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The formulaic approach of this book, while creating a clear and expansive view of the issues facing Indian country, does create a feeling of repetitiveness. Every opportunity is taken to remind the reader of central themes which include cultural harmony, empowerment, and sovereignty. The continued reminders make some sections feel familiar, as though read in previous chapters. That the authors often rely on the Navajo Nation for examples exacerbates this issue.

The very minor problems with *Re-Creating the Circle* do not detract from the book's relevance and powerful message. The wide range of issues covered, historical context given, and in-depth analysis makes this publication an excellent read for both novices and experts in the field. Even the repetitive nature of some of the sections may make the book and its arguments more intellectually accessible to readers with little or no knowledge of Native American history, culture, and affairs. As such, *Re-Creating the Circle* establishes itself as a strong piece of scholarly work on Native America and a must-have for individuals looking to understand why Indian country faces its current problems and what can be done.

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The Other Movement: Indian Rights and Civil Rights in the Deep South.
By Denise E. Bates. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2012. 280 pages.
\$35.95 cloth.

Denise E. Bates focuses on the changing relationships between Indian groups and state governments in the 1970s and 1980s in Alabama and Louisiana. The civil rights movement of the 1960s and the Jim Crow era provide the backdrop, but the author does not go into these periods in depth. Rather, she explores how the impact of the removal era on the groups that were left behind, the biracial social hierarchy of the Jim Crow system, and the subsequent changes of the civil rights movements all set the stage for the conditions and developments of the 1970s and 1980s. Cultural, political, and economic shifts at the regional and national levels shape the context in which the narrative unfolds. The book is based on thorough archival research including legal documents, meeting transcripts, personal correspondence, news clippings, memos, briefs, and notes. To the broader political picture, Bates adds individual stories gleaned from the historical record that contribute a compelling personal dimension. Bates references seven state and federally recognized tribes in Alabama and eight in Louisiana. Groups such as the Poarch Creek, MOWA Choctaw, Coushatta, and Houma provide the bulk of the narrative. Nevertheless, the author attends to the diversity among all the Alabama and Louisiana groups. She connects

her discussion to nationwide issues of sovereignty, self-determination, tribal-state relationships, federal recognition, race, and identity.

In recounting the development of the southern Indian rights movements, the author stresses the importance of Indian leaders and intertribal cooperation to meet the needs of Indian people successfully. Bates also examines the relationships between tribal and state governments, the roles of state legislators, the influence of national intertribal movements, and the assistance of non-Indian lawyers, historians, and anthropologists, among others. She focuses on the development of state Indian affairs commissions to show strategies Indian leaders used to strengthen their political voice and gain greater access to resources that would help their communities. Indian leaders, Bates argues, worked to make the commissions act as positive agents of change rather than further government oppression, and she documents the challenges Indian leaders faced during the commissions' creation and early life to gain Indian control, diversify representation, and bridge the competing visions of Indian groups. The author outlines the broad roles of commissions as liaisons between tribes and states, advocates for Indian individuals, and a means to build public awareness and support.

In recounting the bureaucratic, political, and financial challenges that commissions faced, Bates points in particular to Reagan's conservative economic policies that gave block grant funding to states and cut various social programs. Because block grants ended partnerships among state and tribal governments to acquire federal funding, Bates argues that block grants reduced tribes' parity with state governments, from whom they now had to request funds, and challenged tribal sovereignty. She also cites states' reluctance to fund Indian affairs commissions meaningfully until the 1980s. Indian leaders, as this account shows, exercised creativity, resourcefulness, and flexibility in dealing with limited resources and maneuvering through the vagaries of federal and state policies and politics.

Bates explains how both state and federal recognition figured prominently in the development of the Indian rights movement in the South. The commissions sat at a point of contention among states and the federal government about which would control the adjudication of Indian identity through the recognition process. Bates argues that politicians in southern states saw entering into recognition as a way to assert their state sovereignty by stepping into the federal government's purview, while tribal leaders across diverse groups agreed that Indian people should determine the recognition criteria and process. However, at times state legislatures passed recognition legislation outside the commissions' procedures to usurp control. In addition, Bates shows that the emphasis on biological race in federal recognition procedures addressed the identities of people with multiple heritage and complex histories

inadequately. The states of Louisiana and Alabama, when educated by Indian leaders, were better equipped than the federal government to enact recognition procedures that accommodated the particular historical circumstances and contemporary issues affecting southern tribes.

Even so, Bates describes the substantial obstacles that the entrenched biracial, hierarchical social structure of the South posed to defining and asserting Indian identity. For years, she explains, Indian people tried to negotiate an institutionalized racism that made Native Americans invisible as it stigmatized and marginalized people with African ancestry and privileged European peoples. Documenting the impact of such social inequality in politics, legal and educational systems, she shows that the changes of desegregation and the civil rights movements opened a space for the expression of Indian identity. Yet as Bates points out, the increase in self-identification was accompanied by fraudulent claims, an assault on Native heritage sites, and romanticized misconceptions of regional Indianness. Furthermore, the status and recognition of Indian groups continued to be complicated by the legacy of the Jim Crow era, difficulties in reconciling multiple heritages, and competing political and economic interests.

Bates explains that in navigating the political environment, tribal leaders negotiated between the status of Indian groups as sovereign entities and neglected minorities. Even by the 1980s most southern states did not consider Indians a racial minority. By emphasizing that Indians were a voting and underserved minority, Indian leaders targeted resources to address the high levels of poverty, illiteracy, unemployment, poor health care, and housing in Indian communities.

In tackling the complexities of race and identity in the South, this text joins the works of scholars such as Karen Blu, Gerald Sider, and Jack Campisi. Bates does an excellent job of demonstrating how American society's flawed conceptions of race carry concrete consequences for Indian peoples. Yet the author's own language belies the continuing difficulties in acknowledging and reconciling multiple heritage without oversimplifying identity. A deeper interrogation and critique of the impact of American concepts of race could be achieved through further engagement with theory across the disciplines of history and anthropology. While somewhat beyond the scope of this book, the discussion would also benefit from comparison to the history of Native and Métis peoples in Canada.

The author also shows that to assert a common identity, some groups like the Houma and MOWA Choctaw had to unify scattered families and communities. To do so, Bates argues, Indian leaders had to overcome the strategies of hiding, secrecy, and distrust of outsiders and those in power that people had developed to survive the fallout of the removal era and years of discrimination and prejudice. The author recounts that people also took cultural practices underground or abandoned them altogether. Bates remarks upon the "ultimate

southern Indian irony” that after years of using such strategies to survive a system that stigmatized and marginalized them, such groups had to find a way to document and prove their existence to the federal government (83).

The text describes efforts at public awareness that promoted self-esteem, pride, and cultural revitalization. The author shows that Indian leaders gained greater control over the representation of their groups and histories through exhibits, festivals, documentaries, curriculum changes, public presentations, collaborative research projects, educational booklets, powwows, and princess contests. Such projects promoted cultural and economic development while countering stereotypes and romantic fantasies about Indianness that dominated the public imagination. Bates points out the important role that Native people took in redefining the image of southern states.

One of the most interesting and original parts of the book lies in Bates’ symbolic analysis of the tribes’ visual representations of their identities. She traces changes in text and imagery on letterhead, variation in tribal seals, and the self-representation of tribal leaders. She asserts that leaders drew on tribal symbols to emphasize different content such as intertribal ties, broader concepts of Indianness, tribal distinctiveness, styles of leadership, connections between groups across state lines, or the business dimensions of tribes. The analysis that Bates begins here would prove a fruitful avenue for continued exploration.

The text suggests other areas for future research as well. Commentary from Indian leaders and tribal members on the historical developments of recent decades would further diversify and lend complexity to the research, and pairing this text with others would direct the discussion towards the political and economic changes of the 1990s and twenty-first century, such as Brian Klopotek’s recent ethnographic portrayal of recognition and Louisiana tribes. A similar historical analysis of other states like Texas would broaden the investigation into the patterns and particularities of tribal-state relationships and sovereignty. This book contains exceptionally detailed accounts of Alabama and Louisiana in the 1970s and 1980s that would contribute to either course material or research. The work would complement other texts centered more specifically on the removal, Jim Crow, and civil rights eras. Bates offers a well-organized and well-written addition to the literature on Indians in the South, expanding knowledge of a little-known period, and engaging issues of sovereignty, self-determination, recognition, race, politics, governmental relations, and Indian activism.

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