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Mishuana Goeman. Additionally, Million's emphasis on the political potential of felt knowledges and the role of colonialism as an affective relationship are significant contributions to interdisciplinary theories of affect. Perhaps the most considerable intervention, however, is Million's rigorous critique of neoliberal notions of healing, self-determination, and polity that leave colonial power relations in place. As she insightfully articulates, "The state cannot also be a safe agent in the reconciliation, because it is still constituted through the same nexus of racialization, heteronormativity, and gender violence that it was formed in. Thus, its structural violence is the present and the future state" (162). Million's trenchant call for alternatives is best explored in the final chapter of the text, where she illustrates the ways in which adaptable practices of indigenous epistemologies and cultures in and of themselves carry the potential for polities that pose opposition to capitalism. Toward this end, Million's text situates indigenism with the possibility to imagine notions of self-determination capable of moving nation-states.

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Unsettling America: The Uses of Indianness in the 21st Century. By C. Richard King. Lanham: Rowan and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2013. 164 pages. \$65.00 cloth; \$64.99 ebook.

A leader in discussions of race and representation in America that focus on American Indian topics, sociologist C. Richard King also is well known as the coeditor, with Charles F. Springwood, of *Team Spirits: The Native American Mascot Controversy*, which helpfully provides national case studies with extensive historical background (See my review of this publication in *AICRJ* 25:3). In three conceptually ordered sections, King's *Unsettling America* presents eight essays on controversial topics related to appropriation, including commercialism, the media, sports mascots, comic art, place names, and fashion. Part I, "Old Battles," deals with "unending appropriation and invention of indigeneity"; part II, "Ongoing Wars," addresses "renewed appropriations and misrepresentations of Indianness"; and part III, "New Fronts," discusses "reclamation projects," or "strategies deployed to foster control and self-definition" (xix).

Clearly King has authored a space for formalizing the often-informal evidence of race-bias in Native representations and he does so in well-crafted prose that is engaging and relevant. The introduction explains that *Unsettling America* seeks to "push conversations about race and racism beyond binary formations of race and culture . . . and ask questions about the construction

and contestation of racialized narrative today,” drawing on four themes: “(1) false images and ongoing stereotyping, unpacking patterns of erasure, invention and appropriation; (2) the place of indigeneity in post-9/11 cultural and political debates; (3) the use of metaphors to make Indianness powerful and profitable and to counter such abusive renderings and enhance social visibility; and (4) projects directed at reclamation and the exertion of cultural sovereignty” (xvi).

Unfortunately, the book’s conceptual arrangement tends to confuse, rather than clarify, King’s arguments. Most chapters are available online, having previously been published from 2003 to 2009 as stand-alone articles, but are not ordered chronologically. Perhaps for readers unfamiliar to the discussions and without access to the Internet, these collected essays may provide a helpful introduction to King’s oeuvre; however, in addition to the cost, other issues inhibit this usefulness. Unattributed references throughout situate the book as an insider’s read, not an introductory publication. Chapter 3, “On Being a Warrior,” states, “Significantly, Native American sports mascots are meaningful only in the context of American imperialism, where Euro-Americans simultaneously sought to control and remake Native America, feeling nostalgic for that which they had destroyed.” Rather than Renato Rosaldo’s 1989 “Imperialist Nostalgia” essay, the citation that follows is a King and Springwood book. Elsewhere in the book, King asks “Where are Coco Fusco and Guillermo Peña when you need them?” with no following citation (14). Clearly, a novice reader would be misled or lost.

Moreover, the subject-driven arrangement conflates the specificity of events and scholarship over the past two decades, and may perhaps imply to the unversed reader that the complex politics of representation in Native contexts has remained stagnant over time. It also may suggest that King’s own thinking on these topics has not substantially developed or changed, which I doubt is the case. For example, an article that I regularly use in teaching was published ten years ago, yet here is reprinted in “New Fronts.” Problematically, this reprint inaccurately states “as this essay goes to press”; similarly, “recent electronic discussions” actually originate in 1999 (93). As an academic who is seriously engaged in the controversies King chronicles, my concern is that important work after that date may be overlooked or minimized.

Including more current data would also improve the book’s more recent writing, such as the concluding chapter on appropriations in the fashion industry, “Reclaiming Indianness.” King champions reclamation strategies such as the “fabrication of other spaces of production, exchange and consumption,” yet his appraisal does not fully credit the next generation of scholars who actively employ such strategies (112). The book does not discuss those scholars who are indeed producing the work that King terms “alter/native,”

such that of Adrienne Keene, a doctoral student of the Harvard Graduate School of Education. Although the introduction cites Keene's critique of Tonto, her authorship of the website Native Appropriations (nativeappropriations.com) is omitted. Jessica Metcalf, (PhD in American Indian Studies, University of Arizona) who owns and operates the Beyond Buckskin Boutique, selling Native-produced fashion (<http://www.beyondbuckskin.com/>) similarly forwards a form of what King terms alter/native, the "fabrication of other spaces of production, exchange and consumption" but is not included in the discussion (112). Instead of including scholars who are authoring indigenous critique and promoting Native designers from positions within and alongside the academy, King tends to cite more reactive measures such as protest movements and informal media critiques.

The volume's analysis would benefit from a clearer justification for the selection of data presented. Edgar Heap of Birds' 2009 art installation "Beyond the Chief" is cited as "push[ing] the dialogue in important new directions"(xv), when an earlier 1989 mascot critique of artist Charlene Teters is not mentioned, although her role as a relative of male veterans is cited separately. King celebrates the "Fighting Terrorism Since 1492" t-shirts featuring Geronimo but does not mention that non-Chiricahua Apache people appropriated this historic image and subsequently profited from selling it. Rather than describe indigenous communities as "fully wired," a discussion of the Internet divide in Indian country could enhance King's celebration of counter-readings (111). The anecdotal evidence that King mobilizes may effectively capture the reader's attention, but rather than culling data together under a single monograph, King's ambition to encapsulate the totality of issues plaguing Native communities is best served by the short narrative chapters and articles he has authored over time.

What I long for is a more nuanced and extended appraisal of key arguments presented in this book, such as his discussion on how in the struggle against racist iconology, critics and activists may both reify ("reinforce," "reiterate") hurtful representations in addition to forwarding an indigenous victimhood model of subjectivity: "Trauma, violence, and transgression (caused by others) eclipse, efface, and literally negate indigenous survivance, creativity, solidarity, and values" (82). While granting this is a "rather pessimistic reading" of the place of repurposed racial metaphors, King warns against substituting "allusions for analysis, image for introspection, style for substance" (83).

Perhaps this warning to the activists, artists, and commentators might be applied to the author's own tendency to reiterate race. His introduction states this quandary succinctly: "making indigenous experiences and identities legible has often demanded counterframing; on the one hand, the assertion of counterclaims that draw upon established understandings of other racialized

groups, social injustices, and cultural atrocities; on the other hand, the reclamation of indigeneity through alternative vocabularies . . . remappings . . . and imaginaries that trace the possibilities of survivance” (xvi). This dual approach to understanding and subverting harmful images suggests that the work ahead calls for a focused contextual methodology in order to avoid the decontextualization that King both warns us from, and occasionally enacts.

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The White Earth Nation: Ratification of a Native Democratic Constitution. Edited by Gerald Vizenor and Jill Doerfler. Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2012. 112 pages. \$16.00 paper; \$16.00 ebook.

Delegates to the White Earth Nation Constitutional Convention ratified a new constitution on April 4, 2009. Four and a half years later, on November 19, 2013, the citizens of White Earth adopted the constitution through a nationwide referendum. The vast majority of voters approved the new foundational document, 80 percent. *The White Earth Nation: Ratification of a Native Democratic Constitution* chronicles many of the events and ideas—recent and deeply historical—that precipitated these votes. The book tells the “story of how and why the people of White Earth engaged the difficult process of establishing a new constitutional arrangement” and “examines the motives, the strategies, the bedeviling issues, and ultimately the choices they made in crafting their new charter of self-governance” (8).

Gerald Vizenor, Jill Doerfler, and David Wilkins’ text is part of an emerging new strand of the indigenous legal literature. Joining scholarship such as Jean Dennison’s *Colonial Entanglement: Constituting a Twenty-First-Century Osage Nation* (2012) and Eric Lemont’s *American Indian Constitutional Reform and the Rebuilding of Native Nations* (2006), the book provides key information about an indigenous nation’s “constitutional intent.” That is, it provides insight concerning the norms and at-the-minute thinking that shaped the White Earth Nation Constitution of 2013. In years to come, when the need for constitutional interpretation arises at White Earth, this book can be relied upon to help explain how the document should be understood.

For example, in chapter 2 Vizenor describes the delegates’ engagement with two difficult issues, the role of blood quantum as a criterion for citizenship and the rights of citizens residing outside reservation boundaries. He recounts the convention delegates’ understanding that kinship defines the nation—and, importantly, their understanding that structuring citizenship and citizen

rights to take account of kinship could dilute current members' privileges. He goes on to describe the elegant compromise delegates reached in the "blood quantum versus lineal descent" debate as well as the specific discussions and motions that resulted in a remarkably inclusive approach to non-resident representation. These are significant departures from the White Earth Nation's prior political structure, and the record of how the changes arose will be an important guide for future constitutional interpretation. In addition, Vizenor's description of the *process* convention delegates used to address these difficult issues has general value for all constitutional reformers.

Yet this book is much more than a legal reference for the White Earth Nation. Bound together and interwoven, its four chapters make a series of broadly applicable arguments in support of indigenous nation constitution writing and reform. Less obvious but equally remarkable, the book is a strategic "performance" of constitutional enactment from which all nations—and in particular, their founding mothers and founding fathers—can learn.

A review of this nature could never list all the arguments for indigenous nation constitution making covered in the book. Some of the authors' most important points are:

Indigenous constitution making strengthens indigenous nations. Older tribal constitutions tend to limit Native nations' self-governing power, and the latest wave of constitutional reform reflects their efforts to reclaim more complete governing authority and responsibility. As Doerfler summarizes, "This is a chance to rebuild and renew our sovereignty" (84).

Indigenous constitution making offers an opportunity to create culturally legitimate governing institutions. Many older tribal constitutions also did not cohere with tribal citizens' culturally mediated expectations about governmental form. As a result, they created governments that were discounted by citizens and manipulated by those in power. As the new White Earth Nation Constitution demonstrates (included in its entirety as chapter 3), constitutional reform allows a reset. Tribes can remake constitutions "into documents that reflect the culture, values, and beliefs of their citizens" (82). At White Earth, this congruity is especially evident in the adoption of a lineal descent rule for citizenship and in the creation of a governance role for youth, elders, and community councils. Significantly, these efforts to "match" institutional form with a community's broadly understood political culture resonate with research by the Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development, which finds that this coherence helps a government produce better results for its citizens.

Indigenous constitution making is part of Native nations' political evolution. The first tribal constitutions were written more than 150 years ago, and Wilkins maintains that constitution writing follows a natural trajectory of

institutional evolution from informal to more formalized systems. Accordingly, the White Earth Nation “has arrived at the realization that they have matured to the point of devising a document to encompass their present-day understanding of political, economic, and cultural autonomy” (7). Vizenor holds that the approach is both natural and needed. The new White Earth Nation Constitution, he states, merges “traditional Native principles of governance . . . with the necessary political divisions of power . . . to provide a narrative structure, process, and rule of law that will ensure the rights and equity of Native citizens in the modern world” (16). This further suggests that *indigenous constitution-making is a way to protect the liberties and well-being of tribal citizens*.

In *Founding Brothers: The Revolutionary Generation* (2000) historian Joseph Ellis contends that the writers of the United States’ constitution “created the American republic, then held it together throughout the volatile and vulnerable early years by sustaining their presence until national habits and customs took root” (13). In doing so, they were able to move the American republic from the short term, in which implementation of the new constitution was a rocky and uncertain road, to the long run, in which citizens and public servants understood and relied on the institutions themselves. He further describes the founders as having “developed a keen sense of their historical significance even while they were still making the history on which their reputations would rest. They began posing for posterity, writing letters to us as much as to one another. . . . We were the audience for which they were performing” (18, italics added).

In *Structuring Sovereignty: The Constitutions of Native Nations*, Melissa Tatum, Mary Guss, Sarah Deer, and I describe this post-adoption phenomenon as “living the constitution” (see especially 124–25). But this book shows that the process can begin even earlier. In fact, in quoting Brian Boyd’s *On the Origin of Stories*, Vizenor suggests it is possible to lay a track for institutional functioning even before the institutions themselves exist:

The events that narrative reports may be directly related to present or future choices of action, to situations or people that listeners may become involved with. Or they may offer ways of reasoning about action: analogues or “parables” to guide our social planning; models to emulate or spurn; or merely images of the range of human character, situations, and behavior. . . . Narrative is always strategic, both for teller and listener, in ways that can range from the callously selfish to the generously prosocial. (176)

In other words, besides providing a record of constitutional intent and an abundance of rationales for reform, this book is part of a performance intended to support constitutional enactment should the popular vote result in constitutional adoption. This is not partisan lobbying but prosocial behavior intended to bring better results in the event of adoption. It might be described as “living

into the constitution.” In their various roles as delegates, scribes, consultants, drafters, conveners, and teachers, the authors have created a document that is both prop and script in this process.

Vizenor’s narratives about citizenship by lineal descent and representation for off-reservation citizens are examples of this purpose. Chapter 4, a set of essays Doerfler composed for *Anishanaabeg Today*, is another. Intended to prepare citizens for the constitutional referendum, the essays address topics from tribal sovereignty to individual rights to government accountability. Dispassionately and informatively, they explain how White Earth’s government would operate if the nation went forward with change.

Some might complain about the book’s limited mention of the White Earth Nation’s membership in the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe (MCT). Opinion leaders within the other member tribes have questioned the legality of White Earth’s exit from the MCT and wondered how White Earth’s dissociation affects the Tribe as a whole. But viewing the book as a narrative about constitutional enactment at *White Earth*, this is less a flaw than a strategic omission, as it does not affect local implementation of a new governing structure.

Vizenor calls ratification of the new White Earth Constitution “a great and memorable moment in the history of the White Earth Nation and the United States of America” (61). Certainly, Vizenor, Doerfler, and Wilkins have created a book that is part of both the greatness and the memory. And especially in teaching about the process of living into a constitution, they prove Wilkins’ point that the world has much to learn from Native nations’ constitution-making efforts. He suggests that it is on “the smaller scale, the indigenous scale” where one can “learn vital details about the rule of custom and law, the pursuit of freedom and liberty, the meaning and exercise of sovereignty,” and best observe “the development of formal and informal constitutions to improve self-governance” (6–7).

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Yakama Rising: Indigenous Cultural Revitalization, Activism, and Healing.

By Michelle M. Jacob. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 152 pages. \$45.00 cloth.

In *Yakama Rising*, Michelle Jacob uses emerging conversations by today’s indigenous scholars to describe, explain, and honor Yakama experiences and perspectives. She situates her shared Yakama stories within projects of healing, education, and living at places and in ways that Yakama peoples have done

for many generations. Jacob's case studies reflect what Jo-ann Archibald in *Indigenous Storywork* calls personal life-experience stories that are part of a healing process for the disease of decolonization.

A good source of information about Yakama decolonizing activities from the 1970s to today, Jacob's book includes both Yakama and other indigenous analyses. Where her life experiences and understandings of academic literature overlap with my own, I perceive a thoughtful discussion of her situated partial knowledges. Her case studies clearly illustrate much of the scholarly conversations within the settler society's academy that are about indigenous philosophy, education, and decolonization resistances. Using many examples of activities drawn from her elicited narratives, she meticulously walks her readers through a Yakama praxis that is reminiscent of Gerald Vizenor's post-Indian warrior in *Manifest Manners*.

Jacob's telling of her own stories and the stories of those who are well known to her is a strength, aligning with what I understand to be the process of indigenous science, where "science" is used to mean the way human people come to an understanding of knowledge. In these stories she shares a deep understanding of the recalled experiences and events. We clearly perceive the knowledges within these stories and, like our elder indigenous scholars and teachers, she often repeats some of their concepts important to Yakama cultural revitalization: gifting, reciprocity, honor, respect, relationships, peace, discipline, intergenerational connection, place, humility, pride, accountability. When she moves into the more recently claimed role of settler society academician, her writing loses some of its authority and fullness of understanding. We see appropriate quotes and citations with short discussions that tie the published source to her story, but these sequences do not have the smoothness of those who tell a story that has become theirs to tell. (My thanks to Lee Maracle for explaining this distinction to me.)

My perception is that Michelle Jacob is a gifted indigenous scholar who, while also being very well read in current settler society academic literatures, moves mostly within indigenous pedagogies and philosophies as she shares her stories. For readers situated within indigenous communities, Jacob is gifting us with her stories that hold within them models for enacting our own community-building activities. Her research, like that of many other indigenous scholars, includes the now familiar methods and methodological concepts written in Linda Smith's oft-cited work, *Decolonizing Methodologies* (2001), alongside more "usual" social science practices.

Jacob reports on the lack of wellness experienced by Yakama people, particularly by the youth in the 1970s when Wapato Indian Club formed—violence, substance abuse, depression, erosion of Yakama identity, lack of Yakama knowledge, and poor self-esteem—and defines this state of being to be what Duran

and Duran have identified in *Native American Postcolonial Psychology* as “soul wound,” a sequel to colonization. Moving within the logic of that naming, she then cites three case studies of Yakama culture revitalization projects to show how healing of the soul wound is enacted. Her case studies focus on dance (Wapato Indian Club), language (Northwest Indian Language Institute), and food (Xwayamami Ishich). She gifts us with stories of how Yakama individuals and the Yakama community claim healing roles to effect individual, communal, and intergenerationally connected healing. Similar to other research done on the generational transference of trauma, such as with Nazi holocaust survivors, she cites an intergenerational effect of historic (and continuing) colonial trauma among Yakama people. Her project diverges from former studies by taking the academically political risk of “using indigenous communities’ own ideas as central to an analysis” (13).

It is a challenge to write about indigenous concepts within the knowledge systems of the settler society’s house of stories because of the necessary compromise between being positioned within this system enough to be understood, while still explaining the indigenous content that comes from a different knowledge system, knowledge genealogy, and basic understanding of reality in a credible way. We always seem to end up with a syncopated narrative. The author situates her work as being critical indigenous scholarship with the ultimate goal of cultural revitalization, but cautions that “our traditions and languages will not be fully restored until global transformation abolishes the multiple forms of oppression that perpetuate the physical and cultural genocide of indigenous peoples” (14). Jacob names her work as decolonizing, but I would also name it more broadly as anti-oppressive because the stories have so much in common with those of other resisting groups who must interface with the contemporary settler society. I would greatly enjoy a further conversation about her concept of “global transformation.”

Jacob’s discussion of language revitalization offers a clear and effective roadmap for collaborative work between grassroots community workers and educational institutions. Along with her other case studies, this example foregrounds the importance of specific Yakama individuals taking action based on desires of community members and not relying on the vagaries of governments and government funding. I was hoping to see a stronger explanation of how language is the shared communication that supports the means for perception and comprehension of a particular understanding of reality. She shared one short example of the multiple words for “salmon,” but it was not a compelling discussion of the foundational relationship between language and culture.

Her discussion of indigenous feminisms and gender leaves me pensive in the way that an elder sees one’s words being reproduced by youth. As a longtime activist with Janet and Don McCloud during the years when Women of All Red