

Decolonization is not a metaphor

Eve Tuck

State University of New York at New Paltz

K. Wayne Yang

University of California, San Diego

Abstract

Our goal in this article is to remind readers what is unsettling about decolonization. Decolonization brings about the repatriation of Indigenous land and life; it is not a metaphor for other things we want to do to improve our societies and schools. The easy adoption of decolonizing discourse by educational advocacy and scholarship, evidenced by the increasing number of calls to “decolonize our schools,” or use “decolonizing methods,” or, “decolonize student thinking”, turns decolonization into a metaphor. As important as their goals may be, social justice, critical methodologies, or approaches that decenter settler perspectives have objectives that may be incommensurable with decolonization. Because settler colonialism is built upon an entangled triad structure of settler-native-slave, the decolonial desires of white, non-white, immigrant, postcolonial, and oppressed people, can similarly be entangled in resettlement, reoccupation, and reinhabitation that actually further settler colonialism. The metaphorization of decolonization makes possible a set of evasions, or “settler moves to innocence”, that problematically attempt to reconcile settler guilt and complicity, and rescue settler futurity. In this article, we analyze multiple settler moves towards innocence in order to forward “an ethic of incommensurability” that recognizes what is distinct and what is sovereign for project(s) of decolonization in relation to human and civil rights based social justice projects. We also point to unsettling themes within transnational/Third World decolonizations, abolition, and critical space-place pedagogies, which challenge the coalescence of social justice endeavors, making room for more meaningful potential alliances.

Keywords: *decolonization, settler colonialism, settler moves to innocence, incommensurability, Indigenous land, decolonizing education*

colonialism (poverty, dispossession, criminality, premature death, cultural genocide), Indigeneity is simply an “and” or an illustration of oppression. ‘Urban education’, for example, is a code word for the schooling of black, brown, and ghettoized youth who form the numerical majority in divested public schools. Urban American Indians and Native Alaskans become an asterisk group, invisibilized, even though about two-thirds of Indigenous peoples in the U.S. live in urban areas, according to the 2010 census. Yet, urban Indians receive fewer federal funds for education, health, and employment than their counterparts on reservations (Berry, 2012). Similarly, Native Pasifika people become an asterisk in the Asian Pacific Islander category and their politics/epistemologies/experiences are often subsumed under a pan-ethnic Asian-American master narrative. From a settler viewpoint that concerns itself with numerical inequality, e.g. the achievement gap, underrepresentation, and the 99%’s short share of the wealth of the metropole, the asterisk is an outlier, an outnumberer. It is a token gesture, an inclusion and an enclosure of Native people into the politics of equity. These acts of inclusion assimilate Indigenous sovereignty, ways of knowing, and ways of being by remaking a collective-comprised tribal identity into an individualized ethnic identity.

From a decolonizing perspective, the asterisk is a body count that does not account for Indigenous politics, educational concerns, and epistemologies. Urban land (indeed all land) is Native land. The vast majority of Native youth in North America live in urban settings. Any decolonizing urban education endeavor must address the foundations of urban land pedagogy and Indigenous politics *vis-a-vis* the settler colonial state.

Moves to innocence VI: Re-occupation and urban homesteading

The Occupy movement for many economically marginalized people has been a welcome expression of resistance to the massive disparities in the distribution of wealth; for many Indigenous people, Occupy is another settler re-occupation on stolen land. The rhetoric of the movement relies upon problematic assumptions about social justice and is a prime example of the incommensurability between “re/occupy” and “decolonize” as political agendas. The pursuit of worker rights (and rights to work) and minoritized people’s rights in a settler colonial context can appear to be anti-capitalist, but this pursuit is nonetheless largely pro-colonial. That is, the ideal of “redistribution of wealth” camouflages how much of that wealth is *land*, Native land. In Occupy, the “99%” is invoked as a deserving supermajority, in contrast to the unearned wealth of the “1%”. It renders Indigenous peoples (a 0.9% ‘super-minority’) completely invisible and absorbed, just an asterisk group to be subsumed into the legion of occupiers.

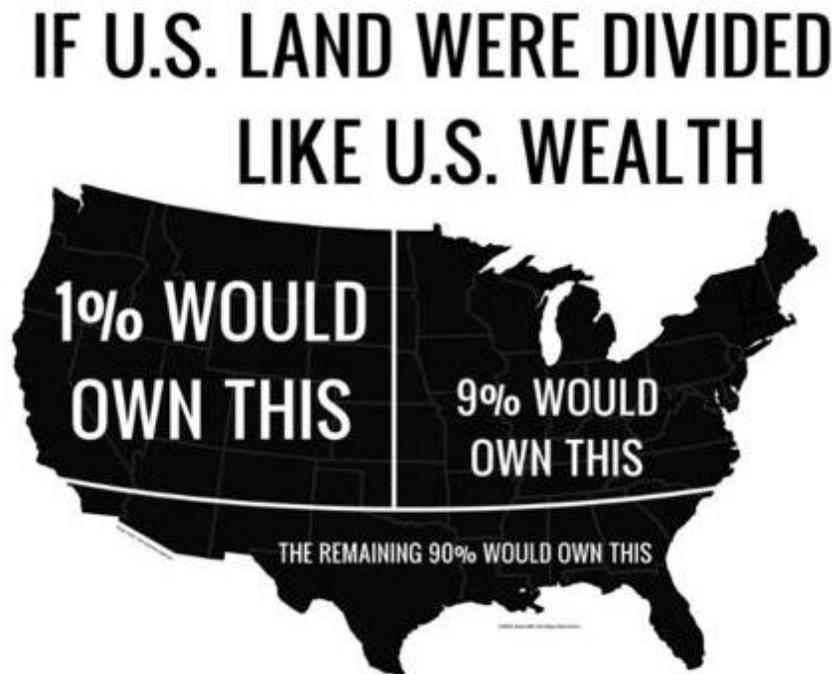
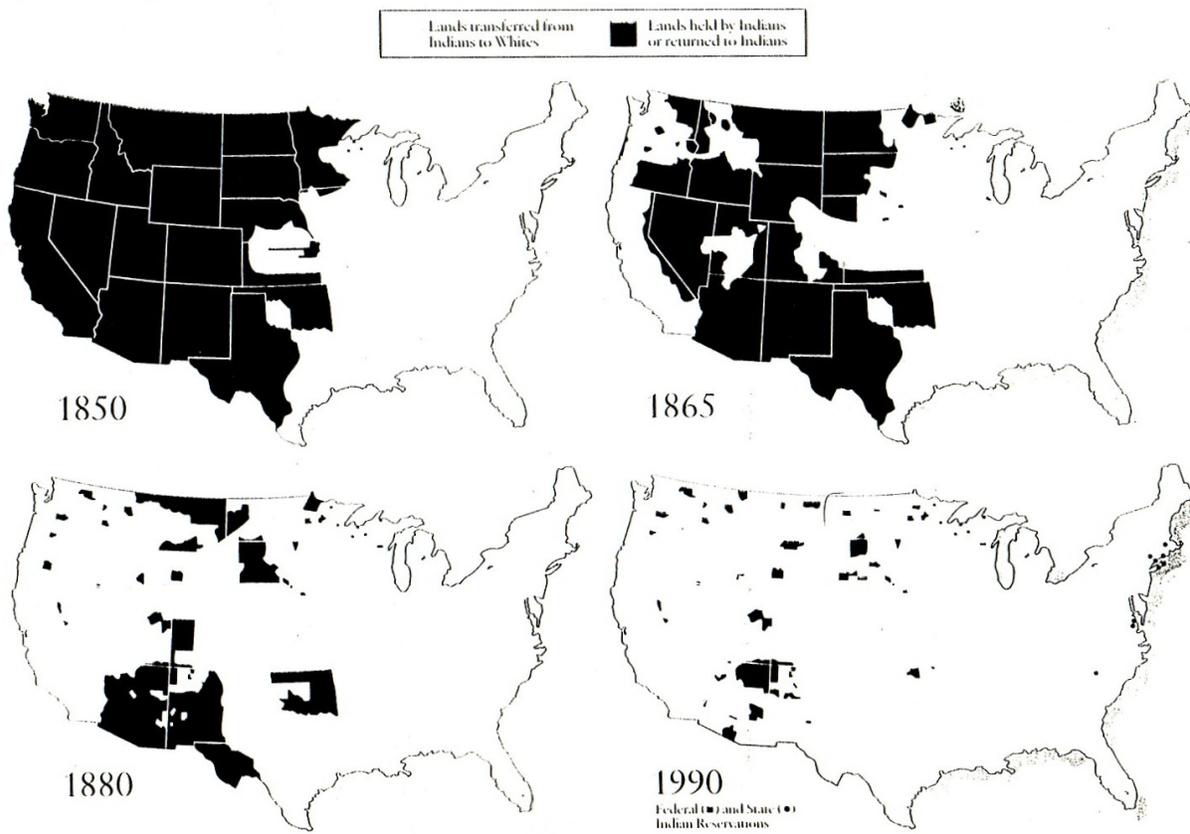


Figure 1.1. If U.S. land were divided like U.S. wealth

For example, “If U.S. land were divided like U.S. wealth” (figure 1.1) is a popular graphic that was electronically circulated on the Internet in late 2011 in connection with the Occupy movement. The image reveals inherent assumptions about land, including: land is property; land is/belongs to the United States; land should be distributed democratically. The beliefs that land can be owned by people, and that occupation is a right, reflect a profoundly settling, anthropocentric, colonial view of the world.

In figure 1.1, the irony of mapping of wealth onto land seems to escape most of those who re-posted the images on their social networking sites and blogs: Land is already wealth; it is already divided; and its distribution is the greatest indicator of racial inequality¹⁷. Indeed the current wealth crisis facing the 99% spiraled with the crash in home/land ownership. Land (not money) is actually the basis for U.S. wealth. If we took away land, there would be little wealth left to redistribute.

¹⁷ Wealth, most significantly in the form of home ownership, supercedes income as an indicator of disparities between racial groups. See discussions on the wealth gap, home ownership, and racial inequality by Thomas Shapiro (2004), in *The Hidden Cost of Being African American: How Wealth Perpetuates Inequality*.



NATIVE LAND: 100%. RESERVATION LAND: 2.3%.

Figure 1.2. If Native land were [is] divided like Native land

Settler colonization can be visually understood as the unbroken pace of invasion, and settler occupation, into Native lands: the white space in figure 1.2. Decolonization, as a process, would repatriate land to Indigenous peoples, reversing the timeline of these images.

As detailed by public intellectuals/bloggers such as *Tequila Sovereign* (Lenape scholar Joanne Barker), some Occupy sites, including Boston, Denver, Austin, and Albuquerque tried to engage in discussions about the problematic and colonial overtones of occupation (Barker, October 9, 2011). Barker blogs about a firsthand experience in bringing a proposal for a *Memorandum of Solidarity with Indigenous Peoples*,¹⁸ to the General Assembly in Occupy Oakland. The memorandum, signed by Corrina Gould, (Chochenyo Ohlone - the first peoples of Oakland/Ohlone), Barker, and numerous other Indigenous and non-Indigenous activist-scholars, called for the acknowledgement of Oakland as already occupied and on stolen land; of the ongoing defiance by Indigenous peoples in the U.S. and around the globe against imperialism,

¹⁸ The memorandum can be found at <http://www.indybay.org/newsitems/2011/10/29/18695950.php>, last retrieved June 1, 2012.

colonialism, and oppression; the need for genuine and respectful involvement of Indigenous peoples in the Occupy Oakland movement; and the aspiration to “Decolonize Oakland,” rather than re-occupy it. From Barker’s account of the responses from settler individuals to the memorandum,

Ultimately, what they [settler participants in Occupy Oakland] were asking is whether or not we were asking them, as non-indigenous people, the impossible? Would their solidarity with us require them to give up their lands, their resources, their ways of life, so that we – who numbered so few, after all – could have more? Could have it all? (Barker, October 30, 2011)

These responses, resistances by settler participants to the aspiration of decolonization in Occupy Oakland, illustrate the reluctance of some settlers to engage the prospect of decolonization beyond the metaphorical or figurative level. Further, they reveal the limitations to “solidarity,” without the willingness to acknowledge stolen land and how stolen land benefits settlers. “Genuine solidarity with indigenous peoples,” Barker continues, “assumes a basic understanding of how histories of colonization and imperialism have produced and *still produce* the legal and economic possibility for Oakland” (ibid., emphasis original).

For social justice movements, like Occupy, to truly aspire to decolonization non-metaphorically, they would impoverish, not enrich, the 99%+ settler population of United States. Decolonization eliminates settler property rights and settler sovereignty. It requires the abolition of land as property and upholds the sovereignty of Native land and people.

There are important parallels between Occupy/Decolonize and the French/Haitian Revolutions of 1789-1799 and 1791-1804, respectively. Haiti has the dubious distinction of being “the poorest country in the Western hemisphere” (Central Intelligence Agency, 2012); yet, it was the richest of France’s colonies until the Haitian Revolution, the only slave revolution to ever found a state. This paradox can be explained by what/who counts as whose property. Under French colonialism, Haiti was a worth a fortune in enslaved human beings. From the French slave owners’ perspectives, Haitian independence abolished not slavery, but their property and a source of common-wealth. Unfortunately, history provides us with the exact figures on what their property was worth; in 1825, “France recognized Haitian independence by a treaty requiring Haiti to pay an indemnity of 150 million francs payable in 5 years to compensate absentee slaveowners for their losses” (Schuller, 2007, p.149). The magnitude¹⁹ of these

¹⁹ 150 million Francs was the equivalent of France’s annual budget (and Haiti’s population was less than 1% of France’s), 10 times all annual Haitian exports in 1825, equivalent to \$21 billion in 2010 U.S. Dollars. By contrast France sold the Louisiana Purchase to the United States in 1803 for a net sum of 42 million Francs. The indemnity demand, delivered by 12 warships armed with 500 canons, “heralded a strategy of plunder” (Schuller, 2007, p.166), as a new technology in colonial reconquest.

reparations not *for* slavery, but *to* former slave owners, plunged Haiti into eternal debt²⁰. Occupy draws almost directly from the values of the French Revolution: the Commons, the General Assembly, the natural right to property, and the resistance to the decolonization of Indigenous life/land. In 1789, the French *Communes* (Commons) declared themselves a National Assembly directly “of the People” (the 99%) against the representative assembly of “the Estates” (the 1%) set up by the ruling elite, and adopted the celebrated *Declaration of the Rights of the Man and the Citizen*. Not unlike the heated discussions at the December 4, 2011 General Assembly of Occupy Oakland that ultimately rejected the proposal to change the name to “Decolonize Oakland”, the 1789 National Assembly debated at great length over the language of emancipation in the *Declaration*. Ultimately, the *Declaration* abolished slavery but not property, and effectively stipulated that property trumped emancipation. While rhetorically declaring men as forever free and equal (and thus unenslavable), it assured the (revolutionary) colonial proprietors in the assembly that their chattel would be untouched, stating unequivocally: “The right to property being inviolable and sacred, no one ought to be deprived of it...” (Blackburn, 2006, p. 650).

Table 1.

Outnumbers. Incommensurable.

French Revolution	99% French, 1% Slaves ²¹
Haitian Revolution	90% Slaves, 10% Whites & Free Blacks

Decolonizing the Americas means all land is repatriated and all settlers become landless. It is incommensurable with the redistribution of Native land/life as common-wealth.

Table 2.

Outnumbers. Incommensurable.

Occupy	99% Occupiers, 1% Owners
Decolonize	0.9% Indigenous ²² , 99.1% Settlers ²³

²⁰ Haiti has literally been in debt from the moment it was recognized as a country. Haiti paid off its indemnity to France in 1937, but only through new indemnity with the United States. Ironically, in contemporary times, the Paris Club has power over Haiti’s debt, and thus maintains Haiti’s poverty.

²¹ At 28 million people, France was the 3rd most populous country in the world in 1789, after China and India. Haiti’s slave population in 1791 was approximately 452,000 - a fluctuating number as the slave mortality rate exceeded the birth rate, requiring a constant supply of newly enslaved Africans; and approximately 200,000 slaves died in the revolution. 1% refers to this number of enslaved people in Haiti relative to the French population, and does not include those enslaved in France or its other colonies.

²² According to the 2010 U.S. census, Native Americans comprise 0.9% of U.S. inhabitants.

Our critique of Occupation is not just a critique of rhetoric. The call to “occupy everything” has legitimized a set of practices with problematic relationships to land and to Indigenous sovereignty. Urban homesteading, for example, is the practice of re-settling urban land in the fashion of self-styled pioneers in a mythical frontier. Not surprisingly, urban homesteading can also become a form of playing Indian, invoking Indigeneity as ‘tradition’ and claiming Indian-like spirituality while evading Indigenous sovereignty and the modern presence of actual urban Native peoples. More significant examples are Occupiers’ claims to land and their imposition of Western forms of governance within their tent cities/colonies. Claiming land for the Commons and asserting consensus as the rule of the Commons, erases existing, prior, and future Native land rights, decolonial leadership, and forms of self-government.

Occupation is a move towards innocence that hides behind the numerical superiority of the settler nation, the elision of democracy with justice, and the logic that what became property under the 1% rightfully belongs to the other 99%.

In contrast to the settler labor of occupying the commons, homesteading, and possession, some scholars have begun to consider the labor of de-occupation in the undercommons, permanent fugitivity, and dispossession as possibilities for a radical black praxis. Such “a labor that is dedicated to the reproduction of social dispossession as having an ethical dimension” (Moten & Harney, 2004, p.110), includes both the refusal of acquiring property and of being property

Incommensurability is unsettling

Having elaborated on settler moves to innocence, we give a synopsis of the imbrication of settler colonialism with transnationalist, abolitionist, and critical pedagogy movements - efforts that are often thought of as exempt from Indigenous decolonizing analyses - as a synthesis of how decolonization as material, not metaphor, unsettles the innocence of these movements. These are interruptions which destabilize, un-balance, and repatriate the very terms and assumptions of some of the most radical efforts to reimagine human power relations. We argue that the opportunities for solidarity lie in what is incommensurable rather than what is common across these efforts.

We offer these perspectives on unsettling innocence because they are examples of what we might call an ethic of incommensurability, which recognizes what is distinct, what is sovereign for project(s) of decolonization in relation to human and civil rights based social justice projects. There are portions of these projects that simply cannot speak to one another, cannot be aligned or allied. We make these notations to highlight opportunities for what can only ever be strategic and contingent collaborations, and to indicate the reasons that lasting solidarities may be elusive, even undesirable. Below we point to unsettling themes that challenge the coalescence of social justice endeavors broadly assembled into three areas:

²³ Wayne would like to give special thanks to Jodi Byrd for pointing out this numerical irony.

the United States, not some secret Thai triad or Russian mafia or Chinese smuggler. The U.S. carceral state is properly called neo-slavery, precisely because it is legal. It is not simply a product of exceptional racism in the U.S.; its racism is a direct function of the settler colonial mandate of land and people as property.

Black Codes made vagrancy - i.e. landlessness - illegal in the Antebellum South, making the self-possessed yet dispossessed Black body a crime (similar logic allowed for the seizure, imprisonment and indenture of any Indian by any person in California until 1937, based on the ideology that Indians are simultaneously landless and land-like). Dennis Childs writes “the slave ship and the plantation” and not Bentham’s panopticon as presented by Foucault, “operated as spatial, racial, and economic templates for subsequent models of coerced labor and human warehousing - as America’s original prison industrial complex” (2009, p.288). Geopolitics and biopolitics are completely knotted together in a settler colonial context.

Despite the rise of publicly traded prisons, Farms are not fundamentally capitalist ventures; at their core, they are colonial contract institutions much like Spanish Missions, Indian Boarding Schools, and ghetto school systems²⁶. The labor to cage black bodies is paid for by the state and then land is granted, worked by convict labor, to generate additional profits for the prison proprietors. However, it is the management of excess presence on the land, not the forced labor, that is the main object of slavery under settler colonialism.

Today, 85% of people incarcerated at Angola, die there.

Conclusion

An ethic of incommensurability, which guides moves that unsettle innocence, stands in contrast to aims of reconciliation, which motivate settler moves to innocence. Reconciliation is about rescuing settler normalcy, about rescuing a settler future. Reconciliation is concerned with questions of *what will decolonization look like? What will happen after abolition? What will be the consequences of decolonization for the settler?* Incommensurability acknowledges that these questions need not, and perhaps cannot, be answered in order for decolonization to exist as a framework.

We want to say, first, that decolonization is not obliged to answer those questions - decolonization is not accountable to settlers, or settler futurity. Decolonization is accountable to Indigenous sovereignty and futurity. Still, we acknowledge the questions of those wary participants in Occupy Oakland and other settlers who want to know what decolonization will require of them. The answers are not fully in view and can’t be as long as decolonization remains punctuated by metaphor. The answers will not emerge from friendly understanding, and indeed require a dangerous understanding of uncommonality that un-coalesces coalition politics - moves that may feel very unfriendly. But we will find out the answers as we get there, “in the

²⁶ As we write today, Louisiana has moved to privatize all of its public schools
http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/06/01/louisiana-makes-bold-bid-_n_1563900.html

exact measure that we can discern the movements which give [decolonization] historical form and content” (Fanon, 1963, p. 36).

To fully enact an ethic of incommensurability means relinquishing settler futurity, abandoning the hope that settlers may one day be commensurable to Native peoples. It means removing the asterisks, periods, commas, apostrophes, the whereas’s, buts, and conditional clauses that punctuate decolonization and underwrite settler innocence. The Native futures, the lives to be lived once the settler nation is gone - these are the unwritten possibilities made possible by an ethic of incommensurability.

*when you take away the punctuation
he says of
lines lifted from the documents about
military-occupied land
its acreage and location
you take away its finality
opening the possibility of other futures*

-Craig Santos Perez, Chamoru scholar and poet
(as quoted by Voeltz, 2012)

Decolonization offers a different perspective to human and civil rights based approaches to justice, an unsettling one, rather than a complementary one. Decolonization is not an “and”. It is an elsewhere.

References

- Ahmed, S. (2000). *Strange encounters: Embodied others in postcoloniality*. New York: Routledge.
- Aiken, C. S. (1990). A new type of black ghetto in the plantation South. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 80(2), 223-246.
- Alexander, J. (2002) Remembering this bridge, remembering ourselves. In G. Anzaldúa & A. Keating (Eds.), *This place we call home: Radical visions for transformation* (pp. 81-103). New York: Routledge.
- Anderson, B. (1991). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London: Verso.
- Arvin, M., Tuck, E., and Morrill, A. (forthcoming). Decolonizing feminism: Challenging connections between settler colonialism and heteropatriarchy. *Feminist Formations*.
- Bang, M. (2009). *Understanding students' epistemologies: Examining practice and meaning in community contexts*. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Northwestern University.

- Barker, A.J. (2009). The contemporary reality of Canadian imperialism, settler colonialism, and the hybrid colonial state. *The American Indian Quarterly*, 33(3), 325-351.
- Barker, J. (2011). What does 'Decolonize Oakland' mean? What can 'Decolonize Oakland' mean? *Tequila Sovereign*. Available at: <http://tequilasovereign.blogspot.ca/2011/10/what-does-decolonize-oakland-mean-what.html>
- Belin, E. G. (1999). Blues-ing on the brown vibe. In *From the belly of my beauty: Poems* (pp. 3-6). Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Berger, B.R. (2004). Indian policy and the imagined Indian woman. *Kansas Journal of Law and Public Policy*, 14, 103-115.
- Blackburn, R. (2006). Haiti, slavery, and the age of the democratic revolution. *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 63(4), 643-674.
- Bruyneel, K. (2007). *The third space of sovereignty: The postcolonial politics of U.S.-Indigenous relations*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Bruyneel, K. (2004). Challenging American boundaries: Indigenous people and the "gift" of U.S. citizenship. *Studies in American Political Development*, 18, 30-43.
- Butterfield, L. H. (January 01, 1954). Cooper's inheritance: The Otsego country and its founders. *New York History*, 35, 374-411.
- Byrd, J. A. (2011). *The transit of empire: Indigenous critiques of colonialism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Central Intelligence Agency. (May 12, 2012). Haiti. *The World Factbook*. Accessed on June 4, 2012, from <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ha.html>
- Césaire, A. (2000). *Discourse on colonialism*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Chang, C. (May 13, 2012). Louisiana is the world's prison capital. *The Time-Picayune*. Nola.com. Accessed on August 23, 2012 at http://www.nola.com/crime/index.ssf/2012/05/louisiana_is_the_worlds_prison.html
- Childs, D. (2009). "You ain't seen nothin' yet": Beloved, the American chain gang, and the Middle Passage remix. *American Quarterly*, 61(2), 271-297.
- Cobb, J. C. (1992). *The most southern place on earth: The Mississippi Delta and the roots of regional identity*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Cooper, J. F. (2000). *The last of the Mohicans: Volume 2*. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia.
- Deer, S. (2010). Relocation revisited: Sex trafficking of Native women in the United States. *William Mitchell Law Review*, 36(2), 621-683.
- Deer, S. (2009). Decolonizing rape law: A Native feminist synthesis of safety and sovereignty. *Wicazo Sa Review*, 24(2), 149-167.
- Deloria, Jr. V. (1988). *Custer died for your sins: An Indian manifesto*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Deloria, P. (1998). *Playing Indian*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

- Etymonline. (2001). Equivocation. *Douglas Harper*. Accessed June 4, 2012, from <http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=equivocation>
- Fanon, F. (1963). *The wretched of the earth*. New York: Grove Press.
- Fellows, M. L. and Razack, S. (1998). The race to innocence: Confronting hierarchical relations among women. *The Journal of Gender, Race & Justice*, 1(4), 335- 555.
- Fiske, W. (August 18, 2004). The black-and-white world of Walter Ashby Plecker. Hamptonroads.com. Accessed on June 4, 2012 <http://hamptonroads.com/2004/08/blackandwhite-world-walter-ashby-plecker>
- Ford, L. (2010). *Settler sovereignty: Jurisdiction and indigenous people in America and Australia, 1788-1836*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
- Freire, P. (2000). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York: Continuum.
- Friedel, T. L. (2011). Looking for learning in all the wrong places: Urban Native youths' cultured response to Western-oriented place-based learning. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 24(5), 531-546.
- Fujikane, C. (2012). Asian American critique and Moana Nui 2011: securing a future beyond empires, militarized capitalism and APEC. *Inter-asia Cultural Studies*, 13(2), 189-210.
- Fujikane, C. & Okamura, J. Y. (2008). *Asian settler colonialism: From local governance to the habits of everyday life in Hawai'i*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Gallay, A. (2009). *Indian slavery in colonial America*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Gaynor, T. (29 February 2012) Navajo file trademark suit against Urban Outfitters. Reuters. Last accessed June 3, 2012 <http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/02/29/us-navajo-urbanoutfitters-idUSTRE81S2IT20120229>
- Goeman, M. (2008). From place to territories and back again: Centering storied land in the discussion of Indigenous nation-building. *International Journal of Critical Indigenous Studies*, 1(1), 23-34.
- Goeman, M. R., & Denetdale, J. R. (Eds.). (2009). Native feminisms: Legacies, interventions, and Indigenous sovereignties [Special Issue]. *Wicazo Sa Review*, 24(2), 9-187.
- Grande, S. (2004). *Red pedagogy: Native American social and political thought*. Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Harjo, J. (2004). No. Accessed Aug. 1, 2012 at: <http://www.joyharjo.com/news/2004/09/no.html>
- Hastings, A.W. (2007). L. Frank Baum's editorials on Sioux Nation. Available at: <http://web.archive.org/web/20071209193251/http://www.northern.edu/hastingw/baumedts.htm>
- Highest Common Denominator Media Group. (2009). *The farm, 10 down*. [DVD]. Highest Common Denominator Media Group.
- Intertribal Friendship House (Oakland, Calif.), & Lobo, S. (2002). *Urban voices: The Bay Area American Indian community*. Tucson, Ariz: University of Arizona Press.
- Jacobs, A. (2009). Undoing the harm of white supremacy. Masters Thesis, The Gallatin School, New York University.

- Kawagley, A. O. (2010). Foreword. In R. Barnhardt & A.O. Kawagley, (Eds.) *Alaska Native education: Views from within*. Fairbanks, AK: Alaska Native Knowledge Network, University of Alaska Fairbanks.
- Latour, F. (June 1, 2012). The myth of Native American blood. *Boston.com*, Last accessed June 4, 2012 at http://www.boston.com/community/blogs/hyphenated_life/2012/06/the_myth_of_native_american_bl.html
- Lee, T. S. (2011). Teaching Native youth, teaching about Native Peoples: Shifting the paradigm to socioculturally responsive education. In A.F. Ball & C. A. Tyson (Eds.), *Studying diversity in teacher education* (pp. 275-293). Lanham, Maryland: Towman & Littlefield Publishing Group, Inc.
- Lomawaima, K. T. & McCarty, T. L. (2006). *To Remain an Indian: Lessons in democracy from a century of Native American education*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Lorde, A. (1984). *Sister outsider: Essays and speeches*. Trumansburg, NY: Crossing Press.
- Maldonado, T. N. (2008). *Against war: Views from the underside of modernity*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Marez, C. (2007). Looking beyond property: North Americans and photography. *Rikkyo American Studies*, 29, 9-28. Available at: <http://www.rikkyo.ac.jp/research/laboratory/IAS/ras/29/marez.pdf>
- Mawhinney, J. (1998). 'Giving up the ghost': Disrupting the (re)production of white privilege in anti-racist pedagogy and organizational change. Masters Thesis, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto. Available at: http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/obj/s4/f2/dsk2/tape15/PQDD_0008/MQ33991.pdf
- McCoy, K., Tuck, E., & McKenzie, M. (forthcoming). Land education: Indigenous, postcolonial, and decolonizing perspectives on place and environmental education research. Special Issue of *Environmental Education Research*.
- Memmi, A. (1991). *The colonizer and the colonized*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.
- Meyer, M. A. (2008). Indigenous and authentic: Hawaiian epistemology and the triangulation of meaning. In N. K. Denzin, Y. S. Lincoln, & L. T. Smith (Eds.), *Handbook of critical and Indigenous methodologies* (pp. 217-232). Los Angeles: Sage.
- Morgensen, S. L. (2011). *Spaces between us: Queer settler colonialism and indigenous decolonization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Moten, F. (2008). Black op. *PMLA*, 123(5), 1743-1747. Available at: <http://www.mlajournals.org/doi/pdf/10.1632/pmla.2008.123.5.1743>
- Moten, F., & Harney, S. (2004). The university and the undercommons: Seven theses. *Social Text*, 79, 101-116.
- Moten, F., & Harney, S. (2010). Debt and Study. *E-flux*, 14, 1-5. Available at: http://worker01.e-flux.com/pdf/article_119.pdf
- Neegangwedgin, E. (2012). Challenging the Indigenous other: A historical examination of the enslavement of Aboriginal Peoples in Canada. *AlterNative*, 8(1).

- Razack, S. (Ed.). (2002). *Race, space, and the law*. Toronto, Ont. Canada: Between the Lines.
- Razack, S. (2007). Stealing the pain of others: Reflections on Canadian humanitarian responses. *The Review of Education, Pedagogy and Culture Studies*, 29, 375-394.
- Richardson, T. (2011). Navigating the problem of inclusion as enclosure in Native culture-based education: Theorizing shadow curriculum. *Curriculum Inquiry*, 41(3), 332-349.
- Ross, L. (1998). *Inventing the savage: The social construction of Native American criminality*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Roy, A. (2012, March 26). Capitalism: A ghost story. *Outlook India Magazine*, online. Last Accessed June 3, 2012 at <http://www.outlookindia.com/article.aspx?280234#.T2pIet94UTk>
- Said, E. (1978). *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Saranillio, D.I. (2010a). Kēwaikaliko's *Benocide*: Reversing the Imperial Gaze of *Rice v. Cayetano* and its Legal Progeny. *American Quarterly*, 62(3), 457-476.
- Saranillio, D.I. (2010b). Colliding histories: Hawai'i statehood at the intersection of Asians "ineligible to citizenship" and Hawaiians "unfit for self-government". *Journal of Asian American Studies*, 13(3), 283-309.
- Schuller, M. (2007). Haiti's 200-year ménage-à-trois: Globalization, the state, and civil society. *Caribbean Studies*, 35(1), 141-179.
- Shapiro, T. M. (2004). *The hidden cost of being African American: How wealth perpetuates inequality*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Silko, L. M. (1982). *Ceremony*. New York: Penguin.
- Silva, D. F. (2007). *Toward a global idea of race*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Somerville, S. (2011, April 4). Staging citizenship: Race and the queer history of naturalization in the U.S. Lecture given at UC Berkeley, April 4, 2011.
- Spiegel, M. (1988). *The dreaded comparison: Human and animal slavery*. Mirror Books.
- Spivak, G.C. 1985. Scattered speculations on the question of value. *Diacritics*, 15(4), 73-93.
- Tuck, E. & Ree, C. (forthcoming). A Glossary of haunting. In S. Holman-Jones, T. Adams & C. Ellis (Eds), *Handbook of Autoethnography*. SAGE Publications.
- Villegas, M. (11 April 2012). Data quality as an essential element of sovereignty: Education researchers linking hands with policymakers. Paper presented at the *Hands Forward: Sharing Indigenous Intellectual Traditions Conference*, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada.
- Voeltz, F. (April 25, 2012). Body of work / when you take away punctuation. detail collector. Accessed on June 4, 2012, at <http://frantelope.wordpress.com/2012/04/25/body-of-work-when-you-take-away-punctuation/>
- Watson, I. (2007). Settled and unsettled spaces: Are we free to roam? In A. Moreton-Robinson (Ed.), *Sovereign subjects: Indigenous sovereignty matters* (pp. 15-32). Crows Nest, NSW: Allen and Unwin, Australia.
- Wolfe, P. (2007). Settler colonialism and the elimination of the native. *Journal of Genocide Research*, 8(4), 387-409.