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The Empire Writes Back: Environmental Racism & Indigenous Projects

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THE EMPIRE WRITES BACK: ENVIRONMENTAL RACISM & INDIGENOUS

PROJECTS

By

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The Empire Writes Back: Environmental Racism and Indigenous projects.

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ABSTRACT

An abstract for the thesis of Gary Egger for the Master of Arts in Sociology at Minnesota State University, Mankato, Minnesota.

Title: The Empire Writes Back: Environmental Racism and Indigenous Projects.

The production of research is integral for gaining the knowledge and understanding to interpret the phenomena that occurs in everyday life. Historically, both research and knowledge have been under the control of the West while at the same time marginalizing minority groups. Attempts by members of minority groups to participate in producing knowledge has been ignored, discredited, and met with resistance by powerful dominant groups. Standpoint theory, from the perspective of Sandra Harding, supports the notion of strong objectivity, or the idea that the standpoint of oppressed and/or marginalized peoples is necessary to create a more objective understanding of the world. Minority groups like Indigenous intellectuals have begun to write about topics of interest to them including their histories, cultures, and accounts of injustice by following specific Indigenous research agendas and methodologies. Linda Tuhiwai Smith's *Decolonizing Methodologies*: *Research and Indigenous Peoples* is a book about promoting Indigenous Peoples to undertake research, the prevention of the dying of Indigenous peoples, and countering Western knowledge and ideas about Indigenous peoples and culture. Smith introduces 25 Indigenous projects designed to heal, restore Indigenous cultures, self-determination, and social justice. The projects also encourage researchers to use them in an Indigenous research agenda. I used content analysis to analyze 35 written and

electronic sources by Indigenous intellectuals focusing on the issue of environmental

racism, a subject of much importance for Indigenous peoples, by investigating the extent

the Indigenous projects appear in each source. The analysis of environmental racism

demonstrated two important aspects of the Indigenous projects, memories of injustice and

healing. This indicates the importance of Smith's contribution to furthering Indigenous

knowledge. However, the differences in length and the scope of discussion of the sources

had a direct impact on the findings of the projects.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

"A people without knowledge of their past history, origin, and culture is like a tree without roots"- Marcus Garvey (*Marcus Garvey Peoples Political Party* N.d.).

> Scholars doing research in cultural or ethnic settings other than their own or researchers doing the type of ethnographic work in which there is an invasion of the private lives of the research subjects, such as in Indigenous[2] settings are faced with an apparent ethical conflict: The quest for knowledge, the basic premise of the European-based scientific method, versus the rights of the research subjects, particularly the right of ownership of cultural or intellectual property. All too often researchers have failed to either respect or be sensitive to the cultures under examination. Nowhere have researchers been more disrespectful of the rights of the research subjects than with Indigenous peoples. . . . The level of disrespect of the rights of Indigenous peoples is an extension of colonialism . . . or the general feeling of superiority common among academics and/or people of European ancestry. (Nielsen and Gould 2007:420-421)

According to the Online Library Learning Center (N.d.), research is meant to educate oneself by investigating and searching for the truth. Yet throughout history, the facts and theories produced and truths uncovered are the result of people who have the power to manipulate research the way they see fit, white middle-class men of European ancestry (Arzubiaga, Artiles, King, and Harris-Murri 2008:311-313; Collins 2000:5; Deloria, Jr. 1997:4-5; Galliher, Tsethlikai, and Stolle 2011:1; Harding 1992:568; Jacob 2006:452-453; Lavallée 2009:22; Louis 2007:130-131; Nielsen and Gould 2007:420-422; Smith 1999:1-3). The power to define truth and fact can be found in research that primarily has to do with people from other races, cultures, and ethnicities. From the point of view of those ousted or simply ignored by Western knowledge, these truths have been uncontested for many years. One explanation can be found in what Renee Galliher, Monica M. Tsethlikai, and Darrel Stolle (2011), Peggy McIntosh (2005), and Laura

Pulido (2000) refer to as white privilege. According to these scholars, people will get special privileges that they feel is theirs by right due to the color of their skin. Such privileges include ignoring minority writing and their activists' programs as well as having no concerns and no fear about ignoring the opinions of people of other races (McIntosh 2005). As Weber-Pillwax (2004) puts it, "[i]ndividual researcher ethics or minority group ethics are often not given formal recognition and therefore will not likely be accepted or integrated into the larger shape of institutional ethics" (p. 79). While on the other hand, research performed by white and middle class Europeans, (also known as the dominant group) (Arzubiaga et al. 2008; Healey 2007), is deemed accurate and truthful without having to concern themselves with the feelings of members from minority groups. Both Arzubiaga et al. (2008) and Healey (2007) define minority groups as people with less resources and power and who also suffer from inequality, discrimination, and prejudice.

Arzubiaga et al. (2008) strongly believes that "research is one of the best tools societies have to generate knowledge in systematic ways, to inform professional practice, and ultimately to help mold the future of our communities" (p. 310). However, the lives of certain communities and groups have been misrepresented and disrespected as a result of research. How is it that those with the power and resources (the dominant groups) have conducted research that may be perceived as racist, prejudiced, and discriminatory towards minority groups? Some may argue that no reason stands out more than the oppressiveness of historical events (Brook 1998; Collins 2000; Deloria, Jr. 1997; Galliher et al. 2011; Simpson 2002; Smith 1999). However, not only are minority groups aware of research's harmful impact on their lives, they are also looking to correct their

marginalized and false position in research created by Western society (Brook 1998; Collins 2000; Deloria, Jr. 1997; Fenelon and Hall 2008; Galliher et al. 2011; Jacob 2006; LaDuke 1999; Lavallée 2009; Louis 2007; Nielsen and Gould 2007; Simpson 2002; Smith 1999; Strong 2005; Weber-Pillwax 2004).

The nature of research has depicted minority groups as inferior and, in addition, has produced both false information and theories that were never proven to be true. This, essentially, has forced minority groups to participate in research themselves. Research now includes the voices of those that have long been silenced, offering knowledge on topics that matters most to them, and sharing a point of view that is more realistic and honest than Western science (Harding 1992; Jørgensen 2010). The focus of this paper will be on Indigenous authors, researchers, instructors, students, and activists. In essence, all Indigenous people from different walks of life writing about a topic that has great interest and importance for them, environmental degradation and racism (Smith 1999). The term that will be used to describe the writers in this study will be Patricia Hill Collins' (2000) concept, *intellectuals*. Collins (2000) describes an intellectual as someone who does not necessarily have to be a scholar, work in academia, or be educated. An intellectual is someone involved in intellectual work by contributing to an important cause to advance knowledge (Collins 2000:15). As stated earlier, this can be people from all walks of life, not just researchers. I chose Indigenous people because they arguably have been affected the most by Western knowledge as indicated earlier in the first quote by Nielsen and Gould (2007). I chose the topic of environmental issues because, among minority groups that have suffered from environmental degradation, Indigenous people have had to overcome great obstacles due to their dependence on food

provided by the land (Brook 1998:105). However, the concept of *land* holds higher value

than simply providing nourishment; it defines who Indigenous people are due to their

unique relationship to land and in how this relationship separates themselves from

Western society (Fenelon and Hall 2008; Goldtooth 2001; Silko 1997). According to

Fenelon and Hall (2008:1869), Indigenous people have *spiritual* relationships with the

land. Spirituality with the land is an understanding not shared by the West who instead

have treated the land as a commodity (World People's Conference on Climate Change

and the Rights of Mother Earth: Building the People's World Movement for Mother

Earth 2010). Goldtooth (2001: para. 8) argues that the West don't have a sense of

identity because they do not have a connection to the land. In contrast, land is central to

Indigenous peoples because the common belief among Native peoples is that the land

allows life to go on (Goldtooth 2001: para. 13). In short, humans, in general, believe that

they are above nature, but to Indigenous people, the land and everything within it, such as

plants and animals, were treated with respect because all of these things had being and

spirit (Silko 1997:26). Indigenous people are unique in who they are because they

associate land to the survival for all people (Silko 1997:29).

Research is not only an outlet for minority groups to contribute in sciences that were

dominated by Western culture, but it is also a means to offer up resistance to years of

oppression at the hands of colonialism and imperialism (Collins 2000; Harding 1992;

Jørgensen 2010; Smith 1999; Strong 2005). Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) is a strong

supporter of this idea, and her book entitled *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and*

Indigenous Peoples has a profound influence on this paper, specifically a chapter entitled

"Twenty-Five Indigenous Projects." These projects, as Smith (1999) puts it, are about

"the survival of peoples, cultures and languages; the struggle to become self-determining, the need to take back control of our destinies" (p. 142). The projects are a means to resist Western science and knowledge born from imperialism and colonialism, but more so, they are about reformulating and reclaiming Indigenous culture, ideas, and values. Again, Smith (1999) is a strong advocate of Indigenous rights and believes that Indigenous people should participate in writing and research using the 25 projects as a format to reclaim their culture and identities.

I intend to investigate how selected sources provided by Indigenous intellectuals fit with the approach Smith (1999) suggest for Indigenous peoples. Specifically, how are the Indigenous projects used in sources discussing the environment? Content analysis will be used to breakdown the work of the Indigenous intellectuals in order to answer one research question: "To what extent are the Indigenous projects depicted and used in printed and electronic Indigenous sources discussing environmental issues?" In other words, content analysis will help identify how many projects are present and how often they appear in each Indigenous source.

While this paper does in fact focus on the point of view of Indigenous people regarding research, it does not imply that other minority groups are less important or forgotten. Minority groups, in general, have been oppressed by the dominant groups in aspects of life that goes beyond the realm of research and any attempt to speak their minds has fallen on deaf ears. It is as Collins (2000) stated, "[o]ppressed groups are frequently placed in the situation of being listened to only if we frame our ideas in the language that is familiar to and comfortable for a dominant group. This requirement often changes the meaning of our ideas and works to elevate the ideas of dominant

groups" (p. vii). However, too often have minority groups been placed together as if each has no identity of their own and treated as if they all have the same needs and desires (Brook 1998; Smith 1999). Thus, to cover various minority groups will be difficult but will also be too large of a scope for the purposes of this paper.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review will address various topics of importance for this paper. The

first topic discussed will focus on how environmental racism is defined. I primarily focus

on the work done by Robert Bullard (1996) as he is considered an expert on the subject

(Eitzen and Zinn 2004:85). For Indigenous people in particular, I will also incorporate

Daniel Brook's (1998:105) definition of environmental racism or as he calls it, physical

and cultural genocide. I will then include a couple of examples of environmental racism

towards Indigenous peoples including an empirical study done by Thomas Shriver and

Gary Webb (2009).

This will transition to research and how historically it has favored those in power and

marginalized and oppressed many others including Indigenous peoples. Standpoint

theory by Sandra Harding (1992) is discussed in this paper as the antithesis to the

oppressive nature of research and how important it is for marginalized minority groups to

have the opportunity to tell their own stories to counteract the status quo of research

controlled by the dominant Western society. As stated earlier, I focus on the concepts

and ideas of Linda Tuhiwai Smith's (1999) *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and*

Indigenous Peoples and other Indigenous scholars as to how Indigenous peoples can get

involved with research and how to adopt Indigenous research methodologies.

Environmental Racism

> The nation's environmental laws, regulations, and policies have not been
> applied fairly across all segments of the population. Some individuals,
> groups, and communities receive less protection than others because of
> their geographic location, race, and economic status. Generally,
> environmental problems in suburban areas pose far fewer public health

threats than do those in urban or rural areas. Moreover, low-income communities and communities of color bear a disproportionate burden of the nation's pollution problems. Whether in urban ghettos and barrios or in rural "poverty pockets" and Native American reservations, pollution presents potential threats to public health that individuals with affluence or political clout are unwilling to accept. Risk burdens are localized, yet the benefits are generalized across all segments of society. Environmental disparities between white communities and communities of color reflect larger societal inequities. Over the years, disparities have been created, tolerated, and institutionalized by local, state, and federal action. (Bullard 1996:xiv)

According to Eitzen and Zinn (2004), social problems consist of two specific aspects. The authors stated the following: "In summary, here we consider **social problems** to be (1) societally induced conditions that cause psychic and material suffering for any segment of the population and (2) acts and conditions that violate the norms and values found in society" (Eitzen and Zinn 2004:11). Social problems are felt by many in society, none more so than by people of color and the poor (Brook 1998; Bullard 1996; Eitzen and Zinn 2004; Cole and Foster 2001; Collins 2000; Pulido 2000). Environmental crises like pollution are social problems that have affected minority groups and poor people specifically. Pollution due to toxic waste dumps and toxic-producing plants are located where poor people, especially people of color live is often referred to as environmental racism (Brook 1998; Bullard 1996; Cole and Foster 2001; Collins 2000; Eitzen and Zinn 2004; Moore 1998; Pulido 2000). Robert Bullard (1996) defines the term as the following:

Environmental racism is racial discrimination in environmental policy-making and enforcement of regulations and laws, the deliberate targeting of communities of color for toxic waste facilities, the official sanctioning of the presence of life-threatening poisons and pollutants in communities of color, and the history of excluding people of color from leadership of the environmental movement. (Pp. xi-xii)

An example of environmental racism can be found in Mississippi where people of color

represent 64 percent of the residents living near toxic facilities. However, they are only

37 percent of the state population (Eitzen and Zinn 2004:85).

One of the greater issues regarding all social problems is whether or not individuals

themselves are to blame (person-blame) or whether they are victims of social conditions

(system-blame). The person-blame suggests, for example, that children do not do well in

school because their parents are uneducated. The system-blame, on the other hand,

would look to the school itself as the cause for children's failures (Eitzen and Zinn 2004).

According to Bullard (1996), when it comes to environmental issues, the system refuses

to accept responsibility and instead puts the onus on victims to prove their claims.

Bullard (1996) points out:

> The current system provides greater benefits and protection for middle-
> and upper-income whites while shifting costs to the poor and people of
> color. Moreover, the dominant environmental protection paradigm
> reinforces, rather than challenges, the stratification of *people* (race,
> ethnicity, status, power, etc.), *place* (central cities, suburbs, rural areas,
> unincorporated areas, Native American reservations, etc.). . . . Many of
> our current environmental policies exist to manage, regulate, and
> distribute risks. As a result, the dominant environmental protection
> paradigm (1) institutionalizes unequal enforcement; (2) trades human
> health for profit; (3) places the burden of proof on the "victims," not on
> the polluting industry; (4) legitimates human exposure to harmful
> chemicals, pesticides, and hazardous substances; (5) promotes "risky"
> technologies, such as incinerators; (6) exploits the vulnerability of
> economically and politically disenfranchised communities; (7) subsidizes
> ecological destruction; (8) creates an industry around risk assessment; (9)
> delays cleanup actions; and (10) fails to develop pollution prevention as
> the overarching and dominant strategy. (Pp. xv-xvi)

Bullard (1996) believes that the minority groups living with environmental racism are

the victims while, at the same time, blaming not only pollutant industries but also the

government. When it comes to degradation to the environment, many scholars have

primarily placed the blame on the federal government for not reacting to this crisis and

essentially allowing toxic pollution to be a factor in the lives of people of color and the

poor (Brook 1998; Bullard 1996; Eitzen and Zinn 2004; Fenelon and Hall 2008; LaDuke

1999; Moore 1998; Shriver and Webb 2009).

Indigenous Peoples and Environmental Racism

First, the term *Indigenous* must be defined since its meaning and usage varies among

scholars. This is an important point to address because some social scientists believe that

the word may have negative connotations if presented in the wrong way (Smith 1999).

Borrowing the definition from Cobo, Fenelon and Hall (2008) believe that *Indigenous*

should be defined as the following:

> Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having a
> historical continuity with preinvasion and precolonial societies that
> developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other
> sectors of the societies now prevailing in those territories, or parts of them.
> They form at present nondominant sectors of society and are determined
> to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral
> territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued
> existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social
> institutions and legal systems. (P. 1869)

In Fenelon and Hall's (2008) article, "Revitalization and Indigenous Resistance to

Globalization and Neoliberalism," this concept is used to describe Indigenous people in

general terms and not as individual cases because of the misconception that people may

believe that one group's struggle for survival and autonomy is the same for another

group.

Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999:7) does not define *Indigenous peoples* as much as explain

it. The term, she says, emerged in the 1970's as a result of the many struggles faced by

the American Indian Movement (AIM). It allows for the many Indian colonized people

to come together and have a collective voice in order to obtain self-determination. Thus, the term describes a network of people coming together to learn, plan, and deal with colonization. However, one must not forget that each Indigenous group has its own culture and identity. To reiterate Smith (1999), Indigenous people should be a collective unit in face of colonialism and imperialism, yet the differences between groups should be recognized:

> The term 'indigenous' is problematic in that it appears to collectivize many distinct populations whose experiences under imperialism have been vastly different. . . . It is a term that internationalizes the experiences, the issues and the struggles of some of the world's colonized peoples. The final 's' in 'indigenous peoples' has been argued for quite vigorously by indigenous activists because of the right of peoples to self-determination. It is also used as a way of recognizing that there are real differences between different indigenous peoples. (Pp. 6-7)

Throughout this paper, I will use the term *Indigenous* but I do not want to disregard the other terminologies that may be used by the sources I have acquired to complete this paper. For example, Vine Deloria, Jr. (1997) uses the word *Indians* while Simpson (2002) uses *Aboriginal*. If I borrow a quote or happen to discuss a particular Indigenous intellectual, I will use the intellectual's words out of respect for their work.

I will now focus on Indigenous people and their struggle with environmental racism. I will then transition to discussing Indigenous people finding their voice and speaking about their own lives and problems concerning the environment, keeping Linda Smith's (1999) Indigenous projects in mind.

Two examples of environmental racism will be mentioned here. The first will be a general overview of Indigenous people's struggle with environmental racism discussed

by Brook (1998) and the second will be focused on one group in particular mentioned in the work done by Shriver and Webb (2009).

Daniel Brook (1998)-Environmental Genocide: Native Americans and Toxic Waste

Since the 1960s, researchers have studied and analyzed how numerous environmental hazards like air pollution, pesticide pollution, garbage dumps, lead poisoning, and toxic waste production and disposal is distributed. The overwhelming conclusion is that hazards are distributed by race or income: "In studies that looked at distribution of these hazards by income *and* race, race was most often found to be the better predictor of exposure to environmental dangers. Later studies have in large part confirmed these conclusions" (Cole and Foster 2001:55). As noted earlier, environmental laws, policies, and regulations are not applied fairly across the population. Communities of color and low-income communities bear the burden of pollution problems (Bullard 1996:xv). In essence, people of color and low-income communities are not protected by environmental laws as whites are. For example, Cole and Foster (2001:57) introduced a statistic that explains that it takes communities of color 20 percent longer to be recognized as clean-up sites than white communities.

Even though minorities are highly affected by environmental racism, Native Americans are arguably the most affected due to their dependence on food supplies connected to the land and also living at the lowest socioeconomic level in the U.S. (Brook 1998:105). Brook's (1998) article "Environmental Genocide: Native Americans and Toxic Waste" talks broadly about how Native Americans as a whole had to live with the harmful impact of environmental issues and Native resistance to it. Brook (1998:106) recognizes the different tribes across the country but concludes that they ultimately share

the same problem, toxic threats to their land caused by large pollutant industries and the

U.S. Government. Large corporations and the government have targeted the poverty and

other vulnerabilities of tribes by placing incinerators, nuclear waste storage facilities, and

landfills on Tribal land (Brook 1998:106; Simpson 2002:15). Toxic waste on tribal

territory would mean intervention from the federal government, thus, leading to the loss

of control over their own land, which is their primary resource for survival (Brook

1998:105). According to Brook (1998), "[t]he federal government can use the issue of

illegally dumped toxic waste as a pretext to revert to past patterns of paternalism and

control over Native American affairs on the reservations; Native Americans are viewed

as irresponsible, the U.S. government as their savior" (p. 109). One way the government

has exploited the poverty and unemployment of Native Americans is by offering money

if tribes would allow nuclear facilities on their land. Many reservations have taken the

deal since so many are without outside revenue. Brook (1998:106) describes this act

from the government as blackmail and exploitation rather than payment for service. This

is what Brook (1998) refers to as the modern era of genocide:

> Physical and cultural genocide have been practiced against Native
> Americans for half a millennium. In the modern era, these forms of
> genocide have been superseded by a more insidious, and ultimately more
> destructive, form. . . . GENOCIDE AGAINST NATIVE AMERICANS
> continues in modern times with modern techniques. In the past, buffalo
> were slaughtered or corn crops were burned, thereby threatening local
> native populations; now the Earth itself is being strangled, thereby
> threatening *all* life (P. 105)

Like many victimized ethnic groups, Native Americans are not passive in the face of

destruction from environmental racism and genocide, "[r]ather, they are active agents in

the making of their own history" (Brook 1998:106). The article "Victimization and the

Victim Industry" acknowledges that those that have been discriminated against are victims, but too much focus on this idea discounts the ability of individuals to take control over their own lives and emphasizes the power of social forces (Best 1997:9). Like Brook (1998), Shriver and Webb (2009) focus on Native Americans and how they live and resist environmental racism. "Rethinking the Scope of Environmental Injustice: Perceptions of Health Hazards in a Rural Native American Community Exposed to Carbon Black" by the aforementioned authors, is an empirical account of environmental injustice.

Shriver and Webb (2009)

I will use Thomas E. Shriver and Gary R. Webb's (2009) article "Rethinking the Scope of Environmental Injustice: Perceptions of Health Hazards in a Rural Native American Community Exposed to Carbon Black" as an example of how one tribe in particular has lived with environmental racism. A Native American tribe from Ponca City, Oklahoma is the focus of the study. The community is host to both a Conoco-Phillips oil refinery and the Continental Carbon Company responsible for the creation of carbon black, a black powder used as a reinforcing agent for rubber products. Carbon black stains the houses with black particles and is believed to be the cause of various health problems. The Ponca tribal members are an impoverished group with some living within 100 yards of the Continental Carbon Company. Many residents have complained that respiratory health problems, among other ailments, are the direct result of carbon black, but their health grievances have been ignored. The local medical establishment instead claims that the people are to blame for their health problems. Shriver and Webb (2009) stated the following:

> Native American residents have been unable to substantiate their health
> claims through institutional channels. They argue that the local medical
> establishment has refused to sanction their environmentally induced
> illness, preferring instead to focus on individual cases (i.e., parental
> smoking) for their children's respiratory health problems. They also
> believe that regulatory agencies and company officials have refused to
> acknowledge the pollution because neither wants to be held accountable.
> (P. 276)

The environmental pollution has done more than impact health, force residents to stay

inside, and destroy property; Ponca members argued that it has also negatively affected

their sense of community. Friends and family members refuse to visit due to the fear of

coming into contact with carbon black. Most residents would like to remain in the

community because of strong ties they have with the other tribal members. Besides, as

many have claimed, moving would be close to impossible because of decrease in

property value as a result of the pollution and limited resources at their disposal. The

tribal members from the community strongly believe that the reason they have been

ignored is directly related to racism:

> These residents are the most heavily impacted by the pollution, and they
> have developed a set of environmental health grievances that challenges
> what they believe is an institutionalized system of racism, neglect, and
> denial. Some white residents located farther from the plant have had their
> vehicles and property professionally cleaned by the company, and others
> reported that they have been compensated for damages. However, Native
> Americans living immediately around the facility argue that they have not
> been compensated in any way. (Shriver and Webb 2009:278)

Now I will focus on the importance of scientific research and knowledge, but I will

also discuss how they have misrepresented minority people (mainly Indigenous peoples),

ignored them, and refused to change the outlook on how research should be administered.

Deloria, Jr. (1997), Simpson (2002), and Smith (1999) among other Indigenous scholars

and authors, will be important guides and sources later in this paper, especially when the

topic begins to focus on the disrespect research has shown Indigenous people and also the

methodologies needed to aide Indigenous research. As Deloria, Jr. (1997) puts it:

> In many ways technology serves us and makes our lives better. Behind
> and beneath technology, however, in scientific theories and doctrines, lurk
> a large number of misperceptions, badly directed emphases, and
> unresolved philosophical problems. As Western civilization grew and
> took dominance over the world, it failed to resolve some basic issues. A
> view of the natural world as primarily physical matter with little spiritual
> content took hold and became the practical metaphysics for human affairs.
> During the European Middle Ages a basic split in perspective occurred
> when *reason* and *revelation*, the twin paths for finding truth in the minds
> of Western thinkers, were divided into sacred and secular and became
> equivalent but independent bodies of knowledge. Once reason became
> independent, its only referent point was the human mind and in particular
> the middle-class, educated, European mind. Every society needs educated
> people, but the primary responsibility of educated people is to bring
> wisdom back into the community and make it available to others so that
> the lives they are leading make sense. (P. 4)

Victims of Knowledge

> "[I]n knowledge there is power, and only through power can there be
> social transformation" (Jaimes 1992:9).

Thomas S. Kuhn's (1996) *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* has been considered

a landmark in intellectual history, a book so influential that it reaches beyond its intended

audience and touches people from all walks of life and intelligences (Kuhn 1996:

backcover). Kuhn's (1996) point of view is that of presenting scientific research in a way

that broadens one's perspective on the topic and also how it has the ability to evolve over

time. The next generations of intellectual minds have the privilege of being educated by

teachers and textbooks to obtain their tools of the trade. The values, concepts, and

assumptions learned are embedded in the mind of students giving them the confidence

that they think they know what the world is truly like. This is what Kuhn (1996) refers to

as "[n]ormal science, the activity in which most scientists inevitably spend almost all

their time, is predicated on the assumption that the scientific community knows what the

world is like. Much of the success of the enterprise derives from the community's

willingness to defend that assumption, if necessary at considerable cost" (p. 5). To

defend this assumption, older theories and ideas were used as guides to interpret modern

society (Deloria, Jr. 1997:4; Harding 1992:569; Kuhn 1996:2-3). In other words,

scholars only take into consideration the opinions of those in his group (teachers and

successors in the sciences) and not the opinions from those representing modern science

(Kuhn 1996:3). Deloria, Jr. (1997) shares this notion when he says the following:

"SCIENTIFIC THEORIES ARE OFTEN BUILT on the most tenuous of evidential

foundations and survive only because of the gentleman's agreement within scientific peer

groups not to embarrass colleagues" (p. 93). As a result, school practices and knowledge

have serious implications for minority ethnic groups. According to Smith (1999), "[h]ow

the colonized were governed, for example, was determined by previous experiences in

other colonies and by the prevailing theories about race, gender, climate and other factors

generated by 'scientific' methods" (p. 65).

Instead of discarding older out-dated values, assumptions, and concepts which

probably have no more relevance in modern times, it is, in reality, the new assumptions

that are avoided and often frowned upon. This is because new theories mean

reconstructing prior facts and beliefs, a threat avoided by those in the established

community (Deloria, Jr. 1997:3; Kuhn 1996:6). Essentially, "the institutionalization of

knowledge in the academic setting has made status more important than accomplishments

or ideas when determining the canon of truth that will give the best explanation of our

planet" (Deloria, Jr. 1997:211). Deloria, Jr. (1997), Harding (1992), Kuhn (1996) and

others concerned about the evolution of knowledge suggest that the progress of knowledge has been slowed down to a crawl. Again, people in science are intimidated by the thought of having to revise previous assumptions, but as Deloria, Jr. (1997) points out, "[s]cientific knowledge progresses very slowly because people in science are reluctant to change any of their ideas until the evidence for new interpretations of data is so compelling as to make them seem foolish maintaining the outmoded doctrines" (pp. 137-138). This idea is described by Kuhn (1996) as scientific revolution.

If knowledge is power, then those who control it may be the most powerful people in the world. As Harding (1992) puts it, "when sciences are already in the service of the mighty, scientific neutrality ensures that 'might makes right'" (p. 569). To briefly reiterate, the issue of who the mighty are and who controlled science, research, and knowledge are mostly white European men who promote Western scientific practices and institutions (Arzubiaga et al. 2008; Collins 2000; Deloria, Jr. 1997; Harding 1992; Jacob 2006; Kuhn 1996; Lavallée 2009; Louis 2007; Nielsen and Gould 2007; Smith 1999; Weber-Pillwax 2004). In a quote borrowed from historian Robert Proctor, Sandra Harding (1992) holds the Nazis responsible for monopolizing the sciences and making them serve their purposes:

> It is certainly true that, in one important sense, the Nazis sought to politicize the sciences. . . . Yet in an important sense the Nazis might indeed be said to have "depoliticized" science (and many other areas of culture). The Nazis depoliticized science by destroying the possibility of political debate and controversy. Authoritarian science based on the "Führer principle" replaced what had been, in the Weimar period, a vigorous spirit of politicized debate in and around the sciences. The Nazis "depoliticized" problems of vital human interest by reducing these to scientific or medical problems, conceived in the narrow, reductionist sense of these terms. The Nazis depoliticized questions of crime, poverty, and sexual or political deviance by casting them in surgical or otherwise

medical (and seemingly apolitical) terms. . . . Politics pursued in the name of science or health provided a powerful weapon in the Nazi ideological arsenal. (P. 568)

Due to the demoralizing acts of those in power, like the Nazis and their violent practices of racism and class exploitation, have led to the creation of a world where exploitation is legitimate (Harding 1992). For example, the person-blame model discussed by Eitzen and Zinn (2004) is a great indicator of how minority groups have been exploited in all aspects of life and how it is legitimated. For instance, blaming the poor and people of color is much easier than fixing the true problems at hand (Collins 2000; Eitzen and Zinn 2004; Shriver and Webb 2009). Thus, those in power are exempt from responsibility and are free from any wrongdoing. The person-blame framework "frees the government, the economy, the system of stratification, the system of justice, and the educational system from any blame" (Eitzen and Zinn 2004:15).

In regards to academia, social scientists also engage in exploitation of those with whom they are supposed to work with. Participants of studies are seen as subjects and objects as opposed to partners in helping to understand the world (Deloria, Jr. 1997:3-5; Simpson 2002:20-21; Smith 1999:24). Those that attempt to rectify the situation are silenced, primarily those under the microscope of social sciences and generally those of minority status. Women, for example, are usually deemed inferior to men in almost all aspects of life including in the field of science. Therefore, women in general are a minority group themselves (Eitzen and Zinn 2004:247; Healey 2007:11). However, women of color are marginalized within science, making their status among people among the lowest in society. Even voices of intellectual women are silenced or at the very least fragmented as was the case with Maria Stewart, a black feminist:

Despite Maria Stewart's intellectual prowess, the ideas of this extraordinary woman come to us only in scattered fragments that not only suggest her brilliance but speak tellingly of the fate of countless Black women intellectuals. Many Maria Stewarts exist, African-American women whose minds and talents have been suppressed by the pots and kettles symbolic of Black women's subordination. . . . Far too many African-American women intellectuals have labored in isolation and obscurity and, like Zora Neale Hurston, lie buried in unmarked graves. (Collins 2000:2)

Linda Smith (1999:12) had an experience like this herself coming up as an Indigenous researcher. She stated that she enjoyed thinking about why things happen, the challenges of thinking about what certain things mean, and also loved thinking about all the different ways in which the world can be understood. In addition, Smith (1999:12) said that she liked thinking through problems, working with data, and bringing them together with her readings. However, credit for her work was never acknowledged in any way: "I found that the particular issues I faced as an indigenous researcher working with indigenous research participants were never addressed by the literature, my own training or the researchers with whom I worked" (Smith 1999:12).

In short, the distribution of power and the way people view each other is the key to understanding how society works from the perspective of those who are less fortunate (Brook 1998; Bullard 1996; Cole and Foster 2001; Collins 2000; Deloria, Jr. 1997; Eitzen and Zinn 2004; Fenelon and Hall 2008; Healey 2007; Jacob 2006; Kusow 2003; LaDuke 1999; Lewis 1995; Louis 2007; McIntosh 2005; Moore 1998; Nielsen and Gould 2007; Pulido 2000; Shriver and Webb 2009; Smith 1999; Strong 2005; Weber-Pillwax 2004); "[t]he powerless, because they are dominated by the powerful, are likely to be thwarted in achieving their basic needs (sustenance, security, self-esteem, and productivity). In contrast, the interests of the powerful are served because they control the mechanisms

and institutions by which the perceptions of the public are shaped" (Eitzen and Zinn

2004:11). One of those needs is for minority groups to be allowed to participate in

research and to be able to speak freely about it. However, as mentioned above, research

belongs to those with power and those with less of it are ignored and cast aside.

According to Smith (1999):

> [R]esearch became institutionalized in the colonies, not just through
> academic disciplines, but through learned and scientific societies and
> scholarly networks. The transplanting of research institutions, including
> universities, from the imperial centres of Europe enabled local scientific
> interests to be organized and embedded in the colonial system. (P. 8)

Indigenous People and Research: The Road to Marginalization

For Indigenous people in particular, the term *research* has been, and in many ways

still is, problematic because of its linkage to European colonialism and imperialism.

According to Smith (1999:1), the word is considered to be one of the dirtiest in the

Indigenous world's vocabulary because it is a concept that creates fear, anger, and

distrust within Indigenous people towards Western culture and researchers. Furthermore,

Smith (1999:56) argues that research, in the eyes of the Indigenous, steals knowledge

from others and then uses it to benefit the ones who stole it. Minority groups, especially

Indigenous groups, believe such acts to be racist. The following is a detail description as

to why research is problematic:

> When mentioned in many indigenous contexts, it stirs up silence, it
> conjures up bad memories, it raises a smile that is knowing and distrustful.
> It is so powerful that indigenous people even write poetry about research.
> The ways in which scientific research is implicated in the worst excesses
> of colonialism remains a powerful remembered history for many of the
> world's colonized peoples. It is a history that still offends the deepest
> sense of our humanity. Just knowing that someone measured our
> 'faculties' by filling the skulls of our ancestors with millet seeds and
> compared the amount of millet seed to the capacity for mental thought

offends our sense of who and what we are. It galls us that Western researchers and intellectuals can assume to know all that it is possible to know of us, on the basis of their brief encounters with some of us. It appals us that the West can desire, extract and claim ownership of our ways of knowing, our imagery, the things we create and produce, and then simultaneously reject the people who created and developed those ideas and seek to deny them further opportunities to be creators of their own culture and own nations. It angers us when practices linked to the last century, and the centuries before that, are still employed to deny the validity of indigenous peoples' claim to existence, to land and territories, to the right of self-determination, to the survival of our languages and forms of cultural knowledge, to our natural resources and systems for living within our environments. (Smith 1999:1)

Placing this lengthy quote by Smith (1999) in the paper was necessary for multiple reasons. First, her book, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, is the primary influence for this paper, so Smith's (1999) thoughts and ideas are invaluable to its completion. Second, this quote explains the unfair relationship between the dominant and minority groups, but more to the point, it explains how research and knowledge based on Indigenous people was based on false premises, prejudice, racism, and discrimination. What the quote also demonstrates is the idea that Indigenous people should tell their own stories regarding their problems, culture, and identity. As Vine Deloria, Jr. (1997) and Leslie Marmon Silko (1997) argue in their respective work, things are not as simple as people like anthropologists and archaeologists wish regarding the lives and beliefs of Indigenous folks. It is paramount that marginalized voices have the opportunity to talk about themselves and issues that are important to them, otherwise knowledge and research will remain rudimentary with continued disregard for those who have been kept down (Arzubiaga et al. 2008; Collins 2000; Deloria, Jr. 1997; Harding 1992; Smith 1999). Many of these voices are becoming confident that they can contribute to research, and many have (Collins 2000; Harding 1992; LaDuke 1999; Peltier 2010; Simpson 2002;

Smith 1999; Weber-Pillwax 2004). According to Smith (1999), "[i]n a very real sense research has been an encounter between the West and the Other" (p. 8).

Attention will be paid to the grievances that Indigenous people have towards research about them and how eventually they have been misrepresented moving forward. Again, Linda Smith (1999) will be the main vocal point of this discussion because she suggests Indigenous people get involved with the 25 Indigenous projects. However, the words from Vine Deloria, Jr. (1997) shall be used here to summarize the difficulties between scientific research and Indigenous knowledge: "It is almost impossible to get non-Indian scholars pried loose from their own cultural presuppositions to do careful interpretive work on Indian traditions. While they may loudly declare that the two cultural traditions are dissimilar, most of them do not seem to know what that really means" (p. 143).

The lives of Indigenous people changed forever when European ships landed in the New World. The meeting between these different peoples began in what was known as the Columbian Exchange, "a transatlantic exchange of goods, people, and ideas that has continued ever since" (Roark, Johnson, Cohen, Stage, Lawson, and Hartmann 2003:28). The Spaniards brought with them items like wheeled vehicles, ships, technologies, and domesticated animals. The Spaniards also brought Christianity and a host of microorganisms that caused epidemics like measles, smallpox, and other diseases resulting in the deaths of a large number of the Indian population in the 16th century. The exposure to diseases as well as having to fight for the right to keep their land brought about the near extinction of Indigenous people in North America (Fenelon and Hall 2008; Healey 2007; Roark et al. 2003). Despite these hardships, the people survived and

managed to rebuild. After the arrival of the Spanish, the English came looking for food shortly after.

They came from a continent that experienced food shortages and unpredictable climates which made it difficult for crops to grow (Mohawk 2006: para. 7). However, when they arrived in the Americas, they found abundance of food thanks to Indians' taking advantage of nature's capacity for food production (Mohawk 2006: para. 7-9). What followed is what Mohawk (2006) described as the vision of the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse as the Europeans sought to obtain Indian resources; "[w]ar was fairly common and often led to famine, which weakened the populations, leading to diseases and, of course, death" (para. 7).

In addition to entering and taking over Indian land, forcing Indigenous people to convert to Christianity, infecting them with disease, and taking all their resources, the European travelers were also there to analyze and collect information on the natives. Everything the Europeans discovered became embedded into their ideas and various disciplines they hold dear regarding finding truth and knowledge. This period of history is known as the Enlightenment. "The Enlightenment provided the spirit, the impetus, the confidence, and the political and economic structures that facilitated the search for new knowledges" (Smith 1999:58). According to Smith (1999):

> Knowledge was also there to be discovered, extracted, appropriated and
> distributed. Processes for enabling these things to occur became
> organized and systematic. . . . Western knowledge and science are
> 'beneficiaries' of the colonization of indigenous peoples. The knowledge
> gained through our colonization has been used, in turn, to colonize us in
> what Ngugi wa Thiong'o calls the colonization 'of the mind'. . . . The
> production of knowledge, new knowledge and transformed 'old'
> knowledge, ideas about the nature of knowledge and the validity of

specific forms of knowledge, became as much commodities of colonial exploitation as other natural resources. (Pp. 58-59)

Essentially, many of the European explorers who observed Indigenous people focused on their background in science and attempted to correlate their knowledge with the activities of indigenous people. This led to data and theories as to how to classify the Indigenous world:

> Those observers of indigenous peoples whose interest was of a more 'scientific' nature could be regarded as being far more dangerous in that they had theories to prove, evidence and data to gather and specific languages by which they could classify and describe the indigenous world. So, for example, skulls were measured and weighed to prove that 'primitive' minds were smaller than the European mind. This was the 'science' of craniometry. Other stories are told of burial caves being 'discovered' and examined for the precious 'artefacts' which were left with the dead, of carved houses being dismantled and shipped to England, of dried and shrunken heads sold and exported back to museums. (Smith 1999:82-83)

The people from the New World were seen not as human but savages unable to think and act for themselves (Brook 1998; Fenelon and Hall 2008; Healey 2007; LaDuke 1999). Indigenous peoples of the Americas were judged for not being civilized and behaving in ways that were not worthy of European standards (Brook 1998; Healey 2007; Moore 1998; Smith 1999). Smith (1999), among other Indigenous scholars, has argued that Indigenous peoples were treated as sub-human without being able to take care of themselves:

> By lacking such virtues we disqualified ourselves, not just from civilization but from humanity itself. In other words we were not 'fully human'; some of us were not even considered partially human. . . . To consider indigenous peoples as not fully human, or not human at all, enabled distance to be maintained and justified various policies of either extermination or domestication. Some indigenous peoples ('not human'), were hunted and killed like vermin, others ('partially human'), were

> rounded up and put in reserves like creatures to be broken in, branded and put to work. (Smith 1999:25-26)

To summarize, the Latin phrase, veni, vidi, vici, is appropriate to describe the contact between the Indigenous people and the Europeans. The translation of veni, vidi, vici is I came, I saw, I conquered. This was the relationship between these two different groups of people. European settlers attempted to conquer the Native population by taking control over their land for profit and resources by forcing them of off their own land. The people found themselves on land that was both miles from their home and unsuitable to sustain their way of life. Many others were assimilated and saw themselves forcefully converted to Christianity, and children were taken away from their parents to be sent to boarding schools. The rest died contracting foreign diseases like smallpox that almost killed the entire population leading to the belief that Indigenous people are weak and should eventually die out based in the European belief of social Darwinism (Smith 1999:49-50). European travelers, with their background in science and ways of obtaining knowledge, viewed the Indigenous people not as people but mindless savages in need of saving.

Colonizers used their notion and knowledge of science to define what counts as human and to create classification systems. Such systems include typologies of different societies and hierarchies of race and gender. According to scholars who have focused on inequalities of stratification, these classification systems came to shape the relations between Indigenous societies and the science used by imperial powers (Collins 2000; Deloria, Jr. 1997; Harding 1992; Nielsen and Gould 2007; Simpson 2002; Smith 1999). The collection of land, resources, and knowledge about Indigenous peoples were considered new and valuable discoveries for the Europeans. In imperial literature,

Europeans were recognized as adventurers, discoverers, and heroes: "Travellers' stories were generally the experiences and observations of white men whose interactions with indigenous 'societies' or 'peoples' were constructed around their own cultural views of gender and sexuality" (Smith 1999:8). The many stories of these adventurers and heroes were widely covered in travel brochures, and the popular press. These tales appealed to everyone including the romantic, adventurers, the voyeur, and the Enlightenment scholar; thus it also appealed to the people of color and the poor (Smith 1999:9).

To Indigenous peoples, the European colonizers were a danger to the continued survival of their people, bringers of destruction and chaos (Fenelon and Hall 2008; LaDuke 1999; Smith1999). Western research has reduced their lives to the point where they are sub-human or not even human at all, people with no souls but rather instruments of scientific knowledge. Their entire world was renamed and their identities literarily ripped apart.

The following section entitled *Voices From Below* will include the perspectives of several Indigenous scholars sharing their experiences with research and also what they deem essential methodologies for successful Indigenous research. The quotes at the beginning of the section summarize and briefly reiterate the difficulties of research and the need for Indigenous intellectuals to get involved.

Voices From Below

"For American Indians, the struggle of this century has been to emerge from the heavy burden of anthropological definitions that have made Indian communities at times mere laboratories for political and social experiments" (Deloria, Jr. 1997:51).

"When discussing the scientific foundations of Western research, the indigenous contribution to these foundations is rarely mentioned" (Smith 1999:60). In addition, Smith (1999) stated that:

> The objects of research do not have a voice and do not contribute to research or science. In fact, the logic of the argument would suggest that it is simply impossible, ridiculous even, to suggest that the object of research can contribute to anything. An object has no life force, no humanity, no spirit of its own, so therefore 'it' cannot make an active contribution. (P. 61)

"It is time for all our voices to be heard" (Leonard Peltier 2010: para. 8).

The encroachment of colonialism, imperialism, and scientific knowledge has caused Indigenous people to mistrust research completely (Arzubiaga et al. 2008; Deloria, Jr. 1997; Fenelon and Hall 2008; Galliher et al. 2011; Harding 1992; Jacob 2006; Jørgensen 2010; Kusow 2003; LaDuke 1999; Lavallée 2009; Louis 2007; Nakamura 2010; Nielsen and Gould 2007; Shriver and Webb 2009; Silko 1997; Simpson 2002; Smith 1999; Strong 2005; Weber-Pillwax 2004). Two of the social sciences most recognized for exploiting Indigenous people in terms of research are anthropology and sociology (Deloria, Jr. 1997; Harding 1992; Silko 1997; Smith 1999; Strong 2005). According to Giarrusso, Richlin-Klonsky, Roy, and Strenski (2001): "Sociology is the study of human social behavior. . . . Sociology's basic insight is that who a person is, what she or he thinks and does, is affected by the groups of which that person is a member" (p. 4). Sociologists study the cultural and social forces that shape people's beliefs, relationships, and behaviors. Anthropology, like sociology, is "concerned with social life, including culture, beliefs, decision making, relationships and so on" (Giarrusso et al. 2001:6). It is a study of humanity which focuses on the differences and similarity between people past

and present. Social sciences like sociology and anthropology are necessary because they investigate how and why people behave a certain way regarding social life. Social science research searches for explanations to issues that cannot be explained, correct misconceptions, and bring clarity to doubt. In other words, social scientists will look to correct, verify, or extend knowledge of social life and human behavior. According to Kuhn (1996:10-15), this should be the purpose of science and the knowledge it produces, scientific knowledge is fueled by various assumptions that should be left open for scientists to explore and/or test. The outcome of such research will result in the verification of those assumptions or the continuation of further practice that will perhaps lead to different assumptions or a scientific revolution.

However, the early assumptions of science are controlled and manipulated by established and dominant groups in society. It is these groups that look to have their world-views ingrained in the minds of all with little challenge to this worldview (Collins 2000; Deloria, Jr. 1997; Harding 1992; Jørgensen 2010; Kuhn1996). The people belonging to these groups are middle to upper-income men and descendants of European ancestry (Arzubiaga et al. 2008; Collins 2000; Deloria, Jr. 1997; Harding 1992; Jacob 2006; Kuhn 1996; Lavallée 2009; Louis 2007; Nielsen and Gould 2007; Smith 1999; Weber-Pillwax 2004). Harding (1992), specifically, points out the example of how the Nazis controlled scientific knowledge and research to benefit their needs and desires. It is also through research, knowledge, and the way people are analyzed that minority groups find themselves marginalized and isolated (Collins 2000; Harding 1992; Simpson 2002; Smith 1999). Hence, Indigenous peoples have a mistrust of social sciences, like

anthropology, for a history of exploiting minority groups (the Other). According to

Smith (1999):

> Of all the disciplines, anthropology is the one most closely associated with
> the study of the Other and with the defining of primitivism. . . . The
> ethnographic 'gaze' of anthropology has collected, classified and
> represented other cultures to the extent that anthropologists are often the
> academics popularly perceived by the indigenous world as the epitome of
> all that it is bad with academics. (Pp. 66-67)

Due to Indigenous people's standing in society because of racism, discrimination, and

prejudice, Indigenous people are seen as victims of injustice who are incapable of helping

themselves (Smith 1999). However, Indigenous people no longer want to be associated

with the term *victim* as it strengthens the perception that they are helpless and unable to

change the hardships in their lives (Best 1997; Simpson 2002; Smith 1999). According

to Best (1997), "[f]ocusing on victims discounts individuals' ability to control their own

lives and emphasizes the power of social forces because victims cannot control what

happens to them" (p. 9). On the contrary, not only are Indigenous people aware of their

situation, they are also actively fighting to change it by participating in research which

focuses on Indigenous people and issues that are near and dear to their hearts (Arzubiaga

et al. 2008; Fenelon and Hall 2008; Jacob 2006; J. James 1995; Jørgensen 2010; Kusow

2003; Lavallée 2009; Lewis 1995; Louis 2007; Nielsen and Gould 2007; Shriver and

Webb 2009; Simpson 2002; Smith 1999; Strong 2005; Weber-Pillwax 2004). Simpson

(2002), for example, believes that Indigenous people must think about how ancestors

have resisted colonialism, colonization, and assimilation in the past. This point is

especially important for Indigenous students and instructors. Simpson (2002) states,

"[t]his injects the learning process with power and hope with the recognition that our

peoples have worked hard to protect our Traditional Territories, cultures, and knowledge in the past, and it counters the stereotype that Aboriginal Peoples were simply helpless victims in these horrific processes" (p. 19).

There are many reasons why Indigenous people have conducted research, but a major impetus is the lack of respect shown by Western researchers and their paradigms (Arzubiaga et al. 2008; Deloria, Jr. 1997; Galliher et al. 2011; Jacob 2006; Lavallée 2009; Louis 2007; Nakamura 2010; Simpson 2002; Smith 1999; Strong 2005; Weber-Pillwax 2004). Renee Pualani Louis (2007) in her article "Can You Hear us Now? Voices from the Margin: Using Indigenous Methodologies in Geographic Research" claims that one important reason Indigenous people should take up research, is that they will bring respect and integrity to it. In her words, Louis (2007) states that, "research on Indigenous issues should be carried out in a manner which is respectful and ethically sound from an Indigenous perspective. This naturally challenges Western research paradigms, yet it also affords opportunities to contribute to the body of knowledge about Indigenous peoples" (p. 130). Louis (2007) continues by arguing that this continued disrespect by Western research and its researchers has gone on long enough and that Indigenous people will no longer stand for it:

> Our voices may have started out as a low murmur from the margin but it has now become a distinct and unified cacophony of resistance and distrust. The doors previously open for doing research on an Indigenous community in the name of science are closing. And very soon, these doors will be shut for good. Why? You may ask. We've only had the best intentions for you. We've only tried to help you. (P. 130)

The concept of *our voices* is shared by not only Indigenous scholars and activists but that of other minorities feeling the need to partake in research. For instance, Patricia Hill

Collins (2000:8), writing from the perspective of black female feminists, mentioned that black women, for years, were afraid to open their mouths and express what was on their minds because they were silenced by not only white men and women but black men as well. Gender inequality, for example, is an important topic for feminists in general but for black women, their thoughts on the subject were ignored and/or opposed. Collins (2000) used a quote by Septima Clark on the issue of black feminist thought:

> I used to feel that women couldn't speak up, because when district meetings were being held at my home . . . I didn't feel as if I could tell them what I had in mind . . . But later on, I found out that women had a lot to say, and what they had to say was really worthwhile. . . . So we started talking, and have been talking quite a bit since that time. (P. 7)

Scholars are now suggesting we rethink what was once considered legitimate research, and marginalized voices should be brought into scientific knowledge production. Sandra Harding (1992:584) has argued that traditional science often excludes both women and non-Western perspectives as preconceived or prejudicial. In terms of knowledge, science has suffered from excluding the contributions marginalized groups have to offer (Jørgensen 2010:314). Scientific knowledge, once monopolized by Eurocentric hegemony and male domination, now includes more alternative voices that were once excluded (Collins 2000; Deloria, Jr. 1997; Harding 1992; Jørgensen 2010; Simpson 2002; Smith 1999). Essentially, growing bodies of knowledge, especially that in social sciences, are produced from the perspectives of people from marginalized groups (Collins 2000; Deloria, Jr. 1997; Harding 1992; Jørgensen 2010; Simpson 2002; Smith 1999). This surge of new knowledge raises questions about traditional research such as: "Can our knowledge of the world be trusted as a correct representation of reality, or is it rather to be distrusted as prejudice or ideology, wrought by the social and cultural

circumstances in which it was produced?" (Jørgensen 2010:313-314). "Why don't scientists level with us? Why do they cite measuring techniques which have been found grossly inaccurate, as if they had absolute proof of their theories?" (Deloria, Jr. 1997:227). "Whose research is it? Who owns it? Whose interests does it serve? Who will benefit from it?" (Smith 1999:10). These are just some of the questions that are asked by minority individuals about the knowledge produced by those who once controlled it. In other words, indigenous writers are questioning the legitimacy of what has been perceived as accurate knowledge (Harding 1992; Jørgensen 2010).

I will now discuss Sandra Harding's (1992) standpoint theory as it provides an alternative to the knowledge seeking and research implemented by the dominant perspective. In addition to Sandra Harding's (1992) "After the Neutrality Ideal: Science, Politics, and "Strong Objectivity," Marianne Jørgensen's (2010) article "The Terms of Debate: The Negotiation of the Legitimacy of a Marginalised Perspective" will be discussed alongside the former. Jørgensen's (2010) article focuses primarily on Sandra Harding's (1992) idea of standpoint theory and strongly believes in its alternative perspective to the Eurocentric hegemony and the male dominated practices by Western science (Jørgensen 2010:313). Another reason why Harding's (1992) work is discussed here is because of the inspiration she has been to Smith (1999).

Despite the importance of standpoint theory and the need for a marginalized perspective, Harding (1992) argues that the dominant perspective must not be disregarded. Jørgensen (2010) quoted Harding when Harding stated that "[f]irst, there is no automatic conversion of experience and identity into critical knowledge; just the fact that knowledge is produced from a marginal position is no guarantee that it undermines

the dominant perspective. Second, critical knowledge production is not the exclusive

privilege of marginalised groups" (p. 327). The logic of not disregarding the dominant

perspective is a similar notion given by Smith (1999). According to Smith (1999:29-37),

marginalized groups like Indigenous people have to be aware of how history is

understood and presented by the Western academy and also how that interpretation is

reflected in writing. This point will be expanded upon later, but the importance of

understanding the perspective of Western paradigms is a crucial step in reclaiming

history and essential aspect of decolonizing knowledge and research (Smith 1999:30).

Outside of Sandra Harding (1992), Marianne Winther Jørgensen (2010), and Linda

Tuhiwai Smith (1999), Patricia Hill Collins (2000) has also expressed the importance of

marginalized standpoint as one perspective that can bring honesty and fairness to

research. Their works emphasize the accounts and contribution of Indigenous peoples

and black women respectively. Collins (2000:25) explains in her book *Black Feminist

Thought* that the wisdom of black women challenges two interpretations of oppressed

groups. The first approach suggests that oppressed groups identify with the powerful and

have no opinion of their own oppression. The second approach assumes that the

oppressed are less human than dominant groups and are therefore unable to interpret their

own oppression. Collins (2000) further explains by stating that:

> Both approaches see any independent consciousness expressed by
> African-American women and other oppressed groups as being either not
> of our own making or inferior to that of dominant groups. More
> importantly, both explanations suggest that the alleged lack of political
> activism on the part of oppressed groups stems from our flawed
> consciousness of our own subordination. (P. 25)

The approaches mentioned above can urge oppressed individuals to develop a group

consciousness concerning common experiences. Common challenges have the potential

to encourage "similar angles of vision leading to a group knowledge or standpoint among

African-American women" (Collins 2000:25). Instead of standpoint theory, Collins

(2000) has named this Black Feminist Thought as part of critical social theory (pp. 8-12).

Harding's (1992) standpoint theory also echoes sentiments given by Kuhn (1996)

mentioned earlier. Practitioners of science and knowledge seekers are, for all intents and

purposes, supposed to be objective in their work. According to Thomas Haskell, cited in

Harding (1992), practitioners should:

> [A]bandon wishful thinking, assimilate bad news, discard pleasing
> interpretations that cannot pass elementary tests of evidence and logic,
> and, most important of all, suspend or bracket one's own perceptions long
> enough to enter sympathetically into the alien and possibly repugnant
> perspectives of rival thinkers. . . . [C]oming to grips with a rival's
> perspective—require *detachment*, an undeniably ascetic capacity to
> achieve some distance from one's own spontaneous perceptions and
> convictions, to imagine how the world appears in another's eyes, to
> experimentally adopt perspectives that do not come naturally . . . (Harding
> 1992:571)

However, the perspective of rival thinkers was often disregarded by that of dominant

groups seeking to use scientific knowledge to meet their own needs (Harding 1992:568-

570). The disregard of different points of view by those in power is what Harding (1992)

refers to as the neutrality ideal. The neutrality ideal enforces the production of distorted

results of research and defends the practices and institutions through which the

exploitation of research is generated (Harding 1992:571). According to Harding

(1992:571), as long as the neutrality ideal exists, the worldviews of the dominant group

will remain biased, uncontested, and trump those of other groups. Marginalized groups

have attempted to engage in strategies that will lead scholars from dominant groups away

from distorted preconceived notions and other bad habits evident in Western research.

However, those with authoritative voices consider acts against their ideals and beliefs an

act of deviance (Eitzen and Zinn 2004:8). According to Eitzen and Zinn (2004:8), the

powerful (agencies of the government, for example) have the ability to manipulate

statistics and other forms of information in society. They also have their own definitions

of social problems. The powerful and dominant would not consider racism a social

problem. However *pushy* blacks were considered a social problem. Furthermore,

removing Native Americans from their land was not considered a social problem but

resistance by Native Americans was considered a social problem Eitzen and Zinn

(2004:8). These were just a few examples, but the point is that action by marginalized

groups against the authority of the dominant group is seen as an act of deviance (Eitzen

and Zinn 2004:8).

Sandra Harding (1992) recognizes the dilemma mentioned above, but nonetheless,

there has to be a separation between fact and value, knower and known, and between

history and fiction. In order for this to happen, scholars have argued that the history of

research must be analyzed and ultimately confronted (Collins 2000; Deloria, Jr. 1997;

Harding 1992; Simpson 2002; Smith 1999). What should result is that researchers and

research itself is balanced and honest without anymore bias. As the title of Harding's

(1992) article, "After the Neutrality Ideal," implies, knowledge needs to go beyond the

confines of politics and the current state of science as these are tools used by the

dominant group to further their own ambition. To surpass politics, Harding (1992) and

other scholars have pursued a project "to strengthen the notion of objectivity for the natural and social sciences after the demise of the ideal of neutrality" (p. 569).

In order to strengthen objectivity, the values and interests of like-minded individuals in the scientific community must be identified and eliminated (Harding 1992:578). For instance, distorting assumptions should be identified and eliminated in the peer review process (Harding 1992:578). However, the scientific community consists of like-minded individuals enhancing the dominant culture's interests and values and thus enhancing the power of Western science (Deloria, Jr. 1997; Harding 1992). Harding (1992) states, "[s]cientific communities that are designed (intentionally or not) to consist only of like-minded individuals lose exactly that economic, political, and cultural diversity that is necessary to enable those who count as peers to detect the dominant culture's values and interests" (p. 578). To create more accurate accounts of nature, perspectives that have conflicted with the interests and values of the more powerful groups in society have come to the forefront in order to democratize the sciences. Voices from feminist approaches and those of other minority groups are examples of perspectives that have been deemed repugnant and alien by powerful groups but are necessary to maximize the objectivity of society's sciences:

> Strong objectivity would specify strategies to detect social assumptions
> that (a) enter research in the identification and conceptualization of
> scientific problems and the formation of hypotheses about them (the
> "context of discovery"), (b) tend to be shared by observers designated as
> legitimate ones, and thus are significantly collective, not individual, values
> and interests, and (c) tend to structure the institutions and conceptual
> schemes of disciplines. These systematic procedures would also be
> capable of (d) distinguishing between those values and interests that block
> the production of less partial and distorted accounts of nature and social
> relations ("less false" ones) and those—such as fairness, honesty,

detachment, and . . . advancing democracy—that provide resources for it.
(Harding 1992:580)

Standpoint theories argue that if one wants to know about the structure of scientific institutions, its practices, interests, and values, one must look outside these institutions to gain a critical and honest view of them. One important way to do so is to start thought from marginal lives:

> "Marginal lives" are determinate, objective locations in the social structure. Such locations are not just accidently outside the center of power and prestige, but necessarily so. It is the material and symbolic existence of such oppositional margins that keep the center in place: the rich can only be rich if there are others who are economically exploited; masculinity can only be an ideal if it is continuously contrasted with a devalued other: femininity. (Harding 1992:581)

In short, standpoint theory can explain how social organization contributes to the exploitation of marginalized people. Even thinkers not belonging to marginalized groups have started to take note and are listening to those that have been ignored (Collins 2000; Harding 1992; Jørgensen 2010; Shriver and Webb 2009; Smith 1999). Many new enlightening analyses of the social order have emerged over the years coming directly from the perspectives of marginalized people, and it has spread and been accepted by many including those outside minority groups (Harding 1992:584). In addition to the growing acceptance of marginalized perspectives, individuals from dominant groups have worked on generating strong objectivity themselves. According to Harding (1992:584), men, for example, have produced some of the most powerful feminist analyses dealing with relations between genders from the perspectives of women's lives. Harding (1992) will be quoted to conclude this section:

> To start thought from marginal lives is scientifically and epistemologically preferable for all the reasons historians and social scientists value

"stranger," "underclass," and "loser" perspectives on history and social life. What we do enables and limits the kinds of things we can know about ourselves and the world, and if one starts from the activities of those who are necessarily disadvantaged in a particular kind of social order one can come to understand objectively existing features of it that are much harder to detect when one starts thought from the activities of those who benefit most. (Pp. 583-584)

Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999)

In the previous section, I discussed the importance of Sandra Harding's (1992:584) Standpoint theory. This theory argues that the social order of society can be understood objectively if the ideas of disadvantaged individuals are taken into consideration. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) is a self proclaimed marginalized writer that has gained acclaimed attention for her work on research's impact on Indigenous people in her book, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples.* The book is praised for being revolutionary, not only for promoting change in scientific research and methods towards Indigenous people, but also because books like *Decolonizing Methodologies* were non-existent. The book received accolades from people that believed that work such as this had been long overdue. For example, Konai Thaman (1999), professor of Pacific Education and Culture, and Unesco Chair of Education from University of The South Pacific mentioned that:

> 'A book like this is long overdue. It will be most useful for both indigenous and non-indigenous researchers in educational and non-educational institutions. It will empower indigenous students to undertake research which uses methods that are culturally sensitive and appropriate instead of those which they have learned about in Research Methods courses in universities which assume that research and research methods are culture-free and that researchers occupy some kind of moral high ground from which they can observe their subjects and make judgments about them.' (Smith 1999: inside cover)

Carla Wilson's (2001) review of the *Decolonizing Methodologies* stated that the book

will remind readers the importance of recognizing different worldviews and ways of

knowing:

> [T]he book provides a valuable reminder of the need to reflect on, and be
> critical of, one's own culture, values, assumptions and beliefs and to
> recognise these are not the "norm". The detailed insight into New Zealand
> history, and the alternative readings of this history, provides a particularly
> valuable lesson of the need to be aware of, and open to, different
> worldviews and ways of knowing. It also reminds researchers to consider
> whose stories are being privileged and whose stories are being
> marginalised in any representations of the Other. (P. 217)

Decolonizing Methodology is essentially a counter story to the knowledge produced

by Western science by encouraging Indigenous people to go into research themselves.

Writing "[f]rom the vantage point of the colonized," Smith (1999:1) speaks of the

importance and power of the Indigenous worldview by introducing their perspective and

giving voice to the voiceless. The Indigenous perspective does more than give

Indigenous people a voice; it also prevents the perishing of culture, values, ideas, and

people.

The scope of Smith's (1999) arguments focuses primarily on two topics: (1)

critiquing the unethical and insensitive development of Western knowledge and its

creation through colonialism and imperialism, and (2) transforming the current state of

research and knowledge that are racist practices, attitudes, exploitative research, and

ethnocentric assumptions to methods that are ethical, sympathetic, and respectful.

Indigenous scholars such as Lavallée (2009) and Simpson (2002) have implemented the

very same methods as Smith (1999) for conducting Indigenous research. In short,

Smith's (1999) work has been viewed to be a reliable guide for how to engage research

dealing with Indigenous people (Galliher et al. 2011; Jacob 2006; Jørgensen 2010; Lavallée 2009; Louis 2007; Nakamura 2010; Simpson 2002; Strong 2005; Weber-Pillwax 2004). To be more emphatic, Indigenous researchers doing research have to focus on the revitalization of Indian culture, values, ideas, beliefs, identities, languages, and histories (Jacob 2006; Lavallée 2009; Louis 2007; Smith 1999; Weber-Pillwax 2004).

The act of reformulating, reconstituting, and reclaiming Indigenous languages and cultures has required the creation of a strategic research program with social justice being its endgame. Within the program, lie various projects consisting of distinct themes such as self determination, restoration, healing, and cultural survival. According to Smith (1999), Indigenous communities including women, lawyers, policy and health workers, and scholars pursue the 25 projects. However, the projects are not claimed to be entirely Indigenous or to have been created by Indigenous researchers. According to Smith (1999), "[s]ome approaches have arisen out of social science methodologies, which in turn have arisen out of methodological issues raised by research with various oppressed groups. Some projects invite multidisciplinary research approaches. Others have arisen more directly out of indigenous practices" (p. 142). Also, some projects include the direct involvement of non-Indigenous intellectuals and activists. In addition, most projects are catered to empirical research.

Many of the 25 Indigenous projects intersect with each other and are also similar in content. For the purposes of this paper, those projects that are similar to one another will be re-coded and merged into a composite project. The projects will be discussed at length later in the paper. As the introduction suggested, the 25 Indigenous projects are paramount to the completion of this paper. However, mentioning some of Smith's (1999)

ideas and suggestions on how Indigenous people should grapple research first is important because the methodologies brought up by Smith (1999) include important elements directly related to the projects.

Entering Research

Entering the world of research has been a soul-searching experience of sorts for many who have attempted to put their best foot forward. Michelle M. Jacob (2006) recalled a time when she struggled with the idea of becoming a researcher; stating that "I am a Native who is also trying, in some aspects, to 'go researcher'" (p. 450). Trying because, "[t]he word itself, 'research', is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world's vocabulary" (Smith 1999:1). A large part of the problem is that research is often related to the government and associated with institutions linked to colonialism and oppression that must be decolonized (Galliher et al. 2011; Jacob 2006; Lavallée 2009; Louis 2007; Simpson 2002; Smith 1999; Weber-Pillwax 2004). Trying because going into the field to conduct research based on Indigenous communities has been met with backlash and mistrust, especially if Indigenous researchers are the ones doing the study in what is often been regarded as the insider/outsider research (Arzubiaga et al. 2008; Galliher et al. 2011; Jacob 2006; Kusow 2003; Lavallée 2009; Louis 2007; Smith 1999; Weber-Pillwax 2004). According to Smith (1999:137), one of many obstacles Indigenous researchers have to overcome is directly related to the insider and outsider perspectives. The insider/outsider debate has been identified as one of the areas needed in research. The importance of insiders is based "on the assumption that culture is cohesive; that is, it is assumed that cultural communities are homogeneous" (Arzubiaga et al. 2008:318). The logic is that researchers and informants are knowledgeable about

the cultural community they are studying. This necessity has led to a rise in minority

scholars planning to study their own ethnic communities (Kusow 2003:591). Kusow

(2003) explains that the outsider perspective warns against the degree researchers can

detach themselves from discrimination and prejudices of the groups they study. In other

words, can researchers foreign to the groups they study remain objective in their

research? The insider perspective questions the ability of outsider researchers to

understand perspectives and experiences of minority groups: "The perspective claims that

outsiders cannot have the necessary sensibilities that can make, to borrow from Max

Weber, *verstehen*, or empathetic understanding, possible because outsider ethnographers

are not initiated in the cultural values of the people they study" (Kusow 2003:592).

The insider/outsider debate has been problematic because of Indigenous peoples'

stance on the nature of research. In Indigenous contexts, there are multiple ways to be

both an insider as well as an outsider at the same time (Smith 1999:137). Many

Indigenous researchers have given accounts of some of their personal experiences with

this particular issue. For instance, Michelle M. Jacob (2006) in her article, "When a

Native "Goes Researcher": Notes From the North American Indigenous Games," shared

her accounts of what it was like for an Indigenous researcher attempting to do research at

an Indigenous event. In the article, Jacob (2006) described herself and her work as "an

Indian researcher doing research among Indian peoples at an Indian event" (p. 451). In

the early stages of her research, Jacob (2006) encountered what she herself has dubbed

suspicion of research which she explains is when participants were suspicious of her as a

researcher and asked her who the research was for. In her words, "I was asked, 'Who is

this research for?' I occasionally was asked if my professors had sent me out to collect

data, signaling that they thought I was perhaps being used . . . as a 'tool' of 'real' White

male anthropologists. And sometimes, I was directly asked if the government was

involved in the collection or ownership of the data" (Jacob 2006:455). In her field notes

taken on July 28, 2002, Jacob (2006) shares with the reader an argument she got into with

a man questioning her about her work. She explained how he started raising his voice

and tried to lecture her about all the pain that research has caused Indigenous people.

Jacob (2006) responded by saying that she was a student collecting data on Native health

issues. She was then asked if she was collecting information for the government; he

asked: "'You're collecting it for the government?'. . . . Don't you know what the U.S.

government has done to Indian peoples? What's the government going to do with this

research?" (Jacob 2006:455). Jacob (2006) admitted in her notes to getting irritated and

answered the man by saying that the research was not done for the government. She

continued by explaining that she is aware and knows very well the history of colonization

and research:

> "This is not for the government! I know the history of colonization. I
> know the history and the ongoing exploitation of Indian peoples. I see the
> effects of colonization all the time on my own reservation. But this is for
> my own school project. I'm trying to get through school, and Indian
> health is one of the most important topics in our communities. That is
> why I'm here. So I'm not sure how this is related to the concerns that you
> have." (Jacob 2006:456)

Jacob (2006) felt threatened and irritated that people would assume that her research

would be harmful to Indian peoples. By others assuming that Jacob (2006) was there to

do harm, she felt that she was "being implicated as either a 'bad Indian' or a 'fake Indian'

because, of course, an 'authentic Indian' would never do harmful research" (p. 456).

Smith (1999) also discussed candidly her experience as being both an insider and an outsider in her own community. One of Smith's (1999) first experiences as a researcher was with a community of Maori mothers and their children involved with language revitalization movement. Smith (1999) was just like these women, a Maori mother participating in the revitalization of the Maori language and other activities such as fundraisers and also was an instructor to many of the Maori children at the local school. When the time came to conduct a research project, Smith's (1999) academic advisor believed she would have no problems fitting in and discussing the research with participants. However, Smith (1999) noticed when visiting some of the homes as a researcher that everything was organized as a formal setting as opposed to when she would visit as just a mother or friend. In Smith's (1999) words:

> What really struck me when I visited the women in their homes as a researcher, having done so on many previous occasions as a mother, were the formal cultural practices which the women observed. An interview with a researcher is formal. I could see immediately that homes were extra spotless and I knew from my own background that when visitors are expected considerable energy goes into cleaning and dusting the house. There was also food which I knew had been prepared for my visit. The children were in their pyjamas (the top matching the bottom) all bathed and ready for bed at 7.30 pm. I knew and the mothers knew that as a group we were all quite casual about bedtime rituals but on the night of the interview everything was in the kind of order which is organized solely for the benefit of the outsider. (P. 138)

According to Smith (1999:92), one important course of action for researchers, especially indigenous researchers, is to reframe their approach and scope of their research. The reason why Indigenous communities do not trust the credibility of research is because it has, for the most part, centered its focus on the people being the problem

instead of on the structural or social issues plaguing them. Based on the experiences of

Smith (1999) and other Indian researchers:

> It becomes somewhat complicated for indigenous researchers to discuss 'research', 'problem' and 'indigenous' without individuals or communities 'switching off' because of the history of defining indigenous peoples as . . . the problem. For many indigenous communities research itself is taken to mean 'problem'; the word research is believed to be mean, quite literally, the continued construction of indigenous peoples as the problem. (P. 92)

In order for communities to warm up to Indigenous researchers conducting research

in the vicinity, Smith (1999) suggests that researchers should learn from the social

movement of Indigenous people which began in the 1960s. Described by Smith (1999)

as a movement of people that eventually evolved into the movement of peoples: "The

movement developed simultaneously out of the survival strategies and cultural systems

which have nurtured people, their values and their beliefs within their own communities,

reserves, tribes and nations for over 500 years" (p. 108). In short, some of the goals of

the Indigenous movement were the reformulation and revitalization of culture and

tradition, and at the same time learn from and participate in Western institutions and their

ideas regarding Indigenous people in order to reject and correct false claims and

information. As stated at the beginning of this paragraph, "[t]he social movement of

indigenous peoples unleashed a whole array of activities and bursts of energy" (Smith

1999:115). The movement sparked various themes that revolve around the importance

and need for Indigenous people to take action. Participating in producing research and

knowledge is one form of action that can lead to self-determination of Indigenous

peoples.

The premise of Indigenous research is that it should involve trust and healing as a response to the injustice done be Western research (Arzubiaga et al. 2008; Galliher et al. 2011; Jacob 2006; Lavallée 2009; Louis 2007; Simpson 2002; Smith 1999; Strong 2005; Weber-Pillwax 2004). Smith (1999) in particular, states that the research agenda that Indigenous people have undertaken is one of social justice; research that involves the processes of decolonization, transformation, mobilization, and healing. Smith (1999:116) introduced a figure using the metaphor of the ocean to describe the four processes mentioned above; each representing struggles and goals for Indigenous people to accomplish. For many Indigenous groups, the ocean is the giver of life (See Figure 1).

Figure 1: The Indigenous Research Agenda
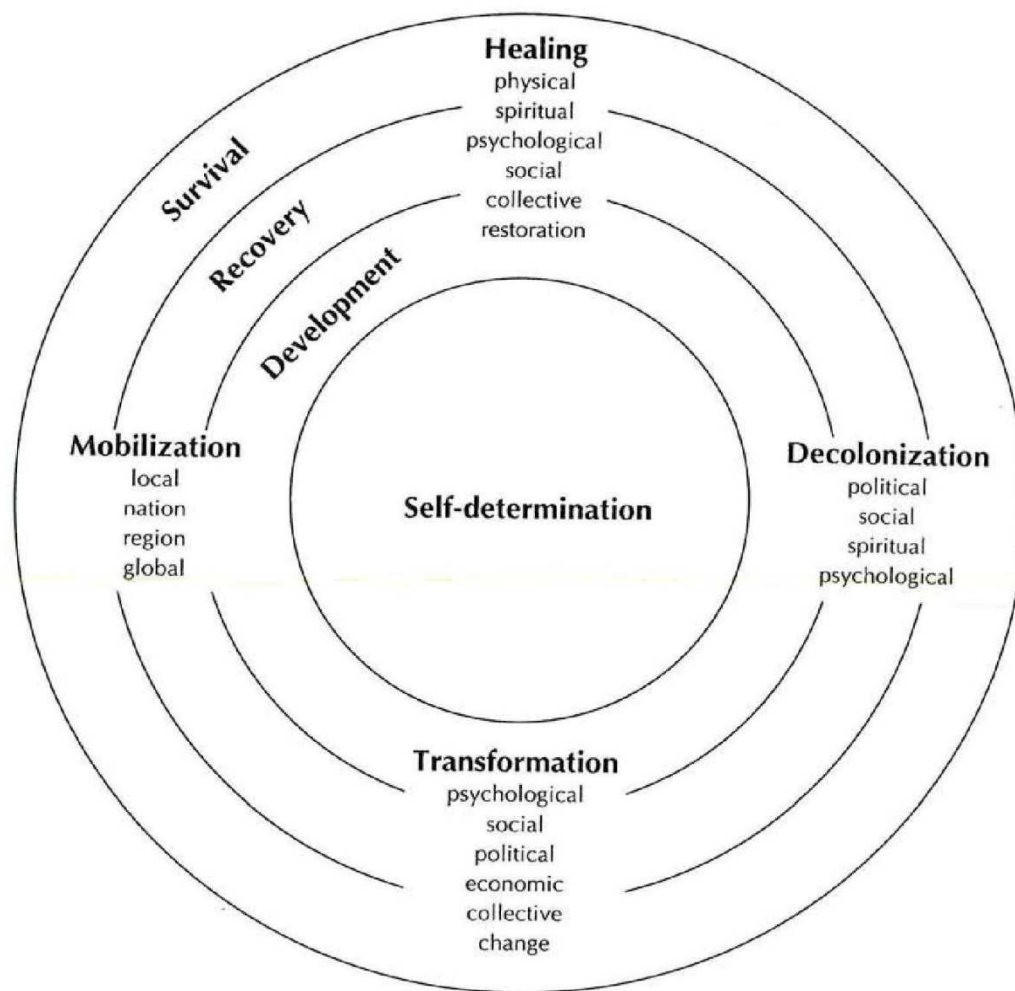
Source: Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999). Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and

Indigenous Peoples, p. 117.

Within this ocean are four tides: recovery, survival, self-determination, and development:

> They are the conditions and states of being through which indigenous communities are moving. It is not sequential development - the survival of peoples as physical beings, of languages, of social and spiritual practices, of social relations, and of the arts are all subject to some basic prioritizing. Similarly, the recovery of territories, of indigenous rights, and histories are also subject to prioritizing and to recognition that indigenous cultures have changed inexorably. Recovery is a selective process, often responding to immediate crises rather than a planned approach. This is related to the reality that indigenous peoples are not in control and are subject to a continuing set of external conditions. (Smith 1999:116)

In essence, the research agenda should separate itself from Western science in every way by focusing on concepts like healing, recovery, and decolonization (Smith 1999) that are in contrast with Western research terminologies which are much too political instead of objective and neutral (Harding 1992). According to Smith (1999), one simply cannot say that their research agenda represents the interest of the people; it has to be shown through initiative:

> The belief, for example, that research will 'benefit mankind' conveys a strong sense of social responsibility. The problem with that particular term . . . is that indigenous peoples are deeply cynical about the capacity, motives or methodologies of Western research to deliver any benefits to indigenous peoples whom science has long regarded, indeed has classified, as being 'not human'. Because of such deep cynicism there are expectations by indigenous communities that researchers will actually 'spell out' in detail the likely benefits of any research. (Pp. 117-118)

Indigenous scholars seeking change believe it is paramount to decolonize Western research by confronting ideologies of oppression while at the same time embracing one's own identity as an Indigenous individual and a researcher by making sure the research benefits the community (Arzubiaga et al. 2008; Deloria, Jr. 1997; Galliher et al. 2011; Jacob 2006; Lavallée 2009; Louis 2007; Nielsen and Gould 2007; Simpson 2002; Smith

1999; Strong 2005; Weber-Pillwax 2004). According to Smith (1999), this has to be done by *colliding with dominant views* and making sense of the Indigenous world while changing the lives of those living in it. Also:

> Part of the exercise is about recovering our own stories of the past. This is inextricably bound to a recovery of our language and epistemological foundations. It is also about reconciling and reprioritizing what is really important about the past with what is important about the present. These issues raise significant questions for indigenous communities who are not only beginning to fight back against the invasion of their communities by academic, corporate and populist researchers, but to think about, and carry out research, on their own concerns. (Smith 1999:39)

In short, Smith was cited by Louis (2007), "[i]t's about changing focus, 'centering our concerns and worldviews and coming to know and understand theory and research from our own perspectives and for our own purposes'" (p. 132). Both Smith (1999:28-29) and Lavallée (2009:23) refer to this process as rewriting and rerighting the Indigenous position in society and history.

Lavallée (2009) describes rewriting and rerighting "as a process of decolonizing the academy by incorporating Indigenous knowledge into the research rather than relying on Western theories" (p. 23). Many Indigenous researchers and prospects go into research with the teachings of their ancestors on their minds. For instance, Lynn Lavallée (2009) went into her research with "[t]he core values, beliefs, and healing practices of the Indigenous community" (p. 23). Moreover, Louis (2007) believes that "[f]rom an Indigenous perspective, research, the search for knowledge, is considered to be a spiritual journey. . . . The spiritual aspect of life is as important to the search for knowledge as is the physical [*sic*] and it can only be accessed through prayer, ceremony, vision quests, and dreams" (p. 134). This ideology will give not only researchers, but all Aboriginal

people, an understanding of forming life-long relationships with people from the communities where they hail. According to Native social scientists, this will help regain the integrity of research and give a view of how stratification has impacted the lives of marginalized people (Collins 2000; Jacob 2006; Jørgensen 2010; Kusow 2003; Lavallée 2009; Louis 2007; Smith 1999; Weber-Pillwax 2004) as indicated by standpoint theory (Harding 1992). However, due to communities' suspicion of research, researchers will first and foremost have to get informed consent before work can officially begin. Informed consent, according to Barrie Thorne's (1980) "You Still Takin' Notes?" Fieldwork and Problems of Informed Consent," is meant to give participants of research the freedom to exercise choice without unwarranted coercion, duress, and deceit from the researcher. In other words, participants should have the choice to stop their participation if they so choose. Furthermore, informed consent also emphasizes that individuals studied should be protected and treated with respect and not as objects of research (p. 285). Informed consent, in essence, decreases the gap of power between participants and researchers and, in addition, protects people's rights against researchers', claims and needs (Thorne 1980:285-286).

According to Smith (1999:136), one of the first obstacles that an Indigenous student has to overcome is making a connection as an Indigenous individual towards their peers and people in the community. Most Indigenous students have needs that go beyond the boundaries of education; many will need reassurance and emotional support while others will need assistance to reconnect with their own communities. Entering a community means ensuring that respect is given to the people of that particular community (Louis 2007; Smith 1999; Weber-Pillwax 2004). According to Louis (2007:133), respect is

about more than saying *thank you* and *please*, respect is about listening to the ideas of others. Furthermore, "[i]t's about displaying characteristics of humility, generosity, and patience with the process and accepting decisions of the Indigenous people in regard to the treatment of any knowledge shared" (Louis 2007:133).

Showing respect, in addition to also being kind and caring, are basic ethical protocols that must be followed when researchers plan their research, but above all else, the community must be convinced that the research will benefit the people (Arzubiaga et al. 2008; Jacob 2006; Kusow 2003; Lavallée 2009; Louis 2007; Simpson 2002; Smith 1999; Strong 2005; Weber-Pillwax 2004). Cora Weber-Pillwax (2004) believes that the principles of ethics listed above "are meant to govern our relationships with all other living beings and forms of life" (p. 80). Continuing to use Weber-Pillwax (2004) as an example, she believes that Indigenous researchers are responsible for the effects of the project on the lives of participants, and as stated above, researchers must make sure that the research will work to the benefit of the community and its people. In her words, when explaining her own work as a researcher, "I will look for methods that enhance cooperation, require collaboration, depend on mutual thinking and reflection, spark creativity and inspire visions and dreams and the sharing of visions and dreams" (Weber-Pillwax 2004:81).

Before a researcher can implement his or her good intentions upon the community, gaining the trust of an elder is invaluable if one hopes to gain access to the community (Arzubiaga et al. 2008; Deloria, Jr. 1997; Jacob 2006; Kusow 2003; Lavallée 2009; Louis 2007; Simpson 2002; Smith 1999; Strong 2005; Weber-Pillwax 2004). As Smith (1999) says, "[i]t is common practice in many indigenous contexts for elders to be approached as

the first point of contact and as a long-term mentor for an indigenous researcher" (p.

137). Lynn Lavallée's (2009) research topic focused on the emotional, physical, mental,

and spiritual impacts of *tae kwon do* on Indigenous participants in Canada.

Understanding the un-ethical nature of research in the eyes of Indigenous people and

being mindful enough to know that the community may not share the interest of the

project, Lavallée (2009) began the project by meeting with the Board of Directors of the

Native Canadian Centre, the instructor of the *tae kwon do* program, and the elder

affiliated with the program. According to Lavallée (2009), "[e]lders are an important part

of Aboriginal culture because of the traditional knowledge that they impart. They carry

the traditional teachings, the ceremonies, and the stories of all our relations. For research

to be based on Aboriginal knowledge, elders need to be included" (p. 27).   However,

researchers must first undertake practices of cooperation and protocols of respect which

may take some time to fulfill including informed consent. According to Smith (1999):

> The relatively simple task of gaining informed consent can take anything
> from a moment to months and years. Some indigenous students have had
> to travel back and forth during the course of a year to gain the trust of an
> individual elder, and have been surprised that without realizing it they
> gained all the things they were seeking with much more insight, and that
> in the process they gained a grandparent or a friend. Asking directly for
> consent to interview can also be interpreted as quite rude behaviour in
> some cultures. (P. 136)

Referring back to Lavallée (2009), she acknowledged that research with the Indigenous

community is a commitment that is much larger than the actual project; "[i]t is a lifelong

relationship and commitment" (p. 24). Leanne Simpson (2002) shares a similar

sentiment about the importance of elders:

> As such, Elders must be included, supported and looked upon to provide
> guidance and direction for both instructors and students in post-secondary

> Indigenous environmental education programs. In order to do this,
> programs must consider Elders as valuable Gifts, not as "extras" or "guest
> speakers." Programs must adapt to provide teaching and learning
> environments that compliment Elders' cultural teaching styles and comfort
> levels in addition to the special needs of Elders. Programs must ensure
> that Elders are properly compensated for their participation, leadership and
> instruction. Our Elders provide us with the inspiration, knowledge, and
> guidance to face contemporary environmental issues and to assume our
> roles within our cultures, communities, and Nations. Promoting
> Indigenous Knowledge as the foundation of Indigenous environmental
> education programs necessitates our experts, the Knowledge-Holders, to
> be at the fore of program and curriculum development as well as course
> instruction. (P. 17)

In addition to elders, the inclusion of women in research is also paramount. One clear

distinction between Western societies and Indigenous societies is the manner in which

women are viewed and treated (Dunaway 1997, 1999; Goldtooth 2001; Healey 2007;

Mankiller 2004; Nielsen and Gould 2007; Smith 1999). In contrast to the worldviews of

Western culture, most Indigenous societies stressed the equality and sharing of resources

with each individual including women. According to Healey (2007:67), women held

positions of great responsibility, which included watching over the land and making

appointments for tribal leaders. Women also had great influence over matters dealing

with peace and war and some have also become respected chiefs and warriors.

In the Western worldview, female tribal leaders were ignored and Western patriarchy

was forced upon tribes. It is "differences in values, compounded by the power

differentials that emerged, often placed Native Americans at a disadvantage when dealing

with the dominant group" (Healey 2007:140). This disadvantage has also carried in

Aboriginal women having a minimal voice in research or being excluded altogether

(Mankiller 2004; Nielsen and Gould 2007). Nielsen and Gould's (2007:430), "Non-

Native Scholars Doing Research in Native American Communities: A Matter of

Respect," points out that the opinion of Aboriginal women are easily overlooked and ignored. Smith (1999:151) believes that the mistreatment of women in Western culture has a correlation with how Indigenous women are being treated within their own communities. Therefore, research focusing on the resurgence of gender equality has become an important aspect of Indigenous research.

Another important focus of Indigenous research has to do with sharing results with people responsible for the completion of the project (Jacob 2006:452; Louis 2007:135; Simpson 2002:17; Smith 1999:160-161; Weber-Pillwax 2004:89). Sharing results and knowledge in general is a responsibility of research that is owed to the community (Smith 1999:160-161). The exact term used by Smith (1999) is dissemination of results:

> For indigenous researchers sharing is about demystifying knowledge and information and speaking in plain terms to the community. Community gatherings provide a very daunting forum in which to speak about research. Oral presentations conform to cultural protocols and expectations. Often the audience may need to be involved emotionally with laughter, deep reflection, sadness, anger, challenges and debate. (P. 161)

Renee Pualani Louis (2007) cites sharing results and knowledge with communities studied as one of four major distinctions between Western methodologies and Indigenous methodologies when it concerns researching Indian communities. In Louis' (2007) words, "[s]ince research is about searching for 'new' knowledge or 'new' ways of incorporating existing knowledge, researchers rarely think about sharing their archival research with the Indigenous communities they are working with" (p. 135). Louis (2007) expands on this point by stating that she heard various stories told by Indigenous communities of scholars conducting research with reports of past research done by other researchers that members of the community had no idea existed. Louis (2007:132-133)

concludes that non-Indigenous academic scholars have concerns and, in some instances, a fear of not only being judged by their own peers but more so of being judged by Indigenous community members. In closing, "[g]iving the Indigenous communities copies of all the archival documents being used in the research is vital to building rapport and rectifying past transgressions" (Louis 2007:135).

As mentioned above, the methods for Indigenous researchers are important factors to remember in order to begin research. The Indigenous research methodologies used by Indigenous scholars goes to show that Indigenous peoples now have the ability to identify their own desires and needs in the research process as well as explore the history of their peoples' cultural genocide (Galliher et al. 2011:1). A necessity considering that traditional Western knowledge is not about providing the truth but rather stories about the powerful and how they became powerful and how that power can be implemented to dominate others (Smith 1999:34). This is one reason why Indigenous research agendas have focused on the survival of cultures, languages, and peoples. In short, Indigenous research agendas are an aggressive pursuit of social justice (Smith 1999:142).

As I stated before, the 25 Indigenous projects will be discussed later because they are an integral part of this paper. However, the aspects of the projects themselves are, what I believe, both broad and in certain instances in need of a larger scope. Since I am relying on both content analysis and the Indigenous projects in order to discover to what extent the projects appear in the 35 Indigenous sources, I will talk about the projects at length in the *methods* chapter. Before doing so, I will introduce the 35 Indigenous sources I am using in this paper. But first I will reiterate some important points.

One of the topics this paper highlights is the discriminatory nature of research and knowledge towards historically oppressed minority groups. I focus my attention on the Indigenous, but it was important not to disregard other minority groups that may have been misrepresented or ignored by research like Patricia Hill Collins (2000) discusses in *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*. Collins (2000) is a major influence in this paper because her book made me look for a similar book written by an Indigenous person for Indigenous peoples. Also, key concepts and ideas she shares parallel those of Smith (1999). As a historically oppressed minority group, black women have had to create their own ideas designed to oppose oppression. The thoughts of black women diverge from the injustice of academic theory by expressing themselves through music, poetry, and stories (Collins 2000:9). Developing black feminist thought requires reclaiming the ideas and stories of black women. Much like how Indigenous people preserve the stories of elders, black women preserve stories from their grandmothers, mothers, and sisters in order to help inspire and further develop black women's studies (Collins 2000:13). Collins (2000) goes on to say that "[r]eclaiming Black women's ideas involves discovering, reinterpreting, and, in many cases, analyzing for the first time the works of individual U.S. Black women thinkers who were so extraordinary that they did manage to have their ideas preserved" (p. 13). Even though, it may be under different circumstances, these are some of the very steps necessary to develop an Indigenous research agenda and, in essence, promoting the survival and empowerment of peoples, languages and culture, the struggle to give voice to the voiceless.

Another reason Collins (2000) is important is because one of the more important concepts that I use throughout the paper I borrowed from her. I use the term *intellectual* when describing the Indigenous authors used in my analysis. The concept describes an individual that has a voice with the ability to contribute to the production of knowledge no matter their social status or level of education they may have acquired. To briefly revisit, "[n]ot all Black women intellectuals are educated. Not all Black women intellectuals work in academia. Furthermore, not all highly educated Black women, . . . are *automatically* intellectuals" (Collins 2000:15). Collins' (2000:15) explanation of the word stems from the need to deconstruct knowledge and intellectual discourse. In short, everyone that contributes to the development of knowledge is an intellectual. With that in mind, I changed my original idea from analyzing the works of strictly Indigenous scholars to all Indigenous peoples that have something to contribute to the environmental issues faced by Indigenous peoples, *Indigenous intellectuals* they are referred to throughout this paper.

The methods section to follow will cover various topics including the importance of content analysis and a discussion of the 35 sources I analyzed.

CHAPTER 3: METHODS

Content Analysis

I used content analysis to find the Indigenous projects in the 35 sources, but, as I will

explain later, I found the sources through nonprobability sampling because of the

difficulties I had finding a large population of Indigenous intellectuals writing about

environmental racism. In other words, I relied on purposive sampling, or, the method of

selecting a sample based on knowledge of a population (Babbie 2004:183). However,

according to Wang and Riffe (2010: para. 3), the purpose of sampling is to produce a

subset of data from a sampling frame or large population in order to represent that

population. In other words, an effective sample should be able to represent that

population. The authors argue that in the case of content analysis, "content analysis

should determine how to define a tangible sampling frame, how to draw a representative

sample from the sampling frame, and how large the sample size must be to be not only

effective but also efficient" (Wang and Riffe 2010: para. 3). In any case, I relied on

content analysis because it is a great methodology to code written communication as I

will discuss below.

Considering that Indigenous people tend to be suspicious of outsiders conducting

research and research in general, I decided I wanted to choose a methodology that does

not interact with the subject of the research, but instead focusing on secondary-literary

sources. Field research may have the potential of being obtrusive as explained by Earl

Babbie (2004), "[w]ith the exception of the complete observer in field research, each of

the modes of observation discussed so far requires the researcher to intrude to some

degree on whatever he or she is studying" (p. 313). Even researchers from the community have had to overcome obstacles such as Smith (1999) who witnessed changes in her friends' behavior once they realized they were to be participants in research. In addition to the possible ethical ramifications of conducting research in Indigenous communities, it will be time consuming getting access to communities (Lavallée 2009:24; Smith 1999:136). Content analyses will allow me to analyze the thoughts and ideas of Indigenous intellectuals.

As earlier stated, field work requires researchers to have contact with those being studied, either by interviewing them or observing them (with or without them knowing that they are part of research). According to Newman (2002), "[t]he problem with these techniques is that the very act of intruding into people's lives may influence the phenomena being studied. Asking people questions about their voting intentions prior to an election, for instance, may affect their eventual voting behavior. Simply observing people can dramatically alter their behavior" (p. 69). Again, this is the reason unobtrusive research is important because it has no affect on social behavior (Babbie 2004:313; Newman 2002:70).

Content analysis is one form of several types of unobtrusive research (Babbie 2004:313; Newman 2002:70). Content analysis is described as the study of recorded human communications such as paintings, songs, email messages, poems, web pages, letters, newspapers, laws, constitutions, magazines, and books (Babbie 2004:313; Kondracki, Wellman, and Amundson 2002:224; Newman 2002:70) although it is often used with textual types of data (Kondracki et al. 2002:224; LaBelle 2010:360). Whatever recorded human communication chosen, however, each will have to be classified or

coded according to a particular conceptual framework. Borrowing Kondracki et al.

(2002)'s definition of content analysis then:

> Content analysis is used to develop objective inferences about a subject of
> interest in any type of communication. The process of CA consists of
> coding raw messages (ie, textual material, visual images, illustrations)
> according to a classification scheme. The coding process is essentially
> one of organizing communication content in a manner that allows for easy
> identification, indexing, or retrieval of content relevant to research
> questions. Content components may be words, phrases, theories, topics,
> concepts, or other characteristics. Once identified, these components may
> be subjected to either quantitative or qualitative analysis or both. (P. 224)

As important as content analysis is, both in terms of being unobtrusive and helping

researchers identify meanings of recorded human communications, content analysis has

weaknesses concerning reliability and validity (Babbie 2004; Kondracki et al. 2002;

Lombard, Snyder-Duch, and Bracken 2002). Content analysis is a specific process

dealing with replication, recoding data the same way over time, classifying categories the

same way, the results reporting what it claims to report, and getting these same results on

numerous trials so that the research question can be answered as accurately as possible

(Babbie 2004; Kondracki et al. 2002). In other words, outside the fact that it is time

consuming, this research technique is open for subjective interpretation from one

researcher to another and thus vulnerable to bias and disputes (Babbie 2004; Kondracki et

al. 2002; Lombard et al. 2002). Essentially, there are many steps this methodology goes

through and thus many possible disagreements that can occur between coders along the

way. There are two types of content that are coded in the content analysis process;

manifest and latent content (Babbie 2004:319; Kondracki et al. 2002:224-225) that I will

discuss below.

Manifest content.

Manifest is the content that is visible and present in the text (Babbie 2004:319 Kondracki et al. 2002:225). For example, (Babbie 2004:319) gave an example of how researchers might analyze the erotic nature of a particular novel. Researchers may simply count the number of times *love* appears in the novel or the average number of appearances of the word throughout each page. A list of words such as caress, hug, and kiss can also serve as indicators. In other words, "[m]anifest content is identified using coding and key word searches and can be recorded in frequencies such as word counts" (Kondracki et al. 2002:225). According to Babbie (2004), this method has the advantage of reliability and ease in coding and revealing how something like eroticism of a novel was measured. For example, in my research when I search for manifest content related to the Indigenous project *Celebrating Survival* (explained below), I will count the words and phrases related to the survival of Indigenous peoples such as *survive*, *survival*, *live*, *live on*, or *continue to live*.

Latent content.

Latent content implies that there is an underlying meaning implied in the text. Unlike manifest content, latent content requires the reader of a book, for example, to read it in its entirety, pages, or paragraphs in order to make an overall assessment of the content. It requires researchers to develop precise definitions for what they are analyzing and coding. In addition, researchers will have to draw conclusions to add meaning to the text (Babbie 2004:319). In essence, latent content is more difficult to code than the manifest method because it is more complex (Babbie 2004:319; Kondracki et al. 2002:225). In addition, other researchers coding the same book may employ different definitions or

standards thus making latent content debatable as well (Babbie 2004:319; Kondracki et al. 2002:225).

For latent content, I would analyze by paragraphs in order to determine if a particular project like *Celebrating Survival* was present. I coded by paragraphs because I wanted to separate ideas and thoughts so that they could be better understood. According to The Writing Center at UNC Chapel Hill (2012:1), paragraphs are the coherence and unity of ideas among a sentence or sentences. So again, I separated paragraphs, or stanzas in poems, to better understand what each conveys so that latent content can be used more effectively in order to identify projects that may be present.

To provide an example of content analysis similar to the one I use in this study, I will introduce a content analysis conducted by Jeffrey LaBelle (2010).

Content analysis example.

"Selecting ELL Textbooks: A Content Analysis of L2 Learning Strategies" by LaBelle (2010) is a article about research using content analysis in order to determine which textbooks will effectively represent a wide range of L2 learning strategies for middle school children in Milwaukee. The article points out that teachers in middle schools struggle to identify contextually appropriate and effective texts for teaching English to immigrant students. According to LaBelle (2010:358), many instructors do not possess the necessary information about the extent of language learning strategies in textbooks because there are only a limited number of textbooks available for middle school ELLs. Quoting the article:

> An analysis of the content of these textbooks would provide one source of data to help teachers in their selection of textbooks for middle school ELL students which would be suitable for their culturally and linguistically

> diverse students. From a theoretical perspective, this study established a protocol for the ongoing examination of ELL textbooks currently in use in middle schools. Many classroom instructors rely on their own personal judgment or intuition to select texts for their students or simply depend upon the district-approved textbooks. Some may lack the knowledge and awareness of the extent to which their textbooks represent a variety of L2 learning strategies. . . . [A] more critical analysis of textbooks would lend a broader and more detailed description of the learning strategies depicted, as well as raise consciousness of educators in this regard. The results of our study are intended to assist instructors to make more fully informed judgments in their intentional choices of ELL textbooks. (P. 358)

The study analyzed the illustrations and written content of 33 ELL textbooks to determine the range of learning strategies represented in order to answer the research question: "To what extent do middle school ELL texts depict frequency and variation of language learning strategies in illustrations and written texts?" (LaBelle 2010:358, 360). For the purposes of this example and the research I conducted, I will focus on the content analysis the researchers conducted on the written texts. Each text was coded using 15 specific language learning strategies. The idea was to discover how frequently the language learning strategies were portrayed in each book. To elaborate, content analysis was chosen as the research method because "it could most effectively review the frequency and variation of types of L2 learning strategies" (LaBelle 2010:360). More specifically, quantitative content analysis was used because the study required controlled observation and systemic counting. The coding consisted of placing a mark in ink for each time one of the L2 learning strategies appeared in the text. In other words, the occurrences of each learning strategy in the 33 books were counted in order to determine the range of the L2 strategies represented. The results showed that 6 out of the 33 books exhibited a good to excellent range of L2 strategies. For example one of the books, *Access English*, the frequency of strategies exhibited was 201. In regard to the variation

in strategies, *Access English* had occurrences for all 15 possible strategies (LaBelle 2010:362).

Similar to the example of content analysis discussed above, I counted specific items important to the completion of my research. The research in the article by LaBelle (2010) consisted of searching and counting the occurrences of 15 language learning strategies in 33 text books. I counted the occurrences of the Indigenous projects in 35 Indigenous sources. However, unlike LaBelle (2010), I did not simply compare and contrast sources to one another. In other words, the 33 books were compared to each other to determine which books contained the widest variety of learning strategies. Books with the widest variety of learning strategies were deemed most suitable for aiding teachers instruct immigrant students. My research was not to determine which source contained the most projects or the widest variety of projects, but it was meant to understand the extent of projects used. The projects represent self-determination for Indigenous people so I was interested to see how they were presented in the 35 sources I analyzed.

The following paragraphs will cover the processes I implemented analyzing the sources.

The Processes

The processes, which I will discuss shortly, were conducted by me personally, an individual coder. According to Lombard et al. (2002), content analysis will increase in reliability if multiple coders conduct content analysis together. Lombard et al. (2002) stated the following: "It is widely acknowledged that intercoder reliability is a critical component of content analysis . . ." (p. 589). Intercoder reliability is defined as "the

extent to which independent coders evaluate a characteristic of a message or artifact and reach the same conclusion" (Lombard et al. 2002:589). As stated earlier, intercoder reliability increases reliability of content analysis, but it can also cause problems if the relationship between coders is not established properly (Kondracki et al. 2002:226; Lombard et al. 2002:589). Furthermore, the authors argue that constant disagreement between coders suggest weaknesses in research methods, categories, and operational definitions (Kondracki et al. 2002:226; Lombard et al. 2002:589). In addition, Kondracki et al. (2002:226) argued that comfort is an essential aspect of coding and that is one reason coders choose to work alone. Comfort in analyzing the sources is one of the primary reasons I chose to work alone. As important as it was for me to work individually for the reasons discussed above, there are limitations for coding alone. Bias will be an issue with coders in general, but it can be reduced if two or more coders are able to agree on methodology and definitions of the material coded. As an individual coder, this paper is open for criticism of not only (1) bias but also (2) low validity and reliability. Again, the two points I just mentioned is a weakness of all content analysis research, but issues of reliability can be more evident in the analysis of individual coders (Lombard et al. 2002:589). I will now discuss the processes I implemented in order to find the Indigenous projects.

The sources used for analysis were carefully chosen for their content relating to Indigenous peoples and their struggles with environmental racism. Each of the sources was analyzed in its entirety. Chapters in books solely about the environment such as Winona LaDuke's (1999) *All Our Relations: Native Struggles for Land and Life* were chosen for their content discussing environmental racism. In order to keep track of the

sources, the following steps were taken: (1). Printed copies were made of all the sources so that I may identify and mark projects present on the paper. To decrease the possibility of mistakes made in counting, I decided to make three printed copies of each source, two for the processes about to be discussed later and a third set in case differences and mistakes were found in the first two groups of sources. Once I printed out three copies of each source, I separated the sources in folders marked *one*, *two*, and *three*, to keep them organized. The sources were placed in alphabetical order in the folders. (2). I then began analyzing sources in alphabetical order as indicated in the previous step. I read and coded each source twice by the end of the process. I did this for reliability purposes in order to ensure I looked for the aspects of the projects I set out to find, and to also check my work in order to make sure mistakes were not made. I identified the Indigenous projects[1] in the first copy of each source by placing numbers in the text based on the order projects were discussed in the paper. For instance, *Bad Memories* was discussed first in this paper, so each time it was discovered in the source, I would place the number (1) by the margin of the paper. I would do so accordingly for all the eight remaining recoded Indigenous projects with *Celebrating Survival* (2), *Reading* was marked with a (3), *Rights of the People* (4), *Indigenous Language* (5), *Return of Resources and Children* (6), *Equality for Indigenous Women* was marked with (7), (8) for *Networking and Sharing*, with *Healing* being last and identified with a (9). After doing this for all the sources, I created a table with the Indigenous projects listed as the rows and the sources as the columns. Next, I reviewed the projects found in each source and then recorded the number each individual project was found in the table starting with *Bad Memories* and

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[1] The definition and coding of the indigenous projects will be described below.

then the other projects to follow. Next, I added the numbers in the columns to get a sum for each project. The first process was, in essence, similar to the content analysis example discussed by LaBelle (2010). To reiterate, the example explained that the coding consisted of placing a mark in ink for each time one of the L2 learning strategies appeared in the text.

I conducted the second process for reliability purposes for myself as an individual coder. The second process was done exactly a week later after conducting the first because I wanted some time to pass before analyzing the sources with a fresh perspective. Opposed to the previous process where the sources were read in alphabetical order, I read the sources in no specific order. I took folder *two* and mixed the sources around followed by cutting them three times as if the stack was a deck of cards. In addition, a different method was used in finding the Indigenous projects. Instead of placing numbers related to the projects as indicated in the previous process, I assigned different colors for each project and highlighted the key words fitting the concept or the latent content of that project. Projects that overlapped were identified with a circle in pen at the point of intersection. Using color codes made it easier to pinpoint how much of the text actually belonged to each Indigenous project if it happened to fall under latent content as opposed to just numbers that indicated that a project was identified. The second process was also helpful in finding possible mistakes that may have been made in the first process. Like the former, I created a table and tallied the total count for the Indigenous projects in the columns of the table.

Lastly, I retrieved the results and sources from the first process and compared them with the results and sources from the second to make sure the comparison of the data are

the same. There were no differences in the comparisons, so the third set of sources was

not needed.

The sources that I analyzed were selected based on nonprobability sampling.

According to Guo and Hussey (2004):

> Nonprobability sampling refers to procedures in which researchers select
> their sample elements not based on a predetermined probability, but based
> on research purpose, availability of subjects, subjective judgment, or a
> variety of other non-statistical criteria. Social work researchers often face
> challenges and dilemmas to employ a random sample, because such
> samples in a real-world research are not readily available. (P. 2)

More specifically, I relied on purposive sampling, which is one type of nonprobability

sampling (Babbie 2004). According to Earl Babbie (2004), purposive, or judgmental

sampling, is "[a] type of nonprobability sampling in which you select the units to be

observed on the basis of your own judgment about which ones will be the most useful or

representative" (p. 183). In other words, Babbie (2004:183) argues that it is appropriate

to select a sample on the basis of knowledge of a particular population and the purpose of

the study.

I know of Indigenous peoples and their problems with environmental racism through

coursework and the information provided by these courses. Outside of coursework,

however, finding sources on environmental racism provided by Indigenous peoples was a

difficult task, hence the reason I used purposive sampling to find some of the Indigenous

sources. Moore (1998) and Shriver and Webb (2009) have argued that when it comes to

environmental racism, Indigenous peoples have not had the opportunity to speak out

about this topic. More specifically, according to Moore (1998:301), most Indigenous

peoples have never heard of the concept of environmental racism. Shriver and Webb

(2009:270) argued that there is a considerable gap in literature regarding the perspectives of minority groups towards environmental racism. The argument made by Shriver and Webb (2009) just mentioned is interesting in relation to the sources I found. Sixteen out of the 35 sources I analyzed were written between 2000 and 2012. Another eight were written mid-to late nineties, and three sources were written in the early nineties. Judging, then, from the sources that I was able to find and the arguments made by Moore (1998) and Shriver and Webb (2009) suggests that the perspectives of minority groups like Indigenous peoples is still young and growing within environmental racism discourse.

Outside of the sources that were given to me in my coursework, my gathering of the remaining sources began with Winona LaDuke's (1999) *All Our Relations*. Winona LaDuke is a prominent environmental activist, so finding her contributions in university library databases and the internet on the topic of environmental racism was not difficult. This is how I found LaDuke's (1999) *All Our Relations*. According to the book, LaDuke (1999) is an acclaimed environmental activist who conducted an in-depth account of Indigenous people's resistance to cultural and environmental degradation. Each chapter in her book is about an Indigenous tribe and community dealing with environmental racism. Again, purposive sampling was important in instances such as choosing chapters about environmental racism because it is relevant to my research. I chose the "Nuclear Waste Chapter" within LaDuke's (1999) *All Our Relation*. My online and database searches also led me to work she posted in online magazines like *Yes! Magazine* provided by the Positive Futures Network (N.d.). Through the Positives Futures Network (N.d.), I was also able to find the other on-line sources I analyzed including *Creative Spirits* by

Korff (N.d.) and *Indian Country Today* provided by Indian Country Today Media Network, LLC (2013).

Through notes and the index provided by *All Our Relations*, I was also able to find Ward Churchill and Gail Small. Like I did with Winona LaDuke (1999), I began library database searches on both Ward Churchill and Gail Small. By looking more into Small's work, I found Wilma Mankiller's (2004) *Everyday is a Good Day*. A few of the sources that I analyzed, including that of Small (2004), came out of this book. I discovered that Ward Churchill is also highly involved with environmental issues. I found a source that Churchill and LaDuke (1992) co-authored titled "Native North America: The Political Economy of Radioactive Colonialism." Churchill's (1997) *A Little Matter of Genocide: Holocaust and Denial in the Americas 1492 to the Present* is a book outlining the history of holocausts beginning with the arrival of Christopher Columbus and continuing to the present. Environmental racism is one of the acts of genocide towards Indigenous peoples as discussed in the chapter "Cold War Impacts on Native North America: The Political Economy of Radioactive Colonization." Unlike LaDuke (1999), the books by Mankiller (2004), Churchill (1997), and other books I used were not entirely about environmental racism. Again, chapters were chosen based on their content related to environmental issues. In my coursework, I also learned about Leslie Marmon Silko, but in the chapter by Churchill (1997) just mentioned, he provided a block quote by Silko to begin his discussion on environmental racism. That is how I began to look for sources by Silko discussing the topic of environmental racism. The block quote used by Churchill (1997) came from Silko's (1981) *Storyteller*, a source I also used in this paper as well as another

source from Silko (1997) I used entitled, "Interior and Exterior Landscapes: The Pueblo Migration Stories," given to me in my coursework.

The process of using *All Our Relations* in order to find other sources is similar to a method called snowball sampling employed by researchers doing field research. According to Babbie (2004), snowball sampling is "[a] nonprobability sampling method often employed in field research whereby each person interviewed may be asked to suggest additional people for interviewing" (p. 184). In other words, snowball sampling is used because members of a certain population are difficult to find. The difference is, instead of interviewing people to get access to other individuals, I used one book in order to find access to other printed and electronic sources.

The following are the 35 sources I analyzed using content analysis.

Indigenous Intellectuals and Their Work

Books.

Thirty-five literary sources were used to complete this project. The information coming from these sources came primarily from books, journal articles, online magazines, and Indigenous websites containing regularly updated news on Indigenous issues. These sites also contain platforms for Indigenous people to express themselves freely and talk about topics important to them and also those concerning Indigenous people as a whole. Out of the 35 sources, 18 came from books. Five came from Wilma Mankiller's (2004) book; *Every Day is a Good Day: Reflections by Contemporary Indigenous Women.*

The intellectuals looked at in Mankiller's (2004) book were Mary and Carrie Dann (2004) and their contribution in a chapter entitled "The Way Home." Mary and Carrie

Dann (2004) are Western Shoshone women who for 40 years fought to retain their ancestral homelands from The Bureau of Land Management using whatever peaceful means at their disposal. The Bureau of Land Management asked the women to get grazing permits and pay fees for their cattle. However, they argued that their cattle were grazing on Western Shoshone land. The Dann (2004) sisters are fluent in the Western Shoshone language and conduct their work and live their lives according to traditional Western Shoshone ways (Soap 2004:177).

The second intellectual looked at was Sarah James (2004) whose work that was analyzed also came from the chapter "The Way Home." S. James (2004) is a Nee'Tsaii Gwich'in. In 1988, she was chosen by elders and tribal leaders to be a defender and advocate of the birthplace of the porcupine caribou and the Arctic Coastal Plains. To do this work, she has had to testify before congress, present lectures on the importance to protect the area, and has appeared in documentaries, print media, and national news programs. S. James (2004) is a speaker of Gwich'in and works with children to promote Indigenous languages and teach Gwich'in culture, values, and beliefs. She also serves on boards and committees related to protecting Indigenous homelands including the Environmental Justice Advisory Board, the Native Village of Venetie Tribal Government, the Council of Athabascan Tribal Governments, and the Gwich'in Steering Committee (Soap 2004:185).

The third woman is Jaune Quick-to-See Smith (2004) and her contribution to the chapter "Love and Acceptance." She is a Flathead Salish and is internationally renowned for her work on American Indian contemporary art. She has used her skills to serve as a

curator and has organized a number of touring exhibits. She has also given lectures at more than 150 museums, international conferences, and universities (Soap 2004).

The work done by Gail Small (2004) in "Context Is Everything" was also analyzed. Small (2004) is an attorney and member of the Northern Cheyenne Nation who is also an environmental activist and director of one of the most successful nonprofit organization in Indian Country, Native Action. Small (2004) served on many councils and boards including being a Consumer Advisory Council on the Environmental Justice Committee of the Environmental Protection Agency, a councilwoman on the Northern Cheyenne Tribal Council, and serving on the Federal Reserve Board of Governors. Along with the Native Action, Gail Small (2004) was a key figure securing a high school for the Northern Cheyenne Nation, creating education projects and leadership programs for children (Soap 2004:205).

The final intellectual is Wilma Mankiller (2004) herself and her piece "Governance: The People and the Land." Besides being a Cherokee woman, she was also an activist, author, and for ten years was the chief of the Cherokee Nation. She has been given many awards including the Presidential Medal of Freedom (Soap 2004:191).

The next book, *Ecocide of Native America: Environmental Destruction of Indian Lands and Peoples* has a chapter titled "Native American Environmental Testimonies: The Last Frontiers of Ecocide. It includes testimonies from three sources from Indigenous intellectuals. The first account analyzed in the book comes from Matthew Coon-Come (1995), Grand Chief of the Crees of Northern Quebec (Canada) and the chief spokesman for the Crees of James Bay. His selection in the chapter is named "This Is a Terrible and Vast Reduction of Our Entire World." Next are Kurt Russo and Lisa Dabek

(1995) whose testimony is entitled "The Time Before the End of Time." Both Russo and

Dabek (1995) are members of the Lacandon. Also analyzed is a selection by Jewell

Praying Wolf James (1995), a descendant of Chief Seal'th. He is the director and

founder of the Indian-in-the-Moon Foundation, chairman of the board of the Florence R.

Kluckholn Center, treasurer of the National Tribal Environmental Council, coordinates

the Lummi tribe's Treaty Protection Task Force, and has experience in politics, law, and

the environment (J. James 1995:246-247). His testimony is named "Ecocide and

Genocide."

 Story Earth: Native Voices on the Environment edited by Inter Press Service (1993),

has a chapter named "The Circle Is the Way to See" by Joseph Bruchac (1993). Bruchac

(1993) is a member of the Abenaki Nation/Vermont and is a storyteller and writer of

English, Abenaki, and Slovak ancestry (Bruchac 1993:3).

 Salvador Palomino (1993) wrote the chapter "Three Times, Three Spaces in Cosmos

Quechua" in the same book mentioned in the previous paragraph, *Story Earth: Native

Voices on the Environment*. Palomino (1993) is a Puqra, a particular nationality in the

Quechua nation. He is also a researcher, journalist, and anthropologist who teaches the

Quechua language (the language of the human being) and the Andean culture (Palomino

1993:45).

 Two sources came from Leslie Marmon Silko, a woman of Pueblo Laguna descent.

The first is her book *Storyteller* and the second is a chapter from her book *Yellow Woman

and a Beauty of the Spirit: Essays on Native American Life Today* titled "Interior and

Exterior Landscapes: The Pueblo Migration Stories." Both of these sources promote the

importance of storytelling and how it brings Indigenous nations and tribes together by sharing stories of culture, beliefs, religion, and identity from generation to generation.

Like Silko, different sources from Winona LaDuke were used in this paper. Two came from books and one article, "Local Energy, Local Power" written in 2006 came from an online magazine named *Yes! Magazine* published by the Positive Futures Network (N.d.). One of the book sources used was a chapter entitled "Nuclear Waste" from *All Our Relations: Native Struggles for Land and Life*. The second book, *The State of Native America: Genocide, Colonization, and Resistance* has a chapter she co-authored with Ward Churchill (1992) called "Native North America: The Political Economy of Radioactive Colonialism." Winona LaDuke is an Anishinaabe woman from the white Earth reservation and is also an executive director of a national American environmental justice organization called Honor the Earth.

As mentioned in the previous paragraph, Ward Churchill (1992) co-authored a source with Winona LaDuke (1992) titled "Native North America: The Political Economy of Radioactive Colonialism." Churchill's (1997) *A Little Matter Of Holocaust and Denial in the Americas 1492 to the Present* includes a chapter; "Cold War Impacts On Native North America: The Political Economy of Radioactive Colonization" pp. 289-362 was also analyzed using content analysis and Linda Smith's (1999) Indigenous projects. Ward Churchill is a Keetoowah Cherokee and a member of the American Indian Movement ever since 1972 (Churchill 1997).

Ike Okonta and Oronto Douglas' (2003:190-206) "Healing the Wound." in *Where Vultures Feast: Shell, Human Rights, And Oil In The Niger Delta*. Furthermore, I used another source from Douglas (1999) in the paper named "Indigenous Voices: Eco-Justice

in the Niger delta." Oronto Douglas is a member of the Ijaw nation from Nigeria, a lawyer, and an environmental activist (Douglas 1999).

The final two book sources are biographical and testimonial accounts of two women from Central America. The first, *Don't Be afraid Gringo: A Honduran Woman Speaks From The Heart* tells the oral history of Elvia Alvarado (1989), a peasant (campesina) activist in Honduras. Medea Benjamin (1989), who translated and edited the book, met Alvarado (1989) through Pueblo People (Alvarado and Benjamin 1989:xi). The chapter analyzed is "Our Struggle to Recover the Land."

The final book source (1984:102-116) is "Conflict With the Landowners and the Creation of the CUC" in *I, Rigoberta Menchú: An Indian Woman in Guatemala*. Like Elvia Alvarado (1989), Rigoberta Menchú (1984) is a peasant woman from Central America and a Quiché Indian belonging to one of the largest groups in Guatemala. Burgos-Debray (1984) focused on the life story of Menchú (1984), but Menchú's (1984) story is no different from other Indigenous communities in Latin America faced with exploitation and injustice due to Spanish conquest. This book was written as a way for Menchú (1984) to confront this injustice and through her story, many others sharing her hardships will also be heard: "The voice of Rigoberta Menchú allows the defeated to speak" (Menchú and Burgos-Debray 1984:xi).

Journal article.

One journal article was used called "Indigenous Environmental Education for Cultural Survival" by Leanne Simpson (2002) found in the *Canadian Journal of Environmental Education*. This article was a great find as it not only discusses the negative impact of environmental degradation but also outlines the importance of

indigenous environmental education and how students can effectively participate and find ways to use Western science into doing environmental work; topics of importance in this paper. Simpson (2002) is an Anishinaabe woman and director of Indigenous Environmental Studies at Trent University in Peterborough, ON (Simpson 2002:24).

Online magazine articles.

The following eight sources came from online magazines dealing with different problems plaguing society including Indigenous issues and their stance on environmental degradation and racism. Out of the eight sources, seven came from *Yes! Magazine* and one from *Indian Country Today Magazine*.

Beginning with the one from *Indian Country Today*; the name of the article is "Wisconsin Endangers a Sacred Tradition" by Mary Annette Pember (2012). Pember (2012) is an Ojibwe woman writing about the construction of a four-and-a-half mile long open pit iron near Mashkiki Ziibi, Medicine River. The Medicine River provides drinking water for the people and is also where the tribe's wild-rice beds are located. In addition, the river is also where Pember's (2012) mother's reservation is located.

As previously stated, I also used articles written by LaDuke (2006) and Douglas (1999) written for *Yes! Magazine* in this paper. The name of LaDuke's (2006) article is "Local Energy, Local Power." Douglas' (1999) article is named "Eco-Justice in the Niger Delta."

Berito Kuwar U'wa (1999) wrote "Indigenous Voices: Banking on Earth, Light, Water". He is a member of the U'wa people and wrote this article to voice his opinion on how the government and petroleum companies are destroying the Earth but mainly focuses on how this destruction affects the U'wa people in particular.

Like many of the other sources, "Innayan* Just Don't Do It!" by Victoria Tauli-Corpuz (2001) is a biographical/testimonial piece about the harmful effects of environmental destruction. Tauli-Corpuz (2001) belongs to the Kankanaey-Igorot people from the Mountain Province in the Philippines.

"In the Native way" was written by Tom Goldtooth (2001). Goldtooth (2001) belongs to the Dine' and Mdewakanton Dakota. He is the national director of the Indigenous Environmental Network at Bemidji, Minnesota and for over 30 years has been a leader in Native economic, social, and environmental justice issues (Goldtooth 2001).

The second-to-last source here is "Declaration of La Paz" written by Jallalla Indigenous Pueblos and Nations of Abya Yala (2007).

Finally there is "Surviving Hard Times: It's Not for Sissies" written by John Mohawk (2006). Mohawk (2006) was a columnist for Indian Country Today and an author. He was a member and elder of the Seneca Nation of Indians, one of six nations of the Iroquois. He passed away on December 10, 2006 at the age of 61 (Jackson 2006; Mohawk 2006).

Newsletter.

Leonard Peltier's (2010) "Indigenous People and the Environment" was posted on the online political newsletter *Counterpunch* (1996) on April 4, 2010. To quote a paragraph of the piece:

> My name is LEONARD PELTIER. I am a citizen of the Dakota/Lakota
> and Anishinabe Nations of North America. Like many of you, I am a
> tribal person. As Aboriginal peoples, we have always struggled to live in
> harmony with the Earth. We have maintained our vigilance and bear
> witness to a blatant disregard for our planet and sustainable life ways.

> We've seen that the pursuit of maximized profits through globalization, privatization, and corporate personhood has become a plague that destroys life. We know that it is not only the land that suffers as a result of these practices. The people most closely associated with the Earth suffer first and most. (Peltier 2010: para. 4)

Peltier (2010) is personally addressing important individuals such as Heads of State, national representatives, and concerned citizens regarding destructive corporate practices and the environmental effects that ensue. Peltier (2010) has served over 34 years in prison for resisting invasions intent on stealing land and valuable resources. He suggested that changes have to be made or the survival of the planet will not last; "[i]t is time we all listen, too—or else our collective Mother will dramatically and forcefully unstop our ears" (Peltier 2010: para. 9).

Poems.

Four poems were looked at that were retrieved from two online sites. "READING: Inspiring Quotations, Poems, and Passages" is a collection of poems, quotes, and passages about the environment found at the Charlotte UU Environmental Justice Blog: Community Action and Environmental Justice (N.d.). The two poems included are from Bill Neidjie (N.d.) and Art Solomon (N.d.). Solomon (N.d.) is an Ojibwe elder while Neidjie (N.d.) was a member of the Bunitj clan at Alawanydjawany within the Alligator Rivers in Australia. Neidjie (N.d.) was an elder of the Kakadu National Park. He was also the last fluent speaker of the Gagadju language (Mackinolty 2002).

The next two poems come from *Creative Spirits* created by Korff (N.d.), a site strictly related to Aboriginal culture and resources. According to Korff (N.d.), each poem on the site is written by Aboriginal people and regularly gets published by the Aboriginal-owned Koori Mail newspaper. The site states that "[c]ontemporary Aboriginal poetry is an

important part of Aboriginal art. Many poems express how Aboriginal people feel today and their poems are about the challenges that they share with non-Indigenous people but also about problems specific to their lives" (Korff N.d.). The poets are Dale Backo (N.d.) and his poem "Tribal Land" and Phill Moncrieff's (1985) "My Mother The Land."

Human rights.

The last three sources analyzed come from websites promoting the importance of human rights and speak out directly to those violating those rights. These sites provide a forum for Indigenous people facing injustice to have a voice and express their thoughts on the issues at hand. Two of these sources, "Risking Ruin: Shell's Dangerous Developments in the Tar Sands, Arctic and Nigeria" (N.d.) and "Mother Earth Accord" (2011) came from the Indigenous Environmental Network (2013) or www.ienearth.org. The Indigenous Environmental Network (2013) was created by grassroots Indigenous peoples and as the name implies, the network addresses environmental issues and does so by educating and empowering Indigenous Peoples to develop strategies and address health and the environment. "Risking Ruin" (N.d.) was published by the Indigenous Environmental Network and Athabasca Chipewyan First Nation (N.d.). The report talks about the environmental disasters caused by the major oil company Shell. Strategies and solutions of what can be done to correct Shell's mistakes are also implemented.

"Mother Earth Accord" (2011) focuses on TransCanada's proposed Keystone XL tar sands pipeline. This accord was made possible by all those affected by the pipeline including Traditional Treaty Councils, First Nation Chiefs of Canada, and Tribal Government Chairs and Presidents.

The final source, "People's Agreement" (2010) talks about global warming and the effects of climate change. It was made available through World People's Conference on Climate Change and the Rights of Mother Earth (2010) in Cochabamba, Bolivia. Much like Leonard Peltier (2010) and the two sources from the Indigenous Environmental Network (2013), the topics discussed were conducted as a formal conference involving politics.

I introduced the sources mentioned above so that readers would be aware of the Indigenous sources I will be analyzing using the content analysis methodology. Now I will discuss the 25 Indigenous projects introduced by Linda Smith (1999), the nine collapsed projects I developed from Smith's (1999) original 25, and examples of how I will code each project.

Linda Smith (2009) And The Twenty-Five Indigenous Projects

According to Smith (1999:105), the burden of history has made the positioning of Indigenous people as researchers problematic. Yet, there is a big interest shown by Indigenous peoples in research, more specifically, research that privileges Indigenous concerns and practices. The interest in research has been defined by over 500 years of contact with Western society. Smith (1999) describes Indigenous research as the modern Indigenous peoples' project, a project described as a modernist resistance struggle:

> For most of the past 500 years the indigenous peoples' project has had one major priority: *survival*. This has entailed survival from the effects of a sustained war with the colonizers, from the devastation of diseases, from the dislocation from lands and territories, from the oppressions of living under unjust regimes; survival at a sheer basic physical level and as peoples with our own distinctive languages and cultures. (P. 107)

The survival of peoples, languages, cultures, taking back control of destinies, and the struggle to become self-determining has inspired Indigenous people to commit themselves to do more than rhetoric or acts of deviance. The process of reclaiming cultures and languages has required the creation of an important and ambitious Indigenous research program, one with a strategic approach in its search of social justice (Simpson 2002:15; Smith 1999:142). Within the program are projects focusing on various themes such as self-determination, healing, cultural survival, restoration, and social justice. Smith (1999) states that, "[e]ach project is outlined to give a bare indication of the parameters offered within it and how these may link in with some of the others" (p. 142). In other words, some of the projects are very similar to each other, varying only by a few distinctions.

Before I introduce the 25 projects, three points must be made. Since many of the projects are similar to each other, I will assemble similar projects into a collapsed category based on similarities and the content displayed in each. For example, four of the projects: *Claiming*, *Testimonies*, *Story Telling*, and *Remembering* all center on the idea that Indigenous accounts should be based on painful events and past injustices. The divergence lies in each project's approach as to how these accounts or stories can be expressed. The second point acknowledges that the projects are not entirely Indigenous despite being pursued by Indigenous communities (Smith 1999:142). Some of the projects involve the participation of non-Indigenous researchers. However, because this paper focuses on the Indigenous points of view on research, those elements will not be discussed. Finally, as indicated in the introduction, I will use these projects and employ content analysis to determine the extent they are used in the sources provided by

Indigenous intellectuals. However, not all of the 25 projects will be coded. The

following projects, *Intervening*, *Discovering*, *Writing*, and *Protecting* are the four

projects that I will now discuss that will not be coded in the paper. The reason for this

decision stems from the fact that all the Indigenous intellectuals will implement them in

the sources I analyze. This will be explained in the paragraphs to follow. Before I

introduce and discuss the 25 Indigenous projects, I will present them in a table (See Table

1).

Table 1: The Indigenous Projects			
Grouped Projects	**Coded**	**Smith's Indigenous Projects Contained in Grouped Projects**	**Grouped Projects Defined**
Writing	No	Writing	Also known as the 'Empire Writes Back,' Writing by Indigenous peoples is the antithesis to Western writing which exploited Indigenous peoples.
Discovering	No	Discovering	The need for Indigenous peoples to discover Western Science and engage with sciences of interest to them such as environmental issues.
Intervening	No	Intervening	Concerned with Indigenous peoples becoming proactive and becoming a worker for change.
Protecting	No	Protecting	Concerned with protecting Indigenous rights, cultures, beliefs, way of life, language, and the right to make history.
Bad Memories	Yes	Claiming, Testimonies, Remembering, Storytelling	The remembering and telling of memories of past injustices.
Celebrating Survival	Yes	Celebrating Survival	Emphasizing the fact that Indigenous peoples have survived and are persevering.
Reading	Yes	Reading	The critique of Western literature.
Rights of the People	Yes	Indigenizing, Representing, Negotiating	Indigenous peoples relying on their teachings in order to fight for Indigenous rights.
Indigenous Language	Yes	Revitalizing, Naming	Revitalization of Indigenous Languages.
Return of Resources and Children	Yes	Connecting, Returning	The returning of children, the land, stolen artifacts, remains, and other cultural materials.
Equality for Indigenous Women	Yes	Gendering, Democratizing	Interested in restoring balanced relationships between Indigenous men and women. Also focuses on restoring women's roles within the community.
Networking and Sharing	Yes	Networking, Sharing	Indigenous Peoples forming networks and Sharing information.
Healing	Yes	Envisioning, Reframing, Restoring, Creating	Envisioning a better future and coming up with viable solutions to problems.

The Four Projects Not Coded.

As I stated in the paragraph above, four of the Indigenous projects will not be coded because they are evident either through the writing of the intellectuals or by the fact that these intellectuals are involved in the production of knowledge. Once again, they are *Intervening*, *Discovering*, *Writing*, and *Protecting*. What these four projects suggest is that Indigenous intellectuals have to look at the way Indigenous peoples have been represented in Western writing and counter this view by protecting Indigenous peoples beliefs, cultures, values, and ways of knowing. In addition, Indigenous peoples have the right to make their own history. One way to do this is to become a worker for change so that by producing knowledge, intended audiences will learn about these issues. Indigenous peoples, then, should write and discuss issues that are of importance to them. Again, these are issues that will be present in all of the sources and, thus, the reason why the four Indigenous projects that will be discussed will not be coded.

The first Indigenous project discussed will be *Discovering*. The project is about making Western science and technology work for Indigenous peoples and their development in research. Smith (1999) states that Indigenous scientists in particular have struggled with remaining close to their own Indigenous communities and students have struggled with Western science as it has been taught to them in educational institutions:

> Science has been traditionally hostile to indigenous ways of knowing.
> Science teaching in schools has also been fraught with hostile attitudes
> towards indigenous cultures, and the way indigenous students learn.
> There are huge debates within the scientific community about the nature
> of science and how it ought to be taught. (P. 160)

One solution that the project suggests is the development of ethno-science and the application of science important to Indigenous peoples such as biodiversity and environmental sciences (Smith 1999:160).

Along with *Writing*, which will be covered later, *Discovering* is the most evident project that will be used by the Indigenous intellectuals since the sources analyzed in this paper are about issues dealing with the environment and the importance of biodiversity. As far as the issue of discovering Western science and making it work for Indigenous peoples is concerned, scholars like Louis (2007), Simpson (2002), and Smith (1999) have been vocal about how Western science should be presented in institutions like schools and how it should benefit Indigenous communities. For instance, Smith's (1999) book, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, discusses two topics. The first part of the book deals with issues relating to research, knowledge, and imperialism/colonialism. The second part of the book examines different methodologies and approaches that are being developed to ensure that research with Indigenous peoples is ethical, sympathetic, respectful, and useful. The usefulness of research for Indigenous people is a concern for many Indigenous scholars including Louis (2007) and Smith (1999). According to Louis (2007), "[i]f research does not benefit the community by extending the quality of life for those in the community, it should not be done" (p. 131). Also, Simpson (2002) shares the same sentiment discussed by *Discovering* with respect to the importance of Indigenous peoples' access to Western science:

> In Aboriginal communities, Western science is often perceived as the primary tool governments and industry use to nullify environmental impacts created by unsustainable industrial and resource development, particularly in impact assessment proceedings. Western scientific literacy however, is also often seen an important and necessary tool for Aboriginal

> Peoples working in the field of the environment at the community and tribal organization level, yet mainstream science education has failed miserably at attracting and retaining Aboriginal students. (P. 20)

As I will discuss in more detail later, Simpson (2002) devoted herself to make Western science as well as Indigenous resources available to students so that they may engage in sciences. However, the main point I want to emphasize about *Discovering* is that Indigenous peoples have discovered Western science and are engaging in topics important to Indigenous peoples.

Writing, along with *Discovering* discussed in the previous paragraph, are the most evident of the projects that I will not be coding. It is also one of the main concepts that Smith (1999) highly emphasized in the book. Borrowing Smith's (1999) words:

> Indigenous people are writing. . . . Similar anthologies and works of indigenous literature are being published around the world by indigenous writers for indigenous reading audiences. The boundaries of poetry, plays, song writing, fiction and non-fiction are blurred as indigenous writers seek to use language in ways which capture the messages, nuances and flavour of indigenous lives. (Pp. 149-150)

The activity of writing has inspired Indigenous people to get their work published and has also revived different organizations looking to provide better information than is available in mainstream media (Smith 1999:15).

One of the important aspects of self-determination for Indigenous peoples has involved questions about their history and how they, as the Other, have been excluded or represented in various accounts:

> Writing or literacy, in a very traditional sense of the word, has been used to determine the breaks between the past and the present, the beginning of history and the development of theory. Writing has been viewed as the mark of a superior civilization and other societies have been judged, by this view, to be incapable of thinking critically and objectively, or having distance from ideas and emotions. Writing is part of theorizing and

> writing is part of history. Writing, history and theory, then, are key sites in which Western research of the indigenous world have come together . . . . Having been immersed in the Western academy which claims theory as thoroughly Western, which has constructed all the rules by which the indigenous world has been theorized, indigenous voices have been overwhelmingly silenced. (Smith 1999:28-29)

The essential premise of the quote above is that writing is intimidating for Indigenous people (Smith 1999:29).

Indigenous peoples have retaliated by rewriting and rerighting their position in history (Lavallée 2009:23; Smith 1999:28). The act of rewriting and decolonizing knowledge is what Smith (1999:36) refers to as the *Empire Writes Back* or post-colonial discourse. The advent of the Empire Writes Back is connected to the dangers of books (Smith 1999:35). Smith (1999) introduces four things that make books dangerous for Indigenous readers:

> (1)[T]hey do not reinforce our values, actions, customs, culture and identity; (2) when they tell us only about others they are saying that we do not exist; (3) they may be writing about us but are writing things which are untrue; and (4) they are writing about us but saying negative and insensitive things which tell us that we are not good. (P. 35)

Indigenous people struggle to gain their voice because much of what is written by Western Europe and the United States has been validated as truth while Indigenous peoples struggle to have their stories heard. Even Indigenous people reading Western texts once thought that the information within them was accurate and honest (Deloria, Jr. 1997:xiii). However, as time went on, Western texts were taken less seriously and met with skepticism (Deloria, Jr. 1997:xiv; Smith 1999:35-36). Smith (1999) introduced the following statement, "[w]hen I read texts, for example, I frequently have to orientate myself to a text world in which the centre of academic knowledge is either in Britain, the

United States or Western Europe; in which words such as 'we', 'us', 'our', 'I' actually

exclude me" (p. 35). Essentially, reading and interpretation becomes problematic for

Indigenous peoples when they cannot identify themselves in the text. On the other hand,

when they do see themselves they cannot recognize themselves through the

representation (Smith 1999:35). According to Smith (1999), being trained to read under

years of academic study can adopt similar patterns of writing:

> We begin to write about ourselves as indigenous peoples as if we really
> were 'out there', the 'Other', with all the baggage that this entails.
> Another problem is that academic writing is a form of selecting, arranging
> and presenting knowledge. It privileges sets of texts, views about the
> history of an idea, what issues count as significant; and, by engaging in the
> same process uncritically, we too can render indigenous writers invisible
> or unimportant while reinforcing the validity of other writers. If we write
> without thinking critically about our writing, it can be dangerous. Writing
> can also be dangerous because we reinforce and maintain a style of
> discourse which is never innocent. Writing can be dangerous because
> sometimes we reveal ourselves in ways which get misappropriated and
> used against us. Writing can be dangerous because, by building on
> previous texts written about indigenous peoples, we continue to legitimate
> views about ourselves which are hostile to us. (P. 36)

To conclude, the purpose of the Empire Writes Back is to recreate history and give

Indigenous writers the ability to take the language of the Western society and transform it

into the language of the marginalized Indigenous peoples. The reason for this is to

capture the ways Indigenous peoples use their language and dialects in order to make

sense of their lives (Smith 1999:36). In research, Indigenous peoples have been wronged

and oppressed by theories because most of theorizing has come from anthropological and

sociological approaches. Writing, then, can help Indigenous intellectuals express concern

for their origins as peoples and has proved to be a useful technique for self-examination

and representing one's own community (Jacob 2006:452; Smith 1999:38; Strong

2005:257). According to Smith (1999:38), writing is important for Indigenous people because it can help make sense of who Indigenous people are by aiding in helping make sense of reality.

The next Indigenous project discussed here that will not be coded is *Intervening*. Intervening is the process of being proactive and striving to make a difference both culturally and structurally (Smith 1999:147). According to Smith (1999:147), intervention-based projects are necessary approaches when faced with crisis conditions. The project finds it unethical to walk away or carry out work which describes what is already known. In addition, projects done in communities have to be done in a respectable manner. The community itself invites the project and should have the right to oversee every aspect of the project's process. Finally, the *Intervening* project stresses the importance of changes that must be made within agencies and departments involved with research projects. According to Smith (1999), "[i]ntervening is directed then at changing institutions which deal with indigenous peoples and not at changing indigenous peoples to fit the structures" (p. 147).

Intervening will not necessarily be reflected in the writing but rather it simply shows that Indigenous people are bringing attention to a subject matter that is important to them and an issue that must be solved. In other words, it is similar to *Writing* in that through action alone, Indigenous people are fulfilling a certain duty that looks to better their lives and those of their peoples. This project implores Indigenous people to work toward change; the process of becoming involved and being proactive toward improving the lives of Indigenous peoples. For example, Leanne Simpson (2002), an Anishinaabekwe (Ojibwe woman) and instructor with training in Indigenous knowledge and Western

science, explained how Indigenous students became frustrated with the minimal

Indigenous content in social science programs, especially "when much of mainstream

Western scientific education is in direct contrast to traditional Aboriginal worldviews,

knowledge, philosophies, and values" (Simpson 2002:21). Simpson (2002) worked to

improve Canada's post-secondary environmental education programs to meet the needs

of Indigenous students and their communities with the help of various Aboriginal

organizations. According to Simpson (2002), it was a difficult task; "five years of

curriculum and program development in addition to teaching in different post-secondary

programs designed to deliver Indigenous environmental education to varying degrees" (p.

15).

Winona LaDuke's (1999) *All Our Relations: Native Struggles for Land and Life* is

another example of this Indigenous project. LaDuke (1999) constructs her writing in this

book in a manner that would, in the traditional sense, be rebuked by Western methods of

seeking knowledge. The first thing that is evident is the fact that an Indigenous woman

and environmental activist is writing on a subject that is important to herself and other

Indigenous people, the environmental crisis towards Indigenous peoples. One interesting

aspect of the book is that LaDuke (1999) includes the testimonies of individuals

belonging to different Indigenous tribes concerning the hardships of environmental

problems. Each chapter is a scenario of a tribe battling against their respective

environmental hazard problem whether it is a pollutant on their land or forceful

extraction of valuable resources. Each story ends with that particular tribe winning which

promotes the continued survival of Indigenous people.

Again, the point must be made that LaDuke (1999) is only one example of several Indigenous intellectuals whose source will be analyzed. The intellectuals will have different writing styles and information to present, but each is heavily involved with making changes for Indigenous people. In the case of LaDuke (1999), she writes and includes content that would originally have been ignored or viewed as fallacy by traditional Western standards. First and foremost, Winona LaDuke is a woman; referring back to earlier points made in the paper, the academic work of women have for the most part been shunned by men in their respective field, which is an even greater concern for women of color. Also, LaDuke is involved with environmentalism which, by definition, is identified as a social problem (Eitzen and Zinn 2004:6). However, Eitzen and Zinn (2004) also mentioned that what passes as a social problem is determined by those in power. In other words, the definition of a social problem may control the perception of public opinion and alter its meaning in a way that benefits those in power. This often resulted in minority groups getting chastised if they complained about a particular issue, which in turn, made them a social problem instead of the actual issue. Native Americans, for example, were seen as a social problem because they resisted being removed from their land. The fact that they were forced off their land was not considered a social problem. In other words, LaDuke (1999) may be viewed as a social problem by Western standards.

In addition, LaDuke's (1999) book is about Indigenous people successfully resisting oppression at the hands of governments and industries causing these environmental problems. It was mentioned earlier that it is a strong belief that minority groups are

incapable of fighting their own battles because they are not intelligent enough and/or lack the necessary resources to launch a successful campaign against such obstacles.

What this means is that LaDuke (1999) stepped out as an advocate for Indigenous peoples. She did this not necessarily by speaking and writing for them but rather using their own words and experiences as a driving force of resistance to the problems they face. Some of the points covered above regarding LaDuke (1999) speak to her role as a worker for change, bringing awareness to an on-going Indigenous issue, and also contradicts previous misconceptions about the lack of strength and durability of Indigenous folks in times of crisis. In short, LaDuke (1999) allowed the Indigenous people in her book to have a voice; essentially proving the worth of standpoint theory as she writes to various audiences from Indigenous people to non-Indigenous individuals. In addition to this last point and the *Intervening* project, the ability to write to different audiences is an important skill to possess (Smith 1999). Through writing and discourse, Indigenous people are able to teach their way of life to children in hopes of having their stories and experiences survive from generation to generation. The messages to non-Indigenous people, especially colonizers and those under Western science, can range from the consequences of their actions to correcting past assumptions. According to Smith (1999):

> Indigenous communities also have something to offer the non-indigenous world. . . . Indigenous peoples' ideas and beliefs about the origins of the world, their explanations of the environment, often embedded in complicated metaphors and mythic tales, are now being sought as the basis for thinking more laterally about current theories about the environment, the earth and the universe. (P. 159)

To reiterate a point made earlier, the aspects of *Intervening*, as Smith (1999) explains it, may not necessarily manifest itself in the writings to be analyzed, but the project will still be evident in the work done by the Indigenous intellectuals. For example, the sources may not necessarily make the point that cultural and structural changes must be made. Instead, people like Simpson (2002) may state that institutions like universities have to change in order to accommodate the needs of Indigenous students by offering curriculum on Indigenous content, hence the point made by Smith (1999) that structures, not Indigenous peoples should change. More so, I argue the point that since Indigenous people are involved with research and talking about topics of interest, like the environment, demonstrates that they are workers for change by adding a new perspective on subject matter either ignored or falsified by the West (Deloria, Jr. 1997:xiii-xv; Smith 1999:13-14).

The final Indigenous project I will be discussing here will be *Protecting*. This project is described as being multifaceted concerned with the protection of peoples, languages, communities, customs and beliefs, natural resources, art and ideas, and the things Indigenous peoples produce (Smith 1999:158). According to Smith (1999:158), every Indigenous community has attempted to protect several things including sacred sites, peoples, art, ideas, languages, natural resources, things people produce, and customs and beliefs. Essentially, *Protecting* can be as real as land or as abstract as a belief about the land's spiritual essence.

The reason I chose not to code for *Protecting* comes from Smith's (1999) underlying meaning and purpose of the project, "[t]he need to protect a way of life, a language and the right to make our own history is a deep need linked to the survival of indigenous

peoples" (p. 158). The right to make one's own history or reclaim it is an important aspect of research for Indigenous people (Galliher et al. 2011:3; Louis 2007:133; Smith 1999:142; Strong 2005:257). In addition, Indigenous scholars place great emphasis on the importance and protection of languages as well (Simpson 2002:18-19; Smith 1999:147, 157), an important Indigenous project that will be covered shortly.

Because most of the Indigenous projects fall within empirical research (Smith 1999:143), some of the examples below will come from empirical sources such as Shriver and Webb's (2009) article "Rethinking the Scope of Environmental Injustice: Perceptions of Health Hazards in a Rural Native American Community Exposed to Carbon Black" and Winona LaDuke's (1999) *All Our Relations*. Despite their content being unique in their own way, what each of the Indigenous sources has in common is the deeply grounded discourse regarding environmental impacts on Indigenous peoples and the threatening effect on the peoples' livelihoods. The extent of what exactly is threatened, and how, will most likely differ between intellectuals, but what will be evident in the discussion of each is how environmental degradation is a threat to the land and overall well-being of Indigenous people which must be protected.

The Coded Indigenous Projects

To reiterate, the four Indigenous projects discussed above were not coded because they are all evident in the sources analyzed. The upcoming projects, which will be discussed shortly, are the Indigenous projects that I will be coding as I analyze the Indigenous sources with content analysis. I will introduce each individual project in the grouped category they belong to. For example, *Bad Memories* consists of the Indigenous projects *Claiming*, *Testimonies*, *Story Telling*, and *Remembering*. Then, I will provide an

example of how these grouped projects may appear in the sources. Lastly, I want to

include how I will code for each project while analyzing the sources. Smith (1999:142-

143) stated that the Indigenous projects are about the survival of peoples and the

reclaiming, reconstituting, and reformulating of languages and cultures. Various

Indigenous communities are engaging with these projects in large part to defy

colonialism, non-Indigenous research, and also to pursue social justice by raising issues

of injustice done to them. Smith (1999) explains, in her own way, the purposes of each

project and in what ways they attempt to counter and refute colonialism. I will analyze

and code for each project with the concept of colonialism in mind, but I do not believe

that it is likely that each Indigenous intellectual will talk about the effects of colonialism

or how their people have been marginalized by Western science. In other words, I want

to code for each project exactly how Smith (1999) discussed them in *Decolonizing*

Methodologies, but I will also look for these projects without occurrences of colonialism

or issues of environmental hardships. I will reiterate some of the important points made

by Smith (1999) concerning each project followed by what specifically I will be coding

during the analysis of each of the 35 sources.

To briefly reiterate what has already been discussed regarding the Indigenous

projects, some approaches towards the Indigenous projects have arisen out of different

methodological issues including those raised by oppressed groups leading to the creation

of themes such as self-determination, healing, social justice, and cultural survival (Smith

1999:142). In other words, the projects acknowledge and focus heavily on injustice done

to Indigenous peoples. They then look to reverse the damage done. In short, the projects

focus on the effects of colonialism/imperialism and through these 25 research projects,

Indigenous people hope to recapture their cultures and beliefs (Smith 1999:142). I will

categorize the Indigenous projects based on similarities in content starting with *Claiming*,

Testimonies, *Story Telling*, and *Remembering* which I have grouped together and labeled

Bad Memories.

Grouped Project 1: Bad Memories

Claiming.

Smith (1999) argues that, "[i]n a sense colonialism has reduced indigenous peoples to

making claims and assertions about our rights and dues. It is an approach that has a

certain noisiness to it. Indigenous peoples, however, have transformed claiming into an

interesting and dynamic process" (p.143). Indigenous communities have worked hard

conducting intensive research projects resulting in the writing of family, tribe, and nation

histories. According to Smith (1999), "[t]hese 'histories' have a focus and purpose, that

is, to establish the legitimacy of the claims being asserted for the rest of time. Because

they have been written to support claims to territories and resources or about past

injustices, they have been constructed around selected stories" (p. 143). These claiming

stories have been written for various different audiences. One audience is the tribunal

audience and court who are generally non-Indigenous (Smith 1999:144). Another is the

general non-Indigenous audience, and the third are the Indigenous peoples themselves.

Smith (1999) states that:

> For this last audience the histories are also important teaching histories.
> They teach both the non-indigenous audience and the new generations of
> indigenous peoples an official account of their collective story. But,
> importantly, it is a history which has no ending because it assumes that
> once justice has been done [*sic*] the people will continue their journey. It
> may be that in time the histories have to be rewritten around other
> priorities. (P. 144)

Testimonies.

Smith (1999) explains that testimonies are a way for Indigenous peoples to talk about a painful event or series of events. In other words, she says that there is a notion and formality to *Testimonies* that truth is being revealed to a particular type of audience (p. 144). In addition, the formality of this project provides a structure where feelings can be expressed and protected. Because of the structure, formality, and sense of immediacy, *Testimonies* appeals to many Indigenous participants, elders in particular. This Indigenous project also translates well to formal written documents (Smith 1999:144).

Story telling.

> Storytelling, oral histories, the perspectives of elders and of women have become an integral part of all indigenous research. Each individual story is powerful. But the point about the stories is not that they simply tell a story, or tell a story simply. These new stories contribute to a collective story in which every indigenous person has a place. . . . Intrinsic in story telling is a focus on dialogue and conversations amongst ourselves as indigenous peoples, to ourselves and for ourselves. (Smith 1999:144-145)

For Indigenous writers, stories are ways of passing down the values and beliefs of culture from generation to generation in order to connect the past with the future, the land with the people, and the people with the story (Smith 1999:145). Indigenous stories tell of love, war and revenge, and sexual encounters but stories are also about *memories of injustice* (Smith 1999:144).

Remembering.

> The remembering of a people relates not so much to an idealized remembering of a golden past but more specifically to the remembering of a painful past and, importantly, people's responses to that pain. While collectively indigenous communities can talk through the history of painful events, there are frequent silences and intervals in the stories about what happened after the event. (Smith 1999:146)

In many cases, Indigenous people choose not to speak about the fact that children were

removed for adoption, families separated across different national boundaries and

reserves; essentially communities were ripped apart. Instead, many turned to alcohol,

violence, and suicide (LaDuke 1999:102; Palomino 1993:50-51; Smith 1999:146).

Violence became an everyday occurrence in many Indigenous households:

> Violence and family abuse became entrenched in communities which had
> no hope. White society did not see and did not care. This form of
> remembering is painful because it involves remembering not just what
> colonization was about but what being dehumanized meant for our own
> cultural practices. Both healing and transformation become crucial
> strategies in any approach which asks a community to remember what
> they may have decided unconsciously or consciously to forget. (Smith
> 1999:146)

The stories of Indigenous peoples by Indigenous peoples is an integral aspect of

research (Lavallée 2009:28; Simpson 2002:18; Smith 1999:145). As a tool of research,

"story telling is a useful and culturally appropriate way of representing the 'diversities of

truth' within which the story teller rather than the researcher retains control" (Smith

1999:145). Despite the fact that topics of stories are diverse, Smith (1999:144) finds it

important to mainly focus on those of social injustice so that Indigenous people may

begin the healing process and find some measure of peace. Stories of injustice can be

told in diverse ways such as a dialogue or public performance, but it translates well to

written documents.

Smith (1999) places great importance on elders and women telling these stories.

However, because these stories are meant to be passed down from generation to

generation, I will not limit the sharing of stories to just elders and women, but all

Indigenous people that speak of injustice. Again, since the accounts of Indigenous

intellectuals is meant to be of painful events, I have decided to name the assembled

projects (*Claiming*, *Testimonies*, *Story Telling*, and *Remembering*) *Bad Memories*.

Example of bad memories.

Examples of *Bad Memories* can be found in many Indigenous works focusing on

injustice such as environmental crisis. The example I provide to give an illustration of

how the variable is coded comes from a chapter called "Nuclear Waste" in Winona

LaDuke's (1999) book titled *All Our Relations: Native Struggles for Land and Life*. Each

chapter in the book covers a Native American tribe dealing with a particular

environmental issue caused mostly by the extraction of resources or the result of

pollution and radiation. In "Nuclear Waste," LaDuke (1999) gives a general overview of

the harmful effects of nuclear waste on various tribes and specific people representing

each of these tribes. For instance, within the chapter, there is a section called "The

Nevada Test Site and The Western Shoshone." In 1951, territory belonging to the

Western Shoshone became the site for nuclear weapons testing. Between 1951 and 1992,

both the United States and Great Britain exploded 1,054 nuclear devices above and

underneath the ground. Out of this number, only 111 of the tests were measured for

radiation exposure. The government assured the public that the radiation exposure would

be equivalent to that of a chest x-ray. In 1997 however, the National Cancer Institute

made it public that over 160 million people got exposed to levels 200 times more than

what was indicated by the government while other parts of the country experienced levels

10 times higher than even that. The National Cancer Institute estimated that 75,000 cases

of thyroid cancer were the direct result of the nuclear testing on Western Shoshone land.

According to LaDuke (1999), "[s]ince the incidence of thyroid cancer is highly age-

dependent and has a long latency period, children born prior to the 1950s—people in their 40s or 50s today—are still at risk. The radiation exposure is linked to other thyroid disorders, as well" (p. 98).

A Western Shoshone woman by the name of Virginia Sanchez grew up in the area where the nuclear tests were being conducted. Sanchez recalls the following about the nuclear tests, "[w]hen the nuclear tests were exploded, 'in school, [we would] duck and cover under the desk, not really understanding what it was'" (LaDuke 1999:98). LaDuke (1999) finishes the story by stating that "[n]ow she [Sanchez] understands all too well. Sanchez lost her 36-year-old brother Joe to leukemia a few years back. Her grandfather died of bone cancer. She has seen the impact of the test site ravage her community" (p. 98).

Two points will be made here regarding the example. First and foremost, it is exactly what the project of *Bad Memories* suggests Indigenous thinkers should focus on. LaDuke (1999) does a good job of summarizing the situation the Western Shoshone were put in due to the harmful effects of the nuclear radiation released on their land. It also adds to, and sets up, the memories of injustices given by Virginia Sanchez. Sanchez openly shared with LaDuke (1999) the memories of having to hide for cover in her school as nuclear devices exploded nearby and also her willingness to talk about the loss of her brother and grandfather. Secondly, I coded for *Bad Memories* even if the authors or people mentioned in the readings talk about another individual's bad memories or experiences. For example, LaDuke (1999) did not personally experience the problems the Western Shoshone had to endure in Nevada, but she still spoke of past injustices done to Indigenous peoples. *Bad Memories* found in the readings do not have to necessarily

revolve around personal experiences. Now, I will discuss how I will code this particular

project.

Bad memories: what will be coded.

This project consists of the Indigenous projects *Claiming*, *Testimonies*, *Story Telling*,

and *Remembering*. Each of these projects is about accounts meant to be passed on from

generation to generation so that they become an integral part of Indigenous history.

According to Smith (1999), these stories can be diverse but should focus primarily on

painful events and memories of injustice. The Indigenous intellectual(s) and the

Indigenous peoples in the sources talking about issues that consist of injustice, pain, and

despair are the particulars I will code as I analyze the readings. All memories, including

painful ones have a place in Indigenous history. The quote from below comes from

Leslie Marmon Silko (1997). The quote contains aspects of *Bad Memories* that I will

code in all 35 sources:

> I was a child when the mining began and the apocalyptic warning stories
> were being told. And I have lived long enough to begin hearing the stories
> that verify the earlier warnings. All that remains of the gardens and
> orchards that used to grow in the sandy flats southeast of Paguate village
> are the stories of the lovely big peaches and apricots the people used to
> grow. The Jackpile Mine is an open pit that has been blasted out of the
> many hundreds of acres where the orchards and melon patches once grew
> . . . . Descriptions of the landscape *before* the mine are as vivid as any
> description of the present-day destruction by the open-pit mining. By its
> very ugliness and by the violence it does to the land, the Jackpile Mine
> insures that, from now on, it, too, will be included in the vast body of
> narratives that makes up the history of the Laguna people and the Pueblo
> landscape. And the description of what that landscape looked like *before*
> the uranium mining began will always carry considerable impact. (P. 44)

It is evident from the quote that mining has had a painful impact on the Laguna people.

Silko (1997) using words like *apocalyptic* and statements like "[b]y its very ugliness and

by the violence it does to the land . . ." (p. 44) are clear-cut descriptions of painful

memories of environmental destruction. In addition, I want to also code for accounts of

injustice that are mentioned in the present tense. Like Silko (1997) discusses, stories that

are told must be remembered so that they can be passed on from generation to generation.

In other words, stories that are told in the present will eventually become a memory that

has to be shared with the rest of the community when it is told years later.

Indigenous Project 2: Celebrating Survival

Smith (1999:145) describes this project as a particular sort of approach that is rare in

white non-Indigenous research. Whereas non-Indigenous research has focused on

documenting the cultural assimilation and demise of Indigenous peoples, "celebrating

survival accentuates not so much our demise but the degree to which indigenous peoples

and communities have successfully retained cultural and spiritual values and

authenticity" (Smith 1999:145). *Celebrating Survival* gives Indigenous peoples the

opportunity to tell their stories and come together and celebrate collectively a sense of

diversity, connectedness, and life (Smith 1999:145). Smith (1999) goes on to say

"[e]vents and accounts which focus on the positive are important not just because they

speak to our survival, but because they celebrate our resistances at an ordinary human

level and they affirm our identities as indigenous women and men" (p. 145).

Example of celebrating survival.

Much like *Bad Memories*, Smith (1999) emphasizes the importance of elders and

their stories. In addition, like *Bad Memories*, I am not just interested in coding for the

accounts of survival given by elders but by all Indigenous peoples. An example of

Celebrating Survival can be found throughout article "Surviving Hard Times: It's Not for

Sissies" written by John Mohawk (2006). Mohawk (2006) does not shy away from

talking about events of injustice and pain but does not forget to mention that Indigenous

people survived. Mohawk's (2006) article that stresses the importance of prophecies that

foretold people would lose their way, become corrupted, and would witness nature

abandoning them. These prophecies are collective memories of elders about how things

used to be and how everything came to be as it is now. The elders were referring to the

arrival of Europeans in North America bringing with them famine, disease, war, and

death, a vision of the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse (Mohawk 2006: para. 7).

Europeans came to North America as a result of food shortages and took advantage of the

abundance of food found on Indigenous lands. However, their greed led to the reduction

of Indigenous populations as well as degradation to food supply, water, and land.

According to Mohawk (2006: para. 17):

> The food systems of the North American Indians were more resistant to
> climate changes because, outside of the gardens, they promoted nature as
> the engine of food production. But those systems were destroyed by
> people who never saw them for what they were. And even very careful
> Indians, cooperating as well as they could with nature, experienced
> societal collapse in the desert Southwest and in desert cultures in Central
> and South America because conditions arose with which they could not
> cope.

Despite the warnings by prophecies and actually experiencing hardships that

would affect the livelihood of Indigenous people, the people would persevere.

The Hopi prophecy suggested that "things were just wonderful until people forgot

their obligations to the forces of nature; then nature abandoned them to natural

catastrophes, destroying their civilization. But the people survived and emerged

to rebuild" (Mohawk 2006: para. 5).

The *Celebrating Survival* project does not shy away from the suffering and pain that

Indigenous people have had to endure. However, non-Indigenous writers have focused

primarily on that aspect of Indigenous history without acknowledging the fact that they

have regrouped and continued to survive. This example talks about hardships but makes

sure to mention the fact that Indigenous people continued to live on.

Celebrating survival: what will be coded.

For this particular project, I will be looking for Indigenous intellectuals or

Indigenous peoples in the 35 sources discussing events and accounts which focus on the

positive because it speaks to the survival of Indigenous peoples. Because non-Indigenous

research primarily focuses on the hardships of Indigenous peoples (Smith 1999:145), this

Indigenous project is sought after by Indigenous peoples because it speaks to the degree

Indigenous people have been able to retain their culture and values. Essentially, I will be

looking for accounts that promote persistence for Indigenous peoples. In the case of

Celebrating Survival, I will be looking for the words like *survival* and accounts given by

Indigenous peoples of how they have survived. The following quote by Silko (1997) is

an example of *Celebrating Survival*:

> Interrelationships in the Pueblo landscape are complex and fragile. The
> unpredictability of the weather, the aridity and harshness of much of the
> terrain in the high plateau country explain in large part the relentless
> attention the ancient Pueblo people gave to the sky and the earth around
> them. Survival depended upon harmony and cooperation not only among
> human beings, but also among all things—the animate and the less
> animate, since rocks and mountains were known on occasion to move. (P.
> 29)

As indicated by the quote, the key word in the aforementioned quote is *survival*. In this

context, *survival* is used to give indication of how the Pueblo continue to live.

In another example, Churchill and LaDuke (1992) stated the following:

> We have already seen how the energy corporations and the government use local Indian workforces at the lowest possible wages, paying little if any heed to community safety, avoiding both severance taxes to cover the community costs incurred by their presence and land reclamation costs to cover even the most lethal of their damages upon departure, and paying the absolute minimum rate in royalties for the milled ore they ship. We have also seen that the nature of the destruction they create as an integral aspect of their "productive process" is such that there can be *no* further tribal development, once mining is completed. . . . The only possibility of even short-term benefits, then, lies in the improbable possibility that a preponderance of tribal members—people who, despite personal identity confusion and a grinding poverty lasting for generations, have clung steadfastly to overall notions of Indianness and maintained a firm embrace of their homelands . . . (Pp. 256-257)

In this example, the key word *survival* is not present, but the final sentence defines *Celebrating Survival* by stating that Indigenous people in this particular circumstance have continued to survive despite the obstacles presented by energy corporations and the government.

Indigenous Project 3: Reading

The dangers of reading and books to Indigenous peoples have already been discussed. To briefly reiterate, books, at times, do not properly acknowledge the existence of Indigenous peoples. However when they do, the content is often insensitive, untrue, or does not reinforce Indigenous customs, beliefs, values, culture, and identity (Smith 1999:35). It is very important, then, to reread Western history and the Indigenous presence in the making of that history (Smith 1999:149). The *Reading* project is motivated by the need to understand colonialism and its correlation to the representation of Indigenous peoples in the writing. In short, the stories in books are driven by imperial visions and deconstructed accounts of the West (Smith 1999:149). It is crucial that

imperial history is reread in order to provide a much more critical and different approach to history (Smith 1999:149). To conclude, "[i]t is no longer the single narrative story of important white imperial figures, adventurers and heroes who fought their way through undiscovered lands to establish imperial rule and bring civilization and salvation to 'barbaric savages' who lived in 'utter degradation'"(Smith 1999:149).

Example of reading.

Vine Deloria, Jr.'s (1997) *Red Earth White Lies: Native Americans and the Myth of Scientific Fact* is a book challenging and criticizing scientists and scholars for ignoring the traditional knowledge of Indigenous tribes and producing fallacies in their scientific writing. In the introduction of the book, Deloria, Jr. (1997:xiii) explained that by growing up on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota, he believed that he and his tribe would never be able to understand the literature, philosophy, and complicated theories of science. Instead, he grew up believing that Western science is objective and that all scientific contradictions were being resolved. As Deloria, Jr. (1997) got older he became a reader of scientific books, curious to gain an understanding of the world. However, the information in the writing was troublesome: "Gradually I began to see a pattern of nonsense in much scientific writing. Scientific explanations given regarding the origins or functioning of various phenomena simply didn't make sense" (p. xiii). Deloria, Jr. (1997) discussed the work of Jacob Bronowski's *The Ascent of Man* who argued that natural selection favors people with whiter skin as an example of nonsense in scientific writing. According to Deloria, Jr. (1997), "I had encountered the same idea many times before in the publications of a number of prestigious scientific writers, but until then it never struck me as odd" (p. xiv). From that point on, Deloria, Jr.

(1997:xiv) considered scientific doctrines to be dangerous and foolish. He even mentioned that he felt embarrassed for ever believing in scientific writing. A large part of *Red Earth White Lies* is about Deloria, Jr. (1997:xiv) refuting claims made by newspaper columnists and *rednecks* regarding the near extinction of Pleistocene megafauna at the hands of American Indians. Deloria, Jr. (1997:xiv) argues that the theories on the subject are false and does so by including voices of elders and traditional leaders because limited information produced by Indians is available in print. *Red Earth White Lies* was written in the hopes that more elders will share their knowledge before they pass on. In addition, Deloria, Jr. (1997) also hopes that the book will encourage the next generation of children will cherish, respect, and rescue the remaining bit of information that Indigenous people possess.

This is a perfect and straightforward example of what the Indigenous project *Reading* is about. According to Smith (1999:149), one more dangerous aspects of Western writing is that it was designed to assimilate Indigenous children. Deloria, Jr. (1997) grew up reading and believing that Western scientific doctrines were truthful and honest, however he soon found out that this was not the case. The rereading of Western knowledge led Indigenous people like Deloria, Jr. (1997) to the realization that there needs to be a different and much more critical approach to history than was previously acceptable (Smith 1999:149). Deloria, Jr.'s (1997) approach was to include the perspectives of elders and tribal leaders.

I want to include another example of reading that may not be as easy to recognize as the one above. This example will come from Salvador Palomino's (1993) article "Three Times, Three Spaces in Cosmos Quechua." The article will be used again in another

example coming up and will be summarized in detail then. Palomino (1993) criticizes Western literature as fabrication to Indigenous way of life: "[m]ost writings on indigenous religion, for example, are mere reformulations of Christian theology on a different cosmovision, or attempts to present a cultural crossbreed, where what really exists is a collision between two antagonistic and irreconcilable civilizations" (p. 50). Even though there is no direct mentioning of Palomino (1993) reading books or documents written by the West, the above quote by Palomino (1993) suggests that he is aware of Western readings.

Reading: what will be coded.

The example given earlier with Vine Deloria, Jr. (1997) is a perfect indicator of how non-Indigenous accounts have negatively affected Indigenous peoples. Deloria, Jr. (1997:xiii-xv) was detailed about how reading Western writing has made him feel ashamed of having ever placed faith in it. Even though not as blunt as Deloria, Jr. (1997) and no mentioning of having read non-Indigenous work in their respective articles, Palomino (1993) and Silko (1997) both criticize non-Indigenous readings and accounts. Looking at Silko (1997) for example:

> Natural springs are crucial sources of water for all life in the high desert and plateau country. So the small spring near Paquate village is literally the source and continuance of life for the people in the area. The spring also functions on a spiritual level, recalling the original Emergence Place and linking the people and the springwater to all other people and to that moment when the Pueblo people became aware of themselves as they are even now. The Emergence was an emergence into a precise cultural identity. Thus, the Pueblo stories about the Emergence and Migration are not to be taken as literally as the anthropologists might wish. Prominent geographical features and landmarks that are mentioned in the narratives exist for ritual purposes, not because the Laguna people actually journeyed south for hundreds of years from Chaco Canyon or Mesa Verde, as the

archaeologists say, or eight miles from the site of the natural springs at
Paguate to the sandstone hilltop at Laguna. (Pp. 36-37)

In contrast to the example of Vine Deloria, Jr. (1997), the quote by Silko (1997) above

does not give any indication that she has read any non-Indigenous writing in order to

come to the conclusion that anthropologists and archaeologists are wrong in their

assumptions. However, as indicated by Indigenous scholars like Deloria, Jr. (1997),

Harding (1992), Smith (1999), and Strong (2005), anthropology has an infamous

reputation for exploiting Indigenous peoples. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that Silko

(1997) read the accounts of anthropologists writing about the Emergence Place and

refuted their claims. I want to find accounts given by the Indigenous intellectuals making

reference to the fallacies of non-Indigenous writing, topics that covers both

environmental issues and other subjects.

Grouped project 4: Rights of the People

　　Rights of the People is the name of the re-coded project consisting of the Indigenous

projects *Indigenizing*, *Representing*, and *Negotiating*. The stigma placed on Indigenous

people for being helpless, unintelligent, and too childish to voice their needs has placed

them at a disadvantage in various institutions in society and especially against states and

governments (J. James 1995; Simpson 2002; Smith 1999). States and governments thrive

on the marginalized position of Indigenous peoples because they are able to exert their

power by making decisions which contradict the needs of Indigenous peoples. In short,

Indigenous peoples' attempt to voice opinions and views has been denied. Also, the

basic right to represent themselves has been for naught. The importance of *Rights of the*

People, then, is for Indigenous people to take the rights of all Indigenous people as the

highest priority in a debate against the opposition and embrace the Indigenous worldview as motivation in political settings.

Indigenizing.

This Indigenous project stresses the importance of the concept *indigenist*. Ward Churchill was cited in Smith (1999) as explaining the concept of indigenist as "'that I am one who not only takes the rights of indigenous peoples as the highest priority of my political life, but who draws upon the traditions – the bodies of knowledge and corresponding codes of values – evolved over many thousands of years by native peoples the world over'" (p. 146). Hence the importance of the next project, *Representing*, which is essentially an extension of *Indigenizing*.

Representing.

Whereas *Indigenizing* stresses the importance of making the rights of Indigenous people a priority and living life based on the traditions of Indigenous knowledge, codes, and values, *Representing* expands upon the former by explaining why it is important for Indigenous peoples to live in this manner. Indigenous communities around the world have struggled since colonization to express themselves and to have their voices heard. In other words, Indigenous people have been unable to exercise their fundamental right, that is to represent themselves (Smith 1999:150). In the political sense, colonialism excluded Indigenous peoples from any form of decision-making because governments and states believe Indigenous peoples were like children who needed others to protect them and decide what is in their best interest (Smith 1999:150). According to Smith (1999:150-151) the decisions made for Indigenous peoples by governments and states are, in actuality, detrimental to the wellbeing of Indigenous peoples. The needs of

Indigenous peoples are thrown in with those of all other minority groups as one voice among many. *Representing*, then, is about representation of Indigenous peoples by Indigenous peoples. It is about "countering the dominant society's image of indigenous peoples, their lifestyles and belief systems. It is also about proposing solutions to the real-life dilemmas that indigenous communities confront and trying to capture the complexities of being indigenous" (Smith 1999:151). To summarize, the *Representing* project believes in the notion of representation as a political concept and representation as a form of expression and voice (Smith 1999:150-151).

Negotiating.

In contrast to the two projects before it, *Negotiating* has a more strategic approach when it comes to dealing with the opposition in a political setting. The previous two projects stressed the importance of the Indigenous spirit in order to have their interests met but offer no explanation as to how to go about it. Borrowing Smith's (1999) words, "[n]egotiating is about thinking and acting strategically. It is about recognizing and working towards long-term goals. Patience is a quality which indigenous communities have possessed in abundance. Patience and negotiation are linked to a very long view of our survival" (p. 159). The protocols and procedures of Indigenous rules play a major factor in successful negotiations. In other words, showing respect to the opposition is integral to the negotiating process. To neglect protocols such as patience and showing respect is considered as a risk to the outcome of negotiating (Smith 1999:159).

Topics of the *Negotiating* project mainly consist of two things, self-determination and the control over key resources. Self-determination explains that nations and tribes are in negotiations over settlements in hopes of becoming semi-autonomous governments.

Negotiations over key resources usually deal with getting back natural resources within their own territories.

Example of rights of the people.

The following example comes from Winona LaDuke's (1999) *All Our Relations*. The tribe mentioned here are the Mdewakanton from Minnesota. On the Mdewakanton Prairie Island homeland sits the Prairie Island nuclear facility which is composed of two nuclear reactors. This facility is located just a few 100 yards from schools, businesses, childcare centers, homes, and burial sites that have been there for over 2,000 years. The plant produces 15% of Minnesota's power but none of it goes to the Mdewakanton community. The community believed that the plant is responsible for making residents sick. The Dakota people of Prairie Island blamed the bomb testing from the 1950s to 1960s for the contamination of radioactive tritium that was found in community wells in 1989. In 1994, the Minnesota Department of Health discovered that Prairie Island residents were exposed to six times greater risk of cancer which explains residents reporting that every family in the area has lost someone to cancer.

The facility eventually ran out of space to store the fuel and came up with the idea of storing it in tall reinforced-steel cans outside of the plant. However, it was deduced that this course of action would lead to further health risks for the tribe. In order for the fuel to be stored above ground, permission had to be granted by the government. The tribe challenged this request by stating that they did not want it next to their land (LaDuke 1999:107). LaDuke (1999:107) described this six-year battle as one of the biggest in the Minnesota legislature ever. The back-and-forth fight caught the attention of many anti-nuclear activists since disputes over nuclear reactors were going on in every state that had

a reactor. For all the tribe's efforts including being able to hire lawyers and a lobbyist, the Northern States Power, the owners of the facility, would be able to match the tribe and spend more if necessary. In 1994, the Minnesota legislature authorized the placement of 17 casks of nuclear waste just three blocks from the tribe's daycare center. The tribe kept fighting and also refused $220 million dollars from Northern States Power. Throughout this process, the Mdewakanton won many important battles.

Rights of the People is a project that discusses the grievances of Indigenous peoples' inability to govern and represent themselves because of their marginalized position in society. Instead, states and governments have taken it upon themselves to make decisions hostile to the interests of Indigenous peoples because they are seen as primitive and unable to make rational decisions for themselves (Smith 1999:150). The project emphasizes that this injustice takes place in political settings such as tribunal courts. To oppose this, Indigenous peoples rely heavily on the teachings, knowledge, values, and disciplines of their people to represent the needs of all Indigenous peoples (Smith 1999:146). The example above showed the durability of the Mdewakanton tribe by being able to take care of themselves against their opposition in court. Instead of yielding and accepting $220 million dollars, the needs of the Indigenous peoples came first and fought to have the facility moved from their homes and businesses.

Rights of the people: what will be coded.

For this project, I want to focus on how Indigenous people rely on their beliefs and values in the face of difficult situations. *Indigenizing*, *Negotiating*, and *Representing*, the three Indigenous projects making up *Rights of the People*, focus primarily on the representation of Indigenous peoples in political situations and settings. Essentially, this

project acknowledges and accepts the rights of all Indigenous peoples as its highest

priority against the paternalistic nature of states and governments (Smith 1999:150).

Paternalism has taken away from Indigenous communities the right to voice their

concerns, but by acting, thinking strategically, and working towards long term goals,

Indigenous people increase their chance of self-determination and survival (Smith

1999:159-160). I want to code not just for the protection of Indigenous rights in political

settings such as tribunal courts, but all settings such as medicine wheels and other

locations where Indigenous people are freely able to express themselves.

In the example above from Winona LaDuke's (1999) *All Our Relations*,

Mdewakanton felt their rights were being ignored and violated by the Prairie Island

Nuclear facility. They sought to have their grievances heard in court. However in the

following example, Small (2004) spoke of the importance of council meetings as a

democratic forum where peoples can openly talk about the violation of their rights as

peoples without having to worry about paternalism:

> At Northern Cheyenne we look at history quite differently. Our history is
> the premise of who we are and how we make our decisions today. . . . At
> our council meetings, when we have had disputes about how to fight the
> coal companies and figure out what direction we should go, elders help us
> stay focused when they get up in the council and tell inspirational stories
> . . . . It is the Creator Maheo's miracle that we still have this beautiful
> homeland. You can feel the spirits within our homeland. Many Cheyenne
> gave their lives for us to live in this beautiful North Country, and they
> guide us yet today. I believe in water spirits, all aspects of Cheyenne
> culture, because I have seen and felt their power. There is a reason for
> everything the Cheyenne believe. (Pp. 54-55)

The reason I consider the above an example of *Rights of the People* is because it

compliments *Indigenizing* and the concept of *indigenist*. Small (2004) spoke of the

problems the Northern Cheyenne have had with coal companies that want the Cheyenne's

oil, gas, and coal. Small (2004:55-56) says the problems are not only a difference in how white people and Cheyenne people view life, but they are also an attack on the Cheyenne's rights, culture, and homeland. Relying on Cheyenne culture and the way they view the world, members like Small (2004) were able to rationally make better decisions about how to handle many aspects of their lives including how to fight coal companies, which is an important aspect of *Negotiating*. Lastly, Small (2004) made reference to those Cheyenne that gave up their lives. Their sacrifice was to ensure that the rights of their people would be maintained. In addition, it also made it possible for the next generation to have a chance at life. Geri, sister to Small and president of the tribe, would often pray and carry out other responsibilities that brings strength and guidance to her people in order to preserve their way of life from the coal companies (Small 2004:56).

Again, the importance of Indigenous people living their lives with the protection of their people's rights in mind is an important aspect of this project. As shown in the example by Small (2004), Small's sister Geri, elders, and other Cheyenne lived their lives in this manner.

Project 5: Indigenous Language

The projects, *Revitalizing* and *Naming*, are grouped together to create *Indigenous Language*. The main issue here deals with the longevity of the various Indigenous languages as they are on the verge of becoming extinct. According to Smith (1999), "[f]or much of the indigenous world there is little proactive coordination or support" (p. 148). It is up to Indigenous scholars like S. James (2004), Palomino (1993), and Simpson (2002) to make the language revitalization process a reality in order for Indigenous

people to maintain a link to Indigenous knowledge and survival. Simpson (2002) agrees

with Smith (1999) regarding the state of Indigenous languages; unless there are language

revitalization programs, Indigenous languages may soon cease to exist. For instance,

language instructions are non-existent except in a few language courses offered in

college/university programs (Simpson 2002:18). According to Simpson (2002):

> Many Elders and Aboriginal academics have written about the importance
> of promoting Aboriginal languages as a means to ensure cultural survival.
> . . . Language instruction within post-secondary Indigenous environmental
> studies programs is virtually non-existent except in a very few
> university/college programs where students can take a language course as
> part of their larger program of study, yet language remains a vital link
> between the land, Aboriginal Peoples, and our knowledge. (P. 18)

Revitalizing.

According to Smith (1999), "Indigenous languages, their arts and their cultural

practices are in various states of crisis. Many indigenous languages are officially 'dead'

with fewer than a hundred speakers. Others are in the last stages before what is described

by linguists as 'language death'" (p. 147). This project looks for people to create

language revitalization programs. According to Smith (1999), "[r]evitalization initiatives

in languages encompass education, broadcasting, publishing and community based

programmes" (p. 147).

Naming.

Like *Revitalizing*, *Naming* also focuses on the revitalization of Indigenous languages.

Naming goes into detail about the importance of revitalizing languages and the reasons

why. The project takes its name from the saying *name the word, name the world* which

implies the renaming of the world by using the original Indigenous names (Smith

1999:157). The contents of renaming the world include mountains and other significant

landmarks that were named after European explorers. Naming also applies to Indigenous children that were taken from their homes and given new names as a result of Christian baptism practices. In the case of the Maori, "naming practices has been to name children again with long ancestral names and to take on new names through life, both of which were once traditional practices. Children quite literally wear their history in their names" (Smith 1999:157). Naming is about taking back control over meanings of people, places, and things. People will be free to name their realities if they are able to rename the world back to their proper names. To Smith (1999), this can only be found in the Indigenous language; "the concepts which are self-evident in the indigenous language can never be captured by another language (p. 158)."

Example of indigenous language.

Salvador Palomino's (1993) article "Three Times, Three Spaces in Cosmos Quechua" will be used here as an example of the project *Indigenous Language*. Palomino (1993) is a perfect candidate as an example because he teaches the Quechua language at the Catholic University of Lima. The survival of Indigenous languages is a priority for this project, and Palomino's (1993) contribution would thus be seen as positive and a necessity. Not only is Palomino (1993) an instructor of the Quechua language, he uses various terminologies from the language to describe the beliefs of the people regarding the importance and sanctity of the environment. The example does not revolve around renaming landmarks or children whose names have been changed, but the importance of Indigenous language is emphasized. Whether it is by using Indigenous words, phrases, or indicating that languages should be taught, intellectuals emphasizing the importance of language will be coded.

To summarize the article, colonialism and the system of Western way of thinking has disrupted the relationship between people and their environment. Palomino (1993) described how the Western society dominated other cultures by imposing their value system onto those conquered. For Indigenous cultures in particular, the destruction of their organization and way of life began with the arrival of Christopher Columbus. Experts from the West have taken concepts and theories and misinterpreted them in such a manner that it would benefit the oppressors, furthering marginalizing Indigenous people. In the case of environmental degradation, one issue presented in the article had to do with the Spaniards' exploitation of various minerals, foods, and land. In Palomino's (1993) words:

> The Spaniards gave top priority to mineral exploitation, and to achieve their ends they enslaved our people, sending thousands and thousands of indigenous people to the mines. The overwhelming majority died, and the land, uncultivated for many years, fell into decay; the Andes began to crumble and the seeds to disappear. This was the first sacking of nature and the root cause of our first poverty and first hunger. . . . This is a situation that persists even today, with our communities prisoners of the estates owned by the descendants of the Spaniards, the neo-Creoles. The invaders appropriated the best land in the valleys, and the surviving indigenous people were forced to take refuge in the inhospitable highlands. (Pp. 52-53)

In contrast, the Quechua people respect all forces of nature because the benefits of life come from what nature provides. According to Palomino (1993), "[t]hat is why today's environmental crisis is for our people a social and historical crisis. We indigenous people only want to live in communion with nature. Any violation of its laws and physical integrity is also an act of violence against our societies and our people themselves" (p. 46). To implement the example:

> In the enormous and harmoniously balanced family that is the cosmos, Tayta Inti (Sun) is our father and Mama Killa (Moon) our mother. This is what we have learned through an ancient song that goes, "The sun is my father, the moon is my mother, and the stars are my brothers." We worship Tayta Inti because without its rays there would be no life in this world; in the same way, Pacha Mama is Mother Earth; Amaru is the river, the water of life; Wiraqucha and Pachakamaq are the forces that regulate the universe; and Wamani, Illa, and Mallku Kuntur are the messenger spirits, the visible signs of man's communion with the infinite cosmos. (Palomino 1993:46)

Again, "[p]romotion of Aboriginal languages within Indigenous environmental educations programs is an essential skill for communication within Aboriginal communities and with Elders, it reinforces a deeper understanding of Aboriginal knowledge and it lays the foundation for cultural survival" (Simpson 2002:18-19).

Indigenous language: what will be coded.

I grouped the Indigenous projects *Revitalizing* and *Naming* which focus on the revitalization of Indigenous languages. *Revitalizing* is concerned with the fact that Indigenous languages are close to extinct, and in order to save these languages, community and education based programs have been implemented. *Naming* shares these same concerns and goes on to say that Indigenous people need to become more proactive with using languages in order to retain control over meanings as well as their own realities due to significant sites being renamed in honor of European people and explorers. Also, Indigenous children were given Christian names. According to Smith (1999:157), the only way Indigenous communities can find their realities is through the use of Indigenous languages. I will be looking, and coding, for these specific points, but my main area of focus will be whether or not Indigenous intellectuals concern themselves with the importance of language in the sources. In other words, the use of language is not

limited to do with renaming Indigenous landscape named after Europeans or Indigenous children who were given Christian names. Intellectuals may talk about the importance of learning languages or telling stories in their native tongues.

Intellectuals like Bruchac (1993) and Palomino (1993) both introduced stories told in English but also included the Indigenous translation for certain key words. For instance, "[t]hen Grandmother Woodchuck plucked the hair from her belly and made a game bag. Gluskabe sat up and stopped singing. '*Oleohneh nohkemes*,' he said. 'Thank you, Grandmother'" (Bruchac 1993:4). As earlier stated, Sarah James (2004:155) mentioned that children should learn their native language so that they know who they are and where they originated. As I stated above, I want to code for paragraphs that emphasize the importance of Indigenous languages, whether intellectuals use actual Indigenous words or promote the importance of language. Throughout *Decolonizing Methodologies*, Smith (1999) argued that the Indigenous research agenda and the 25 Indigenous projects are a solution to colonialism and non-Indigenous research. In the case of *Indigenous Language*, one way to confront the aforementioned issues is for Indigenous peoples to use their Native language in their writing (Smith 1999:158). In other words, the use of Indigenous language or intellectuals stressing the importance of Indigenous language is what I will analyze and code.

Grouped Project 6: Return of Resources and Children

As the name implies, this project looks for Indigenous people to get back the things that have been taken away from them unjustly, including land, children, and other valuable resources. The two projects that make up *Return of Resources and Children* are *Connecting* and *Returning*.

Connecting.

The process of making connections has been important not only for Indigenous

people but other minority groups as well (Smith 1999:148). For Indigenous people in

particular, to be connected means to be whole as a person and is important for

maintaining a link to the stars, the land, animals, plants and other places in the universe

(Smith 1999:148). This Indigenous project focuses on two problems it hopes to rectify.

The first has to do with restoring lost relationships between families and stolen children:

> A link programme has been designed to restore the descendant of 'stolen
> children', ones forcibly taken from their families and adopted, to their
> family connections. Forced adoption and dehumanizing child welfare
> practices were carried out in many indigenous contexts. Being
> reconnected to their families and their culture has been a painful journey
> for many of these children, now adults. (Smith 1999:148)

Connecting also involves connecting Indigenous people to their lands through the

restoration of practices and rituals, like burying the afterbirth in the land. In New

Zealand, the word for land, *whenua* is the same word for afterbirth. It was customary for

the afterbirth to be buried in the land. However, the practice was prohibited, and Maori

mothers were required to give birth in hospitals instead of at home (Smith 1999:148-149).

Returning.

This project states that stolen or removed land, mountains, rivers, artifacts, food

gathering sites, and human remains should be returned to their Indigenous owners. Some

examples of sacred items include "'pickled heads, human gloves, scrotum tobacco

pouches, dried scalps, pickled foetus, cicatured skins, complete stuffed, mummified

children's bodies and women with child'" (Smith 1999:155). Like *Connecting*,

Returning also involves the living. Various programs have been created in order to

reclaim and return those belonging to their respective tribes. Adopted children are sought after so that they may return to their original communities.

Example of return of resources and children.

Ward Churchill and Winona LaDuke (1992) wrote a chapter entitled "Native North America: The Political Economy of Radioactive Colonialism" in the book *The State of Native America: Genocide, Colonization, and Resistance*. Churchill and LaDuke (1992) explained in detail the richness of Indigenous lands and the relentlessness of high-powered companies to acquire it for the sake of progress. For instance, the authors made the point that "[a]pproximately one-third of all western U.S. low-sulphur coal, 20 percent of known U.S. reserves of oil and natural gas, and over one-half of all U.S. uranium deposits lie under the reservations" (Churchill and LaDuke 1992:241). Other minerals are also located on these reservations and corporations have attempted to entice American Indians with promises that have ultimately been unfulfilled. The chapter is essentially a warning for Indigenous peoples not to get involved with Western corporations as there are no benefits. Even if Indians demand or attempt to get their lands back, it and the resources it provides will no longer be salvageable. Yet the issue of resources being returned to Indigenous people is brought up. The Laguna tribe was one of a few mentioned as being victims of unfulfilled promises by corporations looking to mine and extract. As explained by the intellectuals, "even were the Lagunas able to reclaim the land directly associated with what was once the world's largest open-pit uranium mine . . ." (Churchill and LaDuke 1992:260), the subject of Indigenous people reclaiming land and resources was mentioned.

Return of resources and children: what will be coded.

For this project, I will code for the grievances given by Indigenous intellectuals,

and/or Indigenous peoples, in the sources regarding the taking of the things that are

rightfully theirs, including land, mountains, rivers, or children unjustly taken and adopted

as indicated in the projects *Connecting* and *Returning*. For example:

> We don't call them land takeovers or invasions. No, we call them land
> recoveries. You read in the paper, "Campesinos invade such and such a
> piece of land." That's not true. We don't invade land, we recover land
> that belongs to us by law but was invaded by the big landowners or the
> foreign companies. *They're* the invaders. By what right did they take the
> land from our families to begin with? By what right do they hold onto the
> land in violation of the law? Just because they have money to bribe
> corrupt officials or fancy lawyers to forge their papers?. (Alvarado and
> Benjamin 1989:69)

According to Smith (1999), *Connecting* and *Returning* are continuously a work in

progress. In other words, the projects discuss the continuous struggle of Indigenous

people reclaiming the things that belong to them. But, I will also code for situations

where objects and people are returned, not just the things that have yet to be returned.

Grouped Project 7: Equality for Indigenous Women

The following quote and the subsequent material to follow are discussed before the

Indigenous projects themselves because the material ties in well with the projects

categorized in *Equality for Indigenous Women*. The work by Dunaway (1997, 1999) will

be discussed first because she essentially explained what the projects discussed below

will cover. According to Dunaway (1997, 1999), Cherokee women had prominent roles

that had direct impact on the wellbeing of their communities. Essentially, women had

power, and they were respected for their contributions to the community. However, the

interference of capitalism affected the gender relations between Cherokee men and

women. In essence, the importance of women diminished. Wilma Dunaway (1997, 1999) displayed extensive knowledge regarding the gender relationship between Cherokee men and women. Her work is a wonderful contribution to the *Equality for Indigenous women* project discussed later. According to Dunaway (1997):

> In the communal Cherokee way of life, she who controlled essential resources garnered power. Because farming and child rearing were primarily their responsibility, precapitalist women controlled households and village lands. However, agrarian capitalism necessitated a major restructuring of labor mechanisms and of ownership of the means of production. Thus, Cherokee leaders committed themselves to an agenda in which the outward trappings of communal family life and property holding would be extinguished. Individualized farming went hand-in-hand with the cultural stereotype of the husband as producer and protector while the wife managed home and children. Agrarian capitalism left little place for the historical role of the wife's clan as her ultimate source of security. (P. 170)

Agrarian capitalism made its presence known after the Revolutionary War and expanded to the Appalachian Mountains where the Cherokees resided. According to Dunaway (1997:155), agrarian capitalism shifted land, control of households, and means of production from women to men. This caused the disempowerment of women and rationalized the power inequality between men and women. In their traditional roles, the activities of Cherokee women formed the foundation for community survival. The women preserved, produced, and prepared the food supply for the village and also controlled the households:

> Because they contributed so much labor to the survival of their villages, women held high status within traditional customs. Children were recognized through matrilineal lineage, so women were given control over the agricultural fields and family homes. During spring planting, all residents of Cherokee villages worked together in the fields. Moreover, Cherokee laws ensured women control over their food production; and women's labor in subsistence agriculture was celebrated in annual ceremonies. (Dunaway 1999:197)

Again, the interference of capitalism and the U.S. government has had a direct impact on the lives of the Cherokee. In order to become civilized, Cherokee men had to "become agrarian capitalists, like their white neighbors. Cherokee women were expected to stop the 'men's work' they had once done outside their homes, so they could assume 'domestic duties' that were characteristic of elite white women" (Dunaway 1997:156). Eventually, women's voices had virtually disappeared from deliberations concerning land (Dunaway 1997:170-171).

European capitalism has also had a negative effect on the lives of the Cherokee. The Cherokee were absorbed into the capitalist world-economy in large part due to the three-way rivalry between England, France, and Spain who competed to gain position of hegemonic world power (Dunaway 1999:195). According to Dunaway (1999), the incorporation into the capitalist world-economy was a life-changing event for the Cherokee:

> The Cherokee economy was transformed into a putting-out system that generated dependency on European trade goods and stimulated debt peonage. Within a few decades, Cherokee village activities were restructured from subsistence production into an export economy in which hunting for slaves and deerskins and gathering marketable herbs assumed primacy. . . . Within less than fifty years, the Cherokees lost economic and political autonomy and became dependent on the commodities they obtained through trade with the European nations. (Pp. 195-196)

Cherokee women in particular felt the brunt of the capitalist incorporation and European trading system. Before the incorporation, women were free to trade with Cherokees and other Southeastern groups. Because of European interference, trading turned from being a communal activity into a male-dominated business. Women became excluded from the trading process (Dunaway 1999:198). Essentially in pre-capitalist times, Cherokee

women held prestigious positions within their communities. Their contributions were

valued and respected as highly as that of the men. However, under capitalism, the work

of women became devalued and the importance of men grew:

> As the male-dominated trade with Europeans assumed primacy, Cherokee
> men gradually reflected European sexism in their devaluation of women's
> contributions. Before capitalist incorporation, women's farming and
> gathering were subsistence functions equal in status to male meat
> production. However, trade relations with the Europeans restructured
> hunting from a part-time subsistence function into the central economic
> focus of most villages. Because Cherokee household production was not
> part of the cash export economy, traditional respect for women's
> contributions declined. The economic status of men was linked to
> hunting, trade, and warfare, and those activities provided the direct
> connection to the capitalist world-economy. (Dunaway 1999:201)

What the Cherokee women underwent is but one example of one particular

Indigenous nation that saw gender relations change at the hands of colonization.

However, this is a fate that many Indigenous groups have had to live with (Healey

2007:66-67; Smith 1999:151, 156). The purpose of the following Indigenous projects is

to restore the roles of Indigenous women within their tribes and communities. Again, I

used the discussion above to make the following discussion by Smith (1999) of the

projects easier to understand.

Gendering.

The first of two projects grouped together to make *Equality for Indigenous Women*,

Gendering, focuses on the relations between Indigenous women and men. As stated by

Smith (1999), "[c]olonization is recognized as having had a destructive effect on

indigenous gender relations which reached out across all spheres of indigenous society"

(p. 151). Under the colonial system, women found themselves as the property of men

causing the disorganization of spiritual, political, child rearing, and family life. Smith

(1999), however, discussed how this was not always the case:

> Indigenous women across many different indigenous societies claim an
> entirely different relationship, one embedded in beliefs about the land and
> the universe, about the spiritual significance of women and about the
> collective endeavours that were required in the organization of society.
> Indigenous women would argue that their traditional roles included full
> participation in many aspects of political decision making and marked
> gender separations which were complementary in order to maintain
> harmony and stability. (Pp. 151-152)

In short, the main purpose of the *Gendering* Indigenous project is the restoration of

traditional roles for women, (such as being able to make political decisions), and also to

reinstate the harmonious relationship between Indigenous men and women (Smith

1999:152).

Democratizing.

   Democratizing is a process of reinstating Indigenous principles of public debate were

women can participate in self-determination (Smith 1999:156). Decision-making in

Indigenous communities was once democratic before the direct involvement of states and

governments that implemented legislation used to establish Indigenous committees,

councils, forms of representation, and titles to lands:

> They are colonial constructions that have been taken for granted as
> authentic indigenous formations. Furthermore many such councils,
> because they were established through colonialism, have privileged
> particular families and elite groups over other indigenous families from
> the same communities. Needless to say, many councils were created as
> exclusively male domains while the health and welfare programmes were
> assigned to the women. (Smith 1999:156)

In short, *Democratizing* looks to return the balance between Indigenous men and women so that the relationship and public debate between the two gender groups can once again become democratic.

Example of equality for indigenous women.

Wilma Mankiller's (2004) *Every Day is a Good Day: Reflections by Contemporary Indigenous Women* is a book designed to show the strength and courage of Indigenous women in the face of unimaginable obstacles. Yet despite these hardships, Indigenous women have prospered and created an identity for themselves, their people, and others whose voices are not heard. One reviewer named Alice Walker, stated "[h]earing these voices, let us know the tide is beginning to turn, that knowledge of the way of balance has not been lost. Let us welcome home in ourselves, and in the world, the wisdom of the strong" (Mankiller 2004: back cover).

One of the women in the book is Gail Small (2004), a member of the Northern Cheyenne Nation and an environmental activist. The basic premise of her testimony in the book revolves around creating a better future for everyone in the world but primarily focuses on her people, family, and daughters. Small (2004) believes three things in particular are paramount for a better future. She mentioned the continued survival of the Cheyenne language and culture, the environment, and the importance of family and children. Language revitalization will not be discussed since it was mentioned earlier and not important for this example.

The environmental hazard mentioned by Small (2004:161) is coal-bed methane gas, which is considered a direct threat to the Cheyenne people and the Crow Reservation. The methane is in high demand, but the extraction is contributing to loss of groundwater.

At the time this piece was written, over 325 permits were pending for approval to remove the water and extraction of the methane.

More importantly, for the purposes of this example, is Small's (2004) explanation for creating a better future for Cheyenne children. Small (2004) believes that having a strong family foundation will lead to children succeeding in their lives. Small (2004) credits her family, which consisted of her parents, aunts, uncles, grandparents, and other extended family members, for having a positive influence in her life. The values they taught her turned her into the person she is today (Small 2004). A large part of raising children is teaching them who they are and telling them of their origin. The task of the eldest daughter is to remember and pass on the teachings of Cheyenne culture and beliefs in order to keep the family bonds together (Small 2004:160).

This example compliments the importance of Indigenous women by sharing a traditional role that is the key in keeping families together. Small (2004) did not mention colonialism or what impact it had on the gender relationships between Indigenous men and women, but the author did mention the worth of women which, is an important aspect of the *Equality of Indigenous Women* project.

Equality for indigenous women: what will be coded.

Due to Western society's treatment of their women and the encroachment on Indigenous lands, resources, and culture and beliefs, there has been a direct impact on the gender relations between Indigenous men and women (Dunaway 1997, 1999; Goldtooth 2001; Healey 2007; Smith 1999). Indigenous women once had important traditional roles that benefited their respective communities including being tribal leaders "that kept the menfolk in check" (Goldtooth 2001: para. 13). Over the years, however, Indigenous

communities have adopted the colonial system that positions its women as the property of men (Dunaway 1997, 1999; Healey 2007; Smith 1999). This project looks to reverse the disordered colonial system by reinstating Indigenous women's full participation in all aspects of community life.

I want to code not only for the discussions and accounts that speak to women's victimization by colonial systems and their fight to regain their rightful place in their tribes and communities, but I also want code for the importance of Indigenous women in all aspects of life including, their contribution to producing knowledge and environmental activism. As I already stated above, women are prominent members in their tribes and communities. Scholars like Dunaway (1997, 1999) and Healey (2007) discussed, for example, the roles of women as leaders, warriors, and producers of food. However, Intellectuals like LaDuke (1999) discuss the importance of women as environmental activists fighting to save their communities by combating environmental racism.

Grouped Project 8: Networking and Sharing

This project was named after the projects *Networking* and *Sharing*. Both projects focus on the importance of passing on knowledge and ideas among Indigenous people for the sake of creating connections, building relationships, and emphasizing resistance against the dominant non-Indigenous society all the while learning about issues and events important to them.

Networking.

Creating networks has become an efficient way for passing on information and knowledge, educating people about important issues, and building relationships usually in face-to-face settings. For Indigenous people in particular, creating networks is a form of

resistance (Smith 1999:157). In order for *Networking* to be effective, Indigenous peoples

must first and foremost state their purpose. Also, trust must be established among

members because of their marginalized position:

> Networking is a way of making contacts between marginalized
> communities. By definition their marginalization excludes them from
> participation in the activities of the dominant non-indigenous society,
> which controls most forms of communication. Issues such as the
> Conventions on Biodiversity or GATT, for example, which have a direct
> impact on indigenous communities, are not addressed by mainstream
> media for an indigenous audience. Indigenous peoples would not know of
> such agreements and their impact on indigenous cultural knowledge if it
> were not for the power of networking. (Smith 1999:157)

Sharing.

Sharing shares the same elements of *Networking* discussed above. According to

Smith (1999), "[l]ike networking, sharing is a process which is responsive to the

marginalized contexts in which indigenous communities exist" (Smith 1999:160). In

other words, sharing knowledge is a form of resistance and a necessity for learning about

issues important for Indigenous peoples, issues that the mainstream media refuses to talk

about or simply ignores (Smith 1999:160). The sharing of information and knowledge is

accomplished by forming networks at gatherings like funerals, weddings, and other face-

to-face settings. *Sharing* also addresses the failure of education systems to inform and

educate Indigenous people about events that have a direct impact on their lives. *Sharing*

is also a responsibility of research:

> The technical term for this is the dissemination of results, usually very
> boring to non-researchers, very technical and very cold. For indigenous
> researchers sharing is about demystifying knowledge and information and
> speaking in plain terms to the community. Community gatherings provide
> a very daunting forum in which to speak about research. Oral
> presentations conform to cultural protocols and expectations. (Smith
> 1999:161)

Example of networking and sharing.

The following example comes from Tom Goldtooth's (2001) article, "In the Native

Way." The article is essentially separated into three specific topics, yet they are all

connected. The first speaks to environmental degradation and the importance of

networks, spirituality, and the sharing of prophecies to deal with this particular issue.

Goldtooth (2001) stated the following:

> Spirituality plays a very important role in the work our network does in
> environmental protection. It frames who we are. I believe that as Native
> people, we are the land and the land is us. Those of us in the
> environmental justice movement have started to educate the larger
> environmental movement that our work protecting the environment is
> spiritual work. . . . Some of the prophecies of our various tribes talk about
> a time when technology and development will be so far out of balance that
> it may affect the future of our planet. The Six Nations in the eastern Great
> Lakes area have prophecies about the time when the trees will start dying
> from the top down, and I understand that's happening. (para. 1, 6)

Besides the interaction between tribes, this example plainly states the importance of

Networking as indicated by the above quote by Goldtooth (2001). As discussed above,

creating networks and sharing information gives Indigenous peoples a sense of purpose

and identity.

Networking and sharing: what will be coded.

Because non-Indigenous societies have control over most communication outlets,

important issues which have an impact on Indigenous communities are not mentioned

(Smith 1999:156-157). This project stresses the importance of Indigenous people coming

together, forming networks, and sharing knowledge, and other vital information relevant

to their longevity and continued survival.

As mentioned earlier, *Sharing* also speaks to the failure of education systems not educating Indigenous people about events and issues which have a direct impact on them. The sharing of research with Indigenous communities is also necessary because of ethical ramifications (Jacob 2006:452; Louis 2007:135; Simpson 2002:17; Smith 1999:160-161; Weber-Pillwax 2004:89).

The importance of sharing research results with Indigenous communities or education systems needing to educate people will be coded if it is mentioned in the sources. However, I will primarily focus on discussions emphasizing the importance of networks and sharing information in relation to solving environmental problems.

Grouped Project 9: Healing

Healing is the grouped project consisting of *Envisioning*, *Reframing*, *Restoring*, and *Creating*. It is a project that encourages Indigenous people to imagine a better future free of despair and to also come up with reasonable solutions to the struggles in their lives. As the name implies, looking ahead to a better future and solving Indigenous issues are important aspects of healing for Indigenous peoples.

Envisioning.

> One of the strategies which indigenous peoples have employed effectively
> to bind people together politically is a strategy which asks that people
> imagine a future, that they rise above present day situations which are
> generally depressing, dream a new dream and set a new vision. The
> confidence of knowing that we have survived and can only go forward
> provides some impetus to a process of envisioning. (Smith 1999:152)

Thus, Indigenous communities who have worked on building a new economic base or revitalizing their language have done so based on a collective vision of having a better future. *Envisioning* also speaks to resistance. According to Smith (1999), "[t]he power

of indigenous peoples to change their own lives and set new directions despite their

impoverished and oppressed conditions speaks to the politics of resistance" (p. 152). The

visions that bind Indigenous people have been passed down from generation to

generation as poems, stories, songs, sayings, or proverbs. Smith (1999) stated the

following:

> Often the original source of the comment has been forgotten but the power
> of the words remain. They make our spirits soar and give us hope.
> Indigenous people have borrowed freely from each other and it is not
> uncommon to find the saying of an Indian chief stuck to the kitchen wall
> in a Maori home, or the saying of a Maori chief embroidered into a wall
> hanging in an Aborigine home. These sayings have acted like resistance
> codes which can be passed down by word of mouth to the next person, to
> the next generation. (P. 153)

Reframing.

    Reframing is a project focusing on taking control over the way Indigenous problems

and issues are handled and discussed. Many social problems are controlled and framed

by social agencies and governments leaving many problems affecting Indigenous people

unsolved. Smith (1999) mentioned, "governments and social agencies have failed to see

many indigenous social problems as being related to any sort of history. They have

framed indigenous issues in 'the indigenous problem' basket, to be handled in the usual

cynical and paternalistic manner" (p. 153). However, Indigenous activists have argued

that issues like alcoholism, suicide, and mental illness are the result of lack of self-

determination and colonization, not personal failures or psychological issues (Smith

1999:153). The *Reframing* project puts the onus on Indigenous people to counteract the

above issue by personally overseeing that their problems get defined in a clear and

concise manner and then determining how best to solve them.

Another important aspect of *Reframing* has to do with the way Indigenous people write and understand accounts and theories of what it means to be Indigenous. Smith (1999) uses the example of Indigenous women and how issues concerning them should be framed:

> Moves to discuss patriarchy without addressing imperialism and racism are always reframed by indigenous women, and of course other minority women, as inadequate analyses. Similarly moves to attack indigenous culture or indigenous men 'as a group' are also resisted because for indigenous women the issues are far more complex [*sic*] and the objective of analysis is always focused on solving problems. (P. 154).

The need to reframe is about having a vision, retaining it, and involving the whole community in making it a reality (Smith 1999:154).

Restoring.

 Restoring touches on two issues in particular. The first has to do with the fact that Indigenous peoples have high rates of alcoholism, imprisonment, and suicide due to the harmful effects of colonization (Smith 1999:154). The second aspect of this project has to do with the importance of solving the aforementioned problems. The *Restoring* project is described as a realistic and holistic approach to problem solving. Its main priority is the emotional, physical, and spiritual wellbeing of Indigenous people by dealing with problems using Indigenous practices. Problem solving programs using Indigenous ideals have been implemented in various countries and are continuing to expand. Basically, these restorative programs are based on healing. Health programs, for example, "have begun to seek ways to connect with indigenous communities through appropriate public health policy and practice models. The failure of public health programmes to improve

the health of indigenous communities significantly has motivated a self-help approach by communities" (Smith 1999:155).

Creating.

Described by Smith (1999:158) as being one of the few resources Indigenous peoples have been able to retain at the height of colonization, *Creating* is not only about Indigenous peoples pursuing their artistic ambitions by creating physical objects, but more so about imagination, creating new thoughts, visions, and solutions to Indigenous issues. According to Smith (1999), "[e]very indigenous community has considered and come up with various innovative solutions to problems. That was before colonialism. Throughout the period of colonization indigenous peoples survived because of their imaginative spirit, their ability to adapt and to think around a problem" (p. 158). *Creating* is a project meant to heal, improve lives, and uplift the spirit of all Indigenous peoples.

Example of healing.

The example used earlier regarding the Mdewakanton and their problems with the nuclear facility will be used here as a fulfillment to *Healing*. To briefly reiterate, a nuclear facility was placed yards from the livelihood of the tribe. Homes, businesses, daycares, and health were affected by the facility. The tribe disputed Northern States Power's request to place access radioactive waste and fuel in tall reinforced steel cans above ground which would intensify the problems for the tribe. Ultimately, the Mdewakanton framed their situation as unfair treatment of Indian people and environmental racism. Regarding the storage containers, LaDuke (1999) referred to Faye Brown concerning the thoughts of the tribe on this issue. The tribe's consensus was that

"[t]his was environmental racism. . . . [They thought] it was somehow acceptable to do this to Indian people. This would never have been tolerated in . . . the rich suburbs of the Twin Cities. They actually started building the damn thing before they [had state authorization]" (LaDuke 1999:107).

Like the *Healing* project suggests, the Indigenous tribe was able to come up with a solution to their problem by framing the issue. The nuclear facility provided energy for all except the Mdewakanton people. Instead, their wellbeing and livelihood were put in jeopardy as a result of nuclear waste being so close to them. The Mdewakanton relied on themselves and their beliefs in order to convince others that what was happening to them was environmental racism.

Healing: what will be coded.

The final project discussed is the grouped project *Healing* consisting of *Envisioning*, *Reframing*, *Restoring,* and *Creating*. The importance for Indigenous people to imagine a better future, coming up with reasonable goals and solutions to problems, and then acting upon them in order to improve their lives is the underlying purpose of *Healing*. This is a broad project considering the scope of the elements just mentioned. If, for example, I found a paragraph in one of the sources discussing solely the importance of envisioning a better future but making no reference to framing the issue, I will still code it as *Healing*. I will refer to an example found in the chapter "Healing the Wound" by Ike Okonta and Oronto Douglas (2003):

> Rowell outlines three broad areas that have to be urgently addressed if the antienvironment monster is to be beaten back and caged. The environmental movement has to recover its roots, it has to broaden out to work closely with other groups, and it has to start putting forward solutions and a positive alternative coherent vision for the future. (P. 195)

This particular quote is an example that covers all the important aspects of *Healing*. The antienvironment monster mentioned in the quote is the oil company, Shell, contributing to the destruction of Nigeria's Niger Delta ecosystem. *Where Vultures Feast: Shell, Human Rights, And Oil In The Niger Delta* includes various instances of framing the situation of the Niger Delta as environmental degradation caused by oil corporations with Shell at the forefront (Okonta and Douglas 2003:191). Okonta and Douglas (2003:190) started the chapter with what they described as a typical Shell advertisement on British television. The advertisement shows green pastures and beautiful hills usually ending with a question asking if development is possible without destroying the countryside (Okonta and Douglas 2003:190). Okonta and Douglas (2003:190) believed this to be a question better suited for Shell to answer. They argue that Shell is responsible for mistreating one of the most fragile ecosystems in the world, which is the Niger Delta. Referring back to the block quotation, Okonta and Douglas (2003) framed Shell and its activities as monsters causing nothing but destruction and pollution to an already vulnerable location. Secondly, the authors spoke of the environmental movement coming up with solutions, including recovering its roots. Finally, Okonta and Douglas (2003) mentioned the importance of envisioning a positive future, an important aspect of each of the Indigenous projects in *Healing*. But as stated earlier, I will also code for projects that may only cover certain aspects of that project. To reiterate, the blocked quote contained all the important aspects of the *Healing* Indigenous project; framing, envisioning a better future, and coming up with solutions to the problem. However, if I find that just framing is present, I will code it for *Healing*.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Before I discuss my findings, I must first mention two important points. It must be noted that the results are strictly based on the 35 sources that I analyzed. The reason for this is because I did not use a representative sampling method and I could not generalize beyond the sample I used. The results do not indicate that another sub-sample or the larger population of Indigenous intellectuals discussing environmental issues will bear the same results. Again, the results are restricted to the 35 sources I analyzed.

Secondly, I must emphasize the differences between the sources in terms of length. I will discuss the results shortly, but what I need to point out is that there is a wide gap in certain sources regarding projects found. In other words, the reason why certain sources had considerably more projects compared to others can be understood by comparing the length of each of the sources. This point can primarily be seen in the poems and online magazine articles I analyzed. The poems and magazine articles I analyzed were shorter than the book chapters and journal articles. Many, but not all, of the book chapters and journal articles I analyzed were over 20 pages. Ward Churchill's (1997) "Cold War Impacts on Native North America: The Political Economy of Radioactive Colonization," a book chapter, was over 60 pages. The longest online magazine article was four pages and the poems were no more than a page each, including the wide spaces between stanzas. Naturally, shorter sources were not multifaceted and diverse in scope like larger sources. This was the primary reason many of the projects were not found in shorter sources like poems and magazine articles. However, a few of the larger sources focused on a centered subject within the discussion of environmental racism like the smaller

sources. In any case, this paper was designed to see the extent projects were found in the Indigenous sources analyzed and that is what the following table is meant to indicate.

The table, also known as Table 2, displays the 35 Indigenous sources by Intellectuals' names and year the source was made available in the leftmost column. The nine Indigenous projects are displayed at the topmost row of the table. The numbers within the table represent the projects found in the sources. For example, *Bad Memories* was found a total of 82 times in Churchill (1997). In addition, the table is displayed using various fonts.

The fonts indicate the differences between the sources both in type and length. The normal font represents book chapters, the bolded font represents articles, and the italics represent the poems. The bolded and italics combination represents the human rights and the newsletter sources. Finally, the underlined font represents the shorter narratives. In other words, they primarily consisted of the sources that were combined in one chapter.

The table displays two rows of totals at the bottom of the table. The first total represents the total count for each project. For example, the project *Bad Memories* was found a total of 462 times. The row directly underneath represents how many sources discussed the specific Indigenous project. In other words, out of the 35 sources, *Bad Memories* was found in 34 sources. The only intellectual that did not discuss *Bad Memories* was S. James (2004). The totals are two different ways to observe to what extent the projects were used in the sources (See Table 2).

Table 2: Added Total Per Project			Indigenous Projects		
Normal Font=Book Chapter, Bold=**Article**, Italics=*Poem* , Underline=<u>Short Narrative</u>, Human Rights and Newsletter=***Bold and Italics***					
Indigenous Sources	Bad Memories	Celebrating Survival	Reading	Rights of the People	Indigenous Language
Alvarado and Benjamin 1989	39	3	0	8	76
Backo N.d.	*2*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*
Bruchac 1993	8	4	0	1	5
Churchill 1997	82	3	0	1	0
Churchill & LaDuke 1992	52	5	0	2	0
<u>Coon-Come 1995</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>0</u>
<u>Dann & Dann 2004</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>
Douglas 1999	**5**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**0**
Goldtooth 2001	**4**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**
Indigenous Environmental Network 2011	***2***	***0***	***0***	***9***	***0***
Indigenous Environmental Network & Athabasca Chipewyan First Nation N.d.	***29***	***1***	***0***	***9***	***0***
Jallalla Indigenous Pueblos & Nations of Abya Yala 2007	**2**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**
<u>J. James 1995</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
<u>S. James 2004</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>
Kuwar U'wa 1999	**3**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**
LaDuke 1999	41	4	0	9	3
LaDuke 2006	**4**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**
<u>Mankiller 2004</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>1</u>
Menchú and Burgos-Debray 1984	26	0	0	10	56
Mohawk 2006	**8**	**4**	**0**	**0**	**0**
Moncrieff 1985	*12*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*
Neidjie N.d.	*1*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*
Okonta & Douglas 2003	19	1	0	5	1
Palomino 1993	24	0	1	3	84
Peltier 2010	***3***	***2***	***0***	***1***	***0***
Pember 2012	**3**	**2**	**0**	**3**	**6**
<u>Russo & Dabek 1995</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>
<u>Silko 1981</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
Silko 1997	9	10	1	0	18
Simpson 2002	**11**	**2**	**0**	**1**	**3**
<u>Small 2004</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>
<u>Smith 2004</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>
Solomon N.d.	*1*	*1*	*0*	*0*	*0*
Tauli-Corpuz 2001	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**
World People's Conference On Climate Change & The Rights of Mother Earth 2010	***12***	***0***	***0***	***6***	***0***
Total by Project	**462**	**55**	**3**	**90**	**267**
Total Count of Projects Used by Sources	**34**	**19**	**3**	**20**	**18**

Table 2: Continued				
Normal Font=Book Chapter, Bold=**Article**, Italics=*Poem* , Underline=<u>Short Narrative</u>, Human Rights and Newsletter=***Bold and Italics***		**Indigenous Projects**		
Indigenous Sources	Return of Resources & Children	Equality for Indigenous Women	Networking and Sharing	Healing
Alvarado and Benjamin 1989	25	5	2	13
Backo N.d.	*2*	*0*	*0*	*0*
Bruchac 1993	0	2	0	2
Churchill 1997	9	0	4	21
Churchill & LaDuke 1992	9	3	1	7
<u>Coon-Come 1995</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	4
<u>Dann & Dann 2004</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	2
Douglas 1999	**1**	**0**	**0**	**4**
Goldtooth 2001	**0**	**6**	**2**	**3**
Indigenous Environmental Network 2011	*1*	*1*	*0*	*21*
Indigenous Environmental Network & Athabasca Chipewyan First Nation N.d.	*1*	*0*	*1*	*37*
Jallalla Indigenous Pueblos & Nations of Abya Yala 2007	**0**	**0**	**0**	**6**
<u>J. James 1995</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>16</u>
<u>S. James 2004</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	7
Kuwar U'wa 1999	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**
LaDuke 1999	3	23	14	19
LaDuke 2006	**1**	**0**	**2**	**6**
<u>Mankiller 2004</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
Menchú and Burgos-Debray 1984	12	4	6	9
Mohawk 2006	**0**	**0**	**0**	**4**
Moncrieff 1985	*1*	*0*	*0*	*5*
Neidjie N.d.	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*
Okonta & Douglas 2003	0	0	8	15
Palomino 1993	1	0	1	14
Peltier 2010	*0*	*0*	*0*	*2*
Pember 2012	**0**	**1**	**3**	**4**
<u>Russo & Dabek 1995</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
<u>Silko 1981</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>
Silko 1997	0	2	0	3
Simpson 2002	**1**	**0**	**3**	**18**
<u>Small 2004</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>
<u>Smith 2004</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
Solomon N.d.	*0*	*0*	*0*	*1*
Tauli-Corpuz 2001	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**
World People's Conference On Climate Change & The Rights of Mother Earth 2010	*3*	*0*	*1*	*46*
Total by Project	**79**	**52**	**55**	**299**
Total Count of Projects Used by Sources	**17**	**11**	**19**	**33**

I will begin the discussion with the Indigenous project *Bad Memories*. As indicated by Table 2, *Bad Memories* was found to have a predominantly higher count in comparison to the other Indigenous projects with a total of 462. In addition, out of the 35 Sources that I analyzed, 34 of these sources discussed *Bad Memories*. This would indicate the importance of Smith's (1999) discussion regarding Indigenous peoples talking about painful events. Because Indigenous peoples are among the minority most negatively affected by environmental hazards (Brook 1998:105), it is no surprise, given the accumulated number for the project, that *Bad Memories* has such a high tally compared to the others. Smith (1999:143-146) made it clear that topics of injustice must be highly emphasized by Indigenous peoples because it is a reality that must be addressed and solved. Topics of injustices are often avoided by Indigenous peoples because the pain in their lives has often made them wish they were dead (Smith 1999:146). Memories of painful events have also forced many Indigenous people to commit violent acts, turned to alcoholism, and self-destruction (Smith 1999:146). Regardless of such obstacles, this Indigenous project encourages and challenges Indigenous peoples to remember a painful past and then talk about these events of injustice. The 34 sources that contained *Bad Memories* were the intellectuals' account of painful events caused by the effects of environmental racism. As I will discuss below, when it came to *Bad Memories*, the Indigenous intellectuals provided similar discussions.

For example, Bruchac (1993) and Mohawk (2006) both had a *Bad Memories* tally of 8. Besides having the same total for this project, both intellectuals discussed similar aspects of the effects of environmental racism towards Indigenous peoples. Both intellectuals discussed listening to the stories and teachings of ancestors regarding the

importance of the land. In addition, both intellectuals mentioned that resources provided

by the land should be used sparingly and should be treated with respect. However,

foreign diseases and environmental hazards towards Indigenous people became evident

when the Europeans arrived. I will include an example by Joseph Bruchac (1993):

> According to Iroquois traditions, some of which were voiced by the
> prophet Ganio-dai-yo in the early 1800s, a time would come when the elm
> trees would die. And then the maple, the leader of all the trees, would also
> begin to die, from the top down. In my own early years, I saw the elms
> begin to die. I worked as a tree surgeon in my early twenties, cutting
> those great trees in the Finger Lakes area of New York State, the
> traditional lands of the Cayuga Nation of the Iroquois. As I cut them, I
> remembered how their bark had once been used to cover the old
> longhouses and how the elm was a central tree for the old-time survival of
> the Iroquois. But an insect, introduced inadvertently, like the flus and
> measles and smallpox and the other diseases of humans that killed more
> than 90 percent of the natives of North America in the sixteenth and
> seventeenth centuries, brought with it Dutch elm disease and spelt the end
> of the great trees. Those trees were so beautiful. . . . And now they are all
> gone because of the coming of the Europeans. Now, in the last few years,
> the maple trees of New York and New England have begun to die, from
> the top down—weakened, some say, by the acid rain that falls, acid blown
> into the clouds by the smokestacks of the industries of the Ohio Valley,
> smoke carried across the land to fall as poison. (Pp. 6-7)

Bruchac (1993) continues by saying:

> Is the Earth sick? From a purely human perspective, the answer must
> certainly be yes. Things that humans count on for survival—basic things
> such as clean water and clear air—have been affected. The Iroquois
> prophecies also said a time would come when the air would be harmful to
> breathe and the water harmful to drink. That time is now. (P. 7)

The discussion by Bruchac (1993) outlines common themes that are shared by many of

the intellectuals. I stated before that Mohawk (2006) made similar points as Bruchac

(1993) regarding the impact of environmental issues.

I will now include an example provided by Churchill (1997). This intellectual

discussed similar topics of environmental issues like Bruchac (1993) and Mohawk

(2006), but I included this example because it further compliments Smith (1999) in regards to the self-destruction of Indigenous people when confronted by events of injustices. To reiterate, Smith (1999:146) discussed that painful events can force Indigenous people to turn to alcohol, violence, and self-destruction. Churchill (1997) acknowledged this in his discussion of the effects environmental racism has on people. Before discussing the example, I want to point out that Churchill (1997) was found to have a tally of 82 for *Bad Memories*. According to the table, this is clearly higher than any other source where this project was found. As I mentioned earlier, this could be due to the source's length in comparison to other sources. The source by Ward Churchill (1997) is a chapter spanning over 60 pages. The example I introduced by Churchill (1997) is about the consequences of post-resource extraction from Native North American lands:

> For Native North Americans, the costs and consequences have been genuinely catastrophic. Despite the fact that the reservation resource profile is sufficient to make Indians—collectively, and on a per capita basis—the wealthiest people on the continent, we remain by far the poorest, with the lowest annual and lifetime incomes of any group. Reservation unemployment averages 60 percent throughout the United States and, in some places, has hovered in the ninetieth percentile for decades. The effects of such acute impoverishment are more indicative of Third World conditions than of those expected within the world's richest and most advanced postindustrial "democracy." Indians suffer an infant mortality rate up to fifteen times the U.S. national average, and, by a decided margin, the highest rates of death from malnutrition, exposure, and plague disease. All of this translates into an endemic sense of disempowerment and despair which then generates chronic alcoholism and other kinds of substance abuse, a circumstance contributing heavily to spiraling rates of teen suicide, as well as fatalities from accidents and Fanonesque forms of intragroup violence. (P. 293)

As stated earlier, S. James (2004) was the only intellectual that did not discuss *Bad Memories*. Before I discuss S. James (2004), I have to address a point I made earlier.

The different lengths of sources may impact how many projects are present. In the case of Sarah James (2004), her piece is a little over a page. The highest total for a project in her source was *Healing* with seven. Going back to the discussion of *Bad Memories*, S. James (2004) does make reference to the notion that the world is in danger regarding environmental issues, but she does not discuss memories of injustice, nor does she blame Western society for the current state of the environment. Instead, S. James (2004) spoke directly to Indigenous people by arguing that it is up to tribes and communities to take care of the planet. Also, she mentioned that tribes and communities should teach non-Indigenous people that "[w]e have to go back to living a clean life and having clean air, clean water, and a functioning ecosystem" (S. James 2004:155). This, she argues, is a basic human right for Indigenous peoples. Furthermore, S. James (2004) stated that "I believe a healthy environment is a basic human right. Our right to survive is a basic, sacred, fundamental human right" (p. 155). Again, even though Smith (1999) believes it is important for Indigenous peoples to discuss memories of injustice and painful memories, S. James (2004) discussed the environment without discussing injustice. In other words, S. James (2004) demonstrated that there are alternative ways of discussing issues that are related to the injustice of Indigenous peoples.

The *Celebrating Survival* project had a total of 55. According to Table 2, 19 out of the 35 sources discussed *Celebrating Survival*. The Indigenous source with the highest count of *Celebrating Survival* was Silko (1997) with 10. As Smith (1999:145) argued, survival is an important aspect of the lives of Indigenous people that non-Indigenous research has failed to document. While discussing painful events is an integral part of Indigenous research, equal attention must be given to events and accounts that focus on

the positives and the survival of Indigenous peoples (Smith 1999:145). Intellectuals like

Jallalla Indigenous Pueblos & Nations of Abya Yala (2007) stated the following:

> In spite of 514 years of oppression and domination, we have not been
> eliminated: we are still here. We have resisted invasion, destruction and
> pillage, and now neoliberalism which imposes the exploitation of our
> natural resources for the benefit of the multinational corporations, causing
> grave social, economic, and cultural impact upon our Pueblos of
> Indigenous Peoples. (para. 3)

Examples like the ones above were common in the sources discussing the project. The

sources would discuss the difficulties in the lives of Indigenous people followed by the

fact that they continue to persevere and survive.

Berito Kuwar U'wa (1999) is one of the sources that did not contain *Celebrating

Survival*. This particular source is a magazine article and is about one page in length.

Much like the sources that did discuss *Celebrating Survival*, this source outlined the

dangers of environmental degradation and that the Earth should be treated with respect.

Kuwar U'wa (1999) discussed the greed of petroleum companies and the government as

to why the U'wa people, Indigenous people in general, and Mother Earth are in peril.

LaDuke (2006), another magazine article, talks about the importance of natural energy.

The point I am trying to illustrate is, despite being different in length, the sources that

focused their discussion on a specific topic within the discussion of environmental racism

focused on an issue that did not require discussing the survival of Indigenous peoples.

Instead, they wanted to bring awareness to the issue of environmental racism.

The Indigenous project, *Reading*, was only found a total of three times and was also

found in three sources. According to Smith (1999:149), Indigenous people have to reread

Western writing and understand the Indigenous presence within that writing because

historically, Indigenous people have been misrepresented. S. James (2004), Palomino

(1993), and Silko (1997) were the only Indigenous intellectuals that discussed *Reading* in

relation to environmental issues. S. James (2004) made a brief reference to the notion

that Indigenous people should make sure children get taught true accounts of Indigenous

history. In his source, Palomino (1993) stated the following:

> The result of our being a conquered people is that our sociocultural
> universe has been buried under the theories and concepts of experts who
> have misinterpreted our value system, either through prejudice, or through
> a lack of understanding of that which is different, or as a means of
> imposing an "intelligent decodification" of our culture in line with the
> demands of the oppressor's culture. Most writings on indigenous religion,
> for example, are mere reformulations of Christian theology on a different
> cosmovision, or attempts to present a cultural crossbreed, where what
> really exists is a collision between two antagonistic and irreconcilable
> civilizations. (P. 50)

Lastly, Leslie Marmon Silko (1997:36) made reference to anthropologists' accounts of

Pueblo stories about Migration and Emergence.

    To briefly reiterate, the three intellectuals' sources where *Reading* was found are the

minority in comparison to the other intellectuals that did not discuss the project.

However, even in the aforementioned sources where the project was found, *Reading*

really was not that prevalent. As indicated by Table 2, the project was found only once in

each of the three sources. On top of that, Silko (1997) and Small (2004) did not discuss

the project in much detail. The two intellectuals took a sentence or two to mention it and

then they moved on. Even though Palomino (1993) discussed *Reading* in considerably

more detail, as indicated in the quote above, the mentioning of Western writing was

covered in only one paragraph. Palomino (1993), however, does make the connection of

the misrepresentation of Indigenous people in writing to colonialism like Deloria, Jr.

(1997) and Smith (1999). Deloria, Jr. (1997:xiv) discussed Western writing with such conviction that he even went so far as calling Western writers rednecks just ranting and raving. Deloria, Jr.'s (1997) *Red Earth White Lies: Native Americans and the Myth of Scientific Fact* is an example of what Smith (1999) would refer to as *recreating history* or the *shifting of ideology* (p. 36). Deloria, Jr. (1997) has done this by countering Western ways of knowing by challenging their theories and scientific methods. These are the same theories and methods that have spent generations tearing down Indian culture (Deloria, Jr. 1997:2).

The discussion of *Reading* is important because it challenges Western science as is evident in Deloria, Jr (1997). As Smith (1999) argued, Indigenous people can challenge Western notions through their own writing. In addition, Smith (1999:160) considers environmental issues as a science Indigenous people can research, write about, and discuss. But in the case of the sources that I analyzed, *Reading* was not a prevalent project in the discussions by the intellectuals concerning environmental issues.

The next Indigenous project, *Rights of the People*, was found a total of 90 times and was discussed by 20 sources. The difference in length of the sources is evident in this particular project. The sources that did not discuss *Rights of the People* were the shorter ones. In other words, poems, magazine articles, and many of the sources compressed into one chapter did not discuss this project. The longer chapters, journal articles, and the human rights sources, on the other hand, did discuss the project. *Rights of the People* was diverse in the way it was presented in the sources. For example, Benjamin (1989), who translated the story of Elvia Alvarado (1989), mentioned that rights of people were being violated because their land was taken away from them. Human rights sources like

"Risking Ruin" provided by the Indigenous Environmental Network & Athabasca Chipewyan First Nation (N.d.) felt that the rights of people in Nigeria were violated because the activities carried out by Shell had a direct impact on the environment and lands inhabited by the Ogoni people. This is directly related to intellectuals like S. James (2004) that argued that Indigenous people have the right to live in a healthy environment with clean air and water. In addition, rights were also violated in relation to the execution of Ken Saro-Wiwa, a Ogoni environmental activist, and other important Ogoni leaders (Indigenous Environmental Network & Athabasca Chipewyan First Nation N.d.:14). In other words, rights were violated because the people fighting for the rights of the Ogoni people were all executed. Another way the project was presented is related to Indigenous people controlling their own resources. For instance, World People's Conference on Climate Change and the Rights of Mother Earth: Building the People's World Movement for Mother Earth (2010), argued that the problems with global warming can be solved if there is a change in agricultural practices. The source mentioned that the sustainable production methods implemented by Indigenous peoples can stop global warming. However, in order for this to happen, Indigenous people should have the right to control their own land, water, seeds, and food production.

As I stated above, the sources introduced various ways rights of Indigenous people were violated. However, what many of the sources that discussed *Rights of the People* had in common is the setting where the fight for Indigenous rights took place. According to Smith (1999:150-151, 159), rights of Indigenous people, such as control over key resources, primarily takes place in political settings like tribunal courts. I will refer to Alvarado and Benjamin (1989) as an example of rights violated:

> [Landowners and foreign companies,] [*t*]*hey're* the invaders. By what
> right did they take the land from our families to begin with? By what right
> do they hold onto the land in violation of the law? Just because they have
> money to bribe corrupt officials or fancy lawyers to forge their papers? So
> when we fight, we're fighting to protect the 1975 Agrarian Reform Law,
> and to protect the rights of poor campesinos to farm a piece of land. (Pp.
> 69-70)

The *Indigenous Language* project was found a total of 267 times. However, the

project was discussed by 18 of the sources. This is unique because when looking at the

table, there appeared to be a relationship between total projects found and the amount of

sources discussing the projects. In other words, the higher the count of total projects

found, the higher the count of sources discussing the projects. *Bad Memories*, for

example, was found to have the highest total count. The sources discussing *Bad

Memories*, 34, is also the highest compared to sources discussing the other projects. This

was the pattern throughout the table with exception of *Indigenous Language* and also

Return of Resources and Children, which will be discussed shortly.

As a result of colonialism, Indigenous landscapes and children had been given

European and Christian names (Smith 1999:157). Smith (1999:157) argued that

Indigenous people should use language to rename the world using Indigenous languages.

But most importantly, Indigenous people have to acknowledge the importance of

language because Indigenous languages are in a state of crisis (Smith 1999:147).

According to Smith (1999:158), language is a vital piece in the writing of Indigenous

people because no other language can duplicate Indigenous language.

The sources that mentioned *Indigenous Language* did not discuss language in terms

of renaming landscapes and children getting their original Indigenous names, but the

intellectuals did emphasize the importance of using language because many are

instructors teaching Indigenous languages. Intellectuals like Alvarado and Benjamin (1989), Bruchac (1993), Menchú and Burgos-Debray (1984), and Palomino (1993) relied on language to tell their stories. More specifically, key Indigenous words and phrases were used to translate accounts written in English. For example, Bruchac (1993) introduced the popular Indigenous story of Gluskabe, a hunter who used a game bag made by his grandmother, Woodchuck, to hunt for animals. He used the bag to lure all the animals out of the forest and into the bag. He showed his grandmother all the animals he caught in the bag. His grandmother told him that he put future generations of Indigenous children at risk due to the fact that they would have no food to eat. In this story, Bruchac (1993) used Indigenous language followed by the English translation. The story starts of as follows, "*Waudjoset nudatlokugan bizwakamigwi alnabe*. My story was out walking around, a wilderness lodge man. *Wawigit nudatlokugan*. Here lives my story. *Nudatlokugan Gluskabe*. It is a story of Gluskabe" (Bruchac 1993:3). The story ended with the phrase "*Nedali medabegazu*. There my story ends" (Bruchac 1993:5).

Other intellectuals like S. James (2004) and Simpson (2002) did not use Indigenous words and phrases, but they did emphasize the importance of Indigenous languages in their writing. S. James (2004) stated the following:

> We must teach our children to be proud of who they are and where they come from. They come from a people who believe it is important to respect oneself and respect the Earth. They come from a people who work hard, who pray, who fight for the land, who have our own language, who are good people with strong families. We must teach them to speak in our Native languages. (P. 155).

Simpson (2002) makes a connection between language and the longevity of Indigenous peoples. For example, Simpson (2002) stated that "[o]ur continuance as peoples will be

dependent upon the ability of our youth to protect traditional lands; reclaim, revitalize,

and nurture our traditional systems of knowledge and language . . .” (p. 15). In another

instance, Simpson (2002) echoed Smith (1999) regarding the state of Indigenous

languages and the need to revitalize them:

> Many Elders and Aboriginal academics have written about the importance
> of promoting Aboriginal languages as a means to ensure cultural survival.
> . . . Language instruction within post-secondary Indigenous environmental
> studies programs is virtually non-existent except in a very few
> university/college programs where students can take a language course as
> part of their larger program of study, yet language remains a vital link
> between the land, Aboriginal peoples, and our knowledge. Promotion of
> Aboriginal languages within Indigenous environmental educations
> programs is an essential skill for communication within Aboriginal
> communities and with Elders, it reinforces a deeper understanding of
> Aboriginal knowledge and it lays the foundation for cultural survival. (Pp.
> 18-19)

As far as the sources where *Indigenous Language* was not found, the length of

sources has to be considered once again. Shorter sources, in general, did not discuss this

project. However, Pember (2012), an online magazine article, was found to have six

counts of *Indigenous Language*. The use of *Indigenous Language* in Pember’s (2012)

article, “Wisconsin Endangers a Sacred Tradition,” was just like Bruchac (1993) and

Palomino (1993). In other words, Indigenous words and phrases were used to translate

specific English words and phrases. For example, there was an instance in the article

when Pember (2012) mentioned Ojibwe tribe’s wild-rice beds. Within the wild-rice beds

grows manoomin, which is considered to be the sacred seed (Pember 2012: para. 2).

Churchill (1997), the largest source, did not discuss *Indigenous Language*. As the

titles of the book, *A Little Matter of Genocide*, and the chapter “Cold War Impacts on

Native North America: The Political Economy of Radioactive Colonization” indicated,

the focal point of Churchill's (1997) argument is primarily about *Bad Memories* as shown

in the table. Two things are evident here, (1) I mentioned before that the shorter sources

like poems and magazine articles tended to focus on a specific topic within the discussion

of environmental racism. However, some of the larger sources like Churchill (1997)

shared this same characteristic. (2) The use of *Indigenous Language* does not necessarily

have to focus on colonialism like Smith (1999) suggested in her discussion.

The Indigenous project, *Return of Resources and Children*, had a total of 79 and was

discussed in 17 sources. As Smith (1999:155) argued, self-determination of Indigenous

peoples includes Indigenous people discussing returning resources like lands and children

to their Indigenous owners and parents. Among the Indigenous intellectuals that

discussed the returning of resources, *land* was the primary resource intellectuals

mentioned. Alvarado and Benjamin (1989) and Menchú and Burgos-Debray (1984),

intellectuals that were found to have the highest count for this project, emphasized the

returning of land, in particular, from the landowners and the government. Other

intellectuals like J. James (1995), Mankiller (2004), and Russo and Dabek (1995)

discussed other resources, but none was discussed more than the importance of the land.

Looking at Mankiller (2004) for example, she stated the following:

> Land is critical to the cultural survival of these communities. The Dann
> sisters describe sovereignty as, "The lands upon which we had our
> freedom before the coming of white people; the lands upon which our
> forefathers walked, cherished, and took care of—that is the whole Western
> Shoshone country, and not just what the American government refers to as
> Indian Country. That is sovereignty." According to the First Nations
> Development Institute, by the early twentieth century the United States
> took more than 2 billion acres of land held by indigenous people either by
> treaty or agreement or by official government confiscation with no
> remuneration whatsoever. Many federal land policies further reduced
> tribal land holdings. (Pp. 76-77)

Mankiller (2004) goes on to say that loss of land was devastating for tribes because it also meant loss of sovereignty. Tribes looked to reclaim their land because "[i]t is sacred ground where generations before us sang, danced, and held ceremonies. The land is the point of life" (Mankiller 2004:76).

Most of the sources that did not discuss *Return of Resources and Children* focused primarily on the effects of environmental degradation towards the land as opposed to the reclamation of land. In other words, the intellectuals were more concerned with bringing awareness to the issue of environmental issues and what steps could be taken in order to rectify the situation. Again, the length of sources had to be taken into account because many of the shorter sources did not discuss this project.

The *Equality for Indigenous Women* project was found a total of 52 times and was discussed in 11 sources, which is the second lowest count of projects discussed by sources. This project was the most evident in LaDuke (1999) with a total of 23 and Goldtooth (2001) with six. With exception of two sources, *Equality for Indigenous Women* was primarily discussed by female intellectuals. This project, in essence, looked to revitalize the importance of Indigenous women because colonialism has caused a rift in the relationship between Indigenous men and women (Dunaway 1997, 1999; Goldtooth 2001; Healey 2007; Smith 1999). Before the influence of colonialism, women had prominent roles tied to the survival of tribes and communities (Goldtooth 2001; Healey 2007; Smith 1999). The purpose of this project was for Indigenous people to remember the worth of Indigenous women. Goldtooth (2001), essentially, echoed the arguments made by Smith (1999). First and foremost, Goldtooth (2001: para. 9) argued that the problems Indigenous peoples face is the product of colonization. This included

the destruction of traditional tribal systems that had female leaders. Goldtooth (2001)

stated the following colonization's effect on women's roles, "I think that the men's and

women's roles are out of balance in the same way that life is out of balance right now"

(para. 16). To reiterate Smith (1999), "[c]olonization is recognized as having had a

destructive effect on indigenous gender relations which reached out across all spheres of

indigenous society" (p. 151).

The other Indigenous intellectuals discussed the importance of women as having

active roles to better their communities. Whereas Goldtooth (2001) generally discussed

the importance of women in tribes and communities, Alvarado and Benjamin (1989),

Menchú and Burgos-Debray (1984), and LaDuke (1999) discussed the importance of

women in empirical settings. Referring back to LaDuke (1999), I already discussed the

struggles of Virginia Sanchez, a Western Shoshone woman, who lost her brother to

leukemia as a result of nuclear tests near the reservation. Sanchez recorded stories from

members of the reservation to present to federal agencies as prove of environmental

injustice. The federal government offered to pay $91 million for Shoshone land but

Sanchez and other members of the reservation refused because "[t]hey want their land,

and they want to heal their community" (LaDuke 1999:100). Virginia Sanchez was not

the only woman LaDuke (1999) discussed in "Nuclear Waste," the chapter I analyzed.

She also introduced Judy De Silva, an Ojibwe woman from Northern Ontario, who is the

administrator of the community's day-care program. She opposed the Canadian

government's proposal to dump nuclear waste near the Ojibwe community. Another

woman I want to briefly discuss is Grace Thorpe, a Native anti-nuclear advocate and

"[s]he is also a veteran of most domestic Indian wars in the past decades, . . ." (LaDuke 1999:103).

Again, Benjamin (1989) translated the story of Elvia Alvarado (1989), a campesina (peasant) woman organizing and carrying out land recoveries.

Looking at the sources that did not discuss *Equality for Indigenous Women*, I can make the argument that length and scope of discussions was evident again, but there was more to consider for this project. The reason why this project was not discussed is because the intellectuals did not separate the men and women when discussing environmental issues. In other words, Indigenous people, whether it was a specific tribe, community, or generally stated, were discussed as a collective peoples. The environmental crisis discussed in the sources did not fall upon Indigenous men, for instance, it is a problem that befell both Indigenous men and women equally. Whether the intellectuals used the terms *Indians*, *Aboriginals*, or *Indigenous*, the terminologies were meant to represent the experiences and struggles of some of the most colonized peoples in the world (Smith 1999:7).

The second-to-last Indigenous project, *Networking and Sharing*, is a project emphasizing the importance of Indigenous peoples coming together and creating networks in the face of injustice (Smith 1999:156-157, 160). The project had a total of 55 with 19 sources discussing the project. The sources that discussed this project made reference to the notion that networks are essential to the success of Indigenous people participating in environmental activism. As Smith (1999:157) argued, Indigenous peoples as individuals or a small group will have difficulties succeeding for a cause they are fighting for because they do not have the resources to contest with the dominant non-

Indigenous society. Okonta and Douglas (2003) argued this very point in their discussion regarding Indigenous environmental activism. According to the authors, environmental activists should not act alone without forming networks with movements specializing in human rights, justice, and democracy. If environmental activists were to act alone, they would be beaten easily because antienvironment monsters have the ability to make environmental interests a secondary priority (Okonta and Douglas 2003:195-196).

Much like some of the sources discussed above, the reason why *Networking and Sharing* was not discussed by certain sources was due to the length of the sources and their specific topic of discussion. For example, the article by Jallalla Indigenous Pueblos & Nations of Abya Yala (2007) entitled "Declaration of La Paz," is one-and-a-half pages in length. In addition, more than half of the article discussed the importance of *Healing*. *Healing* was found six times, *Bad Memories* was found two times, and *Celebrating Survival* once. The latter two projects were found in the first three paragraphs while *Healing* was found in the last six paragraphs. Each of the final six paragraphs discussed an occurrence of *Healing*. What the article demonstrated is that six projects were not discussed, including *Networking and Sharing*. As I have pointed out before, the length and the primary topic of discussion of *Healing* were important indicators of why other projects were not found. In other words, there was simply no room for the inclusion of *Networking and Sharing*.

Healing had the second highest total with 299. Out of the 35 sources, 33 discussed this project. The only two sources that did not discuss *Healing* were poems. According to Smith (1999:152, 153-155, 158-159), the process of *Healing* consists of rising above current situations, envisioning a better future, and coming up with solutions to Indigenous

problems. Okonta and Douglas (2003) discussed a similar sentiment to Smith (1999) when it comes to solving environmental problems: "The environmental movement has to recover its roots, it has to broaden out to work closely with other groups, and it has to start putting forward solutions and a positive alternative coherent vision for the future" (p. 195).

The sources that discussed *Healing* focused primarily on taking control over Indigenous issues, defining problems, and determining how to best solve those problems. In other words, the aspect of *Healing* that the Intellectuals focused on most was *Reframing*. To reiterate Smith (1999), "[r]eframing is about taking much greater control over the ways in which indigenous issues and social problems are discussed and handled . . . . The project of reframing is related to defining the problem or issue and determining how best to solve that problem" (p. 153). According to Table 2, the sources with the highest counts of *Healing* were the human rights sources. As I stated before, all the sources discussing *Healing* framed their problems and discussed possible solutions, but the basis of the human rights sources were about this particular topic in general. The human rights sources followed the same format when they presented their arguments. The sources identified the problem, framed it, and then listed solutions to solve the problem. Looking at World People's Conference on Climate Change and the Rights of Mother Earth: Building the People's World Movement for Mother Earth (2010) and the source "People's Agreement," the discussion outlined is about the capitalist system and the effects of global warming as a result of their actions. The source argued that the capitalist system has imposed on society the importance of growth and progress and turning people into consumers without any regard for the planet. In other words, under

capitalism, Earth is transformed into a commodity. All aspects of nature, including "water, earth, the human genome, ancestral cultures, biodiversity, justice, ethics, the rights of peoples, and life itself" (World People's Conference on Climate Change and the Rights of Mother Earth: Building the People's World Movement for Mother Earth 2010: para. 4) are transformed into commodities. In addition, in order for progress to become a reality, territories and natural resources would have to be acquired. The process of taking territories and natural resources has lead to global warming. According to the source, "[i]f global warming increases by more than 2 degrees Celsius, a situation that the 'Copenhagen Accord' could lead to, there is a 50% probability that the damages caused to our Mother Earth will be completely irreversible" (World People's Conference on Climate Change and the Rights of Mother Earth: Building the People's World Movement for Mother Earth 2010: para. 2).

The main point by the intellectuals had to do with the concepts of progress and growth laid out by the capitalist system. Global warming, in other words, is the direct result of this notion of progress and growth. The intellectuals mentioned that "[h]umanity confronts a great dilemma: to continue on the path of capitalism, depredation, and death, or to choose the path of harmony with nature and respect for life" (World People's Conference on Climate Change and the Rights of Mother Earth: Building the People's World Movement for Mother Earth 2010:7). The solution recommended by the intellectuals is a new system that restores the harmonious relationship between people and nature. This system must recognize Mother Earth as the primary source of life and forge principles based on the practices of Indigenous peoples (World People's Conference on Climate Change and the Rights of Mother Earth:

Building the People's World Movement for Mother Earth 2010:7). Again, this example and the discussions presented in the other sources outlined the importance for Indigenous people to take control over their own issues and discovering ways to solve these issues.

The purpose of this research was to address the importance of the Indigenous projects introduced by Smith (1999). The projects were designed as part of an Indigenous research program promoting the self-determination, revitalization, and reclamation of Indigenous cultures and languages. Because these projects are pursued by Indigenous communities and represent the betterment of Indigenous people, I set out to find to what extent these projects manifested themselves in 35 written sources produced by Indigenous intellectuals. The results indicate that aspects of the projects discussed by Smith (1999) were evident in the sources I analyzed. However, the extents of the projects found were influenced by the sources' length and primary focus of discussion.

Discussion

The purpose of this paper was to answer the following research question: "To what extent are the Indigenous projects depicted and used in printed and electronic Indigenous sources discussing environmental issues?" As indicated by the results, all of the projects were found, but to different extents. Nonetheless, Smith's (1999) projects were evident in the Indigenous sources analyzed. Out of the nine projects that I set out to find in the sources, six of them were discussed by more than half of the sources as indicated by Table 2.

The results I obtained were the product of analyzing 35 secondary sources discussing the topic of environmental racism. The sources ranged in variety from book chapters to poems and also varied in length. Due to the nature of these 35 sources, the Indigenous

projects I sought to find were, for the most part, more evident in longer sources than in shorter ones. Another determinant in the extent of projects found was identified in the scope of the sources' discussions. By and large, sources that centered and narrowed their discussion to a specific topic within the discussion of environmental racism were found to have fewer projects. With exception of one source in *Bad Memories* and two in *Healing*, these two projects were the most consistent findings.

With regard to literature discussing Indigenous people and their struggle with environmental racism, it is no surprise that *Bad Memories* had the highest count. Environmental racism is understood to be racial discrimination towards minority groups and the poor, but for Indigenous people, it is an attack on their livelihood, culture, values, beliefs, spirituality, and identity. The extent of *Healing* found indicated that Indigenous peoples are not the helpless victims that the Western dominant society made them out to be. In other words, the sources openly spoke about Indigenous people coming up with solutions and carrying them out in order to resist environmental crisis. With that notion and with respect to the sources I analyzed and the Indigenous intellectuals, who consist of women, activists, lawyers, and instructors, the tallies for both *Bad Memories* and *Healing* were adequate in describing the common experiences of Indigenous people and environmental issues. To reiterate Smith's (1999) discussion about the Indigenous projects, various Indigenous communities, such as Indigenous women and lawyers, are actively pursuing these projects for the purposes of a research agenda promoting self-determination. Because *Bad Memories* and *Healing* were prevalent in the sources, the extent of projects found in the sources was sufficient as stated above.

Even though I conducted the research without any preconceived notions about the extent of projects I would find in the sources, it was unexpected that the count for *Celebrating Survival* was not higher, especially since survival is an integral aspect in the lives of Indigenous people often ignored by non-Indigenous scholars. With that said, the project was found in certain sources, but about half of the sources did not discuss the project. The sources that did not discuss *Celebrating Survival* were mostly concerned with bringing awareness of environmental hazards as opposed to the survival of Indigenous people. Smith (1999) placed great emphasis on this particular project so the fact that the project was found in 19 sources is not enough to represent the survival of Indigenous people, especially concerning an issue where the lives of Indigenous people have been threatened and lost but yet they have persevered. Again, the length of sources and the scope of discussions had an effect on projects found.

As indicated by the results, the discussion of *Reading* was minimal at best. In the three sources where this project was found, the discussions were short. I made the argument that *Reading* is a critique of Western science and was not prevalent when discussing environmental racism. In other words, Indigenous intellectuals did not adequately discuss the importance of *Reading*, even if the topic was on an issue that may not require the discussion of Western writing.

Rights of the People was discussed in 20 out of the 35 sources and was found a total of 90 times. This should be enough to make intended audiences aware that environmental racism towards Indigenous people is a violation of their rights despite 15 sources not discussing the project. The same argument can be made for the Indigenous projects *Return of Resources and Children* and *Networking and Sharing*. *Return of*

Resources and Children was discussed in 17 sources and was found a total of 79 times. Of all the resources mentioned, land was the primary resource intellectuals mentioned. *Networking and Sharing* was discussed in 19 sources and was found 55 times, but that should still be adequate enough to get the point across to audiences that the importance for opposing pollutant agencies involves Indigenous networks, a point Okonta and Douglas (2003) were highly adamant about.

The last two projects, *Indigenous Language* and *Equality for Indigenous Women*, were evident in the sources for the most part due to the widening of the projects' scope as I explained earlier in the paper. In other words, the tallies for each of these projects would be considerably lower if I decided against widening the scope of each, making the discussion for each project less than adequate in the topic of environmental issues concerning these 35 sources. As stated earlier, Smith (1999) discussed the importance of revitalization of languages as Indigenous languages are in a state of crisis, but she emphasized in her discussion that Indigenous people should apply language to counter colonialism by renaming their landscapes and giving children Indigenous names. I widened the scope of this project by including the importance of using Indigenous language which the sources that discussed this project focused on.

As far as the *Equality for Indigenous Women* project is concerned, the widening of the scope was the main reason the total was 52 with 11 sources discussing it. This project was the second lowest count of projects discussed by sources, as stated earlier, and would have been lower if the scope was not widened. Also, this project was primarily discussed by female intellectuals. In other words, the Indigenous community that emphasized this project was Indigenous women. This would indicate that Indigenous men have to

highlight the contribution of women. However, the tally would have been lower if I

strictly coded for Smith's (1999) explanation of this project, which was about the tainted

relationship between Indigenous men and women due to colonialism. The Indigenous

women that discussed this project primarily focused on the importance of women in

environmental activism like LaDuke (1999) did. It was in fact Tom Goldtooth (2001), an

Indigenous man, which discussed this project the way Smith (1999) discussed it.

CHAPTER 5: FUTURE RESEARCH

One recommendation I have for improving this research has to do with the sources. The variety of sources used was due to the different ways Indigenous people express themselves. However, it would be interesting to see how the extent of projects found would differ from the research I conducted if the sources were only one type with a specified page range such as book chapters with a range of 20 to 25 pages. The variety of projects that can be found may differ if the focus is on one type of source as opposed to many.

Another recommendation I have has to do with the Indigenous projects. As indicated by the results when I was discussing *Healing*, the one aspect of this project that was found was *Reframing*. It may be interesting to see how this particular research can differ if future research focuses on finding each project as opposed to the nine composite projects discussed in this paper. Also, future research should not increase the scope of the projects in order to more accurately analyze sources with Smith's (1999) description of the projects.

In addition, the inclusion of multiple coders can help improve the definitions of the projects and perhaps improve the quality of the research. Besides, intercoder reliability is a necessary aspect of the research if content analysis is the methodology used. According to Lombard et al. (2002:589), if intercoder reliability is not established, the data and the interpretation of the data may not be considered valid.

It would also be interesting to see the results of this particular research if the topic was on something other than environmental racism or, for that matter, any topic alluding

to the hardships of Indigenous people. I chose the topic of environmental racism because it is of interest to Indigenous people (Smith 1999:160). But the interests of Indigenous people are vast, so focusing on another one of their interests may produce different findings. For example, Soap (2004) introduced the biographies of all the Indigenous women that contributed to Mankiller's (2004) *Everyday is a Good Day*. One of the intellectuals was interested in paintings, so future research can be about content analysis on book chapters concerning Indigenous people and art. In other words, future research can focus on positive aspects of the lives of Indigenous people such as art discussed above.

This brings me to the importance of non-Indigenous scholars contributing to Indigenous knowledge. Despite the criticisms of Deloria, Jr. (1997), Smith (1999), and other intellectuals toward non-Indigenous writing and theories, Smith (1999) acknowledged that non-Indigenous individuals have a place in the 25 Indigenous projects. The projects are pursued by Indigenous communities but non-Indigenous people are not excluded either. Looking at the project *Indigenizing* for example, this project has two dimensions, but I am focusing on the first in the quote below:

> The first one is similar to that which has occurred in literature with a centring of the landscapes, images, languages, themes, metaphors and stories in the indigenous world and the disconnecting of many of the cultural ties between the settler society and its metropolitan homeland. This project involves non-indigenous activists and intellectuals. (Smith 1999:146)

In addition, the article "Perspectives of Native and Non-Native Scholars: Opportunities for Collaboration" by Renee V. Galliher (non-Indigenous researcher), Monica M. Tsethlikai (Zuni Indian), and Darrell Stolle (non-Indigenous researcher)

(2011) is a testament that Indigenous and non-Native scholars can coincide and share

culture with each other without their being an issue of mistrust or injustice. The article

brings up an interesting statistic when it comes to Indigenous scholars conducting

Indigenous research without interference from non-Indigenous scholars. First and

foremost, the article acknowledges the history of white Europe/American research and

Indigenous worldviews:

> Differences between White American research methodologies and
> traditional NA worldviews are compounded by a tragic history of cultural
> annihilation, exploitation, and assumptions of White superiority. . . . Most
> early research findings, interpreted from White American perspectives,
> failed to acknowledge either the cultural context of Native communities or
> the traumatic history of cultural genocide that characterized White—
> Native relations over the past several hundred years. In addition, the
> historical devaluation of Native rights and dignity has generated a pattern
> of exploitative research in Native communities that is devoid of a sense of
> responsibility to contribute meaningfully to participating communities.
> (Galliher et al. 2011:1-2)

It is no surprise, given some of the issues mentioned above; that only Indigenous people

should conduct research when it comes to Indigenous issues (Deloria, Jr. 1997; Louis

2007; Smith 1999). However, the statistics provided by Galliher et al. (2011) show that

there are challenges that become evident for Indigenous researchers to meet the needs of

Indigenous communities. One challenge is that there are a small amount of Indigenous

researchers and, in addition, most of those were trained under Western institutions. One

percent of Native Americans were enrolled in colleges and universities in 2006, and as of

2005, Native Americans made up less than one percent of faculty in institutions that give

degrees (Galliher et al. 2011:2). Essentially, Galliher et al. (2011) argued that more

Indigenous researchers are needed, but there are currently not enough to represent the

broader Indigenous communities around the world. The word *intellectual*, borrowed

from Patricia Hill Collins (2000), was used throughout the paper to describe Indigenous

people from all walks of life that have something to contribute for the betterment of their

people. However, as explained by Galliher et al. (2011), there is a necessity for non-

Indigenous researchers who are well-versed and competent enough to conduct research

that will contribute to the needs of Indigenous communities. Again, the response to this

is met with wariness, but non-Indigenous researchers have been an asset to Indigenous

knowledge and have been welcomed by Indigenous communities (Galliher et al. 2011).

Non-Indigenous scholars like Mik Moore (1998) and Shriver and Webb (2009) were

able to do empirical work on Indigenous communities by allowing the Indigenous people

to tell their own stories, much like LaDuke (1999) did in *All Our Relations*. Through

these non-Indigenous researchers, the Indigenous people were able to frame their

environmental issues and interpret the problems in their lives in their own way.

Basically, non-Indigenous scholars that can convey their research agenda in a way that

promotes mutual respect and shared goals will likely be accepted by the community

(Galliher et al. 2011; Nakamura 2010; Nielsen and Gould 2007). Such was the case with

Marianne O. Nielsen and Larry A. Gould (2007). Both are non-Indigenous scholars that

have dedicated their lives by working in and for Indigenous communities for many years:

> Nielsen worked as research coordinator for a Native Canadian criminal
> justice organization for 10 years and has been carrying out research in
> cooperation with Native American and Canadian groups for almost 30
> years. Nielsen's work has focused on Indigenous-operated justice
> organizations . . ., as well as looking at specific phenomena, such as:
> healing lodges . . ., peacemaking . . ., colonization theory . . ., and
> Indigenous organizational culture. . . . Gould has spent the last eight years
> working with the Navajo and Hualapai Nations as a police policies

consultant and has assisted the afore mentioned nations as well as the Yavapai in accessing federal money from the Community Oriented Policing Services (C.O.P.S.) Office. Additionally, he has worked on several projects involving the Navajo Nation Police Department. . . . He has also worked on several projects which focus on alcohol consumption and treatment among Indigenous peoples. . . . (Nielsen and Gould 2007:421)

Nielsen and Gould's (2007) article "Non-Native Scholars Doing Research in Native American Communities: A Matter of Respect" is solely dedicated to raising ethical concerns for non-Indigenous scholars when doing research with Indigenous communities so that trust and respect can begin to form between Western research and Indigenous communities. Indigenous intellectuals like Jacob (2006) have had to question themselves and think about the motives of non-Indigenous individuals and wonder if these motives are out to hurt and further marginalize Indigenous peoples.

As stated earlier, Michelle M. Jacob (2006) went through an interesting experience when conducting a field research intended only for Indigenous people, which involved the completion of a ten page survey. Jacob (2006) explained how white people insisted on participating in her research and how she became annoyed by having to tell them that the research was not intended for non-Indigenous people. Ultimately, she allowed the white people to fill out the survey. What was interesting in Jacob's (2006) article was her discussion regarding the power dynamics in research and the production of knowledge between white people and Indigenous people. Jacob (2006) provides many theories and assumptions behind the motivation of white people's participation in the research including white privilege and the idea that they can participate because they have the right to do it due to the color of their skin. In addition, Jacob (2006:458) also mentioned

that white people wanted to participate in the research because they wanted to be Indian

lovers. However, the interesting part of the discussion came when Jacob (2006:459)

spoke about controlling the Native gaze. Jacob (2006) argued that controlling the Native

gaze was a tactic employed by white people meant to make the differences between white

people and Indigenous people insignificant. As Jacob (2006) put it, "[t]he assumption

here is that Whiteness equals goodness. To keep Whites out of my research project was

to ignore the goodness that they could contribute, as just people" (p. 459). Jacob

(2006:459) explained that the power dynamics between Indigenous people and white

people was on display when controlling the Native gaze was employed. But there are

people that believe that there are non-Indigenous scholars that have good intentions when

they choose to contribute to Indigenous research. However, non-Indigenous scholars are

worried because Indigenous scholars have made the point that Indigenous research

should benefit the community, otherwise it should not be done (Louis 2007; Nakamura

2010). Louis (2007) made this argument in her article "Can You Hear us Now?":

> The most important elements are that research in Indigenous communities
> be conducted respectfully, from an Indigenous point of view and that the
> research has meaning that contributes to the community. . . . If research
> does not benefit the community by extending the quality of life for those
> in the community, it should not be done. (P. 131)

Naohiro Nakamura (2010) responded to Louis (2007) by asking the following questions,

"what measures identify whether research benefits the community? Is it possible to

predict, in a short time period, whether research really benefits the community? Which

research provides benefits and which does not?" (p. 98). Another topic that was of

concern and interest for Nakamura (2010) addressed by Louis (2007) had to do with

scholars adopting Indigenous methodologies. Louis (2007) defined Indigenous

methodologies as "alternative ways of thinking about research processes" (p. 133). In addition, "[t]hey are fluid and dynamic approaches that emphasise circular and cyclical perspectives. Their main aim is to ensure that research on Indigenous issues is accomplished in a more sympathetic, respectful, and ethically correct fashion from an Indigenous perspective" (Louis 2007:133). Nakamura (2010) argued that this particular definition was overly broad and did not take into account the diversity of Indigenous peoples. According to Nakamura (2010), "[t]his is a broad definition. Indigenous people are diverse; therefore an Indigenous perspective cannot be defined in any single way. How are researchers able to identify that they are adopting an Indigenous methodology and respecting Indigenous perspectives if these methodologies are so diverse?" (p. 98).

Scholars like Nakamura (2010) believe it is paramount that non-Indigenous scholars to not feel discouraged if they choose to participate in Indigenous research. After all, there are non-Indigenous researchers that have made helpful contributions important to Indigenous issues and some have even been cited by Indigenous scholars. Non-Indigenous students should be guided and given access to resources in order to properly and respectfully conduct their research (Nakamura 2010:100). As stated before, Smith's (1999) *Decolonizing Methodologies* has been a great guide for an Indigenous research agenda. It is a book written for Indigenous people choosing to commit to research, but as Carla Wilson (2001) and Dulwich Centre Publications (2004) point out, there is something for all researchers interested in doing Indigenous research: "While this is a book primarily written for Indigenous researchers, we highly recommend it to anyone interested in or conducting research, for there is something within it to challenge and inspire us all" (Dulwich Centre Publications 2004:35).

Speaking of Carla Wilson (2001), she brought up an interesting topic of conversation in her book review on *Decolonizing Methodologies* that could possibly lead to future research. Wilson (2001) praised Smith's (1999) book for being influential and innovative, however, she did raise an issue that is of importance:

> Tuhiwai Smith does not explore the issue of non-indigenous researchers in great detail [*sic*] and I did not gain a clear understanding of her views on this issue. However, she does stress that the purpose of this book is to develop indigenous peoples as researchers and to address the issues indigenous people face. The role of non-indigenous researchers is marginal to this primary objective. Tuhiwai Smith mentions that she does have views on this topic and I would be interested to read more about her views on the relationship between non-indigenous researchers, indigenous researchers and indigenous communities. (P. 216)

What Wilson (2001) is referring to is evident in Smith's (1999) discussion of the 25 Indigenous projects. To briefly reiterate points that have been made before, the Indigenous projects exist because they promote the survival of Indigenous language, culture, and peoples. However, the projects are not entirely Indigenous. Some of the projects like, *Indigenizing*, involve the participation of non-Indigenous researchers. To Wilson's (2001) point, this issue is not expanded upon. In what ways do non-Indigenous researchers contribute to the self-determination of Indigenous people, especially in research? To know this information can perhaps shed light on how Indigenous and non-Indigenous researchers can learn to better coexist in the creation and further development of knowledge.

As opposed to only focusing on Indigenous intellectuals, further research could also focus on non-Indigenous intellectuals writing about the interests of Indigenous people, including the topic of environmental racism. The results can then be compared and

contrasted to see what the similarities and differences are between the written works of

Indigenous and non-Indigenous researchers.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

The nature of research, as Smith (1999) and other intellectuals have argued, has been a problematic aspect in the lives of Indigenous people around the world for many years.

For example, Bruce Bartlett (2000), a columnist and senior fellow with the National Center for Policy Analysis, wrote an article titled "Native Americans Weren't Very Kind to the Environment" a few days removed from April 22, 2000, also known as Earth Day. It is a piece that gives a different perspective regarding Native Americans and other Indigenous peoples' relationship with the environment and wildlife. According to the article, Indigenous peoples are to blame for environmental destruction of the rainforest and the slaughter of many different types of animals. Earth Day, as Bartlett (2000:para. 1) described it, is "the day set aside annually for condemning civilization's devastation of the environment." It is also a day where praise is given to Native Americans for having a harmonious relationship with the environment. This was a time "before the evil white man came and destroyed paradise. People were encouraged to restore the earth to the time before Christopher Columbus came and ruined everything" (Bartlett 2000, para. 1). This is Bartlett's (2000: para. 2) way of saying that people, especially school children, have been *brainwashed* into believing that Indigenous peoples are innocent of environmental destruction. Bartlett (2000: para. 2) goes on to say that research done by archaeologists and anthropologists prove that the actions of Indigenous people from North and South America were more destructive in the pre-Columbian compared to the way the environment is treated today. The argument is that the forest had no value to Native Americans so they burnt them down. The forest was also burnt because it would

be easier to hunt, and it was also done simply for fun (Bartlett 2000: para 7-8). As far as hunting was concerned, "Native Americans were not shy about using extremely brutal methods, with no concern whatsoever for sportsmanship" (Bartlett 2000, para. 8). Animals such as the buffalo, saber-toothed tiger, the mammoth, sloth, beaver, and horse were hunted to near extinction. The Maoris of New Zealand also hunted animals to extinction before white men arrived (Bartlett 2000, para. 9). Bartlett (2000) concludes by saying that Native Americans did not treat the environment any better than the way they treated animals:

> Soil erosion was common long before white settlements were established.
> When the land became exhausted, Native Americans simply moved on.
> The idea that they treated the land with special reverence simply has no
> basis outside the imaginations of gullible utopians. . . . Earth Day
> enthusiasts should cease celebrating an Eden that never was. (para. 13-14)

Bruce Bartlett (2000) argued his case based on the exploration of Lewis and Clark and the work of anthropologists, the kinds of people that have made Indigenous people skeptical about research (Deloria, Jr. 1997; Harding 1992; Jacob 2006; Silko 1997; Smith 1999; Strong 2005).

Intellectuals like Deloria, Jr. (1997) have dedicated their efforts to exposing the lies of non-Indigenous writing. For instance, Vine Deloria, Jr.'s (1997) *Red Earth White Lies* is a book dedicated to arguing that most Western scientific theories are based on fiction and lies. The claims that Indigenous peoples were to blame for the extinction of megafauna and the theories and hypotheses supporting this are proclaimed by Deloria, Jr. (1997) to be nothing more than fallacies. Deloria, Jr. (1997) examined a theory called Pleistocene Overkill. This theory became popular among a group of scientists attempting

to explain the disappearance or extinction of Pleistocene animals, especially those weighing over 50 kilograms. The overkill theory suggested that the Paleo-Indians, the ancestors of today's American Indians, were responsible for the disappearance of these animals (Deloria, Jr. 1997:95). Carl Sauer, a highly regarded scholar on the environment, was one of the leading voices supporting this theory:

> Sauer thought that through the use of fire drives in which they [Paleo-Indians] both cleared large tracts of land for prairie grazing and eliminated the mammoth, mastodon, and a variety of other creatures, Indians had been responsible for the demise of the mammoth and mastodon. Sauer cited no large kill sites, mixed forest and plains animals indiscriminately, and could only point to the practices of some historic Indian tribes in burning grasses to encourage new growth the following year as evidence that Indians had even burned areas. (Deloria, Jr. 1997:96)

Many individuals, including anthropologists, refuted Sauer's claims. Scholars like Loren C. Eiseley stated that many of the smaller fauna also died during this time that could not have been killed by spears or fire drives. Many of the animals believed to be extinct were not, and could not have been, affected by grassland fires. According to Deloria, Jr. (1997), "[i]t would have been impossible, given forest environments, to have exterminated whole species under any conditions" (p. 96). There is also no evidence that would indicate that any tribal groups would exterminate or significantly affect an animal population unless the area was small (Deloria, Jr. 1997:96).

Red Earth goes into many other areas of megafauna theories that were disputed, but what was discussed above and throughout the paper indicates that there is a clear distinction and division between Indigenous and Western ways of being and knowing. These differences have led to many struggles between Indigenous and the non-Indigenous West. Deloria, Jr. (1997), Smith (1999), and other Indigenous intellectuals

have moved forward by promoting the Indigenous movement that looks to restore

Indigenous beliefs and ways of knowing and reject the fallacies of Western thought.

Going back to Deloria, Jr.'s (1997:xiii) experience with Western culture and theories of

science and why he wrote *Red Earth White Lies*, he was an avid reader of scientific books

only to realize that there was a nonsense in scientific writing. It was at this point that

Deloria, Jr. (1997:xiv) started to take scientific teachings less seriously and began taking

notes to remind himself of its fallacies. Despite his decreasing faith in scientific writing,

Deloria, Jr. (1997) did not believe that scientific doctrines were harmful until he heard

about Indigenous people killing megafauna:

> Then I began to hear how my ancestors had ruthlessly slaughtered the
> Pleistocene megafauna [*sic*] and I began to read about this hypothesis. As
> I saw rednecks and conservative newspaper columnists rant and rave over
> the supposed destruction of these large animals, I saw a determined effort
> to smear American Indians as being worse ecologists than our present
> industrialists. Thus, I decided to write this book, offering an alternative
> explanation for the demise of the great animals. (Deloria, Jr. 1997:xiv)

The discussion above was but one example why Indigenous peoples around the world

feel marginalized, oppressed, and ostracized from research, knowledge, and life in

general. It is the type of work that explains why intellectuals like Smith (1999)

encourages Indigenous people to begin research, produce knowledge, and then share it

with Indigenous communities. It is also the reason why Indigenous communities are

pursuing the 25 Indigenous projects and the projects' goal of self-determination.

Linda Tuhiwai Smith's (1999) *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and*

Indigenous Peoples was an important topic of discussion for this paper and more so an

important aspect in the lives of Indigenous people hoping to enter the world of research.

It is a book written by an Indigenous person for Indigenous peoples in the hopes that

Indigenous people can finally tell their own stories through the power of writing and research. *Power* is the key concept since research has empowered some and marginalized and oppressed many others. Because of this unfair balance within research, Indigenous people believe in the idea that *research* is a dirty word that has made them question the credibility of research. While it is true that Indigenous and other minority groups have been kept on the outside of research, their contribution has had an impact on how we view the world. To reiterate Smith (1999:159) regarding her discussion of the Indigenous projects, the ideas and beliefs of Indigenous people are sought after by non-Indigenous scholars in order to have a better understanding of the world. In relation to the sources' discussion of the environment, the ideas presented by the intellectuals were extensive in terms of injustice and the need for Indigenous people to find solutions to these problems. In other words, important aspects of the Indigenous projects were discussed by the intellectuals. These ideas have to be shared with all, including non-Indigenous scholars that have abused power in the past.

The topic of environmental racism was an interesting and important one because as experts like Bullard (1996) discussed, it is an issue that many people, outside of minority groups, simply do not have to live with or acknowledge. People focusing on Indigenous people in general like Brook (1998) argued that environmental hazards is a burden most minority groups have to deal with, but it is worse for indigenous people since their livelihood is primarily tied to the land. This is but one reason the topic of the environment is important for Indigenous peoples and also the reason why Indigenous people have begun to write about it. As discussed by Harding (1992) and Smith (1999),

minorities have the ability now to make other people understand what is truly going in a world foreign to them.

This paper discussed a topic that is of great importance for many people that have been directly affected by it, environmental racism. More specifically, the paper focused on the Indigenous projects discussed by Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) and to what extent they were found in 35 Indigenous sources. Because the Indigenous projects represent self-determination for Indigenous people, I wanted to analyze how each was discussed in the discussions of Indigenous intellectuals.

Even though this paper discussed the nature of research and the importance for Indigenous people to participate in research and writing, I believe it is imperative for Indigenous and non-Indigenous researchers to come together and coexist in order to improve upon knowledge, especially issues concerning Indigenous people. Research was meant to be used by all and shared, but the mistakes of those before us and the nature of research in the past has left many on the outside looking in. In other words, research has benefitted some and exploited many others. This exploitation has been addressed by Indigenous intellectuals like Deloria, Jr. (1997), Louis (2007), and Smith (1999). Indigenous intellectuals have argued that Indigenous research should now solely fall into the hands of Indigenous peoples, but, as Nakamura (2010) discussed, this is not how research should be conducted. Non-Indigenous scholars should not be afraid of conducting research if it can help improve Indigenous knowledge. In other words, research should belong to everyone but, at the same time, to no one at all.

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