Wild Cosmopolitan Pursuit of a Quotidian Indigeneity

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In a small yet vital corner of the global imaginary lives a rhetorical commonplace devoted to the valor and sanctity of indigenous people who assert their dominion over their homelands when economic, ecological, or geopolitical threats loom large. Recently, Dr. Tiara Na'puti spoke at the United Nations with other members of the Chamorro people of Guam for the "decolonization" of Guam as an "non-self-governing territory" and in light of growing tensions between the US and North Korea (Marshall). And then Native American tribes in the US routinely march, occupy, or speak against, for example, the Dakota Access pipeline as a specific instance of transnational corporations threatening tribal lands. Whether the public's attention turns to tribal territories, coastal fishing and water tributaries, or shrinking old-growth forests, prairie grassland, and gulf wetlands, we (who do not live there) admire and at times join with indigenous people to protect sacred, pristine residences. Those who sympathize join or watch in silent admiration so that we do not lose something precious. We cherish their passion and cause, perhaps, because their fights for ecological justice strike home as honest, pure, and grounded in daily survival. Implicitly, we benefit when they stand steady under fire because they summon forth a stronger, deeper commitment to social and ecological resilience than we are able to do—the amorphous public lost its battle for sovereign rights long ago and now we live engulfed in economic and ecological disenfranchisement. Their lessons are ancient as are our losses: how and where one lives distill who one once was and will be for future generations.

Certainly, social theorists of one disciplinary stripe or another turn to indigenous people as models for equitable, ecological living. Elevated intellectual arguments for the primacy of place, locale, and habitat ring hollow without images of indigenous people performing

territorial identification. Edward Casey, a phenomenologist, who has elevated scholarly thinking on place and remembering, cannot argue for embodied emplacement without turning to the aboriginal Pintupi of Central Australia. Keith Basso locates cultural wisdom in the generational stories of ecological resilience, but he cannot do so without illustrating how the Western Apaches' "smooth minds" are "free of conceit and hostile ambitions" (75). When Alphonso Lingis rediscovers the "voices in things," he turns to the Maasai of Africa to show why the earth can never be divided from its inhabitants as an article of faith. A rhetorical commonplace exists both as trope and locale, and it circulates widely in popular, political, and academic circles of thought and deed; indigenous people are heralded for their biophilia as a love, respect, and interdependent identification with homelands so deeply hewn that there can be no other action other than to resist economic and cultural "extractivism," Naomi Klein's term for the root premise that "life can be drained indefinitely" (382). Perhaps our witness to their performance of an indigenous biophilia triggers not guilt but the echo of a recovery process guided by their metrics for where, how, and why someone stands to confront unchecked growth, profit and economic violence.

I begin this essay by proposing indigenous biophilia serving as both a discursive and territorial platform through which to consider how the quotidian attributes of biophilia can be translated to other walks of life. There is a danger in my project. Who am I to assess someone else's virtue, one might say, and then sovereignty is lost through discursive as well as geographic assimilation. Maile Arvin points out that indigenous people vanish by conquest, through the expropriation of homelands, and then by categorical reasoning. Arguments for the uniformity of the human condition threaten fragile moments of self-definition when they are subsumed by "stable categories of immigrant, citizen and human." This essay does not pursue categorical precision so much as the global conditioning of livelihoods illustrated and prompted through indigenous biophilia such that acts of indigeneity can be "tested, measured, spoken about and performed—by indigenous and non-indigenous people alike" (119). Naomi Klein refers to indigenous people as the "unsung carbon keepers" and this essay proposes, in addition to singing their praises, that we (who live elsewhere) reconsider indigeneity as a precarious yet generative construct widely distributed through the violent means of global capitalism (304).

The couplet, "indigenous biophilia," does not present itself at face value as fully-equipped for critical adoption and should be scrutinized. As will be shown, indigenous people claim both the right and rigor to achieve a balanced livelihood in a given ecosystem; therefore, as a people they demonstrate the pursuit of equilibrium within a social ecology. In his essay, "Prometheus of the Everyday," Ezio Manzini proposes just such a balance of the "biosphere" and the "logosphere" on a global stage to offset the "delirium for power by the designer-demiurge," a delirium shared by designer, builder, financier and resident (229). Therefore, to consider indigenous biophilia as a global condition, sacred lands wherever designated must also be measured for their cultural technicity. Our "promethean" zeal on a global scale tends to be structured by an unwavering belief that mind and body must triumph over matter: the promethean tragedy, for Manzini, is two-fold with a third, unrealized potential. Across millennia we (from a decidedly western standpoint) have advanced an epistemological arrogance through the mastery of design, information, policies, laws, and principles to the point that we think we know more than a biosphere can teach us, a self-indulgence that is then buttressed by the second fold, a built environment and societal apparatus so grand in our own eyes that the modem, progressive milieu is proof positive for our epistemological mastery, delirium, and denial.

According to Manzini, we (i.e., those who build, profit from, and who admire such grand scales of conquest and alienation) have articulated the triumphs and spoils of economic progress through formal, intellectual, material, and informational achievement—the missing three-fold is a slow, humble inhabited constitution of a more "diffuse production of material and immaterial artifacts from which we build the daily environment" (219). The "unsung carbon keepers" may well build their lives with divergent forms of knowledge and achievement but they know how and why to covet the "diffuse" productions of everyday life. In order for indigenous biophilia to articulate with other walks of life, technicity must be perceived as a daily encounter with built and natural environs. Distinctions based on race, ethnicity, region, or nationality would then consider the mutuality of economic colonization coded and expressed across "physical as well as imaginary" spaces" (from Walter Mignolo, quoted in Arvin, 120; see Stiegler's Technic and Time).

If indigeneity and biophilia exist in the current milieu of heightened technicity and governmentality the question becomes: How

does one "love" one's chosen residence? The idea of a biophilic attraction to familiar places and as a human virtue is often attributed to E. O. Wilson's writing; yet his biophilia was shaped through the insulated life of scientific inquiry and not a life of economic precarity. As a biologist, his love evolved through the close study of ants (Greear) and was thus guided by a scientific method. Yet, his science could be considered worshipful with its care for replicable connection to a local environment to suggest that a love of place is sustained through an intense study of some kind, formally by way of methodology but also informally as learning a locale's history and texture, as Barry Lopez has proposed. In his essay, "The Rediscovery of North America," Lopez advances from Wilson a "biophilia, love of what is alive, and the physical context in which it lives" (14). Yet the bulk of Lopez's essay is about paying dutiful attention, about learning names, lost histories, and biological currents and interdependencies. "Discovery" for Lopez enacts a sustained, ecological metis that is scholarly, experiential, and spiritual, an attunement to ecological lives in balance that grants the warrants for compassionate resistance to unchecked economic conquest. For Lopez, it is foremost a question of character that has been squandered since the 15th century in the Americas beginning, one could argue, with the catastrophic European conquest of indigenous people and places in the Americas. Biophilia is a studious love that reclaims indigeneity consubstantively with others; it has to be reclaimed, rediscovered, and newly measured because the old measurements were instrumental to the earlier conquest.

Love of place is less an emotion than it is an economic disposition of self and home with substantive biological labor required to distill "a profound courtesy, an unalloyed honesty" found in an already interconnected world (15). As Clint Carroll demonstrates, a tribal commitment to ethnobotany, as a basis for environmental self-governance, must confront the loss of territorial sovereignty and its refabrication in foreign cultural and economic circumstances. A biophilic "honesty" could be seen then as a form of "cultural economy," as Amin and Thrift identify the attributes of culture outside of profit and accumulation that circulate as a dispositional currency rooted in trust, compassion and local resilience. William Connolly, in kind with Lopez, locates the enemy not out there as some foreign economic power but more intimately local; the truest honesty lives in the everyday and provides a basis for a radical departure from human exceptionalism, an "anthropomorphism . . . by which human traits are

illegitimately assigned to other species and some non-living processes" (23). Were indigeneity to be conditional, substantive, and bountiful, it would elevate one's status in a heterogeneous world with its capacity to engender compassionate attention to diversity that offsets humanly and Godly "perfection" that guided cultural genocide for generations.

If technicity and economic instrumentality press upon the virtues of indigenous biophilia, so do the boundaries of what it can mean to be designated as indigenous as an index of identification or indigeneity as a more general condition. To conjoin indigeneity with biophilia requires a deep understanding of ecological capacity, an "ecological thinking" (about place, technicity, culture, and identification) as Morton has proposed and to consider the rhetorical consequences for livelihoods attuned to vulnerability and resilience (Stormer & McGreavy). The mantel of an indigenous identity can freight a litmus test by way of blood, by kin, by residence over time, or by being culturally distinct. One's indigenous identity, in addition to these cultural indices, may in precarious times, be superseded by threats of expropriation, of extinction, and (yes) by academic debates over categorical precision over who gets to claim the title of indigenous. In a digital corrective to his own use of the term, Tlakatekatl recognizes the categorical habit of assigning indigenous identity (hence for him the usefulness of the term, indigeneity) to blood, land, and birthright (as does Arvin), and he then tracks the late 20th century conceptual drift, as well as the ensuing debates, whenever indigeneity is taken up as an instrument for governmental or critical, interpretive category. The term indigeneity gained official status in the 1972 United Nation's "Working Group for Indigenous People" (see Secretariat of the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues) that set in motion a series of revisions, for example, by the International Labour Organization and The World Bank adding identifiers such as language, custom, and territoriality affinity. He notes as well the coincidental uptick in scholarly attention to identity formation at the close of the 20th century as to who is named indigenous (or not). Concluding his lexicology, Tlakatekatl favors an adaptable definition as a "state or quality" that exemplifies an "original people who inhabit and were born, or produced naturally, in a given land or region including their descendants and relations thereof."

I have tried thus far to burden the notion of indigenous biophilia with concerns of technicity, instrumentality, and categorization deep-

ened by the lessons learned at the expense of those who protect the sanctity of a singular, cultural circumstance. I read Tlakatekatl's "working" definition as strategically flexible and certainly not aimed at stripping any one group's hard fought victories over cultural invisibility. Tlakatekatl proposes an open-ended definition,"because a standard definition is verily non-existent" and because his specific project is to elevate the identification of Chicanan /o-Mexihah people ignored by "stuffy, condescending academics." The openness and adaptability of the definition welcomes the intermingling of place, region and territory with blood, family, and community. I propose that indigenous biophilia serves as an enduring trope with a practical texture. It speaks for a different kind of sameness, without expensing the local circumstance. Anna Tsing speaks to a "wild new cosmopolitanism . . . a jostling of unassimilated fragments of cultural agenda" to suggest that the American melting pot has itself melted and has been smelted by war and dislocation into an "unstructured multiplicity." She is no stranger to dislocated ethnic identity and threats of military and economic violence, yet she locates indigeneity in both familiar and foreign places, "the feel of Southeast Asian village life in the middle of the Oregon forest" (97¬-98). Indigenous biophilia depends upon an adaptive capacity, the "wildness" pursued routinely by displaced people such that indigeneity illustrates how love and devotion for and interdependence with one's homelands occur as "contaminated diversity" (33). The contamination results from both economic and geopolitical violence; while the diversity constitutes the grit of survival and the achievement of a life-in-balance in many walks of life.

In Paul Gilroy's hands, the global economy has achieved, to a degree, what the Stoics once dreamed, a common worldliness though now coined as a global economic opportunism that insures "violent ethnocentrism" (63). Opportunity knocks, for Tsing, "Like a giant bulldozer, [and] capitalism appears to flatten the earth to its specifications" (61). Yet a "contaminated diversity is everywhere" such that the challenge must be to find, discern, and tell different kinds of stories; "Why don't we use these stories (of contaminated diversity) in how we know the world?" because there are always "survivors in histories of greed, violence and environmental destruction" (33)? Gilroy has given up on the project of a virtuous cosmopolitanism, all people treated equally, and prefers a "vulgar or demotic cosmopolitanism" premised on the "refusal of state-centeredness and in its vernacular

style" (67). This is a wild cosmopolitanism that retains the sharp edge of a dialectical materialism. Indigenous biophilia as an open, working construct could reveal the conditions for a "wild" and "vulgar" cosmopolitanism roaming the planet and well beyond pristine, sacred places.

Indigenous Biophilic Dissent

Naomi Klein's This Changes Everything: Capitalism vs. the Climate provides an essential proving ground for economic and ecological dissent. This book documents the pitched battle between the forces of economic extractivism that plunder any ecology, sacred or not, if profit is near. Taking six years to research and over 500 pages to recount, Klein travels to the Skouries forests in Greece; the farming villages of Pungesti, Romania; the Elsipogtog First Nation in Easter Canada; the oil fields of the Niger delta; the grasslands near the Alberta tar sands; and elsewhere to remap economic develop as an unfolding manifest destiny of individualism, hierarchical order, and the neoliberal belief that victims of economic expansion deserve their fate. The sacred lands and traditions of people vanish (or are threatened so) because of legal trickery: their lands are conveniently considered "human sacrifice zones, no more deserving of rights than raw commodities" (155).

Klein turns to indigeneity to illustrate the power of the commons when ethnic, regional communities refuse to divide their cosmological selves from their ecological blood. I turn to her book as an illustration of one way to map indigeneity among others. If, as if is often the case, water mediates the life world of indigenous people, it is understood that water, and not the paper trail of policy documents, sponsors (for example) the Save the Fraser Declaration that represents 130 First Nations to "prevent the Northern Gateway pipeline and any other tar sands projects of its kind from accessing British Columbia territory" (297). Although Klein does not enter into the wearisome terminological and ideological debates noted by Tlakatekatl, she does begin an articulation of the rights of self-determination as they are indistinguishable from the rights of residence:

That's why the declaration that was being signed was not called the "Stop the Tankers and Pipelines Declaration" but rather the "Save the Fraser Declaration"—the Fraser, at almost 1,400 kilometers, being the longest river in B.C. and home to its most productive

Salmon fishery. As the declaration states, "A threat to the Fraser and its headwaters is a threat to all who depend on its health. We will not allow our fish, animals, plants, people and ways of life to be placed at risk . . . [or] to cross our lands, territories and watersheds, or the ocean migration routes of Fraser River Salmon" (298).

Klein recognizes the strategic value of love of home for the indigenous to assert a moral and legal basis for resistance in threatened locales. In her chapter, "Love Will Save the Place," love is expressed directly by Jess Housty, who is a descendant of the Heiltsuk First Nation and who testified to the Enbridge Gateway review panel, "When my children are born, I want them to be born into a world where hope and transformation are possible. . . . I want them to grow up able to be Heiltsuk in every sense of the world. . . . That cannot happen if we do not sustain the integrity of our territory, the lands and waters, and the stewardship practices that link our people to the landscape." And Klein concludes: "the power of this ferocious love is what the resource companies and their advocates in government inevitably underestimate, precisely because no amount of money can extinguish it" (295).

Biophilia is strongest within these indigenous communities as it is practiced across generations and given time, material presence, and community rehearsal. Those who testify by virtue of their heritage act with an authority derived from cycles of exposure in place, a residential authority distinct from the usual archives of policy and doctrine. In Halkidiki, Greece those who have long opposed gold mining at the expense of farmland embody a standpoint similar to Jess Housty's testimony about the waterways of British Columbia: "I am part of the land. I respect it, I love it and I don't treat it as a useless object, as if I want to take something out of it and then the rest is waste." Klein inventories these expositions of indigenous biophilia to explain why social movements like Blockadia differ from others that appear devoted to a single cause or event. Blockadia gather force through webbed affiliation, as did the Occupy movement, through diverse dispersion of embodiment and locality. Instead of a battle defined by heroes and villains (though both are named at specific sites), the struggle and the resolve situate in habitational displacements of a common ilk and through water and air contamination. Blockadia practices a shared precarity, and the people who protest discover a resemblance with those from distant sacrifice zones; "they each look like the places where they live, and they look like everyone:

the local shop owners, the university professors, the high school students, the grandmothers" (255). Were these sites to be mapped by their discrete differences, they would not look the same at all, but together they shape, for Klein, a "desire for a deeper form of democracy, one that provides communities with real control over those resources that are most critical to collective survival . . . [and] these place-based stands are stopping real climate crimes in progress" (255).

Though a deeper, more resonant, societal democracy is a worthy cause, its precursor must be the diffuse production or im/materiality through which a wild and vulgar cosmopolitanism takes hold. In order for a radical equilibrium to unfold, it must be rooted in the conditions for daily living in contrast with masterful achievements and so the observer must look for the backstories of ecological resistance and salvation. Sometimes these stories are lost in history and are not newsworthy. Klein's cataloguing of the front lines of indigenous resistance makes the case for the power of striking circumstances, yet she concludes her book by yearning for an "historical reconciliation between Indigenous peoples and non-Natives who are finally understanding that . . . Indigenous rights are not a threat but a gift" (328). The gift, as I argue here, is as diffuse as it is poignant, the gift of wisdom, devotion, and foresight to survive in contaminated diversity in different walks of life.

And, it's a gift that demands practice. Most of my scholarship has proceeded by a linear model of history: US geo-political policies in 1969 and 1970 led to the Cambodian incursion, announced in April of 1970 and followed shortly thereafter by heightened rounds of campus protests. The violence and loss of life and limb on May 4, 1970 on the Kent State campus is a direct reaction consequence, and my focus has been on the economic aftershocks: the 40 years in which the city's economic fortunes faltered, and the absence of signs of commemoration that address territorial division of the local business district from campus (Ackerman, "Rhetorical Engagement"). A policy shift is presented as leading to a violent event that is then followed by the aftershocks of economic stagnation to paint history as linear. This academic style misses entirely the "wild cosmopolitanism" that Tsing calls forth that would appear as "textures" (Hariman & Cintron) of economic violence tied to an epoch of globalization and then to loss of the industrial base in the Great Lakes region from 1970 to the present, all of which tumble down to the textures of the street, the home, and daily survival.

The causal chaining of a violent event can be re-territorialized to bring forth at a different consortium of actors and conditions. One could map the causes of campus violence in 1970 from economic and ideological events that preceded the Cambodia incursion, such as exponential leaps in global economic colonialism and the militarization of communities, states, and nations that insure the colonial incursions take hold. One could imagine patterns of global economic violence that overlap so that military control and environmental destruction are understood to coexist. In Tsing's study of the matsutake mushroom, the survivors are people and plants displaced by acts of war and economic dislocation, an ethnobotany that underwrites adaptation. She traces deforestation as a military strategy before and after WWII that entangles with the Americanization of the Japanese economy over time. Deforestation, as ruination, can unfold as a different history of colonial power and Tsing uses the resurgence of the mushroom and peasant cultures to discover "disturbance based ecologies in which many species sometimes live together without either harmony or conquest" (5).

This is a different kind of newsworthiness: economic violence, after all, invades all quarters; it thrives by achieving diverse and affective contaminations. Long after the legal battles and the extractions of resources and locality, there remains a ruined landscape that provides, for Tsing and for the rest of this essay, habitation in the midst of desolation with the rudiments of how to renew, adapt, and recover. This is a gritty if not pristine biophilia for those who live within the remainder of economic conquest. Indigeneity and biophilia can be found in trammeled places if aided by an ocularity that trains the cultural eye to watch for wildness and vulgarity wherever one resides in the global, capital empire. The defense of the planet will be stronger, more shared, and more nuanced if the backlines of economic conquest are understood to be, as they are, lively, adaptive, and defensible.

The Advance to the Rear

Long after the battles for the sovereignty, there remains in the air, in the soil, and in technological systems a "solastalgia," a term from Glenn Albrecht, and invoked by Klein, to name the "unease" given to people who live in "lands decimated by open pit mining… or clear-cut logging." It is a term that reaches far beyond these famil-

iar scenes of ecological colonialism to nearly every realm of public life. Solastalgia names a "global dread" that is quotidian by virtue of its universality "as the planet heats and our climate gets more hostile and unpredictable" (144). Wild cosmopolitanism counters solastalgia to the degree that territories and cultures refuse to divide the sacred from the profane. These wild and vulgar consortia may well notice more closely the common textures of indigeneity that are conditional to everyday life. To the degree that biophilia and indigeneity interdependently fan out across a precarious planet, the attributes espoused by Manzini, Tsing, Tlakatekatl, Gilroy and Klein suggest that biophilia and its regimens of respectful habitation required a different ocularity, sympathetic to the Klein's catalogued illuminations of indigenous valor but more inclusive given how deeply economic violence can penetrate a community.

In Everyday Life in the Modern World, Lefebvre grants any resident a phenomenology of recurrence: "gestures of labor and leisure, mechanical movements both human and properly mechanic, hours, days, weeks, months, years, linear and cyclical repetitions, natural and rational time, etc., the study of creative activity (that is of production in the widest sense)" (18). He also grants habitation exposed to the simultaneity and interconnection of modernity and everyday-ness, a reciprocity not as signifier and signified but as the "crown" and the "veil." "The quotidian is what is humble and solid, what is taken for granted and [from] all the parts that follow each other in such a regular, unvarying succession" (24–25). He envisions a pulsing life world that affects "objects and beings" with a "praxis" and "poiesis" in the "residuum (of all the possible specific and specialized activities outside social experience) and the product of society in general" (32); an escape route from the tyranny of banality and exhaustive consumption as "adaptation" of "body, time, space and desire" from "recurrent gestures of a world of sensory experience" (35); a conceptual domain, a doxa that slips artfully between the ordinary and the extraordinary, between the concept city and its bodily and technical derivations (59); and finally a publicity based not only in consumption, conquest, and control but also "the imaginary existence of things," a "rhetoric and poetry superimposed on the art of consuming and inherent in its image; a rhetoric that is not restricted to language but invades experience" (90).

Lefebvre is rarely invoked in ecological criticism, nor is he thought of as champion of indigenous people, but I find in his words

the commitment to compassionate detail as we heard in the testimonies of indigenous people. He and they offer an analogical sensibility, such that indigeneity circulates between the city and the countryside, between urban, pre-urban, and post-urban forms. If biophilia were wildly cosmopolitan in this way, we would not only march together to thwart economic colonialism and environmental injustice, as Klein proposes, we would also begin to comprehend the spatial and textured scales of injustice in our homelands. We would scale up the "love" that Klein foregrounds, and we would practice an openness to "diverse contamination" from Tsing, and both gestures would be understood—talked about, written about, artistically rendered, archived in policy documents—as "specialized knowledge." In precarious times, part of art and criticism must suture specialized knowledges from the everyday in one region of the world and then another, noting even more clearly the identity formations that need to be kept distinct and those that can tumble into mutual contamination. As Tsing comments, "heterogeneity remains important; it is impossible to explain the situation (her immediate case is deforestation) through the actions of a single hammer striking every nail with the same stroke" (213). And so to conclude this essay, I offer a handful of scenes that convey attributes of indigenous biophilia as different people struggle to overcome economic violence. This is the advance to the rear, the pursuit of valor unfolding in the backlots and alleyways of economic colonialism, because ecological and economic conquest cause to "vanish" not only indigenous people but the non-indigenous as well (Arvin) and because the places we struggle to "love" are mired in other frames of cultural erasure.

Violence that Hangs in the Air

Violence is an affront to habitation as murder, pollution that reaches toxicity, or the decisions and means to decimate a countryside; beyond violent events there lingers an atmosphere as capable of displacement as a police action. These atmospherics take the form of trauma, melancholy, loss, and malaise as if violence that shifts from a material to a gaseous state. In her 2007 Malinowski lecture on the after-effects of violence on the island of Cyprus, Yael Navaro-Yashin proposes an "anthropology of ruination" to capture, if not capitalize upon, the long, lingering "hangover" of violence that hangs in the air like fog, and that settles in crevices like dust, that laminates

the surfaces of modern innovation. Dust is part melancholy and part matter because the physical residue of violence is catalogued through everyday objects, stolen through conquest to clutter the small spaces within vanquished territories. For Navaro-Yashin, sometimes the most poignant monuments to ethnic war is a fork next to plate that silently serves a different hunger.

Charles Bowden, in his book, Murder City, paints the atmospherics of abjection in Cuidad Juarez, Mexico resulting from the North American Free-trade Agreement. NAFTA followed shortly after globalization was announced in 1988 in sync with the first attempts to cut greenhouse emissions (noted by Klein). What matters about NAFTA for Bowden is not globalization per se but how policy debates paper over the devastation of peasant agriculture in Mexico: wages dropped and the "increased shipment of goods from Mexico . . . created a perfect cover for the movement of drugs in the endless stream of semi-trucks heading north" (98). Bowden writes that the violence is everywhere; everyone is dying and "in this new way of life, no one is really in charge and we are all in play . . . and I feel this in my bones…. The violence has crossed class lines. The violence is everywhere. The violence is greater. And the violence has no apparent and simple source. It is like the dust in the air, part of life itself" (22). As an affect, external to capital, and were it to be a pre-condition for innovation or justice, we'd find it in dust, rust, and melancholy. Bowden continues: "to notice it would require concentration, to ignore it would be an invitation to death" (78).

Dust in Cyprus, dust in Juarez, dust in Kent, dust that may at times give rise to what Navaro-Yashin calls a "local moral discourse" or what Gibson-Graham might call an "intentional economy." Years after an ethnic war redivides the island of Cyprus, a local moral discourse emerged from daily living coining the term a "ganimet state" (state of looting) to describe the emerging, post-war culture of the island. But other times, it just hovers as dust, the veneer of decay and loss. There are no guarantees of sustained resistance in these stories, but common to all them is the remainder, the texture, the affective basis for renewal given to biophilic indigeneity employed through everyday circumstances. If a local moral discourse sounds like the mustering of democracy, ethnic preservation, or wise-use economic redevelopment, it could be that, but not until melancholic stories are found to be communal. Ruination has a texture to it, and it circulates as tattered matter that gives rise to melancholic speech and body ges-

tures, a field, as it were, on which subjects and objects co-mingle through Tsing's "contaminated diversity"—on the plains of war-torn Cyprus or some 40 years after May 4th in Kent. I propose that indigenous biophilia knows these textures.

A local moral discourse in Juarez for Bowden would be rooted in the understanding that economic interests profit from the propagation of lies that mutate over time to become an atmosphere of unbounded violence. Violence becomes a condition for living ever closer to extinction not from ecological disaster but from political indifference and militancy given license through US economic policies. The lies are as omnipresent are is death for the poor in Mexico: NAFTA succeeds in uplifting wages; Mexico is fighting a war on drugs; the US borders are in danger; and walls will stop migrants, drugs and terror. After 15 years of living in and around Juarez, and with careful documentation, Bowden asserts these are all convenient lies spoken to insulate those already safe from danger. For those who live nearer to the street, "Over seven thousand people have been killed in Juarez since January 2, 2008 . . . At least eighty-three thousand jobs in border factories have been lost, 40 percent of the retail businesses are shuttered, 27 percent of the houses are abandoned, at least 500 street gangs prowl the calles," and the US applauds and funds an unending war on drugs (Bowden 235). If there is a love of place present here, it must be discovered within the residues of violence, and indigeneity rooted in cultural collapse. From Bowden, "you are left with fear, a fear you no longer recognize and yet never seem to escape" (79). These are the tests and measurements of indigeneity Arvin proposes.

Emerging from Violence

Over 20% of Mexico's population is counted as indigenous and Article 2 of Mexico's Constitution asserts pride and commitment to maintain a "pluriculture" to honor the rights of indigenous people, with histories that precede colonization to "preserve their own social, economic, cultural, political institutions." Yet Bowden accounts for how none of this is true after NAFTA and certainly not during a street war to preserve the sale of drugs. Arguments over the historical categorization of one people vs. another by blood, familial lineage, custom, and ritual are therefore superseded by an amalgamation of cultures de-composed, dispersed, and commodified.

It is increasingly known that 50% of the planet's diverse populations live in some form of urban environment, a figure soon to reach 70% by most predictions. These simple-minded dimensions suggest that indigeneity will face new cycles of global assimilation, a different colonial virus. In addition to the threats to pristine places and cultures honored by Klein, the shape, depth, and territory of the urban form itself is mutating as homeland, in part because western economic policies sustain waves of violence that can gut a border city like Juarez and fuel the mutation of other cities under the spell of transnational capitalism, a re-territorialization of the city not as white flight but to flee the dangers of illegal trafficking. Jose Samper charts the rise of the "informal settlement": if half the planet is urban, half of those people live in informal settlements—a territorial accumulation of human capital distinct from 19th and 20th-century urban formations that gain coherence because of natural features of water, mountains, and coastlines. The city's center does not hold. Medellín is both Sampler's home and study site, a city that bore the brunt of globalization at the close of the 20th century. As the capital of the province of Antioquia, the city saw a collapse of nationalized industries because of global trade policies such as NAFTA in the 1980s and early 1990s resulting in a surge of drug trafficking and violence (3). Lower-income families fled the "central business districts" to carve out "communa" a new urban form rooted in "illegal forms of tenure, precarious dwellings, and violations of established regulations and codes" (Betancur n. page).

Samper's plea for the global community is to watch closely how Medellín, Columbia transmogrifies from formality to informality so that we comprehend the magnitude and trajectories of the forces at work here, as they may be coming to a neighborhood near you. Samper grew up in Medellín and woke to gunshots and mysterious death because his neighborhood was governed by militia. Yet drug-related violence was not the only spark for territorial mutation; global economic polices created an economic vacuum that drug-related commerce partially filled. When new urban territories emerge, populated by a fast-moving regional diaspora, a process unfolds as if habitational democracy reconstitutes itself: first to arrive in the countryside is good will, then the desire for basic sustenance, and then maternal (not paternal) affiliation. As Samper reports, the threat of violence moved the poorest to outside the state's control, closer to harm from marauding gangs but also away from the state's jurisdictions. Living

close to violence led indirectly to emergent economic and governance structures: participatory budgeting, human rights commissions, and women's and advocacy groups, often of the youngest and the most vulnerable to corruption. Grassroots organizing brought politics, culture, religion, environment, education, gender, age, sports, etc. into closer relation when violence was near because the terms of democracy and equality were open to all, however raw their edges, "resilient community organizations" are improbable within the state's economic caste system.

Samper provides a different lens on biophilic indigeneity wherein blood lines, customs, language and rituals must, under the threat of violence, be restated and that echo the calls of the indigenous fortitude recorded by Klein: "When my children are born, I want them to be born into a world where hope and transformation are possible" (from earlier in this essay). "Resilience is understood as the capacity of individuals or communities to challenge the perpetrators of violence by generating relatively autonomous control of the activities, spaces, and social and economic forces and conditions that comprise their daily lives" (Samper 25), and this tradition and practice of being resilient is generated by biophilic indigeneity foremost under the threat of violence and annihilation.

We Are All Human

On July 24, 2013, in Santiago de Compostela, Spain, a commuter train, traveling twice its prescribed speed, left the tracks along a sharp bend, killing and injuring nearly all of 200 passengers. By journalist Miguel-Anxo Murado's account in The Guardian, and speaking as resident as much as observer, causality lies well beyond driver error, or whatever technological limitations are to be found in complex systems or even corporate pressures to monetize risk, choosing speed over safety. In the train engineer's words, as he stumbled, bloodied from the wreck, "we are all human; we are all human." Indeed, we are, but for Murado, there lingers a haunting authority unrecognized by law, science, economics or even a national culture. It's an authority that would tell us that we should know better when catastrophe is coming our way—a "smooth mind" as the Western Apache will name the disposition of self and community that depends upon a residential understanding, the kind of life-world-memory-in-place, practice-over-time that grants a cautious wisdom by virtue of long, slow

lessons that speak to otherwise lost dimensions of catastrophe and resilient recovery. This is an authority nearly impossible to presuppose for residents in Juarez or the informal settlements of Medellín, but it must be of the same mettle as indigenous communities from Africa or Canada. There exists an authority given to places technical or natural, an authority overlooked by the late modern demiurge, an authority rediscovered after tragic moment in the Galicia region of Spain. "[M]odernity and velocity" renamed the lingering potential for a late-modern technological collapse, nurtured by a trust in progress and scientific justification.

Murado, the writer as resident, assigns blame to a cultural-geographic desire for inclusion in a global economy—the need for speed—in a region of Spain with forbidding geographies and complicated settlement patterns. The drug of choice in this vignette is a different type of intoxication, leaving a different kind of hangover: "I can't help feeling that at some profound or superficial moral level, we also played our part in this tragedy . . . the last, most tragic episode of a decade of oversized dreams, fast money and fast trains." The "bend where this accident happened has a story to tell: it is noticeably sharp, a typical product of our landscapes. . . . the very day the line was inaugurated in 2011, many passengers noticed a strange shock when entering that bend." And Murado concludes: "Maybe we should have listened to our geography, but everybody—was united in our enthusiasm for inclusion, participation, and identification in a competitive global community." Maybe we should listen to our cities for these familiar shocks and murmurs, as we might watch for their re-territorialization by informal settlement, as we might sense the atmospherics of death and loss that permeates the atmosphere in Juarez. If indigeneity grants an affinity to residential lands, then perhaps indigeneity imparts the ability to hear as well as to see. Matthew Shaer begins his retrospective study of the Amtrak derailment in Washington, DC in 2015 by standing near the tracks: "you would have heard Amtrak 188 before you saw it, in the hum of the rail bed and the metallic shiver of the electricity in the overhead catenary wires."

The Forthright Walk into the Darkness

I have asked for patience from the reader to let this essay unfold to consider tragedy and violence for its fleeting ecological potential.

I have tried to distribute the deep, spiritual investments of indigenous biophilia in commonplace occurrences. It is easier to write about bright worlds of triumph, but for this essay, darkness, tragedy and even death are counter-narratives to the triumph of capitalism and progress. The biophilia I put forward seeks a multidimensional adaptability as much as an unfettered love of a single place. The indigeneity I forward looks beyond the purity of any one tradition or people toward the ability to thrive in the midst of chaos and indirection. I have tried to suggest that economic and ecological threat reaches much further than a public battleground, that the major policies of economic transnationalism have two classes of victims—those directly savaged by ecological injustice, and then those who remain to make sense of the residues of economic violence: both share the wait for the next cycle of economic calamity.

All of the pristine regions catalogued by Klein, and then those noted in my vignettes, eventually fall back into everyday life, as they must. As I have written elsewhere (Ackerman & Dunn in press a), after every protest and after every confrontation, people go home to live out the rest of their lives as they can best achieve, and those scenes can be as revealing as the frontlines of dissent. This point is made, less graphically and more eloquently, by Judith Butler who proclaims that:

> [P]olitics is not defined as taking place exclusively in the public sphere, distinct from the private one, but it crosses those lines again and again, bringing attention to the way that politics is already in the home, or on the street, or in the neighborhood, or indeed in those virtual spaces that are equally unbound. . . . So when we think about what it means to assemble a crowd . . . we see some ways that bodies in their plurality lay claim to the public, find and produce the public through seizing and reconfiguring the matter of material environments; at the same time, those material environments are part of the action, and they themselves act. (71)

I quote her at length to point out the difficulties she poses for the resident to recognize disassembly and then the means to return to daily living. Recalling Manzini, the failure to cherish the ecological quotidian, the defuse production of everyday culture and within a design hungry milieu is a millennial failure. From the brief vignettes I've gathered, people go home to witness and to work with the opportunities and predicaments of late-modern, on-going catastrophic life, a dire depiction of the adventures of western democracy that

present a very steep climb to biophilic "honesty." When people go home, they meet again the spreading vapors of death, loss, grief, and a concession to life out of balance, as found in Juarez, where there is no apparent opportunity, no inspiring horizon, beyond coping with death. Bowden offers no pithy resolve for the progressive spirit, no technological solution, no genius design to upgrade a cultural environment. Rather, after 15 years of a life enveloped by the plague of death and by policy and ethnic obfuscation, Bowden concludes, "until these facts are faced (the largest migration of the poor on earth is heading north because of the corruption of Mexico, because of our economic policies, because of our drug policies, and because of overpopulation), the talk of walls or open immigration or 'Let's legalize marijuana' or Plan Merida are pointless" (237).

There are those who simply must wait for the policy experts to gain the ethical fortitude to be honest to life on the ground in Juarez and border regions of the US. The truth, it seems, an unalloyed honesty to the measure of death at one's doorway, is all that remains as solace. And when people go home in Medellín, they partly achieve what Butler proposes only when they move away from the state, up the hill, closer to violence but then closer in kind to participatory habitation. The difficult lesson is perhaps that raw democracy is difficult to observe but in the end is more inspiring for the globally displaced. Raw publicity enabling a jagged metis might offer a different kind of antidote to violence, necessary because cities are sheltering indigenous and non-indigenous groups in higher and higher numbers. Apparently, the liveliest democratic territories are to be found in informal settlements, just as the liveliest forests are those that have survived deforestation and war.

What is this common noise, these vibrations, these earthly connections, this deathly dust that hangs in the air, this territorial mutability, this doxa? Indigeneity, were it a public art and craft, would not restrict its biophilic imaginaries to pristine waters and less-trammeled country sides; it would look to threatened conditions for survival, a different kind of disciplined learning that reaches all the way down to Juarez, Medellín, or over Santiago de Compostela. As a scholar, I've been trapped by categorical intolerance, a way of thinking that for Kathleen Stewart "slides over the live surface of difference at work in the ordinary" to arrive at "bigger structures and underlying causes." These neighborhoods are poorer than many, but then poverty is one of the rational metrics of economic and social pre-

scription that doesn't have that much to say about day-to-day living. The logics of capitalism do slide over the lived surface of difference and pull our attention away from the shocks and shudders that echo around a neighborhood. I have turned lately to the idea of ruination (Ackerman in press b) as a way out, as does Tsing, to live closer to life in vivo after the war machines have gone away and the residues of violence remain. It is in ruination that "interspecies gathering matters; that's why the world remains ecologically heterogeneous despite global spanning powers" (Tsing 213). Maybe the valor given to indigenous biophilia appears because people fight to love and protect the capacities of place as they frequent them. These are the lessons I hear in indigenous claims of the right to survive. Maybe it's time to salute the tenacity of indigenous biophilia as it pervades all walks of life.

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Section III:

Current and Future Rhetorical Interventions