

Unreconciled: Indigenous Presents/Presence & Settler Memory

Daniel M. Cobb and Marissa L. Carmi

*HJEAS***ABSTRACT**

This essay explores race, racism, history, and popular memory from the vantage point of the Indigenous world, and, specifically, Native peoples colonized within the present-day United States. Over the course of the past decade, Indigenous movements for land and life have shed light on the incomplete nature of conquest in Native North America and the instability of settler colonialism. “Unreconciled” explores the ongoing tension between Indigenous presence and the settler colonial “logic of elimination” in the context of land acknowledgments, commemoration, popular culture, and federal policy. We show that, despite changes with regard to the ways in which non-Indigenous people in settler states collectively remember or imagine community, elements of settler memory continue to reside within and limit public conversations on race, remembrance, reconciliation, and reparation. (DMC and MLC)

KEYWORDS: Indigenous, land acknowledgments, memory, race, reconciliation, settler colonialism

**Introduction**

This essay explores race, racism, history, and popular memory from the vantage point of the Indigenous world and, specifically, Native peoples colonized within the present-day United States. Over the course of the past decade, Indigenous movements for land and life have demonstrated not only the incomplete nature of conquest in Native North America, but also the impermanence and instability of settler colonialism and settler states like the United States and Canada (Wolfe; “The Red Nation”).¹ Among the most transformative have been Idle No More, which emerged among First Nations, Métis, and Inuit in Canada in 2012; #NODAPL, which peaked in 2016 on Lakota treaty lands just above the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation in North Dakota; and LANDBACK, the manifesto for which demands “the reclamation of everything stolen from the Original Peoples,” including “land, language, ceremony, food, education, housing, healthcare, governance, medicines, and kinship.”² These movements and others like them confront specific issues and seek specific solutions. But they also raise global questions about what obligations settler states have to the Indigenous populations that have survived centuries of invasion and occupation—to the peoples who,

taking inspiration from anthropologist Patrick Wolfe's definition of settler colonialism, have refused to be "destroyed" and "replaced" or yield to the "logic of elimination" (388) (see Estes; Carey and Silverstein; Kauanui; Simpson).

In the wake of political mobilizations like these, transformations within the academe and dramatic changes in the realms of social media and popular culture, public discourse has clearly shifted—though we do not want to overstate by how much—from being defined by the so-called Indian Problem to being defined by what might be termed the Settler Problem. By this we mean that the presumed inevitability of Indigenous elimination, erasure, and disappearance that has informed so much policy, law-making, and indeed popular memory, seems finally to be giving way to analyses that demonstrate how those very policies, laws, and popular representations of Indigenous people intended to ensure Indigenous elimination, erasure, and disappearance. This, in turn, has contributed to demands not only for settler acknowledgment, but also for demonstrations of accountability. And in the light of Indigenous survival, persistence, and resurgence, questions of history and memory have been turning increasingly toward what we are calling Indigenous presents/presence and to matters of reconciliation and reparation.³ While we explore these shifts in the contexts of land acknowledgments, commemoration, popular culture, and federal policy, ours is not a celebratory narrative. Despite changes with regard to the ways in which non-Indigenous people in settler states collectively remember or imagine community (Anderson), we show how elements of settler memory continue to reside within and limit public conversations on race, remembrance, reconciliation, and reparation (Bruyneel, *Settler Memory* 9).⁴

Land acknowledgments

Land acknowledgments have in recent years become increasingly prevalent in the United States and Canada. But what are they exactly? The U.S. Department of Arts and Culture (USDAC), a non-governmental organization with a knack for branding, defines acknowledgment as "a simple, powerful way of showing respect and a step toward correcting the stories and practices that erase [I]ndigenous people's history and culture and toward inviting and honoring the truth" ("Honor Native Land"). By adding the word "land" to acknowledgment, we gain a place-based call for the remembrance of both the dispossession and enduring presents/presence of Indigenous peoples, places, and spaces (see Bruyneel, *The Third Space*).

If this is what land acknowledgments are and what they remember, one must also ask what they require. Here USDAC, utilizing the hashtag #HonorNativeLand, adds: "Acknowledgment by itself is a small gesture. It becomes meaningful when coupled with authentic relationships and informed action. But this beginning can be an opening to greater public consciousness of Native sovereignty and cultural rights, a step toward equitable relationship and reconciliation" ("Honor Native Land").

Just as land acknowledgments have become increasingly prevalent, they have also become ever more problematic. Indeed, the preceding quote identifies areas around which this is especially true. What, for instance, do authentic relationships and informed actions look like in concrete terms? How are equitable relationships made tangible? And by what measure—and according to whose definition—is reconciliation attained? Who, in other words, decides? These are not merely troubling questions. They are interrogations into power and its limits—interrogations that drive to the very heart of whether land acknowledgments are meant to reckon with or simply reinforce settler colonialism, settler states, and settler institutions (see Tuck and Yang; M. C. Lambert, Sobo, and V. L. Lambert).

The ambiguities, complexities, and controversies surrounding questions like these can be seen in stark relief on college and university campuses. A brilliant example of investigative journalism published in *High Country News* by Robert Lee and Tristan Ahtone in the spring of 2020 offers insights into why, even as it suggests the enormity of both the issue and what is at stake. This piece, accompanied by a wide-ranging companion website, shows how in the United States the Morrill, or Land-Grant College, Act of 1862 provided a mechanism for the federal government to redistribute expropriated Native lands to seed endowments for both public and private universities. Some 10.7 million acres of land worth more than 500 million in today's US dollars, were made available to fifty-two of these so-called Land-Grant Universities. Included in this figure are some 79,461 individual parcels of Native land across the trans-Mississippi West and concentrated in the Midwest, Great Lakes, and California. Noting the violence-backed and at times fraudulent means through which these lands were taken, the authors renamed the institutions that have benefited and continue to benefit from the Morrill Act of 1862 "Land-Grab Universities."⁵

The story, however, goes well beyond the Morrill Act. Indeed, in a September 2020 piece published in the online journal *Scalawag*, two doctoral candidates in the Department of History at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill demonstrated how their university profited from the taking of

Cherokee and Chickasaw land during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The money established professorships, renovated buildings, and made it possible for the first public university in the United States to weather the economic tumult of the early 1800s, at times providing nearly its entire operating budget. UNC, however, was not alone. The authors show that it was but one among many Southern institutions that benefited and continue to benefit similarly—and that does not account for subsurface mineral rights on Native lands, as is the case in Oklahoma. In the Northeast, still other nations, including those comprising the Haudenosaunee, endured land grabs long before the passage of the Morrill Act of 1862 (see Kelley and Wright; Mt. Pleasant and Kantrowitz).

Revelations like these have forced to the surface conversations about what institutions of higher education owe to the Indigenous communities that have persisted in the wake of this theft. Some public and private universities have adopted land acknowledgments as vehicles for taking accountability—that is, as a means to an end. State universities in California, Arizona, Colorado, Oregon, Arizona, and Montana, for instance, have put into place either full or partial tuition waivers for Native students. Still other universities have engaged in cluster hires, or the simultaneous hiring of several scholars, in American Indian and Indigenous Studies to begin or bolster undergraduate and graduate curricula, invested in the creation of new centers to promote engaged and collaborative research with Indigenous communities, and committed funding to programming to meet the needs of Native students, faculty, and staff (see Weissman; Carrillo; Baumhardt; American Indian Tuition Waiver, Montana University System; “New Indigenous Initiatives Ushered in at Princeton”; Center for Native American and Indigenous Research, n.d.). Others, however, have taken a different and deeply troubling tack by adopting land acknowledgments as ends unto themselves—that is, as symbolic acts that allow them to elide questions of accountability (see Sobo, M. C. Lambert, and V. L. Lambert; Wood).

Two instructive examples can be found at Miami University in Oxford, Ohio, and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.⁶ What is remarkable about Miami’s land acknowledgment is that, rather than paving the way for the building of authentic relationships and the taking of informed actions, it flowed from them. Indeed, Miami University and the Miami Tribe of Oklahoma forged a relationship in the 1970s and have been engaged in a tribally-directed “partnership in learning” since 2001. This has led to scholarships for Miami students, an innovative language revitalization project spearheaded by the Myaamia Center, a MacArthur Foundation genius grant

for its director Daryl Baldwin, and most recently a \$2 million gift from the nation to the university to support ongoing and future initiatives.⁷ In stark contrast, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill has yet to adopt a land acknowledgment, despite being the flagship university in a state with the second largest American Indian population east of the Mississippi River, including one federally-recognized and seven state-recognized tribal communities. For years, UNC repeatedly relied upon symbolic action and failed to make meaningful investments in Native faculty, students, staff, or communities (see Chavis; Killian; Schlemmer, “Time to Go”; Baiocchi; Schlemmer, “UNC’s Native American Students”). Because of this, there is concern that the long-promised land acknowledgment may turn out to be little more than window dressing—a symbolic act that serves not as a means of building authentic relationships and the taking of informed actions but a reason not to do more. In such a context, acknowledging Indigenous presents/presence disavows an obligation to do anything about it and remembering becomes a form of forgetting (Bruyneel, *Settler Memory*; Anderson).⁸

Public commemoration and commemorative sites

The increasing popularity of land acknowledgments—and faith in their ability to promote reconciliation—has occurred amidst an ongoing national reckoning with public commemorations and commemorative sites. In the United States, holidays such as Columbus Day and Thanksgiving have long been pressed into the service of “America’s Master Narrative,” or the story of how civilization purportedly triumphed over savagery (Calloway 2–4; Dunbar-Ortiz 1–4). Especially since the Columbian Quincentenary in 1992, inroads have been made to re-remember Columbus Day as Indigenous Peoples Day—and to center not the man who made a navigational error but the Indigenous peoples who have found ways to survive the cataclysmic consequences of it. Meanwhile, activism around Thanksgiving has endeavored to re-remember the early contact narrative in New England not as a moment in which Native people became willing accomplices in their own colonization, but as an opportunity for critical reflection, introspection, and mourning. This is perhaps best exemplified in activists’ replacement of “Thanksgiving” with “ThanksTaking,” a term meant to disabuse America of its purportedly original and enduring benevolence (Deloria).

In recent years, the monuments associated with colonizers and celebratory colonial commemorations have come under intense assault, as well. In New Mexico, for instance, Indigenous activists and their allies called

for and secured (sometimes on their own and at others through government channels) the removal of monuments dedicated to Juan de Oñate, a conquistador who inaugurated the conquest of Pueblo homelands in the late sixteenth century. Despite the ruthless violence he inflicted upon Pueblo communities—so extreme he was tried and convicted by the Spanish Crown—Oñate has long been revered as a local patriarch and is immortalized in statues across the state. In 1998, on the 400th anniversary of his arrival, activists removed the foot of one such statue in condemnation rather than commemoration of Oñate’s campaign, which entailed killing hundreds of Pueblo men, women, and children, and severing the foot of many male Pueblo survivors (see Alcorn). More recently, in June 2022, advocates for the removal of an Oñate monument in Alcalde, New Mexico, targeted public memory explicitly by carrying signs that read: “This is not recognizing history. This is choosing the part of history to MONUMENT.” The role of race and charge of racism, though unstated, is eminently clear. To Pueblo people, Oñate was not a hero but a harbinger of death (Balmer).

In similar fashion, some of the most influential museums have been called out for their problematic representations of Indigenous peoples and pasts. For example, in 2022 the Museum of Natural History in New York removed a statue featuring U.S. President Theodore Roosevelt. This monument came under fire for its depiction of Roosevelt purportedly leading Native and African American people out of barbarism’s darkness and into civilization’s light—a classic example of the so-called “White Man’s Burden” that played such a vital role in justifying settler colonialism and white supremacy. The Museum of Natural History has, in addition, begun to revise their salvage-anthropology-inspired exhibits, which present Indians as inseparable from other aspects of the natural world (Pogrebin).

Theodore Roosevelt casts a long shadow figuratively and literally over the intersection between Indigenous erasure, public commemoration, and commemorative sites. Indeed, he is seen as a founder of the national park system in the United States, and his is one of four presidential likenesses carved out of a place sacred to and stolen from the Lakota. In virtually every instance, as Anishinaabe writer David Treuer has shown, Native peoples were forced out of or prevented access to their homelands to establish the park system. In the process, Paha Sapa or “The Heart of Everything That Is” became the “Black Hills” and “Tunkasila Sakpe Paha” (Six Grandfathers Mountain) became “Mount Rushmore.” Testifying to

its ongoing centrality to the settler imaginary, this site was specifically chosen by President Donald Trump to celebrate the Fourth of July in 2020, a moment he seized upon once more to “Make America Great Again,” a settler fantasy if ever there was one (see Treuer, “Return”; Bubacz and Niland).⁹

At Mount Rushmore, Trump did not succeed in fortifying a celebratory narrative around Indigenous erasure. Instead, quite the opposite has been happening. Over the past several years momentum has been building for the return of Indigenous stewardship (and access to) national parks, Mount Rushmore among them. As Treuer notes, this would in some sense “return” 85 million acres of land to Native people (or at least a consortium of Native people), an amount approaching the acreage lost through the policy of allotment from the 1880s to the 1930s. On a similar front, in 2021 Deb Haaland (Laguna Pueblo), the first Native person to become the Secretary of the Interior, announced the formation of the Derogatory Geographic Names Task Force to compile, evaluate, and recommend the renaming of public places that include “squaw,” a derogatory term used in reference to American Indian women (see Treuer, “Return”; Constantino; Interior Department Press Release 22 Feb. 2022).

While acts of re-commemoration and of renaming commemorative sites matter, one must also consider the limits of and ongoing resistance to them—both of which speak to the persistence of settler memory. Consider, for instance, that despite proving more than forty years ago that the Black Hills were stolen, the United States refuses to return the land. Hence the need for movements like LANDBACK (see Ostler). Or consider that in February 2022, Haaland’s task force identified 660 instances of the word “squaw” being used—on “federal land units” alone. That is an astounding number of overtly racist and misogynistic inscriptions of “American” places. Yet this inventory and renaming is directed at only one derogatory term and only on federal—not state or private—land (Constantino). Finally, even as activists succeeded in removing the statue of Oñate from Alcalde, his name and appearance remain ubiquitous, emblazoned across the signs and sweatshirts for local elementary and high schools. The image that comes to mind, then, is that of a flare fired into the night. While, for a moment, it may appear to illuminate the sky brilliantly, its reach is limited, and the light is quickly engulfed by the vast darkness around it. This example might be taken as a metaphor for just how expansive the settler re-inscription of Indigenous land has been and what a colossal undertaking it will be to effect change.

From popular culture to federal policy

As a final example of the commingling of race, racism, history, and popular memory in Native America, we turn briefly to the entanglement of popular culture and federal policy. We have seen that what we call things—what we name them—matters because these names serve as mnemonic devices for histories, memories, and things taken for granted as true—and that these so-called truths carry profound everyday consequences for real people. Within the realm of popular culture, this is perhaps most evident in the controversies surrounding sports team names and mascots. Derogatory descriptions and representations of Native people have long done the work of perpetuating erasure and invisibility. A cartoon by Lalo Alcaraz drawn in 2002 conveys the irony of settlers appropriating racist depictions of Indians only to argue that they are “honoring” their “noble past.” Alcaraz depicts a Native man in t-shirt and long pants staring in disbelief at an obese and shirtless white fanatic decked out in faux headdress and warpaint. Across the latter’s massive girth read the words “Go Savages” and “Kill Them.” With a beer in one hand and team pendant in the other, the “mascot-lovin” non-Indian explains, “But I’m HONORING you, dude!” (Alcaraz). The political scientist Kevin Bruyneel refers to the phenomenon represented in this cartoon as “necro-Indigeneity,” or the act of acknowledging Native people in ways that consign Indigeneity to the past and renders Indigenous presents/presence impossible (*Settler Memory* 22).

Necro-Indigeneity can also be found in the realm of federal policy, as we can see in the context of federal off-reservation boarding schools and the overlapping movements targeting Violence Against Women and Missing and Murdered Indigenous People.¹⁰ For years in Canada, and as of May 2022 in the United States, the treatment of children at assimilationist off-reservation boarding schools has been the focal point for reckoning with the past to advance truth and reconciliation. Recent revelations involving hundreds of unmarked graves at these schools have brought the issue to the fore once again. And following a new investigative report issued by the Federal Indian Boarding Schools Initiative, it seems likely that the United States will establish something similar to Canada’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Interior Department Press Release 22 June 2021; Federal Indian Boarding School Initiative, n.d.).

Recent attempts to confront Violence Against Women and Missing and Murdered Indigenous People serve as another example of necro-Indigeneity. Although Congress has taken legislative action and, in 2021, Secretary Haaland created the Missing & Murdered Unit within the Bureau

of Indian Affairs to “coordinate interagency collaboration and strengthen existing law enforcement resources,” their efficacy remains to be seen. As the Muscogee Creek scholar Sara Deer has shown in *The Beginning and End of Rape* (2015), efforts to address violence against Native women can be stymied by persistent historical and structural problems. Violence Against Women and Missing and Murdered Indigenous People may be considered “contemporary” issues in the sense that they are only now garnering widespread attention. But, as Deer demonstrates, sexual violence directed toward Indigenous women is inseparable from the inherent violence of settler colonialism. It is, in other words, an inevitable and ongoing product of settler state formation. The irrational fear that settlers have of the Indigenous exercise of power—and, in this instance, tribal jurisdiction over crimes committed against Native women by non-Native men—only makes matters worse (see Interior Department Press Release 1 April 2021; Deer).

If these efforts seek to “make right past wrongs,” the way in which they do so may actually perpetuate invisibility, vulnerability, and ongoing violence. This raises a vexing question: if the settler state is the product of racism and violence, can the settler state remedy them? In a review of the Canadian Truth and Reconciliation Commission’s efficacy, political scientist Matt James responds that it is unlikely. The level of self-examination required by a settler state to comprehend its accountability—and exact a commensurate degree of justice—poses an existential threat (31–32). Taking inspiration from the writer Audre Lorde’s classic formulation, the question more accurately may not be whether the master’s tools can dismantle the master’s house, but whether the master is willing to reveal and name his tools at all (Lorde 19).

Here we would like to pivot back to popular culture, for it never fails to remind us of the dangerous nexus settler colonialism has created between history and memory, recognition and appropriation, erasure, and violence. The outfit donned by Victoria’s Secret model Karlie Kloss in 2012 suggests the danger of settler forms of acknowledging and rendering Indigeneity visible. This particular event featured lingerie emblematic of each month of the year—and Kloss’s was meant to symbolize, you guessed it, November. Adorned by a trailing headdress and with thick strands of turquoise hanging from her chest, waist, and wrist, Kloss’s revealing ensemble clearly was meant to evoke “memories” of Thanksgiving and to “honor”—in a fashion that complements the mascot-loving subject of Alcaraz’s cartoon—November as National Native American Heritage Month.

The absurdity of racist mascotry and hypersexualization as settler forms of honoring, in turn, reminded us of Luiseño artist Fritz Scholder's painting *Indian No. 16* (1967), an abstract piece that features a generic Indian on horseback with a question mark above his head. We read it as provoking the question: Is this what you think an Indian is? Team names, mascots, and super models playing Indian beg the same question. But in light of the history that produced the unmarked graves at off-reservation boarding schools and chronic sexual violence against Indigenous women (and that's only the beginning), Scholder's question mark might also ask: How can we expect to attain truth, much less reconciliation and reparation, in the world settler colonialism has created? (see Sims). In short, if these disturbing representations are what acknowledgment and visibility mean in settler societies, we are not sure we can. Settler colonialism seems incapable of remaking the world it created.

(Un)reconciled and (ir)reparable

To the extent that reconciliation, reparation, and remembrance purport to bring closure, they may not be "solutions" to the Settler Problem. Instead, as Bruyneel reminds us, they may serve as disavowals of accountability for the past and ongoing presents/presence of Indigenous people, peoplehood, and politics (*Settler Memory* 3). In our minds, then, it is imperative to work toward reconciling that which is recognized as irreconcilable; to work toward repairing that which is recognized as irreparable; and to work on remembering a past that is recognized as not only not over, but also inseparable from the present.

It is also vital for Indigenous experiences with settler colonialism to be central to discussions of race, racism, and popular memory, because they highlight what we consider to be the limitations of the way in which many in the United States think and speak about diversity, equity, and inclusion or DEI. An understanding of what makes Indigeneity and Indigenous experiences distinct pushes against the tendency of DEI to collapse difference into its own manifestation of sameness.¹¹ In seeking to ensure that all members of an organization, workplace, or university are treated equally, DEI efforts unwittingly revive the romanticized visions of a multicultural America popular in the 1990s and, even earlier, the logic underlying the federal Indian policies of assimilation and termination—visions that sought, according to Treuer, to "absorb Indians into the mainstream, whether they wanted to be absorbed or not" (*Heartbeat* 254). An enlightened version of these same assimilationist visions occurs today when sovereignty and

Indigeneity are overlooked—or outright ignored—in conferences, classrooms, the halls of Congress, and in the realm of popular culture in the name of being “inclusive” and treating “everyone equally.”¹² It follows that reconciliation, reparation, and remembrance—like diversity, equity, and inclusion—in the context of Indigenous-settler relations must mean something different than they do in others. Any hope for justice must begin with an acknowledgment of this distinction and of the ongoing presents/presence of Indigenous people and politics within settler societies that now, more than ever, have been shown to be not only incomplete in their formation but unstable and, indeed, impermanent.¹³

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Daniel M. Cobb, Professor of American Studies, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, is an award-winning writer and teacher. His publications include *Beyond Red Power* (2007), *Native Activism in Cold War America* (2008), *Say We Are Nations* (2015), and numerous articles in peer-reviewed journals.

Marissa L. Carmi (Oneida Nation of Wisconsin) is Associate Director of the American Indian Center and a PhD candidate in the Department of American Studies, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. Her research explores the multidimensionality of Oneida sovereignty in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

Notes

1 With regard to impermanence and instability, we are reminded of the anthropologist Patrick Wolfe’s observation that settler colonialism is “a structure not an event” (388) and is, by extension, inherently unstable and in need of constant maintenance. Note, too, ongoing conversations in the media and among scholars regarding the question of whether the United States is a failed state and the real and imminent threats that nations dependent on the unsustainable exploitation of natural resources have brought upon themselves.

2 For more information on Idle No More, #NODAPL, and LANDBACK, see <https://idlenomore.ca/>; <https://www.nodaplarchive.com/>; and <https://landback.org/>.

3 The coupling of the words “presents” and “presence” in the title and throughout the essay is crucially important. The word “presents” underscores ongoing assertions of not just one Indigenous present but many and diverse Indigenous presents. This directly contradicts the settler fantasy of a homogenous “Indian” consigned irrevocably to “the past.” The word “presence” similarly refuses the settler fantasy of Indigenous erasure and, by extension, the incompleteness of conquest. While we intend readers to enunciate the

phonetic sound \ 'pre-zʰn(t)s \ only once, the visual coupling captures both the simultaneity and distinctiveness of these words as active assertions of enduring peoplehood.

4 The definition of race and what one imagines it to be is itself of vital importance given the implications it carries for defining such critical concepts as diversity, equity, inclusion, and, indeed, justice, as we will address at the end of this essay.

5 This article and website inspired an important special edition of *Native American and Indigenous Studies* (Spring 2021) that speaks to their significance and extends their reach.

6 These two examples were chosen in part because of the authors' familiarity with the institutions. Cobb taught at Miami University from 2004 to 2010. Cobb and Carmi are both presently at UNC at Chapel Hill.

7 For more on the Myaamia Center and the Partnership in Learning, see <https://miamioh.edu/myaamia-center/>, accessed on 2 Sept. 2022. On Baldwin, see Daryl Baldwin, "Linguist and Cultural Preservationist," MacArthur Foundation, <https://www.macfound.org/fellows/class-of-2016/daryl-baldwin#searchresults>, accessed on 3 Sept. 2022.

8 Although as of this writing UNC has yet to adopt its long-promised land acknowledgment, it has begun to make meaningful investments in American Indian and Indigenous Studies and Indigenous presents/presence on campus. This includes the dedication of the Henry Owl Building, a cluster hire in Global Indigeneity and American Indian Studies during the 2022–2023 academic year, and the formation of a working group to articulate a long-term vision for Global Indigeneity and American Indian Studies at UNC.

9 For the full transcript of Trump's speech, see <https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-south-dakotas-2020-mount-rushmore-fireworks-celebration-keystone-south-dakota/>.

10 The latter has been shifting from Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women to Missing and Murdered Indigenous People to be more representative of the scope of the crisis. We acknowledge that here, but also keep in mind the particular severity and prevalence of the violence directed toward Indigenous women.

11 For a helpful introduction into how we do and do not talk about critical concepts like race, racialization, biopolitics, Indian, Indigeneity, and Indigenous in the United States, see *Keywords for American Cultural Studies* edited by Burgett and Hendler (2020) and its companion website at <https://keywords.nyupress.org/american-cultural-studies/>.

12 According to the logic of this period, the racial and political category "Indian" prevented Native people from becoming full participants in American society and, thereby, experiencing all its attending "benefits." To promote the federal government's vision of equal opportunity, sovereignty was steadily eroded in courts and in Congress.

13 For a thoughtful analysis of the possibilities and limitations of reconciliation through settler-state apologies, see "Settler-State Apologies to Indigenous Peoples: A Normative Framework and Comparative Assessment" by Sheryl Lightfoot (2015).

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