

JOANNE BARKER, EDITOR

CRITICALLY SOVEREIGN

INDIGENOUS GENDER, SEXUALITY,
AND FEMINIST STUDIES



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Indigenous Gender, Sexuality, and Feminist Studies

JOANNE BARKER, EDITOR

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COVER ART: Merritt Johnson, *Waterfall Face Emergency Mantle for Diplomatic Security and
Near Invisibility*, 2014, fabric, turkey wings, beads and spray lacquer.

TO ALL THE
murdered and missing
Indigenous women
and gender nonconforming
individuals.

TO THE
Grandmothers, Aunts, Sisters,
Mothers, Daughters, Friends, Lovers.
May all our relatives find
peace and justice.

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Introduction

CRITICALLY SOVEREIGN

JOANNE BARKER

A woman returned from the field to find a curious hole in the ground outside her lodging. She looked inside the hole, deep into the earth, and someone spoke to her from there. The woman asked who it was. “If anyone wishes to hear stories, let them come and roll a little tobacco or a bead, and I will tell them a story.” So the people came, with tobacco and beads, and many stories were told. We do not know whether the stories are true, only that they tell us who we are. And they all begin with a giving of thanks.¹ *Wanishi* (Lenape). *Chin’an gheli* (Dena’ina). *Chokma’ski* (Chickasaw). *Nya:weh* (Seneca). *Niawen/Niawen kowa* (Onyota’aka). *Ahéhee’* (Diné). *Mahalo* (Hawaiian). *Miigwech* (Anishinaabe). *Nyá:wę!* (Skarure). *Thank you* (English).

Contexts

It is a genuine challenge not to be cynical, given the relentlessness of racially hyper-gendered and sexualized appropriations of Indigenous cultures and identities in the United States and Canada: OutKast’s performance at the

2004 Grammy Awards; the headdressed portraits of the reality TV star Khloe Kardashian, the singer Pharrell Williams, and the singer Harry Styles of the band One Direction;² Urban Outfitters' Navajo Hipster Panty and Victoria Secret's headdress-and-fringe lingerie fashion show; the supermodel and TV host Heidi Klum's "Redface" photo shoot; the *always already* corrupt tribal gaming officials of *Big Love*, *The Killing*, and *House of Cards*; the redface, song and dance, and tomahawk chop among sports fandom in Washington, Illinois, and elsewhere.³ Everywhere.

It is also a challenge to take seriously the apologies that follow. Too often they are dismissive and defensive. Indigenous peoples are slighted for failing to respect the deep connection people claim with Indigenous cultures, as with Christina Fallin, daughter of the governor of Oklahoma, who was criticized for posing in a headdress for a portrait and insisted that "growing up in Oklahoma, we have come into contact with Native American culture institutionally our whole [lives]. . . . With age, we feel a deeper and deeper connection to the Native American culture that has surrounded us. Though it may not have been our own, this aesthetic has affected us emotionally in a very real and very meaningful way."⁴ Or Indigenous concerns are rejected as uninformed, as with Gwen Stefani, lead singer of the band No Doubt, who said in response to criticism that the headdress and buckskin she wore while engaging in sexual torture in the music video *Looking Hot* were sanctioned by "Native American experts in the University of California system." Or Indigenous people are written off as not understanding Indigenous identity at all, as when Johnny Depp responded to criticism of his blackbird-headed Tonto in the movie *The Lone Ranger* that he was "part Cherokee or maybe Creek." (He was adopted shortly thereafter by the Comanche Nation of Oklahoma.) Inherent in these various responses is the suggestion that Indigenous people are too sensitive, miss the point of the play, are easily duped by Hollywood glam, or are biased against those who are unenrolled or of mixed descent (not necessarily the same thing).

The insistent repetition of the racially gendered and sexualized image—of a particular kind of Indian woman/femininity and Indian man/masculinity—and its succession by contrite, defensive apologies laced with insult is neither a craze nor a gaffe. It is a racially gendered and sexed snapshot, a still image of a movingly malleable narrative of Indigenous womanhood/femininity and manhood/masculinity that reenacts Indigenous people's lack of knowledge and power over their own culture and identity in an inherently imperialist and colonialist world. There is something especially telling in how these instances occur most often in the public spaces of fashion, film, music, and

politics. We seem to expect little from supermodels, actors, musicians, and elected officials (and their families), even as we make them fulfill our desires for money and power and our ideals about living in a democratic, liberal, and multicultural society. They make the perfect butt of our jokes even as (or because) they serve to disguise how their costumed occupations of Indigeneity reenact the social terms and conditions of U.S. and Canadian dominance over Indigenous peoples.

But Indigenous peoples miss none of the implications. Because international and state recognition of Indigenous rights is predicated on the cultural authenticity of a certain kind of Indigeneity, the costumed affiliations undermine the legitimacy of Indigenous claims to sovereignty and self-determination by rendering Indigenous culture and identity obsolete but for the costume. That this representation is enacted through racialized, gendered, and sexualized images of Indigenous women/femininity and men/masculinity—presumably all heterosexual and of a generic tribe—is not a curiosity or happenstance. It is the point. Imperialism and colonialism require Indigenous people to fit within the heteronormative archetypes of an Indigeneity that was authentic in the past but is culturally and legally vacated in the present. It is a past that even Indigenous peoples in headdresses are perceived to honor as something dead and gone. The modernist temporality of the Indigenous dead perpetuates the United States and Canada as fulfilled promises of a democracy encapsulated by a multicultural liberalism that, ironically, is inclusive of Indigenous people only in costumed affiliation. This is not a logic of elimination. Real Indigeneity is *ever presently* made over as irrelevant as are Indigenous legal claims and rights to governance, territories, and cultures. But long live the regalia-as-artifact that anybody can wear.

The relentlessness of the racist, sexist appropriations of Indigenous culture and identity and their work in rearticulating imperial and colonial formations has been shown up by the radical dance of Indigenous peoples for treaty and territorial rights, environmental justice, and women's and men's health and well-being within the Idle No More movement.⁵ Idle No More originated in a series of e-mails exchanged in October 2012 by four women in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan—Nina Wilson (Nakota and Cree), Sylvia McAdam (Cree), Jessica Gordon (Cree), and Sheelah McLean—who shared concerns not only about the direction of parliamentary laws and energy development projects in Canada, but also about the need for a broader “vision of uniting people to ensure the protection of Mother Earth, her lands, waters, and the people.”⁶ In November of that year, the women organized a series of teach-ins to address the laws—at various stages of draft, vetting, and

passage—and to strategize for the long term.⁷ The laws included the Jobs and Growth Act (Bill C-45), which removed protections on fish habitat and recognition of First Nation commercial fisheries and vacated federal oversight over navigation and environmental assessment on 99 percent of Canada's waterways.⁸ It also allowed government ministers to call for a referendum to secure land cessions by vote, nullifying their responsibilities to consult with Indigenous governments on land-cession proposals.⁹ These types of deregulations were interconnected with Canada's free trade agreements with China in relation to multiple tar sands pipeline projects.¹⁰ The laws undergirded and propelled the infrastructure necessary for Canada's expansive, unregulated energy development and revenue generation.¹¹ By the time the Jobs and Growth Act passed on December 4, 2012, Idle No More's actions had spread across Canada and into the United States, with Indigenous people demanding that Indigenous treaty and constitutional rights, including the right of consultation, be respected.

When the Canadian prime minister and Parliament continued to refuse meeting with Indigenous leaders outside the Assembly of First Nations process, a national day of action was called for December 10. In solidarity with Idle No More's objectives, Chief Theresa Spence of the Attawapiskat Nation initiated a liquids-only fast.¹² In a public statement, Spence declared, "I am willing to die for my people because the pain is too much and it's time for the government to realize what it's doing to us."¹³ With international support, Spence agreed to attend a meeting that had been scheduled between Harper and representatives of the Assembly of First Nations on January 11, 2013, on the provision that Governor-General David Johnston, representing the Crown, agree to attend. When neither Harper nor Johnston could agree on the terms of the meeting, Spence and several other Indigenous leaders boycotted. On January 25, Spence acceded to concerns about her health and concluded her fast. In support, representatives of the Treaty Chiefs, the Assembly of First Nations, the Native Women's Association of Canada, the New Democratic Party, and the Liberal Party of Canada signed a thirteen-point declaration of commitment pledging to renew their efforts to oppose Bill C-45 and the bills that had not yet passed. They also outlined their demands of Harper and Parliament, including the need for transparency and consultation; a commitment to address treaty issues; an affirmation of Indigenous rights provided for by Canadian law and the "Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples"; a commitment to resource revenue sharing and environmental sustainability; and the appointment of a National Pub-

lic Commission of Inquiry on Violence against Indigenous Women. These demands were echoed in solidarity actions in the United States, New Zealand, Australia, and throughout the world. In the United States, the actions also addressed the contamination of water by hydro-fracking, the multiply proposed tar sands pipelines from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico, and the gendered and sexualized violence against Indigenous communities within the energy industry's "man camps."¹⁴

This volume is engaged with ongoing political debates such as those instanced by cultural appropriation and Idle No More, about Indigeneity and Indigenous rights from the contexts of critical Indigenous gender, sexuality, and feminist studies. Three particular issues define the volume, with each essay operating as a kind of kaleidoscope whose unique turns emphasize different patterns, shadows, and hue and, thus, relationships between and within.

First, the volume is concerned with the terms and debates that constitute critical Indigenous gender, sexuality, and feminist studies. Contributors mark their own stakes within these debates by foregrounding the intellectual genealogies that inform her or his work. In doing so, many contributors engage feminist theories of heterosexism, sexism, and colonization, while others interrogate the terms of feminist theory in relation to gender and sexuality.

Second, the volume offers nation-based and often territorially specific engagements with Indigenous sovereignty and self-determination (what I term the "polity of the Indigenous"¹⁵). This is reflected by attention to the unique yet related ethics and responsibilities of gendered and sexed land-based epistemologies, cultural protocols and practices, governance histories and laws, and sociocultural relationships.

To be clear, locating Indigenous gender, sexuality, and feminist studies within and by Indigenous territories is not an essentialism of Indigeneity or a romanticization of Indigenous rights. No contributor claims that all Lenape, Dena'ina, Chickasaw, Seneca, Onyota'aka, Diné, Hawaiian, Anishinaabe, Skarure, or other Indigenous people are alike or that their perspectives and concerns can be reduced to "their nation" or "the land" as the only grounds on which they live and work. Further, it does not exclude Indigenous peoples whose territorial rights have been stripped from them; national and land-based knowledge and relationships are not predicated on recognition by the state. Rather, nations and territories provide the contexts necessary for understanding the social responsibilities and relationships that inform

Indigenous perspectives, political organizing, and intellectual theorizing around the politics of gender, sexuality, and feminism. Locating Indigenous gender, sexuality, and feminist studies within and by Indigenous territories holds the contributors—Indigenous and non-Indigenous—accountable to the specific communities to and from which they write as citizens or collaborators. This accountability is key to the theoretical reflection and methodological application of the protocols that (in)form Indigenous knowledge and politics.¹⁶

Third, the volume is concerned with the structure and operation of U.S. and Canadian imperialism and colonialism as related but unique state formations. The essays assume that gender and sexuality are core constitutive elements of imperialist-colonialist state formations and are concerned with the gendered, sexist, and homophobic discrimination and violence on which those formations are predicated.

I would not characterize these three particular issues as a necessarily distinct feature of this volume. Rather, the volume is an instance—a moment—within *ongoing* debates about Indigeneity and Indigenous rights within critical Indigenous gender, sexuality, and feminist studies. This instantiation has stakes in contributing to those debates in a way that emphasizes national, territorially based knowledge and ethical relationships and responsibilities to one another as scholars and to the communities from which and to which we write at the same time that it thinks through concrete strategies for political action and solidarity among and between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people against imperialist and colonialist state formations in the United States and Canada.¹⁷

In the remainder of the introduction, I orient the volume by considering some of the theoretical and methodological debates that have defined critical Indigenous gender, sexuality, and feminist studies. I begin with the institutionalization of the studies in the 1968–70 historical moment and then follow some of its routes through current scholarship. This is not meant to be definitive or comprehensive, but, with the three issues outlined above in mind, it is intended to provide a point of entry into the chapters that follow—to show something of the rich, diverse intellectual genealogies that define the studies and this volume's place within them.

The contributors examine a varied set of historical and current issues from multiple theoretical and methodological perspectives. These issues include the co-production of Native Hawaiian sexuality, belonging, and nationalism; the heteronormative marriage laws of the Navajo Nation; a U.S.-Canadian border town's experiences of violence against Indigenous women

and environmental destruction by Hydro-Québec; the role of music and performance in Inuit processes of globalization and cosmopolitics; the heteronormativity of U.S. federal laws of 1978; the antimiscegenist erasure of Indigeneity within the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in *Loving v. Virginia* (1967); and, the eroticism of ecologically based relationalities. In their analyses, the contributors represent not only how critical sovereignty and self-determination are to Indigenous peoples, but the importance of a critical address to the politics of gender, sexuality, and feminism within how that sovereignty and self-determination is imagined, represented, and exercised.

The Studies

Critical Indigenous gender, sexuality, and feminist studies confront the imperial-colonial work of those modes of Indigeneity that operationalize genocide and dispossession by ideologically and discursively vacating the Indigenous from the Indigenous. Simultaneously, they confront the liberal work of those theoretical modes of analysis and the political movements from which they emerge that seek to translate Indigenous peoples into normative gendered and sexed bodies as citizens of the state. In these confrontations, the studies must grapple with the demands of asserting a sovereign, self-determining Indigenous subject without reifying racialized essentialisms and authenticities. They must also grapple with the demands of de-normalizing gender and sexuality against the exceptionalist grains of a fetishized woman-centered or queer difference. In their stead, the studies are predicated on *the polity of the Indigenous*—the unique governance, territory, and culture of Indigenous peoples in unique and related systems of (non)-human relationships and responsibilities to one another.¹⁸

Historically, though in very different ways in the United States and Canada, critical Indigenous studies (CIS); ethnic, critical race, and diaspora studies; and gender, sexuality, and feminist studies and fields of inquiry were established in the context of civil rights movements into higher education (first institutionalized as departments and programs in the 1968–70 moment). The movements challenged—not always in concert—the racism, sexism, homophobia, and capitalist ideologies of power and knowledge within university curricula; pedagogy; scholarship; and faculty, student, and staff representation. This is not to suggest that the intellectual work these movements represented did not exist before 1968; that they were always united in what they cared about or in how they were institutionalized; or that they did not confront racism, sexism, homophobia, and classism. Rather, because of

how they were historically situated, they perceived themselves foremost in relation to civil rights matters. For instance, within CIS, fighting for the collective rights of Indigenous nations to sovereignty and self-determination in relation *to the state* was not considered the same fight as ethnic and critical race studies for citizenship, voting, and labor rights *within the state*.¹⁹ Concurrently, within gender, sexuality, and feminist studies, perceptions about the relevance of race and class in understanding social justice and equity accounted for important differences in intellectual and pedagogical commitments. Notions of diversity and rights were not effortlessly reckoned across departments, programs, associations, or publishing forums. The differences resulted in part in compartmentalized histories of the formations and developments of CIS; ethnic, critical race, and diaspora studies; and gender, sexuality, and feminist studies and fields of inquiry. How they have informed one another frequently has been left out, limiting our understandings of how categories of analysis—or analytics—organize all manner of intellectual work (theoretically and methodologically), institutional formations (from curriculum to professional association), and community relationships and responsibilities.

INDIGENOUS

Critical Indigenous studies and its relationship to ethnic and critical race studies has distinct institutional histories in Canada and the United States. In Canada, the institutionalization of departments, programs, and the First Nations University resulted from constitutional and treaty mandates and federation agreements for Indigenous education. There was no institutionalization in Canada of ethnic, critical race, or diaspora studies, where fields of inquiry were located as emphases or specialties within disciplines such as history, sociology, anthropology, and literature. In the United States, however, CIS and ethnic, critical race, and diaspora studies were institutionalized concurrently out of the political struggles defining the 1968–70 historical moment. For CIS, the establishment of departments, programs, associations, and publishing forums originated with Indigenous activists' moving back and forth between their campuses (and their efforts to create CIS departments and programs) and the struggles of their nations for sovereignty and self-determination (such as the visible presence of Indigenous students at "fish-ins" in the Pacific Northwest in support of treaty-protected fishing rights). With ethnic, critical race, and diaspora studies, departments *et cetera* originated primarily with activists engaged in civil rights movements. These different

origins are crucial for understanding how CIS distinguished itself from ethnic, critical race, and diaspora studies.

CIS distinguished itself through questions about Indigenous sovereignty, self-determination, and citizenship. Indigenous *peoples'* efforts to secure collective rights to sovereignty and self-determination as provided for within international and constitutional law was differentiated from the efforts of “minority” *people*—including immigrant and diaspora communities and their descendants—to claim citizenship and civil rights within their nation-states. This difference is germane to understanding the intellectual and political work of CIS, which directly builds on the unique histories and cultures of nations and often territorial-based communities to address current forms of oppression and think strategically through the efficacy of their unique but related anti-imperial and anticolonial objectives and strategies.²⁰

In addition, CIS negotiated its scholarly and institutional relationship to various critical race, ethnic, and diaspora studies in the context of perceptions about and claims on who and what counts as Indigenous. For instance, claims of African origins and migrations in human and world history have been perceived to conflict with Indigenous knowledge and epistemologies about Indigenous origins in the lands of North America. Intellectual claims on the Pacific within Asian American studies similarly have been perceived to erase colonization by Asian states within the Pacific as well as the relevance of Indigenous sovereignty and self-determination in Hawai‘i and the U.S.-occupied territories in the Pacific.

One of the consequences of these perceptions has been that CIS *curriculum* tends to focus on American Indian and Alaska Native peoples in the United States and on First Nation, Métis, and Inuit peoples in Canada, while CIS *scholarship* and political engagement is more engaged with Indigenous groups of North, South, and Central America; the Pacific; and the Caribbean.²¹ The “balancing act” of perceived curricular and intellectual “territoriality”—and its implications for community relationships and engagements—was and remains a permanent feature of issues confronting CIS as a field of inquiry and in relation to program development, student recruitment, and faculty representation. It also serves as an example of the identificatory politics of Indigenous peoples both within scholarship, curriculum, and political work and in the context of processes of state formation.²²

To put this in a slightly different way, how *Indigenous* includes or excludes Native Americans, American Indians, Alaska Natives, Native Hawaiians (Kanaka Maoli), South Americans, Central Americans, First Nation/Indians,

Métis, Inuits, Aborigines, or Maoris is not merely an academic question. It is a question about how these categories of identity and identification work to *include in* and *exclude from* rights to governance, territories, and cultural practice within international and constitutional law or contain or open possibilities of political solidarity against U.S. and Canadian imperialism and colonialism.

Consequently, whether or not a group or an individual identifies or is identified as legally and socially Indigenous implies all kinds of jurisdictions, citizenships, property rights, and cultural self-determinations that are *always already* entrenched within the legal terms and conditions of Indigenous relations to the United States and Canada as imperial-colonial powers. Identifying or being identified as Indigenous inextricably ties a person to the jurisdictional and territorial struggles of Indigenous peoples against the social forces of imperialism and colonialism. It is an act that simultaneously (un)names the polity of Indigenous governance, jurisdictions, territories, and cultures. As a consequence, the legal and political stakes of Indigenous identity and identification have been a core aspect of CIS scholarship, curriculum, and community engagement. These stakes entail all kinds of social politics concerning the ethics and integrity of CIS scholars' identifications and the scholarship that results. Nowhere have these politics been more raw than in gender, sexuality, and feminist studies, once predominately characterized by the cultural appropriation, misrepresentation, and exploitation of Indigenous cultures and identities.²³

But CIS criticisms of gender, sexuality, and feminist studies for cultural appropriation and exploitation have represented a knotted set of disconnects within CIS for a number of reasons. For instance, many CIS scholars have written, and enjoyed a receptive audience, within the studies even as (or because) they have sharply criticized feminism and feminists for collusion with imperialist, colonialist, and racist ideologies and practices. This is more curious as many of the same scholars have made these criticisms while located institutionally within women's studies departments (such as M. A. Jaimes Guerrero [Juaneño/Yaqui] of the Women's Studies Department at San Francisco State University) or published and circulated within gender, sexuality, and feminist professional forums (such as Haunani-Kay Trask [Kanaka Maoli], who is a frequent keynote speaker at women of color conferences).²⁴

Another disconnect is in the way many CIS scholars have criticized the marginalization of gender, sexuality, and feminism within CIS. This includes critiques of how CIS scholarship has frequently compartmentalized gender,

sexuality, and feminism, bracketing them off from analysis of “more serious political” issues such as governance, treaty and territorial rights, or the law. Even the very well-respected Lakota legal scholar and philosopher Vine Deloria Jr., who wrote extensively about U.S. federal Indian law and politics only anecdotally addressed the politics of gender, usually by including a discussion of female creation figures or lone sketches of female leaders.²⁵ He never once wrote about sexuality or feminism.²⁶

Another disconnect goes to the importance of gender, sexuality, and feminist studies in addressing the prevalence of sexism and homophobia within Indigenous communities.²⁷ Central to this have been claims that gender and sexuality are already respected forms of identity and experience within Indigenous cultures; thus, those issues do not need to be addressed within scholarship or political struggle. For instance, the Lakota activist, actor, and writer Russell Means claimed that the inherently matriarchal values that historically characterized tribal cultures made patriarchy and feminism unnecessary evils of “the West.”²⁸

One of the consequences of these disconnects has been that the core place of gender and sexuality in Indigenous sovereignty and self-determination has been minimized and deflected, contributing to and reflecting the disaggregation of race and racialization from the politics of gender and sexuality within CIS scholarship and within Indigenous sovereignty and self-determination struggles. As the essays in this volume show, gender and sexuality are permanent features of multiple, ongoing processes of social and identity formation within the United States and Canada. Their disarticulation from race and ethnicity or law and politics is a regulatory tool of power and knowledge. Such discursive practices suppress the historical and cultural differences that produce what gender and sexuality mean and how they work to organize history and experience. Similarly, feminism is shown to have multiple intellectual and political genealogies within Indigenous communities that need to be remembered, not for the sake of feminism, but for the sake of Indigenous knowledge and the relationships and responsibilities it defines.

GENDER, SEXUALITY, FEMINISM

In similar ways in the United States and Canada, the familiar history of gender, sexuality, and feminist studies is that the women’s rights, gay rights, and feminist movements (not necessarily different or necessarily aligned) out of which the studies were established called for a women’s and gay’s liberation and civil rights equality that rested on essentialized notions of women and gay identity and experience. This essentialism has been narrated as *racializing* and

classing gender and sexuality in such a way as to further a liberal humanist normalization of “compulsory heterosexuality,” male dominance, and white privilege.²⁹ The studies it produced have been narrated as an unfortunate but ultimately necessary result of “strategic essentialism,” with women’s studies and LGBTQ studies serving to locate gender, sexuality, and feminism within an otherwise heterosexist patriarchal academy as a “fundamental category” of “analysis and understanding.”³⁰ Gender studies and sexuality studies have been seen not only to make competing claims on radical feminist theory but also to offer critical insight on processes of subject formation in relation to the regulatory operations of discourse.³¹

These kinds of “wave” histories, of course, obfuscate the work of gender, sexuality, and feminism as categories of analysis and political coalition. They seem to do so primarily in two ways. First, they lend themselves to an ideology of socio-intellectual evolution. Gender, sexuality, and feminist studies *today* have moved past their troubled origins and evolved into a radical analytics, as is evident in their embrace of such methodologies as intersectionality and transnationality.³² The presumptions of progress obscure those intellectual histories of gender, sexuality, and feminism that do not conform, such as erasing the role of nonwhite women in the suffrage movement.³³ Second, they serve to render equal and transparent—fully legible—all identificatory and regulatory aspects of the essentialisms of gender, sexuality, and feminism. If we understand *legibility* as that which has been accepted to be true—the essentialist origins of gender, sexuality, and feminism—numerous categories of analysis and understanding must be made *illegible*, such as Indigenous and Black women’s feminisms.³⁴ As Judith Butler asks, “How can one read a text for what does not appear within its own terms, but which nevertheless constitutes the illegible conditions of its own legibility?”³⁵ This becomes important in understanding how debates over gender, sexuality, and feminism work. Specific points within the debates—the problematics of substituting “women” for “gender,” the limits of the sex-gender and sex-sexuality paradigms, the operations of white middle-class heteronormativity, the politics of binaries such as male-female—actually serve not to make the issues clearer but to make illegible all kinds of other histories and analyses.³⁶ As Butler suggests, making these other histories and analyses illegible is, in fact, the condition on which the debates flourish.

One consequence of this is a reinscription of Eurocentric, patriarchal ideologies of gender, sexuality, kinship, and society that render historical and cultural difference unintelligible and irrelevant. A result of this reinscription is in how Indigenous genders, sexualities, and feminisms are used illustra-

tively and interchangeably, not analytically, in debates about feminist theory and praxis.

For instance, as Biddy Martin argues, much work has been done in women's studies on separating anatomical sex (determinism) and social gender (constructionism). This separation has had consequences. First, it contributes to the notion of the stability and fixity of anatomical sex (what one is) and the malleability and performance of gender (what one does); the body and psyche are rendered virtually irrelevant to one's identity and experience.³⁷ Second, by reducing gender to one of two possibilities (man and woman), gender as a category of analysis stabilizes and universalizes binary oppositions at other levels, including sexuality, race, ethnicity, class, and nationalism.³⁸ "As a number of different feminists have argued," Martin writes, "the assumption of a core gender identity, now conceived as an effect of social construction, may also serve to ground and predict what biology, for constructionists, no longer can, namely, the putative unity or self-sameness of any given person's actual sex or gender."³⁹ In other words, we are at our core male or female and then made man or woman by society, and the equivalences are neatly proscriptive. Queerness, against the normativities that result, ends up standing in for the promise of a radical alterity of gender identity (performed) and a body-psyche utopia of sexual desire and pleasure.

These discursive formulations render little possibility for other understandings of gender and sexuality. For instance, Indigenous perspectives include those that insist on not equating biology and identity in understanding how the significance of gender and sexuality is reckoned in social relationships and responsibilities. Critical Indigenous studies scholars have uncovered multiple (not merely *third* genders or *two-spirits*) identificatory categories of gender and sexuality within Indigenous languages that defy binary logics and analyses. Within these categories, male, man, and masculine and female, woman, and feminine are not necessarily equated or predetermined by anatomical sex; thus, neither are social identity, desire, or pleasure.

But it is also true that some Indigenous perspectives see biology as core in relation to understandings of status, labor, and responsibilities, including matters of lineality (heredity), reproduction, and how relationships to non-human beings, the land and water, and other realities are figured. Further, matrilineality and patrilineality—not necessarily indicative of matriarchy or patriarchy—define social identities, relationships, and responsibilities in contexts of governance, territories, and cultures. Lineality would seem to indicate, then, an insistence on a biological relationship, but not one that can

be used to stabilize gender and sexuality in the reckoning of social identity, desire, and pleasure.

These complicated matters have been translated within women's studies scholarship to make very different kinds of analyses, such as forcing "third genders" and "two-spirits" to fit within preexisting categories of sexual difference such as bisexuality, transsexuality, or queerness. Further, they have been mobilized in arguments that Western patriarchy and sexism are not natural or inevitable truths of human existence but particular social ills from which women ought to be liberated (as seen in Marxist feminist anthropology).⁴⁰ Consequently, Indigenous cultures and identities are used to illustrate the need and potential for women's and gay's liberation and equality, with Indigenous women and LGBTQ people serving as teachers of the metaphysical truths of universal womanhood or queerhood that transcend the harsh realities of capitalist, heteronormative, patriarchal sexism.

These representational practices suppress Indigenous epistemologies, histories, and cultural practices regarding gender and sexuality while also concealing the historical and social reality of patriarchy, sexism, and homophobia within Indigenous communities. Not only have gender, sexuality, and feminist studies not accounted for the great diversity of Indigenous gender and sexuality, but, ironically, they have either suppressed histories of gender- and sexuality-based violence and discrimination within Indigenous communities or championed the liberation of Indigenous women and LGBTQ people from "their men."

In the chapters that follow, contributors *defamiliarize* gender, sexuality, and feminist studies to unpack the constructedness of gender and sexuality and problematize feminist theory and method within Indigenous contexts. They do so by locating their analyses in the historical and cultural specificity of gender and sexuality as constructs of identity and subject formation. Each chapter situates itself within a specific intellectual genealogy—of cis and of unique Indigenous nations and citizenships—and anticipates a decolonized future of gender and sexual relations, variously inviting and deflecting feminism as a means of getting there.

CRITICAL INDIGENOUS, GENDER, SEXUALITY, FEMINIST STUDIES INSTITUTIONAL FOUNDATIONS, INTELLECTUAL ROOTS

Critical Indigenous gender, sexuality, and feminist studies emerge from histories of Indigenous writings that are much older than their institutionalization in the curriculum of departments and programs formed in the 1968–70 moment. These early writings provide nation-based and often territorially

specific engagements with Indigenous sovereignty and self-determination that reflect their authors' commitments to the ethics and responsibilities of gendered and sexed land-based epistemologies, cultural protocols and practices, and national governance and laws. They also provide analyses of the structure and operation of U.S. and Canadian imperialism and colonialism as related but unique state formations predicated on gendered, sexist, and homophobic discrimination and violence.⁴¹ But these early writings also exhibit "yawning gulfs in the archives," particularly of Indigenous female and nongender conforming authors.⁴² That absence is especially stark in the context of the plethora of literature by English and French heterosexual women who were taken captive by Indigenous nations and the colonial families they either left behind or later rejoined.

In her crucial article on the politics of captivity narratives, "Captivating Eunice," Audra Simpson (Kahnawake Mohawk) addresses the raced and gendered politics of Indigenous kinship, recognition, and belonging in relation to Canada's regulation of Indigenous legal status and rights.⁴³ Through the story of Eunice Williams, the daughter of a Protestant minister, and her descendants, Simpson considers the politics of the kinship of a captive of the Kahnawake Mohawk and of her descendants as they are made the subjects of recent amendments to Mohawk membership criteria. Over time, Eunice and her descendants would be invested with the legal status and rights of "Indians" under the patrilineal provisions of Canada's Indian Act, but only as her sisters and their descendants would lose theirs:

These forms of political recognition and mis-recognition are forms of "citizenship" that have become social, and citizenships that incurred losses, in addition to gains, and thus are citizenships I wish to argue, of grief. . . . The Canadian state made all Indians in its jurisdiction citizens in 1956; however, the marriage of Indian women to non-status men would alienate them from their reserves, their families, and their rights as Indians until the passage of Bill C-31 in 1985. Thus, one can argue that these status losses, and citizenship gains, would always be accompanied by some form of grief.⁴⁴

Simpson argues that the grievability of Indigenous life under Canadian law is linked profoundly to "governability"—to the state's ability to regulate matrilineality out as a form of Indigenous governance, property, and inheritance.⁴⁵ Part of this regulation is reflected in the absence of Indigenous women from the early archives of colonial-Indigenous relations—literally *writing/righting* them out of history—as well as in the "mis-recognition" of

their experiences and concerns in contemporary debates over Indigenous legal status and rights within Indigenous communities by the suppression of their grief and losses.

The emergence of suffragist writings and political organizing in the early 1800s addressed central questions of women's citizenship status and rights within the statehood posed by the formations of the United States and Canada. But the feminism of suffrage and the questions of equality and inclusion that it articulated were not an invited politic or organizing principle of Indigenous people. In particular, Indigenous women's dis-identifications with the feminism of suffrage, and thus of the state citizenship and electoral participation that it envisioned, contrasted their address to the specific struggles of their nations for sovereignty and self-determination, often co-produced by attention to their unique cultures.

In *Life among the Piutes* (1883), Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins (Northern Paiute) offered a personal account of Paiute history and culture as an impassioned plea for the U.S. government and its citizens to respect the humanity of Indigenous peoples and put an end to invasion and genocide.⁴⁶ In *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen* (1898), Liliuokalani (Kanaka Maoli) appealed to the moral principles of a Christian, democratic society to reconsider the justice of the annexation and respect the humanity of Hawaiians.⁴⁷ She asserted the immoral and illegal aspects of the actions of U.S. missionaries, in collusion with plantation owners and military officers, as an assault on true democracy and defended Hawaiian independence as a nation's right.⁴⁸ Zitkala-Ša (Yankton-Nakota Sioux) co-founded and worked with several Indigenous rights organizations, and wrote several articles and autobiographical accounts against allotment, boarding schools, and missionization as she recorded Lakota stories and songs.⁴⁹ E. Pauline Johnson (Six Nations Mohawk) was a performer and writer who published several poems and stories addressed to the lives of Indigenous people in tension with Canadian society.⁵⁰ In *Cogewea: The Half-Blood* (1927), Mourning Dove (Salish) told the story of a woman's difficult experiences living between Montana's white ranching community and the Salish and Kootenai tribes of the Flathead Indian Reservation.⁵¹

These writers and their contemporaries confronted the difficult place of feminism within modernist ideologies and discourses of social evolution and difference, as those ideologies and discourses were institutionalized not only within the academy and presses but in U.S. and Canadian federal, military, and economic policy. Laurajane Smith argues that modernist theories of Indigenous inferiority served to authorize the role and knowl-

edge claims of empirical, evolutionary scientists in federal policy making to rationalize imperial-colonial objectives and even help direct programs.⁵² Concurrently, imperial-colonial interests easily appropriated the allegedly empirical claims about Indigenous inferiority as a rationalization of genocide, dispossession, and forced assimilation efforts that served their capitalist ends.

Writing against these ideological and discursive workings, Indigenous writers narrated the relevance of their unique and related experiences as Indigenous peoples back onto their territories, their bodies, and with one another. As Mishuana Goeman (Tonawanda Seneca) argues, Indigenous writers “mediate and refute colonial organizing of land, bodies, and social and political landscapes.”⁵³ Given the systemic sexual violence, criminal fraud, and forced removal that they confronted, the act of narration was a radical one, remapping Indigenous peoples back into their governance systems and territorial rights as culturally knowledgeable subjects refuting U.S. and Canadian narrations.

And yet, in complicated ways, they were acts often paired with an appeal to the liberal and evolutionary ideologies and discourses of modernity’s civilization and Christianity.⁵⁴ As Mark Rifkin argues, the reinscription of the values of civilization and Christianity in Indigenous writings was often articulated through personal stories of romance, family loyalty, hard work, and social harmony.⁵⁵ These stories reinscribed white heteronormativity while remaining silent on Indigenous gender and sexual diversity. They were contrasted with stories of the rape, alcoholism, and fraud that characterized U.S. and Canadian relations with Indigenous peoples. In that contrast, Indigenous writers represented themselves and their communities as embodying and emulating the values of Civilization (humanism) and Christianity (morality) against the Savagery of U.S. and Canadian officials, military officers and troops, and local citizens. But by linking the righteousness of Indigenous sovereignty and self-determination to the measure of Indigenous Civilization and Christianity, do the writers legitimate the gendered, sexualized, and racialized normativities on which ideologies of Civilization and Christianity are based? Do they make Indigenous rights contingent on Indigenous societies’ emulation of those ideological norms and social values that define an imperial-colonial, Civil-Christian society and advance racism, sexism, and homophobia?

Assuming that both Goeman and Rifkin are right, perhaps the questions are less about Indigenous writings being made to fit neatly together in some evolutionary metanarrative of oppositionality *or* assimilationism than they

are about understanding the profound contestations and difficulties Indigenous peoples confront in having to constantly negotiate and contest the social terms and conditions of imperial and colonial imaginaries, policies, and actions. Since narrating Indigenous peoples back into their governance, territories, and cultures challenges the narrations and policies of U.S. and Canadian imperialism and colonialism, but claims to Civilization and Christianity potentially reaffirm imperial and colonial imaginaries and programs, the conflictedness within these significations indicates the (im)possibilities of effecting opposition, strategy, *or* conformity while honoring—as Simpson argues—the grievability of Indigenous lives and experiences.

By 1968–70, then, the issues confronting critical Indigenous gender, sexuality, and feminist studies were neither modest nor transparent. The diversity of gender and sexual identities had been addressed in the interim of suffrage and civil rights, especially by Indigenous scholars attempting to “correct” the gross ignorance and misrepresentation of empirical scholarship and its role in rationalizing imperial and colonial projects. For example, Beatrice Medicine (Standing Rock Lakota) and Ella Cara Deloria (Yankton Dakota) wrote extensively on Lakota women and paid attention, albeit sporadically, to non-heterosexual identities with a view to humanizing Indigenous people.⁵⁶ Similarly, Alfonso Ortiz (Tewa Pueblo) wrote to correct many of the errors within anthropological and historical writings about Pueblo culture and gender norms.⁵⁷ By 1968–70, critical Indigenous gender, sexuality, and feminist studies coalesced in curriculum and scholarship to affirm the polity of the Indigenous against U.S. and Canadian state formations configured through imperial and colonial practices of gendered-sexed based violence and discrimination.

In particular, *A Gathering of Spirit: Writing and Art by North American Indian Women*, edited by Beth Brant (Tyendinaga Mohawk); *Living the Spirit: A Gay American Indian Anthology*, edited by Will Roscoe; and *The Sacred Hoop: Recovering the Feminine in American Indian Traditions*, written by Paula Gunn Allen (Lebanese, Scottish, Laguna Pueblo), mark a foundational shift in the interdisciplinary circulation of Indigenous scholarship on the politics of gender, sexuality, and feminism.⁵⁸ Brant’s *A Gathering of Spirit* was the first anthology of Indigenous women’s writings and art.⁵⁹ It was published in 1983 as a special issue of *Sinister Wisdom*, a lesbian literary and art magazine. Re-issued as an anthology by Firebrand Books in 1988 and by Women’s Press in 1989, it included critical, creative, historical, and original writings, as well as art by women of many different gender and sexual identities from more than forty Indigenous nations in the United States and Canada.⁶⁰ It was offered as

an affirmation of Indigenous cultural self-determination, as well as resistance against the misrepresentation and misappropriation of Indigenous genders and sexualities in the women's, LGBTQ, and feminist movements.

Roscoe, a gay rights activist and writer from San Francisco, offered *Living the Spirit* as the first collection addressed to sexual diversity and homophobia in Indigenous communities.⁶¹ The book was organized mainly around the *berdache*, an anatomically male person who assumes the respected social status and responsibilities of a woman. The term and concept would be quickly problematized not only for its male-centric, pan-tribal generalizations but also for the way non-Indigenous gays romanticized its significance within their own movements for civil rights equality. But *Living the Spirit* did provide an important forum on the conflicted relationship between respect and prejudice in Indigenous LGBTQ people's historical experiences and lived realities.

The Sacred Hoop is often considered the first American Indian feminist study. In it, Allen analyzes Indigenous notions of gender and sexuality and the prominent role of women such as Spider Woman and Sky Woman in Indigenous peoples' creation stories. She situates this analysis within a critique of U.S. patriarchal colonialism's attempts to destroy Indigenous societies for being women-centered, "gynocratic" societies. These attempts, she argues, included genocide, land dispossession, and forced assimilation programs aimed at undermining women's roles and responsibilities within their nations and territories, as well as at eroding the cultural histories that figured those roles and responsibilities.

While Allen's "gynocratism" has been criticized for its "pan" generalizations of Indigenous cultures and identities, her work offers an important theoretical and methodological approach to Indigenous teachings that emphasizes historical, social, and cultural specificity. For instance, she maintains that when reading *Ceremony*, by Leslie Marmon Silko (Laguna Pueblo), one must have a solid understanding of Spider Woman teachings within Laguna Pueblo oral histories and social relations. Only then, she contends, can a reader appreciate Silko's work for its serious critique of U.S. imperialism and the long-term consequences of patriarchy, masculinity, and citizenship on Indigenous communities.

Further, *The Sacred Hoop* argues that there was a co-production of gender and sexuality in imperial and colonial projects. Allen maintains that imperialists tried to convert Indigenous peoples not only to their religious-capitalist worldviews but also to their sexist and homophobic ideologies and practices as a strategy of military conquest and capitalist expansion. She maintains that

sustained sexual violence, particularly against Indigenous women, children, and non-heterosexually identified people, enabled colonial conquest and constituted the resulting state. In doing so, her work anticipates those focused on the legal and social articulations of violence against women, children, and LGBTQ people.⁶²

But even as Brant's, Roscoe's, and Allen's books were issued, many Indigenous scholars (and) activists pushed back, particularly against the universalism and civil rights of feminist politics. For instance, Patricia Monture-Angus (Six Nations Mohawk) and Mary Ellen Turpel (Muskeg Lake Cree) rejected feminism's universalism of women's experiences and identities, as well as its generalizations of patriarchy as a social formation.⁶³ Similarly, M. A. Jaimes Guerrero, Theresa Halsey, Haunani-Kay Trask, and Laura Tohe (Diné) insisted that there is a fundamental divide between Indigenous sovereignty and self-determination and the mainstream women's or feminist movement's concerns for civil rights.⁶⁴ Giving primacy to the collective rights of Indigenous nations to sovereignty, they claim, negates the relevance of feminism, because feminism advances individualistic and civil rights principles. Therefore, feminism does not merely counter Indigenous women's concerns and is not only ignorant of Indigenous teachings about gender and sexuality, but it undermines Indigenous claims to the collective rights of their nations.

These arguments were linked in profound ways to Indigenous women's and LGBTQ efforts to redress sexism and homophobia within their communities and establish gender and sexual equality within federal and their own nations' laws. Many of these efforts strategically mobilized discourses of rights, equality, and feminism. In doing so, they experienced the retort of being *non-* or *anti-*Indigenous sovereignty within their communities. For instance, Indigenous women in Canada were criticized for inviting alliances with feminists to reverse the patrilineal provisions of an amendment to the Indian Act of 1876 for women who married non-band members and their children.⁶⁵ In the mid-1980s, several constituencies of Indigenous women and their allies—many of whom identified as Christian and feminist—secured constitutional and legislative amendments that partially reversed the 1876 criterion. But the amendments were not passed easily. Status Indian men dominated band governments and organizations and with their allies protested vehemently against the women and their efforts. They accused the women of being complicit with a long history of colonization and racism that imposed, often violently, non-Indian principles and institutions on Indigenous people. This history was represented for the men by the women's appeals to civil and human rights laws, and more particularly to feminism,

to challenge the constitutionality and human rights compliance of the Indian Act, an act the men represented as providing the only real legal protection of Indigenous sovereignty in Canada. Demonized as the proponents of an ideology of rights based on selfish individualism, and damned for being “women’s libbers” out to force Indigenous people into compliance with that ideology, the women and their concerns were dismissed as embodying all things not only *non*-Indian but *anti*-Indian. The women’s agendas for legal reform were rejected as not only irrelevant but dangerous to Indigenous sovereignty. These dismissals perpetuated sexist ideologies and discriminatory and violent practices against women within their communities by normalizing men’s discourses regarding the irrelevance of gender and the disenfranchisement of women in sovereignty struggles.⁶⁶

The difficult place of gender, sexuality, and feminism within Indigenous claims to sovereignty and self-determination accentuates the historical and cultural contestations within Indigenous communities over issues of cultural tradition and authenticity. These contestations are entrenched within the ongoing work of modernism and liberalism at othering Indigenous difference to reason imperial and colonial designs, inclusions and exclusions, entitlements, and status and reputation. They are reflected in the continued efforts of Indigenous writers to re-narrate themselves and their communities back onto the land and into their bodies with one another in ways that respect their cultural teachings and challenge the violence and discrimination of racism, sexism, and homophobia within U.S. and Canadian state formations.

INTELLECTUAL ROUTES, CULTURAL FOUNDATIONS

The Lenape tell a story about how the Earth was created on the back of a turtle. An Old Man lived in a lodge in the middle of the people’s village. He had a beautiful wife and daughter. For reasons no one quite understood, he became jealous and brooding. No one could cheer him up or figure out what was wrong, although everyone tried to talk him through it. One day, another man suggested that, perhaps, the Old Man wanted the rather large tree in front of his lodge pulled up and moved away. So the people, desperate to help, figured it was as good a reason as any and pulled up the tree. But in doing so, they created a large hole where the ground fell through.

The Old Man called his wife and daughter to come out of the lodge and look through the hole: “Come on, Old Woman, let’s see what everybody is looking at!” He walked over to the hole with them and leaned far over to see inside. He stood by and exclaimed, “I have never seen anything like that!” He nudged his wife and daughter to look inside. “I am afraid,” said the

Old Woman. He nudged her again and said, “You really must take a look. Don’t be afraid. I am standing right here.” So the Old Woman picked up her daughter and held her tight. She walked over to the hole and leaned far over to look through it. The Old Man grabbed at them and pushed them through the hole. The Old Woman grabbed at a nearby blanket and clump of huckleberries by the roots and soil as they fell through the hole and began to fly down through the clouds to the Earth below.

They were flying through the clouds when the Fire Serpent met up with them. “I am sorry that the Old Man tried to kill you. It is me that he is jealous of,” the Fire Serpent said. He gave the Old Woman an ear of corn and a beaver. The other spirits watched and decided to hold council. “Who will look out for the Old Woman and her daughter?” they asked. After a long discussion, the good one—the Turtle—spoke up and said that she would do it. When the Old Woman and her daughter reached Earth, the Turtle raised her back so they would have a place to land.

Later, the Old Woman and her daughter wept as the Old Woman spread the dirt and berries around. The dirt kept getting bigger and bigger until the Earth was formed. Then the Old Woman planted the corn, and eventually the corn, trees, and grass grew tall. Then the Sun and the Moon and the Stars showed up to keep them company, and the Old Woman felt for the first time in a long time that she could stop weeping for herself and her daughter, for they were no longer alone.

I think of the current work within critical Indigenous, gender, sexuality, and feminist studies as our work together at re-creating the world we live in with our not-human relations and with the materials offered by the land and water. It is a world inhibited by jealousy, hate, competition, arrogance, and violence but it is also a world that can be remade. In the many kinds of labor that go into that remaking, we take responsibility for one another in humility, generosity, and love. Here, I will try to think through the work taking place at rebuilding (the resurgence) of the polity of the Indigenous and the work at rebuilding (the opposition) the structure and operation of U.S. and Canadian imperialism and colonialism.

By the 2000s, *settler colonialism* had become a core analytic within the studies on the structure and operations of state power. This is marked by the citational circulation of the work of Patrick Wolfe, particularly his *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology* (1999) and “Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native” (2006).⁶⁷ Wolfe defines settler colonialism by his oft-cited differentiation between the structure and the event of invasion:

Positively, it erects a new colonial society on the expropriated land base—as I put it, settler colonizers come to stay: invasion is a structure not an event. In its positive aspect, elimination is an organizing principle of settler-colonial society rather than a one-off (and superseded) occurrence. The positive outcomes of the logic of elimination can include officially encouraged miscegenation, the breaking-down of native title into alienable individual freeholds, native citizenship, child abduction, religious conversion, resocialization in total institutions such as missions or boarding schools, and a whole range of cognate biocultural assimilations. All these strategies, including frontier homicide, are characteristic of settler colonialism.⁶⁸

Recalling key arguments within critical race and feminist studies that understand racism and heterosexism as permanent features of state formation—such as Michael Omi and Howard Winant in *Racial Formation in the United States*, Cheryl I. Harris in “Whiteness as Property,” and Aileen Moreton-Robinson in “Unmasking Whiteness”—Wolfe argues for the permanence of invasion as a racialized feature of the state formed after the empire’s withdrawal.⁶⁹ He argues that settlers “[come] to stay,” to build societies of their own on the lands of Indigenous peoples. Settlers are or provide their own labor and thus, unlike the empire’s colony, do not perceive a need for the exploitation of Indigenous labor in the extractive accumulation of natural resources or agricultural use of lands. The “logic of elimination” as the “organizing principle” of the settler is about physical genocide, as well as how settler laws, policies, and practices are “inherently eliminatory” of Indigenous peoples and their cultures.⁷⁰ There is no postcolonial. The settler’s permanence is in a constant state of the threat posed by the “counter-claim” of Indigenous territorial rights: the “native repressed continues to structure settler-colonial society.”⁷¹

“Sexuality, Nationality, Indigeneity,” Daniel Heath Justice (Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma), Bethany Schneider, and Mark Rifkin’s special issue of *GLQ*; Scott Lauria Morgensen’s *Spaces between Us*; and Rifkin’s *When Did Indians Become Straight?* and *The Erotics of Sovereignty* mark one cluster of publications that pivot on settler colonialism as a modality of understanding the gendered and sexed politics of state formation, as well as the politics of white settlers’ alliances with Indigenous peoples against settler colonialism.⁷² Intending to further conversations between Indigenous and queer studies, they each provide critiques of the normative center of whiteness in queer studies that effaces the politics of “indigeneity and settlement,” the normalization

of heteropatriarchy within Indigenous studies concerning relationships between Indigenous nationhood and “settler governance,” and the radical potential of Indigenous-queer alliances against the violently racialized sexism and homophobias of settler politics and toward decolonization.⁷³

An interrelated body of scholarship within the studies is paying attention to the conflicted work of racist ideologies of masculinity not only within the structure and operations of state power but also from the context of Indigenous social relations and cultural traditions. In *Native Men Remade*, Ty P. Kāwika Tengan (Kanaka Maoli) writes, “The formations of masculine and indigenous subjectivities as they develop within a historical context in which race, class, gender, and colonial domination—including global touristic commodification—have played major roles. As a consequence, many indigenous Hawaiian men feel themselves to be disconnected, disempowered, and sometimes emasculated.”⁷⁴ To understand those experiences, Tengan focuses on how Hawaiian men have “remade” their identities through a personally ethnographic study of a group called the Hale Mua (Men’s House). He examines their “transformations of self and society as they occur in practice through narrative and performative enactments.”⁷⁵ He begins by examining the hyper-masculinist, patriotic nationalist discourse that pervades U.S. society and argues that these discourses reflect and inform the militarization and cultural exploitation of the Hawaiian Islands and people. Against these exploitations, Tengan argues that Hawaiian men and women reclaimed ceremonies in 1991 celebrating the legacy of King Kamehameha, who had united the islands in 1810. This reclamation inspired the formation of warrior societies charged with holding and transmitting ceremonial knowledge and practice. Out of this, the Hale Mua was formed. It consists mostly of middle-class men in military, business, and social-service jobs. Tengan analyzes how their efforts to confront their internalizations of racial and colonial violence and end cycles of abuse, incarceration, and community disintegration were articulated through Hawaiian traditions and practices.

Tengan’s understanding of imperial-colonial formations as constituted by an emasculated Indigenous man, and the need for decolonization efforts to essentially remasculinize Indigenous men through available Indigenous traditions, inadvertently reifies heterosexist ideologies that serve conditions of imperial-colonial oppression. In doing so, Tengan’s work represents the challenges confronting Indigenous men who rearticulate their cultures’ teachings and practices as acts of decolonization to confront the social

realities of heterosexism and homophobia. Getting at these difficulties and the potential for cultural reformation that they involve is Sam McKegney's edited volume *Masculindians*.⁷⁶ In interviews with several Indigenous scholars, artists, and activists (not necessarily mutually exclusive), the volume provides an important example of the struggles confronting Indigenous communities that need to (re)define Indigenous manhood and masculinity in a society predicated on the violent oppression and exploitation of Indigenous women and girls and the racially motivated dispossession and genocide of Indigenous peoples. Grounded by their respective polities, Indigenous interviewees discuss the need for better images of Indigenous men than those offered by the likes of Disney's Tonto (for instance), as well as the need to reclaim Indigenous teachings about the interdependence and power of men and women.

The calls to remember, empower, and rethink Indigenous gender and sexuality in the context of settler politics and masculinity resonate through the studies and their focus on cultural self-determination. For instance, in *Dancing on Our Turtle's Back*, Leanne Betasamosake Simpson (Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg [Alderville First Nation]) emphasizes the need for Indigenous peoples to engage their unique cultural teachings in how they theorize and work against state oppression and for Indigenous empowerment: "[W]e need to engage in *Indigenous* processes, since according to our traditions, the processes of engagement highly influence the outcome of the engagement itself. We need to do this on our own terms, without the sanction, permission or engagement of the state, western theory or the opinions of Canadians. In essence, we need to not just figure out who we are, we need to re-establish the processes by which we live who we are within the current context we find ourselves."⁷⁷ Simpson argues that these traditions are not static, biblical dictates from the past, "rigidity and fundamentalism" understood to belong to colonial ways of thinking. Rather, they are living and lived and thus ever changing understandings of how to honor the unbroken importance of elders, languages, lands, and communities in Indigenous flourishing, transformation, and resurgence.⁷⁸ By engaging these teachings within processes of opposition to state oppression, Simpson maintains that ethical values of land-based relationships and responsibilities will ground practices of "self-actualization, the suspension of judgment, fluidity, emergence, careful deliberation and an embodied respect for diversity."⁷⁹

Mindful of the state's claims to offering democratic inclusion through a liberal multiculturalism, and its commensurate call for resolution by

inclusion and reconciliation, Simpson points to the relevance of Indigenous epistemologies and histories for reordering Indigenous governance, territories, and social relations.⁸⁰ This is interrelated with the dynamic work of scholars and activists such as Winona LaDuke (Anishinaabe [White Earth Reservation]) and Melissa K. Nelson (Anishinaabe [Turtle Mountain Chippewa]) on environmental justice.

In her foundational work in *All Our Relations*, LaDuke offers two central arguments.⁸¹ One is that the biodiversity of the territories that constitute the United States and Canada and the cultural diversity of Indigenous peoples are inseparable. The other is that the U.S. and Canadian military and energy industries are deeply entrenched within Indigenous nations and lands—so much so, in fact, that it is impossible to extrapolate from them any meaningful understanding of the current contours of U.S., Canadian, or Indigenous politics.

These arguments are germane to understanding Indigenous decolonization projects in which Indigenous lands, ecosystems, and bodies are at stake, continually having to confront the consequences of the global military and energy industrial complexes through their cultural perspectives and practices. Those perspectives and practices, as Nelson argues in her introduction to *Original Instructions: Indigenous Teachings for a Sustainable Future*, have had to revitalize and reform in order “to thrive in this complex world during these intense times.”⁸² Recalling the work of Idle No More, Nelson’s argument maintains that Indigenous peoples are survivors of a relentless and violent holocaust that continues today in the exploitation and destruction of their lands, resources, and bodies and that any viable strategy for decolonization must address the breadth of that oppression.

In these contexts, Indigenous peoples have taken on decolonization projects that include their minds and bodies in the remembrance and reform of their relations and responsibilities to the lands and ecosystems in which they live and to the other beings to whom they are related. This has included projects in the remembrance of their original teachings and personal accounts of their historical experiences and cultural values through multiple media of cultural production, including songs, dances, and artistry. For instance, *Without Reservation: Indigenous Erotica*, edited by Kateri Akiwenzie-Damm (Anishinaabe [Nawash First Nation]), and *Me Sexy: An Exploration of Native Sex and Sexuality*, edited by Drew Hayden Taylor (Ojibwa [Curve Lake First Nation]), represent an important eruption of writings about Indigenous sexuality, desire, and eroticism. Both disentangle issues of sex and sexuality

from imperialism and colonialism by exploding the stereotypes of the sexualized Indian princess and the stoic or violent Indian warrior. They do so by offering empowered and nuanced stories of Indigenous gender, sex, and sexuality that are at once historical, cultural, land-based, humorous, erotic, and passionate.⁸³ They provide a rich array of personal stories and analyses addressed to histories of sexual violence against Indigenous peoples, the internalized violence within Indigenous families and sexed practices, and eroticism. They do so with an explicit aim to contribute to decolonization practices.

For instance, in Taylor's *Me Sexy*, Akiwenzie-Damm begins her essay, "Red Hot to the Touch," by addressing the absence of erotica by Indigenous writers. She attributes this to histories of sexual violence within residential schools and the "intergenerational trauma" it has caused. "I grieved about the violence and pain and lovelessness that had been forced onto our communities," she says, "but I also knew that we were so much more, that despite being victimized, we were not victims, that someone else's violence and hatred could never fully define us."⁸⁴ Juxtaposing an erotic story with her personal reflections on the importance of erotica for achieving "wholeness and joy," Akiwenzie-Damm describes how erotica provides a storied means to decolonization:

I wanted to liberate myself. To decolonize myself. Not a victim, not a "survivor," not reactive, not forced into someone else's contorted image of who I was supposed to be, not confined, not colonized. Free. . . . What drove me to continue on this quest to bring the erotic back into Indigenous arts? Largely it was that I instinctively knew that the erotic is essential to us as human beings and that it had to take its rightful place in our lives and cultures before we could truly decolonize our hearts and minds.⁸⁵

The importance of erotica in decolonization is evident not only in Akiwenzie-Damm's essay but throughout Taylor's *Me Sexy* and her edited volume *Without Reservation*. The collections record sexually rich stories of desire and passion. They address not only difficult histories of sexual violence but also the agency of sexual exploration and fun, emphasizing the multiple gendered-sexualized identities within Indigenous ways of knowing and being in the world grounded in Indigenous epistemologies. As the reproductive health rights activist Jessica Yee Danforth (Mohawk and Chinese), founder and executive director of the Native Youth Sexual Health Network, has said:

Sexuality is not just having sex. It's people's identities. It's their bodies. It's so many things. A lot of elders that I work with say that you can actually tell how colonized we are as a people by the knowledge about our bodies that we've lost. The fact that we need systems and institutions and books to tell us things about our own bodies is a real problem. If we don't have control over our bodies, then what do we have? If something like body knowledge no longer belongs to community and is institutionalized, then what does that really mean? . . . To place sexual health over here and land rights over there is a very colonial, imperial way of thinking. Environmental justice is over here, reproductive justice is over there. . . . What better way to colonize a people than to make them ashamed of their bodies?⁸⁶

Current Indigenous movements such as those of Indigenous youth for reproductive rights, sexual and environmental justice, along with Idle No More, call for us to return to our polities—back onto our lands, into our bodies, in relationality and responsibility for one another. As Sarah Hunt (Kwagiulth [Kwakwaka'wakw Nation]) writes about Idle No More, “It is only through building stronger relationships with one another, across the generations and across differences in education, ability, sexuality, and other social locations,” that we can rebuild Indigenous governments, territories, and relationships on a sovereignty and self-determination that will matter to the health and well-being of future generations.⁸⁷

Indigenous Futurities: A Conclusion and Eight Essays

In *Live Long and Prosper* (*Spock Was a Half-Breed*), Debra Yepa-Pappan (Jemez Pueblo and Korean) portrays an Indigenous woman in a jingle dress holding up her hand in what we know from the long-running *Star Trek* television and film series as the Vulcan sign for saying farewell: “Live Long and Prosper” (figure I.1).⁸⁸ Behind her are two tipis set on a lush green planet. On the tipis are *Star Trek* logos, suggesting either that the woman's people hold membership in the Federation or were recently visited by representatives of the Federation who gave her or them the emblems. (Tipi art can represent family lineage or historical events.) Flying back over the planet is the *Starship Enterprise*, past a bright star and its rings, out toward the edge of the system marked at the picture's top by the image of half a star. In an interview, Yepa-Pappan explained:

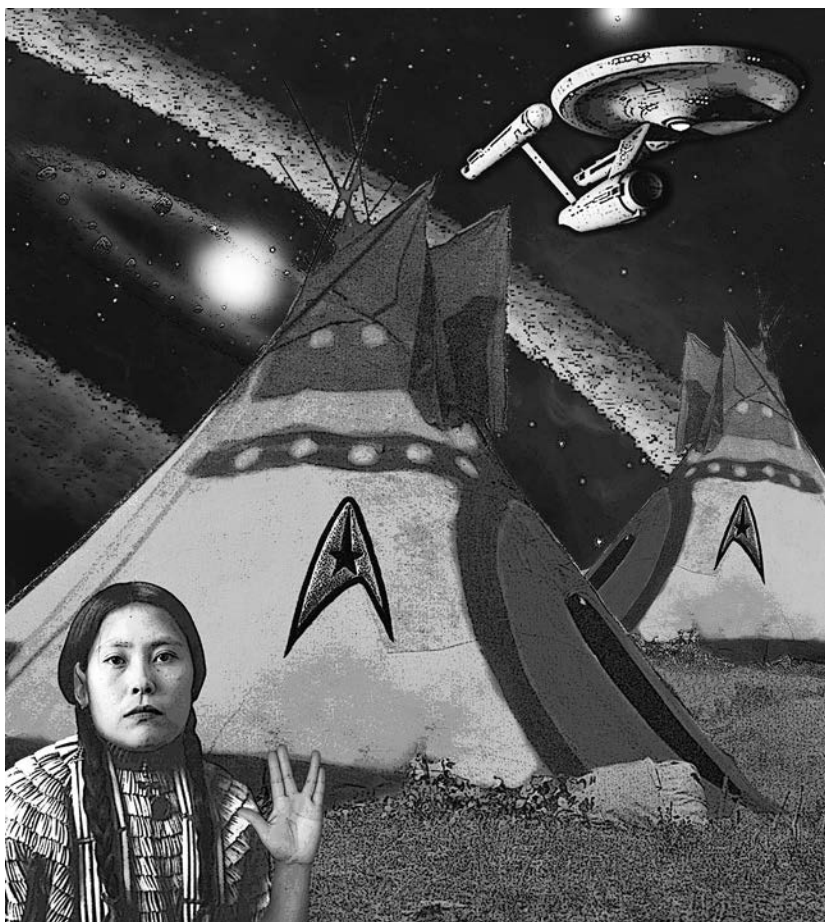


FIGURE 1.1. Debra Yepa-Pappan, *Live Long and Prosper (Spock Was a Half-Breed)*, courtesy of the artist.

That's a digital image, so it's all digitally manipulated. That grew out of the stereotype series. "Indians live in tipis," it's my face placed on an Edward S. Curtis photograph of a Plains Indian woman with tee pees—a setting of tee pees behind her. I was invited to do a piece for a sci-fi western show with contemporary Native artists. So, I was thinking along the lines of stereotypes, I have another piece called "Indians say how," where I have my father putting his hand up in the stereotypical "how" pose. And I took that a step further and did the Vulcan salute. So it just grew from that, I took that piece and turned it into "Spock was a half breed." It

was perfect because “Spock” is a half breed and I am a half breed. It bridges that gap because when people think about Indians they always put us in the past and in history. Here’s this image that’s very futuristic and there’s the *Starship Enterprise* in the back, and its [*sic*] very contemporary. It brings that back that we are a part of today’s society, that we do enjoy a series like *Star Trek* and science fiction. And we are not just a part of this historical, romantic past.⁸⁹

Because of the vast systems and dimensions visited by the *Starship Enterprise*, the green grass does not necessarily signify Earth, although the Indigenous woman and tipis might. Was she visiting another planet? Were the Vulcans visiting her? Is she a Vulcan Indian? The mash-up of familiar images defamiliarizes their signification. Generatively, the picture’s parenthetical “Spock Was a Half-Breed” suggests a link or similarity between Spock’s Vulcan and human lineage and the woman’s lineage. Both are mixed, maybe with each other. The parenthetical also recalls Spock’s struggles in negotiating his Vulcan and human selves and the conflicted cultural expectations they signify. We are not sure what the woman’s mix is, only that she is mixed. We can also be sure that Spock’s “half-breed” identity does not bar him from having a future, so neither does the woman’s. Indeed, Yepa-Pappan’s work resituates Indigenous women and their communities in multiple possibilities of the past, present, and future in ways that refuse their foreclosure as historical relics or irrelevant costumes in the service of imperial formations and colonized identities.

Yepa-Pappan’s provocations remind me of the work of Elle-Máijá Tailfeathers, who is Blackfoot from the Kainai First Nation (Blood Indian Reserve in Alberta) and Sámi from Norway. In her first short film, *Bloodland* (2011), Tailfeathers provides a graphic of an Indigenous woman dancing on the land who is captured by two male oil workers and taken to a cabin. She is tied down to a table, and the men torture her by drilling into her abdomen. She writhes in pain and screams as the blood oozes from her body. The images of her blood are juxtaposed with images of oil oozing from the land. As the credits roll at the end, the tribal chief and council and oil companies are acknowledged and thanked. At the symposium “Frack Off: Indigenous Women Lead Effort against Fracking” at the New School in New York on September 20, 2014, Tailfeathers explained the credits as owing to her forced revenue share in the decision by the Blood Reserve’s chief and council to lease the band’s lands for oil extraction. The decision was made without any consultation with the band’s membership and included huge signing bonuses for the leaders.⁹⁰

In a mixed style of film noir and graphic novel, Tailfeathers's second short, *A Red Girl's Reasoning* (2012), tells the story of Delia. The film opens by following a motorcyclist who is chasing a man running down an alley. Having cornered the man at a dead end, the rider stops and jumps off the motorcycle and removes the helmet to reveal an Indigenous woman (Delia). She beats up the man and afterward lights a cigarette. Her voiceover narration says, "I've been on this warpath for six long, lonely years. White boys have been having their way with Indian girls since contact. Forget what Disney tells you: Pocahontas was twelve when she met John Smith. It's pretty little lies like this that hide the ugly truth." The scene cuts to a bar where we learn that Delia has accepted another job to avenge another survivor. She allows a man to buy her a drink; he passes out and comes to in an abandoned warehouse, where Delia has tied him up and interrogates him. Finally, the man confesses to the rape and proceeds to make vulgar remarks about Indigenous women. Delia responds by pouring gasoline over his body and lighting a cigarette. We do not see the man set on fire, but we can imagine his fate.

The futures and otherworlds of Yepa-Pappan's and Tailfeathers's imaginations are ones in which Indigenous women defy the stereotypes and brutality of sexism and racism, resetting the proverbial stage of Indigenous (women's) self-determination. Situated within the intellectual genealogies partially mapped out here, they teach us to reimagine and reassert, refuse and wonder ourselves into better worlds than the ones made for us to live in by U.S. and Canadian imperialism and colonialism.

Perhaps most immediately, this volume is in conversation with "Native Feminisms: Legacies, Interventions, and Indigenous Sovereignities," the special issue of *Wicazō Ša Review* edited by Mishuana R. Goeman and Jennifer Nez Denetdale (Diné) published in Fall 2009, which includes articles by Lisa Kahaleole Hall (Kanaka Maoli), Luana Ross (Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes), Dian Million (Tanana Athabaskan), Rayna K. Ramirez (Winnebago Tribe of Nebraska), Audra Simpson, and Sarah Deer (Muscogee [Creek Nation of Oklahoma]).⁹¹ In their introduction, Goeman and Denetdale position the issue as a "study of Native women's lives and historical experiences" from the perspectives of "Native feminists . . . illuminating the workings of colonialism within our respective Native nations and communities and . . . reclaiming traditional values as the foundation for our lives and communities."⁹²

While indebted to the issue's contribution, as noted at the beginning of this introduction, this volume is concerned with (1) the terms and debates

that constitute critical Indigenous gender, sexuality, and feminist studies; (2) the nation-based and often territorially specific centrality of Indigenous sovereignty and self-determination; and (3), the structure and operation of U.S. and Canadian imperialism and colonialism as related but unique state formations. On the whole, the essays show how the politics of gender and sexuality are central to sorting out, from the context of Indigenous epistemologies, the challenges to Indigeneity and Indigenous rights posed within an imperial and colonial social formation. Individually, they offer unique emphases through many different narrative voices and styles. In doing so, they make a diverse set of critical and creative demands of readers within and outside of CIS and gender, sexuality, and feminist studies. The essays have been arranged in a sequence that, I hope, will best guide the reader through this diversity and set of demands.

The first two essays in the volume address all three concerns outlined earlier. In “Indigenous Hawaiian Sexuality and the Politics of Nationalist Decolonization,” J. Kēhaulani Kauanui (Kanaka Maoli) examines the Hawaiian sovereignty movement in the early to mid-1990s to document practices of gender-based and sexuality-based exclusion, mis-recognition, and misrepresentation in order to provide context for reading the contemporary gestures of True Aloha, an indigenous social media group on Facebook that emerged in Fall 2013 to support the Hawaii Marriage Equality Act passed by the Hawai‘i State Legislature in November 2013.⁹³ Kauanui argues that while there is indigenous cultural revitalization of Hawaiian concepts that may be considered part of broader cultural decolonization, the legislature’s passage of the same-sex marriage bill is a form of settler-colonial continuity. Kauanui thereby engages all three of the volume’s central issues to show how a critical gendered and sexed critique of the state’s marriage laws undermine Hawaiian cultural self-determination and decolonization.

In “Return to ‘The Uprising at Beautiful Mountain in 1913’: Marriage and Sexuality in the Making of the Modern Navajo Nation,” Jennifer Nez Denetdale examines an incident of Diné resistance to U.S. federal agents’ attempts to criminalize and punish traditional forms of marriage and sexuality, including polygamy and non-heterosexuality. Denetdale shows how, over time, the Diné have come to conflate nation(hood) with family, marriage, and sexuality in ways that normalize the heteropatriarchy they once resisted.⁹⁴ As Kauanui, Denetdale engages all three of the volume’s central issues to show how a critical gender- and sex-based critique of federal efforts to criminalize Diné marriage and sexuality provides a way to understand U.S. colonialism as a social formation and what its consequences have been for Diné resistance.

The next two essays in the volume are concerned primarily with providing a critical Indigenous feminist analysis of nation-based and territorially specific assertions of Indigenous sovereignty, considering how those assertions are undermined within U.S. and Canadian colonial state formations. To provide this analysis, the chapters' authors use specific texts in which to locate their broader analyses. In "Ongoing Storms and Struggles: Gendered Violence and Resource Exploitation," Goeman unpacks Linda Hogan's novel *Solar Storms* to understand the corporate production of the colonial spaces in which Indigenous peoples live and against which they tell their stories.⁹⁵ Goeman considers feminist theories of embodied trauma to argue that a mutually constitutive violence is committed against Indigenous lands, bodies, and memory by corporate-government polities to understand the role of that violence in reproducing colonialism. In "Audiovisualizing Inupiaq Men and Masculinities *On the Ice*," Jessica Bissett Perea (Dena'ina [Athabaskan]) provides a critical read of the gendered musical performances in the Inupiaq filmmaker Andrew Okpeaha MacLean's *Sikumi* (2008) and *On the Ice* (2011) to understand the problematics inherent in how Inupiat people have embraced processes of globalization, cosmopolitics, and musical modernities and how Inuit men and masculinities are (mis)recognized within those processes.⁹⁶ Both Goeman and Bissett Perea provide critiques of the structural, gendered violence of Indigenous women's and men's bodies that aim at thinking through decolonization as an oppositional refusal of colonial and colonized gendered identities that demands and anticipates territorial repatriation.

The next two essays of the volume engage critical Indigenous gender, sexuality, and feminist analyses in very different modalities to interrogate U.S. and Canadian law as a gendered and sexed apparatus of imperial-colonial formations, imaginaries, and desires. In "Around 1978: Family, Culture, and Race in the Federal Production of Indianness," Mark Rifkin argues that the apparent deviance of the U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Oliphant v. Suquamish* from a wave of federal affirmations of tribal self-determination in 1978 can be explained through the politics of Indianness.⁹⁷ He maintains that available ways to represent Indigenous peoples within federal law and policy are routed through the notion of "Indianness," understanding Indians less as fully autonomous polities than as a special kind of racially defined population. While not apparently about race, "family" and "culture" as employed within federal discourses depend on notions of reproductive transmission so that "Indian" appears to have non-racial content while the concept relies for its coherence on long-standing logics of racial genealogy. The apparent recognition of tribal difference on the basis of a shared, trans-tribal Indianness

ultimately positions Native peoples as not quite political in ways that facilitate the ongoing assertion of plenary power over Native peoples and of the coherence and legitimacy of U.S. national space.

In “Loving Unbecoming: The Queer Politics of the Transitive Native,” Jodi A. Byrd (Chickasaw) offers provisional thoughts on the collisions and collusions of queer theory and colonialism within critical Indigenous studies. She does so through a close reading of queer theory’s *subjectlessness*, Samuel R. Delaney’s short story “Aye, and Gomorrah,” and the landmark U.S. Supreme Court ruling in *Loving v. Virginia* on antimiscegenation law.⁹⁸ She argues that Indigenous critiques of colonialism challenge social normativities in ways that are deeply misunderstood—or dismissed—by queer anti-normativity efforts. This misunderstanding inadvertently refutes an Indigenous analytics that insists on locating Indigenous bodies and desires in the contexts of Indigenous nations and territories, refiguring Indigenous analytics as merely advancing colonialism and its normativities. Examining how Indigenous analytics reject colonial formations and their ideological architects, Byrd unpacks the *Loving* decision to show how it reserves an Indigeneity that disavows Black-Indigenous lineage in favor of a liberal tale of whiteness—and queerness in subjectlessness—to protect the normativities of same-sex marriage that undergird a liberal colonial state.

The final essay of the volume is a provocation of Indigenous eroticism. Grounded in nation-based and territorially specific attention to Indigenous oral histories and literature (no pun intended), “Getting Dirty: The Eco-Eroticism of Women in Indigenous Oral Literatures,” by Melissa K. Nelson, provides an account of the numerous stories of Indigenous women falling in love with nonhuman beings.⁹⁹ These “other-than-human” beings include animals, plants, stars, and even sticks and rocks from a diversity of gendered identities. Nelson explores what these stories reveal about women’s desires and how these desires have been marginalized and subsumed under colonial social forces and Christian ideologies. Using a mixture of writing styles that include analytic essay, creative nonfiction, and personal narrative, Nelson examines the meaning of pansexual relations and how these stories are used by Indigenous women as inspiration for various activist movements, including movements for environmental justice, women’s health and healing, and food sovereignty.

In their unique perspectives and approaches, the authors in this volume demonstrate the concerns within critical Indigenous gender, sexuality, and feminist studies over how critical sovereignty and self-determination are to Indigenous peoples. At the same time, they represent the importance within the studies of a *critical* address to the politics of gender, sexuality, and feminism within how that

sovereignty and self-determination is imagined, represented, and exercised. It is not enough to claim you are sovereign as Indigenous, you must be accountable to the kinds of Indigeneity the sovereignty you claim asserts.

NOTES

1. John Bierhorts, *The White Deer and Other Stories Told by the Lenape* (New York: William Morrow, 1995), 17–18.

2. On Styles, see “Harry Styles Sparks ‘Racism’ Row after Posing in Native American Headdress,” *Mirror*, March 14, 2014, <http://www.mirror.co.uk/3am/celebrity-news/harry-styles-racism-row-after-3240238>.

3. For fuller discussions of these and other examples, see the blog Native Appropriations: Examining Representations of Indigenous People, <http://nativeappropriations.com>.

4. Kristi Eaton, “Christina Fallin, Daughter of Oklahoma Governor Mary Fallin, Defends Headdress Photo,” *Huffington Post*, March 7, 2014, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/03/07/christina-fallin-headdress-photo_n_4921539.html.

5. Kino-nda-niimi Collective, ed., *The Winter We Danced: Voices from the Past, the Future, and the Idle No More Movement* (Winnipeg, MB: ARP Books, 2014).

6. Nina Wilson, Sylvia McAdam, Jessica Gordon, and Sheelah McLean, “Idle No More: Indigenous Brothers and Sisters Taking the Initiative for a Better Tomorrow,” *Indian Country Today*, December 17, 2012, <http://indiancountrytodaymedianetwork.com/article/idle-no-more-Indigenous-brothers-and-sisters-taking-initiative-better-tomorrow-146378>.

7. Wilson et al., “Idle No More.”

8. Canada is estimated to contain nearly 32,000 lakes and 2.25 million rivers; the bill lifted federal regulation over all but ninety-seven lakes and portions of sixty-two rivers.

9. CBC News, “Pam Palmater on Idle No More,” CBC News, January 5, 2013, <http://www.cbc.ca/player/News/Canada/Audio/ID/2323100457>.

10. Others include (1) the Family Homes of Reserve Matrimonial Interests of Rights Act (Bill S-2), which does not recognize First Nation bylaws that define matrimonial property law and allows for the indefinite transference of matrimonial property to non-members; (2) the First Nation Education Act, which would vacate federal funding for First Nation education, including funding provided by treaty, and incorporate provincial education laws into First Nation operations of reserve schools; (3) the First Nations Self-Government Recognition Bill (Bill S-212), which provides for the privatization of reserve lands by allotment. Lands will be divided into individual parcels and issued to status members, providing for the sale of unassigned lands to non-First Nation people and corporations; (4) the Safe Drinking Water for First Nations Act (Bill S-8), which overrides First Nation bylaws that protect safe drinking water and oversight of wastewater on reserve lands; (5) (Bill S-207), which will annul or destroy many First Nation treaty provisions. The Indian Act Amendment and Replacement Act (Bill C-428) repeals much of the Indian Act, including the rights of First Nations to pass bylaws; and (6) the First Nations Financial Transparency Act (Bill C-27), which forces First Nation governments to open up all of their business revenue records to be used in determining

federal funding of treaty and constitutional rights. It also provides that First Nation governments that do not make their business information public can lose federal funding.

11. "Oil Sands: A Complete Guide to All Projects Proposed, under Construction or up for Review," *Financial Post*, December 21, 2011, http://business.financialpost.com/2012/12/21/oil-sands-a-complete-guide-to-all-projects-proposed-under-construction-or-up-for-review/?__lsa=3596-4605.

12. The Attawapiskat Nation has seen the exponential destruction of its lands and waterways by De Beers, the largest mining company in the world, whose local activities diverted public funds for transportation and housing and overwhelmed sewage systems. The Attawapiskats' modest sum of federal funding and mining shares have not translated into a significant improvement in their social infrastructure or overall quality of life on the reserve. Many live in tents without electricity or running water: see Winona LaDuke, "Why Idle No More Matters," *Honor the Earth*, <http://www.honorearth.org/news/why-idle-no-more-matters>; Chelsea Vowel, "Attawapiskat: You Want to Be Shown the Money? Here It Is," *Huffington Post*, December 6, 2012, http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/chelsea-vowel/attawapiskat-emergency_b_1127066.html. See also Alanis Obomsawin, director, *People of the Kattawapiskak River*, documentary, National Film Board of Canada, 2012.

13. Statement of Chief Theresa Spence, December 11, 2012, posted at <http://www.attawapiskat.org>. Several other Indigenous leaders—including Raymond Robinson (Pimicikamak Cree) of Manitoba—joined Spence on the fast in solidarity. See Audra Simpson, "Multicultural Settler Sovereignty," paper presented at the Native American and Indigenous Studies Annual Meeting, University of Saskatchewan, June 15–17, 2013; Audra Simpson, "The Chief's Two Bodies: Theresa Spence and the Gender of Settler Sovereignty," presentation, University of Winnipeg, March 14, 2014; Shiri Pasternak, "Blockade: Insurgency as Legal-Spatial Encounter," paper presented at the Native American and Indigenous Studies Annual Meeting, University of Texas, Austin, May 29–31, 2014.

14. See Idle No More's official webpage, at www.idlenomore.ca; Devon G. Peña, "Idle No More and Environmental Justice: Indigenous Women and Environmental Violence," *Environmental and Food Justice*, January 27, 2013, <http://ejfood.blogspot.com>; Sisters in Spirit Campaign website, <http://www.sistersinspirit.ca/campaign.htm>; Amnesty International, "Stolen Sisters: A Human Rights Response to Discrimination and Violence against Indigenous Women in Canada," October 4, 2004, <http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/info/AMR20/003/2004>; Amnesty International, "Maze of Injustice: The Failure to Protect American Indian Women from Violence in the USA," April 27, 2007, <http://www.amnestyusa.org/our-work/issues/women-s-rights/violence-against-women/maze-of-injustice>; United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues Expert Group, "Combating Sexual Violence against Indigenous Women and Girls," United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, January 20, 2012, <http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/news/social/combating-violence-against-Indigenous-women-and-girls.html>; Winona LaDuke, "Why the Violence against Women Act Is Crucial for Native American Women," *TruthOut* (for AlterNet), February 16, 2013, <http://www.truth-out.org/news/item/14601-why-the-violence-against-women-act-is-crucial-for-native-american-women>.

15. Joanne Barker, "Indigenous Feminisms," in *Handbook on Indigenous People's Politics*, eds. José Antonio Lucero, Dale Turner, and Donna Lee VanCott (New York: Oxford University Press), forthcoming; chapter available on-line at <http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780195386653.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780195386653-e-007>. See also Joanne Barker, "Gender," in *The Indigenous World of North America*, ed. Robert Warrior (New York: Routledge Press, 2014).
16. Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (Chicago: Zed, 1999); Matthew Wildcat, Mande McDonald, Stephanie Irlbacher-Fox, and Glen Coulthard, eds., "Learning from the Land: Indigenous Land-Based Pedagogy and Decolonization," *Decolonization* 3, no. 3 (2014): i-xv.
17. Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang, "Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor," *Decolonization* 1, no. 1 (2012): 1–40.
18. Barker, "Indigenous Feminisms."
19. David E. Wilkins and Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiik Stark, "Indigenous Peoples Are Nations, Not Minorities," in *American Indian Politics and the American Political System*, eds. David E. Wilkins and Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiik Stark (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2010), 33–50. See also Vine Deloria Jr. and Clifford M. Lytle, *The Nations Within: The Past and Future of American Indian Sovereignty* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1984).
20. See Vine Deloria Jr., *Behind the Trail of Broken Treaties: An Indian Declaration of Independence* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1974).
21. Jack D. Forbes, "Black Pioneers: The Spanish-Speaking Afroamericans of the Southwest," *Phylon* 27, no. 3 (1966): 233–46; Jack D. Forbes, "Research Note: Hispano-Mexican Pioneers of the San Francisco Bay Region: An Analysis of Racial Origins," *Azt-lán* 14, no. 1 (1983): 175–89; Jack D. Forbes, *Africans and Native Americans: The Language of Race and the Evolution of Red-Black Peoples* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993).
22. Chris Anderson, "Critical Indigenous Studies: From Difference to Density," *Cultural Studies Review* 15, no. 2 (2009): 80–100. See Winona Wheeler, "Thoughts on the Responsibilities for Indigenous/Native Studies," *Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 21 (2001): 97–104.
23. Kathryn Shanley, "Thoughts on Indian Feminism," in *A Gathering of Spirit: A Collection by North American Indian Women*, ed. Beth Brant (Ithaca, NY: Firebrand, 1984), 213–15.
24. M. A. Jaimes and Theresa Halsey, "American Indian Women: At the Center of Indigenous Resistance in North America," in *The State of Native America: Genocide, Colonization, and Resistance*, ed. M. A. Jaimes (Boston: South End, 1992), 311–44; Hauanui-Kay Trask, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i* (Monroe, Maine: Common Courage, 1993).
25. For a few brief stories about Indigenous women's opposition to the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, see Deloria and Lytle, *The Nations Within*. See also Vine Deloria Jr., "Identity and Culture," *Daedalus* 110, no. 2 (1981): 13–27.
26. See Jennifer Nez Denetdale, "Planting Seeds of Ideas and Raising Doubts about What We Believe': An Interview with Vine Deloria Jr.," *Journal of Social Archaeology* 4, no. 2 (2004): 131–46. Denetdale attempted to solicit Deloria's remarks on the relationship between tribal nationalism and gender but was unable. His final editing of the text suppressed the record of that exchange. At the same time, it is important to acknowledge

that Deloria was supportive of women's issues, as shown in his refusal in May 2004 of an honorary doctor of humane letters degree from the University of Colorado, Boulder, because of how the university had handled sexual assault charges against its football players: James May, "An Interview with Vine Deloria Jr.," *Indian Country Today*, June 9, 2004, <http://indiancountrytodaymedianetwork.com/ictarchives/2004/06/09/an-interview-with-vine-deloria-jr-93630>.

27. For an address to the various confluences of homophobia and anti-feminisms, see Brian Joseph Gilley, *Becoming Two-Spirit: Gay Identity and Social Acceptance in Indian Country* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006); Jennifer Denetdale, "Securing Navajo National Boundaries: War, Patriotism, Tradition, and the Diné Marriage Act of 2005," *Wicazō Ša Review* 24, no. 2 (Fall 2009): 131–48.

28. Russell Means, "Comments on Patriarchy vis-à-vis Matriarchy," blog post, <http://russellmeans.blogspot.com/2006/11/comments-on-patriarchy-vis-vis.html>.

29. Angela Y. Davis, *Women, Race, and Class* (New York: Random House, 1981); Adrienne Rich, "Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence," *Signs* 5, no. 4 (1980): 631–60.

30. On "strategic essentialism," see Elaine Showalter's interview with Gayatri Spivak, "Women's Time, Women's Space: Writing the History of Feminist Criticism," *Tulsa Studies Women's Literature* 3, nos. 1–2 (1984): 29–43. On gender and feminism as categories of analysis, see Henry Abelove, Michèle Aina Barale, and David M. Halperin, eds., *The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader* (New York: Routledge, 1993), xv: The quotes are from Judith Butler, "Against Proper Objects: Introduction," *Differences* 6 (1994): 1.

31. Joan Wallach Scott, "Feminism's History," *Journal of Women's History* 16, no. 2 (2004): 10–29; Joan Wallach Scott, "Deconstructing Equality-versus-Difference: Or, the Uses of Poststructuralist Theory for Feminism," in *The Postmodern Turn: New Perspectives on Social Theory*, ed. Steven Seidman (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 282–98; Judith Butler and Elizabeth Weed, "Introduction," in *The Question of Gender: John W. Scott's Critical Feminism*, ed. Judith Butler and Elizabeth Weed (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 2013), 1–10.

32. See Kimberlé Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color," *Stanford Law Review* 43, no. 6 (July 1991): 1241–99.

33. Butler, "Against Proper Objects"; Davis, *Women, Race, and Class*.

34. Biddy Martin, "Sexualities without Genders and Other Queer Utopias," *Diacritics* 24, nos. 2–3 (1994): 104–21.

35. Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 37.

36. Joan Wallach Scott, "Gender as a Useful Category of Analysis," in *Gender and the Politics of History*, ed. Joan Wallach Scott (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 28–52; Joan Wallach Scott, "Gender: Still a Useful Category of Analysis?" *Diogenes* 57, no. 1 (2010): 7–14; Avtar Brah, *Cartographies of Diaspora: Contesting Identities* (New York: Routledge, 1996); Avtar Brah and Ann Phoenix, "Ain't I a Woman? Revisiting Intersectionality," *Journal of International Women's Studies* 5, no. 3 (2013): 75–86.

37. Martin, "Sexualities without Genders and Other Queer Utopias," 104.

38. Martin, "Sexualities without Genders and Other Queer Utopias."

39. Martin, "Sexualities without Genders and Other Queer Utopias," 104–5.

40. Such as the work of Eleanor Leacock, who wrote extensively within Marxist anthropology on the impact of capitalism on Indigenous communities in Canada: see Eleanor Leacock, *Marxism and Anthropology* (Montreal: McGraw-Hill, 1982).
41. The recently anthologized eighteenth-century writers Samson Occom (Mohegan), a Presbyterian clergyman, and William Apess (Pequot), a Methodist minister and politician, were sharply critical of the criminal fraud and religious hypocrisy that characterized U.S. and Canadian relations with Indigenous peoples over such issues as treaty rights, deforestation, the use of alcohol as currency, and violence against women: Joanna Brooks ed., *The Collected Writings of Samson Occom, Mohegan: Literature and Leadership in Eighteenth-Century Native America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006); Barry O'Connell, ed., *On Our Own Ground: The Complete Writings of William Apess, A Pequot* (Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 1992).
42. Audra Simpson, "Captivating Eunice: Membership, Colonialism, and Gendered Citizenships of Grief," *Wicazō Ša Review* 24, no. 2 (2009): 106. See Leslie C. Green and Olive P. Dickason, *Law of Nations and the New World* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989): 141–241.
43. Simpson, "Captivating Eunice," 106.
44. Simpson, "Captivating Eunice," 124.
45. Simpson, "Captivating Eunice," 124.
46. Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins, *Life among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, [1883] 1994).
47. Liliuokalani, *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen* (Rockville, MD: Wildside, 2009).
48. Noenoe K. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004).
49. Zitkala-Ša, *American Indian Stories* (New York: Dover, 2009).
50. E. Pauline Johnson, *Legends of Vancouver* (Vancouver: privately printed, 1911); E. Pauline Johnson, *The Moccasin Maker* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1913); E. Pauline Johnson, *Flint and Feather: The Complete Poems of E. Pauline Johnson* (Toronto: Musson, 1917).
51. Mourning Dove, *Cogewea, the Half-Blood: A Depiction of the Great Montana Cattle Range* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1927).
52. Laurajane Smith, *Archaeological Theory and the Politics of Cultural Heritage* (New York: Routledge, 2004).
53. Mishuana R. Goeman, *Mark My Words: Native Women Mapping Our Nations* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013), 3.
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