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A Trans*national* Native American Studies? Why Not Studies That Are Trans-*Indigenous*?

CHADWICK ALLEN

> This special forum seeks to address some of the issues surrounding place and mobility, aesthetics and politics, identity and community, and the tribal and the global indigenous, all of which have emerged in the larger frameworks of transnational American Studies.
>
> ——Call for Papers, Special Forum:
> Charting Transnational Native American Studies

1. The Indigenous Afterlives of Indigenous Texts

Do we now require the rubric of the "transnational" to recognize that Indigenous signs and sign systems travel? That they move through space and time, through landscapes and generations, cross borders, infiltrate languages, cultures, and communities—none the less so when intended by their first makers to distinguish an "inside" from an "outside" rather than to facilitate connections? That Indigenous signs and sign systems also are moved? Traded and gifted? Lost and found? Outright stolen? Appropriated, incorporated, manipulated, interpreted, reinterpreted, combined, recombined, recreated and, once remade, relaunched into the semiotic traffic flows of worlds old and new and renewed to move and be moved again?

Long before the "transnational" became an esteemed mark within academia, the latest fashion for scholarship in history, literature, the arts, or the grab bag we call "culture," this kind of travel was already the old and ongoing story of incised rock and painted hides; of baskets, pottery, and textiles; of fish hooks, canoes, and projectile points; of carvings, personal adornments, and sacred objects; of all manner of vessels and tools. The old and ongoing story of pattern, shape, image, figure, abstract design. Of rhythmic sound and choreographed movement.

Those of us who work specifically within the field of literary studies are perhaps most comfortable remarking that this is the old and ongoing story of story. That narratives and characters and symbols and forms and themes move and are moved and, in the course of their movements, simple and complex, more obvious and more subtle, stories and elements of stories develop and change. The local launches into the regional, national, or global only to become local again and again. (Hence the coinage of the "glocal.") But such movement is a reality for all the so-called arts and for all the so-called crafts. All traveling, all over, all the time.

Trans-, yes, in the sense of *across*, *beyond*, and *through*, but not limited to national borders, and certainly not limited to the national borders of contemporary (settler) nation-states.

Writing for an exhibition catalogue in 1967, the extraordinary Haida artist and master carver Bill Reid evoked the ordinary, age-old, and ongoing travel of Indigenous signs in his attempt to articulate the relationship between contemporary viewers, like himself, and what he calls the "high art of the Indian past."[1] Though we might appreciate its beauty and power, he states, we cannot know the classic art of the Northwest Coast in the ways that its makers and first audiences knew it, because "we have lost much which they had. We see the masks, the costumes, the boxes, the rattles and the whole profusion not as part of the fabric of life, to be displayed at feasts, to be handed around, admired and criticized by a population of informed critics, but as isolated remnants, time weathered, museum dusted, too often cracked and broken" (66). But distance from the makers, first audiences, and original contexts of these Indigenous signs need not equate to an absence of Indigenous meaning or significance. It need not result in a narrative of (complete) Indigenous loss. It need not result in a contemporary affect of (inconsolable) Indigenous defeat. To the contrary, Reid asserts, "if we can bring to these [signs] our contemporary sensibility, enriched by a knowledge of the world's art, we may perhaps find in them deeper meaning even than their creators intended" (66).

Indigenous signs travel across generations, in other words, not to become enigmatic and dead, but rather to be (re)interpreted by readers who are multiply situated and multiply informed. Some of these readers will identify as Indigenous. Some will be highly trained and knowledgeable. Some, like Reid, will bring not only theoretical but practical knowledge of the particular Indigenous cultures, technologies, and traditions from which the signs emanated. Others will bring theoretical and practical knowledge from additional Indigenous cultures and artistic traditions that can connect to these signs and to the processes of their making and consumption through a range of affiliations—regional, hemispheric, even global.

Indigenous signs traveling through time, appreciated, interpreted, understood in Indigenous (though not necessarily *original*) terms.

Reid reiterates this point in his poem "Out of the Silence," first published in 1971. The poem begins, "When we look at a particular work / of Northwest Coast art / and see the shape of it, / we are only looking at its afterlife. / Its real life is the

movement / by which it got to be that shape."[2] It is this "afterlife" that contemporary viewers experience—and help to construct—when they engage in acts of reading, appreciation, and interpretation. Those viewers who bring Indigenous perspectives and Indigenous knowledges to their reading, appreciation, and interpretation help to create afterlives that are themselves Indigenous. These relationships are no less vital for contemporary engagements with Indigenous signs across space, language, or culture than they are for engagements across time. And they are no less vital for engagements with Indigenous signs arranged into alphabetic literature. These works, too, can have—do have—afterlives that are Indigenous.

Before climbing aboard the "transnational" bandwagon, before running to catch a fast-moving "transnational" train, before claiming that our field was, in fact, "transnational" long before the "transnational" became the fashion of the day, we ought to ask whether a "transnational Native American Studies" will be equipped, conceptually and practically, to illuminate the multiple ways in which historical and contemporary Indigenous works of art and literature possess not only the "real lives" of their Indigenous making and first use but also "afterlives" that are distinctly (though not *exclusively*) Indigenous. We ought to ask whether the scholarly construct of the "transnational," in its orthodox conceptions and in its typical attachments to dominant formations, such as the (US-based) discipline of American Studies, necessarily implies both a binary opposition and a vertical hierarchy of the Indigenous (always) tethered to (and positioned below) the settler-invader. If the "transnational" does imply this vertical binary, this relationship of asymmetrical power, then we ought to ask whether its deployment as an organizing rubric can result in anything other than a scholarly deracination of the Indigenous, or, equally problematic, an engulfment of the Indigenous within and beneath systems of meaning-making dominated by the desires, obsessions, and contingencies of non-Indigenous settlers, their non-Indigenous nation-states, their non-Indigenous institutions, their non-Indigenous critical methodologies and discourses.[3]

Arguably, we have already witnessed this kind of uprooting and this kind of overwhelming engulfment, under such purportedly liberationist rubrics for literary and cultural scholarship as feminism, multiculturalism, and postcolonialism. Will we soon add transnationalism to this list of (failed or inadequate) attempts to balance the Indigenous along the crowded "cutting edge" of academe without subsuming its particularities, its productive differences, into more of the same? In a rush to follow the current fashion of the transnational (in a rush to *follow*), will we sacrifice the potential to better appreciate and perhaps better understand the many Indigenous afterlives of Indigenous texts before we have had an opportunity to see them on their own complex and evolving terms? Should we take such risks? Should we miss such opportunities?

2. Margin to Margin, or Center to Center?

As I draft this essay (rumination, polemic) two texts arrive that challenge me to articulate my uneasy response to the idea of a transnational Native American Studies in more concrete terms and in a more precise vocabulary. Delivered from my university library through the campus mail is the scholarly collection titled *Minor Transnationalism*, edited by Françoise Lionnet and Shu-mei Shih, published in 2005.[4] Delivered from the Spirit Wrestler Gallery, located in Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada, through the regular mail is a promotional catalogue for a current exhibit titled *Mini-Masterworks III*, introduced by the exhibit's curator, Nigel Reading, published in 2009.[5] The juxtaposition is fortuitous and productive.

In their collaborative introduction to *Minor Transnationalism*, "Thinking through the Minor, Transnationally," Lionnet and Shih launch a sophisticated (if by now common) critique of universalism and of the prevalence of vertical binaries within scholarship focused on the so-called "minor"—minority subjects, peoples, histories, languages, literatures, and arts. They note, for instance, that even useful theoretical approaches to "lateral and nonhierarchical network structures," such as the figure of the "rhizome" elaborated by the celebrated philosophers Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, end up "falling back into a recentered model of 'minor literature.' For [Deleuze and Guattari], the minor's literary and political significance rests on its critical function *within* and *against* the major in a binary and vertical relationship."[6] As an alternative to methodologies that simply reverify this reactive, subordinate position for the "minor" in relation to the "major," Lionnet and Shih promote the potential for scholarship that not only recognizes "relationships among different margins" but also adequately theorizes them (2). The fourteen essays gathered in *Minor Transnationalism* attempt to demonstrate fourteen versions of a methodology for highlighting relations of margin to margin rather than margin to center.

None of these essays, however, includes sustained attention to any aspect of Native American or Indigenous Studies. No individual words or descriptive phrases, no central analyses, no arguments are devoted to Indigenous peoples, places, cultures, or texts, ancient, historical, or contemporary; nor are gestures made toward the potential for including the Indigenous within future studies in the extensive sets of notes and bibliographies that accompany these fourteen versions of forward-looking scholarship.[7] Apparently, Indigenous subjects remain beyond the margins of even the "minor."

The exhibit catalogue *Mini-Masterworks III* is a striking contrast. Here, a network of multilateral, nonhierarchical conversations are staged among objects produced within the three Indigenous arts traditions on display at the Spirit Wrestler Gallery in Vancouver: Maori art from Aotearoa/New Zealand, First Nations art from the Northwest Coast, Inuit art from Alaska and Northern Canada. In its primarily visual rather than primarily alphabetic medium, the exhibit catalogue organizes this network of conversations largely through juxtaposition and sequencing, what

Reading describes in his brief introduction as a "fusion format." Linking the catalogue's 130 "small treasures" of contemporary Indigenous art—including carving, weaving, painting, glass work, and metal work—are the diverse personal, cultural, and, indeed, political relationships of their makers to the Pacific Ocean, a physical and symbolic element that Maori, First Nations peoples of the Northwest Coast, and Inuit can claim in common. Photographic images of twenty-two pieces created by fifteen Northwest Coast artists, "local" to the Spirit Wrestler Gallery in Vancouver, are centered as the middle section of the catalogue; they are preceded by images of forty-four pieces created by twenty-one Maori artists from distant Aotearoa, honored "guests" of this local, and followed by sixty-four pieces created by forty-four Inuit artists from neighboring Alaska and northern Canada, their relatively close "kin." At the end of each section of photographic plates, the individual artists, whose works have been presented together as part of coherent Pacific cultural and political groups, are identified by specific tribal and, in the case of the Inuit, geographical affiliations. The exhibit's tagline, "small in scale, large in stature," playfully exposes the asymmetry of the vertical binaries "minor–major" and "minority–dominant" and refuses not only these specific terms but also their linear, hierarchical logic. This refusal is reinforced by the tagline's mobility: it appears above the horizon line of the exhibit title on the front cover of the catalogue but below this horizon on the title page, suggesting a cycle of rising and setting in place of a fixed (and subordinated) relation to dominant power. The "mini" of these masterworks is not to be confused with conceptions of the "minor." Rather than margin to margin, the exhibit and its catalogue have been organized Indigenous center to center to center.

In their introduction to *Minor Transnationalism*, Lionnet and Shih state, "Not all minorities are minoritized by the same mechanisms" and "there is no universal minority position as such."[8] The image deployed on their book's cover, however, which Lionnet and Shih may or may not have chosen or approved, suggests that there may be, in fact, a single paradigm through which the "minor" can be thought "transnationally," at least within orthodox formations, such as academic discourses. The image is a photograph of an empty rowboat, bereft of its guiding oars, adrift on the polished floor of a gallery. In the background behind the rowboat, a white baseboard forms a low horizon line beneath a blank white wall. The open air above the rowboat is spangled with sharp-edged shape and primary color, a multitude of generic sailboats folded from red, white, blue, yellow, and green slips of paper. A few of the folded sailboats rest within the rowboat or on the gallery floor; most suspend from the ceiling on strings. Track lighting is positioned to illuminate the rowboat from above and to cast shadows of sailboats on the blank wall. The book indicates only that this scene and its image are titled "Follow the Dreamboat," copyrighted 2004 by Wu Mali, photographed by Kaz Tsuruta of the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco.

On its own, uncaptioned and unexplained, the image can be interpreted as indicating a broad paradigm of "travel" through physical and psychic space, and perhaps also through time. As the primary component of the cover for the scholarly collection *Minor Transnationalism*, explained only as belonging to the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, it is likely to indicate a more narrow—and currently more fashionable—scholarly paradigm of "migration," "exile," or "diaspora." (Dreams of smooth sailing undermined—but also undergirded—by the harsh realities of lives unmoored.) Research beyond *Minor Transnationalism* is required to uncover that the generic wooden rowboat and generic paper sailboats—neither of which bear any obviously culturally specific marks—were part of an art installation created for the interactive exhibit "Spaces Within" shown at the Asian Art Museum June 11–August 22, 2004, and that Wu Mali is a well-known conceptual artist from Taiwan. Viewers of the "Dreamboat" were invited to "write down their own dreams on colored pieces of paper, fold them into paper boats and attach them to filament strung from the gallery's ceiling, creating a colorful cascade of personal communiqués."[9] The participatory nature of the inscribed and hand-folded boats was meant to index, specifically, the East Asian cultural traditions on display in the Asian Art Museum: "Traditional religious practices often involve visitors to a temple writing on or folding paper and offering it to the gods." Press materials for the exhibit note that "a connection to traditional culture and especially localized Taiwanese customs is a consistent feature of Wu's artistic practice." Press materials also note that while Wu Mali's work has been "widely exhibited in contemporary art museums and forums around the world," it has had "significantly less exposure in Asian-specific museums." The installation at the Asian Art Museum was meant to "question" what this artist's and other Asian artists' work "can gain from being shown in an Asia-specific institution." "Spaces Within" is meant to signify not only at the level of the personal (individual dreams inscribed and folded into paper vessels) but also at the level of the institutional (specific cultural codes enacted within the already culturally coded vessel of specific gallery walls and polished floors).

Within the context of its installation, then, "Follow the Dreamboat" would seem to participate within orthodox understandings of "transnationalism," in this instance, Taiwanese people, ideas, artifacts, and performances situated within a space literally outside Taiwan, the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, that has been reterritorialized as "Asian." The piece is meant to create meaning, in large part, through the juxtaposition of the specific content of its participatory form (inscribing, folding, and suspending paper boats) and the specific context of its physical manifestation (inscribed, folded, and displayed within the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco rather than at another site). Seemingly coherent and unquestioned "localized" Taiwanese "custom" has been enacted across national borders and, perhaps, given the generic nature of the plain rowboat and folded sailboats, with some sense of irony (but perhaps not). We are invited to respond to the suggestion that the marks of a specific (Asian) tradition (inscribing and folding) have become

ephemeral, visible only as ambiguous traces (generic sailboats and their shadows) in the transnational space of the (US) museum. We are not, however, invited to note that neither Taiwan nor the US is a category of inquiry within the installation; Indigenous counterclaims or counternarratives in either settler nation-state are (once again) erased.[10] The gallery's track lighting fixes relationships of object and shadow, reality and dream, major and minor; its baseboard horizon is disabled from marking transition, movement, or change.

The image deployed on the cover of *Mini-Masterworks III* again offers a striking contrast. Details from three of the photographs of works featured in the exhibit catalogue are arranged in provocative and explicit juxtaposition. On the left is a close-up of a carved and beaded basalt "Woman" figure by the Inuit artist Eva Talooki Aliktiluk; in the center is a close-up of the figure "Tama—The Son" from an acrylic painting by the Maori artist Sandy Adsett; and on the right is a close-up of a carved and painted transformative male figure, a detail from the piece of alder and abalone regalia "Wikwilbe' Pakiwe' (Eagle-Beak Nose) Frontlet" by the Northwest Coast artist Joe R. Wilson. These close-up details of human figures (a woman, a boy-child, and a bird-become-a-man) immediately suggest a familial relationship. Moreover, similarities of shapes and lines and a similar palette of vivid yellows, reds, and oranges demonstrate a "visual empathy" across distinct Indigenous figurations of the human form. Maori artist and art scholar Robert Jahnke has defined this kind of artistic empathy as visual alignments expressed and perceived across diverse works of art not through strict, one-to-one correspondences but rather through similarities of "pattern, form, medium and technique."[11] The back cover of the catalogue juxtaposes details from photographs of six other pieces from the exhibit, while the inside front cover juxtaposes details from an additional twelve. Multiple links, affiliations, and empathies (in terms of colors, forms, lines, shapes, patterns, materials, and techniques) can be discerned across each set. The three Indigenous artistic traditions are thus presented as in conversation with each other but also as distinct. In effect, the complex framings at the front and back ends of the catalogue stage multiple scenes of meaning-making and interpretation through multiple models of connection and difference, center-to-center-to-center, Indigenous-to-Indigenous-to-Indigenous. Through these explicit juxtapositions, the catalogue enacts a protocol of articulating the multiplicity of possible relationships.

As its title indicates, Mini-Masterworks III is not the gallery's first Indigenous "fusion format" exhibit. In addition to the two previous Mini-Masterworks, the Spirit Wrestler organized the exhibits "Kiwa—Pacific Connections" in 2003 and "Manawa—Pacific Heartbeat" in 2006. Each of these exhibits set works of art created by Maori artists from Aotearoa beside works of art created by First Nations artists from the Northwest Coast. Individual artists were chosen because of their cross-Pacific connections with other Indigenous artists: Maori artists who had visited North America, First Nations artists who had either visited Aotearoa or interacted with Maori artists during their travels to the US and Canada.[12]

The handsome exhibit catalogue *Manawa—Pacific Heartbeat: A Celebration of Contemporary Maori and Northwest Coast Art*, for example, features photographs of sixty-three objects created by forty-six artists, thirty-one identified as Maori from Aotearoa, fifteen as First Nations from the Northwest Coast. The photographs are introduced by a short preface written by Reading and by two longer introductory essays; the first introduction, authored by the renowned Maori artist and curator Darcy Nicholas, focuses on the history of contemporary Maori art, while the second introduction, authored by Reading and his co-curator Gary Wyatt, focuses on the history of contemporary connections among Maori and Northwest Coast artists. The plates of the exhibition pieces are then organized into three sections, each bearing a bilingual Maori-English title: "Whirirangi: Woven Heavens" is followed by "Moanauri: Oceanic Bloodlines," which is followed by "Papawhenua: Homelands." Within a center-to-center, Indigenous-to-Indigenous context, the bilingualism of these section titles manifests differently than what we might expect from a similar bilingualism organized across a (vertical and asymmetrical) Indigenous–settler binary opposition. In *Manawa*, the colon between Maori and English terms is meant to signify neither "colonial" appropriation nor merely "objective" linguistic equation but rather deep, trans-Pacific cultural connections.

The first introduction, titled "Breath of the Land," links the development of contemporary Maori art to the trans-Pacific development of contemporary Maori culture. Nicholas writes,

> We are physically connected to our Canadian and American First Nations people by the sea and more recently by modern technology. Spiritually, we share the vision of our ancestors, and we still hear their voices over the earth and sky, right across the valleys and down to the sea. We are learning more about each other through our growing relationship. The power of art and the creative spirit helps us to transcend time and cultures and accept each other as part of an extended family. Now that we know about each other, we can never feel alone: our First Nations relatives are always welcome on our land. It is the future we share together that is exciting.[13]

The specific linguistic choices for the bilingual section titles emphasize these connections. The "uri" in "Moanauri," for instance, can mean "blood connection" or "descendants," but also "dark color." "Moanauri" thus evokes the "deep-green sea" (moana = ocean) that physically connects the islands of Aotearoa to the west coast of the North American continent as well as the "oceanic bloodlines" Indigenous peoples of the Pacific can claim as a common inheritance.

Nicholas's commentary evokes the expansive, human-focused definitions of Oceania developed by the Pacific scholar Epeli Hau'ofa in a series of influential essays, published together in 2008 under the title *We Are the Ocean*.[14] In his seminal essay "Our Sea of Islands," originally published in 1993, Hau'ofa "offers a view of Oceania that is new and optimistic" by assuming the perspectives of "ordinary people" in the Pacific rather than assuming the perspectives of "macroeconomics and macropolitics" (27). The perspectives of ordinary people are typically dismissed within academic scholarship and governmental policy as too subjective, Hau'ofa contends, while the perspectives of macroeconomics and macropolitics are often assumed to be "objective." In fact, the perspectives of macroeconomics and macropolitics typically favor the "views held by those in dominant positions about their subordinates" (28). Rather than the dominant and dominating view of "islands in a far sea," Hau'ofa defines Oceania as "a sea of islands with their inhabitants" (32). He concludes the essay with this stirring exhortation:

> Oceania is vast, Oceania is expanding, Oceania is hospitable and generous, Oceania is humanity rising from the depths of brine and regions of fire deeper still, Oceania is us. We are the sea, we are the ocean, we must wake up to this ancient truth and together use it to overturn all hegemonic views that aim ultimately to confine us again, physically and psychologically, in the tiny spaces that we have resisted accepting as our sole appointed places and from which we have recently liberated ourselves. We must not allow anyone to belittle us again, and take away our freedom. (39)

In his follow-up to "Our Sea of Islands," the essay "The Ocean in Us," originally published in 1997, Hau'ofa refines these basic definitions. Oceania refers not to an "official world of states and nationalities" but rather to "a world of people connected to each other" (50). "This view," he argues, "opens up the possibility of expanding Oceania progressively to cover larger areas and more peoples" (51). Hau'ofa concludes this second essay with the assertion that "the sea is our pathway to each other and to everyone else, the sea is our endless saga, the sea is our most powerful metaphor, the ocean is in us" (58).

A number of the sixty-three objects featured in the *Manawa* exhibit specifically connect Maori and Northwest Coast peoples, as well as their artistic practices, through the powerful metaphor of the "pathway" of the sea. One piece in particular, centered within the central section of the catalogue, "Moanauri: Oceanic Bloodlines," is especially instructive in this regard. Moreover, this piece links back to the idea, inspired by the Haida carver Bill Reid, of recognizing the Indigenous afterlives of Indigenous signs in travel.

Titled "Whakamutunga (Metamorphosis)," this mixed-media sculpture by the Maori artist Fred Graham is composed of a three-dimensional figure of a diving whale, carved from New Zealand swamp kauri and inlaid with paua shell, set against a two-dimensional background of an oceanic horizon that has been fashioned from stainless steel.[15] The upper end of the diving whale (the tail and fins) is carved and decorated in a distinctly Northwest Coast style known as formline, while the lower end of the whale (the head) is carved and decorated in a distinctly Maori style of interlocking koru (spirals). As is typical of classic Northwest Coast design, the primary color of the sculpture is black, with red used as a secondary color to emphasize the formlines of details carved in shallow relief. In Graham's piece, red is used to emphasize details carved primarily on the whale's tail and fins, which might be expected in Northwest Coast style, but also to emphasize the whale's tongue, an important feature of Maori carving, among the interlocking spirals of the whale's head. The luminescent paua shell inlay is set between these interlocking spirals, emphasizing their three-dimensional and dynamic qualities.[16]

The stainless steel background behind the diving whale figure is decorated with a repeating triangle design in variations of black, red, and white, colors that evoke Maori artistic traditions, such as the kowhaiwhai scroll painting often seen on the interior rafters of wharenui (meeting houses). Moreover, the use of subtle and progressive color variation within the background's regular geometric patterning is evocative of the Maori artistic tradition of taniko weaving. More overtly, this variation of color creates an explicit, permeable horizon line and equator for Graham's sculpture, a zone of contact between sky and sea and between north and south, that coincides with the zone of transformation in the figure of the whale, where its Northwest Coast body intersects its Maori head. The horizon line/equator suggests, too, in the single plane, a demarcation between (bright) daylight in the upper, northern half of the stainless steel background and (darker) evening or night in the lower, southern half. This effect is accentuated with additional details of a red circle situated in the upper half that suggests the midday sun and a red band spread across the lower half that suggests the setting sun reflected in the sea.

Graham explains this symbolism in his brief artist's statement included in the catalogue:

> The whale is a frequent traveler between the Northern and Southern Hemispheres. In my sculpture, as the whale crosses the equator it changes both in shape and in body design, from Northwest Coast Indian to Maori. Day changes to night.
>
> The visits of the whales "down under" remind me of the visits of Northwest Coast Indian artists to Aotearoa, where they become one of us: *tangata whenua*—people of the land. In 1992, [the Northwest Coast artist] George

> David stayed with my wife, Norma, and me. Earlier this year, his brother [the artist] Joe David stayed with us for a few days. He drew the Northwest Coast design for me, and I hope my sculpture does his drawing justice.[17]

Multiple kinds of Indigenous connection and collaboration are evident here, as are multiple kinds of Indigenous travel.

At first glance, Graham's bilingual title for his mixed-media sculpture appears to contain an error, possibly a misspelling or transposition of letters. "Whakamutunga" is not a Maori translation for the English word "metamorphosis." Depending on the context, "whakamutunga" typically is translated into English as either "conclusion" or "youngest child" (mutu = brought to an end; mutunga = end, conclusion, terminus; youngest). The English word "metamorphosis" typically is translated into Maori as "whakaumutanga" (whakaumu = to transform). "Whakamutunga" and "whakaumutanga" look similar enough to suggest a misprint, especially to the untrained eye.

Closer examination, however, combined with contemplation of the specifically Maori orientation of the sculpture, suggests other possibilities. Graham's dynamic figure of a diving whale depicts an artistic transformation in a particular direction, *from* "Northwest Coast Indian" *to* "Maori" styles of carving and decoration; similarly, his artist's statement indicates an intention for the figure of the whale to function as a directional symbol for First Nations artists who journey across Oceania *from* the west coast of North America southwest *to* Aotearoa, for the whale to function, that is, as a sign literally *in transit* between northern and southern hemispheres of an Indigenous Pacific. It is notable that the stainless steel background for the sculpture projects a distinctly Maori style in its chromatic empathy with kowhaiwhai painting traditions and in its geometric empathy with taniko weaving designs. It is notable, as well, that the bilingual title for the piece places the Maori term, *whakamutunga*, in the primary and unmarked position and the English term, *metamorphosis*, in the secondary and marked position. In other words, the English term is set apart and contained by the mirrored arcs of parentheses. Rather than a direct translation, we might read the English sign (*metamorphosis*) as a commentary on the Maori sign *whakamutunga*—or vice versa.

How, then, might we understand these terms, "whakamutunga" and "(metamorphosis)," as neither substitutable "equivalents" across languages nor markers of asymmetrical status within a (colonial) hierarchy, but rather as complementary components within a more complex, Indigenous-to-Indigenous idea? In what way(s) might the stylistic *transformation* of the figure of the diving whale and the symbolic shift from day to night be understood as the *conclusion* to a process of Indigenous Oceanic travel? How might we understand a diving, transforming whale framed by a diving, transforming sun? Is the whale not demonstrative of a mobile syntax for becoming tangata whenua, for becoming "people of the land," set outside

the dominant grammars of "macroeconomics" and "macropolitics," outside the (merely) transnational, outside a settler–Indigenous binary opposition? Is the central, permeable line of the horizon and equator—the least visually distinct element of the sculpture's background and yet the most conceptually important element in the demonstration of Indigenous-to-Indigenous artistic empathy—not evocative of a cyclical, ongoing process of cross-cultural exchange (set) free of the colonial and transnational relations of center and margin, major and minor?

Is the sculpture not a material record of Oceanic, Indigenous-to-Indigenous survivals, connections, and renewals? In *Manawa* (which can be translated from Maori into English as "heart," "breath," "mind," and related concepts), such resurgence occurs neither in an idealized Indigenous past nor in a hoped-for Indigenous future but rather, as emphasized by the work of Hau'ofa, in our own contemporary and, indeed, ordinary era. Gallery space and exhibit catalogue become a different kind of "border" or "contact" zone. Not the frontier site of "cultures in conflict," not the colonial site of assimilation or conversion, not the postcolonial site of reaction or rejection, but rather an Indigenous site of fluid travel and exchange.[18] Can a transnational Native American Studies approach Indigenous Studies in a similar way? Can it facilitate lateral Indigenous connections rather than impose vertical Indigenous–settler (nation-state) relations? Can any version of American Studies imagine such a role for itself? Or should we leave American Studies to its own objectives (including those objectives that involve the Indigenous on predominantly settler terms) and create alternative venues for studies that are trans-Indigenous?

3. Indigenous Connections in the Most ~~Un~~likely Places: Two Scenes

Scene One: "The Hyatt, the Maori, and the Yanamamo"

This is the enticing title of the penultimate story included in *From the Glittering World: A Navajo Story*, a brutally honest and beautiful work of mixed-genre prose by the Navajo writer Irvin Morris, published in 1997.[19] Morris's compelling text is divided into four sections, each numbered bilingually. It moves from a focus on collective stories of the Navajo emergence into this fifth, "glittering" world, their internment by the US government at Fort Sumner in the 1860s, and their return to the Navajo homeland in 1868 in section *T'áá lá í* (One), "Into the Glittering World," to a focus on autobiographical stories of Morris's childhood and early adulthood in section *Naaki* (Two), "Child of the Glittering World," to a focus on more contemporary autobiographical stories in section *Táá'* (Three), "Travels in the Glittering World," and, finally, to a collection of six fictional stories set in contemporary times in section *Dií'* (Four), "From the Glittering World."[20] In addition, Morris creates a more subtle movement from Navajo language toward English within the specific chapter titles across the four sections. All chapters in sections one and two bear bilingual Navajo and English titles, with the Navajo titles placed in the primary position and followed by English titles (contained) within parentheses; in section three, the initial two of

four chapters bear similarly patterned bilingual titles, while the third title is rendered exclusively in (uncontained) English and the fourth is rendered in (uncontained) Latin; the six stories in section four all bear exclusively English-language titles.

In "The Hyatt, the Maori, and the Yanamamo," the unnamed first-person narrator tells the story of trying to help his aunt, Grace, her husband, Frank, and their family locate "the old lady," the narrator's aging and "failing" great-aunt, who lives with Grace and Frank and who has again escaped from their house into the surrounding scrubland. Their overnight search is at first unsuccessful, and the anxiety it produces about the great-aunt's safety prompts a probing, darkly humorous conversation among the narrator, Grace, and Frank about the difficulties of contemporary life on the Navajo reservation. As the three adults talk and joke, the narrator remembers a time when he "was about five years old" and he stayed overnight with *shimá sáni*, his great-aunt. By the comforting fire of her iron stove, she told him family stories of the horrors of the 1864 Navajo Long Walk: "She spoke in a quiet voice, describing in our language how her grandmother had told of surviving the forced march to Fort Sumner, three hundred miles to the east. A hundred years after it had happened, the tragedy was fresh in her mind" (241). The narrator's memory of the great-aunt's memory of the tragic details of the Long Walk and the internment at Fort Sumner conveyed by her own grandmother prompts the narrator to suggest to Grace and Frank that, once found, the great-aunt should be placed in a nursing home for her own safety. But he is not happy with this decision. He believes that *shimá sáni* belongs with her family; the contemporary situation, however, with its financial hardships and lack of opportunities on the reservation, renders her adequate care at home difficult if not impossible. The narrator's outward gesture is meant to help relieve the pressure on Grace and Frank, but he remains agitated over this legacy of US colonialism: "A surge of anger rose inside me. They would never stop. The changes. The meddling. We were all affected, the men, the women, the children, and now the elders" (242). This penultimate scene in the story ends with the narrator "stud[ying] the veins on the back of [his] hands," focused, that is, on his (Navajo) blood connections and the need of venous blood to return to the center of the body for oxygenation, for an infusion of breath and, thus, new life (242).

In the early hours of the morning, Frank finally discovers the great-aunt, who has been hiding not in the open scrub at some distance from the house but rather "in that culvert under the bus road" close by. Frank carries the news to the narrator, who had risen at four o'clock in order to "greet the dawn with prayer and pollen," then made coffee and switched on the "all-night news on TV while [he] waited for sunrise" (242). Before the break of dawn and Frank's arrival, the television news confronts the narrator with racial discord between African Americans and white "skinheads" in New York City and the death of an undercover narcotics agent in Mexico, placing his seemingly isolated and specifically Navajo story within a broader, continental, and contemporary context of racialized violence (242). After "the rooster crow[s]" and Frank arrives with his news of finding the great-aunt, the two

Navajo men drink coffee and watch the television together. In the final lines of the story, they learn that "a suspended walkway in the atrium of the Kansas City Hyatt Regency had collapsed, killing several people and trapping scores of others under tons of steel and concrete. In Brazil, the Yanamamo were protesting the destruction of their forest homeland. On the other side of the world, the Maori were threatening to disrupt a visit by the Queen" (243). These details, gleaned from the television news and emphasized in the story's title, locate the events of the narrative temporally in 1981. The widely reported disaster at the Kansas City Hyatt Regency occurred on July 17; across that summer, the Yanamamo and their allies protested violent intrusions into their lands by prospectors and other outsiders; in Aotearoa, Maori activists anticipated a visit by Britain's Queen Elizabeth II scheduled for October 12–20.

More significantly, these details link the narrator's seemingly isolated and specifically Navajo story to other scenes of response by contemporary Indigenous peoples to the ongoing legacies of settler colonialisms. The detail, reported by Frank, that the great-aunt had been hiding not in the open scrub but in the subterranean culvert signals the potential for a symbolic Navajo "emergence" from underground (literally, from beneath the dominant culture's "bus road," suggesting its imposed system of formal education in particular and its physical intrusions into the Navajo homeland more generally) into yet another new world. The detail of the collapse of the "suspended walkway" at the Hyatt Regency, reported by the television news, evokes the figure of a *regent*, one who governs during the absence or disability of a legitimate sovereign. In the contexts of settler colonialism, we can read the figure of a regent as the colonizer in the role of an illegitimate, imposed governing system. The "collapse" of this regency does not immediately liberate but rather kills "several people" and traps "scores of others." Its destructive legacy remains ongoing. Morris's story indicates that we might contextualize these images, as well, in terms of the narrator's memory of the great-aunt's story of the Navajo Long Walk and internment at Fort Sumner. Though no longer literally held by the US Cavalry, the Navajo continue to be "trapped" by the "changes" and "meddling" wrought by the dominant culture and its institutions. The Yanamamo "protest" the effects of one kind of regency; the Maori threaten to "disrupt" another. While neither offers the Navajo characters in the story an easy answer to their present dilemma, each does offer a potential example—and a potential inspiration—for their own future actions within and against the legacies of ongoing settler colonialism.

Scene Two: "Love is found in the most unlikely of places"

This is the official logline (one-sentence summary) for the internationally acclaimed short film *Two Cars, One Night*, written and directed by the Maori filmmaker Taika Waititi.[21] Completed in 2003, this eleven-minute, black-and-white film won thirteen festival awards and garnered a 2005 (US) Academy Award nomination for its moving story of three Maori children, two boys and a girl, who pass an evening together in

the car park outside a rural New Zealand pub, waiting for their parents inside. In the synopsis developed for the press kit, emphasis is placed on the film's theme of "first love" between young Romeo, whose parents have left him and his brother Eddie to wait in one car, and Polly, whose parents have left her alone in the other: "What at first seems to be a relationship based on rivalry [between Romeo and Polly] soon develops into a close friendship." Similarly, in his "Director's Notes" Waititi remarks that his desire in making the film was not "to vilify adults or make presumptions about rural life" but rather "to show how human contact creates something special in a not so special environment."[22]

Understandably, critical attention has focused on the relationship that develops between nine-year-old Romeo (Rangi Ngamoki) and twelve-year-old Polly (Hutini Waikato). As the synopsis states, when the adults return from their night of drinking, the audience is left to wonder, "will these two [Maori children] ever meet again?" If we shift our critical focus to signs of additional relationships that develop in the film, we can note, as well, that young Romeo makes Maori-to-Maori connections not only across gender lines within his own generation but also across generational lines of men. Early in the film, an elder on a bicycle stops in the parking lot and greets the waiting children in the Maori language. Polly rolls up her car window, but Romeo acknowledges the old man with a knowing lift of his brow and waves when the elder departs. Later, when an adult man with full facial moko (tattooing) drives a car through the parking lot, it is Romeo with whom he exchanges a knowing look. Finally, when Polly's "olds" return to their car, Romeo acknowledges her father with another raised brow and lift of his head.

We can shift our critical focus even further, however, to discern signs of relationships developed in the film that are Indigenous-to-Indigenous. These signs point to more overtly political assertions about the possible Maori futures represented by the three children.

Although he can be considered a relatively minor character, Romeo's brother, Eddie (Te Ahiwaru Ngamoki-Richards), provides an essential comedic element in *Two Cars, One Night*. Sitting in the passenger seat of his parents' car, throughout the film Eddie bends his head to a paperback book open on his lap, reading in the muted light of the parking lot as the drama unfolds between Romeo and Polly. Intent on his reading, Eddie speaks only a few words of terse dialogue, either to undercut Romeo's bravado (when he tells Polly that he is sixteen rather than nine) or to confirm Romeo's bragging (when he boasts to Polly that Eddie is "one of them gays" and that Eddie is going to be "a lawyer" "when he grows up").[23] At one point, without looking up from his book, Eddie rebukes the loquacious Romeo, "Shut up, man, I'm reading." The specific details of Romeo's bragging about Eddie's sexual orientation place both brothers, but Eddie especially, within a consciousness of the globalized flows of dominant culture (Romeo boasts to Polly that Eddie's "favorite boy" is the international film star Johnny Depp). The specific details of Romeo's bragging that Eddie is "brainy," a reader who will become a successful lawyer, then complicates

this consciousness of global popular culture to include an awareness of colonized Indigenous peoples other than New Zealand Maori:

ROMEO:	Hey, bro, what are you reading? A book, eh? What is it about, bro?
EDDIE:	[*without looking up*] Crazy Horse.
ROMEO:	Yeah. Crazy horses. Neat, all right.

Although the dialogue quickly moves on and the focus of the film narrows to Romeo and Polly, Eddie's laconic response, "Crazy Horse," despite Romeo's seeming lack of comprehension, signals an Indigenous-to-Indigenous, Maori-to-American Indian connection.

Close-ups of Eddie in the muted light of the car allow partial views of the cover of the worn paperback he reads. Given his dialogue about "Crazy Horse," one might expect the book's title to match the name of this celebrated nineteenth-century Oglala Lakota visionary and war leader, best known internationally, perhaps, for his role in the Indian victory at the 1876 Battle of the Little Bighorn (also known as Custer's Last Stand). Instead the paperback Eddie reads is titled *The Fetterman Massacre*, one of the names of a less well-known but similarly important Indian victory that occurred on December 21, 1866, that also involved the Lakota, including a young warrior named Crazy Horse.[24] Printing above this title advertises that the paperback was written by Dee Brown, who is further identified as the author of *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*. Originally published in 1970, the latter is a popular history of the American West from 1860 to 1890, the era of the major wars between the US government and Indigenous nations across the Plains and Southwest, which Brown tells from the perspectives of American Indians. Brown's more focused account of the Fetterman massacre (also known as the Battle of the Hundred Slain) was first published nearly a decade before *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*, in 1962, under the title *Fort Phil Kearny: An American Saga*. Following the phenomenal popularity and financial success of *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*, *Fort Phil Kearny* was rereleased in 1971 in an inexpensive paperback edition under the more provocative title *The Fetterman Massacre*. In 1974, a British mass-market paperback edition was published under this same title; this British edition would have been distributed across the Commonwealth, including Aotearoa/New Zealand.[25]

The signs of Romeo's connections to multiple generations of Maori men are combined with details of transportation: the elder's bicycle, the adults' cars. Similarly, the sign of Eddie's connection to American Indians is combined with the detail of another kind of vehicle, a medium of popular representation able to traverse vast distances of space, time, and culture: a book about a nineteenth-century Indian victory involving a young Oglala named Crazy Horse, originally published in the US in 1962, reprinted in Britain in 1974, read in rural Aotearoa by a young Maori at the beginning of the twenty-first century. That the book is about the 1866 Fetterman

massacre—"the worst defeat the [US] Army had yet suffered in Indian warfare, and the second in American history from which came no survivors"—indicates an acknowledgement and celebration of Indigenous victory over settler domination.[26] In the context of a Maori film, it evokes, as well, the history of the 1860s New Zealand Land Wars between Maori iwi (nations or tribes) and the British, which featured its own host of celebrated Indigenous war strategists and visionaries.[27]

Eddie's dialogue indicates that his intense, focused interest in the paperback centers on its portrayal of the young Crazy Horse, a leader sometimes described as the Lakota's "strange one." Combined with Eddie's representation as "one of them gays" and "brainy"—as set apart by his sexual orientation and by his intellect—and his representation as already planning to become a "lawyer"—a combatant within an adversarial system—his focused interest in Crazy Horse indicates the potential for this Indigenous-to-Indigenous connection to lead to future Maori resistance to dominating power. Positioned at the margins of the film's central narrative of "love . . . found in the most unlikely of places," Eddie's intense focus on the historical narrative of the nineteenth-century Lakota war leader who fought on behalf of Indigenous land rights and sovereignty, and his implied future narrative of work as a Maori lawyer, describe another kind of "love" found in an (un)likely place, an Indigenous-to-Indigenous inspiration and affinity, that potentially is even more powerful.

Similar to the Navajo narrator and his in-law Frank in "The Hyatt, the Maori, and the Yanamamo," who make Indigenous-to-Indigenous connections by watching the television news, in *Two Cars, One Night* Eddie makes Indigenous-to-Indigenous connections by means of a vehicle of the dominant culture, his worn paperback written by Dee Brown, that nonetheless facilitates the travel of Indigenous signs and the perpetuation of their specifically Indigenous afterlives.

4. Think Indigenous

Persuasive arguments can be made for embracing the rubric of the "transnational" within the specific context of scholars' efforts to expand the archives and to develop new critical methodologies for American Studies, especially as this relatively young interdiscipline continues to evolve away from foundational nationalist assumptions of white male supremacy, heteronormativity, Manifest Destiny, and US exceptionalism. These same arguments, however, seem much less persuasive when extended to Native American and Indigenous Studies, even younger interdisciplines whose practitioners increasingly define their own archives and methodologies in terms of Indigenous cultural, political, intellectual, and artistic sovereignties. Given the violent histories and destructive legacies of settler colonialisms, many scholars in these latter fields question whether the "nation" in "transnational" can ever mean other than the settler nation-state. And, as new options for Indigenous intellectual connection, collaboration, and exchange are created beyond the established

associations, conferences, and journals developed for orthodox American Studies (the formation of the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association is but one example), there is much less of a practical need for scholars of Native American and Indigenous Studies either to simply follow the lead of American Studies scholars, however innovative or progressive their work may be, or to continue to labor to affect the interests and change the habits of American Studies from the inside.

More and more frequently, conversations within Native American and Indigenous Studies are staged outside the frameworks of either orthodox or "transnational" American Studies. While in the past this statement might have felt provocative—and these new venues for intellectual connection and exchange might have signified as marginal—centering the Indigenous has become a new standard, indeed, a new iteration of the ordinary. It has become possible to "Think Indigenous" (to play on the American Indian College Fund's 2009 ad campaign) in a serious and expansive way, without apology or extensive justification.[28] In other words, to "Think Indigenous" has become a viable "real life" for the making of Native American and Indigenous scholarship. Increasingly, it is this trans-Indigenous mode that actively shapes the content and form of our work, setting in motion its many potential afterlives.

Notes

[1] Bill Reid, "The Art: An Appreciation," in *Solitary Raven: The Selected Writings of Bill Reid*, ed. and intro. Robert Bringhurst (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2000), 66.

[2] Bill Reid, "Out of the Silence," in Reid, *Solitary Raven*, 71.

[3] In her introduction to *Mapping the Americas: The Transnational Politics of Contemporary Native Culture* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009), Shari M. Huhndorf articulates a common complaint made by scholars working in diverse American Indian Studies disciplines that Native America remains conspicuously "absent" from the major articulations of American Studies, in either its orthodox or "postnationalist" forms (see especially 15–19). Paul Lai and Lindsey Smith, coeditors for the September 2010 special issue of *American Quarterly* devoted to "Alternative Contact: Indigeneity, Globalism, and American Studies," similarly draw attention to the lack of sustained engagement with the complexity of Native American and Indigenous Studies within the interdiscipline of American Studies. See Paul Lai and Lindsey Claire Smith, "Introduction," *American Quarterly* 62, no. 3 (2010): 407–36.

[4] Françoise Lionnet and Shu-mei Shih, eds., *Minor Transnationalism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005).

[5] *Mini-Masterworks III*, intro. Nigel Reading (Vancouver: Spirit Wrestler Gallery, 2009). I have been on the Spirit Wrestler mailing list since visiting the gallery in 2008.

[6] Lionnet and Shih, *Minor Transnationalism*, 2, emphasis added.

[7] The index to *Minor Transnationalism* lists four entries under "Indigenous populations": an oblique reference to the colonization of the Americas as part of a discussion of assimilation within an essay focused on Africa (187–88); an endnote following the same essay that describes "advocacy on behalf of indigenous languages" in Africa (196n12); brief references to "the indigenous inhabitants of Taiwan and Korea" within an essay focused on the "discourses of national culture in Japan" (288, 283); and a brief reference to *indigenismo* "within Mexican national discourse" in an essay focused on the concept of *mestizaje* (320).

[8] Lionnet and Shih, *Minor Transnationalism*, 10–11.

[9] Quotations are from press materials for the exhibit available online at "Spaces Within: Installations by Michael Lin and Wu Mali," Asian Art Museum, http://www.asianart.org/pdf/press_materials/pr_spaceswithin.pdf (accessed October 12, 2009).

[10] Taiwan currently recognizes fourteen distinct groups of Aboriginal peoples.

[11] In "Maori Art Toward the Millennium," Jahnke articulates a theory of "trans-customary" contemporary Maori art based in his concept of "visual empathy." See Robert Jahnke, "Maori Art Toward the Millennium," in *State of the Māori Nation: Twenty-first Century Issues in Aotearoa*, ed. Malcolm Mulholland and contributors (Auckland, NZ: Reed Publishing, 2006), 41–51. Jahnke imagines a continuum running between the poles of "customary" (art created by Maori that maintains "a visual correspondence with historical models") and "non-customary" (art created by Maori in which "visual correspondence and empathy with historical models [is] absent") (49–50). Between these poles, "trans-customary" Maori art, which Jahnke argues began to be developed in the 1950s, establishes not a strict correspondence with customary forms but rather a "visual empathy with customary practice" through the use of "pattern, form, medium and technique" (48). Although Jahnke developed these ideas to illuminate how contemporary works of Maori visual art might relate or not relate to customary Maori practices, I argue they can be usefully extended across cultures and media. Elsewhere, for instance, I have demonstrated an extension of Jahnke's concept of visual empathy into the aural medium. See Chadwick Allen, "Rere Kē/Moving Differently: Indigenizing Methodologies for Comparative Indigenous Literary Studies," *Studies in American Indian Literatures* 19, no. 4 (2007): 1–26.

[12] See Nigel Reading, preface to *Manawa—Pacific Heartbeat: A Celebration of Contemporary Maori and Northwest Coast Art*, by Nigel Reading and Gary Wyatt (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006), 5.

[13] Darcy Nicholas, "Breath of the Land," in Reading and Wyatt, *Manawa—Pacific Heartbeat*, 8.

[14] Epeli Hau'ofa, *We Are the Ocean: Selected Works* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008).

[15] Kauri is a species of tree native to Aotearoa; swamp kauri refers to kauri wood that has been literally recovered from a swamp. Paua is a species of abalone.

[16] For more information on Northwest Coast style, see Bill Holm, *Northwest Coast Indian Art: An Analysis of Form* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1965). Graham's use of interlocking spirals to form the whale's head is strikingly reminiscent of paintings made by the Maori artist John Hovell to illustrate Witi Ihimaera's novel *The Whale Rider* (Auckland, NZ: Heinemann, 1987).

[17] Reading and Wyatt, *Manawa—Pacific Heartbeat*, 105.

[18] Such travel and exchange would seem to qualify as what Lai and Smith refer to as "alternative contact" outside the paradigm of Indigenous "first contact" with Europeans. See Lai and Smith, "Introduction."

[19] Irvin Morris, *From the Glittering World: A Navajo Story* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997).

[20] I am following Morris's Navajo orthography and spelling here.

[21] *Two Cars, One Night*, written and directed by Taika Waititi (New Zealand: Defender Films, 2003).

[22] Press kit for *Two Cars, One Night* available online at the film's official website, http://twocarsonenight.com/ (accessed October 12, 2009).

[23] This is part of the early "rivalry" between Romeo and Polly. When Romeo asserts that Polly doesn't know any "gays," she responds that, yes, she does: her aunt is a "lesbian." Romeo then counters that Polly doesn't know any "boy gays" like he does.

[24] The Fetterman massacre is named for Captain William J. Fetterman, who was in charge of the eighty-one US cavalrymen and infantrymen killed in the battle.

[25] Dee Brown's *Fort Phil Kearny: An American Saga* was originally published in 1962 by New York–based Putnam. The 1971 US paperback edition, *The Fetterman Massacre*, was published by Bison Books, an imprint of the University of Nebraska Press. The 1974 British mass-market paperback edition was published by London-based Pan Books. It is this Pan paperback edition that Eddie appears to read in the film.

[26] Dee Brown, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West* (New York: Holt, 1970), 138.

[27] For an overview account of the 1860s Land Wars written from a Maori scholarly perspective, see Ranginui Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle Without End* (Auckland, NZ: Penguin, 1990). For an overview written from a (sympathetic) Pakeha

perspective, see Michael King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand* (Auckland, NZ: Penguin, 2003).

[28] My use of the phrase "Think Indigenous" is an allusion to the 2009 "Think Indian" advertising campaign developed by the Wieden+Kennedy advertising agency for the American Indian College Fund. Print versions of the six ads have appeared in national US periodicals, including *The New York Times Magazine*, *Harper's*, and *O*; they also appear online at American Indian College Fund, "Think Indian—2008," http://www.collegefund.org/content/think_indian (accessed April 28, 2012). Designed to promote awareness of the thirty-two accredited tribal colleges in the US, each version of the ad focuses on a particular American Indian college student—Sekoya, Dan, Alan, Allyson, Bradley, and Cedar—pursuing a vital intellectual project that combines "traditional Native solutions with modern knowledge to solve contemporary problems."

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