Toward, With, and From a Fourth World

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The Fourth World is not…a Final Solution. It is not even a destination. It is the right to travel freely, not only on our road but in our own vehicles… The way to end the condition of unilateral dependence and begin the long march to the Fourth World is through home rule"
— George Manuel, from The Fourth World: An Indian Reality," pg. 217

Utilizing Fourth World theory to examine how particular structural and cultural forces contribute to the distress found in places of exclusion, Dotson (2014) finds that Fourth World Theory helps explore the causes of institutional abandonment and disinvestment of inner cities throughout the U.S. (168). As such, he proposed an extension of Fourth World theory to Gary, Indiana. From Dotson's perspective, the Fourth World Theory is "embraced to designate the poorest, and most underdeveloped states of the world, or to describe any oppressed or underprivileged victim of a state" (167). Attempting to develop a greater understanding of how the social construction of race perpetuates "bondage of practices" in urban spaces, Dotson proposes that by "acknowledging the prior existence and continued use of the term, the applicability of these urban conditions should be deemed congruent to the original premises established by George Manuel, Manuel Castells, and Joseph Wresinksi…" (167)—three writers that have described the "Fourth World."

I am encouraged by Dotson's work as he begins to develop, explore, and communicate the Fourth World, especially the "extension" of the Fourth World to help scholars better understand the production of the severe conditions that excluded people and places find themselves. At the same time, however, I am also concerned with three key assumptions Dotson's makes. First, the author seems to assume that exclusion, or in other words disinvestment, is a necessary and sufficient beginning point for Fourth World people; two, that development moves people and places away from exclusion; and, three, that our enduring link as Fourth World peoples is that of oppression. As we continue to engage with issues of oppression and racism and try to move beyond their grasp, I would encourage scholars to draw upon the unique and particular contributions made by Fourth World Theory.

My point, of course, is not to propose that the Fourth World is not "expandable" and "malleable", but to instead insist that what is uniquely contributive, in this specific context, of the Fourth World approach is its insistence away from narratives of state-lead development, and Fourth World linkages between self-determination and place-based identities. Therefore, so as to be direct, I'd like to propose that the Fourth World approaches by the three scholars he mentions are related, but also quite distinct. For example, it is true that exclusion is a significant, if not the central schematic of Castell's Fourth World and perhaps that of Joseph Wresinksi; yet, for George Manuel, of the Secwepemc and first president of the World of Indigenous Peoples, exclusion is less the point than resisting colonial occupation, strengthening alliances, and reaffirming our enduring Fourth World values.

Therefore, I attempt here to contribute to the shaping of Fourth World Theory in a way that highlights its earth view and anti-statist approach. The Fourth World, I maintain, introduces the sociology of colonialism to a retelling of the stories that are beyond the state

and closer to arrangements of lands, peoples, and species-others.

THE FOURTH WORLD

The concept of the "Fourth World" has been used in many, sometimes competing, ways. There are also multiple persons whom can be considered to have coined the term Fourth World. In sociology and in fields like urban planning and communications, the term Fourth World is conventionally linked to Manuel Castell's network society (Dotson 2014). Studying uneven development patterns with attention to the U.S. tendency of "social, geographic, and material exclusion" of particular segments of society (Dotson 2014: 165), Castells proposed that society has been transformed into a globalized but selective network. Like the way that "sites of natural resources and the networks of power distribution determined the geography of industrial economy," sites of knowledge production and communication systems are "hubs" that form an interrelated system (1982). For Castells (2005), the network society, "a society made of individuals, businesses, and states operating from the local, national, and into the international arena" is vastly different from those "outside" transitioning to modern technologies and not yet advanced into information societies. Those who exist outside of these nodes or hubs, Castells proposes, are the "spaces of exclusion" of "either intra-metropolitan or rural" – the Fourth World.

In contrast, this paper highlights a Fourth World that is more than "excluded." That is, while particular people are excluded from the flows of capital and meaning, this paper maintains that the Fourth World is more than merely an "outsider" status that has yet to "transition." From this perspective, it might be said that the Fourth World is a host world and is both excluded and included – as national sacrifice zones and regions of extraction have always been included, if not ingested by urban centers.

This short paper will provide an introduction to the Fourth World that privileges the importance of relationships that are highlighted in the telling of one person's narrative. Sharing with the reader some of the experiences of George Manuel helps to foreground how storying relationships are a lived experience and onto-epistemologically are an important part of theory building – especially anti-colonial theorization. Providing readers with a brief background of how Fourth World theorizing took its name, it is my hope that readers will notice that the theory was never one man's work, but a production of relationships. Secondly, I outline three key themes that characterize the emerging literature of the Fourth World. For each theme, I summarize its content, supply examples of Fourth World approaches that illustrate its nature, and discuss its importance.

THE FOURTH WORLD FRAMEWORK AS ARTICULATED BY GEORGE MANUEL

As Manuel himself explains, his consciousness and philosophy of the Fourth World were born from the teachings he received from an assemblage of relationships. These relations could be framed as state, personal, and lived experiences. Manuel notes the ways in which residential schooling and the criminalization of both Indian religion and fundraising for political activities informed his life and political outlook. He also speaks fondly of his grandparents that passed to him the value of indigenous resistance and spiritual relationship to land and relatives. Finally, and particular to a transnational approach to Fourth World theorization, M.S. Marule, an educational activist, is noted to have provided to Manuel after her return to Canada from Africa the ability

to identify the connections between colonialism in Africa and colonialism in the Americas. Manuel continued to learn as he traveled from 1975 to 1981 as the President of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples (Center for World Indigenous Studies 1994-2015). The Center For World Indigenous Studies notes, "With the energy of a man half his age, he traveled extensively to Indian villages in Northern Argentina, to the Quechua villages in the high mountains of Peru, to Samiland in Sweden, Indian reservations in the United States, to Yapti Tasbia in Eastern Nicaragua, to Mapuche villages in Chile and to the Mayan refugee camps on the border between Mexico and Guatemala." Acknowledging and retelling all of these relationships, as Manuel himself took the time to do by writing them out in the book titled *The Fourth World: An Indian Reality*, are also a part of that practice.

Through the aggregation of all these learned experiences, Manuel gathered that it is not the experience of colonialism that links indigenous nations. In his own words, "The Fourth World is not, after all, a Final Solution. It is not even a destination. It is the right to travel freely, not only on our road but in our own vehicles… The way to end the condition of unilateral dependence and begin the long march to the Fourth World is through home rule" (217). In the remainder of this paper I highlight and delineate key concepts that are pulled together for Fourth World Theory by this important quote. Those themes include: host world, home rule, and technology.

THREE KEY THEMES

Prior to discussing the key themes, my assumptions are outlined here. First, it is not beyond Native peoples to control their own lands and livelihoods and to propose otherwise is simply colonial justification for continued occupation (Manuel 1974; Tuck and Yang 2012). For example, objectors propose, while they support ending racism, sexism, and classism, that decolonization is "impractical" or an "idealist" vision. These statements themselves are failures to acknowledge the victories of indigenous peoples. In contrast, when we acknowledge indigenous victories we also acknowledge that the wars have not ended. In fact, wars waged against indigenous nations might be said to illustrate that indigenous peoples still pose a threat to dominant powers. When opposition argues that Native peoples are too far removed from anything that might be called "authentic indigeneity," they suggest that indigenous cultures are static and unchanging – as opposed to all other cultures. A Fourth World approach assumes all cultures have an ability and right to change and develop on their own terms. A Fourth World framework also assumes that colonialism is not enough to propose a basic link among indigenous peoples, but instead the Fourth World is realized through sharing a set of enduring values. Put differently, indigeneity is not defined by colonialism. And, finally, the diversity of Fourth World peoples shapes the unique place-based Fourth World. Therefore, Fourth World approaches illustrate that value is embedded within all cultures and their technologies (including their theoretical discourse). Thus, as themes included in a Fourth World framework produce evident unities of anti-colonial praxis, anti-colonialism is experienced and expressed differently by distinct nation peoples. This distinction brings us to the first concept outlined below.

Host World

Indigenous scholars voice concerns that decolonization is weakened by the practice of abstracting land into a "decolonial commons." As Schneider (2013) insists, current discussions of settler colonialism and the responses to the

troubles it produces are undermined by treating "land as generic and equivalent." From this perspective, decolonial praxis must start with place. A Fourth World framework points out that the host world is neither abstract nor reproducible. Likewise, memory, as in other contexts, is not divorced from materiality. We witness the importance of memory as we witness the telling of the host world. For example, Manuel's introduction to the Fourth World begins with an introduction to Shuswap Territories. Adjacent to the map that outlines the place from which Manuel begins to narrate the Fourth World, The Shuswap Territories, Manuel writes:

> *The land is a mixture of river valleys, lakeshore plateaus, forested hills, and snow-capped mountain peaks. It is diverse enough in its offerings to support the largest Indian nation in the area now occupied by British Columbia…. My recollections of the Shuswap Nation belong to the time when it was just beginning to come under the domination of the Indian agent. Although the process had been set in motion long before, the forces of conquest and colonial rule did not become fully effective in the Shuswap until after World War 1. However precarious our existence may have been in the 1920's, we still maintained our traditional means of livelihood, our language - the key to any culture – and our own internal decision-making processes, the essence of government. We had dignity and self-respect" (1).*

The Shushwap is land, a place, a geography. The Shushwap provides sustenance at the same time that it is the people, their relations, and their lifeways. It is also a way of life not without hardship and the need for hard work, but described as dignified and self-governed. While it can be a memory marked by settler colonialism, it moreover is an enduring value that resists erasure.

The call from the Fourth World is essentially a call to peoples to reorient their desires away from types of development that alienate them from their relationships to the planet and toward technologies that reaffirm their integrity as peoples of the earth. As stated earlier, Dotson proposes to expand the Fourth World and its discussion to marginalized states that sustain a distinct political culture, the poor and underdeveloped state, and state victims. As Dotson writes in a footnote, Manuel calls to "the institutions of the world to re-examine their own origins, the beliefs which brought them into being and the basis for integrity that lies beneath their formal structure" (191). Yet, Dotson, as he does by placing the above quote in the footnotes, threatens to undermine Fourth World approaches by proposing in his main text a development project that reorients the reader toward state resolutions. In contrast, Fourth World approaches re/visions the production of our communities and commitments and refuses to accept state violence, whether it is "hard" (like war and militarization) or "soft" (like the assimilative goals of schooling). The Host World as defined by Winona LaDuke helps to further articulate the point.

The Host World, as LaDuke (1983) explained, is the world "upon which the first, second and third worlds all sit at the present time" (i). It is, as most people read it, a discussion of different economies, cultures, and orientations. A reification would highlight that the first world has assigned to itself an identity of capitalist development; the second world, in opposition, embodied the figure of socialist development; the third World, racialized and defined by both the first and second as "undeveloped," has yet to choose its route.

The Fourth World, in this instance, refuses racialization, the development narrative, and foregrounds that the first, second, and third Worlds depend on the extraction from and oppression of a host world.

The framework is different than, even oppositional to, dominate assumptions of the authoritative and dominating structure of the state. "Spaces of extraction" are not forgotten incorporations into the urban centers. From the Fourth World perspective, the First and Second Worlds sit upon our backs - we bear their weight. For example, Rosier (2003) pointed out "with all the sacrifices Native Americans make, their communities don't benefit from the end result. Mining companies take resources off reservations, converting them elsewhere into electricity, which may or may not benefit the reservations that provide the raw materials or handle the waste that nuclear power generates" (164). Churchill and LaDuke (1996) agree that when indigenous nations enter into extraction agreements, "Advantage accrues only to the corporate and governmental representatives of a colonizing and dominant industrial culture" (175). The point is clear: indigenous peoples pay the price for state (settler) wealth. The perspective of the host world foregrounds the issues of the common experience of colonialism, which brings attention to the conditions of Fourth World peoples and lands so that decolonization is concrete, anti-statist, and anti-capitalist.

As a critique of the state, of capitalism, of colonialism and empire, the Fourth World begins with the host world. The host world are places like the Shuswhap, the Salish, the Shell Mounds, the Columbia River Basin, that begin, carry, and bring our work back and center place – our relations. But to stop at such a description would be to stop short of what a Fourth World framework moves us toward: home rule.

Home Rule

Native scholarship has placed a great deal of effort into discussing the importance of assimilation and its relations to land dispossession (Grande, 2004/2015; Churchill 1996)). We also know that it has been the colonial project to hierarchize and think apart land and humans (Wynter 2003). Anthony Hall (2003) notes the link between mind and land when he states, "Indian Country is a place located as much in the geography of the mind as in the geography of land and jurisdiction… The colonial destiny of this Indian Country [with its precisely, yet movable, defined borders] was to shrink and eventually disappear as the more 'civilized,' advanced Euro-American societies grew and expanded" (295). Put differently, the attack against Indian Country was a divide and conquer strategy against body and mind. Thus, a discussion about Home Rule insists upon understanding self-determination and identity formation together. Too much time, I suggest, has been spent on debating which is more troubling – land dispossession or the undermining of indigenous cultural identity.

In his final chapter, titled "Fourth World," Manuel points out that the often-proposed double bind for Fourth World peoples between "remaining Indian" and "economic and social development" is a false dilemma. For example of this proposed double bind, the discussion of environmentalism is complicated by stereotypes of Native peoples as essentially earth bound subjects, in peaceful harmony with the planet so that when Native people defy these stereotypes they are "criticized as 'buying in' to majority values and discarding tribal tradition" (Tsosie 1996:3). This can lead to, as Manuel discussed, a fracturing of Native communities that are asked to choose between their lives and their land, a choice that should have never been presented. In fact, Manuel argues, Fourth World people desire a comfortable living as

much as those they host. And if, instead of charity by settler colonialists, they were able to have the constitutional and material backing to carry on their own development (as cultures are never static but always fluid), there would be no dilemma. Put differently, it is only because our access to our own lands and economies has been forcibly removed that we are in a place of dependency. As Manuel insisted, "Real economic development without full local control is only another form of imperial conquest" (151). Despite these facts, the racial myths that were created to justify the seizure of our land base continue and we fail to receive legal recognition so that lands and "resources" remain in control by the state.

Therefore, home rule insists on a return to the "natural." LaDuke (1983) explains that home rule requires peoples, especially settlers to pay attention and learn from the land. As she argued:

> *We must all learn a way of thinking, a state of mind that is from this common ground… Since an unanchored theory must inevitably result in misunderstanding, it is to the history of the land that we must return" (i-ii).*

As there is no division, from a Fourth World perspective, between peoples and their places of creation, being "natural" and returning to the "history of the land" includes centering indigenous peoples in anticolonial praxis. Home rule, at the same time that it centers indigenous peoples, is shorthand for an orientation away from the colonizer/colonized binary and engaging with indigenous epistemologies that take seriously the importance of place, relationships, and more than humans. To state as clearly as possible, a "return to the natural" is not a new age call to go bare and run amuck. To deny that self-determination does not include indigenous identity formation is too disfigure our enduring values and our responsibility to our First Mother.

The negation of our self-determination must be undone. This undoing, however, does not stratify economic, social, and spiritual practice—placing one before the other. Manuel writes, "The desire for legal recognition of our aboriginal and treaty rights has taken on a religious perspective. But, as in most natural or traditional religions, the spiritual has not been separated from the material world" (222). And Hall (2003) writes, that Fourth World theory points "towards the need for the replacement of neo-liberal geo-economics with forms of globalization more attuned to the natural ecology of inter-human and cross-species relationships" (291). What both of these writers refer to is that home rule is foundationally about our ability to self-govern our lands from our own evolving cultural orientations. These orientations, not essential to bodies, are a part of what it means to "travel in our own vehicles."

Thus place and identity are inseparable and are informed and shaped by our technologies. Especially when we acknowledge the importance of enduring values as Manuel outlined, self-determination to construct our own governments and identities is an important part of home rule. They should not and cannot be thought apart. Manuel wrote:

> *"The land from which our culture springs is like the water and the air, one and indivisible. The land is our Mother Earth. The animals who grow on that land are our spiritual brothers. We are a part of the Creation that the Mother Earth brought forth. More complicated, more sophisticated than the other creatures, but no nearer to the Creator who infused us with life" (Manuel 1974:6).*

Home Rule is about reasserting these relationships and not taking for granted or passively accepting dominant cultural models of economy and government. In the dominant model, civilization, through the state, develops "wild lands" and "barbaric peoples." As LaDuke wrote, "with the arrival of the Europeans a break was made such that every seeming step forward into greater 'development' could be measured simultaneously by the degree of divorce of society from the natural environment" (LaDuke 1983: ii). Thus home rule is an assertion and practice of our own laws that are derived from traditional values and institutions that arrive from the webbing of our human societies to our natural environments. It is a refusal of the theoretical justification of racial and cultural myths that portray Indian peoples as savage, uncivilized, and in need of cultural, spiritual, and economic development. It is important to remember that "Our traditional political and religious systems were attacked because they regulated and celebrated a certain kind of economic structure which [the colonial State] wanted to destroy" (Manuel 1997: 55, my emphasis). For colonialism to be fully effective, as many scholars have explained, the conquered must also be convinced of their cultural inferiority and that the theft of their resources is for a common good.

Fourth World scholars insist that peoples (including their cultures, laws, and languages) are inseparable from the land. As Deloria (1974) writes, the "[Fourth World] offers a vision of human existence beyond that of expediency and the balancing of power and speaks to the identity crisis that has gripped every land and its peoples" (xxii). Fourth World scholars are not willing to concede the materiality nor spirituality of their mother. "The land, the water, the air, and the sun are sacred because they are the source of all life. They are the limbs of the Guardian Spirit. Their sanctity is recognized because of their importance to our survival" (Manuel 1974:256). The recognition of the sacredness, and the need for home rule extends beyond Native peoples to all of our relations and their own right to life. Thus, to reassert our connections to our natural economies, Fourth World scholar activists, particularly Manuel, emphasize the importance of our technologies.

Technology

Technology is customarily associated with terms like modernity, development, capitalism, and imagined in opposition to Fourth World peoples and places, or at least beyond them. And yet, for Manuel, "Technologies are only the tools through which we carry on our relationship with nature" (13). Medicine, stories, ceremony, and smart phones for that matter, are all understood as technologies, from a Fourth World framework. And rather than understanding technology as an object it is re/visioned as an association.

To acknowledge that technologies are but the tools that connect us to nature is to acknowledge that life enhancement is not fundamentally wedded to the dominant state and its economy. Technologies of the Fourth World link us back to the Fourth World, not away, separated, and toward incorporation. For example, Manuel insisted "So long as there is a single thread that links us to the ways of our [grandparents], our lives are strong. However thin and delicate that thread may be, it will support the weight of a stronger cord that will tie us securely to the land" (47). It is important to note here that a discussion on technology is also about revealing our interdependency. The jump from technology as an object to technology as association and its relation to interdependency is a difficult one to imagine and so it is perhaps useful to discuss more fully the "Indian technology" of both storytelling and

the potlatch to clarify my point.

Storytelling is unique in its ability to change across time and space. Its importance lies not in reproduction, for Manuel; rather a listener is allowed to interpret the story as informed by their own lived experiences. As he tells it, "If [the story] varies a little from yours, that is all right. Perhaps the distance between the two interpretations is the difference between two human lives bound by the same basic laws of nature illustrated by the outline of the story" (37). Thus, change is inherent to storying at the same time the practice of storying is a technology that is relationship forming.

Manuel also takes some time discussing the importance of the potlatch – a ceremony that redistributes wealth and strengthens kinship. He insists that "The whole foundation of our society – not just for Shuswap or Salish, but for Indian societies in general – is summed up in one word: giving" (original emphasis, 41). In many societies, leadership is determined by those who can and do give well (43), and despite references by scholars to giving as loans and bank deposits, there is no such comparison in European culture (44). It is perhaps the strength of these technologies to sustain connections to land and others that they were targeted by colonial policies.

The point of the colonial state Potlatch Law was to remove a technology from indigenous peoples. The Potlatch Law was quite simply a "declaration of war against a people who still had not surrendered when the law was repealed seventy years later" (Manuel 1974: 46). In addition to removal, technologies were replaced. Clocks, or the systematization of time, have been used as technologies to reorient peoples away from natural rhythms and toward industrialization. They supplanted, in other words, one technology/relationship with another. Katz (1976) cites E.P. Thompson's point that "both peasant and urban, prior to capitalism and industrialization, governed their activities by the sun and not the clock, by the season and customary festivities and external set of production schedule" (395). Suppressing and supplanting these ecological sensibilities helps to reveal that "natural relationships" are not romantic notions (Manuel 1974:256). And, yet, my point is not to advise on a sort of "war of technologies." A Fourth World reality proposes that interdependency is still an appropriate way to describe our relationships to one another.

For Manuel, mutual dependence exists even in the most one-way of relationships (152). Although as he explains, the relationship of interdependency significantly broke during the early eighteenth and nineteenth centuries our lives are dependent upon one another. This interdependency is it is related to human diversity as related to biodiversity. It is this understanding of connection that the Fourth World cuts beneath colonial constructions of difference like civil/savage and human/nature. The dominant members of colonial relationships, however, almost never recognize interdependency.

In many ways our dependency on dominant economies arrives out of the deliberate or inadvertent destruction of natural landscapes and ecosystems. For example, corporate mythology has created the illusion that industrial agriculture is a necessary technology to combat "food insecurity". Through masking scarcity, the technology of monocultures has increased hunger and "hides theft from nature and the poor" (Shiva 2000:1). Shiva (2000) proposes that a global movement for food democracy is about building "solidarity and synergy between diverse groups…" that includes public scientists (122). Such a defense, she explains, is also about the defense of cultural diversity, "since the majority of diverse cultures do not see other species and plants as

"property" but as kin" (123). To discuss the importance of Fourth World technology is an attempt to pay attention to not only who and how technology is produced, but why and what is produced by our technologies.

Statism

Opposite to Manuel's acknowledgement of interdependency of nation peoples, the assumption of the sovereign state is the idea that states "can do it all on their own" without the assistant of other states and nations. When states fail, they are associated with "poverty, disease, violence, and refugee flows," and are believed to "strain foreign aid budgets and philanthropic resources" (Brooks 2005:1162). Additionally, failed states are attributed "as breeding ground for extremism and staging points for organized terrorist groups" (1162) and, theoretically, pose legal challenges as they have the inability to protect borders and cannot enter into treaties, trade agreements, or international contracts (1162) . But, as Ehrenreich-Brooks (2005) insists, a failed state cannot exist because it assumes a state was first successful. We should make an effort to be clear from the beginning: the state is a social construction, and a recent one at that. More precisely, it is a "recent and historically contingent development," that assumes state authority and independence. Just as the state has yet to demonstrate its ability to protect and serve the vast majority of those it occupies, the history of the production of the state is a history of war.

Explaining the state in the context of empire, Steinmetz (2014) explains that it was only in the last 100 years that polities historically referred to as empires began to be recategorized as states and as the default unit for the international system (80). Dirik (2011) in a section on colonialism, civilization, and the state, writes that the very idea of civilization is a colonial idea (440) and that just as Europe itself was the product of colonialism, it was, from its beginning, entangled with the nation-state (441). He adds that despite the debate on whether it was colonization that produced the state, or the state that produced colonialism, it can be said that "The two assume recognizable form almost simultaneously from the seventeenth century, and practices of nation building and colonialism, while quite distinct ultimately, were nevertheless entangled with one another" (441). Although the boundaries between state formations, empire, civilization, and colonialism are not resolved by researchers, it is clear that the production of the state is a historical, colonial construction.

It is important to acknowledge that the state is not a given or natural production of unitary identity. The world has suffered from the production of the state, including what has now been named Europe. "Although empires and kingdoms have long existed around the globe, the modern state largely spread outward from Europe, a byproduct of imperialism and colonial expansion" (Brooks 2005: 1171). That is, Europe itself was a development of colonialism. Furthermore, the development of the state is a particular cultural expression that is resisted, whether successfully or not, by those it seeks to capture.

The demands of land dispossession, enslavement, and resource extraction increased as the need for new markets and primitive accumulation expanded. The attempted extermination of indigenous populations accelerated after the U.S. as a nation-state was established and U.S. industrialization increased throughout the 1800's to 1900's. And yet, indigenous peoples continue to resist. For an example of this ongoing struggle, Neitschmann (1987) found that in over one hundred conflicts, 85% were waged by Fourth World peoples against the state. More recently, Ryser (1996) calculated that of the 250 conflicts he detailed,

between 1945 and the end of 1994, 145 or 58% were amongst nations or between nations and states, and of these Fourth World wars, 59% continue today and many of those will continue into the next century (as cited in Seton 1999). Therefore, from a Fourth World perspective, turning to the state to help absolve settler colonial conflicts makes no sense, nor does assuming the state as a permanent institution. As Manuel (1997) writes, "whether one finds themselves in struggles in Ireland or Africa, the goal is not the creation of the state, but the expulsion of alien rule and the reconstruction of societies" (280). To the point, Churchill (2003) insists, nation-states like the US and Canada have no legitimate claims.

CONCLUSION

In subtle but important ways, the Fourth World from this perspective is a framework that identifies relations across and with seemingly divergent places and people, and it is a particular orientation toward self-government and its related relationships of technology that are beyond the primitive accumulation of political economy and "failed" states. Foundationally, the Fourth World helps to develop understandings of the conditions in which peoples, especially indigenous peoples, find themselves as effects of colonialism as well as how Fourth World spaces, both lands and peoples, are not merely excluded from capitalist and socialist nation-states production but also arrange recommitments and reorientations that stand in stark contrast to discourses of modern development.

The host world insists on an examination of the hegemony of narratives of development. Fourth World home rule and technologies, in turn, focus our attention on geographies of place whose memory penetrates beyond the colonial/capital/state inscriptions and toward practicing our stories that re/vision our relation to land and relatives. To say "beyond" is not to propose that there is a space more pure or authentic outside of colonialism. It is, as Hall (2003:52) writes, an attempt to move beyond the "convention of national histories" towards a "genre of historical elaborations that is more consistent with the conceptual, territorial, and organizational configurations of peoples rather than states."

The Fourth World approaches by scholar activists insist upon an anti-colonial praxis that foregrounds specific geographies that are at the same time interrelated; maintains that land and culture are indivisible – and so too are identity and self-determination; and, finally, that the Fourth World is never simply a place nor a destination. My assumption is that research, technologies, and storytelling are political acts – never neutral, never static. As such, the stories that researchers have told build particular relationships with others. What Fourth World approaches do is provide a foundation, though always adjusting to place and time, for both valuing those relationships differently and expanding our realization that we carry particular relationships with our geographies. It is true that colonialism conditions our relationships, but as Fourth World frameworks insist, colonialism is never complete. Our responses, thus, should reach beyond the colonial state—toward, with, and from the Fourth World.

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