

# The Indian Citizenship Act at 100: Indigenous Rights, Indigenous Futures

University of Bordeaux Montaigne, France  
19-22 June 2024

*Approved, June 2, 1924,*



*[Handwritten signatures]*



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# SYMPOSIUM ORGANIZERS

## Lionel Larré

Professor and President, Université Bordeaux Montaigne

## Cristina Stanciu

Professor and Director of the Humanities Research Center, Virginia Commonwealth University

## Matthew Bokovoy

Senior Acquisitions Editor, University of Nebraska Press

## Oliver Scheiding

Professor and Chair of American Studies, the Obama Institute, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz

## Farah Benramdane

Doctoral Student, Université Bordeaux Montaigne

## KEYNOTE SPEAKERS



**PHILIP J. DELORIA**  
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

*"Citizenship and Nationhood: Restrictive and Expansive, Ridiculous and Sublime"*

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**NED BLACKHAWK**  
YALE UNIVERSITY

*"Contesting the False Premises of U.S. History: Native American Activists and the Mythology of Indigenous Disappearance"*

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**MAGGIE BLACKHAWK**  
NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

*"Citizenship and the Constitution of American Colonialism"*

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# THANK YOU TO OUR SPONSORS

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The Humanities Research Center provides a forum for intellectual exchange across the humanities at Virginia Commonwealth University in Richmond, Virginia, and beyond.



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JUNE  
19

# DAY ONE

MAIRIE DE BORDEAUX (BORDEAUX CITY HALL)  
PLACE PEY-BERLAND

**1:00 PM OPENING REMARKS**

Bordeaux Mayor Pierre Hurmic, Lionel Larré, Sriram Rao, and Cristina Stanciu

**1:30 PM PANEL 1 | ARTISTIC PRACTICES AND SOCIAL IMAGINARIES OF INDIGENOUS SOVEREIGNTIES**

Oliver Scheiding (Chair), Mishuana Goeman, Chad Allen, James Cox, and Joanna Hearne

**3:30 PM COFFEE BREAK**

**3:45 PM PANEL 2 | INDIGENOUS CITIZENSHIP RECONSIDERED**

Anne Lambright (Chair), David Wilkins, Angel Hinzo, Augustin Habran, and Keith Richotte

**6:00 PM KEYNOTE ADDRESS | "CITIZENSHIP AND NATIONHOOD: RESTRICTIVE AND EXPANSIVE, RIDICULOUS AND SUBLIME"**

Philip J. Deloria, Introduction by Cristina Stanciu

**7:00 PM DINNER (ON YOUR OWN)**

# SESSIONS

WEDNESDAY JUNE 19

1:00 PM - 1:30 PM

**OPENING REMARKS**

**Pierre Hurmic**, MAYOR OF BORDEAUX

**Lionel Larré**, UNIVERSITÉ BORDEAUX MONTAIGNE

**Sriram Rao**, VIRGINIA COMMONWEALTH UNIVERSITY

**Cristina Stanciu**, VIRGINIA COMMONWEALTH UNIVERSITY

1:30 PM - 3:30 PM

**PANEL 1**

**ARTISTIC PRACTICES AND SOCIAL IMAGINARIES OF INDIGENOUS SOVEREIGNTIES**

**CHAIR** **Oliver Scheiding**, OBAMA INSTITUTE, JOHANNES GUTENBERG-UNIVERSITÄT MAINZ

**"Treaty Art: Place, Belonging and Expressive Citizenship through Art Practices"**

**Mishuana Goeman**, UNIVERSITY OF BUFFALO

This paper will explore the iconography of treaties in contemporary art practices in the context of one hundred years of the Indian Citizenship Act to Land Back. The Act itself centers on the human and the closing of the co-constitutive power of the US and Canadian territorial sovereignty. The act domesticates Indians as citizens under the shroud of American Legal territorial sovereignty, moving Indigenous lands to the purview of the secretary of the Interior in the US and under the Indian Act in Canada. In contrast to this moment, artists have long depicted an alternative vision of the relationship between belonging and land that exceeds settler borders and their colonial premises. I will look at examples of the reconfiguration of forms of territorial sovereignty through art practices that rethink land and relationships not only between landed points but also in relation to other humans and more-than-humans. How do contemporary art practices create not only a sense of belonging but also a sense of reciprocity and responsibility? How is a "sea to shining sea" affective regime of belonging disrupted by the visual impact of Indigenous artists? What might we gain from examining public art and other built environments where the subtlety of assertion of treaty rights, existing before the 1924 act, is not so apparent to an American public but is the iconography that creates a sense of belonging from those in reciprocal relationships with Indigenous Nations? How does expressive citizenship creatively refuse a hundred years of US and Canadian citizenship and thus disrupt colonial geographies based on property logics?



## “Why Indigenous Architecture Matters for Indigenous Citizenships—and for Indigenous Futures”

**Chadwick Allen**, UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON SEATTLE

What role might Indigenous architecture—the imagining and then creation of Indigenous structures, landscapes, and other built environments—play in negotiating Indigenous citizenships and in representing possibilities for Indigenous futures? In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, Indigenous communities located across what is now the United States have designed and built a range of innovative structures on reservation lands, in small towns and rural settings, and in major urban centers. These structures meet community members’ material needs for organized communal spaces while grappling with their often complex philosophical and political relationships to tribal, multi-tribal, pan-Indian, state, federal, and other forms of contemporary U.S. belonging. This paper will focus on a particular intersection of Indigenous imagination and building in the early and mid-1970s, during the height of the Red Power Movement: when the Muscogee (Creek) Nation, based in rural Okmulgee, Oklahoma, conceived and constructed the Muscogee Mound Building as part of its tribal headquarters, and when activists calling themselves United Indians of All Tribes, based in urban Seattle, Washington, conceived and constructed the Daybreak Star Indian Cultural Center as part of their foundation headquarters. Despite their many differences, each of these structures and its surrounding environment combines contemporary architectural innovation with the citation of historical precedents. In this way, each embodies complex relations to understandings of citizenship and sovereignty—one tribally-specific, one pan-Indian—within and through the built world.

## “Lynn Riggs and the Art of Citizenship”

**James Cox**, UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN

In Lynn Riggs’s *The Cherokee Night*, the young Cherokee character Gar Breeden finds himself captured by members of a religious cult. He explains to them his unwelcome presence: “No place for me anywhere! Come down to Tahlequah yesterday to see if—to see—I thought this bein’ the head of—Listen, I’m half Cherokee. I thought they could help me out here, I thought they—Old men sittin’ in the square! No Tribe to go to, no Council to help me out of the kind of trouble I’m in. Nuthin’ to count on—!” This anxious concern for belonging, and specifically for Cherokee citizenship, finds expression in Riggs’s commitment to joining and building a network of supportive artists. This paper proposes that Riggs found the most significant experience of citizenship within this community, which he began to build in Santa Fe and extended into Los Angeles (Hollywood), New York (the theatre world, including Broadway), and Mexico. He valued collaborations; several of his romantic partners were artists (a playwright and painter, a dancer); and his most compelling political statements come when he writes about theatre and its potential to bring people together and leave a theatre transformed and more committed to social justice.

## SPEAKERS

**PIERRE HURMIC** has served as mayor of Bordeaux since 2020. Before becoming a mayor, he was first elected to the municipal council of Bordeaux in 1995. Hurmic is working on an agroecology project and wants to develop micro-farms and aquaponics in Bordeaux which will further accelerate the support for local agriculture. Mayor Hurmic has a strong belief that cities must become ecosystems again, with economic activity and agriculture in the focus.



**LIONEL LARRÉ** is President of Bordeaux Montaigne University, where he teaches American history with a focus on Native American history and representations of Native Americans. He is the author of several articles on Native American history, culture and literature, a book on Native American autobiography (*Autobiographie amérindienne. Pouvoirs et résistance de l’écriture de soi*, Presses universitaires de Bordeaux, 2009) and a book on Cherokee history (*Histoire de la nation cherokee*, Presses universitaires de Bordeaux, 2014). He co-created *Elohi, Indigenous People and the Environment*, a multidisciplinary journal focusing on the Indigenous peoples’ relationship to their environment. He is also the editor of a collection of texts by Cherokee author John Milton Oskison (*Tales of the Old Indian Territory and Essays on the Indian Condition*, University of Nebraska Press, 2012), and of a biography of John Ross, by the same author (University of Nebraska Press, 2022).



**P. SRIRAMA RAO** is Vice President for Research and Innovation and Professor of Microbiology and Immunology at Virginia Commonwealth University. He earned his Ph.D. in allergy and immunology in 1989 from the Indian Institute of Science in Bangalore, after which he conducted postdoctoral studies at Pharmacia-Experimental Medicine in La Jolla, California. He focused his research on the pathogenesis of allergic inflammation and published nearly 90 peer reviewed manuscripts, reviews and book chapters. Over the course of his 30-year career, Dr. Rao has been continuously funded by the NIH, multiple federal and state agencies, foundations and corporations, securing nearly \$20 million in grant support. In his role at VCU, Dr. Rao is responsible for the overall strategy, compliance, growth, and expansion of the research enterprise. Dr. Rao oversees VCU’s research institutes and centers, core laboratories and institutional committees including the Institutional Animal Care and Use Committee and the Institutional Review Board. In collaboration with researchers across the arts, humanities, social sciences, health and STEM disciplines, he is committed to fostering collaborative and cross-cutting basic, applied, clinical and translational research at VCU. An additional focus for Dr. Rao is the translation of VCU discoveries and innovations via public and private partnerships, as well as contributions to the region’s overall growth and economic development. He holds many U.S. and international patents and is an elected senior member of the National Academy of Inventors, and serves as an advisor, board member, and trustee of various local and national organizations.



3:30 PM - 3:45 PM

COFFEE BREAK

3:45 PM - 5:45 PM

PANEL 2

## INDIGENOUS CITIZENSHIP RECONSIDERED

CHAIR Anne Lambright, CARNEGIE MELLON UNIVERSITY

## “Federal Choreography of Indigenous Political Identity”

David Wilkins, UNIVERSITY OF RICHMOND

The Indian Citizenship Act of 1924 was one of a countless number of federal laws, court cases, and executive actions that manipulated the political and legal status of Native individuals and, by extension, the status of the nations those individuals were part of. The multiple and sometimes contradictory statuses that Natives possess, both individually and collectively, deeply complicates their standing internally and intergovernmentally. This talk explains these various statuses and provides a theoretical context from which we might better understand the origin, persistence, and meaning of these statuses in contemporary policy and legal thought. An important Supreme Court opinion, *U.S. v. Nice* (1916) will serve as a case study that exemplifies the mixed political and legal status that Natives still have today, depriving Natives of the inherent right to define themselves without federal interference.

## “I Am True American’: Indian Citizenship and Sovereignty Struggles in the 20th Century”

Angel Hinzo, UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA—LINCOLN

My research focuses on Ho-Chunk history and the Ho-Chunk community’s struggle to maintain political and cultural sovereignty within the United States. The Ho-Chunk were among the Indian nations deemed hostile to the United States and subject to removal from ancestral homelands in present-day Wisconsin. This presentation will discuss how Ho-Chunk people navigated the language and meaning of U.S. citizenship while working to strengthen political and cultural sovereignty. Many Ho-Chunk people maintained a Ho-Chunk political and cultural identity that was viewed as their dominant political identity. This identity includes clan affiliations, spiritual philosophies, and commitment to the land that are uniquely Ho-Chunk and do not fit within U.S. political ideologies. With the passage of the Snyder Act, Ho-Chunk leaders and community members gained the political leverage to advocate for Ho-Chunk rights and responsibilities as U.S. citizens, Indigenousizing the meaning of citizenship within the settler-state.

**CRISTINA STANCIU** is Professor of English and the director of the Humanities Research Center at Virginia Commonwealth University, where she launched the “On Native Ground” initiative, among others. She is the author of *The Makings and Unmakings of Americans: Indians and Immigrants in American Culture, 1879-1924* (Yale University Press, 2024), the editor of the volume *Our Democracy and the American Indian and Other Writings* by Laura Cornelius Kellogg (Syracuse UP, 2015) and several journal special issues, including a special issue on “Indigenous Periodicals” for *American Periodicals* (2023, with Jill Doerfler and Oliver Scheiding). With Gary Totten, she has edited the volume *Race in the Multiethnic Literature Classroom* (U of Illinois P, 2024) and with Jill Doerfler and Oliver Scheiding, she has edited the volume *Indigenous Media Ecologies* (under review, U Nebraska P). She serves on the editorial boards of major journals such as the *PMLA* (*Publications of the Modern Language Association*) and *NAIS* (*Native American and Indigenous Studies*). She holds the 2023-24 Fulbright Canada Research Chair in Justice and Reconciliation at King’s College, Western University in London, Ontario. Her current book project, *Indigenous Education and the Literature of Residential Schools in the U.S. and Canada*, is under contract with the University of Nebraska Press. Stanciu was recently elected to the advisory board of the Consortium of Humanities Centers and Institutes.



**OLIVER SCHEIDING** is Professor of North American Literatures and Early American Studies in the Obama Institute for Transnational American Studies at Johannes Gutenberg University in Germany. His research focuses on print culture and print criticism, periodical and material culture studies. He edited the journal *Amerikastudien / American Studies*, the quarterly of the German Association of American Studies, from 2010–2019. He is currently conducting a research project on Indigenous Periodicals (1890s to 1930s) funded by the German Research Foundation. He edited the volume *Native American Studies Across Time and Space: Essays on the Indigenous Americas* (Heidelberg: Winter, 2010), *Worlding America: A Transnational Anthology of Short Narratives before 1800* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015), and the volume *Periodical Studies Today: Multidisciplinary Analyses* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2022). Most recently he has contributed book chapters to the *Cambridge History of Native American Literature* (2020) and the *Routledge Companion to the British and North American Literary Magazine* (2022). He served as co-editor of a special issue on Indigenous periodicals published by the journal *American Periodicals* (2023). Most recently he has co-edited the collection of essays *Indigenous Media Ecologies*, under review with Nebraska University Press. His new book *Print Technologies and the Making of American Literatures* is forthcoming with Wiley-Blackwell. He is co-founder of the Mainz-based interdisciplinary research initiative *Transnational Periodical Cultures*. With Cristina Stanciu he organized the international symposium “Indigenous Print Cultures, Media and Literatures,” in Mainz, Germany, in 2022.



**MISHUANA GOEMAN**, daughter of enrolled Tonawanda Band of Seneca, Hawk Clan, is currently a Professor of Indigenous Studies at University of Buffalo (on leave from UCLA’s Gender Studies and American Indian Studies). Her monographs include *Mark My Words: Native Women Mapping Our Nations* (University of Minnesota Press, 2013) and *Settler Aesthetics: The Spectacle of Originary Moments in the New World* (University of Nebraska Press, 2023). She is also part of the feminist editorial collective for *Keywords*



## “Resistance and the Strategic Exploitation of Euro-American Technology: The Ambiguous Case of Cherokee Citizenship in the 19th Century”

Augustin Habran, UNIVERSITÉ D'ORLEANS

While the ever-growing influence of Settler Colonial Studies in the analytical field of the construction of the American West in the nineteenth has been challenged by specialists of the New Indian History because of the risk of under-representing Indigenous agency in the face of a systematically oppressive colonial imperialist venture, scholars of Indigenous Studies have addressed the problem of affixing Euro-American concepts to indigenous realities and means of action. Yet, the complex case of the southeastern Indigenous populations that were deported by the US government to Indian Territory (east of today's state of Oklahoma) in the 1830s calls for a reassessment of these ongoing historiographical discussions. Thus, West of the Mississippi, the forced appropriation of allocated lands paradoxically made the southeastern Indigenous populations settlers of the Great Plains and colonizers of the local Indigenous populations. Both “exiles and pioneers” (Bowes), the Cherokee, Choctaw, Creek and Chickasaw somehow managed to overcome the ordeal of deportation in developing strategies of survivance (Vizenor) within the latitude they could enjoy in the securing of their new artificially created living space.

At the same time “domestic dependent nations” since 1831, and key participants in the construction of these unorganized territories of the Louisiana Purchase (1803), the deported Indigenous leaders maintained through the trails of tears the “calculated strategy” they had developed in the East to resist colonial invasion, which consisted in adhering to the American standards of “civilization” to convince the United States government to let them stay in their ancestral homelands (Hämäläinen 390). Such strategic mimesis implied not only the exploitation of the technology inherited from Euro-American settler colonialism—including the shaping of indigenous “nations”, a polity that allowed them to oppose the Early American Republic using a Euro-American legal language—but also its ideological discourse, which rhetorically positioned the southeastern Indigenous nations on the “civilized” side of the colonial venture (Habran). This paper focus on the emergence of Cherokee citizenship in the process, that allowed the Cherokee “political nation” (Smithers) to adapt to Euro-American expansionism in bringing collective “national” unity – notably in racial terms –, and to defend its fragile sovereignty on lands in the West that had not yet been technically appropriated by the United States. It appears indeed that such technological tool strategically integrated by the deported Indigenous nation granted it some power of influence as its leaders came to define the parameters of the cultural, political, and economic construction of this volatile region on the outskirts of the American Republic while seizing such “opportunity” to affirm their right to self-determination.

in *Gender and Sexuality Studies* (NYU Press 2021) which won the Choice award in 2021. Her community-engaged work is devoted to several digital humanities projects, including participation as Co-PI on community-based digital projects, *Mapping Indigenous L.A* (2015), which gathers alternative maps of resilience from Indigenous LA communities. *Carrying Our Ancestors Home* (2019) is a site concentrating on better working tribal relationships and communications as it concerns repatriation and NAGPRA. She is the PI of the University of California President's office multi-campus Research Grant for *Centering Tribal Stories in Difficult Times*. She also headed up the *Mukurtu California Native Hub* (2021) housed at UCLA through an NEH sub-grant, which supports local tribal organizations and nations to start their cultural heritage and language digitally sovereign sites through the Mukurtu platform. She is also a co-pi on the Haudenosaunee Archive, Repository of Knowledge ([hark.cas.buffalo.edu](http://hark.cas.buffalo.edu)), a Mellon funded project at University at Buffalo (Coming 2023). She publishes widely in peer-reviewed journals and books, including guest-edited volumes on Native Feminisms and Indigenous Performances. Her work from 2018-2022 included holding the Inaugural Special Advisor position at UCLA, where she worked across campus to better Indigenous relationships. From 2020-2021 she was a Distinguished Visiting Scholar with the Center for Diversity Innovation at the University at Buffalo, located in her home territories. In 2023, she began her role as the President-elect of the American Studies Association.

**CHADWICK ALLEN** is Professor of English and Adjunct Professor of American Indian Studies at the University of Washington Seattle, where he also serves as the Associate Vice Provost for Faculty Advancement. He is author of the books *Blood Narrative: Indigenous Identity in American Indian and Maori Literary and Activist Texts* (Duke UP, 2002), *Trans-Indigenous: Methodologies for Global Native Literary Studies* (U of Minnesota P, 2012), and *Earthworks Rising: Mound Building in Native Literature and Arts* (U of Minnesota P, 2022), a former editor of the journal *Studies in American Indian Literatures*, and a former president of the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association (NAISA).



**JAMES H. COX** holds the Jane and Roland Blumberg Centennial Professorship in English at the University of Texas at Austin and serves as the Associate Dean for Student Services in the Graduate School. He has published three single-authored books on Native American literature from 1920-present, and he co-edited *The Oxford Handbook of Indigenous American Literature* (2014) with Daniel Heath Justice of the University of British Columbia. *Lynn Riggs: The Indigenous Plays*, co-edited with Alexander Pettit (University of North Texas), is forthcoming from Broadview Press in 2024.



**JOANNA HEARNE** is the Jeanne Hoffman Smith Professor of Film and Media Studies at the University of Oklahoma. Her research focuses on Native American and global Indigenous media studies, archival recoveries of Indigenous presence in cinema history, and contemporary digital media, digital storytelling, and animation. She is the author of *Native Recognition: Indigenous Cinema and the Western* and *Smoke Signals: Native Cinema Rising*, and the co-editor of *ReFocus: The Films of Wallace Fox*. She also guest edited the May 2017 special issue of *Studies in American Indian Literatures* on “Digital





## “Does Citizenship Matter?: Native America, American Law, and the Plenary Power Doctrine”

**Keith Richotte**, UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

What has American citizenship meant for Native America? On the one hand, citizenship has been regarded as both a goal and an achievement, particularly in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. While in the 19th century at various points both the Supreme Court and Congress denied that traditional pathways to American citizenship were available for Native peoples, in this era reformers—and many Native peoples themselves—regarded citizenship as a laudable and necessary goal on the road to civilization and actively pursued it. To that end, alternative pathways were crafted to bestow American citizenship on Native peoples—most famously through the Allotment Act of 1887 and its subsequent amendment through the Burke Act of 1906. These various efforts were so successful that the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924 was regarded as little more than an effort to bestow American citizenship on the estimated one-third of Native peoples who had not yet already acquired it. However, on the other hand the ambivalence regarding the Indian Citizenship Act perhaps belied the greater ambivalence regarding the benefits of citizenship for Native America. Native peoples did not see an immediate increase in their civil rights as citizens; rather citizenship in the era is perhaps best regarded as a useful mechanism for the colonizer to more efficiently divest Native individuals and nations of their resources, particularly land. Furthermore, the American law concerning Native peoples that developed during that era—most specifically the plenary power doctrine—neutered any protections that citizenship is supposed to bestow. This paper will critically examine this legacy and consider whether American citizenship holds any meaning for Native America under American law.

6:00 PM - 7:00 PM

**KEYNOTE ADDRESS: PHILIP J. DELORIA**

**INTRODUCTION** **Cristina Stanciu**, VIRGINIA COMMONWEALTH UNIVERSITY

## “Citizenship and Nationhood: Restrictive and Expansive, Ridiculous and Sublime”

**Philip J. Deloria**, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Citizenship and nationhood exist in dialectical relations that are both generative and contradictory. The United States established one critical strand of its own citizenship practices—ambivalent, confusing, sometimes ridiculous—in its relation to Native peoples. In the beginning, the Constitution named American Indian people to exclude them from American citizenship rights as they were already citizens of other national polities. The resulting relation was thus defined, through treaties, as one of “nation to nation”: American citizenship for Native individuals could, at best, be framed as either an impossibility (due to their tribal citizenship) or something to be understood, in immigrant terms, as a rejection of older nationalities in favor of naturalization to the American nation.

Indigenous Studies: Gender, Genre and New Media” and the Winter 2021 *Journal of Cinema and Media Studies* In-Focus dossier, “Indigenous Performance Networks: Media, Community, Activism.”

**ANNE LAMBRIGHT** (Chickasaw Nation) is a Professor of Hispanic Studies and Head of the Department of Modern Languages at Carnegie Mellon University. Her research and teaching interests center on Andean literature and culture, human rights and social justice studies, critical Indigenous and Native American studies, and translation theory and practice. She is the author of *Andean Truths: Transitional Justice, Ethnicity, and Cultural Production in Post-Shining Path Peru* (Liverpool UP, 2015), awarded the Katherine Singer Kovacs prize for outstanding book on Spain or Latin America by the Modern Language Association, and *Creating the Hybrid Intellectual: Subject, Space, and the Feminine in the Narrative of José María Arguedas* (Bucknell UP, 2007), as well as co-editor of *Unfolding the City: Women Write the City in Latin America* (U of Minnesota P, 2007). She has also published articles and book chapters on gender, ethnicity, human rights, and national identity in Andean literature, film, performance, and visual culture. Nationally-competitive grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Woodrow Wilson Foundation, and the Humanities Institute at the University of Connecticut have supported her scholarship. Her next work, *Yuyachkani's Human Rights Theater*, a critical anthology of five plays by renowned Peruvian theater collective Grupo Cultural Yuyachkani, in the Spanish and Quechua with English translations, is forthcoming with the Modern Language Association.



**DAVID E. WILKINS** is a citizen of the Lumbee Nation and is the E. Claiborne Robins Distinguished Professor of Leadership Studies at the University of Richmond. He is Professor Emeritus of the University of Minnesota, where he held the McKnight Presidential Professorship in American Indian Studies. He earned his Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of North Carolina/Chapel Hill in December, 1990. He is the author or editor of a number of books, including *Indigenous Governance: Clans, Constitutions, & Consent* (Forthcoming with Oxford, 2024); *Documents of Native American Political Development: 1933 to Present* (Oxford, 2019); *Red Prophet: The Punishing Intellectualism of Vine Deloria, Jr.* (Fulcrum, 2018); *Dismembered: Native Disenrollment and the Battle for Basic Human Rights* (with Shelly Hulse Wilkins) (Fulcrum, 2017); *Hollow Justice: Indigenous Claims Against the U.S.* (Yale, 2013); *The Navajo Political Experience*, 4th ed. (Rowman & Littlefield, 2013); *The Hank Adams Reader* (Univ. of Washington Press, 2011), and *The Legal Universe* (with Vine Deloria, Jr.) (Fulcrum, 2011). His articles have appeared in a range of social science, political science, law, history, American Indian Studies, and ethnic studies journals.



**ANGEL HINZO** (Ho-Chunk, Winnebago Tribe of Nebraska) is a Native American and Indigenous Studies historian, whose research engages with Ho-Chunk history, federal Indian law in the United States, Native American women's history, and feminist theory. Hinzo holds a Ph.D. in Native American Studies with a designated emphasis in feminist theory and research from the University of California, Davis. She was a Postdoctoral Fellow in Interdisciplinary Indigenous Studies at the University of Denver



Over the course of the nineteenth century, however, the United States embarked on new kinds of dialectical relationships, constituted not between a nation and its citizenry, but between the U.S. and tribal nations, with the question of citizenship now balanced awkwardly in between. Through a series of legislative acts and legal decisions, the U.S. created and imposed racial citizenships in both American and tribal-national contexts. It attenuated the power of tribal citizenship through assertion of jurisdictional authority. It established paradoxical forms of citizenship that demanded Indigenous assimilation while denying the possibility of legal acceptance into the citizenry. The 1924 Indian Citizenship Act, while pretending to a new clarity, offered instead a continuation of the contradictory management of citizenship and nationhood, national and tribal-national. It introduced new complications—non-consensual citizenship, partial citizenship, and dual citizenship—into a situation that too often clamors for the sublime while in fact amplifying the ridiculous.

7:00 PM DINNER (ON YOUR OWN)

NOTES

Horizontal lines for taking notes.

from 2016-2018. After completing her fellowship, she held a Visiting Assistant Professor position in Native American and Indigenous Studies at the University of San Diego and later, became an Assistant Professor of Ethnic Studies. She is now an Assistant Professor of History and Ethnic Studies at the University of Nebraska–Lincoln.

**AUGUSTIN HABRAN** is Associate Professor of American Studies at the University of Orléans, France. His research focuses on the relation between the American Federal State and Indigenous nations in the antebellum era and in the dynamics at work in the construction of the American West more generally. His current work focuses more specifically on the establishment of the Indian Territory (Oklahoma) in the wake of the Indian Removal Act of 1830. After having published several articles on the subject, he is currently working on a book derived from his Ph.D., entitled *The Southeastern Nations (1815-1861): Identity, Sovereignty and Strategic Mimesis through the ordeal of Removal*. He is also part of a research project carried out by Marie-Jeanne Rossignol and Laurence Cossu-Beaumont that aims at recontextualizing Alexis de Tocqueville's considerations on American Democracy in the "Jacksonian Era".



**KEITH RICHOTTE, JR.** is a citizen of the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians, where he has served on the Turtle Mountain Tribal Court of Appeals as an Associate Justice since 2009. He is also the Chief Justice of the Spirit Lake Nation Court of Appeals. In the fall of 2024 he will begin serving as a Professor of Law at the University of Arizona College of Law and the Director of the Indigenous Peoples Law and Policy Program. He has previously taught in the American Studies Department at the University of North Carolina and at the University of North Dakota School of Law.



**PHILIP J. DELORIA** (Dakota descent) is the Leverett Saltonstall Professor of History at Harvard University, where his research and teaching focus on the social, cultural and political histories of the relations among American Indian peoples and the United States. He is the author of several books, including *Playing Indian* (Yale University Press, 1998), *Indians in Unexpected Places* (University Press of Kansas, 2004), *American Studies: A User's Guide* (University of California Press, 2017), with Alexander Olson, and *Becoming Mary Sully: Toward an American Indian Abstract* (University of Washington Press, 2019), as well as two co-edited books and numerous articles and chapters. Deloria received his Ph.D. in American Studies from Yale University in 1994, taught at the University of Colorado, and then at the University of Michigan from 2001 to 2017, before joining the faculty at Harvard in January 2018. Deloria was a long-serving trustee of the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of the American Indian. He is former president of the American Studies Association, the Organization of American Historians, and the Society for American History, an elected member of the American Philosophical Society and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and the recipient of numerous prizes and recognitions.





# DAY TWO

BORDEAUX MONTAIGNE UNIVERSITY, MAISON DE LA RECHERCHE (ESP. DES ANTILLES, 33600 PESSAC, FRANCE)

9:00 AM	<b>PANEL 3   CITIZENSHIP, DESCENT, AND TRIBAL SOVEREIGNTY</b> Margaret Jacobs (Chair), Jill Doerfler, Sandra Sánchez, Céline Planchou, and Audra Simpson
10:50 AM	<b>COFFEE BREAK</b>
11:20 AM	<b>KEYNOTE ADDRESS   "CONTESTING THE FALSE PREMISES OF U.S. HISTORY: NATIVE AMERICAN ACTIVISTS AND THE MYTHOLOGY OF INDIGENOUS DISAPPEARANCE"</b> Ned Blackhawk, Introduction by Cristina Stanciu
12:20 PM	<b>LUNCH</b>
2:00 PM	<b>PANEL 4   THE INDIAN TERRITORY AND INDIGENOUS CITIZENSHIP</b> Lionel Larré (Chair), Daniel Heath Justice, Anne Gregory, and Joshua Nelson
3:30 PM	<b>COFFEE BREAK</b>
4:00 PM	<b>PANEL 5   EDUCATION FOR CITIZENSHIP AND SOVEREIGNTY THROUGH LANGUAGE</b> Oliver Scheiding (Chair), Claire Anchordoqui, Béatrice Collignon, and Laura Siragusa
6:00 PM	<b>DINNER (ON YOUR OWN)</b>

# SESSIONS

THURSDAY JUNE 20

9:00 AM - 10:50 AM **PANEL 3  
CITIZENSHIP, DESCENT, AND TRIBAL SOVEREIGNTY**  
**CHAIR** Margaret Jacobs, UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA LINCOLN

## "The Pitfalls and Promises of Lineal Descent as a Requirement for Tribal Citizenship"

Jill Doerfler, UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA DULUTH

For all people, identity is multifaceted and multilayered. One important aspect of identity is citizenship. Today, many Native nations set out the basic criteria for citizenship in their constitutions. Tribal citizenship requirements, like all citizenship requirements, have complex histories and are fraught with pitfalls and promises. There is no perfect, universal solution to the problem of citizenship criteria, and each nation must determine the requirement(s) that best suits their particular needs. Ideally, citizenship requirements should enact and reflect fundamental core values and answer the question, "Who are we?" Under threat of termination by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe (MCT) adopted one-quarter MCT blood quantum as the sole requirement for enrollment/citizenship in 1961. I'll share archival material detailing the resistance of MCT leadership to blood quantum. In 2007, the White Earth Nation (WEN), a member nation of the MCT, embarked upon a constitutional reform process that included evaluating the citizenship requirement. In 2013, citizens of the WEN voted to adopt a new constitution, which changed the citizenship requirement from one-quarter MCT blood to lineal descent, by a margin of 80%. Despite the landslide approval, elected leaders at White Earth halted implementation of the constitution, in part, over concerns about lineal descent. I will discuss arguments for and against lineal descent articulated by both elected leaders and citizens from the middle of the twentieth century and the early years of the twenty-first century.

## "U.S. Citizenship as a Foreign Affair: Considering Tribal Sovereignty and Immigration Law, 1924-1952"

Sandra Sánchez, YALE UNIVERSITY

Four years after the passage of the 1924 Immigration Act and the 1924 Indian Citizenship Act, the U.S. Congress declared that immigration laws "shall not [apply] to the right of American Indians born in Canada to pass the borders of the United States." This 1928 amendment to the Immigration Act recognized Indigeneity as a political identity, protected through the international terms of the 1794 Jay Treaty between the United States and Great Britain. Applied only to Native individuals from Canada, however, the 1928 amendment failed to address the rights of



Indigenous migrants to cross the U.S.-Mexico border as well. Two decades later, Congress again turned to indigenous border crossing; the 1952 U.S. Immigration Act proclaimed that free border passage was only applicable to Native individuals of fifty percent of blood quantum. This paper examines how tribal nations responded to the enforcement of immigration laws in the pivotal decades after the passage of the 1924 Indian Citizenship Act. I look at cases of Native individuals who were deported and detained in the 1930s and 1940s, and trace how immigration officials increasingly championed the language of blood quantum to tether tribal nations within the legal and physical boundaries of the United States. In response, groups including the Allied Tribes of British Columbia and the Six Nations-led Indian Defense League mobilized international petitions for sovereign recognition and the rejection of citizenship. This mobilization would shape the rise of global Indigenous organizing into the latter twentieth century. A legal and political history, therefore, I consider the expansion of Native organizing against citizenship to the international stage, ultimately, asking: what are the possibilities and consequences of racial and national belonging for sovereign, tribal nations?

## “From Wardship to Citizenship: How the Indian Citizenship Act Reshaped the U.S. Indian Child Welfare Services and State Intervention”

**Céline Planchou**, UNIVERSITÉ SORBONNE PARIS NORD

In the realm of child welfare, dependency refers to many circumstances in a child's life justifying the need for public intervention on his/her behalf to help, supplement, or replace birth parents. At the turn of the twentieth century, non-indigenous “dependent” children in the United States were taken care of through the emerging mainstream child welfare system which relied exclusively on state institutions. It grew as a twofold apparatus, involving both judicial mechanisms, through recently established children's courts, and administrative services which took many forms (financial help, placements in institutions or foster families, etc.). Next to this mainstream system, another apparatus co-existed for Indigenous children which primarily involved federal institutions. Following the political and legal status of Indigenous nations in the United States, these children were mainly apprehended as minor members of “domestic dependent nations”, that is nations which had a special relationship with the federal government, and which were themselves collectively treated as wards, thus in a state of legal minority and dependency. Wardship was thus fundamental in the way U.S. policies and services for Indigenous children were devised. In keeping with the assimilationist efforts of that period, children became a privileged category to accelerate the transition from wardship to citizenship through compulsory education. Dependent Indigenous children were mainly taken care of in these schools, while special federal regulations related to orphans or providing financial help to parents were handled by the Bureau of Indian Affairs through local agents, boss farmers and, whenever they existed, social workers. Depending on the relations that existed locally between the BIA agent and the tribal institutions, the latter were more or less involved in the way these regulations were implemented.

Until the adoption of the Indian Citizenship Act in 1924, it was clear that the special status of Indigenous nations and the pertaining ambivalent trust responsibility of the federal

## SPEAKERS

**MARGARET JACOBS** is the Charles Mach Professor of History and the Director of the Center for Great Plains Studies at the University of Nebraska–Lincoln. With Lakota journalist Kevin Abourezk, she is the co-founder and co-director of *Reconciliation Rising*, a multimedia project that showcases Indigenous people and settlers who are working together to honestly confront painful histories and create pathways to healing and reconciliation. Margaret is also the co-founder and co-director of the *Genoa Indian School Digital Reconciliation Project*, which digitizes government records related to the Genoa school as an act of repatriation to tribal nations and promoting truth-seeking about the boarding schools among all Americans. Margaret has published more than 35 articles and 4 books, primarily about the U.S. government's century-long policy and practice of Indigenous child removal. She published *After One Hundred Winters: In Search of Reconciliation on America's Stolen Lands* in 2021.



**JILL DOERFLER** (Anishinaabe) grew up on the White Earth Reservation in Northern Minnesota and is the daughter of an enrollee. She is a professor and department head of American Indian Studies at the University of Minnesota Duluth. She has lectured and published widely on the topics of citizenship, blood quantum, and constitutional reform. Her monograph, *Those Who Belong: Identity, Family, Blood, and Citizenship Among the White Earth Anishinaabeg* (Michigan State University Press, 2015), examines staunch Anishinaabe resistance to racialization and the complex issues surrounding tribal citizenship and identity. She co-authored *The White Earth Nation: Ratification of a Native Democratic Constitution* (University of Nebraska Press, 2012) with Gerald Vizenor and, most recently, co-edited “Indigenous Periodicals,” a special issue of the journal *American Periodicals*, with Cristina Stanciu and Oliver Scheiding.



**SANDRA SÁNCHEZ** is a Ph.D. candidate in History at Yale University. Their dissertation, “‘Aliens in Our Land’: Contesting Native Citizenship and Immigration Laws, 1924-1952” examines the impact of immigration policy on tribal nations living along the U.S.-Mexico and U.S.-Canada border regions. Bringing together comparative legal histories of citizenship and border enforcement with Federal Indian Law, Sánchez traces the cross-border organization of Indigenous leaders against deportation and detention. At Yale, Sánchez has served as the Western Americana and Native collections curatorial fellow at the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library. Previously, they obtained a B.A. with honors in History, Chinese Language and Literature, and Indigenous Studies from the University of Kansas. They have also worked as a fellow in the Program in Latino History and Culture at the National Museum of American History at the Smithsonian in Washington, D.C.



government, shaped U.S. public action “in the best interest” of Indigenous dependent children. Yet, as citizenship was extended to all Native Americans, it could then be used as the privileged source of public responsibility towards these children thus shifting the place of the federal actor and pushing for the intervention of state institutions in matters from which they used to be excluded. This presentation will thus explore this shift and the way the 1924 federal law, in permitting the relabeling of BIA child welfare services as “supplementary programs” and the gradual push for integration of these services into the mainstream apparatus, complexified an already existing legal maze which kept on excluding tribal institutions from the decisions affecting their minor members.

## “The Arc of Citizenship and Ethnic Fraud in Indian Country: A Contemporary Analysis”

**Audra Simpson**, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

This paper examines the latest test or challenge to Indigenous forms of citizenship—the fraud, the false claimant to Indigenous relationality/belonging/“identity.” How does the person who stands outside of Indigenous kinship and relationships to land and water render themselves a claimant upon those orders/political philosophies and knowledge? How does citizenship in the settler state challenge those orders as well? This paper will focus on one admitted fraud, Professor Elizabeth Hoover, who has apologized to “those effected by” her presumed lack of knowledge about herself and her family, and an outsized assumption of another form of identity, the decontextualized, claimant that “plays” Indian (in Deloria’s sense). What are the stakes of this form of pretension upon Indigenous political orders, already strained by the imposition of electoral governance (on both sides of the northern border) and self-identification vis-a-vis universities and granting agencies, the formation ground of the contemporary fraud?

10:50 AM - 11:20 AM **COFFEE BREAK**

11:20 AM - 12:20 PM **KEYNOTE ADDRESS: NED BLACKHAWK**

**INTRODUCTION** **Cristina Stanciu**, VIRGINIA COMMONWEALTH UNIVERSITY

## “Contesting the False Premises of U.S. History: Native American Activists and the Mythology of Indigenous Disappearance”

**Ned Blackhawk**, YALE UNIVERSITY

The incorporation of Native American lands, resources, and communities into the United States after the U.S. Civil War forever redefined the relationship between Native nations and the United States. As new national policies and institutions of federal authority emerged, new leaders, activists, and educators sought remedies to combat these intrusions, doing so increasingly in

**CÉLINE PLANCHOU** is an Associate Professor of US Studies at the Université Sorbonne Paris Nord (USPN) and a member of Pléiade (Centre de recherche pluridisciplinaire en Lettres, Sciences Humaines et des Sociétés). Her research focuses on the evolution of the legal and political status of Indigenous nations, and their members, in the United States, with a focus on child welfare issues. She has co-edited with Marine LePuloch an issue of the French journal of American studies on “The Nations Within” (*Revue française d’études américaines* 144:3, 2015). Her current work, a collaboration project with Sandrine Baudry, deals with the political and spatial dynamics of Indigenous visibility in small cities, especially border towns like Rapid City, South Dakota.



**AUDRA SIMPSON** (Kahnawà:ke Mohawk) is Professor of Anthropology at Columbia University. She researches and writes about Indigenous and settler society, politics and history. She is the author of *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States* (Duke University Press, 2014), winner of the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association’s *Best First Book in Native American and Indigenous Studies Prize*, the *Laura Romero Prize* from the *American Studies Association*, the *Sharon Stephens Prize* from the *American Ethnological Society* (2015) and *CHOICE Outstanding Academic Title* in 2014. She has published articles and book chapters spanning various fields. She was a Distinguished Visiting Scholar at the Jackman Humanities Institute at the University of Toronto in 2018, the Nicholson Distinguished Visiting Scholar in the Unit for Criticism and Theory at University of Illinois (Urbana-Champaign) in 2019 and Distinguished Visiting Scholar at the Department of Race, Diaspora and Indigeneity at University of Chicago in 2023. In 2010 she won Columbia University’s School for General Studies Excellence in Teaching Award. In 2020 she won the *Mark Van Doren Award for Teaching*. She was the second anthropologist in the 50-year history of the award to do so.



**NED BLACKHAWK** (Western Shoshone) is the Howard R. Lamar Professor of History and American Studies at Yale University, where he is the faculty coordinator for the Yale Group for the Study of Native America. He is the author of the award-winning books *Violence over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West* (2008, awarded the Book of the Decade Award by the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association among many other recognitions) and *The Rediscovery of America: Native Peoples and the Unmaking of U.S. History* (2023), winner of many awards, including the 2023 National Book Award in Nonfiction. In 2024 he was awarded the prestigious Guggenheim Memorial Fellowship. In addition to serving in professional associations and on editorial boards, Professor Blackhawk has founded two fellowships, one for American Indian Students to attend the Western History Association’s annual conference, the other for doctoral students working on American Indian Studies dissertations at Yale named after Henry Roe Cloud.



inter-tribal associations. Some advocated for U.S. citizenship, while others sought the return of dispossessed lands. Drawing from the concluding chapters of *The Rediscovery of America: Native Peoples and the Unmaking of U.S. History*, this presentation examines the rise of early twentieth-century Indigenous activism and assesses it within broader intellectual currents. Such examination outlines how Native American activists confronted inter-related legal and intellectual challenges and outlines how new legislative initiatives emerged that targeted assimilation's continued attacks on Indian children and communal lands.

12:20 PM- 2:00 PM LUNCH

2:00 PM- 3:30 PM **PANEL 4**  
**THE INDIAN TERRITORY AND INDIGENOUS CITIZENSHIP**

**CHAIR** Lionel Larré, UNIVERSITÉ BORDEAUX MONTAIGNE

**“Five Tribes Nationhood and the Pulverizing Engine of Allotment: Contending Indigenous/Settler Citizenships in the Indian Territory, 1887–1907”**

**Daniel Heath Justice**, UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

While the 1924 Snyder Act is often cited as a key citizenship event for Native people in the U.S., focus on that date obscures the influential enfranchisement politics attached to allotment in the Indian Territory generations earlier, and the long history of U.S. citizenship as a weapon extending settler control over the Five Tribes, their own citizens, and their lands. This presentation will consider the dispossessive rhetorics of citizenship in the Indian Territory at that period and their continuing influence on Five Tribes citizenship politics and policies today.

**“Guardianship in Oklahoma Courts, 1925–1940: Wardship Status in the Aftermath of the Snyder Act”**

**Anne Gregory**, UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA–LINCOLN

What did US citizenship mean for those deemed "incompetent"? Between 1898 and 1914, Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Seminoles, Muscogees, Delawares, and Mississippi Choctaws enrolled with the Dawes Commission in order to become eligible for parcels of land in Indian Territory. A decade later, at the passing of the 1924 Snyder Act, a continued guardianship regime persisted in Oklahoma to restrict autonomy of Native people defined as "incompetent" or as "wards." Based on close analysis of hundreds of guardianship cases in the Oklahoma Supreme Court between 1924 and 1940, this paper will investigate the legal claims in court records, as well

**DANIEL HEATH JUSTICE** is a Colorado-born enrolled citizen of the Cherokee Nation. He is Professor of Critical Indigenous Studies and English and a Distinguished University Scholar at the University of British Columbia on unceded Musqueam territory, and is Harvard College Visiting Professor in Ethnicity, Indigeneity, and Migration in the Department of English at Harvard University for the 2023-24 academic year in traditional Massachusetts territory. His most recent book is *Allotment Stories: Indigenous Land Relations Under Settler Siege*, a critical and creative collection on Indigenous responses to settler colonial land privatization, co-edited with White Earth Ojibwa historian Jean M. O'Brien (University of Minnesota Press, 2022).



**ANNE GREGORY** is a first-year Ph.D. student in the Department of History at the University of Nebraska–Lincoln. Specializing in Ethnic Studies, she is an Andrew W. Mellon Foundation-funded Graduate Fellow in University of Nebraska's ground-breaking *U.S. Law and Race Initiative*. She received her M.S. in Conflict and Dispute Resolution from the University of Oregon School of Law in 2020 with a certification in International Conflict, and a B.A. in History from the University of Oregon in 2017. Before beginning her doctoral studies at UNL, Anne revitalized the story of her ancestor buried at the Canton Indian Asylum in South Dakota. Her work has been published in *Disability Studies Quarterly*.



**JOSHUA NELSON** (Cherokee) is Associate Professor of English, Presidential Professor, and affiliated faculty with Film & Media Studies, Native American Studies, and Women's & Gender Studies at the University of Oklahoma. He was Co-Producer, Co-Writer, and Host on the nationally broadcast PBS documentary *Searching for Sequoyah*. He is currently directing the documentary *The Trail of the Thunderbirds* on two American Indian Medal of Honor awardees of the 45th Infantry Division during World War II. He served several years as Lead Organizer of the Native Crossroads Film Festival & Symposium and is the author of *Progressive Traditions: Identity in Cherokee Literature and Culture* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2014). A native Oklahoman, he earned his BA in psychology at Yale and his Ph.D. in English at Cornell.



**CLAIRE ANCHORDOQUI** teaches American history at the University of Toulouse Jean Jaurès, France. She recently defended her Ph.D. dissertation on the evolution of the teaching of history to D/N/Lakota people in South Dakota (1865-2020) under the supervision of Pr. Lionel Larré (University of Bordeaux Montaigne) and Pr. Anne Stefani (University of Toulouse Jean Jaurès). She is the author of several articles and book chapters on the impact of recent federal Indian education policies, tribal sovereignty in education, and Indigenous activism during the Progressive Era. Her current research focuses on education activism during the Progressive Era.





as the frameworks that justified judicial decision-making. It will also look at ways that incompetents and wards asserted their own agency through litigation in an effort to strengthen their legal and economic status.

## “What Your Country Can Do for You’: Will Rogers, Alfalfa Bill Murray, and the Illusion of National Belonging.”

**Joshua Nelson**, UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

The citizenship bestowed on Native peoples in 1924 with the Citizenship Act was not a complete version, as many Native people could have testified twenty years before. When Oklahoma became a state, it got a taste of second-class citizenship as it sent small-town politicians to the nation’s capital. One of these was “Alfalfa” Bill Murray: US Representative, future Oklahoma governor, avowed racist, intermarried white citizen of the Chickasaw Nation, and in 1924, a failing leader of a utopian colony in Bolivia, with himself as the unironic arbiter of who would qualify for citizenship. That same year, Cherokee media giant Will Rogers made three comedic films about “Alfalfa” Doolittle, local bumpkin and eventual US Senator. Rogers’ irreverence for pandering, hypocritical and ineffectual politicians relies on a deeper recognition of the inherent absurdity in belonging to a political body, legislative or national, at least as interested in surface as in substance. In this qualified light, citizenship emerges as less a bestowal of total national belonging than as a partial, manipulative strategy to protect the nation’s image and resources.

3:30 PM- 4:00 PM

COFFEE BREAK

4:00 PM - 5:30 PM

PANEL 5

EDUCATION FOR CITIZENSHIP AND SOVEREIGNTY THROUGH LANGUAGE

**CHAIR** **Oliver Scheiding**, OBAMA INSTITUTE, JOHANNES GUTENBERG-UNIVERSITÄT MAINZ

## “Education for Citizenship and the Indian Citizenship Act: Assimilation or Emancipation?”

**Claire Anchordoqui**, UNIVERSITÉ TOULOUSE JEAN JAURÈS

This presentation will study the rhetoric that circulated prior to the passage of the Indian Citizenship Act in 1924 through the writings of Indigenous intellectuals advocating for citizenship and the reports of Indian agents and commissioners of Indian affairs who identified citizenship as the ultimate goal of education, representing the most advanced form of assimilation. I wish to see if the definition that Indigenous intellectuals gave of a good citizen were similar to that of white officials, and mainstream society in general, and what was the role that

**BEATRICE COLLIGNON** is a Professor at Université Bordeaux Montaigne, where she teaches social and cultural geography. She is a member of the CNRS (National center for Scientific research) Research Group “Arctic environment and societies” and of Research Centre UMR 5319 Passages (CNRS/Bordeaux Universities). Her work focuses on geographic knowledges, both vernacular and academic, and on the circulation of paradigms between French and Anglo-American geographies. She has been conducting fieldwork with and among the Inuit of the Western Canadian Arctic (Inuvialuit and Inuinnait) since the mid-1980s, studying toponymic systems, spatial orientation, oral tradition in relation to landscapes and worldviews, pre-settlement and contemporary domestic spaces, and more recently Inuinnait short-term travels within and outside the Arctic. She is recognized as an expert in Inuit studies, aboriginal worldviews and vernacular geographies.



**LAURA SIRAGUSA** (Ph.D. Anthropology, University of Aberdeen, 2013) is a senior lecturer in the Department of Linguistics at Ohio State University, linguistic anthropologist and sociolinguist with an interest in environmental and historical anthropology. Her research focuses on communicative practices in relation to the broader language ecology, which comprises political, economic, social and cultural dynamics. She has conducted research among Indigenous groups in Northwest Russia (namels, Veps, and Sámi). She has investigated language revival movements, human-environment relations, and the materiality of language, among other relevant topics.



the school should play in reaching that ultimate goal. During the 1920s, Indigenous pupils started going to public schools in large numbers. My hypothesis is that, although in theory radically different views on the utility of citizenship existed, in practice, it mainly meant the final stretch of the government's assimilatory policies. Indeed, citizenship education meant bringing up young Americans to understand their rights (which could be positive for Indigenous people) and to become good patriots by learning a version of US history which, at the time, celebrated heroic figures and the great expansion of the US, detrimental to Indigenous communities. Doubling down on this narrative in public schools would mean exposing students to a settler colonialist discourse.

## “We Wanna be Canadian, Like Everybody Else’: Inuit Identity and Canadian Citizenship”

**Béatrice Collignon**, UNIVERSITÉ BORDEAUX MONTAIGNE

Like other aboriginal peoples throughout the Americas, Canadian Inuit have been struggling to have their territorial and cultural rights recognized and respected by “mainstream” Canadians and the various layers of government and administration that structure the Canadian confederation. Their land claims, which started in the early 1970s and were settled as early as 1975 for those living in the province of Quebec (James bay agreement) and as late as 2006 for those living in the province of Labrador (Nunatsiavut agreement), with the 1993 Nunavut agreement taking central stage, have set an example for other land claims at least in Canada.

But reclaiming the land and the recognition of Inuit knowledge (*Inuit qauyimaqatuqangitii*) is about more than that, it is about being treated as equals, as “Canadians like everybody else”, as Diane Alikamik, then aged 15, put it, back in the fall of 1986 when I was conducting my first Arctic fieldwork as an MA student.

Based on a long lasting conversation with the Inuinnait (Canadian Western Central Arctic), which started in 1986 and is still developing, this paper will discuss how Canadian Inuit see themselves as members of Canada's confederation, what citizenship means to them and what are their perspectives on the future within the Confederation.

## “From Equality to Equity: How to Imagine Indigenous Futures within Language Revival Movements in Northwest Russia”

**Laura Siragusa**, OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

Through an analysis of late-1980s and contemporary language revival movements in Northwest Russia, I problematize the notion of *social justice*, which allows for imagining different Indigenous futures. The notion of social justice is tightly intertwined with that of citizenship. While a contemporary conception of citizenship supposedly encompasses full civil, political, and social rights; social justice aims to guarantee that discriminated, marginalized, and often minoritized groups do in fact exercise those very rights and have access to the same opportunities as all other citizens. Investigating two different periods of Indigenous language revitalization enables me to draw parallels between key concepts within social justice theories (namely, *equality*

and *equity*) and experiences of language revival, while observing how those affected imagine Indigenous futures respectively. The Indigenous language activists in Northwest Russia in the late 1980s possibly unconsciously adopted *equality* strategies in the way they approached the revival of their heritage language. This experience allowed them to envision a future where the Indigenous languages would gain ground and prestige in a Russian-speaking dominant ecology. More recent experiences of language activism appear to align with more recent conceptualization of social justice as *equity*, where linguistic diversity is valued and legitimized. Within this new revival wave, activists and speakers of the language have carved out a niche and a sustainable future for themselves. If the experiences of hope and openness that many went through at the end of the Soviet Union matched an imagination of bright and vibrant Indigenous futures; the more recent feelings of control and mistrust have led to a retreat towards more intimate spaces, where speaking an Indigenous language provides comfort and solidarity within an otherwise challenging broader ecology.

5:30 PM

**DINNER (ON YOUR OWN)**

NOTES

JUNE  
21

# DAY THREE

UNIVERSITÉ DE BORDEAUX, SITE PEY-BERLAND, 35 PLACE  
PEY-BERLAND, ROOM 1K

9:00 AM **PANEL 6 | INDIGENOUS SOVEREIGNTIES WITHIN GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES**

Matthew Bokovoy (Chair), Sardana Nikolaeva, Dmitry Arzyutov, and Farah Benramdane

10:30 AM **COFFEE BREAK**

11:00 AM **KEYNOTE ADDRESS | "CITIZENSHIP AND THE CONSTITUTION OF AMERICAN COLONIALISM"**

Maggie Blackhawk, Introduction by Cristina Stanciu

12:00 PM **LUNCH**

2:00 PM **PANEL 7 | INDIGENOUS SOVEREIGNTIES ACROSS TIME AND SPACE**

Bernadette Rigal-Cellard (Chair), Marissa L. Carmi, Doug Kiel, and Susanne Berthier-Foglar

3:30 PM **COFFEE BREAK**

3:45 PM **PANEL 8 | INDIGENOUS LITERARY AND LINGUISTIC IMAGINARIES OF CITIZENSHIP AND SOVEREIGNTY**

Oliver Scheiding (Chair), René Dietrich, Lee Schweninger, Kerstin Knopf, and Frank Newton

7:00 PM **SYMPOSIUM DINNER**

L'Alcala (Place Alcala de Hénaires, 33400 Talence, France)

# SESSIONS

FRIDAY

JUNE 21

9:00 AM - 10:30 AM

**PANEL 6  
INDIGENOUS SOVEREIGNTIES WITHIN GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES**

**CHAIR** Matthew Bokovoy, UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA PRESS

**"Organic Internationalists: Indigenous Internationalism and Global Solidarity in the Soviet Indigenous Arctic"**

**Sardana Nikolaeva**, ZIBIING LAB, UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

In 1986, the Sakha newspaper *Young Communist* ('Эдэр Коммунист') published a poem "To Leonard Peltier" ('Леонард Пелтиера') along with the petition to free Leonard Peltier signed by 357 students and faculty of the Yakut State University, the central higher education institution of the YASSR (the Yakut Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic). Leonard Peltier is a Dakota leader of the American Indian Movement and a political prisoner, still serving two life sentences since 1977. With this and other examples, analyzed in this paper, I show that the Indigenous people in the Soviet Indigenous Arctic not only were acutely aware of the global Indigenous struggles, but they also theorized and practiced a particular Indigenous Internationalism as a radical solidarity with Indigenous and other oppressed communities worldwide. In 1864, the First International popularized socialist internationalism to describe global working-class solidarity opposing growing nationalism, capitalism, and war. In the 20th century, specifically after World War II, liberal internationalism emerged as a political and economic doctrine associated with a world order led by new international organizations and enforced by US hegemony. Today, internationalism is less associated with specific political ideologies, and is typically understood as interchangeable with transnationalism, globalization, cosmopolitanism, and any concept describing cooperation between nation-states towards common purposes. Similarly, much of the current academic and public discussion on Indigenous Internationalism centres on the emergence, general workings, and politics of the international and transnational institutions and organizations which intended to address the issues faced by Indigenous peoples globally. However, challenging the reductive definitions of Indigenous Internationalism as only existing within nation-state framings, I argue that Indigenous Internationalism as an alternative template for theorizing and practicing Indigenous solidarity goes beyond the constraints and barriers of narrow institutional discourses, transcends existing nation-state rhetoric on Indigeneity recognition, and builds firmly on Indigenous self-determination.



## “Indigenous Sovereignty under the Shadow of Mushroom Cloud: Narrating the Soviet Military Colonization of Novaya Zemlya Through the Life History of a Nenets Hunter”

**Dmitry Arzyutov**, OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

This paper delves into the tragic history of Novaya Zemlya, an Arctic archipelago, focusing on its transformation into a military zone and subsequent conversion into a terrifying Soviet nuclear bomb testing ground. The process, which took place in the 1950s, resulted in extensive environmental destruction and the forced relocation of Nenets and Pomor communities to the mainland and nearby islands. To comprehensively understand these events within the dialogues between Indigenous sovereignty and settler colonialism in the Arctic, this paper explores the life history of Tyko Vylka (1886-1960), a Nenets hunter from Novaya Zemlya. Vylka, known for his skills as a painter, epic singer, and guide in Arctic expeditions, eventually became a prominent political figure in the archipelago, earning the semi-ironic but accepted title of “President of Novaya Zemlya,” recognized even by Soviet officials. However, his ambiguous integration into Soviet politics led him to agree to the relocation of Indigenous communities from the archipelago. By analyzing Vylka’s art, writings, Soviet official documents, and oral history accounts, this research offers insights into the intricate interplay of Soviet politics in the Arctic and the loss of Indigenous sovereignty during the early Cold War. The study draws on extensive archival research conducted by the author in Russia and Europe, supplemented by oral history accounts from Nenets families who were relocated from the archipelago. This paper is part of the author’s book project dedicated to the social and environmental history of Novaya Zemlya.

## “Citizens of the State: Tribal-State Collaboration in the Context of Mining Permits”

**Farah Benramdane**, UNIVERSITÉ BORDEAUX MONTAIGNE

In 1983 the Voigt decision reaffirmed Ojibwe treaty rights and reserved rights on ceded territory. As a result, eleven Ojibwe tribes founded the Great Lakes Indian Fish and Wildlife Commission, an intertribal organization that seeks to ensure the protection of the 1837 and 1842 treaty provisions. Since its creation, the GLIFWC consistently works to review permit applications and environmental impact statements delivered by Departments of Natural Resources for mining projects located on, or near, ceded territories. Despite occasional collaboration between the two agencies, the decision power regarding permit approval is left solely in the hands of state agencies. Tribal-State relations work within the complex framework of the federal organization of the United States in which tribe members are both citizens of a state all the while forming independent governments. Despite metallic mining potentially posing a threat to every resident located near the project, tribal opposition to mining projects seems to create a fracture in tribal-state relations with agencies such as DNRs consistently approving permits, and disregarding

## SPEAKERS

**MATTHEW F. BOKOVOY** (Ph.D. History, Temple University) is senior acquisitions editor for Native American and Indigenous Studies, Cultural Anthropology, History of Anthropology, Ethnography, Global Borderlands History, Memoir, and General Nonfiction of the American West at University of Nebraska Press, with over 60 award-winning books. He previously worked at University of Pennsylvania, Temple University, and Oklahoma State University in history of the American West, US social history, architecture and urbanism, and US and European cultural and intellectual history. He is former literary editor at University of Oklahoma Press and was editor-in-chief at the San Diego History Center’s *Journal of San Diego History*, with 22 years of experience in scholarly publishing. Bokovoy is the author of *The San Diego World’s Fairs and Southwestern Memory, 1880-1940*, (University of New Mexico Press, 2005), and contributed to the museum catalog, *Designing Tomorrow: America’s World’s Fairs of the 1930s*, (Yale University Press, 2010). He is currently working on a writing project, “A Revolutionary Age: America 1940-1975.” Bokovoy is a member of the board of directors of International Publishers (NYC), and KZUM 89.3 FM in Lincoln, NE, a Corporation for Public Broadcasting station.



**SARDANA NIKOLAEVA** holds a Ph.D. in Social and Comparative Analysis in Education from the University of Pittsburgh, US, and a Ph.D. in Cultural Anthropology from the University of Manitoba, Canada. Sardana is currently a Postdoctoral Fellow with Ziibiing Lab (Global Indigenous Politics Collaboratory) at the Department of Political Science of the University of Toronto. Her work broadly centers on Indigenous politics, Indigenous classed and gendered experiences, geopolitical economy, economic sanctions, and extractivism.



**DMITRY V. ARZYUTOV** (Ph.D., Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography-Saint Petersburg, 2007; Ph.D., Royal Institute of Technology-Stockholm, 2021) is assistant professor in the Department of Slavic and East European Languages and Culture at the Ohio State University. He was formerly a Research Fellow at the University of Oulu, Finland, and an Honorary Research Fellow at the University of Aberdeen, UK. His research has appeared in *Current Anthropology*, *History and Anthropology*, *Visual Anthropology*, *Histories of Anthropology Annual*, *Polar Record*, *Sibirica*, *Ab Imperio* and other journals and books in English, Russian, French, Finnish, and Swedish.



tribal practices and reserved rights. This presentation will try to demonstrate, through a field study report, that a better codification of tribal-state relations in the context of mining permits needs to be implemented through consistent and mandatory collaboration between DNRs and intertribal organizations such as GLIFWC.

10:30 AM - 11:00 AM **COFFEE BREAK**

11:00 AM - 12:00 PM **KEYNOTE ADDRESS: MAGGIE BLACKHAWK**  
**INTRODUCTION** **Cristina Stanciu**, VIRGINIA COMMONWEALTH UNIVERSITY

## “Citizenship and the Constitution of American Colonialism”

**Maggie Blackhawk**, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

Conventional wisdom generally draws a distinction between constitutionalism and empire. A constitution is presumed to serve as the fundamental law of a nation. It is established to set and maintain borders. But it primarily focuses inward on a federalist, but unitary, legal and constitutional culture that aspires to equality, justice, republicanism, and liberal values. In this view, colonialism is constitutionalism’s opposite. Empire is outward-facing and focused not on a nation, but on expansion and conquest. It governs not through consent, but through force. Rather than create a unitary constitutional culture, colonialism fosters legal variation and constitutional pluralism. In this presentation I will explore the ways that the distinctions between the United States Constitution and colonialism have been overstated. I will show that, like many constitutions of empire during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the United States Constitution had two faces: one for the colonizing polity and the other for the colonized. The United States Constitution with which we are most familiar would govern the colonizing polity—deemed “citizens,” a contested category that developed over time. But the Constitution would also provide the national government with the power to govern non-citizens, “Indians” and others, in spaces of liberal constitutional exception.

Together we will explore how, within these spaces, the national government built a constitution of empire: a vast and intricate web of relationships between the central government, its citizens, and the non-citizens it colonized. Within this outward-facing or “external” constitution, American colonialism has thrived — like the tentacles of an octopus, it constructed colonies and the jurisdictions they inhabit as the borderlands of the United States. In addition to studying the ways that constitutional law facilitated the American colonial project by manipulating the status of “citizen”—stripping the category of substance and rights protection—we will also explore the ways that borderlands peoples resisted and survived brutal colonial schemes by repurposing colonial infrastructure. Borderlands advocates crafted innovative forms of citizenship that respected inclusion in the polity while maintaining Indigenous communities and governance, and then they leveraged their position as citizens to build one of the most robust forms of recognition for Native nations in the world.

**FARAH BENRAMDANE** is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of American Studies at Université Bordeaux Montaigne under the supervision of Pr. Lionel Larré. She served as the doctoral representative for the University Research Commission, and holds a teaching assistant position in American history. Her research focuses on the permit application process for mining companies looking to develop projects on Ojibwe ceded territories in Wisconsin and Minnesota, and explores the relationship between state agencies and tribal organizations, jurisdictional issues and competing sovereignties.



**MAGGIE BLACKHAWK** (Fond du Lac Band of Lake Superior Ojibwe) is a Professor of Law at NYU and an award-winning interdisciplinary scholar and teacher of constitutional law, federal Indian law, and legislation. Blackhawk was awarded the American Society for Legal History’s William Nelson Cromwell Article Prize and her research has been published or is forthcoming in the *Harvard Law Review*, *Stanford Law Review*, *Yale Law Journal*, *Columbia Law Review*, and the *Supreme Court Review*. Her recent projects examine the ways that American democracy can and should empower minorities, especially outside the traditional rights and courts-based frameworks. She also studies how the political agency of marginalized communities has shaped American democracy historically and how those communities have leveraged the law to redistribute power. Her first book project, under contract with Harvard UP, highlights the centrality of Native Nations, Native peoples, and American colonialism to the constitutional law and constitutional history of the US. She was appointed Senior Constitutional Advisor to the President of the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe.



**BERNADETTE RIGAL-CELLARD** is a Professor in North-American Studies and Religious Studies at Université Bordeaux Montaigne, where she founded the multidisciplinary Master program “Religions and Societies” in 2005. She is a specialist of minority religions and of their interaction with their surrounding culture, as well as of the links between religions and literatures. She is vice-president of the European Observatory of Religions and secularism. She has published extensively in these fields and edited several volumes on the transformations of religions in the context of globalization and also in the field of religion and literature, more particularly Native North American literatures.



**MARISSA L. CARMi** (Oneida Nation of Wisconsin) is the Associate Director of the American Indian Center (AIC) and a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of American Studies at the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill. Her research explores the multidimensionality of Oneida sovereignty in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries and Oneida intellectual history. In her role at AIC, Marissa is responsible for building and strengthening campus partnerships and developing community-driven initiatives to advance the University’s capacity to serve Native nations across North Carolina and beyond. Before pursuing her doctorate, Marissa worked for the Administration for Native Americans, providing technical assistance to tribal nations and Native organizations implementing community development programs.



12:00 PM - 2:00 PM LUNCH

2:00 PM - 3:30 PM PANEL 7

**INDIGENOUS SOVEREIGNTIES ACROSS TIME AND SPACE****CHAIR** Bernadette Rigal-Cellard, UNIVERSITÉ BORDEAUX MONTAIGNE**“Remaining Oneida Across Time and Space: The Multidimensionality of Oneida Sovereignty in the Early Twentieth Century”****Marissa L. Carmi**, UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

The passage of the Indian Citizenship Act prompted a national conversation about indigeneity that Oneida people had been conducting internally since European settlement: what does it mean to live a distinctly Oneida life? What is required to sustain a discernibly Oneida community? In the years leading up to 1924, these questions became acutely significant. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, New York state officials and entrepreneurs colluded to wipe the Oneida reservation from the state's map, dispersing Oneida community members across neighboring Haudenosaunee reservations. Meanwhile, Oneida families who removed from the Empire State to Wisconsin in the 1830s found themselves navigating the cruel aftermath of the Allotment Act. This paper demonstrates how, in both New York and Wisconsin, Oneida people proposed unique yet resonant strategies to securing Oneida futures.

**“Unhoused Sovereignty: Reclaiming Space and Asserting Autonomy in Indigenous Encampments”****Doug Kiel**, NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

The “Wall of Forgotten Natives” and “Camp Nenookaasi,” recent encampments in Minneapolis, stand not as mere consequences of historical dispossession, but as vibrant demonstrations of unhoused sovereignty. These microcosms of resilience and activism challenge passive portrayals of Native homelessness, instead revealing communities forging cultural identity, reclaiming space, and asserting autonomy despite persistent hardship. Since 2018, these encampments have served as spaces of resistance. They foster collective identity, maintain traditions, and challenge narratives of powerlessness. Yet, they face constant threats—unsafe conditions, police raids, and municipal dismantling. These hardships are rooted in a historical context of systematic exploitation and erosion of Indigenous rights and resources. Further complicating their future is an upcoming Supreme Court case out of Oregon that could criminalize sleeping outdoors for those lacking shelter. This decision directly impacts Minneapolis and its unhoused communities, potentially granting the city power to dismantle encampments without offering viable alternatives. This presentation reframes Native homelessness through the lens of unhoused sovereignty,

**DOUG KIEL** (Wisconsin Oneida Nation) is an Associate Professor of History and the Humanities at Northwestern University. Kiel studies Indigenous histories and settler colonialism, primarily in the American Midwest, with an emphasis on law and policy. Kiel's first book, *Unsettling Territory: Oneida Nation Resurgence and Anti-Sovereignty Backlash*, is forthcoming from Yale University Press. Their next book project, *Power over the Land: Race, Colonialism, and the American Midwest*, examines how settler-colonial geographies of power were created and maintained in the Midwest. Kiel's work in museums has included serving as an advisor and co-curator for *Native Truths: Our Voices, Our Stories*, a permanent exhibition at the Field Museum that opened in 2022. He is co-curating an upcoming exhibition, *Indigenous Chicago*, which will open at the Newberry Library in Fall 2024. Additionally, Kiel serves on the scholarly advisory committee for the new Wisconsin History Center, opening in 2026. As an advocate, Kiel has testified before the U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Natural Resources, submitted an expert witness report in regards to *Oneida Nation v. Village of Hobart* (2020), and currently serves on the Illinois Holocaust and Genocide Commission.



**SUSANNE BERTHIER-FOGLAR** is Professor Emerita at University Grenoble Alps, France. She has worked extensively on resource management and Indigenous claims, participating in two European EIT Raw Materials project from 2017 to 2022. Recently she has published “Mining Indigenous land, Decisions, and Opinions: Uranium and Copper in the American West” in *Digging Earth, Extractivism and Resistance on Indigenous Lands in the Americas* (Ed., Catherine Bernard, Ethics Press, Cambridge, UK, 2024). She is also the author of a monograph on the Pueblo of New Mexico (*Les Indiens Pueblo du Nouveau-Mexique*, Presses Universitaires de Bordeaux, 2010) and the co-editor of *Ressources Minières dans les Amériques* (with S. Tolazzi and F. Gaudichaud). On genetic versus cultural identities, she co-edited *Biomapping or Biocolonizing* (with S. Collignon-Whittick, and S. Tolazzi), Rodopi, 2012. On borders, real and metaphorical, she co-edited (with Paul Otto) *Permeable Borders*, Berghahn, 2020, and *Migrations and Borders in the United States: Discourses, Representations, Imaginary Context, Représentations*, CEMRA, 2018.



**RENÉ DIETRICH** is a senior lecturer in American Studies at the Catholic University of Eichstätt-Ingolstadt. He holds a Ph.D. from the University of Giessen 2010, received his post-doctoral degree (“Habilitation”) from the University of Mainz in 2020, and was a visiting scholar at the American Indian Studies Center, UCLA. Among other publications, he is the author of *Revising and Remembering (after) the End: American Post-Apocalyptic Poetry since 1945 from Ginsberg to Forché* (WVT 2012), the coeditor of *Biopolitics, Geopolitics, Life: Settler States and Indigenous Presence* (Duke UP 2023, with Kerstin Knopf), the editor of the *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* special issue “Settler Colonial Biopolitics and Indigenous Lifeways,” and has published in venues such as *Amerikastudien/American Studies*, *Anglia*, *Cultural Studies* ↔ *Critical Methodologies*, *Transmotion*, and the *Journal of Transnational American Studies*. Currently he is finishing a monograph on US settler colonial biopolitics and Indigenous life writing, which is the result of a project funded by the German Research Foundation.





emphasizing community-driven solutions and recognizing encampments as dynamic spaces of resilience and identity formation. It argues for a discourse that prioritizes Indigenous self-determination, access to resources, and policies that respect the inherent rights and humanity of Native peoples.

## “The Indian Citizenship Act 1924 and the Pueblo of New Mexico”

**Susanne Berthier-Foglar**, UNIVERSITÉ GRENOBLE ALPES

For the New Mexican Pueblo, the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924 did not mean much at the time it was passed. In 1848, their land had been turned over to the United States. Article VIII of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848) considered them US citizens but they were treated as “Indians” by the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in New Mexico. Neither really citizens nor protected wards of the government, the Pueblo were clinging to their land base in the 1920s. The positive effect of the “Indian New Deal” under President Franklin Roosevelt and Indian Commissioner John Collier had long term repercussions that would be felt even after the backlash against Indian Rights of the 1950s. The place of the Pueblo as citizens of the United States would be acquired by activism unrelated to the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924: the Taos fight for their Blue Lake—and the return of the land in 1970—after 64 years of battle, the preservation of their land base in numerous lawsuits, the fight to keep their culture and their language—including the right to secrecy—their business ventures within the context of the American mainstream, and their most recent fight for water rights.

3:30 PM - 3:45 PM

COFFEE BREAK

3:45 PM - 5:45 PM

PANEL 8

**INDIGENOUS LITERARY AND LINGUISTIC IMAGINARIES OF CITIZENSHIP AND SOVEREIGNTY**

**CHAIR** **Oliver Scheiding**, OBAMA INSTITUTE, JOHANNES GUTENBERG-UNIVERSITÄT MAINZ

## “Forms of Citizenship in Present-Day North American Indigenous Literature”

**René Dietrich**, CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF EICHSTÄTT-INGOLSTADT

This paper examines the negotiations of citizenship in contemporary Indigenous literature in the US. What does it mean to be a citizen in Indigenous terms? How are terms of citizenship in being a US citizen or a citizen of an American Indian nation differently defined and in fraught relation to the other? How does citizenship as a form of Native belonging manifest in day-to-day affairs? And, how can alternative ideas of citizenship, such as environmental citizenship, be

**LEE SCHWENINGER** is Professor of English at the University of North Carolina Wilmington where he teaches Indigenous literatures and Native film. In addition to numerous essays and book chapters on American Indian literature and film, he has published a monograph on Kiowa writer N. Scott Momaday, as well as a book on film, *Imagic Moments: Indigenous North American Film* (2013) and on environmental literature, *Listening to the Land: Native American Literary Responses to the Landscape* (2008).



**KERSTIN KNOPF** holds an MA (1997) in American/Canadian, Hispanic and Scandinavian Studies, a Ph.D. (2003) and a postdoctoral degree (Habilitation 2012) from the University of Greifswald in Germany. She also studied and researched in Los Angeles (USA), Gothenburg (Sweden), Regina, Ottawa and Toronto (Canada). She is full professor for North American and Postcolonial Literary and Cultural Studies at the University of Bremen in Germany and director of the institute for postcolonial and transcultural studies (INPUTS) and the Bremen Institute for Canada and Quebec Studies (BICQS). Furthermore, she currently fulfills the role of past-president of the International Council for Canadian Studies (ICCS president 2021-23). Her main research interests are Indigenous film and literature worldwide, settler colonial studies, post-colonial studies focusing on North America, Australia, New Zealand and Papua New Guinea, Blue Humanities, epistemological power relations and Indigenous/postcolonial knowledge systems, American and Canadian romantic literature, and American prison literature.



**FRANK NEWTON** is a research associate and Ph.D. candidate in the Obama Institute for Transnational American Studies at Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz. He received his M.Ed. in 2017, and taught as an exchange lecturer at the University of California Davis in 2017-18. He currently works as a doctoral researcher for Prof. Dr. Oliver Scheiding in the field of Transnational Periodical Cultures, with a focus on Native American Periodicals between 1890 and 1930. His project aims to examine Indigenous North American periodicals and how they function as particular media formats to shape society and culture. It explores their multimodal practices (i.e. the magazine as an experience not as a commodity) to address questions of collaboration, interaction, and ethnic differentiation in a period of social and technological transition.



seen as entering the debate and creating a space for citizenship that potentially extends beyond colonial limits as well as possibly affirms them in different ways? I turn to Oscar Hokeah's novel *Calling for a Blanket Dance* (2022) and the poetry of dg nanouk okpik (Inuit). In *Calling for a Blanket Dance*, Hokeah (Cherokee-Kiowa) explores both a multi- and inter-tribal reality among Native communities in Oklahoma. Doing so he shows how Native citizenship as an indicator of sovereignty can both work as having access to a social support system that attempts to offset certain effects of colonialism and be used as a lens through which to view the limitations of this sovereignty as well as the corruption and inequality within the political system of the American Indian nation itself. In dg nanouk okpik's poetry, the rights and duties of Native belonging articulated for instance in the framework of citizenship, are intimately tied to the land, in her case the arctic of Inuit territories in present-day Alaska. Her simultaneous witnessing of the harm inflicted on the land and address of the obligations to the land, is closely aligned to the concept of environmental citizenship, raising the question how it can be employed to rethink citizenship, Native and non-native, in new terms and in which ways it reinforces colonial frameworks.

### “A Whole Different Country, Cousin’: American Indigenous Literature Along the Crooked Road to Citizenship”

**Lee Schwenger**, UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA WILMINGTON

A joke in a relatively early scene in Chris Eyre's film *Smoke Signals* suggests that two young men leaving their Idaho reservation to travel to Arizona should have their vaccinations and their passports because they are going into “a whole different country.” 1924 is the year the U.S. Congress passed the *American Indian Citizenship Act*; but, as a humorous moment in this 1998 film suggests, Indian citizenship is not so straightforward. With the passage of the 1924 Act, American Indian citizenship and “the rights thereunto appertaining” actually have come (are still coming?) piecemeal, not at all, all at once. Acoma writer Simon Ortiz argues that “in every case where European culture [read: the concept of citizenship] was cast upon Indian people of this nation there was . . . creative response and development. . . . Today's writing by [American] Indian authors is a continuation of that elemental impulse” (121). This paper will trace some of those legislative pieces as it looks at American Indian literary responses to political and social issues surrounding the progress of “American Indian citizenship,” and examines how Native writers address the ongoing struggle for a legitimate citizenship.

### “Land, Citizenship, Belonging, and Stewardship in Angeline Boulley's *Firekeeper's Daughter*”

**Kerstin Knopf**, UNIVERSITY OF BREMEN

The *New York Times* bestseller *Firekeeper's Daughter* (2021) is the debut novel of Angeline Boulley, an enrolled member of the Sault Ste. Marie Tribe of Chippewa Indians in Michigan. It is a coming-of-age novel and a thriller that propels viewers into traditional Ojibway territory, a reservation and adjacent small town and young people embroiled in events involving multiple murder, sexual abuse, drug abuse, drug rings, and FBI investigations. After her friend is

murdered and more people die, the mixed-blood protagonist Daunis must find ways to help solve the crimes and fight the abuses that are hurting and killing Indigenous youth. At the same time, she needs to stay true to herself and her convictions informed by her sense of justice and community, her relation to her land, her Indigenous roots and knowledge, and her heart. This paper will look at the concepts of land, citizenship, belonging, and stewardship through the lens of Boulley's novel and with the help of Indigenous and non-Indigenous academic writing, such as by Glen Coulthard, Jody Byrd, Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, Margaret Noodin, and Katja Sarkowsky. The paper will not set Indigenous-based and Western-based concepts in opposition to each other, as all concepts are subject to changing pluriversal understandings and related practices; but it will probe the different understandings of land and territory, citizenship and belonging, ownership and stewardship according to these theoretical writings. Finally, the paper attempts to trace the ways in which the novel reflects on these concepts, specifically in its design to support healing and strength of Indigenous youth enabling them to tackle contemporary challenges.

### “I Look the Part, And You Cannot Think of Me Otherwise:’ Native American Periodicals and the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924”

**Frank Newton**, OBAMA INSTITUTE, JOHANNES GUTENBERG UNIVERSITY MAINZ

Beginning in the late nineteenth-century, the United States' policy towards Native Americans centered around their assimilation into the U.S.-society and included the possibility of acquiring U.S.-citizenship. As opposed to earlier policies which focused on removal and reservations (i.e., “domestic dependent nations”), their very existence and future lives now supposedly depended on both their ability and willingness to replace – or have replaced by others – their “tribal ways” with a civilized, U.S.-American one. The government closely linked civilization to citizenship and passed the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924 in order to give dual citizenship (both enrolled tribal and U.S.-citizenship) to all Native Americans born in the U.S. in an effort to correct legal exclusion from earlier policies. For Indigenous peoples, the Citizenship Act became a highly contentious issue. The debate on whether they ought to be American citizens or not was ongoing and discussions on the meaning of U.S.-citizenship were laid out not only in public talks and private conversations, but also in the pages of Indigenous periodicals. These publications, e.g., newsletters, pamphlets, and newspapers, reflect the ambivalence of the idea of citizenship and they highlight how ingrained the status of the “Other” was for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. Indigenous efforts to define their own citizenship and not have it defined for them by a white government body (i.e., sovereignty regarding themselves) were part of an early twentieth-century periodical discourse which can be understood as an ongoing print activism to resist dominant ideologies. Publications such as Carlos Montezuma's (Yavapai) *Wassaja* (1916–1922) or Joseph W. Latimer's attempt to continue Montezuma's work, *Our Captives* or “Wards” – *The American Indian* (1927–1932) highlight resistance to government bodies and articulate the need for just representation. The *Society of American Indian's Quarterly* (1913–1920) can be read in opposition to Montezuma's and later Latimer's publications, showing how the reception of citizenship differs among Native American intellectuals moving into the 1920s.

This paper aims to explore the different views on Indigenous citizenship before and after the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924 in a selection of Indigenous periodicals, showcasing how a perception of themselves and by the U.S. as the “Other” is incommensurate with the law’s attempt at establishing a dual citizenship.

7:00 PM

**SYMPOSIUM DINNER**

L’Alcala, Talence Forum (Place Alcala de Hénaires, 33400 Talence, France)

SATURDAY, JUNE 22, 9:00 AM - 2:00 PM

**SAINT-ÉMILION TOUR**

Optional trip for presenters and registered guests.

9:00 AM

**DEPARTURE BY BUS FROM HÔTEL TÉNÉO ESPELETA**

10:00 AM - 12:00 PM

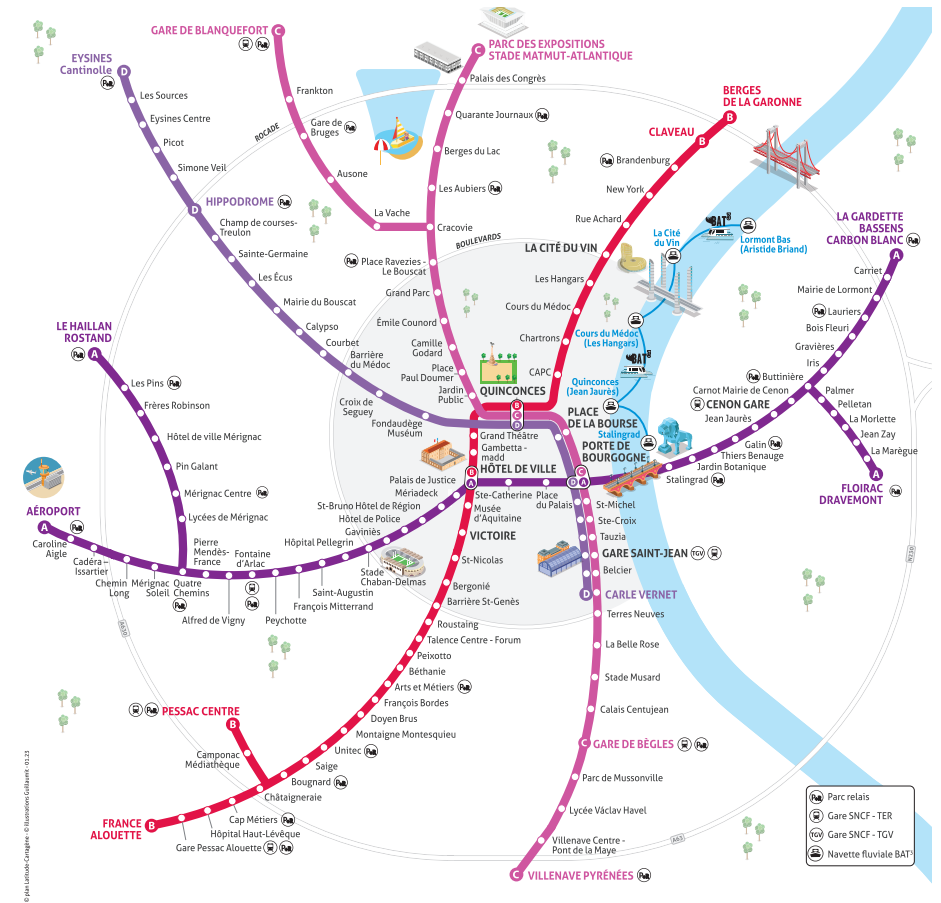
**TOUR OF SAINT-ÉMILION MEDIEVAL VILLAGE**

Saint-Émilion is a charming medieval village located in the heart of the famous Bordeaux wine area. It is a very unique site where world-famous wineries, fine wine, beautiful architecture and great monuments are a perfect match.

12:00 PM - 2:00 PM

**LUNCH AND WORKSHOP AT CHÂTEAU CORMEIL FIGEAC**

Lunch and “Make your own wine” workshop at Château Cormeil Figeac.

**PRACTICAL INFORMATION****TRAM LINE MAP (TRAM LINE B IN RED)****DIRECTIONS****WEDNESDAY, JUNE 19****VENUE** HÔTEL DE VILLE, BORDEAUX

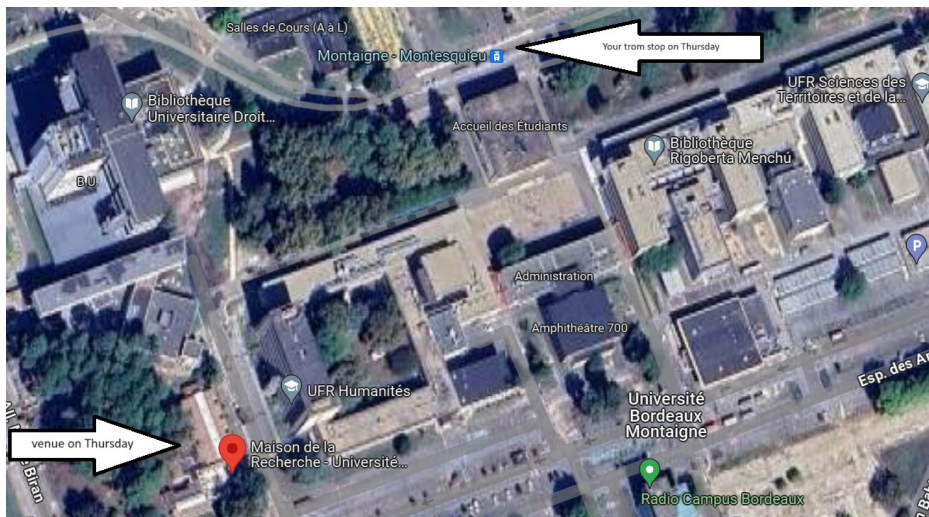
Sessions start at 1:00 p.m.

Walk from hotel to **Talence Centre-Forum**Take tram line **B** (Claveau/Berges de la Garonne) to **Hôtel de Ville** (7 stops)Walk to **Hôtel de ville de Bordeaux (City Hall)** - From the tram station, head right and go around the cathedral. The Hôtel de Ville will face you.





The image above shows the “Hôtel de Ville” tram station, the Hôtel de Ville itself, where we will meet on Wednesday, and the Université de Bordeaux building, where we will meet on Friday.



The image above shows the “Montaigne-Montesquieu” tram station and venue on Thursday, the Maison de la Recherche at Université Bordeaux Montaigne.

**THURSDAY, JUNE 20**

**VENUE** UNIVERSITÉ BORDEAUX MONTAIGNE, MAISON DE LA RECHERCHE  
Sessions start at 9:00 a.m.

Walk from hotel to **Talence Centre-Forum**

Take tram line **B** (Pessac Centre/France Alouette) to **Montaigne-Montesquieu** (6 stops)  
Walk to **Maison de la Recherche** - From the tram station, head southwest, turn right at the Accueil des Étudiants building, then turn left onto Av. du Dr Paul Fournial. The destination will be on your right.

**FRIDAY, JUNE 21**

**VENUE** UNIVERSITÉ DE BORDEAUX, PEY-BERLAND  
Sessions start at 9:00 a.m.

Walk from hotel to **Talence Centre-Forum**

Take tram line **B** (Claveau/Berges de la Garonne) to **Hôtel de Ville** (7 stops)  
Walk to **Université de Bordeaux** - From the tram station, head to the left of the cathedral.  
The Université de Bordeaux building faces the cathedral across the tracks.

## RECOMMENDED RESTAURANTS

**Downtown Bordeaux**

- *Elio's*, Sardinian cuisine, cours du Chapeau Rouge, Bordeaux
- *L'Atelier des Faures*, French cuisine, 13 rue des Frères Bonie, Bordeaux
- *Couleur Café*, French cuisine, 27 rue du Père Louis Jabrun, Bordeaux
- *La Mama*, Italian, rue des Remparts, Bordeaux
- *Le Bistro du Musée*, French cuisine, place Pey Berland, Bordeaux
- *Yamas*, Greek cuisine, 13 rue du Serpolet

**Close to Hotels**

- *La Brasserie du Forum* (Joya Talence)
- *Yamato*, Japanese, 20 allée du 7ème art

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

**Thank you to the staff and students at Université Bordeaux Montaigne who provided invaluable help with the symposium on the ground and behind the scenes!**

Elina Burlot  
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Mélanie Lopez  
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Booklet design by Rani Sisavath, graphic designer and administrative coordinator at the Humanities Research Center at Virginia Commonwealth University.

