioning the colonialist state government for a right to exist as a political entity, the Occaneechi faced hostility from other tribes in the state that pointed to the prevalent intermarriage between Occaneechi people and African Americans as evidence of inauthenticity. White supremacy and antiblack racism have long shaped Indian communities, forcing a strict division between Natives and African descendants.⁴

Further complicating the Occaneechi petition for tribal status were political definitions used by the state to measure the legitimacy of tribes. The standards for recognition at the state level are based on federal requirements used by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. One such requirement at both the state and the federal levels is that a "legitimate" tribe must have maintained a political presence since colonization.⁵ This is mostly impossible for many of the region's tribes, which, like the Occaneechi, were forced to hide in order to evade persecution and removal.⁶ Ultimately, the success of the Occaneechi in the North Carolina Supreme Court gave new visibility to a community that had been more or less invisible to outsiders for more than a century.

With state recognition accomplished, Occaneechi activists would shift their attention away from the state and begin to focus on healing the wounds colonization and assimilation had left on the community. The ultimate goal of these efforts is to restore and empower a Yesáh identity and presence in the state. Yesáh literally translates to "the people" in the Tutelo-Saponi language. While the tribe would be formally known as the OBSN because of historical

events and documents, Yesáh is the ancestral name of the Occaneechi people. Despite the fact that most definitions of political action are state centered, feminists have pointed out that efforts to create power and autonomy within oppressed communities can be just as important as taking power from the state.⁷ Cherokee feminist and activist Andrea Smith writes:

On the one hand it is necessary to oppose corporate and state power (taking power). However, if we only engage in the politics of taking power, we will tend to replicate the hierarchical structures in our movements. Consequently, it is also important to “make power” by creating those structures within our organizations, movements, and communities that model the world we are trying to create.⁸

For Indigenous communities creating power involves undoing some of the damages of colonialism, an effort more commonly known as decolonization. One of the foremost goals of colonialism has been to divest Indigenous peoples from their land and to diminish the potential for Indigenous solidarity and resistance to white settlement. The traumas created by this often brutal history have contributed to the ongoing disempowerment of Indigenous communities.⁹ Decolonization is a movement centered on addressing these traumas.

In their book *For Indigenous Eyes Only: A Decolonization Handbook* prominent Indigenous activists Waziyatawin and Michael Yellow Bird define this political effort:

Decolonization is the intelligent, calculated, and active resistance to the forces of colonialism that perpetuate the subjugation and/or exploitation of our minds, bodies, and lands, and it is engaged for the ultimate purpose of overturning the colonial structure and realizing Indigenous liberation.¹⁰

The act of decolonizing is not an attempt to return to a static and unattainable traditional culture; rather, Cree-Métis scholar Kim Anderson speaks to the goals of decolonization embedded in Indigenous feminism, explaining the effort as an attempt to create “a new world out of the best of the old.”¹¹ This world, for Indigenous feminists, is one that requires the interruption of patriarchy and white settler colonialism.¹² In order to understand the deeply political nature of Indigenous efforts to decolonize lifestyles, families, and communities, scholars must decolonize our own notions of political action that center on the ongoing role of the state.

The emphasis on decolonization that helps to define the activism described in this article leads me to refer to the process as one of Re-Membering power,

rather than simply making/building it.¹³ The concept is similar in meaning but captures the heart of the OBSN movement, the restoration of Yesáh culture and identity. This process of Re-Membering has taken the form of restoring cultural and historical knowledge, tradition, and language, as well as addressing the impacts of racism. Deconstructing binary systems of race that have been imposed upon the community allows tribal members to safely identify as Occaneechi (and American Indian, in general) after nearly a century of hiding. Additionally, the tribe has purchased and built a land base through community fundraising efforts, worked toward language reeducation, and become more autonomous by being less reliant on grant funding.¹⁴ These efforts are consistent with those to build autonomy and restore traditional power in the work of Indigenous scholars.¹⁵

The OBSN movement provides compelling evidence that collective efforts to Re-Member constitute a deliberate act of political resistance. This movement engaged with taking power through confrontation with North Carolina law and institutional racism in a legal pursuit that lasted roughly from 1984 until 2002. After achieving state recognition, the movement shifted inward and took on the revolutionary goal of Re-Membering. While social action literature would likely overlook this work, as it is being carried out largely in intimate social spaces, I would argue that it represents an important and understudied area in political action literature. The oral histories of Occaneechi activists, aided by the knowledge that I bring to this story as a part of this movement and community, provide insight into important new areas for understanding Indigenous political resistance to white settler colonialism in a modern era.

CONSIDERING THE ROLE OF FEMINISM AND SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORIES

As a traditionally matriarchal and matrilineal society the Occaneechi culture is deeply rooted in feminism. Imported patriarchal practices have shaped the relationship between men and women through masculinization of power, interruption of matriarchal roles, physical and legislative control over women's bodies, and sexual violence.¹⁶ At the same time centuries of race-based policy, local discrimination, and cultural assimilation influence this and other Indigenous communities. Indigenous feminists point out that because of the impacts of colonialism, the work of Native feminist activists extends well beyond the women's movement itself; liberation from patriarchy, for Indigenous women, is directly tied to restoration of tradition and community, both of which are overlooked in mainstream feminist literature.¹⁷ Occaneechi activists shed light

on this political effort, demonstrating the ways in which addressing the effects of colonialism on the family and community becomes a political act.

Feminism is no stranger to the idea that personal struggle can be political; in fact, the concept of the “personal as political” has been woven throughout feminist literature since the 1970s and helps to define the ideology of the women’s movement.¹⁸ This concept involves the basic assertion that women’s resistance to patriarchy, no matter how personal the manifestation, can be thought of as political because of the extent to which women are oppressed in mainstream society.¹⁹ This is especially true for Women of Color, who carry intersecting oppressed identities.²⁰ Andrea Smith argues that within social justice work the western schism between the personal and political can be pervasive; uniting these two spheres, according to Smith, is directly related to “building collective political strength.”²¹ The literature on political action (across disciplines) must be ready to identify and capture this effort as it is realized in marginalized social justice communities like the OBSN.

Prominent social movement theorists Verta Taylor and Nancy Whittier discuss the appropriation of feminism’s “personal as political” by lesbian separatist movements. They clarify that in order for personal actions to constitute a legitimate social movement, the group boundaries, shared symbols, group consciousness, and political resistance that define collective action must be present.²² The community of activists featured in this article shares a language of Indigenous liberation and empowerment, indicating that the community represents a social movement culture according to this definition. In another work Whittier and David Meyer explain the appropriation of the concept in social movement theory as follows:

The slogan “the personal is political” came to mean that meaningful political change required change in the way people lived, and that the problems individuals experienced in organizing their own lives often reflected broader social injustices, and were therefore matters of legitimate political action.²³

The everyday struggles of Occaneechi people reflect the injustices created by white settler colonialism. Despite the inclusion of the feminist concept in the study of social movements, activism within the home and family unit, like that in the Occaneechi community, has largely flown under the radar.

The failure to consider this particular type of activism might be due, in part, to the fact that few have portrayed the family and the home as valid sites for radical political action.²⁴ The family has been described by feminists as a state institution constructed to control and regulate women, and it is therefore thought to be an important site for resistance to state oppression.²⁵ While

qualitatively distinct from efforts to take state power, activism in the home can be understood as a vehicle for Re-Membering or building the kind of power and autonomy that Rojas and Smith describe.²⁶ It is within these intimate social spaces that cultural ideologies are reproduced or conversely interrupted. Because of this the home and community are important pieces of the decolonization process.

Some have attempted to name and define a family-based activism and to situate it within existing political action discourses.²⁷ Norine Verberg argues that the goal of activism in these spaces is still to bring about social change and will eventually necessitate policy reform.²⁸ In his book *Family Activism: Empowering Your Community Beginning with Your Friends and Family* author and renowned Latino change agent Roberto Vargas writes about the power and potential of family activism to create social change.²⁹ Although not an academic theory, his ideas involve the abstract assertion that grounding the family environment in love, respect, and reciprocity can transform society. Perhaps more relevant to this study, Vargas writes that building strong support networks within the Mexican American familia can combat the day-to-day struggles created by interpersonal and institutional racism.³⁰ This is not unlike the feminist concept that the family can serve as a space for resistance to oppressive mainstream ideologies.³¹

There exist few scholarly works on the political actions of Indigenous communities in intimate social spaces. Somewhat similar to the case of the Occaneechi, Charles Wilkinson and David Beck document the struggles against the forces of colonialism among tribes in the Northwest.³² Both authors describe efforts to preserve and revitalize cultural traditions that began as organizing in the homes of tribal members and eventually led to legislative change. In these two narratives cultural production in the home is not explicitly referred to as political, nor are these movements self-identified as feminist, but there are certainly similarities to the OBSN. Ann-Ellise Lewallen (Ainu), Ruana Kuokkanen (Sami), and Lisa Kahaleole Hall (Kanaka Maoli) all discuss political efforts to revitalize culture and language that are largely being led by women, but these authors do not employ these stories with the intent of challenging existing political action literature.³³

The existing literatures on family-based activism and feminist mobilization have yet to directly address ways that American Indians are uniquely resisting colonialism in their homes and communities. The ways in which OBSN activists are working to grow the collective power and autonomy of this community and movement, by Re-Membering ancestral knowledge and traditions, force us to look critically at our assumptions about what constitutes political action. Building on the existing work of decolonization and political femi-

nism forged by Native feminist scholars, oral histories of Occaneechi activism can add to our understanding of political action.

COLLECTING AND ANALYZING ORAL HISTORIES

The primary goal of this study was to better understand collective political action in the Occaneechi community and to gain insight into grassroots Indigenous activism. Because I am personally invested in the fundamental goals of this movement, I took great care to incorporate cultural accountability in the research design. I employed semistructured focus groups that were carried out as a variation of the traditional talking circle.³⁴ Though barely spoken, the Tutelo-Saponi language is the embodiment of the traditional worldview and culture of the Yesáh people. This language does not distinguish between “I” and “we.” For many native peoples, including the Occaneechi, memory is a collective and cultural process.³⁵ Therefore group dialogues are best for interpreting the individual and collective histories regarding participation in this movement. While still important, individual histories were considered to be less useful for this study; however, two individual semistructured interviews were also used (one because of difficulties in scheduling and the other because of the late decision to intentionally include John “Blackfeather” Jeffries, an elder and veteran member of the movement).³⁶

In accordance with age-old tribal tradition OBSN tribal members commonly engage in talking circles when addressing issues within the community, making this interview style suitable.³⁷ Opaskwayak Cree researcher Shawn Wilson refers to talking circles themselves as an Indigenous strategy to incorporate “relational accountability.”³⁸ Similarly, referring to his work with Alaskan Natives, J. Steven Picou describes talking circles as a “culturally sensitive mitigation strategy.”³⁹ Indigenous New Zealand researcher Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Wilson, and Picou all declare the importance of cultural accountability in the research design for scholars working in Indigenous communities.⁴⁰

I personally facilitated the talking circles and interviews, using video and audio equipment to record the sessions, which I later transcribed. There were eight focus groups and two individual interviews; no individual was interviewed twice. All but one of these circles had three participants, including the facilitator, and the other had five participants. The original design involved the use of larger circles, but the difficulties in coordinating activists’ schedules caused these groups to be small. Although focus group data is thought to reach saturation after four to six interviews are conducted, I carried out ten interviews to be sure that saturation would be achieved.⁴¹ Preliminary analysis and field notes suggested that the necessary saturation was achieved; for

example, I noted redundancy and saturation of themes in my field notes after the fifth interview was conducted.

Twenty respondents were interviewed in this study, fifteen women and five men. All are enrolled Occaneechi tribal members. The median age of these participants is forty-four years old; the youngest is eighteen years old, and the eldest is seventy-two. The average interview length is sixty-one minutes, with the shortest interview at forty minutes and the longest at seventy-five. Five of the twenty respondents are part of current tribal leadership. Exactly half of the respondents are tribal elders, and four are youth.⁴² Participants were recruited by word of mouth and advertisement on the tribal email list-serve, the tribe's official Web site, and its Facebook and Twitter accounts.⁴³ Participant observation and field notes often extended well beyond the recorded interview sessions. For example, I sat discussing the movement with one interviewee for nearly two hours before recording began and then for about one hour after the recording had ceased.

I made the decision to use activists' real names in this and other publications resulting from this study. Wilson finds that Native "participants did not want anonymity because they understood that the information imparted, or story offered, would lose its power without knowledge of the teller."⁴⁴ Having been personally involved with this movement, I also understood the importance of recognizing activists for the work that they have done and continue to do in the community. Prior to each interview participants agreed that their actual names would be used for any resulting publications.

Since I am a part of this community, my own familiarity with the activists, community dynamics, and culture allows me to have a high level of rapport. I feel this is a strength of the study because members of this and other tribal communities tend to be justifiably cautious when approached by outsiders for purposes of research.⁴⁵ I have taught language classes in the community and continue to serve as a member of the tribal Health Circle, having joined nearly at its inception. Though I am male-bodied, my role as a two-spirit person likely factors in to my inclusion in this otherwise exclusively feminine space.

I also acknowledge that I benefit from white passing privilege, unlike most of the interviewees. The Occaneechi community is phenotypically diverse, and these differences are common; however, during the analysis I paid close attention to the narratives to search for potential impacts of this racial dynamic. During this analysis I noted that my closeness to the respondents seemed to mediate these potential effects. While closeness may be considered a limitation by some, I draw on the work of feminist-standpoint epistemologists and argue that overlap in social location creates better research and that no researcher can be truly objective.⁴⁶ I did attempt to encourage elaboration

for responses relevant to activism even when I felt that I understood an informant's response so to avoid making assumptions.

In addition to aiding with trust and rapport, my own involvement in the community led me to obtain documented permission of the Tribal Council to carry out the study and to use the tribal office for conducting most of the interviews.⁴⁷ This location is also significant to the research because the office is located on the recently purchased tribal property; this is the first communally owned land held by the Occaneechi in over 250 years. This land was paid for by the efforts of the community itself, which is celebrated as a hallmark of the movement.⁴⁸ Ultimately, I believe that without such closeness and mutual trust this research would have not been possible.

DISCUSSION AND FINDINGS

Target and Locale of Occaneechi Activism

After achieving state recognition in 2002, the OBSN movement no longer involved direct protest of any formal state institution or policy. Tribal elder and former tribal chair Wanda Whitmore-Penner, PhD, portrays the moment when the tribe achieved state recognition and the way it is remembered by OBSN leadership:

The biggest goal back when we started was to let people know that we were still here, we were still alive. . . . I think we've accomplished that. Now is to, I think our biggest goal is to help our people. Now we gotta work on our own people to get them more involved and let them know, you know, we are still here. It's more than just this land, it's our whole community.⁴⁹

This goal of Re-Membering has defined post-state-recognition movement activity. This is not to say that the movement became necessarily antistatist either; rather, the state was no longer considered to be the most important site for empowering the community, and it no longer consumed the energy or resources of the movement. Instead Occaneechi activists whom I interviewed cite their homes, immediate families, and local communities as primary sites for their activisms, not the courthouse. While feminist scholars remind us that the family serves as a state institution, protest at this level is conceptually distinct from taking power through direct confrontation against the state.⁵⁰

According to the interviewees, uniting and healing the tribe begins at home, within the family unit. Leslie Love speaks of the work that she does to encourage her family members to enroll in the tribe:

I'm an activist because I went around with a stack of applications when my family, when we were, you know, working with the tribe trying to get everybody to get in there, and I would stand with them, and make them write.⁵¹

She and others explain that they often have to hold the hands of their family members to walk them through the difficult process of unpacking internalized oppression. Tribal Chairman Tony Hayes also cites his immediate and extended family as his initial reason for joining the movement:

I wanted to give back to the family and to the community and really raise awareness as far as . . . all the years that people had to hide their Indianness, or all the years that basically they were walking around with misconceptions of who they were, so it really, it really sort of boiled down to me as just a feeling of need[ing] to be able to move the tribe forward from that perspective of awareness.⁵²

Love and Hayes locate the damages of colonialism within the social fabric of the community and center the work of healing within Occaneechi families. Hayes echoes Vargas's call to create an atmosphere for love, acceptance, and education within the tribal family to counter the effects of a toxic and racist social environment.⁵³

On paper the decision by the North Carolina courts to recognize the Occaneechi is monumental. However, interviewees suggest that the restoration of legal avenues to identify as Occaneechi creates even more need for activism at home. Patricia Martin Mebane, OBSN activist and mother, explains that the court's decision allowed for Occaneechi to be documented as an official ethnicity on birth certificates for enrolled tribal members, but she notes that getting family members to go through the amendment process is a challenge that consumes a lot of her efforts as an activist.⁵⁴ Mebane, Love, and others name having convinced a number of family members to enroll as some of their most significant political achievements. Mebane proudly proclaims that her whole family, including her grandchildren, now carries tribal cards and has had their birth certificates amended, mostly due to her efforts.

The notion of defining actions such as reaching out to family members as forms of political activism should be examined closely. Without clearly identifiable state policies that prevent member enrollment for those that meet criteria outlined in the tribal constitution, this may at first seem like a personal, apolitical issue. In order to understand the politics of activism and change-making at the location of the Occaneechi family unit, one must look to the manifestations of oppression within this community. Providing more per-

spective, therapist, tribal elder, former tribal chair, and current Health Circle member Rachel Clay Richmond explains that getting her own grandchildren to and from youth events and language lessons is one of her many contributions as an activist.⁵⁵ She elaborates, saying, “I teach my grandchildren in hopes that they will keep passing this message along, you know to generations to come.” Probing further, I asked her what she considered to be her ultimate goal in participating with the movement. She replied:

So that we will maintain our history, our culture . . . so we can pass it on to generations to come after us. To revive a lot of the culture that’s been lost, well not lost but, no longer practiced. You know, again, revive the language . . . all of those things that are so meaningful, that shouldn’t be lost, and to get the future generations just as excited and interested in maintaining that.

Andrea Smith mentions the necessity of this excitement for building power within a movement.⁵⁶ Countering this excitement is the legacy of oppression that has resulted in the persistent stripping of identity, culture, language, and tradition; these are among the primary goals of white settler colonialism. Activism in this context is defined by a resistance to those goals at the site where they are normally reproduced, the family.⁵⁷

Discussing her conceptions of activism, former Tribal Council member Tammy Hayes Hill actually contrasts her own efforts with notions of traditional activism. She explains that she is not the “picket sign” type of activist; instead activism for her involves education of her people and the development of Occaneechi infrastructure. She explains her own personal goals as an activist:

We’re working toward a tribal center, and what that means for me is making sure that there’s going to be a place that people can actually come, and know, and take in everything about their history, their heritage . . . there’s no second guessing. You don’t have to go here, here, and here. We’re going to have a place that is going to be yours, and you will know exactly what this means. That’s the goal for me. I just want it so bad I can taste it!⁵⁸

Extending the discussion beyond the immediate family unit to the extended family or tribal community, Hill demonstrates how creating physical and symbolic spaces for the Occaneechi community to overcome the absence of historical and traditional resources is her ultimate goal. Addressing these absences is to confront pervasive erasure from the history of the region. It becomes clear in the stories shared by these activists that home is a political

space, and the concept of home is imagined both individually and collectively. This emphasis on community, movement, and tribal self-reliance is similar to that stressed by Rojas and Smith.⁵⁹

Interestingly, fifteen of the twenty people interviewed specifically mentioned educating members of their immediate and extended tribal families as key sites for their activism. Occaneechi tribal councilwoman, founding director of the tribal Health Circle, and traditional Yesáh fire carrier Vivette Jeffries-Logan elaborates on why this is central to the movement:

I come from the understanding that what impacts one of us impacts our community, and what impacts the community impacts all of us. The reason I do what I do is to restore balance in our community, in all aspects, and for me, restoring balance and wholeness for individual tribal members will serve as . . . it'll strengthen you, so our resolve is strengthened.⁶⁰

Collectivity is a central theme in this excerpt and in the movement itself. Tribal elder and former leader of the Occaneechi Eagles Youth group, Rose Clay Watlington, also explains that for Yesáh people speaking of the tribe or community encompasses those who have passed on and those who have yet to be born.

Jeffries-Logan and Johnette Jeffries-Lopez, current Health Circle director, both emphasize the significance of recent initiatives called “Re-Membering workshops.”⁶¹ Similar to antioppression trainings, these workshops provide space for collective sharing of stories about history, tradition, and resistance among tribal members. These workshops demonstrate how this family-based activism is a collective process, often invoking wider conceptions of family and home. Jeffries-Logan explains that her own story of moving to a place of self-acceptance serves to highlight the need for these types of events:

A lot of people are afraid to speak up, and I know I was at one time because it's like, it's not enough just to say that I'm Yesáh, or to say that I'm Occaneechi. I needed a connection to the history. You know, somehow I lived in fear of okay, if somebody [were to] ask me, “so, where are your people from?” You know, now I have it, it's a part of me having to like justify, yes, I'm Occaneechi. We're the people of, Alamance [County]. I know the history.

It was learning her history that gave her the strength to stand for the ancestors who had gone on before and to raise her children to know who they are. She went on to explain that undoing the damage done by living in fear for generations is an incremental process.

In addition to the work of encouraging enrollment by addressing the impacts of the imposition of race on extended family, activists also proudly mention many milestones celebrated by postrecognition activism. These milestones include cultural education initiatives (like the Re-Membering workshops); language reeducation classes; traditional foodways education; acquisition of a land base; construction of a ceremonial grounds, a tribal village, and a tenant farming historical site; annual powwows; programming for local public and private schools; health and tobacco initiatives; financial responsibility programs for youth; a comprehensive health census; creation of a youth drum group; planting of tribal orchards; vital fundraising, and more. These programs were all orchestrated on volunteer time and largely on resources indigenous to the movement community.

Reflecting back on the fight for state recognition, Jeffries-Logan also addresses her own feelings about the movement before disengagement with the state. In what follows she offers critical perspective on direct political protest:

Knowing the history of the whole recognition process, blood quantum and all of that and what drives that, because, you know, I am who I am regardless of what the white man's court says. And then on the flip side, to be able to say . . . when I stand up and introduce myself and say that I'm an enrolled member of one of the eight state-recognized tribes, there's validity behind that. I carry . . . confliction. I'm conflicted about the whole thing, the whole reasoning behind that process. And yet, and knowing that, yeah, we did get recognition even though the recognition process in North Carolina was designed so that no one would ever, no Indigenous Nation would ever get recognition.

Two key things become clear from her words. First, as others also explain, recognition certainly helped to provide the option for members of this community to legally identify as Occaneechi, or even American Indian, for the first time in nearly a century. Second, legislation has historically and continues to regulate and control Indigenous peoples.

Discussing tribal recognition, Elder John "Blackfeather" Jeffries, Jeffries-Logan's father, told me that his father, who is now deceased, was in his eighties when the court decision was announced. Jeffries recalled that, having gone to a Baptist-sponsored Indian school in Pleasant Grove until age nine, his father lamented having lived for over eighty years before being given permission to be Indian by a white judge.⁶² The success of the recognition effort is not minimized by Jeffries-Logan or her father; however, the state in general is understood to be a source of unwarranted mandates and obstacles to the contin-

ued existence of Indigenous communities. Considering these mandates, the choice not to engage the state can certainly reflect resistance.

Continuing her critical analysis, Jeffries-Logan situates the denial of ancestry and resistance to publicly identifying as Occaneechi by some in the community in the larger context of colonialism and local racism:

The work that I do [is] about racial justice and dismantling racism, and that helped me with some of the anger I had directed at, specifically, my grandfather, for not telling me who I was. And then once I understood the history of race and racism in this country, understanding that what his parents instilled in him was simply a tool of survival. And so being able to just forgive him and understand that the threat, the fear that Papa Bart and Momma Kate [her great-grandparents] lived under was very real, and realizing that everyone has their own path and that when it comes to accepting who you are, it's not for me to determine.⁶³

Connecting hiding in plain sight to survival, she contextualizes the “Indian closet” that proved to be a major theme in the interviews. Her brother, Tribal Vice Chairman Sharn Jeffries, refers to this closet and provides further insight on how remaining silent about being Indian was essential to the survival of many families in an environment where religious assimilation functioned as a means to appear nonthreatening and even to avoid removal or death. He states, “I respect those folks that went to church because without them a lot of our families would have ceased to exist, because those heathens that didn't convert got pretty much killed.”

Because of this relationship between denial and disclosure tribal members emphasize the need to educate members of the community. Hayes, Hill, and Jeffries-Logan speak to the need for compassion for those who fear identifying with or reject a public Occaneechi identity despite their ancestry. Jeffries-Logan explains how the effects of the trauma created by having to hide in order to survive, as her grandparents and great-grandparents did, continue to impact the community over a decade after achieving state recognition. Her brother told the following story, highlighting how local racism also contributed to this fear of publicly identifying:

One of our cousins worked for a large textile company, and he moved away and became a manager in that department, and that was up somewhere like New Jersey or Baltimore or somewhere like that. When they decided to move him back down here, he was really in a difficult position because down here it was always black and white, up there he was a white but, when he would come down to visit he would always park his car be-

hind the house and visit with his family members because he didn't want the community, the non-Indian community to know he was in town because if it ever got word that he wasn't white, he may've lost his job.

This story highlights not only a need for ongoing political action to mediate these impacts but, specifically, the types of restorative action that can only be carried out within families and other intimate spaces in the OBSN community.

Not all of the activists approach the topic of denial as compassionately as do Love, Jeffries-Logan, and Hill. Barbara Martin Lipscomb, Keshia Enoch, Patricia Johnson, and Patricia Mebane express another common sentiment, anger. Lipscomb states:

It hurts my feelings for them to be my cousin, by blood, and then say that they're not Occaneechi. On one hand we're related, but on the other hand, we're not . . . but we come out of the same family.

They tell stories of family members who reject or deny their ancestry, expressing deep frustration. Lipscomb and Mebane (sisters) explain that they redirect this energy toward educating young people and reaching out to local schools. Mebane explains that she has had to petition on behalf of kids, who are often more willing to identify than their parents but run into obstacles with school and other administrators who fail to recognize them as Native students despite tribal recognition.

Recognition by the state, in many ways, signaled a changing social environment wherein members of the Occaneechi community no longer had to defend who they were in the same ways they had before. While Mebane's work in the school system shows that there are still issues with public perception, Indian people are more accepted now than they were when the man whom Jeffries mentioned was forced to park behind the house. Whitmore-Penner, who has been active in the movement since its beginning, reflects on being present for the court decision:

I remember that day when it came down. I remember going to the court, watching people being interviewed during the court session and stuff, and then when it came down that we were officially recognized, it was almost, I won't say an out-of-body experience, because you start thinking back . . . all the struggles and stuff that your families went through and you went through trying to get the recognition and it, it finally made . . . you finally felt like you were accepted.

According to Vice Chairman Jeffries, roughly one thousand Occaneechi have enrolled since 2002. He estimates that there are up to two thousand Occanee-

chi people who have thus far refused to enroll or publicly identify, either failing to see themselves as Occaneechi or afraid of the consequences of publicly aligning themselves with the tribe.

Many welcomed the Supreme Court decision. Hill describes the impact that recognition has had on the many who fought so hard for it, while also pointing to the root cause of others' hesitation:

As a whole you know, the Occaneechi people, when it came that they didn't have to stay in the closet anymore and they didn't have to say, okay, you know I'm this and I'm that, from what government officials or whoever put that on them . . . and they can say okay, yeah, I am Indian. And when they come to the powwow they just feel so proud, you know you can see that they [say], "gosh, I'm going home, you know, I'm going." And so, I mean you can tell, and you can feel that they were more proud.⁶⁴

She demonstrates the relief that many felt from no longer being forced to hide. She also points to the fact that the state had previously told Occaneechi people how to identify racially. She is referring in part to laws instituted in the 1920s that limited and redefined the racial identities of Blacks, American Indians, and other People of Color in the South in order to protect the supposed integrity and purity of the white race.⁶⁵ Legislating white supremacy, these laws affected American Indians in the Southeast by taking away legal rights to self-identify, a form of administrative genocide.⁶⁶ Local American Indians were placed in arbitrary racial categories such as Mulatto and Free Persons of Color, stripping them of their right to identify with their ancestors who had legitimate claims to the land.⁶⁷ While Hill suggests that tribal recognition removed this barrier, these activists made it clear that the lasting impacts of being legally redefined continue to affect the community. This is consistent with the work of Critical Race theorists who cite the continued legacy of historic race laws on African American and immigrant-of-color experiences and self-conceptions.⁶⁸

Using an intersectional analysis to situate Occaneechi activism within the context of genocidal legislation, one can imagine why mainstream ideas about effective social movement tactics do not evenly apply. To draw a parallel between statist definitions of political action and the social problem of domestic violence, I would argue that expecting colonized groups to go through the state to make change is analogous to expecting a battered woman to consult with her batterer about her abuse.⁶⁹ If we consider this analogy, the work of Re-Membering what it means to be Occaneechi without an ongoing negotiation with the state is fundamentally political. Re-Membering at the sites of the

home and community allows the culture of settler colonialism to be interrupted at the sites where it is reproduced.⁷⁰

Understanding Occaneechi activism beyond the tribe's past legislative pursuits allows for examination of the ways in which the community has taken a stand against ongoing oppression and the persistent legacy of colonialism. Without considering the political nature of this family-based activism, truly grassroots efforts to build and reclaim Indigenous power can be overlooked. When this oversight informs our research, struggles of collective identity are allowed to be interpreted as personal and apolitical. Application of a feminist understanding of political action illuminates important and unique forms of political resistance that allow this small southeastern Indigenous nation to continue to survive against all odds. This is not to suggest that the OBSN has achieved the ideal of autonomy; in fact the OBSN and other state-recognized tribes are forced to operate as nonprofits and are therefore limited in effectiveness and radical potential by the state apparatus described as the nonprofit industrial complex.⁷¹ However, understanding the effort to disengage and focus on building the Indigenous capacity of the movement through the process of Re-Membering deserves the attention of political action scholars.

Who Is an Activist?

The above section challenges us to rethink the ways in which we define activism and political action. However, broadening our definitions of political action to include family-based activism and power-making within a community like the OBSN brings forth important questions about how to decide who is an activist. If personal acts of resistance within the family and community constitute political action, many people may meet the criteria of an activist who would not have done so conventionally. Demonstrating how the "personal is political" manifests in the Occaneechi community, Jeffries-Logan tells the story of a recent training on social justice work in which she participated. In this training participants were asked to fill out a timeline of resistance to racial oppression in the United States. She recalls that she went over to 1492 and wrote the word "Hoacianonc," meaning "the Old Ones," or ancestors, in the Tutelo-Saponi language. What happened afterward is stated below:

[The trainer asked], "Okay can you tell a story about how they resisted?"
I said, "The fact that they, just living, just being. That's resistance, and activism!" Like, just because I am, the fact that I say, "Henigu Yesáh"
[I am Yesáh], that's activism.

Similar to connections drawn between the identities of People of Color and politics by Critical Race theorists, Jeffries-Logan explains that to continue to

exist as an Indigenous person in the face of genocide and erasure is to be an activist.⁷² Interviewees describe a constant battle to ensure that their children and grandchildren will hold on to their culture and a Yesáh identity. It is this resistance and refusal to be erased that define an activist in this community.

Declarations equating existence with resistance, like the one made by Jeffries-Logan, form a major theme of the interviews. Chairman Hayes went so far as to state the following:

I think Indians naturally are activists, I don't think that we can help ourselves, because we grew up . . . sort of fighting the good fight, and as we mature and as we, you know become more and more entrenched in the community, we continue to see things that don't change and we continue to fight those things. So I think that we're activists by nature.

Love similarly declares, "I'm always an activist, it's in my blood." I asked her to elaborate on this, and she told me that she is a "community activist, and an ancestral activist," meaning that like Jeffries-Logan she inherited this resistance from the Hoacianonc. Eighteen of the twenty people interviewed self-identified as activists, even though few mentioned any formal forms of protest as it is conceptualized within much of the mainstream political action literature.⁷³

I sought to further understand how this activist identity impacted the daily lives of those interviewed, so I asked if participation in the movement was a priority in their lives. While much of the social movement literature focuses on an actor's decision to mobilize, the responses to this inquiry revealed a different understanding of mobilization. Health Circle member Keshia Shipmon Enoch, activist and artist Patricia "Dream Weaver" Johnson, and Jeffries-Lopez share in the dialogue below, providing insight into why they did not consider their participation a choice:

ENOCH: It's not that it's a priority and I have to put it on a to-do list and put it at the top of my to-do list. This is who I am and how I choose to live my life.

JOHNSON: [shakes head in agreement]

JEFFRIES-LOPEZ: You know, so participating is not . . .

ENOCH: An option.

JEFFRIES-LOPEZ: Yeah, I mean it's not . . .

ENOCH: I mean, it's like breathing.

JEFFRIES-LOPEZ: Yeah.

ENOCH: You're going to do it.

JEFFRIES-LOPEZ: I participate because it's what I do.

Interviewees usually dismissed the notion of having chosen to participate or of deliberately making participation a priority; instead the ancestors chose them. Rose Clay Watlington and Tammy Hayes Hill similarly state:

WATLINGTON: I don't want to say it's not a priority, I mean, I don't want to say that it is because it's me, personally, it's like a part of me every day so I, I can't make it a priority because it's there every . . . I mean, I can't, I mean I don't know how to say that because that's me every day.

HILL: Yeah, I'm living it like it, it can't be, it's not a priority because it's just who I am and it's what I do, so it's just, it's a part of who you are. It's just really not something you could even call a priority.

Others who stated that activism was a priority noted that it was not separate from the priority of family because the tribe is their extended family.

The struggle with the question of priority is most certainly cultural in origin; Jeffries-Logan stated the following when I asked her if her participation is a priority:

I don't so much [think] that I . . . it's hard for [me], well, because I come from a circular culture, and I don't rank stuff; it's interwoven into everything that I do. So it's not like I'm working with the tribe and then I, you know I don't compartmentalize. I realize that everything I do and say reflects upon my people, and so if I'm standing up and when I present at the Coalition, if I'm speaking or if I'm training with the Coalition, I introduce myself in my language, as I'm required to do. So it's like, I am Yesáh, no matter where I am. So I'm always working with the tribe.⁷⁴

Just as we should consider the cultural environment of a movement to understand its tactics, the same care must be taken in gaining an understanding of the unique ways that activism and participation are understood by members of a movement.⁷⁵ As Chairman Hayes indicated, there may be little distinction between daily life and activism for many American Indians.

It is important to elaborate here on the concept of choice. Social movement discourses, such as resource mobilization and political process models, have debated the factors that contribute to and inhibit the decision to mobilize.⁷⁶ While some common explanations for mobilization involve an actor's access to resources or the agency to make social change, others involve opportunistic fractures in political structure that allow for such changes to be made.⁷⁷ In this cultural context spirit and calling are more relevant than material resources or the political system. Brazilian activist Adjoa Florência Jones de Almeida writes about a similar approach to activism:

If we approach our work as a spiritual challenge, then we are no longer enslaved by the concept of money and we are fueled instead by our faith and commitment to bring about radical social change; which is actually much more than just “social”—it is also personal and political, and about money and privilege, and about sexuality, race, and gender, and about the relationship between our minds, bodies, and spirit.⁷⁸

This multidimensional change is a requirement of decolonization, and this effort is spiritual for members of many cultures, including the Occaneechi. Because participation is about spirit and survival, these activists dismiss the notion of a decision altogether, and participation is viewed instead as a responsibility that they carry as Yesáh people.

Lack of choice has only been discussed within social movement literature when it relates to imminent and lethal threats.⁷⁹ Even these threat models include delicate equations for mobilization that take into account access to resources, political opportunities, and a necessary amount of threat that together make protest either likely or unlikely.⁸⁰ While the threat of full assimilation or cultural disappearance is arguably lethal to the collective culture, it is still intuitively different from the risk of physical death. Participants’ resistance to the concept of choice, however, might be clarified by Critical Race scholarship. Critical Race theorists explain the extent to which People of Color are forced to be constantly aware of racial barriers to the privileges of full citizenship.⁸¹ Reflecting on the colonialist context of the movement and on statements by OBSN activists that equate existence with activism, identifying as Occaneechi constitutes political resistance.

Similar to Chairman Hayes’s notion of fighting the good fight, Watlington said, “I’m always battling, you know I, I’m always out there for the fight.” She shed more light on what she means by “the fight,” explaining: “You battle every day for who you are . . . you battle every day, I battle at work every day.” Several of the interviewees described their own personal struggles with visibility and racism. With a slight chuckle tribal youth Sam Whitmore explained why he is an activist: “It’s my duty to tell people I’m Native American, because . . . [it] lets them know that . . . we’re not all dead.”⁸² While this young man may have stated this casually, his words are reflective of a troubling lived reality for members of this community that is unlike the experiences of most other racial groups in the United States.

The context of erasure that shapes so much of the ideology of the movement is not purely historical. Even youth, like Sam Whitmore, Esther Whitmore, and Brett Hill, point to “conflicts” faced in their daily lives. Adults and youth talk about being publicly questioned about their identity due to the fact

that popular culture suggests American Indians no longer exist (especially those east of the Mississippi River). Additionally, both adults and youth explained that most of the representations of American Indians in the mainstream media are Hollywood images that involve (often antiquated) portrayals of western and southwestern Native peoples, excluding people that look like them. These stories are not limited to interpersonal assaults on identity but include examples of institutional erasure as well. Barriers to being recognized as American Indian in local school systems and refusal by hospital administrators to properly classify Occaneechi newborns on their birth certificates (even when tribal cards of parents were provided) were among the systemic assaults mentioned by these activists.

Is This a Feminist Movement?

Indigenous feminists have struggled to identify with a mainstream feminist movement because the work of white feminists fails to account for the complex experiences of Native women. Jeffries-Logan put this in perspective. She explained that while the OBSN movement is deeply feminist at its core, she finds no need to identify herself as such. Membership in a matriarchal and matrilineal culture precedes any notion of feminism in the way it is discussed by scholars. For her Yesáh is a feminist identity that also accounts for her racialized personal and cultural experiences in ways that mainstream feminism cannot, evidenced by the overwhelming invisibility of American Indian women within that movement. The avoidance of a mainstream feminist identity by Indigenous women is a common theme.⁸³ Andrea Smith quotes Lorelei DeCora Means, a founder of the Women of All Red Nations (WARN) movement:

We are American Indian women, in that order. We are oppressed, first and foremost, as American Indians, as peoples colonized by the United States of America, not as women. As Indians, we can never forget that. Our survival, the survival of every one of us—man, woman and child—as Indians depends on it. Decolonization is the agenda, the whole agenda, and until it is accomplished, it is the only agenda that counts for American Indians. You start to get the idea maybe all this feminism business is just another extension of the same old racist, colonialist mentality.⁸⁴

The resistance by Indigenous women to readily identify as feminists also frames my argument about the inability of mainstream social movement theories to capture all Indigenous activism; state-centered definitions of political

action fail to consider the inherently political nature of Indigenous survival. This is especially true where colonial domination, exploitation, and erasure by the state create the need for the activism itself.

Just as a certain conception of feminism has overlooked the experiences of Women of Color, social movement theories have overlooked certain targets, tactics, and locations for political action that resists cultural hegemony. This exclusion creates an unnecessary division between personal choice made at the level of the individual, family, or community and that which has been defined as intentionally political or, even more so, radical. Because the restoration of matriarchal tradition is one of the premises defining the ideological framework of the OBSN movement itself, reliance on alternative forms of activism that do not directly engage patriarchal state institutions can be a political choice because alternative forms of protest that are carried out in intimate spaces interrupt the persistent legacy of colonialism; in other words, women working to empower the community to Re-Member ancestral power without directly consulting the state resist the legacy of political efforts by the state and federal government to externally regulate Indigenous communities and public expressions of tribal identities. Just as Chandra Mohanty calls for the decolonization of feminist scholarship on women of the third world, the OBSN movement requires us to interrogate the ways in which the legacy of colonialism impacts mainstream understandings of political action, even within feminist literature.⁸⁵

The focus on the political nature of private Occaneechi struggles is not the only thing that makes this movement a feminist one. The OBSN movement is being led largely by the efforts of Occaneechi women. Tammy Hayes Hill sums it up well when she states, “Within our tribe when things are to be done, women really drive that vehicle.” Similarly, Whitmore-Penner and Watlington describe women as the backbone of the community. However, some of the movement’s leaders are men, and patriarchal traditions, such as the adherence to Robert’s Rules of Order in meetings of the Tribal Council, reflect the ongoing influences of assimilation and colonialism in the community. Instead of identifying each way that the movement has been shaped by patriarchy, I would like to highlight some of the remarkable ways that matriarchal tradition has survived and is even being rebirthed in the community despite the many attempts by the colonizers to uproot it.

On the participation of Occaneechi men Calvetta Watlington states: “They come out and they help with powwow set-up and things like that but they, to my knowledge, have not really been involved in like, table decision-making.” Richmond, who has also served as tribal chair, explains that men do not and never have dominated the Tribal Council. The council operates

with a female majority, meaning that male leaders cannot make decisions without their consent. Obviously, female leadership alone does not make the movement feminist. However, it is the nature of the work being done and the way this work is understood among these activists that suggests that the movement is indeed feminist.

There is a firm understanding among those interviewed that if the culture is to survive, it will be because of the efforts of women. Jeffries-Lopez states, “I think it’s our job to carry this culture forward, to be the speakers, to teach the culture, and to teach our children.” This is not a recent phenomenon. Richmond explains that historically, Occaneechi men were responsible for bringing home the deer that fed the tribe. Meanwhile, she explains, the women multitasked and did the work it took to hold the community together, raise the children, and cover the diverse needs essential for the community to function as a whole. Instead of bringing home deer, according to Richmond, men are now responsible for finding ways to bring necessary money and grants that will sustain the tribe, leaving the work of maintaining the community and culture to those who have always stood strong in this role, women. Richmond takes pride in embracing what she describes as “the role of protector” over the culture.

Embracing the role of protector is precisely what has led mainstream feminists to challenge the feminist identities of Indigenous women activists because they are perceived to be in compliance with sexist gendered roles.⁸⁶ In response to the mainstream feminist backlash Andrea Smith, Devon Mihe-suah, and Winnebago anthropologist Renya Ramirez explain that the goals of feminism and cultural survival cannot be separated for Indigenous women.⁸⁷ Like these Native feminist authors Vivette Jeffries-Logan explains that despite the way it has been imagined by mainstream feminists, this feminine role is not based on an unequal relationship between men and women. The following excerpt from her interview demonstrates this:

VIVETTE: Well traditionally . . . there is no, gender inequality, because we are the ones that bring life, and because generally women have the best interest of the entire people . . . instead of just, all about me.

MARSHALL: Because they raise children?

VIVETTE: Because we raise children, and it was just like I said, I understand that what impacts me negatively or positively impacts my people . . . and like, understanding that everything I say and do negatively will have a reflection, and it reflects upon my people. We are the wisdom keepers, we’re the storytellers. The fact that I’m the fire carrier, that carries, that’s responsibility. It’s not me sitting up on a pedestal

thinking, oh, you know everybody should be bowing at my feet. It's like, no, I have work to do. This is a responsibility, and it's an honor that I have this. I mean we have our work, women have our work, and I think, like you said everyone has their gifts, and the approaches that women have differ from men, but it's not saying that one is superior or inferior.

Elder women in the community such as Jeffries-Logan, Jeffries-Lopez, Richmond, Whitmore-Penner, and Watlington describe the traditional role of women as an empowering one, an honor they are proud to carry. Occaneechi storyteller and activist Angela Huskey Davis explains that this patriarchal role is misunderstood due to tv shows like *Gunsmoke* that portray Native women as subservient to male leaders; similar perceptions influence ideas about Native women within feminism.

Yesáh women proudly accept the ancestral call to lead the community in the effort to decolonize. In fact, the tribal Health Circle was created by women to provide a space for this traditional feminist organizing. The Health Circle was created to facilitate cultural, physical, spiritual, and mental healing in the community. The circle operates independently of Tribal Council and the non-profit that houses it and seeks to build community-based cultural and historical education to confront the many traumas of colonialism and racism. Aptly named, the circle operates from the understanding that the many manifestations of dis-ease and disorder in the tribal community are connected to these traumas.⁸⁸ Stepping into my role as a two-spirit, I was welcomed as part of this circle of women in 2008. I was humbled by the opportunity, and my membership in the Health Circle has shown me that the heart of the movement, and of the Yesáh people, is our women.

Recognizing the contemporary challenges to identity and survival faced by the community, even Chairman Hayes recognizes the essential role of protector that women in the community fulfill:

Indian women are strong proud individuals. They pretty much ran village life back in the day, and I still think they run village life today. I think that our least concern in Indian country is the passion of our females.

Hayes went on to suggest that lifting up our female leaders is the key to getting more tribal involvement. This is precisely what differentiates Indigenous feminists from the mainstream; that is, the goal of empowering women is intertwined with the foremost goal of any people, survival.⁸⁹ Occaneechi women will certainly continue to be the innovators and the educators, allowing the culture and language to be shared with yet another generation of Yesáh survivors.

LIMITATIONS AND CONSIDERATIONS

This analysis has yet to interrogate in depth the role of state-recognition status or the nonprofit (501c3) structure of this social movement organization in limiting political activities. Challenging claims of tribal autonomy and sovereignty, Audra Simpson, a Kahnawake Mohawk anthropologist, examines how recognition by a state entity is yet another effort by the government to define and control Indigenous peoples:

Indian country may be conceptualized as spaces of Indigeneity that are framed by settler regimes. Once independent and autonomous, the spaces that are conceptualized and peopled and known as “Indian country” now have limited forms of political autonomy that may be exercised, but, in a double-bind situation, that autonomy is exercisable only because recognition is conferred upon those peoples to exercise this autonomy.⁹⁰

She is speaking specifically about federal recognition; however, some of the same processes that she names as functions of the federal-recognition process could also be true at the state level, but to a lesser extent. These processes, according to her, are “dispossession, protection, alienation, incorporation, exclusion, assimilation, [and] containment.”⁹¹ This parallel with the federal process can be drawn because the recognition criteria in North Carolina are modeled after federal requirements. Jeffries-Logan’s earlier discussion of confliction over recognition speaks to an awareness of the potentially negative impacts of state recognition. Even nineteen-year-old Sam Whitmore explains, “I don’t know [whether] to think of it [recognition] as a good thing or a bad thing.” Despite the potential negative impacts of recognition by the state, these activists are often ambivalent or conflicted about the actual significance of state recognition. This leads me to believe that postrecognition OBSN activism can still be thought of as an effort to build autonomy, however limited it may be.

The OBSN has also operated its tribal government as a nonprofit since the 1990s, as is common among state-recognized tribes. Lakota elder and activist of the American Indian Movement (AIM) and Women of All Red Nations (WARN) Madonna Thunder Hawk writes about the time before US Native activism was confined by the nonprofit industrial complex, explaining that political actions then were more revolutionary.⁹² In *Incite! Women of Color Against Violence’s* book *The Revolution Will Not Be Funded*, several authors engage with this state strategy to tame political radicalism by imposing a hierarchical and bureaucratic structure on social movement organizations.⁹³ This is similar to Simpson’s discussion of the impacts of tribal recognition.⁹⁴ While this could most certainly deter, if not prevent, the potential for the Oc-

caneechi to engage in taking power, I would argue that the case of Occaneechi activism remains a worthy example of how internal collective efforts to Re-Member can constitute political resistance. I would further argue that because the primary goals of this organization involve creating power at the levels of the home and community, activist narratives did not necessarily suggest that 501c3 status was a current impediment to their work. It is also important to avoid western binaries that would suggest that activism is either co-opted or radical and to point out that Indigenous peoples are resilient and creative at working within oppressive social structures.

While race has been discussed throughout this paper, it is important that I include here some critical analysis of the impact of race in shaping the historical and contemporary relationship between southeastern tribes like the Occaneechi and tribal peoples in other regions. For some Native people the ability to “hide in plain sight” or go into the “Indian closet” is not a privilege that can be afforded. As Barbara Alice Mann (Seneca) explains, tribes on the East Coast have historically run the gamut of phenotypes and in many cases pass for members of other races; the Occaneechi are no exception.⁹⁵ To put this into context, the Occaneechi were living on the Roanoke River in present-day Virginia at the time of the arrival of Europeans. This area is where the colonists first settled; as a result the tribes in this region have dealt with damages induced by white settler colonialism for up to 250 years longer than tribes in the western parts of the continent.⁹⁶

Given this history, it should be considered remarkable that in 2013 an Occaneechi tribal presence remains. Rather than debating the similarities and differences between Occaneechi people and members of other tribes, I feel that it is important here to consider the ways in which the goals of Occaneechi activism speak to the needs of all colonized Indigenous peoples. The debate over differences in the manifestations and severity of oppression is a strategy designed by the colonizer to prevent solidarity among oppressed groups and to reinforce racist, sexist, and patriarchal hegemony. On this lateral oppression Paolo Freire writes:

As the oppressor minority subordinates and dominates the majority, it must divide it and keep it divided in order to remain in power. The minority cannot permit itself the luxury of tolerating the unification of the people, which would undoubtedly signify a serious threat to their own hegemony.⁹⁷

Internalizing messages about the importance of race, tribes often react with hostility toward one another, especially when differences in skin color and acculturation are present or when resources available to Indigenous peoples are

limited. These reactions are even more prevalent at the intersection of Blackness and Indigeneity.⁹⁸

Addressing the plethora of nuances and obscurities of colonialism is beyond the scope of this article. What I have attempted to do instead is explore the ways in which Occaneechi resistance to cultural hegemony, even in the most intimate of social spaces, speaks to a shared reality faced by many Indigenous groups. This shared reality is an overwhelming threat of loss of culture, language, land, and power. Just as Rojas states, our new Indigenous movements should be modeled after our own visions of what the future should look like; ideally, this vision would be one where Indigenous nations from the Occaneechi to the Lakota can thrive, free from the imported values of racism, patriarchy, assimilation, and white settler colonialism.

CONCLUSION

Whether or not all Indians are activists, we must consider how definitions of political action might exclude those for whom merely existing defies centuries of administrative genocide. These oral histories demonstrate how Re-Membering begins with the act of collectively assuming the power to define one's community without the permission of or negotiation with the state. The Occaneechi teach us that this act of self-empowerment is carried out largely through family-based and community activism and resists the mainstream political agendas, which are founded in colonialist politics. The settler colonialism agenda has been carried out through state policies that have adapted over time to suppress Indigenous cultures, communities, and identities. In order to accurately capture political action in communities like the OBSN, feminists and social movement scholars should apply intersectionality and other feminist concepts to understand activism in communities that exist at intersections of colonial, racial, cultural, gendered, and class oppressions.

As researchers interested in including the voices of American Indians in our disciplines, we should consider how and why previous definitions of radical political action may be fundamentally and culturally biased. Essentially, the statist definitions of radical political action found in social movement literature cause researchers to overlook the revolutionary nature of attempting to create grassroots change at even the most intimate of social locations for groups like the Occaneechi. That is, as Andrea Smith and Paula Rojas point out, efforts to make (or Re-Member) power should be considered as valid activism alongside efforts to take power through direct protest.⁹⁹ Rights and powers formally belonging to traditional and community circles, like clan councils and traditional family structures, have been nearly

annihilated. Restoration of these begins with traditional education and healing of traumas as acknowledged by these activists. This healing within homes and families can create autonomy and grow the capacity of a movement, building the strength and unity necessary to eventually challenge the state. A small change in our perspective will allow us to capture the radical and creative ways that Indigenous families and communities, especially East Coast tribal nations, have survived.

This movement, like any, is far from perfect. First, colonialism and assimilation continue to take a toll on the community. Second, the community seems largely uninterested in the necessary burden of continuing to challenge the state.¹⁰⁰ Despite these two points the OBSN demonstrates how members of a community find ways to refuse to be erased and resist state oppression and cultural hegemony on their own terms. Led by the women, Occaneechi families are Re-Membering their traditions, language, and dignity. Undoing the damages of colonialism and assimilation is never easy, and the process is not linear. Despite this the Occaneechi are no longer waiting for the state to decide how and when they can call themselves Yesáh.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I give thanks to Mohone for placing this work in my Path. Next, to the Hoacianonc Yesáh for the spirit of resistance and survival. Nun Bilahuk to the OBSN Tribal Council for their permission to carry out this study and for use of the tribal office facility. I am deeply grateful for the trust and support of each activist I interviewed; Bi'wa to each of you that shared your stories with me. Humbled by this experience, I thank each of you for the work you do every day to ensure that the Occaneechi culture will be carried on to the next seven generations.

I cannot overstate the importance of the mentorship and guidance of Griff Tester at Central Washington University. Additional support from Hoang Dao, Angie Solomon, Roy Jeffries, Lauren Jeffries, Becky Thompson, Lakota Harden, Trae Middlebrooks, and Amanda Pressley was also vital to the completion of this project.

Yesáh ne' walikas, makikonspewa, kili. Bi'wa!

NOTES

The epigraph is from Lisa Kahaleole Hall, "Navigating Our Own 'Sea of Islands': Remapping a Theoretical Space for Hawaiian Women and Indigenous Feminism," *Wicazo Sa Review* 24, no. 2 (2009): 31.

1. Forest Hazel and Lawrence Dunmore III, "Timeline of Occaneechi History," <http://obsn.org/timeline-of-occaneechi-history> (accessed Feb. 11, 2011).

2. Mayer N. Zald and Roberta Ash, "Social Movement Organizations: Growth, Decline and Change," *Social Forces* 44 (1966): 327–40; Doug McAdam, *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930–1970* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982); Suzanne Staggenborg, "The Consequences of Professionalization and Formalization in the Pro-Choice Movement," *American Sociological Review* 53, no. 4 (1988): 585–605; Verta Taylor and Nancy E. Whittier, "Collective Identity in Social Movement Communities: Lesbian Feminist Mobilization," in *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*, ed. Aldon D. Morris and Carol McClurg Mueller (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 1992), 104–29; Sydney Tarrow, *Power in Movement: Social Movements, Collective Action and Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); and Charles Tilly, "From Interactions to Outcomes in Social Movements," in *How Social Movements Matter*, ed. Marco Giugni, Doug McAdam, and Charles Tilly (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 253–70.

3. Antimiscegenation and eugenic policies were passed in the South in the 1920s, largely popularized by Walter Plecker and Virginia's Racial Integrity Act of 1924. See Angela Gonzales, Judy Kertesz, and Gabrielle Tayac, "Eugenics as Indian Removal: Sociohistorical Processes and the De(con)struction of American Indians in the Southeast," *Public Historian* 29, no. 3 (Summer 2007): 53–67; Malinda Maynor Lowery, *Lumbee Indians in the Jim Crow South: Race, Identity, and the Making of a Nation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010); Jack D. Forbes, *Africans and Native Americans: The Language of Race and the Evolution of Red-Black Peoples* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993); and Brian Klopotek, "Of Shadows and Doubts: Race, Indigeneity, and White Supremacy," in *Indivisible: African-Native American Lives in the Americas*, ed. National Museum of the American Indian (Washington DC: Smithsonian, 2009).

4. While intermarriage with whites is also common, black ancestry seems to be more consequential as a result of white supremacy. See Klopotek, "Of Shadows and Doubts."

5. Gerald Torres and Kathryn Milun, "Translating 'Yonnonidio' by Precedent and Evidence: The Mashpee Indian Case," in *Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings That Formed the Movement*, ed. Kimberle Crenshaw, Neil Gotanda, Gary Peller, and Kendall Thomas (New York: New Press, 1995).

6. The sizeable Lumbee Tribe, for example, hid in the swamps of Robeson County. They have unsuccessfully petitioned for federal recognition several times within the last one hundred years. See Lowery, *Lumbee Indians in the Jim Crow South*.

7. Paula X. Rojas, "are the cops in our heads and our hearts?" in *The Revolution Will Not Be Funded: Beyond the Non-Profit Industrial Complex*, ed. Incite! Women of Color Against Violence (Cambridge MA: South End Press, 2009), 200; Andrea Smith,

“American Studies without America: Native Feminisms and the Nation-State,” *American Quarterly* 60, no. 2 (2008): 309–15.

8. A. Smith, “American Studies without America;” 313.

9. There is an entire body of research on historical trauma among American Indians, first credited to the work of Maria Yellow Horse Brave Heart. See Maria Yellow Horse Brave Heart and Lemyra DeBruyn, “The American Indian Holocaust: Healing Historical Unresolved Grief,” *American Indian and Alaska Native Mental Health Research* 8, no. 2 (1998): 56–79.

10. Waziyatawin and Michael Yellow Bird, eds., *For Indigenous Eyes Only: A Decolonization Handbook* (Santa Fe NM: School of American Research Press, 2005), 5.

11. Kim Anderson, “Affirmations of an Indigenous Feminist,” in *Indigenous Women and Feminism*, ed. Cheryl Suzack, Shari Huhndorf, Jeanne Perreault, and Jean Barman (Toronto: UBC Press, 2010), 89.

12. As is seen in the works by Andrea Smith, Cheryl Suzack, Shari Huhndorf, Joyce Green, and many others.

13. The language of Re-Membering is used by the Occaneechi Health Circle and by other Indigenous groups such as the Pine Ridge Re-Member organization (<http://re-member.org>), and neither I nor the Health Circle claims ownership over the term. It is hyphenated because it involves not just collectively remembering and taking back traditions but also recreating a shared sense of membership and belonging in the a community. Cultural and collective memory is a common theme in American Indian literature, as in the following: Jeanne Perreault, “‘Memory Alive’: An Inquiry into the Uses of Memory by Marilyn Dumont, Jeannette Armstrong, Louise Halfe, and Joy Harjo,” and Shari M. Huhndorf, “Indigenous Feminism, Performance, and the Politics of Memory in the Plays of Monique Mojica,” both in Suzack et al., *Indigenous Women and Feminism*; and Ines Hernandez-Avila, “My Eyes Breathe Fire and My Fingers Bleed Tears That Are the Ink of My Dreams,” *Social Justice* 31, no. 4 (2004): 125–27.

14. It should be noted that the OBSN effort to decolonize and create autonomy is being carried out without federal sovereignty and is therefore partial at best; however, I would argue that even federally recognized tribes face structural barriers to achieving full autonomy.

15. See Rojas, “are the cops in our heads and our hearts?”; Rauna Kuokkanen, “Myths and Realities of Sami Women: A Post-Colonial Feminist Analysis for the Decolonization and Transformation of Sami Society,” in *Making Space for Indigenous Feminism*, ed. Joyce Green (Black Point: Nova Scotia, 2007); Hall, “Navigating Our Own ‘Sea of Islands’”; and Waziyatawin and Yellow Bird, *For Indigenous Eyes Only*.

16. See Huhndorf, “Indigenous Feminism”; and Andrea Smith, *Conquest* (Cambridge MA: South End Press, 2005).

17. See Devon Abbott Mihesuah, *American Indian Women: Decolonization, Empowerment, Activism* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003).

18. Originally put forth by Carol Hanish in “The Personal Is Political,” 1969 University of Victoria online publication, 2006), <http://webhome.cs.uvic.ca/~mserra/AttachedFiles/PersonalPolitical.pdf>, 3–5. The continuing importance of the concept in feminist literature is explained in Anne Braithwaite, “The Personal, the Political, Third Wave and Postfeminisms,” *Feminist Theory* 3 (2002): 335–44.
19. See Hanish, “Personal Is Political.”
20. Kimberle Crenshaw, “Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color,” *Stanford Law Review* 43 no. 6 (July 1991): 1241–99.
21. See Andrea Smith, “Without Bureaucracy, Beyond Inclusion,” *Left Turn Magazine*, June 1, 2006, http://www.incite-national.org/media/docs/1479_recenteringfeminism.pdf, paragraph 23 (accessed Mar. 15, 2011).
22. See Taylor and Whittier, “Collective Identity in Social Movement Communities.”
23. David S. Meyer and Nancy Whittier, “Social Movement Spillover,” *Social Problems* 41, no. 2 (May 1994): 285.
24. Deborah Martin, Susan Hanson, and Danielle Fontaine do assert, importantly, that women’s actions in local communities that make positive social change can be transformative to localized power relations, but they do not demonstrate how such activism can directly challenge state hegemony, as in the example of countering assimilationist and genocidal policy. See “What Counts as Activism,” *Women’s Studies Quarterly* 35, nos. 3–4 (Fall–Winter 2007): 78–94.
25. See Pragna Patel, “Third Wave Feminism and Black Women’s Activism,” in *Black British Feminism: A Reader*, ed. Heidi Safia Mirza (New York: Routledge), 255–68; Wendy Harcourt, “Women’s Activism on the Net,” *Gender, Technology, and Development* 6 (2002): 153–57; and Annette Henry, “African Canadian Women Teachers’ Activism,” *Journal of Negro Education* 61, no. 3 (Summer 1992): 392–404.
26. See Rojas, “are the cops in our heads and our hearts?”; A. Smith, “American Studies without America.”
27. See Henry, “African Canadian Women Teachers’ Activism”; Patel, “Third Wave Feminism and Black Women’s Activism”; Harcourt, “Women’s Activism on the Net”; and Norine Verberg, “Family-Based Social Activism: Rethinking the Social Role of Families,” *Social Studies* 2, no. 1 (2006): 23–46.
28. See Verberg, “Family-Based Social Activism.”
29. Roberto Vargas, *Family Activism: Empowering Your Community, Beginning with Your Family and Friends* (San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler Publishers, 2008).
30. See Vargas, *Family Activism*.
31. See Henry, “African Canadian Women Teachers’ Activism”; Patel, “Third Wave Feminism and Black Women’s Activism”; Harcourt, “Women’s Activism on the Net”; and Verberg, “Family-Based Social Activism.”
32. Charles F. Wilkinson, *Messages from Franks Landing: A Story of Salmon, Treaties,*

and the Indian Way (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000); and David R. Beck, *Seeking Recognition: The Termination and Restoration of the Coos, Lower Umpqua, and Siuslaw Indians, 1855–1984* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009).

33. See Ann-Elise Lewallen, “Beyond Feminism: Indigenous Ainu Women and Narratives of Empowerment in Japan,” in Suzack et al., *Indigenous Women and Feminism*; Kuokkanen, “Myths and Realities of Sami Women”; and Hall, “Navigating Our Own ‘Sea of Islands.’”

34. In respect of equality meeting tables are round, and all participants face one another. Space is provided for each person to speak and be heard.

35. Lori L. Jervis, et al., “Historical Consciousness among Two American Indian Tribes,” *American Behavioral Scientist* 50, no. 4 (Dec. 2006): 526–50.

36. As members of a community that has been hit hard by the recent economic depression, many find themselves working long hours and multiple jobs. One tribal youth told me that he works over sixty hours per week.

37. Meetings of the Health Circle, youth group, and various committees employ variations of this traditional style of communication.

38. Shawn Wilson, *Research Is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods* (Halifax and Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing, 2008), 39.

39. J. Steven Picou, “The ‘Talking Circle’ as Sociological Practice: Cultural Transformation of Chronic Disaster Impacts,” *Sociological Practice: A Journal of Clinical and Applied Sociology* 2, no. 2 (2000): 77.

40. Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London: Zed Books, 2012). Also see Wilson, *Research Is Ceremony*; Picou, “‘Talking Circle’ as Sociological Practice.”

41. David L. Morgan, “Focus Groups,” *Annual Review of Sociology* 22 (1996): 129–52.

42. Being an elder involves both a self-identification and a community-identification component. Youth are thought of as those between eighteen and twenty-five years old.

43. See the OBSN tribal Web site, www.obsn.org (accessed Feb. 2, 2011). Also see the tribe’s Facebook page, <http://www.facebook.com/pages/Occaneechi-Band-of-the-Saponi-Nation-Inc/> (accessed Feb. 2, 2011) and its Twitter account, <http://twitter.com/OBSNTribe> (accessed Feb. 2, 2011).

44. See Wilson, *Research Is Ceremony*, 130.

45. See Wilson, *Research Is Ceremony*; and Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*.

46. Dorothy Smith, *The Everyday World as Problematic: A Feminist Sociology* (Boston MA: Northeastern University Press, 1983); Alison Jaggar, *Feminist Politics and Human Nature* (Totowa NJ: Rowman & Allenfield, 1983).

47. This permission was documented in the Georgia State IRB clearance documents that were obtained prior to completion of this research; all but two interviews were conducted at the tribal office.

48. For more information on the tribal center see Occaneechi Band of the Saponi Nation, "Homeland Preservation Project," OBSN.org/show/page/homeland-preservation-project, (accessed Feb. 2, 2011).

49. Roundtable, Wanda Whitmore-Penner and Angela Huskey Davis, OBSN Tribal Office, Nov. 6, 2011, 2 p.m.

50. See Henry, "African Canadian Women Teachers' Activism"; Patel, "Third Wave Feminism and Black Women's Activism"; and Wendy Harcourt, "Women's Activism on the Net."

51. Roundtable, Leslie Love and Calvetta Watlington (former Tribal Council member and the youngest person to ever serve on the Tribal Council), OBSN Tribal Office, Wednesday, Nov. 26, 2011, 5:30 pm.

52. Tony Hayes (tribal chairman and CEO of the NCEDI), interview with the author, headquarters of the North Carolina Indian Economic Development Initiative, Raleigh NC, Oct. 25, 2011, 2 p.m..

53. See Vargas, *Family Activism*.

54. Roundtable, Patricia Martin Mebane and Barbara Martin Lipscomb (sisters), OBSN Tribal Office, Oct. 24, 2011, 6 p.m.

55. Roundtable, Rachel Clay Richmond and Brett Hill, OBSN Tribal Office, Saturday, Nov. 5, 2011, 1 p.m.

56. See A. Smith, "American Studies without America."

57. See Henry, "African Canadian Women Teachers' Activism"; Patel, "Third Wave Feminism and Black Women's Activism"; Harcourt, "Women's Activism on the Net"; and Verberg, "Family-Based Social Activism."

58. Roundtable, Tammy Hayes Hill and Rose Clay Watlington, OBSN Tribal Office, Sunday, Oct. 16, 2011, 2p.m.

59. See Rojas, "are the cops in our heads and our hearts?"; and A. Smith, "American Studies without America."

60. Roundtable, Vivette Jeffries-Logan and Sharn Jeffries (siblings), Sunday, Oct. 30, 2011, 1 p.m., at the home Vivette shares with her husband, Doug Logan, and their sons, Little Bear and Little Wolf.

61. Roundtable, Johnette Jeffries-Lopez, Janelle Brewer (Jeffries-Lopez's daughter), Keshia Shipmon Enoch, and Patricia "Dream Weaver" Johnson, OBSN Tribal Office, Thursday, Oct. 5, 2011, 5:30 p.m. .

62. John "Blackfeather" Jeffries, interview with the author, Wednesday, Oct. 4, 2011, at his home. We recorded the interview in the "shop." This small, makeshift building behind Jeffries's house is a landmark for the community. It is simultaneously a workshop, an Occaneechi museum, a community gathering place, and an elder retreat center. For a period of time the shop served as tribal headquarters and the heart of the movement. Jeffries's home is at the feet of Occaneechi Mountain State Park in Hillsborough NC.

63. Jeffries-Logan previously served as the director of diversity and training at the North Carolina Coalition of Domestic Violence and is currently a trainer with Dismantling Racism Works (DRWorks), based in Durham NC.

64. Once again this speaks to the collective concept of home common in the Occeechee community.

65. See Gonzales, Kertesz, and Tayac, "Eugenics as Indian Removal"; Lowery, *Lumbee Indians in the Jim Crow South*; Forbes, *Africans and Native Americans*; and Klopotek, "Of Shadows and Doubts."

66. Ian F. H. Lopez, *White by Law: The Legal Construction of Race* (New York: New York University Press, 1996); and Lowery, *Lumbee Indians in the Jim Crow South*.

67. See Lowery, *Lumbee Indians in the Jim Crow South*.

68. Derrick Bell, *Race, Racism, and American Law*, 3rd ed. (Boston MA: Little Brown and Company, 1992); William F. Tate IV, "Critical Race Theory and Education: History, Theory, and Implications," *Review of Research in Education* 22 (1997): 195–247; Ruben J. Garcia, "Critical Race Theory and Proposition 187: The Racial Politics of Immigration Law," *Scholarly Works*, Paper 662 (1995): 118–54; Kevin R. Johnson, "Race, the Immigration Laws, and Domestic Race Relations: A 'Magic Mirror' into the Heart of Darkness," *Indiana Law Journal* 73, no. 4 (Oct. 1998): 1111–59; Craig A. Saddler, "The Impact of *Brown* on African American Students: A Critical Race Theory Perspective," *Educational Studies* 37, no. 1 (Feb. 2005): 41–55; and Lopez, *White by Law*.

69. Similar arguments are woven throughout the text of *Incite! Revolution Will Not Be Funded*, which demonstrates the ways in which nonprofit structures and state funding lead to co-optation and depoliticization of radical movements. Of particular relevance to this argument, Dylan Rodriguez examines ways in which political actions carried out by Communities of Color were targeted by state apparatuses like COINTELPRO in the 1960s. He also connects the use of nonprofits as a container for movement activity directly to the state-sanctioned genocide of Indigenous peoples; see "Political Logic of the Non-Profit Industrial Complex," 21–40.

70. See Winona LaDuke, *Recovering the Sacred: The Power of Naming and Claiming* (Cambridge MA: South End Press, 2005).

71. See *Incite! Revolution Will Not Be Funded*.

72. Darren Leonard Hutchinson, "Progressive Race Blindness?: Individual Identity, Group Politics, and Reform," *UCLA Law Review* 49, no. 5 (2002): 1455–80; Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins."

73. One of the two who did not was a youth who explained that because of her age she was an "activist-in-training." The other was identified by others as an activist, but he did not self-identify; instead he saw himself as a "workhorse" for the tribe.

74. The "Coalition" is the North Carolina Coalition Against Domestic Violence (NCCADV).

75. See Francesca Polletta, *It was Like a Fever* (Chicago: University of Chicago

Press, 2006); and Taylor and Whittier, "Collective Identity in Social Movement Communities."

76. See Zald and Ash, "Social Movement Organizations"; John D. McCarthy and Mayer N. Zald, "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory," *American Journal of Sociology* (1977): 1212–41; and McAdam, *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency*.

77. See Zald and Ash, "Social Movement Organizations"; McCarthy and Zald, "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements"; and McAdam, *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency*.

78. Adjoa Florência Jones de Almeida, "Radical Social Change: Searching for a New Foundation," in *Incite! Revolution Will Not Be Funded*, 194.

79. Griff M. Tester, "Resources, Identity, and the Role of Threat: The Case of AIDS Mobilization, 1981–1986," *Research in Political Sociology* 13 (2004): 47–75; and Thomas V. Maher, "Threat, Resistance, and Collective Action: The Cases of Sobibor, Treblinka, and Auschwitz," *American Sociological Review* 75, no. 2 (Apr. 2010): 252–72.

80. See Tilly, "From Interactions to Outcomes in Social Movements."

81. Robin D. Barnes, "Race Consciousness: The Thematic Content of Racial Distinctiveness in Critical Race Scholarship," *Harvard Law Review Association* 103, no. 8 (1990): 1864–71.

82. Roundtable, Sam Whitmore and Esther Whitmore (siblings), OBSN Tribal Office, Monday, Nov. 21, 2011, 6 p.m.

83. M. Annette Jaimes and Theresa Halsey, "American Indian Women: At the Center of Indigenous Resistance in Contemporary North America," in *Dangerous Liaisons: Gender, Nation, and Postcolonial Perspectives*, ed. Anne McClintock, Aamir Mufti, and Ella Shohat (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997); Andrea Smith, "Native American Feminism, Sovereignty, and Social Change," *Feminist Studies* 31, no. 1 (2005): 116–32; A. Smith, "Without Bureaucracy, Beyond Inclusion"; Anderson, "Affirmations of an Indigenous Feminist"; Joyce Green, "Taking Account of Aboriginal Feminism," in Green, *Making Space for Indigenous Feminism*; and Hall, "Navigating Our Own 'Sea of Islands.'"

84. See A. Smith, "Native American Feminism, Sovereignty, and Social Change," 117.

85. Chandra T. Mohanty, *Feminism without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity* (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2003).

86. Renya K. Ramirez, "Race, Tribal Nation, and Gender: A Native Feminist Approach to Belonging," *Meridians: feminism, race, transnationalism* 7, no. 2 (2007): 22–40; and Mihesuah, *American Indian Women*.

87. See A. Smith, "Native American Feminism, Sovereignty, and Social Change"; Mihesuah, *American Indian Women*; and Ramirez, "Race, Tribal Nation, and Gender."

88. Dr. Clara Sue Kidwell (Choctaw) discusses disease as a state of dis-ease created by a lack of spiritual balance that affects well-being.
89. See A. Smith, "Native American Feminism, Sovereignty, and Social Change"; Mihesuah, *American Indian Women*; and Ramirez, "Race, Tribal Nation, and Gender."
90. See Audra Simpson, "Under the Sign of Sovereignty: Certainty, Ambivalence, and Law in Native North America and Indigenous Australia," *Wicazo Sa Review* 25, no. 2 (Fall 2010): 107–24, quotation at 108–9.
91. See Simpson, "Under the Sign of Sovereignty," 109.
92. Madonna Thunder Hawk, "Native Organizing before the Non-Profit Industrial Complex," in Incite! *Revolution Will Not Be Funded*.
93. See Incite! *Revolution Will Not Be Funded*.
94. See Simpson, "Under the Sign of Sovereignty."
95. Barbara Alice Mann, "Slow Runners," in *Daughters of Mother Earth*, ed. Barbara Alice Mann (Westport CT: Praeger Publishers, 2006).
96. Lee Maracle, "Decolonizing Native Women," in Mann, *Daughters of Mother Earth*.
97. Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York: Continuum, 1968), 141.
98. See Klopotek, "Of Shadows and Doubts."
99. See A. Smith, "American Studies without America"; and Rojas, "are the cops in our heads and our hearts?"
100. See A. Smith, "American Studies without America."