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THE NATIVE AND UNIVERSITY PARADOX

LARA A. JACOBS AND CHERRY YEW YAMANE

Positionality Statements

Jacobs: See Introduction for positionality statement.

Yamane: Kanaka ʻōiwi (Hawaiian), Uchinanchu (Okinawan); Moku o Waiʻanae hometown; now living on Potawatomi lands; University of Washington.

They want to learn from us but not have our involvement in analyzing the data.
They want to hear our insights but not when those insights are disruptive to the colonial system.
They want to include our Knowledges but not our critiques of epistemic violence and genocide.
They want to use our sciences to create more diverse and inclusive classroom material, but they don't want us to be the teachers.
They want to include us, but they don't want to hire us.

They want us to teach them how to prevent environmental disasters but won't help us get our lands back so we can manage them.
They want to acknowledge the land and our Peoples, but they do nothing for our land and human rights.

They want cultural diversity but only as long as it doesn't create instances of white fragility or upset any preconceived notions about us.
They want us to bring our cultures to events but not into meetings.
They want our "red faces" but not enough of them to paint the Ivory Towers a different color.

They want to use us in DEI ad campaigns to get other Natives in their programs but won't support us once we are here nor work harder to make our experiences better.

They want us to be the noble, peaceful, flowery Native tropes, but not the warriors, nor the ones who want to change the system.

They want us to be seen but not heard.
They want us to comply with their systems but not disrupt nor unsettle them.
They want us to be colonial but not decolonial.
They want us to be whiter.

Where is the reciprocity?
Where is the responsibility?
Where are the relationships?
The university system maintains the absence of these essential value systems.

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INTERGENERATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY

What We Owe the Past, Present, and Future

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Positionality Statements

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Harris*: Cherokee Nation Citizen of Cherokee and mixed-European heritage; raised on Cow Creek Band of Umpqua Tribe of Indians lands; now living on Schitsu'umsh (Coeur d'Alene) lands; doctoral student, Information School, University of Washington.

Iniguez+: Mexica/Purepecha Ancestry, trained in Dakota Traditions/spirituality. Raised in Tongva lands and currently resides in Tongva lands. Currently work with the US Forest Service, National Tech and Development Program as a natural resources specialist/assistant project manager.

Mendoza*: Masahua citizen, with mixed-European ancestry. Camotepec, Puebla, Mexico's ancestral town, living now on the ancestral territory of the Blackfoot Confederation, which is also the territory of Treaty 7 First Nations, in Alberta, Canada; IHE Delft Institute, Netherlands/White Eagle Sustainable Development.

Author Notes: *Authors contributed equally as a unified voice; +Author contributed equally up to the point of final submission.

We belong to the land, the land does not belong to us.

—Wes Martel, Eastern Shoshone,
as quoted by E. Sherline (Franklin 2021).

Introduction

Responsibility contains many dimensions: as Indigenous Peoples, responsibility may span across the dimensions of time and space. Since time immemorial, we inherit from our Elders the responsibility to be caretakers of the land. In "The Statement of Manitoba Elders," Bineshiikwe and colleagues (2015) describe The Great Binding Law that the Great Spirit gave the People. This law is a sacred responsibility that ensures we leave future generations a world in which human and nonhuman beings care for each other in respectful relationships.

INDIGENOUS RELATIONS: HARMS OF COLONIALISM

The vitality of land, seed, life, and our cultures are indivisibly linked, even as we have been under attack for over four centuries from the far-reaching forces of colonialism. We have been forcibly removed from our lands, learning to eat a Euro-American diet consisting of carbohydrates, sugars, dairy, and chemical-laced foods and drinks; thus, un-centering our Peoples from our prior land-based diets of organic, fresh and dried meats, vegetables, nuts, and fruits. Despite these and other attacks on our Peoples, our Elders continue to impart the significance of taking care of our bodies and Mother Earth. Therefore, we encourage each other to remain connected to our lands, seeds, first foods, and cultures. We must become part of a good cycle that includes planting, growing, harvesting, eating, and connecting with our relatives—human and our more-than-human kin alike.

Mother Earth is made up of dynamic, living, and wise beings who allow us to learn valuable lessons that we can continue to share with each other and future generations. Oren Lyons, Faithkeeper of the Onondaga Indian Nation, relayed the history of the Haudenosaunee Peoples by stating, the Peacemaker told us to "make decisions on behalf of the **seven generations** coming. . . . We have a responsibility to them, to hold fast to our cultures, to hang on to our land, to follow the instructions, and to rebuild our nations" (Jorgenson 2007). Therefore, it is our responsibility to the seven generations coming to share our Knowledges and reclaim our healthy ways of living.

RESPONSIBILITY TO THE LAND

The losses of plant and animal biodiversity and Indigenous cultures and practices combined with future species-related losses due to climate change are some of the consequences of colonial interruption of Indigenous Peoples'

caretaking responsibilities. Part of this interruption is facilitated by federal agencies that attempt to manage lands formerly tended by our Peoples. Such management attempts are directed at controlling "natural" places through a one-sided relationship: taking without giving and interrupting natural processes such as fire. In the centuries after colonization, colonial land managers have viewed fire as an enemy and have enacted Eurocentric fire suppression policies that have led to an unprecedented frequency and intensity of wildfires, causing a "catastrophic" destruction of lands and animals (Kimmerer and Lake 2001). Since time immemorial, many Indigenous Peoples have used fire as an effective tool to maintain our lands, health, and wellness (Hessburg et al. 2021; Lake et al. 2017). It is now our responsibility to help shift governing policies away from an outdated and unsustainable view of fighting fire to a holistic and Indigenous-centered view in which we reconnect with fire as our sacred relative and as a revered tool to keep the land's health.

Western fire and land management frameworks sometimes view the idea of the interactions between humans and nature as transactional. Land exists as a static thing to be occupied and harvested of resources, such as with mining and logging practices that benefit a select number of humans monetarily but irresponsibly damage the land by contaminating waterways and harming habitats. Indigenous Peoples offer a distinct worldview—one of sacred relationships built on foundations of reciprocity and responsibility. Many of our Traditional stories speak of the dangers of human irresponsibility, and our Elders recognize the need to be responsible for the consequences of our actions and maintain a balance between taking and caretaking. They often seek to guide us, as their descendants, through story work.

INDIGENOUS RESILIENCE ROOTED IN STORY AND TRADITIONAL ECOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE

Jicarilla Apache philosopher Viola Cordova asks what it means to become human: "Of what memories and stories, relations and responsibilities . . . are we made?" (2007, 131). She inseparably links stories with responsibilities, relationships, and remembering—and all of these facets to our very existence, our fundamental makeup. Settler colonialism attempted to take our stories from us to suppress the Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK) contained within them, and to replace our Knowledges with western ideas. This resulted in the suffering of ecosystems, humans, and our more-than-human kin as our remembrances of responsibilities were forcibly erased.

In *Cherokee Stories of the Turtle Island Liars' Club*, Cherokee Elder Hastings Shade tells of a time when animal relatives sent sickness to punish humans for being disrespectful of our more-than-human relations (Teuton et al. 2012). The plant relatives stepped in with compassion and responsibility: for every illness sent to the humans, plants provide medicines for healing (Teuton et al. 2012). Our TEK, spiritual beliefs, and wisdom that accumulated over generations have been significantly affected by colonialism, but we remain unconquered. We are now in a time of Indigenous resurgence, a time in which we can and will bring back our Knowledges, values, and beliefs to restore broken relations with our Peoples and more-than-human kin. Our relatives, such as fire, have been falsely portrayed as our enemies. It is our responsibility to repair and restore this relationship. In this time, we all face a crisis like the one Cherokee Elders describe, yet the land, the water, and our many kin continue to hold up their responsibilities toward us. It is time for us to uphold our responsibilities toward them and all those who come after us.

Conclusion

As Indigenous Peoples we must work on the rematriation[1] of our Knowledges, Traditions and values, to nurture ourselves and our relationships with the land, the water, our many kin, and ourselves. We are responsible for building a new framework together with other peoples—both Indigenous and non-Indigenous—that is based on different systems of Indigenous Ways of Knowing, to revert the harm that colonialism has caused worldwide. This framework includes reestablishing our relationship with fire as a sacred relative and scientific tool for wellness. Upholding our responsibility to fire means critically analyzing governmental fire policies where we live and lobbying for the reestablishment of TEK in our areas.

We all are land custodians who must love, connect, and take care of each other. We are indebted to the past, present, and future generations. Such debt requires us to honor the responsibilities embedded within the Great Binding Law so our future seven generations can be blessed in perpetuity.

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1 Rematriation is defined by Newcomb (1995, 3), as "to restore a living culture to its rightful place on Mother Earth," or "to restore a people to a spiritual way of life, in sacred relationship with their ancestral lands, without external interference."

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FOOD-GROWER-GRIZZLY HELPS BEAVER COMMUNITY

JENNIFER GRENZ-NLAKA'PAMUX

Positionality Statement

See chapter 25 for positionality statement.

Blackbear Watches the Salmon

A MODERNIZED INDIGENOUS STORY TO TEACH LESSONS OF FOOD SECURITY AND FOOD SOVEREIGNTY

Blackbear sat on a bridge over the river, dangling his feet over the edge. As he swung his legs back and forth, he peered down, into the sparkling water, catching glimpses of flashes of red backs darting here and there. Further upstream he could hear the splashes in the water of the sockeye salmon as they spawned in the gravel beds.

Blackbear's granddaughter, who had come along for a walk with her grandfather, growing bored, asked Blackbear why he sat and watched the salmon for so long. Reflecting on a conversation with his grandfather, Blackbear told his granddaughter that there was a time when there were so many spawning salmon in the rivers that there seemed to be more fish than water. It was as though you could walk on the backs of the salmon across the river. After the settlers arrived, they didn't know how to care for the fish and they harvested so many that they even left piles of fish, as high as a house, to rot on the banks of the river. Eventually, fewer and fewer fish came back. Blackbear told his granddaughter that when her mother was young, he and she would sit on that same bridge and watch the water, hoping to see the flash of the red backs of the sockeye salmon come spawning time, but some days they would not see a single one.

He said, "We grew hungry those days when the salmon disappeared. Sockeye is what we ate growing up. I grew up fishing with my family. We

would spend days at the river, harvesting. I never got to teach your mother to fish because there were no fish to catch."

"Well, what did you eat?" his granddaughter asked. Blackbear said, "Well, we did our best to eat our other foods, but it was difficult. Other protein sources were harder to come by. Many of us weren't very good at hunting other foods. People saw that we weren't looking very good."

He sighed and continued, "People from outside our community started giving us their food to eat. Some bears moved elsewhere and got jobs and earned money and bought food from the grocery stores. Us bears were sad. For thousands of years, we ate sockeye. It is part of our DNA. Then suddenly . . . No more. It was nice that there were other foods for us so we wouldn't starve but we weren't used to all of this new food. It was strange to us. Some bears felt sick eating the food, and started having health problems—health problems we bears had never had before. Health problems we still have to this day. We bears just weren't meant to eat that food, but . . . " He trailed off, sadness in his eyes as he stared at the water below.

Suddenly a fish jumped right below them and at least twenty fish swam together under the bridge toward the spawning beds. Blackbear smiled.

"The good news is that us bears worked very hard to help our salmon relations to grow in numbers again. Eventually, they started to come back. Many of my Elders were excited to start fishing again and be able to teach their sons and daughters at last, but the settler government said that we were not allowed to fish. And especially not in the ways we have always done."

Granddaughter bear looked perplexed. Her grandfather went on, "Well, the government felt that to get the fish numbers up high, we needed to let the fish rest, not catch them until there were enough. It's something us bears used to do long before the settlers came. We even have words for that in our language. We tried to tell the settlers about this resting before all the fish disappeared. They didn't listen to us. They learned a tough lesson and we suffered the most from their mistakes. As the fish started to come back, having learned these lessons, now they TELL US, the fish have to rest. That we can't fish. We understood that they wanted to do all they could to protect the fish. It just felt like all of a sudden they were protecting the fish FROM US." He shook his head and went on, "They forgot that we needed the fish to eat. That the fish are part of who we are. That we cared for the fish for thousands of years and managed to keep our bellies full at the same time.

But no. Still, they would not let us fish. And so we sat, just like this, on this bridge, for years, watching the fish pass us by."

"Are there enough fish to eat now grandfather?" granddaughter bear asked.

"Well, for us bears, yes. For all of the hungry settlers, probably not," he replied.

Granddaughter bear responded, "But now we can fish our way, right grandfather?"

The bear sighed. "Well, yes. The settler government is letting us fish again, mostly our way. So that's good."

"Why are so few bears fishing now grandfather?" granddaughter bear asked as she looked up and down the river.

"Well, many parents didn't learn how to fish our way. Like your mother. Remember, there weren't many fish when they were children. Now that fish have returned, some are learning again from the Elders. It is tough though. There still aren't very many fish, so that makes it harder. Many of the bears with fishing Knowledge have passed on. Many younger bears don't have time. The food from the store is easier to get. Bears are busy with their jobs. It takes a lot of time and effort to harvest fish. I understand that."

"I will learn. I want to learn," granddaughter bear said with great pride. She stood up abruptly, "I will also tell the government how to care for the salmon. Our way."

"Yes, my dear granddaughter. You will help us to reclaim our ways. You will help our salmon relations to flourish once more. There is still much work to be done, but I have hope in you and all of the young bears of your generation."

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Table 24.1. Western and Indigenous conceptual frameworks for research

Observation Type	Western Concepts	Indigenous Concepts
Observations related to time *(temporal)*	Second, minute, hourly, daily, monthly, annually, decadal, seasonally, diurnal/ nocturnal	Millenia, generational/ancestral*, time marked by animals*, migration and animal behavior*, nonlinear/ multidimensional time/space*, reincarnation*, predictions and dreams*, seasonal, driven/directed by weather*, time marked by people's lives and time of living
Time examples	*Observation took place on 10/17/1995 at 1:43pm Eastern*	*During mango season, before my grandmother was born.*
Observations related to the physical world *(spatial, geospatial)*	Point, line, polygon, human population centers, national and regional boundaries, state and federal jurisdiction	Routes*, areas*, ecosystems*, habitats*, agreed-upon territorial boundaries, agreed-upon use boundaries*, Indigenous place names*, hunting and gathering places*, sacred sites*, gendered-use spaces*, seasonal-use spaces* celestial/star bodies and space phenomena*
Physical world examples	*Geolocated polygon describing our collection site*	*The stories we tell about stars we see along the route to my mother's village at the end of the rainy season*
Observations related to humans	Interviews, surveys, field recordings, oral histories, remains, audio, video, photo, culture, dance, Tradition, clothing/ regalia, tools, language, customs, tattoos, citizenship/ Tribal status, DNA, lab tests, BMI, weight, IQ	Relations*, family*, bones*, stories*, recordings*, audio*, video*, photo*, culture*, dance*, Tradition*, clothing/regalia*, tools, language, ritual and customs*, prayer*, tattoos*, sharing food and resources*, spending time*, respect of Elders*, respect of women*, respect of children*, preparation of food*, gift giving *, Traditional gender, sexual, and familial roles*, lineage*, role/title/other honorific*, personification/personhood of animals*, dreams/visions*, ritualized conversations, debate and discourse*
Human examples	*Sequenced genome*	*The songs my grandfather sang on the boat*

Table 24.1. Western and Indigenous conceptual frameworks for research (continued)

Physical items collected for analysis *(specimens, samples)*	Sample, plot, abundance, population counts, length/height, animal tracks, bones, scat, fossil, animal and plant "specimen," environmental samples	Animal smell*, animal taste*, qualities of animal pelt/skin/flesh such as color or thickness, timing of animal behavior, plant color, size, and location of growing, animal disease, stories told about the animals/plants*, stones*, stone/land formations*, specific water bodies and water formations*, specific trees*, plants*, lava fields*
Specimen examples	*Food contents of a salmon gut*	*Plant that revealed itself to me*
Observations collected from a distance *(remote sensing)*	Radar, satellite imagery, synthetic aperture radar, lidar	Dreams*, celestial navigation*, stories*, legend*, weather prediction*, Indigenous Knowledges, beach combing and things coming in with the tide, smells on the wind, qualities of the air/wind
Observation examples	*Satellite imagery*	*A smell in the wind*

cultural and sacred concepts in order to do proper justice to Indigenous ways of Knowing. The two sections below examine how different ways of Knowing relate to the sacred and, by extension, to data activities, in greater detail.

WHAT TRADITIONAL SOCIETAL ROLES TEACH US ABOUT PLANTS

In a Samoan context, to understand the healing and medicinal properties of a plant, one should know the legends about how our People and Gods came to be introduced to the plant, and the uses of the plant for ending possession by aitu, spirits and ghosts. A Samoan researcher may seek expertise from Elders, ask about the legends and stories surrounding the plant's origins, examine how the plant is used across Oceana, examine where the plant grows and what grows around it, and speak with Traditional healers. The researcher will spend time and sit with the Indigenous Peoples involved in the project, bringing proper gifts and demonstrating respectful protocols for all interactions. In such relational work, Samoan researchers may listen for stories about the plant and what procedures were performed