

Colonialism, Neoliberalism, & Indigenous Self-Determination

NAS 220, Winter 2014, 4 units, *Graduate students from other departments welcome.*

SSH #70, Thursdays 9:00-11:50, with

Professor Liza Grandia

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Hart Hall, 2nd floor #2419, 530-752-0357

Office hours, Tuesdays 9-10 am in my office,

Thursdays 8:30-9:00 am before class in the courtyard, 2:15-3:00 in my office

<http://www.signupgenius.com/go/5080f45a8aa2ca20-prof1>

Course description

Colonialism and institutionalized economic injustice have deeply shaped our inherited world. This course traces continuities and legacies of those imperial formations and their consequences for contemporary indigenous struggles for self-determination and territorial autonomy. We begin with foundational texts about economics of world systems and colonial plunder followed by a module on power (hegemony). Over the next two weeks we will trace transitions and continuities of power in the Americas from colonialism to liberalism to modernization/development and the contemporary “neoliberal” period and the tandem resurgence of empire. Following these whirlwind theories of political economy, we will tackle in the second half of the course a series of anthologies and surveys of intertwined corporate and state threats to native/indigenous communities of the Americas. As with all NAS courses, this seminar will be taught in hemispheric perspective.

Course format

The class will meet once a week in seminar format, with emphasis on synthetic reading and participation. The final course project may take the form of a project portfolio or a traditional research paper on topics such as allotment & land grabs, mercantilism and trade, mapping and counter-mapping, or another subject through which continuities from classic imperialism to neoliberalism can be traced.

Required readings

There are **four required books**, which you can acquire at the campus bookstore or from another bookseller.

1. LaDuke, Winona. 2013. *Militarization of Indian Country*. East Lansing, Mi.: Michigan State University Press.
2. Hall, T.D., Fenelon, J.V., 2009. *Indigenous Peoples and Globalization: Resistance and Revitalization*. Paradigm Press, Boulder, Co.
3. Fischer, E.F., 2008. *Indigenous Peoples, Civil Society, and the Neo-Liberal State in Latin America*. Berghahn Books, New York.
4. Blaser, M., de Costa, R., McGregor, D., Coleman, W., 2010. *Indigenous Peoples and Autonomy: Insights for a Global Age*. UBC Press, Vancouver.

Throughout the syllabus, I have noted key texts that you might want to acquire for your library. I have made efforts to find PDFs of three books to save you those costs, but you might want to get the hard copy. All other readings (articles, chapters, and news items) will be posted as PDFs to Smartsite. For more information on the professor's

research and links to her publications, see <http://nas.ucdavis.edu/faculty/liza-grandia>.

Attendance and participation

It is a miracle that curiosity survives formal education. – Albert Einstein

The cure for boredom is curiosity. There is no cure for curiosity. – Dorothy Parker

“I think, at a child’s birth, if a mother could ask a fairy godmother to endow it with the most useful gift, that gift should be curiosity.” - Eleanor Roosevelt

Punctuality, participation, and passion will put you on the right path to the grade you want. Please be on time for class. If for some reason, you need to leave early, let me know before we begin and exit quietly. Under no circumstance should you text, surf the web, or disrupt the class with private chatting.

Eight times during the quarter to help prepare you for class discussion, you will write and post a short commentary (1-2 paragraphs and/or equivalent sets of bulleted points) to Smartsite (abbreviate as §). These commentaries may be experiential, political, analytical, or theoretical in nature. You should write about whatever thoughts the readings provoked. Do not summarize the readings. React to them. Deepen the debate. Be curious. Ask Real Questions. They should be posted to the group forum by Wednesday 4 pm. I will deduct 1 point every hour for tardiness. You are encouraged to look at or response to your classmates’ postings prior to our class meeting.

**Life happens. You are permitted one excused class & one excused commentary (not necessarily the same week) during the quarter without repercussions to your grade, though I would appreciate being notified ahead of time of the reason for your absence.*

Manners, rules, and rituals

1. **Chemical sensitivities.** Let’s keep neurotoxins out of the classroom! You are kindly requested to refrain from wearing perfume/cologne or other cosmetic product with heavy synthetic odors, including scented laundry products (detergents, fabric softeners, dryer sheets). For sensitive individuals, these affect memory, concentration, among other cognitive symptoms.
2. **Compatible software.** Please turn in assignments in either Microsoft Word formats (.doc or .docx) or Apple Iworks format (.pages). Audio visuals can be in .jpg, or .pdf, .ppt, or .keynote - (please not Prezi).
3. **Plagiarism** and cheating will simply not be tolerated in a graduate seminar. Turning in the same or similar paper you wrote for another class is another serious form of academic dishonesty. I will refer any suspected cases to Student Judicial Affairs and you will receive a zero for the assignment or test, likely resulting in a failing grade in the course. For tips on avoiding plagiarism problems, see : <http://cai.ucdavis.edu/aip.html>
4. **Faculty email:** Working against digital distraction, I try to treat email like regular postal mail, checking it thoroughly only once a day and prioritizing messages by urgency and importance for no more than a 7-day turn around time. Please speak to me *in person* for any substantive questions either in office hours or right after class for quick matters. *Note: I do not accept assignments by email! Seriously I will delete them! I am not your secretary.*
5. **Student email:** Students are expected to read emails that are addressed to the class through the Smartsite listserv. Please write to me from your UC Davis email, not a private account.
6. **Office hours:** I will start my office hours in 15 minute slots through Signup Genius, which you can link to from my webpage, the Announcements in Smartsite, or from the syllabus. If they get crowded, I may switch to open hours with flexible length meetings, but this will be announced in class. Please come prepared for office hours with a piece of paper and a pencil and topics you wish to discuss. *Due to lackluster visits in the past, I am grading the quality of office hours....* We can talk about anything: a curiosity, a concern, a question, a comparison,

a connection, a current event, but you should come prepared with some clear engagement or agenda. Just showing up for the points is a waste of both of our time.

7. In pedagogical contexts, I go by **Professor Grandia and/or Dr. Grandia**, in person and/or in writing. For more information on my research and links to my publications, see <http://nas.ucdavis.edu/faculty/liza-grandia>
8. **Special needs or concerns.** Any student with documented special learning needs or concerns should speak with me anytime, but the sooner the better, about any accommodations needed.
9. **Food / drink / breaks.** You are welcome to bring food and drink and we will take a 10 minute break halfway through the class.
10. Any **revisions to the syllabus** that are announced in class will take precedence over this document. Any added or substituted material will always be posted to Smartsite (you won't need to purchase any new material).

Evaluation

Your goal is to earn a thousand points (a perfect score). The final point count will be divided by ten and translated into letter grades according to this scale.

97-100 = A+	87-89 = B+	77-79 = C+	67-69 = D+
93-96 = A	83-86 = B	73-76 = C	63-66 = D
90-92 = A-	80-82 = B-	70-72 = C-	60-62 = D-

Item	Points	Due date
I. Participation (250 points)		
Commentaries	80	each week, 1 freebie (10 points)
Class participation	90	each week, 1 freebie (10 points)
Office hours	30	any time in the quarter, don't delay
Overall participation	50	
II. Small assignments (200 points)		
Discussion support	125	(25 points to each element)
Note-taking system	50	
Get to know you form	25	
III. Seminar project (550 points)		
Written products/paper	450	5 pm, Friday, June 7
Timely milestones	25	5 deadlines, 5 points each.
Class presentation	25	
Peer review	25	(as assessed by the person you review)
Your response to peer review	25	(as assessed by me – did you respond to the feedback?)
Total	1000	

Your grade in the course will be based on the following:

1. Participation

- a. **Class participation:** You get 5 points for showing up to 8 sessions (this allows you one excused absence, but please let me know ahead of time. The rest of your participation grade (5 points) you must earn by, well, *participating*. Whatever you need to do to participate (jot down notes, read current events, explore a curiosity, read encyclopedia, review Wikipedia on a topic, whatever), come prepared. *As a graduate seminar, students should invest 6-9 hours of reading and independent work every week in preparation for the 3 hour seminar.*
- b. In addition, I will give you an **overall participation** grade (50 points, which I will use to bump up or down your final grade).
- c. **Office hours:** In addition, you should plan to attend office hours at least once in the quarter with a thoughtful topic for intellectual discussion and/or to discuss your class project (up to 30 points based on the quality of the interaction).

2. Small assignments

- a. **Get to know you form.** I have a quick form that helps me learn and remember names over the long term.
- b. **Note-taking system.** For the second week of class, I want you to write out or use visuals (annotated screen shots are great) to describe how you are taking notes for this class and in general and keeping up with your

bibliographic management. It could be paper files or some fancy cloud synced system – I don't care about the technological sophistication... only that you've thought it through. **Uploaded to Smartsite in Assignments.**

c. **Students will select a week to help keep discussion moving along. This includes five responsibilities:**

1. Close reading of and responses to the Smartsite forum. **(On Forum)**
2. Commentaries collected in a single Word doc. **(Put in your Smartsite Dropbox folder)**
3. Preparation of a list of questions or prompts to help keep discussion & debate going strong. **(Put in your Smartsite Dropbox folder)**
4. A creative activity for the class to get us re-engaged after the break, approximately 10-15 minutes in length. **(Have it planned and bring materials)**
5. Curate (dig up, organize, and share) any "recommended" readings suggested by the class. **(Uploaded to "resources")**

You will be graded for professionalism and efficacy of pedagogical strategies employed.

d. **Peer review:** you will be randomly assigned the review of a peer's draft project. S/he will assess the quality and thoughtfulness of your feedback (with a rubric I will provide). Then you will write about a one-page response to the peer review, just as you would in response to a blind review of a real article submission. **Hard copy with each other....**

3. Seminar paper/project

For your seminar project, think about an engaged research project about indigenous resistance to neoliberalism in the Americas and/or a more academic reflection that would challenge your reader to rethink some fundamental aspect of colonialism/neoliberalism. The written product should be conceived with a specific audience in mind (the academic community OR a funding agency, a tribal committee, a community, the general public, an NGO director, a multilateral agency, etc...) Academic papers should be 18-20 pages, excluding bibliography. If you choose a non-academic genre, the project and its audience will define the writing style and length, but the effort should be equivalent to the research and writing of a 20-page term paper.

To summarize, you may either:

- A. Write a research paper on a political economy topic alluded to but not explored in the class, e.g.
 - Allotment redux: compare and contrast land grabs of the late 19th century with land grabbing today
 - A Weberian take on the rise of statecraft concurrent with the "Great Transformation": mapping, censuses, schools, etc.
 - Indigenous and gift economies – region, peoples, or place
 - Continuities and repetitions over time – e.g. debt as a mechanism of dispossession
 - Plunder: any one of many topics of corporate depredation today
 - Or, see me about another related political economy topic.

or

- B. Tackle an injustice and design an advocacy campaign with background papers, press releases, website, social media strategy, etc. Projects on resource, land grabs are especially encouraged.

The bibliography of these should include the texts used in the seminar, *but also go beyond them to demonstrate original research.*

As a rule of thumb, grading standards for an academic paper follow this scale:

- Papers that a publisher would accept with “minor revisions” will be evaluated in the A range.
- Papers for which a peer reviewer would recommend “major revisions” will be placed in the Bs.
- Rejection, not fit for publication will receive grades of C and below.

For applied projects, you will be assessed on the quality, depth, variety and complementarity, tone, and mostly the potential persuasive efficacy of your materials.

Project/paper milestones:

- Week 4 - Decide if paper or project (5 points)
- Week 5 - Topics due (short paragraph) (5 points)
- Week 6 - Turn in a preliminary bibliography (5 points)
- Week 7 - Prepare a draft thesis statement + an outline (5 points)
- Week 9 - Drafts due (5 points)
- Week 10 - Reciprocal peer review returned & class presentation (50 points)
- Finals week - Wed. March 16 - due by noon to my office door. **Hard copy only. If you miss the deadline, you'll have to deliver it to my house or take an incomplete.**

If you are a writer who works better furiously in one fell swoop at the end of the quarter, you can opt out of the milestones, even the peer review, and just present me a polished paper worth the full 550.

Symbols for readings

- ♣ Section of a required or recommended book
- Article from your packet

Topics and readings

Week 1 - Introduction (1/7)

No reading, get your books and download your articles. Start thinking now about your seminar paper/project!

Short film in class and/or discuss the Pope's encyclical on capitalism and his speech on indigenous peoples this past summer.
FILM: "heart of sky" - Defensora - Drumbeat...

→ *Get to know you form due. Upload to Assignments in Smartsite.*

Week 2 - World systems and inequality (1/14) [255 pages]

- ❖ Galeano, Eduardo. 1973, 1997. *Open Veins of Latin America: Five Centuries of the Pillage of a Continent*. Translated by C. Belfrage. 25th anniversary edition ed. New York, NY: Monthly Review Press, Intro + Lust for Gold, 1-58 + 83 [60]
- Obituary for Galeano & his piece, "The Open Veins of Climate Change." [2]
- Weatherford, Jack. 1988. *Indian Givers: How Native Americans Transformed the World*. New York: Three Rivers Press, pp. 1-50. (*Chapter 1 is recommended, 2 is required*) [50]
- Wolf, Eric. 1982. *Europe and the People without History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, Intro, 3-23; Modes of production, 73-100, Iberians in America 131-57 [74]
- Helms, Mary. 1975. "The Reconquista," *Middle America: A Culture History of Heartland and Frontiers*. Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N.J, pp. 127-30 [3]
- Mihesuah, Devon Abbott. 2003. *Indigenous American Women: Decolonization, Empowerment, Activism*. Lincoln, Ne.: University of Nebraska Press, pp. 41-61. [20]
- Tweedy, Ann C. 2013. From Beads to Bounty: How Wampum Became America's First Currency—And Lost Its Power. *Indian Country Today*, January 14, 1-7, [7]
- Mohawk, John C. 2000. *Utopian Legacies: A History of Conquest and Oppression in the Western World*. Santa Fe, NM: Clear Light Publishers. "1: Utopia and the Pursuit of the Idea" 1-14 (skim), "New World Silver and the Origins of the World's Money Supply." 114-139. [39]

→ *Note taking description due. Upload to Assignments in Smartsite.*

Week 3- Power and hegemony (1/21) [164 DENSE pages]

- Machiavelli, Niccolo. Selections from *The Prince*, pp. 35-39, 57-77. [24]
- Marx, Karl. Preface to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, pp. 4-5. [2]
 - Selections from *The German Ideology*, Part I, pp. 154-55, pp. 162-63, 172-75. [7]
 - Engels, Friedrich. Selection from his letter to Franz Mehring, pp. 766-67. [2]
- Gramsci, Antonio. Selections from *The Prison Notebooks*. [32]
- Williams, Raymond. 1977. *Marxism and Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 108-27. [19]
- Halliburton, Murphy. 2004. "Gandhi or Gramsci? The Use of Authoritative Sources in Anthropology." *Anthropological Quarterly* 77: 807-817. [11]
- Foucault, Michel. Selection from *Discipline and Punish*, pp. 195-208 [13]
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1992. "Structures, *Habitus*, Practices." *The Logic of Practice*, trans. Robert Nice. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 52-65 [13]
- Nader, Laura (1996). "Controlling Processes—Tracing the Dynamic Components of Power." *Current Anthropology* 38(5):

711-12 - skim middle and read 718-723. [8]

- Grandia, Liza. 2009. "Raw Hides: Hegemony and Cattle in Guatemala's Northern Lowlands." *Geoforum* 40: 222-23 [2 page selection]
- Deloria Jr., Vine. 1998. "Intellectual Self-Determination and Sovereignty: Looking at the Windmills in our Minds." *Wicazo Sa Review* 13(1): 25-31. [6]
- Orwell, George. 1936. Shooting an Elephant. *New Writing*. [4]
- Scott, James C. 1990. "Behind the Official Story." *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. New Haven: Yale University Press, pp. 1-16. [16]
- Galeano, Eduardo. 1973, 1997. *Open Veins of Latin America: Five Centuries of the Pillage of a Continent*. Translated by C. Belfrage. 25th anniversary edition ed. New York, NY: Monthly Review Press, pp. 272, 279-283. [5]

Milestone 1: Type of final project due today.

Recommended for your library:

ø Mintz, S.W., 1985. *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History*. Penguin Books, New York.

Week 4 - Great Transformation - Liberalism, Industrial Capitalism (1/28) [158]

- Polanyi, Karl. 1944. *The Great Transformation*. New York: Rinehart and Company, Inc. pp. pp. 3-5, 33-76, 249-59 [55]
- Rosemont, Franklin. "Karl Marx and the Iroquois." Blog. [7]
- Marc Edelman and Angelique Haugerud, eds. 2005. *The Anthropology of Development and Globalization: From Classical Political Economy to Contemporary Neoliberalism*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, Intro and Intro to Political economy. [60]
- Grandia, Liza. 2012. "Conclusion." *Enclosed: Conservation, Cattle, and Commerce among the Q'eqchi' Maya Lowlanders*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, pp. 1-5, 12-18 & Conclusion. [36]

Recommended for your library:

ø Polanyi, Karl. 1944. *The Great Transformation*. New York: Rinehart and Company, Inc.

ø Federici, Silvia. 2004. *Caliban and the Witch: Women, the Body, and Primitive Accumulation*. Brooklyn: Autonomedia.

ø Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. New York: Verso. [240]

ø Smith, Andrea. 2005. *Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide*. Cambridge, Ma.: South End Press.

ø Chapters of *Capital* on Primitive Accumulation....

Milestone 2: Paper/project topics due today.

Week 5 - Manifest Destiny, Militarism, Cold War, through Neoliberalism (2/4) [230]

- Galeano, Eduardo. 1973, 1997. *Open Veins of Latin America: Five Centuries of the Pillage of a Continent*. Translated by C. Belfrage. 25th anniversary edition ed. New York, NY: Monthly Review Press, Intro + Lust for Gold, 99-133 [34, read fast]
- ♣ LaDuke, Winona. 2013. *Militarization of Indian Country*. East Lansing, Mi.: Michigan State University Press. [90ish, but it's a journalistic text you can read fast]
- Bello, W., 1994. Adjusting America. In: Bello, W., Cunningham, S., Rau, B. (Eds.), *Dark Victory: The United States, Structural Adjustment and Global Poverty*. Food First and Pluto Press, London and Oakland, Calif., pp. 86-104. [18]
- Harvey, David. 2006. Neoliberalism as Creative Destruction. *Swedish Society for Anthropology and Geography, Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* 88 (2):145-58. [13]
- Hardt, Michael, and Antonio Negri. 2000. *Empire*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. pp. xi-xvii. [8]
- Roy, Arundhati. 2003. "Confronting Empire " Speech at the World Social Forum, Porto Alegre Brazil, January 27, 3 pgs. [3]
- CCRI (Clandestine Revolutionary Indigenous Committee) as expressed through Subcomandante Marcos. Various

selections since 1994. [70, but you can skim the longer pieces]

- Declaration of war, “Basta ya!” January 1, 1994.
 - The People the Color of the Earth, 2001
 - Declaration of the 6th Lacandón, 2005
 - The Fourth World War Has Begun
- Optional
- Comaroff, Jean and John. “Millennial Capitalism and the Culture of Neoliberalism.” In: Marc Edelman and Angelique Haugerud, eds. 2005. *The Anthropology of Development and Globalization: From Classical Political Economy to Contemporary Neoliberalism*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, Intro and Intro to Political economy. [10, skim]
- [Zibechi’s description of the “other” campaign and the caracoles]- optional
- Marco, Between Light and Shadow, 2014, disappearance speech

Recommended for your library:

- ∅ Harvey, David. 2005. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Harvey, David. “Accumulation by Dispossession.” *The New Imperialism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 137-182. [45]
- Muñoz Ramirez, G., 2008. *The Fire and the Word: A History of the Zapatista Movement*. City Lights Books, San Francisco.

Week 6 - “Globalization” – or rather Transnational Corporate Power (2/11) [250]

If you are not familiar with the history of a corporation as a person, please review some of the resources on Smartsite and/or view the documentary film *The Corporation*.

- Mander, Jerry and Victoria Tauli-Corpuz, eds. 2006. *Paradigm Wars: Indigenous Peoples’ Resistance to Globalization*. San Francisco: Sierra Club Books.

Milestone 3: Preliminary bibliography due today.

Week 7 - Book 1 (2/18)

- ❖ Hall, T.D., Fenelon, J.V., 2009. *Indigenous Peoples and Globalization: Resistance and Revitalization*. Paradigm Press, Boulder, Co.

Milestone 4: Draft title, thesis statement, and outline due today.

Week 8 - Book 2 (2/25)

- ❖ Fischer, E.F., 2008. *Indigenous Peoples, Civil Society, and the Neo-Liberal State in Latin America*. Berghahn Books, New York.

Week 9 -Book 3 (3/3) [TBD]

- ❖ Blaser, M., de Costa, R., McGregor, D., Coleman, W., 2010. *Indigenous Peoples and Autonomy: Insights for a Global Age*. UBC Press, Vancouver.

Milestone 5: Drafts due today for peer review.

Week 10 - Student choice....

DUE: Class presentation (length TBD by time divided by the final enrollment numbers).

Option A: Land grabbing, food sovereignty, and land

- ❖ Vergara-Camus, L., 2014. *Land and Freedom: The MST, the Zapatistas and Peasant Alternatives to Neoliberalism*. Zed Books, London.
- Reflections on “Food Sovereignty” by Via Campesina.

Option B: Neoliberal conservation

- Medley of articles, e.g. excerpts from Goldman, M. (2005). *Imperial Nature: The World Bank and the Struggles for Social Justice in the Age of Globalization*. New Haven, Yale University Press &/or an edited journal volume like “Neoliberalism and the Production of Environmental Knowledge” (*Environment and Society*).

Option C: Neoliberal university - sharing of paper topics

- Mount, Alison et al. “For Slow Scholarship: A Feminist Politics of Resistance through Collective Action in the Neoliberal University.” Forthcoming in ACME, *International E-journal for Critical Geographies*
- Galeano and Allende, preface sections.
- Bradley, Alexa. “Learning to Commonify Your Mind.” *On the Commons*
- Grandia, L., 2015. “Slow Ethnography: A Hut with a View.” *Critique of Anthropology* 35 (3), 301-317.
- Nelson, M.K., 2008. *Original Instructions: Indigenous Teachings for a Sustainable Future*. Bear & Company, Rochester, Vt.
 - “Mending the Split-Head Society with Trickster Consciousness,” Melissa Nelson, p. 288
 - “The Power of Being a Human Being,” John Trudell, p. 318-23
 - “Clear Thinking,” John Mohawk, p. 48-53
- In Brief, Idle No More.
- Orwell, George. “Politics and the English Language.”

Milestone 5: *Reciprocal peer review due today.*

Finals

Project/papers due, hard copy, Wednesday March 16 by noon ~ no extensions, period. If you cannot turn in the paper on time, you will need to see me in advance to negotiate the conditions and the paperwork of an incomplete.