

SOCIOLOGY 476 (Topics in Sociological Analysis)
Indigeneity and Settler Colonialism
Spring 2022, Tuesdays, 2:30 – 5:20 pm

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Land Acknowledgement: The Northwestern campus sits on the traditional homelands of the people of the Council of Three Fires, the Ojibwe, Potawatomi, and Odawa as well as the Menominee, Miami and Ho-Chunk nations. It is still home to a vibrant and thriving Native community.

In this seminar, we examine settler colonialism as a political, social, cultural and economic formation, and Indigenous resistance, resilience and resurgence, focusing on the US in historical, comparative and global perspective.

Settler colonialism is a distinctive form of social organization, which emerges within a global context of empires and colonial domination of peoples of the Americas, Africa, Oceania and Asia by Europeans and their descendants, in which settlers “come to stay” (Veracini 2010) and seek replacement of indigenous peoples, rather than the extraction and transfer of wealth to the “home” country (Bacon and Norton 2019). It is a constituent part of modernity. As Glenn (2015) has argued: “The settler goal of seizing and establishing property rights over land and resources required the removal of indigenes, which was accomplished by various forms of direct and indirect violence, including militarized genocide. Settlers sought to control space, resources, and people not only by occupying land but also by establishing an exclusionary private property regime and coercive labor systems.”

We need increased recognition of Indigenous values, worldviews, and lifeways, as much sociological work omits the Indigenous perspective, and consequently sociological explanations are often ill-fitting or insufficient in understanding the “fourth world” of Native nations and their relations with settler societies. Notably, we seek to engage with analyses of inequality, power and difference that reflect the distinctive Indigenous experience within U.S. settler colonialism: “Native peoples were colonized and deposed of their territories as distinct peoples – hundreds of nations – not as a racial or ethnic group...” (Dunbar-Ortiz 2014, p.xiii).

The readings are multidisciplinary – covering sociology, Native studies, other social sciences and history, and we incorporate the works of diverse Indigenous scholars, philosophers and thought leaders. Topics covered include: indigenous perspectives on time, power and knowledge; key concepts for studying groups; overviews of the literatures on empire and colonialism and the entanglements of

social science with settler colonialism; the emergence and co-constitution of modernity, empire, settler colonialism, states and indigeneity; property, dispossession and capitalism; biopolitics, reproduction, sexuality, gender; the US as a settler colonial formation; political contestation over settler colonialism and indigenous rights; native sovereignty, representation, decolonization and Indigenous justice.

As with many aspects of social science (and life in settler colonial states generally), Indigenous perspectives have been erased, ignored, and disregarded. Calls for the decolonization of sociology as a discipline, and within the classroom, are often met with increased inclusion of diverse perspectives on syllabi and reading lists. This course challenges this view of decolonization, going beyond the inclusion of Indigenous authors and instead asking: What is Indigenous sociology? We challenge long-standing core principles and theories of social thought to explore how concepts of group, people, state, and nation are understood in the Indigenous world.

Sociology 476 is organized as a seminar, in which students are active participants in discussions of readings. Seminar discussions will constitute the heart of the course. Students will help to shape the agenda for class. Students will also decide on direction for in-class discussions by writing lead entries and replies on a class discussion/blog site on Canvas. At the beginning of class, lead bloggers will propose an agenda for discussion, to which we can add or modify. Our first order of business will be to clarify what is the argument being presented, answer questions of fact about the topic and get our definitions straight. Then we move into an evaluative phase of discussion, in which we will both appreciate and criticize the works we have read. Finally, we will try to summarize what we think about the particular topic under discussion.

Indigenous Ways of Knowing:

Many Native peoples believe ‘wisdom sits in places’. This means that knowledge is a manner of being - through which language is its mechanism, ‘empathy its cause’, and place its boundary. Reality is not universal, it is communal. We create reality, just as it creates us. Indigenous ways of knowing are not about what we know, but *how* we know. Each place has its wisdom, unique to that communal reality.

This course has been structured not only to give students a primer in critical areas of Native Studies, Sociology of Indigenous Peoples, and settler-colonialism, but to also reflect Indigenous ways of knowing. As a practical matter, this means the course will be flexible. Readings will be adjusted based on student interests, and requirements will be flexible to meet student needs. Philosophically, this means we will use the class to explore our communal creation of reality.

The general requirements are: (1) participating in class discussions; (2) writing two lead blog entries and participating in the class discussion board; and (3) writing a final paper. Course requirements offer each student the opportunity to explore the themes of the seminar with respect to their own disciplinary and research concerns.

Course Requirements: Constitutes approximately 20% of your grade

(1) **Participation in seminar discussions:** Regular attendance and active engagement in discussions on the part of all members of the seminar is crucial to the success of the enterprise. A core principle of Indigenous ways of knowing is that knowledge is created by groups, not individuals. Together our wisdom is more than the sum of its parts. Each week, we will discuss possible readings for the next

class, and decide on which areas we wish to focus. The list of readings is one set of possibilities, but it will change, contract, and expand, based on our communal goals. Please come into each seminar prepared to express your opinions and voice your views in acts of comradely contention with each other on all aspects of our intellectual endeavors.

(2) Participation in class discussion forum/blog: Constitutes approximately 20% of your grade

(a) Two lead blog entries addressed to readings of the relevant week (for weeks 2 through 9), to be posted by Monday at noon (Central Time). We will evaluate lead blogs (as excellent, good, or fair).

Other seminar members will respond to at least one of the questions or claims of the lead blog, and post this to the discussion board by Tuesday at noon (Central Time). We will not grade replies, but will keep track of their completion.

Everyone should read all posts before class Tuesday.

Instructions for discussion board engagement:

Lead bloggers: Each week, selected students will serve as lead bloggers. Lead bloggers will write a blog entry for that week's readings, to be posted by Monday at noon CT. The lead bloggers will engage with the required pieces, briefly re-expressing the authors' argument and saying what you learned. Then, you can discuss at least one thing you think the author got wrong, or underplayed or ignored; say what difference this makes to their argument and to our understanding of the phenomenon in question. Finally, what is your own opinion about the topic or argument? Your comments should be about 1-2 pp. long. Try to include at least one carefully constructed discussion question in your entry, that is, a question with which your peers can easily engage.

Other seminar members: Respond to at least one of the questions or claims of the lead blog, and post this to the discussion board by Tuesday at noon CT.

(3): Final Papers: Constitutes approximately 60% of your grade

The course challenges predominant sociological themes and perspectives using Indigenous thought. This paper presents the opportunity to engage with this type of critical analysis in your area of research or interest. Students will have wide latitude with their final papers. These could take many forms. Papers could be scholarly interrogative essays that address particular debates related to seminar readings. Students could choose to write material that ends up in a dissertation or another publication. Students may also consider co-authoring a research paper intended for publication. Students should discuss their ideas with Ann or Beth.

All papers should be written in your own authorial voice, well-documented (with appropriate text citation and references), and engaged with themes, problems, topics, and difficulties posed by the thinkers and texts addressed in this seminar. You are free to bring in empirical material with which you are engaging in your own research projects. Paper is due in Canvas by **June 7, 2022**.

The paper constitutes approximately 60% of your grade.

Course readings: Class readings will be decided through class discussions. The current proposed list includes parts of several books, and a number of articles. Published articles and almost all of the books are available through Northwestern library's online access. Readings not available online through Northwestern libraries will be posted to the Canvas course website under the "Modules" tab, and are marked with an asterisk in the syllabus. Assignments are also posted under "Modules" for the relevant week.

The schedule of readings is open to revision by seminar participants.

The recommended readings are in no way comprehensive; they are simply pieces that we have found helpful and/or provocative.

It is likely we will be reading good portions of the following books, which we encourage you to purchase, if you are able, through (non-Amazon) online booksellers such as <https://bookshop.org/>. If you aren't able to purchase them, you can use the online access offered by NU Libraries.

- V.F. Cordova, 2007. *How It Is: The Native American Philosophy of V. F. Cordova* edited by Kathleen Dean Moore, Kurt Peters, Ted Jojola and Amber Lacy. University of Arizona Press.
- Glen Sean Coulthard, 2014. *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition*. University of Minnesota Press.
- Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, 2014. *An Indigenous People's History of the United States*. Beacon Press.
- Paul Frymer, 2017. *Building an American Empire: The Era of Territorial and Political Expansion*. Princeton University Press.
- Mark Rifkin, 2017. *Beyond Settler Time: Temporal Sovereignty and Indigenous Self-Determination*. Duke University Press.
- Audra Simpson, 2014. *Mohawk interruptus: political life across the borders of settler states*. Duke University Press.
- Patrick Wolfe, 2016. *Traces of history: Elementary structures of race*. Verso Books.

A Note from Beth: My Co-Worker, Mitaka Ki (Mita for short), is a licensed medical alert dog. She is trained to detect and alert to subtle changes in blood chemistry. She accompanies me everywhere, but when we are out she is frequently working, so please do not be offended if she doesn't visit you. If you are allergic, or would like to have Mita kept away from you, please let me know. Also, we all get distracted once in a while. Mita is just a dog, so forgive her if she periodically gets distracted or forgets what she is doing. *Please DO NOT feed her or pick her up.*

Academic integrity: Students in this course are required to comply with the policies found in the booklet, "Academic Integrity at Northwestern University: A Basic Guide". All papers submitted for credit in this course must be submitted electronically unless otherwise instructed by the professor. Your

written work may be tested for plagiarized content. For details regarding academic integrity at Northwestern or to download the guide, visit

<https://www.northwestern.edu/provost/policies-procedures/academic-integrity/index.html>

Accessibility: Northwestern University is committed to providing the most accessible learning environment as possible for students with disabilities. Should you anticipate or experience disability-related barriers in the academic setting, please contact AccessibleNU to move forward with the university's established accommodation process (e: accessiblenu@northwestern.edu; p: 847-467-5530). If you already have established accommodations with AccessibleNU, please let me know as soon as possible, preferably within the first two weeks of the term, so we can work together to implement your disability accommodations. Disability information, including academic accommodations, is confidential under the Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act.

Communication: This course will use the Canvas course management system (<http://www.it.northwestern.edu/education/learning-management/login.html>). You are responsible for logging in, checking regularly for posted announcements, and obtaining readings and assignments from the site. You will receive course announcements that will be sent to the students' registered campus email address. In addition, we usually communicate with you by email, so please check every weekday. You are responsible for checking your registered email accounts regularly.

The easiest way to reach either of us – besides in class and during office hours – is via email. We try to respond to emails promptly, within 48 hours (excepting weekends and university holidays/vacations), though this is not always possible. If you are emailing about the course, please put the name or number of the course in the subject line of your email; to help us identify and respond to your emails more quickly.

COVID-19 Classroom Expectations Statement

Students, faculty, and staff must comply with University expectations regarding appropriate classroom behavior, including those outlined below and in the [COVID-19 Code of Conduct](#). With respect to classroom procedures, this includes:

- Policies regarding masking and social distancing evolve as the public health situation changes. Students are responsible for understanding and complying with current masking, testing, Symptom Tracking, and social distancing requirements.
- In some classes, masking and/or social distancing may be required as a result of an Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) accommodation for the instructor or a student in the class even when not generally required on campus. In such cases, the instructor will notify the class.
- No food is allowed inside classrooms. Drinks are permitted, but please keep your face covering on and use a straw.

If a student fails to comply with the [COVID-19 Code of Conduct](#) or other University expectations related to COVID-19, the instructor may ask the student to leave the class. The instructor is asked to report the incident to the Office of Community Standards for additional follow-up.

To protect the health of our community, Northwestern University requires unvaccinated students who are in on-campus programs to be tested for COVID-19 twice per week. Students who fail to comply with current or future COVID-19 testing protocols will be referred to the Office of Community standards to face disciplinary action, including escalation up to restriction from campus and suspension.

Gender Pronouns

This course affirms all gender expressions and gender identities. We welcome you to correct us on your name or gender pronoun if a mistake is made. If you have concerns, please contact us in person or by email, whichever is most comfortable for you.

Inclusivity

This course strives to be an inclusive learning community, respecting those of differing backgrounds and beliefs. As a community, we aim to be respectful to all students in this class, regardless of nationality, race, ethnicity, socio-economic status, religion, gender identity or sexual orientation.

Support for health and wellness

Northwestern University is committed to supporting the wellness of our students. Student Affairs has multiple resources to support student wellness and mental health. If you are feeling distressed or overwhelmed, please reach out for help. Students can access confidential resources through the Counseling and Psychological Services (CAPS), Religious and Spiritual Life (RSL) and the Center for Awareness, Response and Education (CARE). Additional information on all of the resources mentioned above can be found here:

<https://www.northwestern.edu/counseling/>

<https://www.northwestern.edu/religious-life/>

<https://www.northwestern.edu/care/>

Seminar Schedule

Part 1: Studying Indigeneity, Settler Colonialism, States and Empires

week 1: Empire and colonialism in the Native mind – and Introduction to the Seminar

Tuesday, April 5, 2022

Required reading:

Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, 2014. *An Indigenous People's History of the United States*. Beacon Press. Chapters: Intro, 1, 3. (This is a relatively easy read that offers crucial background for this class. If you are unfamiliar Native American history (or would like to be more familiar) we suggest you peruse the rest of the text.)

Patrick Wolfe, 2016. *Traces of history: Elementary structures of race*. Verso Books, chapters: 1, 2, 5, 6.

So that we can be clear on our terminology:

Thomas King, 2012. "Prologue: Warm Toast and Porcupines," pp. ix-xvi in *The inconvenient Indian: a curious account of native people in North America*. University of Minnesota Press. (He is very funny, feel free to read it all.)

Recommended reading:

Anibal Quijano and Michael Ennis. 2000. "Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism, and Latin America." *Nepantla: Views from South*, 1(3): 533-580.

week 2: Indigenous perspectives on time, power, groups, and knowledge

Tuesday, April 12, 2022

Daniel Wildcat, 2001. "Understanding the Crisis in American Education." Pp 29-40 in *Power and place: Indian education in America* by Vine Deloria, Jr., and Daniel Wildcat. Fulcrum Resources: Golden, Colorado.

Mark Rifkin, 2017. *Beyond Settler Time: Temporal Sovereignty and Indigenous Self-Determination*. Duke University Press, excerpts.

V.F. Cordova, 2007. *How It Is: The Native American Philosophy of V. F. Cordova*, edited by Kathleen Dean Moore, Kurt Peters, Ted Jojola and Amber Lacy. University of Arizona Press, pp. 117-120, 133-165, 171-176, 183-192.

Sandy Grande, 2015. "Red Land, White Power," pp. 93-120 in Sandy Grande (ed.) *Red Pedagogy: Native American Social and Political Thought (10th Anniversary Edition)*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group: London.

Gregory A. Cajete, 2015. "Where There is No Name for Science (reply to Grande)," pp. 121-128 in Sandy Grande (ed.) *Red Pedagogy: Native American Social and Political Thought (10th Anniversary Edition)*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group: London.

Recommended reading:

Gananath Obeyesekere, 1997. *The apotheosis of Captain Cook: European mythmaking in the Pacific*. Princeton University Press.

Marshall Sahlins, 1995. *How 'Natives' Think: About Captain Cook, for example*. University of Chicago Press.

Sherry Ortner, 1996. "Making Gender: Toward a Feminist, Minority, Postcolonial, Subaltern, etc. Theory of Practice," pp.1-21 in *Making Gender: The Politics and Erotics of Culture*. Beacon Press.

Duane Champagne. 2010. "The Rise and Fall of Native American Studies in the United States." Pp. 16-25 in *Native American Voices: A Reader, 3rd Edition* edited by Susan Lobo, Steve Talbot and Traci L. Morris. Prentice Hall: Upper Saddle, NJ.

Duane Champagne, 2015. "Foreword: An Indigenous Paradigm," pp. xvii-xx in *Native Nations: An Indigenous Perspective* by Steve Talbot. Pearson: Upper Saddle River, NJ.

Elizabeth Cook-Lynn, 2012. "A New Understanding of a Specific Historical Event within the Colonial Paradigm," pp 34-49 in *A Separate Country: Postcoloniality and American Indian Nations*. Texas Tech University Press.

Charles Alexander Eastman (Ohiyesa), 2003. *The Soul of an Indian*. Dover Publications. (Ohiyesa was a Santee Sioux born in 1858, was the first Native licensed to practice medicine, and the first Native whose writings were widely published. He has a crater on Mars named in his honor.)

Hirokazu Miyazaki, 2006. *The method of hope: anthropology, philosophy, and Fijian knowledge*. Stanford University Press.

week 3: Key concepts for studying groups (race, ethnicity, nation)

Tuesday, April 19, 2022

Rogers Brubaker, 2005. "Ethnicity without Groups" in *Remaking Modernity: Politics, History and Sociology*, edited by Julia Adams, Elizabeth Clemens and Ann Shola Orloff. Duke University Press.

Evelyn Nakano Glenn, 2015. "Settler colonialism as structure: A framework for comparative studies of US race and gender formation." *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 1(1):52-72.

Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, 2015. "More than prejudice: Restatement, reflections, and new directions in critical race theory." *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 1(1): 73-87.

James V. Fenelon, 2016. "Critique of Glenn on settler colonialism and Bonilla-Silva on critical race analysis from indigenous perspectives." *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 2(2): 237-242.

Rita Dhamoon, 2015. "A Feminist Approach to Decolonizing Anti-racism: Rethinking Transnationalism, Intersectionality, and Settler Colonialism." *Feral Feminisms* 4(Summer):20-37.

Elizabeth Cook-Lynn and Craig Howe, 2001. "The Dialectics of Ethnicity in America: A View from American Indian Studies," pp.150-168 in Johnella E. Butler (ed.) *Color-line to borderlands : the matrix of American ethnic studies*. University of Washington Press.

Gloria Anzaldua, *Borderlands, La Frontera: The New Mestiza* [1987] 2012 [fourth edition] Aunt Lute, chapters 1, 4, 5: "The Homeland: Aztlan," "The Coatlicue State," and "How to Tame a Wild Tongue."

Recommended reading:

Kevin Bruynell, 2021. *Settler Memory: The Disavowal of Indigeneity and the Politics of Race in the United States*. University of North Carolina Press.

Julian Go, 2018. "Postcolonial Possibilities for the Sociology of Race." *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*, 4(4): 439-451.

Vrushali Patil, 2014. "On Coloniality, Racialized Forgetting and the 'Group Effect': Interrogating Ethnic Studies' Meta-Narrative of Race." *Journal of Historical Sociology* 27(3): 361-380.

Vilna Bashi Treitler, 2020. *The Ethnic Project*. Stanford University Press.

Walter D. Mignolo and Madina V. Tlostanova, 2006. "Theorizing from the borders: Shifting to geo-and body-politics of knowledge." *European Journal of Social Theory* 9(2): 205-221.

Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death* (pp.1-16). Harvard University Press, [1982] 2016.

Rogers Brubaker, *Grounds for Difference*. Harvard University Press, 2015.

Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, 2000. "Beyond 'identity'," *Theory and Society* 29 (1): 1-47

Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, 1997. "Rethinking racism: Toward a structural interpretation," *American Sociological Review*, 62(3): 465-480.

Mara Loveman, 1999. "Is 'race' essential?" (comment on Bonilla-Silva's 1997 ASR article) *American Sociological Review* 64, no. 6: 891-898.

Phillip Deloria, 1998. *Playing Indian*. Yale University Press. (About: *How the definition of "What is an Indian?" changed over time.*)

Paul Spruhan, 2006. "A Legal History of Blood Quantum in Federal Indian Law to 1935." *South Dakota Law Review* 51(1):1-50. (About *how the definition of "Who is an Indian?" changed over time.*)

week 4: Overview of literatures on empire, settler colonialism, and states

Tuesday, April 26, 2022

Julia Adams and George Steinmetz, 2015. "Sovereignty and Sociology: From State Theory to Theories of Empire." *Political Power and Social Theory* 28: 269-285.

Patrick Wolfe, 2001. "Land, labor, and difference: Elementary structures of race." *American Historical Review* 106(3): 866-905.

George Steinmetz, 2014. "The sociology of empires, colonies, and postcolonialism." *Annual Review of Sociology* 40: 77-103.

Julian Go, 2011. *Patterns of empire: The British and American empires, 1688 to the present*. Cambridge University Press, introduction, chapter 1 ("Imperial Paths to Power, 1688-1939").

Julian Go, 2017. "Decolonizing sociology: Epistemic inequality and sociological thought," *Social Problems* 64(2): 194-199.

Ann Laura Stoler, 2001. "Tense and tender ties: The politics of comparison in North American history and (post) colonial studies," *Journal of American History* 88(3): 829-865; recommended only: commentaries following this essay in *JAH*.

Barnor Hesse, 2007. "Racialized modernity: An analytics of white mythologies." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 30, no. 4: 643-663.

Recommended reading:

Anibal Quijano and Michael Ennis. 2000. "Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism, and Latin America." *Nepantla: Views from South*, 1(3): 533-580.

Raewyn Connell, 2020. Chapters 1 and 9 in *Southern theory: The global dynamics of knowledge in social science*. Routledge.

Kimberly Morgan and Ann Shola Orloff, 2017. "Introduction." *The Many Hands of the State: Theorizing Political Authority and Social Control*. Cambridge University Press.

Mrinalini Sinha, 2000. "Mapping the imperial social formation: a modest proposal for feminist history." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 25(4): 1077-1082.

Erich W. Steinman, 2022. "Settler colonialism and sociological knowledge: insights and directions forward." *Theory and Society*. 51(1): 145-176.

George Steinmetz (ed.), 2013. *Sociology and empire: the imperial entanglements of a discipline*. Duke University Press.

Julian Go, 2009. "The 'new' sociology of empire and colonialism." *Sociology Compass* 3(5): 775-788.

Patrick Wolfe, 1999. *Settler colonialism and the transformation of anthropology: the politics and poetics of an ethnographic event*. Cassell.

Patrick Wolfe, 1997. "History and imperialism: a century of theory, from Marx to postcolonialism." *The American Historical Review* 102(2): 388-420.

Zine Magubane, 2016. "American sociology's racial ontology: Remembering slavery, deconstructing modernity, and charting the future of global historical sociology." *Cultural Sociology* 10(3): 369-384.

Zine Magubane, 2005. "Overlapping Territories and Intertwined Histories: Historical Sociology's Global Imagination." Pp.92-108 in *Remaking Modernity: Politics, History and Sociology*, edited by Julia Adams, Elisabeth Clemens and Ann Shola Orloff. Duke University Press.

George Steinmetz, 2017. "The Octopus and Hekatonkheire: On Many-armed States and Tentacular Empires." Pp.363-94 in *The Many Hands of the State: Theorizing Political Authority and Social Control* edited by Kimberly Morgan and Ann Shola Orloff. Cambridge University Press.

Julia Adams, Elisabeth Clemens and Ann Shola Orloff, 2005. "Introduction: Social Theory, Modernity, and the Three Waves of Historical Sociology," pp.1-72 in *Remaking Modernity: Politics, History and Sociology*, edited by Adams, Clemens and Orloff. Duke University Press.

Part 2. Indigeneity, settler colonialism and states in the global context of empire

week 5: Contact, indigeneity and the emergence of modern empires, states, and democracy *Tuesday, May 3, 2022*

Everyone should read the introductions and conclusions to both Moreton-Robinson and Dahl, and several substantive chapters of at least one of the books.

Aileen Moreton-Robinson, 2015. *The white possessive: Property, power, and indigenous sovereignty*. University of Minnesota Press, excerpts.

Adam Dahl, 2018. *Empire of the People: Settler Colonialism and the Foundations of Modern Democratic Thought*. University of Kansas Press, excerpts.

Felix Cohen, 1960. "Americanizing the White Man." Pp. 315-27 in *Selected Papers of Felix S. Cohen*, Lucy Kramer Cohen (ed.), Yale University Press. (If interested, see also Robert J. Miller, 2015. "American Indian constitutions and their influence on the United States Constitution." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 159(1): 32-56.)

Recommended reading:

James V. Fenelon, 2016. "Genocide, race, capitalism: Synopsis of formation within the modern world-system." *Journal of World-Systems Research* 22(1): 23-30.

Patrick Wolfe, 2006. "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of genocide research* 8(4): 387-409.

Julia Adams and Steve Pincus, 2017. "Imperial States in the Age of Discovery." Pp. 333-348 in *The Many Hands of the State: Theorizing Political Authority and Social Control* edited by Kimberly Morgan and Ann Shola Orloff. Cambridge University Press.

Tzvetan Todorov, 1999. *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other*. University of Oklahoma Press.

George Steinmetz, *The Devil's Handwriting: Precoloniality and the German Colonial State in Qingdao, Samoa, and Southwest Africa* (University of Chicago Press, 2007).

James Scott, 2017. *Against the grain: A Deep History of the Earliest States*. Yale University Press.

James Scott, 2008. *Seeing Like a State*. Yale University Press.

Sylvia Wynter, 1995. "1492: A New World View." Pp 5-57 in *Race, Discourse, and the Origin of the Americas: A New World View*, edited by Vera Lawrence and Rex Nettleford. Smithsonian Institution Press.

Walter Dignolo, 2015. "Sylvia Wynter, "What Does It Mean to be Human?" pp.106-123 in *Sylvia Wynter: On Being Human as Praxis* edited by Katherine McKittrick. Duke University Press.

Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, 2021. *Not a Nation of Immigrants*. Beacon Press.

James Mahoney, 2003. *Colonialism and Postcolonial Development: Spanish America in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge University Press.

James Parisot, 2019. *How America Became Capitalist: Imperial Expansion and the Conquest of the West*. Pluto Press.

Alex Anievas, 2015. *How the West Came to Rule: The Geopolitical Origins of Capitalism*. Pluto Press.

Michael C. Dawson, 2016. "Hidden in plain sight: A note on legitimization crises and the racial order." *Critical Historical Studies* 3(1): 143-161.

Nancy Fraser, 2016. "Expropriation and exploitation in racialized capitalism: A reply to Michael Dawson." *Critical Historical Studies* 3(1): 163-178.

Alexandra Harmon, Colleen O'Neill, and Paul C. Rosier, 2011. "Interwoven Economic Histories: American Indians in a Capitalist America." *The Journal of American History* 98(3): 698–722.

Jane Jacobs, 1996. *Edges of Empire: Postcolonialism and the City*. Routledge.

Andrés Reséndez, 2016. *The Other Slavery: The Uncovered Story of Indian Enslavement in America*. Mariner Books.

Duane Champagne, 1992. *Social order and political change: Constitutional governments among the Cherokee, the Choctaw, the Chickasaw and the Creek*. Stanford University Press.

Vanita Seth, 2010. *Europe's Indians: Producing Racial Difference, 1500–1900*. Duke University Press.

week 6: Reproduction, Gender, and Sexuality¹

Tuesday, May 10, 2022

Margaret D. Jacobs, 2009. *White mother to a dark race: Settler colonialism, maternalism, and the removal of Indigenous children in the American West and Australia, 1880-1940*. University of Nebraska Press, excerpts.

Elizabeth Cook-Lynn, 2011. "The Politics of Misogyny." Pp. 103-111 in *A Separate Country: Postcoloniality and American Indian Nations*. Texas Tech Press.

*Bonita Lawrence. "Regulating Native Identity by Gender" and "Reconfiguring Colonial Gender Relations under Bill C-31". Pp 45-81 in *'Real' Indians and Others: Mixed-Blood Urban Native Peoples and Indigenous Nationhood*. University of Nebraska Press.

Audra Simpson, 2016. "The State is a Man: Theresa Spence, Loretta Saunders and the Gender of Settler Sovereignty." *Theory & Event* 19(4). muse.jhu.edu/article/633280.

Will Roscoe, 1998. *Changing ones: Third and fourth genders in Native North America*. St. Martin's.

María Lugones, 2007. "Heterosexualism and the Colonial/Modern Gender System." *Hypatia* 22: 186-209.

Recommended reading:

Jennifer L. Morgan, 2011. *Laboring women: Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery*. University of Pennsylvania Press, Introduction, Chapter 1, pp.1-49.

Sandy Grande, 2015. "Whitestream feminism and the colonialist project: towards a theory of Indigenista." Pp 179-212 in *Red Pedagogy* by Sandy Grande.

Nancy Shoemaker, 1994. *Negotiators of Change: Historical Perspectives on Native American Women*.

Felicity Donohoe. 2013. "'Decoying Them Within': Creek Gender Identities and the Subversion of Civilization." Pp. 187-209 in *Native Diasporas: Indigenous Identities and Settler Colonialism in the Americas* edited by Gregory D. Smithers and Brooke N. Newman. University of Nebraska Press.

¹ Gender, Queerness, and Transness are understood differently by different groups of Indigenous peoples, and their traditional cultures differ distinctly from Western views; the impact of both racism and colonialism creates unique oppressions. It is not possible to cover all the various cultural understandings found in Native societies, but if you would like a primer told as a personal narrative you should read: Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, 2012. Chapters 1, 6-8. *As we have always done: Indigenous freedom through radical resistance*. University of Minnesota Press.

week 7: US as a settler colony and empire

Tuesday, May 17, 2022

Paul Frymer, 2017. *Building an American Empire: The Era of Territorial and Political Expansion*. Princeton University Press, excerpts.

J. Bacon and Matthew Norton, 2019. "Colonial America Today: U.S. Empire and the Political Status of Native American Nations." *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 61(2): 301-331

Bethel Saler, 2019. *The Settlers' Empire: Colonialism and State Formation in America's Old Northwest*. University of Pennsylvania Press, excerpt.

Poka Laenui, 2000. "Hawaiian Statehood Revisited," pp. 50-56 in *Reclaiming Indigenous Voice and Vision* edited by Marie Battiste. UBC Press.

Hana E. Brown, "Who Is an Indian Child? Institutional Context, Tribal Sovereignty, and Race-Making in Fragmented States," *American Sociological Review* 85, no. 5 (2020): 776-805.

*We also highly suggest "Missionary's Killing Reignites Debate" (available on Canvas). It's not an academic article, but it will blow your mind.

Recommended reading:

Alfred W. McCoy, 2009. *Colonial Crucible: Empire in the Making of the Modern American State*. University of Wisconsin Press.

Greg Grandin, 2006. *Empire's workshop: Latin America, the United States, and the rise of the new imperialism*. Metropolitan Books.

Daniel Immerwahr, 2019. *How to Hide an Empire: A History of the Greater United States*. Macmillan.

John Collier, 1945. "United States Indian Administration as a Laboratory of Ethnic Relations." *Social Research* 12(1): 265-303. (John Collier was a sociologist, Commissioner for the Bureau of Indian Affairs under the FDR administration, author of the Indian New Deal which forms the basis for modern Indian policy, and a rather racist dude. Here he explains his thoughts on Indian affairs. Collier drafted the legislation that forms the basis of federal Indian policy today. It's an inside look at the beliefs that have shaped the treatment of Natives by the modern American state.)

William J. Novak, 2008. "The Myth of the "Weak" American State," *The American Historical Review* 113(3): 752-772. Also suggested the 2010 comments by John Witt, Gary Gerstle, Julia Adams, and reply by William Novak, *American Historical Review* 115(3): 766-800.

Bill Novak, Steve Sawyer, and Jim Sparrow, 2017. "Democratic States of Unexception: Toward a New Genealogy of the American Political." Pp.229-257 in *The Many Hands of the State: Theorizing Political Authority and Social Control* edited by Kimberly Morgan and Ann Shola Orloff. Cambridge University Press.

Stephen J. Rockwell, 2010. *Indian Affairs and the Administrative State in the Nineteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wendy Nelson Espeland, 1998. *The Struggle for Water: Politics, Rationality, and Identity in the American Southwest*. University of Chicago Press.

Joel Spring, 1996. *The Cultural Transformation of A Native American Family and Its Tribe 1763-1995*. Routledge.

week 8: Political Resistance to Settler Colonialism
Indigenous concepts of rights and representation
Tuesday, May 24, 2022

*Vine Deloria Jr., selected readings

Christopher Chase-Dunn, James Fenelon, Thomas D. Hall, Ian Breckenridge-Jackson, and Joel Herrera, 2020. "Global indigenism and the web of transnational social movements." Pp 411-434 in *Challenges of Globalization and Prospects for an Inter-civilizational World Order* edited by Ino Rossi. Springer.

Jodi A. Byrd, *The transit of empire: indigenous critiques of colonialism*. Minnesota UP, 2011.

Erich W. Steinman, 2016. "Decolonization not inclusion: Indigenous resistance to American settler colonialism." *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 2(2): 219-236.

Deborah J. Yashar, 1998. "Contesting citizenship: Indigenous movements and democracy in Latin America." *Comparative politics* 31(1): 23-42.

Vine Deloria and Clifford M. Lytle, 1998. *The nations within: The past and future of American Indian sovereignty*. University of Texas Press, excerpts.

Thomas Biolsi, 2001. *'Deadliest Enemies': Law and the Making of Race Relations on and off Rosebud Reservation*. University of California Press, excerpts.

Audra Simpson, 2014. *Mohawk interruptus: political life across the borders of settler states*. Duke University Press, (Ch. 1, 4, 6, Conclusion).

Recommended reading:

Joane Nagel, 1995. "American Indian Ethnic Renewal: Politics and the Resurgence of Identity." *American Sociological Review*, 60(6): 947-965.

Erich W. Steinman, 2012. "Settler colonial power and the American Indian sovereignty movement: Forms of domination, strategies of transformation." *American Journal of Sociology* 117(4): 1073-1130.

Deborah Yashar, 1999. "Democracy, Indigenous Movements, and Postliberal Challenge in Latin America." *World Politics*, 52(1):76-104.

Franke Wilmer, 1993. *The Indigenous Voice in World Politics: Since Time Immemorial*. London: Sage.

Isabel Altamirano-Jiménez, 2004. "North American first peoples: slipping up into market citizenship?" *Citizenship Studies* 8(4): 349-365.

Noah Feldman, 2005. "Imposed Constitutionalism." *Connecticut Law Review* 37: 857-889.

Sanford Levinson, 2005. "'Imposed Constitutionalism': Some Reflections." *Connecticut Law Review* 37: 921-932.

Michaë Ignatieff, 2003. *Empire Lite: Nation-building in Bosnia, Kosovo and Afghanistan*. Penguin Canada.

Michel Rosenfeld, 2009. *The Identity of the Constitutional Subject: Selfhood, Citizenship, Culture and Community*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Verena Stolcke, 1997. "The 'Nature' of Nationality." Pp 61-80 in *Citizenship and Exclusion* edited by Veit Bader. Pgrave Macmillan.

week 9: Toward Native Sovereignty? Or, can the settler colonial state be reformed? Is the answer decolonization – and what is that?

Tuesday, May 31, 2022

Robert Yazzie, 2000. "Indigenous Peoples and Postcolonial Colonialism". Pp. 39-49 in *Reclaiming Indigenous Voice and Vision* edited by Marie Battiste. UBC Press. (*For reference, before he retired Robert Yazzie was a legal scholar and Chief Justice of the Navajo Nation.*)

Asha Varadharajan, 2000. "The 'Repressive Tolerance' of Cultural Peripheries". Pp. 39-49 in *Reclaiming Indigenous Voice and Vision* edited by Marie Battiste. UBC Press.

Thomas. Biolsi, 1991. "'Indian Self-Government' as a Technique of Domination." *American Indian Quarterly* 15(1): 23–28.

Glen Sean Coulthard, 2014. *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition*. University of Minnesota Press, excerpts.

Sandy Grande, 2015. "Competing Moral Visions: At the Crossroads of Democracy and Sovereignty," pp. 49-78 in Sandy Grande (ed.) *Red Pedagogy: Native American Social and Political Thought (10th Anniversary Edition)*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group: London.

Keri E. Iyall Smit, 2008. "Comparing State and International Protections of Indigenous Peoples' Human Rights," *American Behavioral Scientist* 51/12:1817-1835

Recommended readings:

Laura E. Evans, 2011. *Power from Powerlessness: Tribal Governments, Institutional Niches, and American Federalism*. Oxford University Press.

Frank Pommersheim, 1997. *Braid of Feathers: American Indian Law and Contemporary Tribal Life*. University of California Press.

Duane Champagne. 2013. "Indigenous Institution Building and Twentieth Century." Pp. 411-448 in *Native Diasporas: Indigenous Identities and Settler Colonialism in the Americas* edited by Gregory D. Smithers and Brooke N. Newman. University of Nebraska Press.

James V. Fenelon, and Thomas D. Hall, 2015. "Indigenous Struggles over Autonomy, Land, and Community: Antiglobalization and Resistance in World-Systems Analysis." In *Latino/as in the World-system, Pp. 113-128*. Routledge. (For a more in-depth discussion see Thomas D. Hall and James V. Fenelon, 2015. *Indigenous peoples and globalization: Resistance and revitalization*. Routledge.)

Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, 2012. "I see your light": Reciprocal recognition and generative refusal". Pp. 175-190 in *As we have always done: Indigenous freedom through radical resistance*. University of Minnesota Press.

Claude Denis, 1997. *We Are Not You: First Nations and Canadian Modernity*. Broadview Press.