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Native Space

Geographic Strategies to Unsettle Settler Colonialism

Natchee Blu Barnd



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Introduction

Indigenous geographies proclaim "we are still here" in a most grounded way. In the context of a settler colonial world, they serve as reminder of presence despite centuries of material, philosophical, and social structures founded on producing Native absence. Indigenous continuations also illustrate that geographies are not simply places. Choices, ways of understanding the world, and actions create spaces that exist in particular ways. These choices, understandings, and actions, then, must be continually practiced and reaffirmed in order for any given space to continue to exist. Indigenous geographies have quietly overlapped and coexisted in tension with the geographies of the settler colonial state. They have been submerged, but not eliminated. While they have changed to survive the violences directed at eliminating this overlap and coexistence, indigenous peoples have sustained Native spaces.

One of the contributions this book makes is to demonstrate how Native people are making those spaces. I am particularly interested in the everyday or mundane ways this happens. As I elaborate below, I think of the mundane in two ways. On the one hand, my attention to everyday spatial activities refers to seemingly noncontroversial practices and policies in tribal communities that nevertheless help confirm and sometimes redefine indigenous geographies. On the other hand, I am also interested in intentionally controversial or evocative artistic practices employed by Native artists who in their work must still rely on and build their "insurgent messages" based on frameworks available from everyday indigenous spatialities (Slocum 2007).

Given the distinctive space-centered epistemologies that form the bases of indigenous relationships with the land it is not surprising that indigenous communities and individuals seek to re-narrate place or reclaim indigenous geographies rather than merely capitulate to the force of national "progress" and

inclusion. While attending to postcolonial spatial tension, this book centers Native space-making practices in order to illustrate how indigenous geographies persist within and confront the US settler colonial nation. I proceed under the understanding that indigeneity and space are mutually bound frameworks, and yet they are in need of attention given the urgent context of settler colonialism. By focusing on the fundamental relationship between indigeneity and space, I contend that we can better recognize the decolonizing possibilities and actualities of indigenous geographies. We can also gain an understanding of how indigenous geographies operate as crucial acts of self-determination and cultural continuity. Finally, we can see how Native spaces serve as analytics for rejecting Native dispossession and the interlocking logic of incorporation within the multicultural nation-state.

A brief outline of the book is provided at end of this introduction. For the rest of this opening, however, I turn to some definitions and frameworks that guide this interdisciplinary project. The following concepts pull from a vast array of theoretical and methodological influences, including comparative ethnic studies, critical toponymies, indigenous geography, ethnohistory, performance theory, language and translation theory, postcolonial theory, Whiteness studies, cultural studies, cultural geography, history, American Indian studies, social history, and critical cartography. I start with the concepts indigeneity, Indianness, and inhabiting. One of the additional goals of this book it to highlight the spatiality of Indianness and indigeneity. By examining diverse articulations and interconnected uses of Indianness in the construction of indigenous and settler spatialities, Native Space addresses the relationship between race, space, indigeneity, Whiteness, and colonialism in the contemporary United States. I use a number of terms throughout this book whose meanings are interconnected and therefore can benefit from elaboration. In the discussion that follows, I treat several as clusters, including colonialism, settler colonialism, postcolonialism, and neocolonialism, followed by spatiality, indigenous spatialities, and settler spatialities.

Indigeneity

Indigeneity, or what might be loosely defined as the "quality of being indigenous," is deeply embedded within and defined by colonial contestations over land and geography (Radcliffe 2017,1). If settler colonialism is fundamentally

defined by its spatial organization and outcomes, then so too must be indigeneity, a term and concept that codes as the supposed precondition of, as well as ongoing foil to, colonial completion. Indigeneity originates in and relies on colonial interventions and acts of racialized differentiation, yet also overlaps with self-definitions from those whose ancestors were present on the continent before European arrivals.

If invoking indigeneity always signals the process of contested land claims and occupations of North American lands, then the term can only make sense through some basic relational understandings of presence, belonging, and history. It tells us who was here first, who came later, and who should remain. It locates fundamental cultural differences and positions them as either rooted in practices developed in relation to this specific landscape, or else developed elsewhere. It tells us how the environment came to be upon the moment of colonial contact, and what happened afterward. It frames the meaning of states and nations, who decides those meanings, and what implications follow.

Although the idea of the indigenous is dependent on and created through colonial encounter, I also emphasize that both Native and non-Native geographies must deploy divergent frames of indigeneity. When indigenous peoples are ignored, invisibilized, marginalized, or mythologized—all of which are standard practice in the United States—these acts reproduce fundamental frameworks for the European colonization and ongoing US American occupation of North American lands. At the same time, the settler colonial nation and its citizens often invoke indigeneity in order to inhabit moral and geographic authority, usually through a co-optation of the "Indian." In contrast, Native peoples invoke indigeneity to mark belonging and relationships to this land as well as to contest colonization and the White possessive (Moreton-Robinson 2015). These contestations over indigeneity matter because they either deny or prepare us for after-colonial geographies, or the spaces of possibility that can emerge should we attend to settler colonialism and critiques of White supremacy.

The promise of the extension of indigenous geographies posits an effort toward transforming human relationships with the world in such a way as to recover nonexploitative engagements and to restart the responsibilities of settlers and arrivants toward indigenous peoples and cultures. This is clearly a revolutionary and structurally radical imagining, and cannot be accomplished merely by changing the faces of those in control of a racially hierarchical, capitalist, and colonial geography. Yet, these geographies already coexist in uneven

fashion, whether conceived as rival, differential, or simply indigenous geographies (Castree 2004; Ferguson 1985; Goeman 2013; Ingold 2007; Said 1993; Stark 2012).

Before we can more fully entertain these imaginative but already partially actualized possibilities, we must more thoroughly assess how indigenous and settler colonial geographies persist. To work toward this task, this book attends to the practice of inhabiting as one of the powerfully mundane or "common sense" ways spaces are enacted, justified, and sustained. I forefront inhabiting in order to clarify the spatiality embedded within indigeneity and Indianness, and to both highlight and distinguish between the kinds of everyday (spatial) practices that produce either settler or indigenous geographies (Billig 1995; Rifkin 2013, 2014).

Indianness and Inhabiting

Indigeneity requires some engagement with the related concept of the Indian, a racial construct that has long facilitated the dispossession, subjugation, and attempted incorporation of Native peoples into the United States (Barker 2005, 16-17; Byrd 2011, xxiii). I intentionally use Indianness in my analysis, in addition to indigeneity, because I want to actively frame how the processes of creating indigenous space in a settler colonial nation must simultaneously attend to the tensions of overlapping and often opposing geographies. Indianness encompasses a dialectical and sometimes oppositional set of understandings about Native peoples in what is now the United States. Indianness references indigenous self-definitions as well as definitions that are externally imposed and sometimes mythological. It refers simultaneously to the supposedly self-evident identity category of "Indians" as well as all the varied meanings generated within and across diverse and complicated Native communities and histories. Certainly the concept of an Indian has also come to serve as a useful shorthand for individuals' grounded personal or tribal experiences, for pan-tribal identifications, and for acts of strategic essentialism (Hertzberg 1981; Spivak 1987). In these ways, "Indianness" is used by but not fully owned by Native peoples (Berkhofer 1978). In fact, the "Indian" is usually an abstract, even fictional conjuring: a fundamental but ultimately nominal figure in the US national trajectory. Ignoring for the moment the relative simplicity and artificial cleanliness of this binary (Native/ non-Native), we can see that Indianness contains a tension that is continually

being negotiated and stretched into service by different constituencies (Bird 1996; Deloria 1998; Green and Massachusetts Arts and Humanities Foundation 1975). Sometimes these meanings overlap or reinforce one another. In other contexts, they clash and battle. Thus, I intend the term "Indianness" to signal both non-Native usages of the Indian toward the production of space and the Native dis/engagements with those appropriative and imposed usages toward the same purpose.

While I draw attention to Indianness as a fluid and multiply constituted symbol, it is important to note that I do not intend to imply that Native peoples are fully contained by this dialectic process. Contestation over these definitions and meanings is certainly a core element of what it means to be indigenous. Part of my intervention, however, is to consider precisely the ways that Native individuals and communities have always expressed and generated new and selfdetermined notions of identity, culture, and sovereignty that are not necessarily just rooted in a response to the violently narrow notions of Indianness imposed from the outside (Carpio 2004; Goeman 2013; Simpson 2014). For these reasons, I am attentive to the dialectic of the Indian, although in most instances I will deliberately privilege the more self-proscribed and self-determining practices of indigeneity and indigenous space-making that are less concerned with directly contesting appropriations and land claims. Thus, I have gathered a series of examples to show how indigenous geographies also emerge from relatively self-contained efforts firmly rooted in and ultimately constitutive of Native-centered worlds. I argue that indigenous geographies can never be just a response to settler colonialism if they signal the continuation (however adaptive or appropriative) of precolonial epistemologies, ontologies, and practices. To think otherwise is to assume completion of the colonial project, to freeze history and space, and thus to encapsulate and ventriloquize indigeneity solely via Eurocentric and state logics.

This brings us to the concept of inhabiting. At its base, inhabiting signals the moment(s) when a body is situated in a particular physical location. It is also a verb, implying some sort of spatially defined and relational set of actions. Inhabiting describes a frame used for establishing belonging or home, a relation to place. In this book, inhabiting is sometimes rooted in possession, both of land and of Indianness. Thus, this term also refers to spatial production: to the process of making meaning in relation to the land where bodies are situated. I apply the term "inhabiting" to signal differing notions of relationships to land (broadly defined to include air, water, underground, and so on) and the related processes of legitimization for bodily presence in specific locations (whether individual or collective).

In terms of indigenous geographies, for example, we can turn to Tim Ingold's wonderful discussion of inhabiting applying only when describing humans being fully "immersed in the fluxes of the medium [air], in the incessant movements of wind and weather" (Ingold 2007, S34). From this perspective, humans fundamentally inhabit the air, not the land. Native space likewise tends to be based on inhabitants that "make their way through a world-in-formation," intimately accounting for and centering the processes and relations between elements like land, rock, water, air, clouds, smoke, wind, and weather (Ingold 2007, S32; emphasis original). This contrasts with modern Eurocentric models that position humans as "exhabiting" the surface of the planet, and thus being "stranded on a closed surface" and seeing the world only through metaphors of interior or contained spaces. Such a frame explains the desire and impetus to extend control and shape the nonhuman world and to ignore processes and relationships except where directly harvestable. This illustrates a core difference between indigenous and settler geographies. This conception of inhabiting as a frame of reference for engagement with context can also reframe settler colonial engagement with indigeneity.

Within the settler colonial frame, inhabiting points to the European legal construct that delineates a discrete and static moment in time that forever renders European presence legitimate. This reconciliation of belonging continually emerges through cultural constructs that rely on layered and symbolic inhabitations beyond the legal repertoires of occupation and must be performed repeatedly to address the "refractory imprint of the native counter-claim" (Wolfe 2006, 389). Indeed, if settler colonialism is a structure rather than event, as Patrick Wolfe suggests, then I argue that inhabiting Indianness represents one of the necessary modes for ongoing settling and the process of sustaining settler geographies (Wolfe 2006, 388).

As a mode of presence, justification, and relation, indigenous persistence and indigenous geographies also require inhabiting. When Native peoples re-inhabit Indianness (or manifest indigeneity), they signal the ongoing ways that indigenous peoples reject White possession of the Americas that appears so inevitable and yet invisible to non-Native peoples. "For indigenous people," Aileen Moreton-Robinson notes, "white possession is not unmarked, unnamed, or invisible; it is hypervisible" (Moreton-Robinson 2015, xiii). Thus, in the face of the overwhelming possessive logics of Whiteness and settler colonialism, indigenous peoples sustain Native geographies that unsettle and create "ontological disturbance." The various remappings and assertions of space practiced by indigenous peoples discussed in the following chapters therefore have been selected because they either intentionally confront or analytically provide counterpoint to what Mark Rifkin identifies as "settler common sense." Rifkin describes settler common sense as rooted in colonial policy and practice but emerging through and consolidating via everyday and affective experiences that allow settlers' "access to Indigenous territories . . . to be lived as given, as simply the unmarked, generic conditions of possibility for occupancy, association, history, and personhood" (Rifkin 2013, 323).

My use of "inhabiting" thus builds on Moreton-Robinson's notion of a "white possessive" that racially frames settler colonialism and on Rifkin's attention to the crucial and reproductive role everyday enactments (or productions) of space play in materializing and sustaining the logics of possession and the formal mechanisms of dispossession (Rifkin 2013, 337). Perhaps most usefully, inhabiting reminds us how spatial enactments can be practiced and (re)arranged in sometimes unexpected ways toward different kinds of relations to lands, or different geographies.

Colonialism, Settler Colonialism, Postcolonialism, and Neocolonialism

At its simplest, "colonialism" stands for the "conquest and control of other people's lands and goods," although we must be aware that the modes and configurations of such "conquest and control" vary greatly (Loomba 2015, 20). Much of the variation among colonialism and its derivative forms and practices centers on difference in the modes and methods of control. In terms of the actual mechanisms for control, we must consider whether people/labor, goods/resources, or land serve as the primary vehicle for conquest, although they can and usually do overlap in meaningful ways.

As a project concerned with the production of space (which I describe below), interrogating and comparing these various modes and methods can help us better understand how current formations of power continue to hinge on colonial-era land claims and conflicting geographies, and how they vary and shift. For most of this text, I return to the two concepts that seem most appropriate: settler

colonialism and neocolonialism. These terms (and attention to these practices) can also help keep questions of land and space forefront. As Patrick Wolfe notes, "territoriality is settler colonialism's specific, irreducible element" (Wolfe 2006, 388). Land, of course, also remains core to indigenous identities, histories, and cultures (Deloria 1994; Deloria and Wildcat 2001; Pierotti and Wildcat 2002). Thus, I intend my use of these terms as reminders that colonizing projects initiated during European travels across the globe continue to manifest tensions over land and space, including in some mundane ways. As these concepts remain an ever-present context, much of this book therefore considers the various ways that indigenous peoples call attention to and resist the ongoing nature of colonial space-making, as well as the ways they continue to maintain and produce their own geographies against or despite colonialism.

Colonialism, in its "purest" form, has traditionally been understood as an unequal power relationship wherein a dominating population extracts labor and/or resources from a subordinated population of an "external" location. "A colonial system of relationships," Lorenzo Veracini points out, "is premised on the presence and subjugation of exploitable 'Others'" (Veracini 2014, 615). This basic frame also highlights the embedded role of geography as a central defining factor of all colonial endeavors. In short, colonialism fundamentally describes a geographic relationship, one in which "differing" geographies serve as a mechanism for producing and maintaining unequal power relations with a "home" geography.

The seventeenth- and eighteenth-century sugar plantations established by Europeans in the Caribbean represent one concrete example of colonialism: in this case, plantation colonialism. The history of these plantations illuminates a unique element in European colonialism. European colonialism developed mutually with concepts of race and the corresponding practices of racism, as well as with capitalism (Blaut 1993; Césaire 1972; Goldberg 1993). In the Caribbean, lands had already been largely widowed of indigenous peoples, and thus plantation labor was extracted by enslaving and importing Africans. These ventures figured into a global economic expansion, as European nations vied against one another for economic and political superiority through exploitation of lands and laboring bodies. As part of European global exploration, developing notions of race both shaped and were shaped by the slave trade and the colonial encounter with non-Europeans. Through the frame of a newly emerging racial logic targeting non-Europeans, the European "idea of the colonial world

became one of a people intrinsically inferior, not just outside history and civilization, but genetically pre-determined to inferiority. Their subjections was not just a matter of profit and convenience but also could be constructed as a natural state" (Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin 1998, 47).

The scale of European colonialism, starting in the sixteenth century, extended beyond that of previous examples of colonies and conquests. Increased mobility and the codevelopment of European colonialism with capitalism greatly increased the geographic reach of such projects and fortified each through expanding and increasingly interdependent economic networks. As Ania Loomba suggests, "colonialism was the midwife that assisted at the birth of European capitalism, . . . without colonial expansion the transition to capitalism could not have taken place in Europe" (Loomba 2015, 22).

Settler colonialism describes a form of colonialism wherein nonindigenous or "settler" populations implant themselves in new lands. Lorenzo Veracini describes the difference as being between shaping and controlling a landscape versus changing and claiming the landscape. "In the case of colonialism what is reproduced is an (unequal) relationship, while in the case of settler colonialism, what is reproduced is a biopolitical entity" (Veracini 2014, 627; emphasis original). Patrick Wolfe summarizes the same process by offering this succinct assessment: "Settler colonialism destroys to replace" (Wolfe 2006, 388). Settlers initiate a fundamental transformation in the demographics, cultures, and physical landscape of colonized lands. Settler presence is the core feature of this mode of domination, with the goal of establishing a new home to solidify territorial claims.

As an extension of the home country, then, settler colony lands are redesigned toward the home country's imposed goals, as well as toward reflecting settler identity. As Said notes, "Colonial space must be transformed sufficiently so as no longer to appear foreign to the imperial eye" (Said 1993, 226). This transformation can, of course, take numerous forms. For the purpose of this book, I focus tightly on the model characterizing British North American settler colonialism, in which indigenous peoples were not broadly incorporated into the settler societies, and in which they usually resisted such efforts when pursued. Disease often devastated indigenous populations, yet settlers also actively used warfare as well as political, "legal," and other-than-legal means to actively dispossess them of lands.

This articulation, of course, constructs a simplified binary between those who settle and those who are already present, and streamlines the complex and uneven

process by which these outcomes unfold. In terms of the settlers, for example, Jodi Byrd notes that settler colonialism recruits people from both the colonizing nation and beyond in the form of servants, laborers, slaves, immigrants, and refugees (Byrd 2011). She thereby differentiates between settlers and what she calls "arrivants," those largely non-White, nonindigenous peoples that likewise arrive and occupy the land even as they do not arrive under the same circumstances or positionalities. Most important for this book, however, is to recall that the categories of indigenous, settler, and arrivant peoples always rest on the relationship between physical presence on a specific land and belonging, on relationships to home and belonging. Those categories point to ongoing and conflicting *practices* of space-making (inhabiting) resulting from colonial processes and the complex modes of presence and proscribed inclusion.

In this context we must note how the dominant settler colonial geographies continually work to submerge indigenous ones. As Ania Loomba explains, for settler colonialism to exist, "the process of 'forming a community' in the new land necessarily meant un-forming or re-forming the communities that existed there already, and involved a wide range of practices including trade, settlement, plunder, negotiation, warfare, genocide, and enslavement" (Loomba 2015, 20). Likewise Paige Raibmon and Cole Harris have outlined the various structured/official and everyday/unofficial means by which settler colonial societies have to make and "unmake" indigenous space precisely because Native peoples work to recover, maintain, or reinscribe their geographies (Harris 2002; Raibmon 2008).

I also want to emphasize that the relationship between colonialism and settler colonialism often proves more complementary and less binary. Veracini, for example, points out how, historically, colonialism and settler colonialism might best be seen as a "division of colonial labour" (Veracini 2014, 627), whereby these two different models of conquest flexibly operate at various scales, and historically can be found to cooperate in extending, protecting, or securing mechanisms and structures of domination. Recognizing this relationship is important for making sense overall of the processes and fluidities of domination as well as the varied forms of resistance required to address the ongoing consequences of mutable colonialisms. This recognition is reflected in the terms "neocolonialism" and "postcolonial," which I outline below. Those terms emerge from understanding how colonialism is continually reshaped and resisted. They serve as reminder that any effective contestation must also evolve.

Veracini argues that finding appropriate analogies for colonialism and settler colonialism can tell us a great deal about how we might contest such forms of domination. In his "heuristic" analysis, he creatively analogizes colonialism and settler colonialism with virus and bacteria, respectively. The virus operates in largely parasitic fashion, sustaining itself through the lifeblood of the host and mutating to best ensure its survival and success through various hosts and host defenses. Historically, human colonies likewise extract resources and compel colonized labor for sustenance, while maintaining their relatively distinct coherence as entities. Bacteria, in contrast, "attach to surfaces and form aggregations" that reproduce without direct exploitation of a host, and in the process of aggregation take on new forms as entities (Veracini 2014, 615). Bacterial colonies effectively absorb, assimilate, and transform their environment such that they "make and remake places and are also simultaneously transformed by them" (Veracini 2014, 624). In short, such colonies adapt to a new environment, rapidly reproduce and expand, and finally stabilize as a new and unique entity. A settler colony parallels bacteria in that its vitality relies on the mutual transformations of the colonizing "body" and the space of colonization, even as the indigenous population may not strategically figure into those transformational processes.

Reminding us that these processes can operate in concert, Veracini helps point out historical conditions in which "some areas could only become subjected to colonizing metropoles after colonial 'viruses' had evolved in ways that would allow it to *penetrate* as well as to *attach* to new areas" (Veracini 2014, 619; emphasis original). Thus, a settler colony sometimes requires the groundwork of a preceding colony. Here we should note that, despite the differing and sometimes cooperating methods for exogenous prosperity, both methods share and are premised on spatial domination (what Veracini calls "destination locales"). In settler colonialism, however, land rather than people proves the most immediate mechanism for domination and the core point of contention for both colonizer and colonized.

I draw on these analogies because they are useful not only in thinking about contestation of colonial structures and outcomes, but also in extending our understanding of the relationships of colonialism and settler colonialism to that of postcolonialism and neocolonialism. As Blunt and McEwan explain, "the 'post' of 'postcolonialism' has two meanings, referring to a temporal aftermath—a period of time *after* colonialism—and a critical aftermath—cultures,

discourses and critiques that lie beyond, but remain closely influenced by, colonialism" (Blunt and McEwan 2002, 3; emphasis original). The notion of postcolonialism as an analytical tool and as an account of the "critical aftermath" of colonialism is therefore closely tied to a recognition of the emergence of neocolonialism, which encompasses global economic domination regardless of historic colonial relations and carves out new forms of domination operating entirely through the forces of globalization.

This project uses the concept of postcolonialism to focus on those critical intellectual and material interventions against colonial and ongoing neocolonial practices still in need of confrontation. I am interested in those indigenouscentered postcolonialisms that seek to disrupt the ongoing experiences of settler colonialism and neocolonialism. Neocolonialism, which directly translates to a "new" form of colonialism, sustains persistent structures of "cultural, economic, and political inequalities" and perpetuates the "endurance of colonial discourses" that originate with colonization and yet "persist long after the end of formal political colonization" (Nash 2002, 220). Ashcroft and colleagues point out that Kwame Nkrumah (who first coined this term in his book Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism) identified the ways neocolonialism was actually "more insidious and more difficult to detect and resist than the older overt colonialism" (Ashcroft et al. 1998,163; Nkrumah 1966). This articulation of what Veracini labels a "mutated" and more evasive "strain" of colonial domination points to the ways that neocolonialism operates through hegemony rather than through direct force, and thus the mechanisms of domination and the resulting spatial configurations are more easily naturalized and less easily confronted (Gramsci 1971; Veracini 2014).

Often still overlooked is the way that settler colonialism continues, and that it heavily overlaps with neocolonialism. This overlap points directly to the role of geography. English (and now multicultural) settler societies currently present a confluence of direct intervention and indirect neocolonial structures in relation to indigenous peoples. When the United States is positioned as a postcolonial nation or is denied as an example of domination in relation to indigenous peoples, it furthers the entrenchment still reliant on a land base predicated on continual indigenous dispossession.

Spatiality, Indigenous Spatialities, and Settler Spatialities

When I use the terms "spatiality" and "spatialities," I am actively marking and recalling the fact that space is a production, and is always multiple. In The Production of Space, Henri Lefebvre provides the core theoretical reframing of space as something other than a simple blank stage upon which social actors gather and interact (Lefebvre 1991). He explains that space is a product of our social imaginings and actions, which coalesce into coherence as well as material form. Spatial productions express and secure dominance most effectively when seen as merely existing—as supposed natural expressions of the world-as-it-is. In this way, spatiality signals the individual and collective processes we engage in to produce space and the ways that we are also produced by spaces.

One of the important benefits of a conception of space as produced and contingent is that geography can then be more fully understood in relation to power. Any dominant form of space or spatiality stands as, and is, power, as it structures particular values about, views of, and practices within the world and reinforces these structures by shaping encounters to match that world. Thus, an analysis of space must fundamentally hold the exercise of power as one of its principal features. As John Allen argues, "power is inherently spatial and, conversely, spatiality is imbued with power" (Allen 2003, 3; emphasis original). In the context of settler colonialism and neocolonialism, we can readily see how space is imbued with power since it is not only hegemonic in conveying a sense of the geography of the nation-state as being just "common sense," but it has also been actively utilized in dispossession and disempowerment toward the benefit of one group of peoples over another. In the aftermath of the various forms of colonialism, the dominant contemporary geographies still represent a successful consolidation and extension of the forms of spatial production initiated centuries ago.

While current understandings of space already imply a "relational" or processual practice, combining spatiality with a modifier—indigenous, settler—further signals two specific kinds of space and space-making operating in tension with one another (Massey 2005). The additions of the qualifiers "settler" and "indigenous" then leads to the task of clarifying or qualifying what defines these different kinds of spatiality. I am drawing on the categories of indigenous and settler spatialities to note two shapes of engagement centered on the relationship to the lands of North America and the frames for making sense of those

relationships. Most importantly, these different spatialities are rooted in the historic and racialized experiences of peoples who experienced colonialism as either colonized or colonizer. In this sense, these categories of spatiality can be viewed in relation to one another, intimately formed by the experience of encounter and subsequent reconfigurations of land, culture, and agency. At the onset of colonialism, the Doctrine of Discovery predicated conferral of dominion on both the inability and the unwillingness of Europeans to recognize or respect indigenous spatialities (treaty or not). Thus, we find concepts like terra nullius and the "virgin landscape," both of which relied on a Western spatiality rooted in intentional, observable, and demarcated human interventions in the processes of the natural world. This world was thus quickly overlaid with abstract space to render it recognizable, manageable, and alienable. While indigenous peoples obviously modified the land, such labor and engagement was not always signposted, and their modifications worked effectively enough within the existing ecosystems as to often remain invisible to Western eyes (Anderson 2013; Cajete 2000; Cronon 1983; Kimmerer 2013). Settlers simply interpreted indigeneity as either lacking proper spatiality or without sufficient authority and moral capacity. The result was conscription of the land into settler spatial systems that erased "other ways to relate geography and identity" (Radcliffe 2011, 140).

Such conflicts continue. These frames remain the central differences between indigenous and nonindigenous peoples, and they continue to coexist in uneasy tension with one another in the same place and time. "Spatial co-habitation by Indigenous and settler populations" Brad Coombes and colleagues note, "entails confrontation of divergent notions of place construction, along with other disorderly ontological categories which underpin epistemological and teleological classifications" (Coombes et al. 2011, 486).

Organization of the book

Before briefly summarizing the chapters that follow, I want to note a couple of methodological approaches and highlight the relationship between the first three chapters and the final two. Each chapter begins with a narrative that shares some of my own experiences with specific spatial productions and how they exemplify spatial practices. The narratives themselves represent important methodological practices in a couple of ways. I am consciously emphasizing the power and function of the mundane, or what Michael Billig calls the "banal,"

everyday acts that prove crucial for dominant spatial productions (Billig 1995). Billig's study of everyday acts that sustain nationalism explains how seemingly meaningless and nonspectacular activities actually represent core sets of artifacts and regular repertoires through which nationalism is understood and on which it is dependent. These small acts effectively set the stage on which "larger" and more explicit enactments of nationalism can take place and make sense. Victoria Freeman similarly observes such acts in the erasures of indigenous Toronto. Following Alan Gordon, she reminds us that formal public memory events and collective performances of ideologies must be successfully crafted in advance "to have any symbolic or emotive power" during obvious and ceremonial performances of identity and ideology (Freeman 2010, 30; Gordon 2001, 165).

These small, usually mundane, acts are therefore crucial as the ongoing labor required for any spatial production. Such practices are not limited to hegemonic productions. Although indigenous geographies, for example, must be fluent in the dominant spatial regimes and practices as a matter of survival (and result from assimilation violences), they can be sustained and produced only through normalizing practices. Native space must be constantly recognized and made viable through daily practices. In this way, my approach further illustrates the everyday spatial work being done through what Mark Rifkin has nicely delineated as "settler common sense," as well as frames the impact of practicing embodied rather than just legal or political forms of indigenous sovereignty (Bruyneel 2007; Coulthard 2014; Lyons 2010; Rifkin 2014; Warrior 1995). My movement across the chapters is therefore intended as a loose progression from the more concrete forms of space-making toward the more conceptual and artistic, which is also a movement from less to more explicit and self-conscious spatial counterproductions. Viewing the chapters together, the specific examples reveal the vital (and vitalizing) conceptual frameworks embedded within all the various forms of indigenous spatial practices and related geographies.

In light of these relationships, chapter 1 discusses several reservation communities where tribal peoples use indigeneity in the material construction of spatial markers. Crafted to parallel the second chapter, which explores White spaces and Indian Villages, this set of research sites demonstrate that Native communities have an equivalent interest in the construction of Indianness via spatial markers, but those markers manifest dissimilar outcomes to White communities. These communities use a variety of strategies in marking tribal space using indigeneity, reflecting the diverse and nuanced senses of identity and history

that have shaped each community, even as they respond to similar frames of colonization and racialization.

The second chapter picks up where this introduction leaves off discussing Indian Villages. It documents and analyzes the use of Indianness for crafting White space. Using cartographic and demographic data, I document the twentieth-century proliferation of Indian-themed street names across residential areas in cities, suburbs, and rural towns of every region in the country. We find that while non-White racialized and nonheterosexual space is always constructed as a kind of borderlands delineating the outer boundaries of a "central" normative White space, the spaces that reference Native people dramatically break from this practice and are commonly used where they can directly designate normative White spaces. In contrast to tribal communities and their diverse use of indigeneity, these communities draw from a simplified template without significant variation ("Indian") that operates within the logic of colonialism and multicultural incorporation. These efforts ultimately render Native peoples absent and invisible, and represent a characteristically mundane and concrete example of neocolonial spatial projects.

Chapter 3 turns to two geographically distant sites where the processes of identity and spatial production overlap with one another through a shared reliance on notions of Indianness and, specifically, through a relationship to the historic, real-life Kiowa warrior Set-tainte. The first story centers on the Satanta Day ceremony and the town of Satanta, in rural southwestern Kansas, where a ceremony annually commemorates the town name (derived from Set-tainte) and bestows titles of "chief" and "princess" on successive generations of its residents. The second story considers the Set-tainte descendants' powwow in Oklahoma and broader Kiowa efforts to remember and sanction Set-tainte's anticolonial vision for Kiowa identity and space, as well as continue their traditional maintenance of the Set-tainte name. The comparison and juxtaposition of these stories serves to illustrate the ways Indianness and indigeneity are used in conflicting ways for the production of space, but also explores the possibilities of reconciliation and reconstruction of alternative geographies.

Chapters 4 and 5 engage with Native artists as a way of expanding the scope of Native interrogations with space and its relationship to Indianness and indigeneity. I focus on several artists who have utilized their creative productions to speak to issues of indigenous geography or the constant struggle between the making and unmaking of Native space. I suggest that these works, split between artists

that work with the medium of maps (chapter 4) and those that employ public installations (chapter 5), operate through a shared Native relationship to space and colonialism that must privilege the concepts of land and space. I explore how these two mediums offer complementary but also differing modes of centering dispossession, presence, and mobility for Native peoples and communities in a neocolonial nation.