

BUILDING BRIDGES AND BREAKING DOWN BARRIERS:
FIRST FOODS KNOWLEDGE TRANSMISSION OF THE
CONFEDERATED TRIBES OF THE UMATILLA INDIAN RESERVATION

by

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THESIS ABSTRACT

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Title: Building Bridges and Breaking Down Barriers: First Foods Knowledge Transmission of the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation

Through semi-structured interviews with CTUIR community members, I assessed the current spectrum of relationships that exists between CTUIR community members and their First Foods. Furthermore, I identify two categories of resources and opportunities of First Food knowledge transmission that these individuals have previously used and are drawn to: independent and interdependent. This assessment utilized Tuck et al.'s (2014) land education theoretical framework to provide the lens with which to structure questions and analysis.

I argue that where a CTUIR community members falls along a spectrum of closeness in relationships with land and community is the highest indicator not only of their current relationship with First Foods but also the education and outreach opportunities they are drawn to. I conclude that First Food knowledge transmission practices would benefit from additional attention given to 1) the definition of First Foods and 2) further understanding of inclusion or exclusion among CTUIR community members.

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This paper is dedicated to:

Nessa, my Mai, and Grandmother

Jerry and Petra

the dedicated individuals in the CTUIR community
and the First Foods of the Columbia River Plateau

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Identifying Scholars

In this thesis, I endeavor to prioritize and center Indigenous scholars, especially from the United States. This prioritization does not mean that Indigenous scholars from other countries or non-Native scholars are not included; rather, to the best of my abilities based on the resources I find I will refer to Indigenous scholars from within the United States. Their tribe or clan is presented beside the author's name, when available, to localize their experience and knowledge. The scholars who do not have an identifying tribe or clan name are assumed to be Euro-American settler scholars. My choice in referencing this way also aligns with Indigenization and anti-colonial methodologies (Younging, 2018). This paper weaves peer-reviewed academic articles in conversation with stories exchanged while pruning tomatoes, chatting about life with community members and talks given by Indigenous leaders and Elders during webinars and conferences.

Statement of Reciprocity

I am indebted to the CTUIR community's faith in me, inviting me into their community and sharing their stories. Unfortunately, due to the COVID pandemic, I could not build relationships within the community as much as I'd hoped. I am therefore even more grateful for the individuals who, without knowing me, were willing to join me for an interview, sharing their stories with a stranger.

This thesis is my effort to respond to the questions identified through collaboration with CTUIR community members and share back the knowledge and stories shared through my own perspective and contributions. I will provide the First Food and Food System Working Group a printed copy of this thesis, and additionally, I will give all media gathered within this project to the CTUIR's Department of Natural Resources' Cultural Resources Protection Program (CRPP). The

CRPP maintains a collection of CTUIR community member interviews and will add these media to their collection as well. Further explanation of my efforts towards reciprocity are included within Chapter 3.

Situating Myself: Positionality

Opaskwayak Creek Nation scholar Shawn Wilson proposes in his book 'Research is Ceremony' (2008) that Indigenous research, following Indigenous methodology, is subjective. This diverges from the objective focus insisted upon by hegemonic western epistemology's hold on academia. In fact, Wilson quotes Indigenous scholar, E. Hampton, saying:

Emotionless, passionless, abstract, intellectual research is a goddam lie, it does not exist. It is a lie to ourselves and a lie to other people. Humans – feeling, living, breathing, thinking humans – do research. (Hampton, 1995, pg. 56)

Locating myself makes me accountable, to myself and to you, for my views and approach to this research. It hopefully helps me move this research closer to ceremony. As Kovach (2009) explains, this begins with the researcher's sense of self-location by reflecting on who they are and how they connect with their research question.

It has occurred to me that it is easier to study Native American culture than it is to study my own; this is a reflection and realization that I don't embrace lovingly, but it does help me to situate myself in these conversations. When hearing one anonymous interviewee call themselves "a hybrid," I instantly understood what they meant. Half Appalachian-white, half Latina (Colombian and Mexican), I am neither here nor there. Individuals and groups often remove my self-determination and place me within the identity they choose. What do I think? It depends on the day. The only family I've ever known is very Latina, while all of the communities I've lived in (in the United States) have been predominately white. I'll just further complicate the story if I tell you the identities I was given, or not, while living in South America. I've had a strong desire to learn my culture(s) while never fully fitting into anyone perfectly, and I hear it reflected in some of the stories

shared here. Perhaps I lean into these stories and pull them forward for that reason, hoping in some way that a small reconciliation for you can become a small reconciliation for me.

I was born and raised in eastern Washington. The high desert feels like home on my body and smells like home in my nose. In Spokane, I confused and elicited questions (what *are* you?) by being the darkest person amongst my pale peers, but the trees and plants never seemed to notice or mind. Raised by an U.S. Airforce survival instructor, I spent much time hunting and identifying the plants and animals around me in the woods. Raised by two Ag-tech parents, I was raised with a large garden, lots of animals, and road trip drills asking us to identify the crops we passed by.

In 2000, I moved away from “east of the Cascades” and wandered a bit. I fell in love with food system work, identifying it as the most beautiful path to combine social and environmental justice. How those two should not be separated made sense to me. Working in kitchens, on farms, with Farm to School efforts, and managing an African refugee incubator farm eventually led me to Pedal and Plow. I produced this documentary series to call attention to the oft-overlooked and impressive work of rural farmers, in this case in South America, and I strove to increase their visibility of efforts to democratize and diversify their food systems. Silly me; for whatever reason, I hadn’t anticipated that I would spend most of my time with South American Indigenous communities. This is when my focus turned from food systems to food sovereignty.

In 2016, I moved to Walla Walla and back to eastern Washington where the sense of home returned, especially because I live close to my mother again. Shortly after returning to the area, I saw CTUIR First Foods banners hung in the Walla Walla Community College and hoped our paths would cross one day, and I am grateful that in fact they have. Who would have thought that this research would coincide with a worldwide pandemic and that this research would be able to capture part of the confusion and hope that it elicited? I am grateful for my time with the CTUIR community, especially during the summer of 2020, when the shared time together grew friendships, moments of light in times of loneliness. I hope this work offers some value and contribution to the

important First Food and Food Systems Work Group and the CTUIR community as they continue to understand how best to reach out and continue their First Food knowledge transmission.

It was a journey for me to grant myself permission to place myself in this research. Academia holds sacred the objectiveness in which it claims to engage with research, looking down upon the use of I, me, or mine in formal writing. However, Indigenous research insists that the researcher places themselves in it. As Martens (2017), Cree scholar, presents, “as researchers, we have a responsibility and a place in our research; we also have a responsibility to connect with ourselves throughout our processes” (p. 2). Beyond responsibility, Wilson (2009) portends that the researcher is “a part of his or her research and inseparable from the subject of the research” (77). My goal within this thesis is to balance my presence within the research while still stepping back for CTUIR community members the space to speak for themselves as First Food relationship experts.

CHAPTER II

SITUATING OURSELVES

An Introduction to the CTUIR

Since time immemorial, tribes have engaged in reciprocal relationships with their landscapes, waters, plants, and animals (Anderson, 2005). In the face of ongoing pressures of colonization, Indigenous communities worldwide seek to continue to honor, value, and protect these relationships through traditional food practices, their networks, and knowledge (Desmarais & Wittman, 2015). Indigenous communities respond to direct racism and dislocation by the United States government and settlers who focused efforts to dislocate the relationships these peoples had and have with each other, the land, and their foods for their benefit (Corntassel & Hardbarger, 2019; Wolfe, 2006). For this reason, the very practice of perpetuating and strengthening traditional food knowledge dissemination is an act of decolonization. Better yet, it is an act of indigenization.

Like other Tribes in North America, the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation (CTUIR) of northeastern Oregon have equally dealt with external pressures intended to disrupt their communities and disconnect them from their foods. Despite these efforts, the relationships between the CTUIR community and with their lands continue. That does not mean, however, that these relationships have not changed over time. Indeed, due to these external pressures, the CTUIR community has adapted and transformed itself, creating a spectrum of relationships that now exist and connect the CTUIR community with their foods. The community has turned their attention to better understand the current manifestation of these relationships to best inform the education and outreach that can be made available. They are turning to indigenous food sovereignty as a vehicle for healing, seeking societal transformation in relationship with their foods to guide self-determined cultural resurgence.

The CTUIR is proactively centering themselves and their frameworks to self-determine their relationship with First Foods (CTUIR Board of Trustees, 2010; Quaempts, Jones, O'Daniel,

Beechie, & Poole, 2018). Having overcome culturally devastating periods of colonization and assimilation, the CTUIR community has been actively gaining control and restoring their natural resources, building partnerships with agencies, and reinvigorating cultural traditions and tribal knowledge to ensure their sacred covenant with First Foods is protected and the relationships continue (Karson, 2006). The CTUIR's Department of Natural Resources (DNR) explicitly declared their restoration and maintenance of First Foods as preserving both natural and cultural resources when its mission statement adopted a First Food framework (Jones, Poole, Quaempts, O'Daniel, & Beechie, 2008). This collaborative thesis contributes to the CTUIR's persistence in seeking to better understand how to restore and maintain First Foods; in this case, through First Food knowledge transmission.

The collaborative relationships formed during this research process were framed within the context of the COVID-19 pandemic for better or for worse. Creative actions still permitted relationships to form that allowed us to identify the most prioritized and relevant questions to address. Remote and in-person participatory observation and semi-structured interviews allowed me to become acquainted with the CTUIR community, their challenges, and their hopes for First Foods and their community. Project collaboration assisted in building relationships, provided an opportunity to familiarize myself with the CTUIR culture, and for some individuals in the CTUIR community to become familiar with me.

Gathering interviews focusing on First Food knowledge dissemination provided CTUIR community members a platform to share their stories in a formalized way. Recorded and transcribed, these stories further provide insight into the range of CTUIR community member relationships with First Foods that exist and how they have transformed over time. The focus of this project is not to judge the value of these relationships but rather to draw attention to examples of this spectrum of relationships. This focus on relationships is not surprising; relationships are central to Indigenous epistemologies and paradigms. What is worthy of attention is the extent that these

relationships influence the First Food knowledge resources CTUIR community members seek and even impact whether or not they seek First Food knowledge at all.

The Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation (CTUIR) includes the Umatilla (Imatalamłáma), Cayuse (Weyiiletpu), and Walla Walla (Walúulapam) peoples (Engum, 2020; Hunn & Selam, 1990; Cash Cash, 2006). These Tribes historically overlapped, and their peoples interconnected through marriage and annual gatherings, exchanging culture and traditions simultaneously. As told through oral histories and published literature, the ancestral lands ranged from Canada to Northern California and Nevada, from the coast of Washington and Oregon and well into Montana (Figure 1). The heart of these lands is located in what is now northeastern Oregon and southeastern Washington and covering an area of 6.4 million acres (Jones et al., 2008; Jones, Poole, Quaempts, O'Daniel, & Beechie, 2019; Karson, 2006). This interior region is situated on the southern Columbia Plateau following the middle Columbia River, the Snake River, and their tributaries. The current boundaries of the Umatilla Indian Reservation (Reservation) located in northeastern Oregon include 172,000 acres (Schure et al., 2013).

Tribal lands were held in common without individual ownership attached to it where people could harvest and follow a seasonal round of migration. This annual movement of smaller tribal groups followed the harvests that provided the peoples with approximately 135 species of plants as food sources (Jones et al., 2019). The natural resources provided for all their needs, including clothing, shelter, medicines, and the foods they hunted, fished, and gathered coming from the river, floodplain, and upland habitats.

Today, the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation headquarters is located in Mission, OR and within the Tribes' ancestral territory. The CTUIR community has over 3100 enrolled tribal members (About us, n.d.), approximately half of those who live on the Tribe's reservation (Schure et al., 2013). This number does not include the diversity within the CTUIR community as suggested in the CTUIR food system survey which includes: parents/guardian of a

CTUIR Tribal member, partner/spouse of a CTUIR Tribal member, descendant of a CTUIR Tribal member, other Native American, and non-Native American community members (CTUIR Food Systems Assessment, 2020). Further consideration and explanation of the CTUIR community is called attention to in Chapter 3.

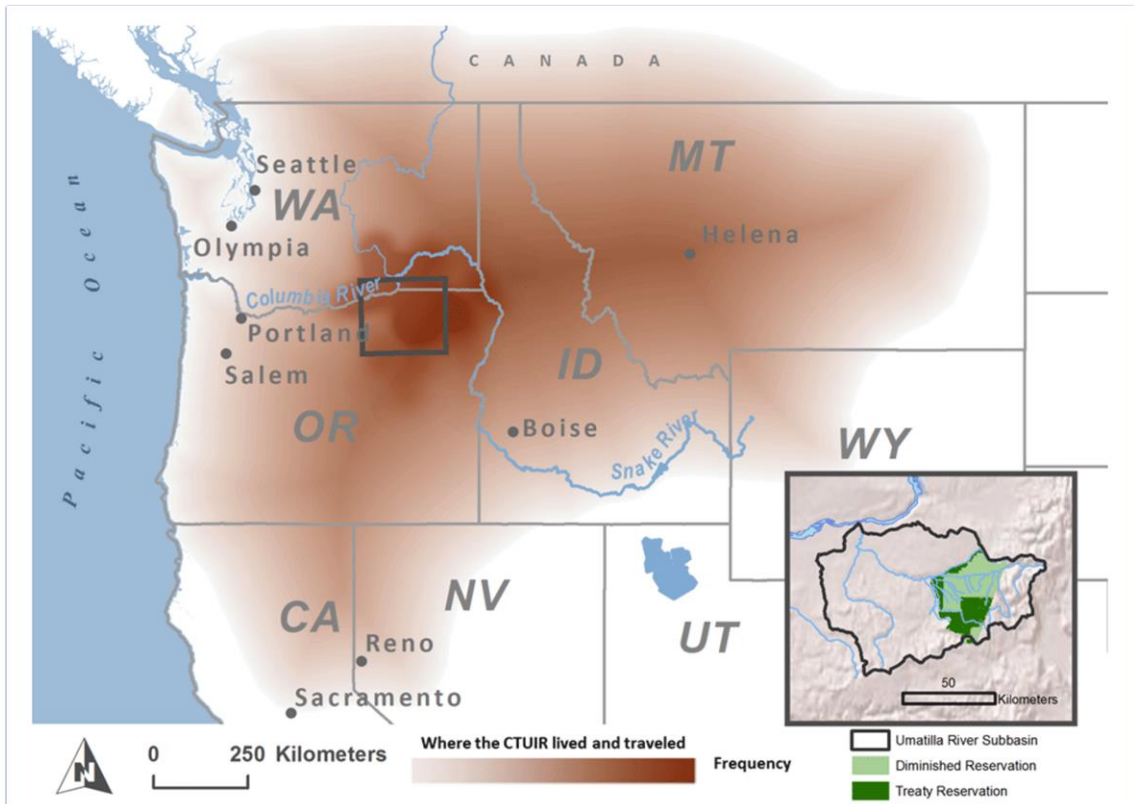


Figure 3 A diffusion map showing the range of traditional CTUIR hunting, fishing, and gathering (Quaempts et al., 2018)

Research Questions

To ensure the most relevant and beneficial research for the CTUIR, the initial questions for this research were based on the goals developed by the CTUIR First Foods and Food System Workgroup for their 2020 CTUIR Food Systems Assessment survey. This survey served as the CTUIR’s first effort to gauge their community’s food system and quantify existing relationships with First Foods. To the extent that my research could verify, this survey also represents the first attempt for a tribe to quantify traditional knowledge. Indeed, Tlingit scholar Sidney Stephens (2000) says

“we are making progress with authentic assessment of all aspects of science but have less experience with the issues of assessing cultural behavior, knowledge and values – things that are critically important to Native communities” (p. 34). Without explicit examples of how to conduct this kind of survey, the CTUIR’s 2020 survey included questions ranging from: “Where do you purchase your food?,” “Do you have any family members or elders in your family to teach you about First Foods and your culture?,” and asking if survey participants had ever eaten each of the 56 named First Foods within the survey.

Through a collaborative and iterative process that spanned a couple of months, we developed two goals to guide the 2020 survey analysis:

- “To better understand the current relationship of the CTUIR community with their First Foods
- To identify tribal interests in traditional and cultural knowledge through education and outreach”

(Farrow-Ferman & Sampson-Samuels, 2020, Dec 2).

The survey was a success: it addressed and answered some of the questions this workgroup had and pointed out areas that required further investigation. Completing the analysis and report, I asked permission to continue exploring these questions through interviews, and the working group granted me permission to proceed.

My research questions emerged directly from the analysis of the CTUIR’s 2020 survey. This thesis’s guiding question became: What factors structure knowledge of First Foods within the CTUIR community? This question addresses why and how current relationships exist between individuals and their First Foods and seeks to identify factors that drive tribal interests for education and outreach. I further developed sub-questions based in response to survey results and informed by

conversations that appeared could benefit from further investigation. The sub-questions that guided the semi-structured interviews (complete list in Appendix A) are grouped as:

- 1) How do different contexts provide First Food education opportunities?
- 2) What barriers have impacted your access to First Foods knowledge?
- 3) What resources or opportunities would be most beneficial for future First Food education?
- 4) How do age/gender impact First Food knowledge transmission?

While these questions guided the semi-structured interview, they are not ultimately the ones addressed in this thesis; the trends in the semi-structured interviews spoke to contexts of relationships that largely were not impacted by age or gender. Rather, the interviews demonstrate that the depth of relationships an individual CTUIR community member has with the CTUIR community and to the land greatly informs the barriers and opportunities they had in acquiring First Food knowledge and ultimately determines the educational opportunities and resources they are drawn to. Ultimately, two questions emerged that guided the analysis of these interviews. These are:

- How do CTUIR community members define or describe First Foods?
- How does an individual's relationship with place and community influence the First Foods knowledge resources and opportunities they use and seek?

Following this guidance, I generate the question that guides this thesis: what conditions support First Food knowledge transmission within the CTUIR community? I argue that where a CTUIR community member falls along a spectrum of closeness in relationships with land and community is the highest indicator not only of their current relationship with First Foods but also the education and outreach opportunities they are drawn to.

This thesis offers a brief history of the CTUIR community to provide localized context, followed by a presentation of Indigenous paradigms and more explicitly a land education theoretical framework that guides this research. Next, I explain the methodological process used to conduct this research and the environment within which the research was conducted, namely the COVID-19 pandemic. I dedicate two chapters to data analysis and exploration: the first explores the diversity of ‘First Food’ definitions that CTUIR community members use and the second demonstrates the spectrum of relationships that CTUIR community members have with place and community that inform their preferences for First Food knowledge transmission.

Brief History of CTUIR

As settlers moved into the Indian lands and what is now the “American West,” they did so on the same trails the Indian peoples used for hunting routes (personal communication). The routes provided access to the settlers, and with them, the settlers brought the ideas of land ownership, private control, and exclusive rights to exploit resources as they determined. The 1800s saw the beginning of Euro-American settlers with fur traders, men who had no desire to transform the Native Americans they met other than to make them partners in trade (Karson, 2006). Evangelicals followed with a desire to not only cultivate souls but also the land, becoming the first settlers to project their immaterial western epistemological ideas and beliefs upon the material lands. The Tribes welcomed the settlers into the area. In response, the Protestant evangelical missionary Samuel Parker informed assembled chiefs that “the missionaries will bring you ploughs and hoes to learn you how to cultivate the land” (Karson, 2006, p. 49). This wave began the external efforts to change these peoples’ connection with the land and their food.

To guarantee space for the Euro-American settlements, Joseph Palmer, the Oregon Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and Isaac Stevens, the Governor of Washington Territory, called together the Walla Walla, Cayuse, and Umatilla to discuss a treaty in May of 1855. After fourteen days of negotiations and final threats of a blood bath, the three Tribes reluctantly ceded all but

291,584 acres of their original 6.4-million-acre homeland (Quaempts et al., 2018). With no choice but to sign, this decision marked a significant change to these tribes by initiating significant changes to their lifestyles and diets. Initially, however, Tribal members continued to leave the Reservation to go to “all other usual and accustomed stations” in search of food, as promised within the Treaty of 1855, to continue their traditional lifeways (Ruby & Brown, 1972). However, the continuation of these lifeways and foodways practices by the Tribes did not make available their lands to the extent desired by the settlers, and both private citizens and the U.S. government enacted further attempts to erase them from their homelands.

Settlers presumed that if traditional Native American “common tenure of land” was obliterated across the United States, Native Americans would become a “component part of the great mass of American citizenship” through shared values that prioritize individual property and production (Prucha, 1973, p. 62). The imagined “Americanized Indian” would potentially free up their remaining land for white settlement and multiple legislative acts throughout the years endeavored to succeed at this. The combined effects of loss of land, forced attendance at boarding schools, relocation, land allotment, and introduction of commodity foods are all examples of assimilation events and efforts that led to changes in the CTUIR’s food systems and relationships with food (Berg, 2007; Hunn & Selam, 1990; Karson, 2006). In 1885, the Umatilla Allotment Act sold 25,000 acres to settlers after allotments portioned lots to Tribal members (Karson, 2006, p. 108). Beyond serving to remove lands from Tribal ownership, allotments created a checkerboard pattern of land ownership that further damages the relationships Tribal members have with their lands by limiting their ability to relate to it in collective and traditional ways.

Nevertheless, the CTUIR community adapted to the circumstances, and migratory and seasonal rounds continued to take people to their traditional places to acquire foods through fishing, hunting, picking berries, and digging roots. However, settlers also continued to settle in the area, and neighboring communities complained about the Native American gathering practices (Lozar, 2013).

Adept at transformation, many CTUIR families shifted their traditional gathering skills to the market economy and became the region's first migrant workers, digging beets and potatoes, picking apples, and harvesting hops throughout Oregon and Washington (Karson, 2006, p. 122). Migrant and seasonal jobs worked well for many people because they allowed flexibility. Following the conclusion of a crop harvest, they could return to their traditional seasonal rounds of hunting and gathering traditional foods. Other reasons contributed to the importance of continuing traditional food procurement besides Tribal member preference for their foods and desire to carry on their traditions. Bureaucratic inefficiencies did not supply either the promised farming implements nor consistent ration distribution (Davenport, 1907). Thus, born out of both necessity and desire to continue traditions, CTUIR families continued with their traditional ways to feed themselves.

Schools were constructed on and off the CTUIR reservation for CTUIR members' children to attend between 1890-1910. The U.S. government sent children to Chemawa Boarding School in Salem, OR or the Umatilla government boarding school and Catholic St. Andrews Mission School on-Reservation (Karson, 2006). Tribal members remember "children were rounded up along the Umatilla River and forced to attend school there" (Karson, 2006, p. 128). As CTUIR Tribal member and Elder Linda Sampson explained at the Food is Resistance: "Living Breath of wələbʔaltx" Symposium, the adaptation to Euro-settler lifeways was "not based on walking away from their way of life, but because they were forcefully ripped from the arms of their grandmothers" (2021). Shame for practicing traditional lifeways became engrained in the students, causing many to choose not to continue practicing them (Anonymous personal communication). Rather than continue their traditional lifeways and foodways, schoolboys learned how to work on barns and with plows while schoolgirls learned "domestic science," which included embroidery and ironing.



Figure 4 CTUIR Boarding School, schoolboys, (Moorhouse, 1906, PH036_5462)



Figure 5 CTUIR Boarding School, schoolgirls (Moorhouse, 1906, PH036_5473)

Regardless of where they went, the time away from their families greatly impacted the ability of their families to transmit traditional lifeways and foodways to their children, immersing them in closely controlled Euro-American lifeways and values (Archuleta, Child, & Lomawaima, 2002).

As mentioned previously, the immaterial Euro-American epistemologies also controlled the physical landscapes and homelands of the CTUIR peoples. Despite the Walla Walla Treaty of 1855's guarantee to the right to fish at traditional and accustomed places, a combination of small

and large acts did not ensure this right. These changes include acts such as damming rivers, pollution, overharvesting, crop irrigation, and mining. Because of this, traditional foods such as salmon, steelhead, lampreys, and mussels declined at a fast rate in the 1900s. In 1953, Congress liquidated these rights to authorize the construction of The Dalles Dam on the Columbia River which would inundate Celilo Falls (Quaempts et al., 2018). For millennia, Celilo Falls had been a sacred place where Plateau Tribes from across the region would gather, feast, and fish salmon together, until 1957 when Tribes from across the region held the Last Salmon Feast of Celilo Falls. As CTUIR Tribal member Antone Minthorn recalls, Indians had always adapted and continued to fish there, first using the fish wheels placed by the dams, then using drift nets, “and that worked for a while as long as there were fish out there, but when the fish started declining, then there was no fish to get into those nets” causing psychological and spiritual distress to an entire people (Hansen, 2005, p. 5). The Tribal government has worked to protect their Treaty-reserved rights, and this case was no different. In 2008, the Tribal government signed the “Salmon Accords,” agreeing to a settlement with the federal Columbia River power system, Bonneville Power Administration, whose purpose is to “restore fish habitat and fish populations in the CTUIR’s areas of rights and interest” (CTUIR Board of Trustees, 2010, p. 83). From the signing of the 1855 Treaty of Walla Walla and continuing today, First Foods have been a political issue taken head-on by the CTUIR Tribal government and recognized as one within the CTUIR community.

Research Following Indigenous Paradigms

Politics are relational. Formal and informal expressions of politics weave together to influence the mental, physical, emotional, and thus metaphysical identity and health at all scales, from the individual to the collective. Political decisions and actions respond to who has power and why, and this extends to the guidance or mandates upon education. Education is relational. Understanding the current level of First Food knowledge present within the CTUIR community

must include attention to its relationships. This thesis intends to focus on the relevance of relationships within food systems, especially within the CTUIR community of northeastern Oregon.

A growing cadre of scholars has situated themselves in academia with an Indigenous worldview, giving attention to Indigenous topics and building a body of work from which to draw (Coté, 2019; Doan-Crider, Hipp, Fight, Small, & Ashley, 2013; Garrouette, 2003; Jäger et al., 2019; Kimmerer, 2018; Lyons et al., 2016; Simpson, 2002; Wilson, 2008; Yang & Tuck, 2012). However, a gap exists in scholarly and activist literature exploring the relational interdependence between First Foods and the relationships individuals have within a community. Scholars understand the role of traditional and food knowledge in Indigenous societies' values and cultural continuity (Norgaard, 2019; Whyte, 2017). Additionally, academic literature explores the revolutionary powers of Indigenizing practices around the world, including holding up and embracing First Food relationships. A subsection of this literature demonstrates the interdependence of Indigenous peoples with their ecosystems through their First Foods. The complexities of these relationships, especially now through the increasing and evolving effects of climate change are being addressed by Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars alike (Chief et al., 2018; Chief, Daigle, Lynn, & Hyte, 2014; Isaac et al., 2018; Lynn et al., 2014; Norgaard, 2019; Power, 2008; Whyte, 2018b). This thesis intends to address the gap through a collaboration with the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation highlighting their efforts to increase First Food knowledge transmission efficacy within their community.

This thesis positions itself within this gap through two paths: 1) by placing in conversation academic definitions of First Food synonyms with CTUIR community member definitions of First Foods and 2) through CTUIR community member interviews that reflect the role of relationships in their First Food knowledge experiences. These two paths surfaced as salient points of analysis through responses from CTUIR community members to questions determined by the First Foods and Food System workgroup.

Furthermore, this research adds to the scholarship regarding Indigenous foodways generally and regarding the CTUIR community and their foods specifically. CTUIR's presence in academic literature exists across a range of fields that highlight the Tribes' engagement with First Foods. Academic literature has sought to understand the physical health of the CTUIR community with a First Foods and diet lens (Donatuto & Harper, 2008; Schure et al., 2013). The literature further provides a breadth of attention to the legal battles waged to ensure treaty rights and First Foods protections (Cruz Guiao, 2013; K. Reid, 2012; "Significant Events in the History of Celilo Falls," 2007). Scientific journals reflect the Tribes' research regarding restoration and management of their First Foods (Gephart, 2009; Harris & Harper, 2011; Jackson & Moser, 2012) and the Tribal values that guide the relationships with those management practices (Quaempts et al., 2018). Aligning more closely with this research thesis and shifting focus to the social science branches of academic literature, articles also exist that discuss the CTUIR's multifaceted relationship with their First Foods. The Oregon Historical Quarterly has documented and published a broad range of CTUIR historical events and topics related to First Foods, including relationships with specific locations (Barber & Fisher, 2007; Hunn, Morning Owl, Cash Cash, & Karson Engum, 2015), and cultural components of food (Dobkins, Hummel, Lewis, Pochis, & Dickey, 2017; Et-twaii-lish, 2005), and CTUIR treaties (Hansen, 2005; Trafzer, 2005). The ethnobotanist Eugene S. Hunn and the Selam family, Columbia River Indians, documented and published on the interwoven connection between history, language, natural resources, religion, and society (Hunn & French, 1981; Hunn & Selam, 1990; Meilleur, Hunn, & Cox, 1990). This collection did provide a broad description of cultural relationships and practices the CTUIR have with foods, however, through its focus on botany it did not include analysis of social structures and historical contexts in general nor in the current context of this thesis. Other literature regarding the CTUIR and their First Foods has been published and made available to themselves and others.

While these articles cover a range of topics that address First Foods' relationships with their community historically, a contemporary analysis has not been conducted to understand the relationships that exist on the Reservation and how they impact First Food knowledge transmission. The following research intends to fill this gap in the literature by highlighting the role of relationships between CTUIR community members as a significant factor that informs whether or not and to what extent community members seek First Food knowledge resources and opportunities. Additionally, this thesis uses two terms to describe the resources and opportunities CTUIR community members seek: independent and interdependent. Thus, the significant spectrum of relationships within the CTUIR community reflects the diversity of resources and opportunities individuals seek. This thesis presents the role of Indigenous paradigms to give context for the relationships that impact the CTUIR community.

Methods and Epistemologies

In the process of writing this thesis, I spent a considerable amount of time learning Indigenous paradigms and epistemologies, or worldviews, to better understand the information and stories I was hearing and to reflect them within their own lens, not the western one familiar to me. For that reason, an introduction to these ideas becomes necessary, preparing for their deeper exploration in chapters 2 and 3. An Indigenous paradigm loosely organizes a set of concepts or collections of ideas that pervade Indigenous cultures (Tendall et al., 2015). Some Indigenous scholars assert that although each Indigenous nation has its own history, relationship with land, and cosmovision, there exist enough shared characteristics and values to validate a pan-Indian paradigm (J. D. Anderson, 2011; G. A. Cajete, 2016; Cantzler & Huynh, 2016; Kidwell, 2002; Rieke, 2017). Bennet (2007) however argues the uselessness of any "pan" Indigenous paradigm. He suggests "that the way that a particular culture formulates its knowledge is intricately bound up with the very identity of its people, their way of making sense of the world, and the value system that holds that worldview in place" (p. 154). Others, such as Algonquin, Cree, and French Métis scholar Lynn

Lavallée (2009) or Plains Cree scholar Margaret Kovach (2009), recognize pan-Indigenous approaches while still conceptualizing and prioritizing nation-specific frameworks. Kovach (2009) writes that “our knowledges cannot be universalized because they arise from our experience with our places” (61). This paper concurs with the possibility of a pan-Indigenous paradigm that reflects Indigenous epistemologies while recognizing the utility of nation-specific, or in this case CTUIR-specific, frameworks and paradigms. As a people’s connection with their knowledge systems creates their identity, so do paradigms that consider questions, challenges, opportunities, and strategies.

Furthermore, the comparison of a centered western paradigm and decentered Indigenous concept has the potential to overcome settler colonization (Snelgrove, Dhamoon, & Corntassel, 2014). The importance of distinguishing Western epistemologies from Indigenous epistemologies requires the differences be stated early and guide the research and research process. Western epistemologies organize themselves through space and time in a linear, unidimensional fashion that is at the same time measurable and placed within a hierarchical context (Fixico, 2003; Getty, 2010; Gilio-Whitaker, 2019; Hiers, n.d.; Kovach, 2009). In contrast, Indigenous epistemologies are place-based, fluid, nonlinear, and relational (Fixico, 2003; Getty, 2010; Gilio-Whitaker, 2019; Kovach, 2009; Lavallée, 2009). This elimination of separation prioritizes relationships over structures of dominance within hierarchical systems. Chapter 2 further explores the key pillars of Indigenous paradigms found within Indigenous epistemologies and methodologies: relationships, respect, and reciprocity. These pillars inform the research process presented in Chapter 3.

Land Education

While epistemologies in general make explicit overarching worldviews that guide a people, theoretical frameworks provide a structure for research. As Lumbee Tribal member Bryan McKinley Jones Brayboy (2005) writes, theoretical frameworks provide an explicit structure to direct the focus of problem analysis and prioritize the topics addressed. Consistent with the methodologies used in this thesis, I prioritized choosing a theoretical framework established by a native scholar to

support telling Indigenous histories and perspectives that further center Indigenous epistemologies. Unangax̄ scholar Eve Tuck and her co-scholars (Tuck, McKenzie, & McCoy, 2014) provide an excellent one to drive this research. They write that “land education” identifies the role of Indigenous cosmologies that center “historical and current contexts of colonization in education on and in relation to land” continuing to say that “specifics of geography and community matter for how (environmental) education can and should be engaged” (1). Here it becomes evident that “relationality” guides this theoretical framework, consistent with Indigenous epistemology and most relevant for this research. Thus, to best analyze First Foods' education, this thesis identifies and acknowledges the interviewees' physical locations and relationships with the community to understand how their education “can and should be engaged.”

Physically, “land” in the context of land education includes all of the earth; the land, waters, and sky everywhere and not just non-urban areas or even the ‘green spaces’ within them. Indeed, 70% of Indigenous school-age youth live in urban areas which makes the case that their stories and experiences need to be examined and included (Bang, Marin, Faber, & Suzukovich, 2013). Furthermore, all land was Indigenous and continues to be. Tuck et al (2014) quote Styres and Zinga (2013) to explain what “Land” means:

‘Land’ (the proper name) extends beyond a material fixed space. Land is a spiritually infused place grounded in interconnected and interdependent relationships, cultural positioning, and is highly contextualized” (Styres and Zinga, 2013, (300–301)

Understanding that ‘land’ is not designated or limited to any one location allows for land education to embrace Indigenous peoples removed from their home territories, accepting that their removal from home territories “does not sever the relationships that Indigenous groups have with their places of origin and their sacred sites” (Calderon, 2014, p. 4).

Still, while land is the whole earth, places “teach particular ways of thinking about and being in the world” (Tuck et al., 2014, p. 9). Accepting that all land is Indigenous does not minimize the unique quality of being close to land. ‘Land’ expresses spirituality and relationality simultaneously:

land is instructive and understood to be the best teacher. Land education “stresses the interrelatedness of being responsible for the many communities (both human and non-human) that are in relationship to the educational process” (Calderon, Lees, Swan Waite, & Wilson, 2021, p. 4). Urban land and areas uniquely offer their teachings as much as a people’s ancestral lands, yet the teachings are also unique due to the inextricable interconnectedness of the spiritual, natural, and human worlds (Tuck et al., 2014).

Tuck and McKenzie’s book (2015), “Place in Research,” further calls attention to a similarity across some Indigenous languages that do not differentiate between time and space. Including both the perspective of temporal and the spatial relationships that individuals have with community and with land insists that Indigenous research considers the place in which the interviewees included here find themselves, the settler-colonial histories of the places, and “pathways to living as separate sovereignties on a shared territory” (Tuck et al., 2014, pg. 19). Place is not only important as an additional element to have a relationship with, but it also provides shared time and location to build relationships.

Land education can help map identities, and the “social and environmental conflicts that affect them”(Tuck, McKenzie, & McCoy, 2014, 5). Tuck et al. (2014) also use land education as a lens that calls attention to concerns that arise from other place-based education that perpetuates European universalism, including “understandings of Indigenous peoples as repositories of static forms of cultural knowledge” (1). Settler-colonial perspectives co-opt Indigenous knowledge and problematize this concept of “static knowledge” to create a sense that an ‘authentic’ Indigeneity exists. In contrast to the nineteenth century’s ‘Ecological Indian’ trope, Indigeneity can and must exist in both rural and urban areas in the face of these harmful stereotypes (Tuck et al., 2014).

This thesis follows a land education theoretical framework by analyzing semi-structured interviews based land education’s framework based on relationality with land and community in three sections: individuals physically distant to the Umatilla Reservation and CTUIR community,

individuals physically close to the Umatilla Reservation yet distant from the CTUIR community, and individuals close to both the Umatilla Reservation and CTUIR community.

Terms

This thesis uses a range of key terms which have different meanings. Additionally, some use of these words, such as capitalization, was specifically informed by Indigenous methodologies and style, such as Gregory Younging's "Elements of Indigenous Style" (Younging, 2018). The following sections will articulate and provide clarity to how and why they are used.

Indigenous

Through the course of this research, I have observed the words Indian, Tribal, Native, Indigenous, Native American, American Indian, and 'NDN' used throughout literature and in conversations (for example, the quote at the beginning of Chapter 3 uses three synonyms within one paragraph). I heard my CTUIR co-researchers and friends most often use "Indian" to refer to themselves, but conversations also confirmed that preferred terms vary from person to person. I ultimately utilize several of these identifying terms when referring to Native individuals and communities, following what felt appropriate. When this research refers to the participants interviewed, I refer to them as 'CTUIR community members,' explained in Chapter 3. . As shown in the Appendix, I asked interviewees to tell me about themselves with the intention that they would share what they were comfortable in sharing. Only one person shared their specific Tribal affiliations in response. Therefore, I do not reference their specific Tribal affiliations.

Much of the academic research included in this report engages with "Indigenous" literature, therefore, when not referring to the CTUIR community members directly, I will often use the term "Indigenous." Indigenous peoples, defined by Anishinaabe scholar Kyle Whyte (2015), are peoples "located around the world (that) exercise cultural and political self-determination in territories dominated by occupying newcomer nations (1)." "Indigenous" reflects a group of people considered

to have a long-term, pre-colonial, and place-based relationship with each other and the land (Breidlid & Botha, 2015).

When referencing the physical and geographic location of the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation, I use the term “Umatilla Reservation” or simply the “Reservation” following the use of CTUIR community members. Also following the usage of CTUIR community members, I use traditional terms in Sahaptian or Ichiskin languages when presented in quotes, in the literature referenced, or used by interviewees.

Elder

During the survey process with CTUIR, we identified Elders in their community as those over 55 years of age. These community members help maintain traditional ways with knowledge and skills they have acquired through life experiences and reflection (Martens, 2017; Younging, 2018). The term “Elder” is capitalized in this thesis to recognize and respect the role of a wisdom-keeper.

First Foods

Chapter 4 dedicates attention to the complexities of the term “First Foods,” both through exploration of its synonyms in academic literature as well as through analysis of definitions provided by CTUIR community members. In the meantime, to use a definition provided by CTUIR’s Department of Natural Resources, First Foods constitute the “minimum ecological products necessary to sustain CTUIR culture,” to be protected, restored, and enhanced “for the perpetual cultural, economic, and sovereign benefit of the CTUIR” (Jones et al., 2008, p. ii).

CHAPTER III

IN RELATION WITH LITERATURE

This chapter presents literature that guided this research and informed my understanding of how to approach it. The first section begins by expanding on the differences between western and Indigenous worldviews, both as a means to help readers new to these worldviews and also present the worldviews that influence the CTUIR community members. It then continues to present Indigenous paradigms and methodologies which informed not only my relationship with the topic but influenced my relationship with the CTUIR community itself, presenting the general ideas further expanded on in Chapter 3 through specific examples of how I utilized them in this research process. The second section provides an overview of food sovereignty and Indigenous food sovereignty. The highest goal of this thesis and research, as presented earlier, is to address the question of First Food knowledge transmission, therefore it is important to place this question within the context of the larger food sovereignty and Indigenous food sovereignty conversations. Placing this section after explaining the difference between western and Indigenous paradigms endeavors to show how food sovereignty and Indigenous food sovereignty also reflect these worldviews.

As introduced earlier, epistemology is the study of knowledge systems or ways of knowing and includes topics that range from logic, truths, belief, perception, language, and science as well as culture, values, way of life, and cosmovision (G. A. Cajete, 2016; Hester & Cheney, 2001; Martens, Cidro, Hart, & McLachlan, 2016). There are two reasons why I choose to I take a moment below to distinguish characteristics of western and Indigenous worldviews. The first reason is because Indigenous worldviews and paradigms were new to me before this research, which I believe could also be true for other readers of this work. Placing the two worldviews next to each other helps highlight the differences and cause reflection on the “ways of knowing” that might have been taken for granted. The second reason I choose to name both worldviews is because, as this thesis will show, there exists a spectrum of worldviews present among the CTUIR community members that

falls along this apparent dichotomy due to reinvention of themselves, both self-driven and externally forced.

That said, this thesis intends to present the importance of framing every component with an Indigenous epistemology to follow Indigenous methodologies. Bennet (2007) writes "that the way that a particular culture formulates its knowledge is intricately bound up with the very identity of its people, their way of making sense of the world, and the value system that holds that worldview in place" (p. 154). Thus, a people's understanding and connection with their knowledge systems create the very concept of their identity, which allows them to engage with the world around them. Epistemology is the way that a people both perceive and exist in the world.

In this thesis's research process, naming the characteristics of western epistemology makes visible the invisible by helping distinguish the fundamental differences between Indigenous and Western epistemologies. These differences influence every part of life and thus this research. Building fluency with these conflicting discourses is key to the effective transformation of thinking and the ability to engage with new ways of knowing and seeing the world (L. T. Smith, 2012). CTUIR Water Codes, a CTUIRpublished article, includes language that calls attention to Western world views by identifying the world of the non-Indians to be linear "where life begins and ends in a series of events" (Hiers, n.d., p. 547). Similarly, Confederated Colville scholar Dina Gilio-Whitaker (2019) points out that Western knowledge systems organize themselves temporally and linearly, creating a "unidimensional world in which human existence is perceived as motion through space" (p. 139). Time and space are both broken down into measurable and commodified units to ensure the "appropriate" march towards "progress," measuring and judging by where the demarcations fall on this path implying there is one best way for all. Western epistemology's path towards a higher level of superiority, in turn, creates "systems of hierarchy" (p. 139). It is this hierarchy that obscures and can destroy respectful and reciprocal relationality.

In contrast to Western epistemology, Indigenous epistemologies share concepts of place-based fluid and nonlinear relationality (Kovach, 2009). The CTUIR Water Code aligns with this pan-Indigenous worldview:

"The world of the natitayt [Indian] is circular and continuous. Natítaytwít is tamánwit (religion/law), it is láqayxit (light), it is ha?ášwit (air/breath), it is táatpas (dress/clothing), it is iniit (dwelling/house), it is tkwátat (food), it is sinwit (speech), it is tiičám (land), it is čúuš (water) and it is the natitayt (Indian). All are one and inseparable." Quoted within (Hiers, n.d.)

These interconnected components within Indigenous epistemologies and specifically from the CTUIR worldview demonstrate relationships based on reciprocity and respect, as will be defined in the sections below. Cyclical thinking, found within Indigenous cultures across North and South America, acknowledges the cycles within the world. The Quechua scholar Mariaelena Huambachano understands cyclical thinking as the elimination of beginning and end acknowledging that "what one does today (birth) will affect one in the future (rebirth)" (Huambachano, 2019a, pg 96).

Indigenous peoples understand inseparable relationships between water and land, humans, and their spirit world. Gilio-Whitaker interprets Indigenous epistemology as one that emphasizes "human linkages with place, and all the elements of that place, spanning time" (p.139) in a relationship so strong that it eliminates the separation between people and land as well as the dualities of human and nonhuman. Algonquin, Cree, and French Métis scholar Lynn Lavallée (2009) expands this web of relationships to include the physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual aspects between all living things, the earth, and the universe. Because of the connection between these entities, all life is considered sacred. These respected relationships form the base of Indigenous place-based knowledge systems (Fixico, 2003; Getty, 2010). Thus, the *concept of knowing becomes an expression of relating*, and this quality provides the foundation upon which Indigenous paradigm pillars draw, explored further below (Wilson, 2008).

Indigenous Paradigm

I follow the fundamental pillars of Indigenous relationships and Indigenous research to guide this thesis' methods and structure; respect, relationality, and reciprocity. As a non-Native person, I r and follow Indigenous epistemologies and frameworks to guide my academic work and the methods used to conduct this research (expanded on in Chapter 3). Attending to the central pillars of Indigenous epistemology can shift, reconstruct, and fundamentally transform policy, posture, and practice (Barnhardt & Kirkness, 2001). Indigenous scholars name key components of Indigenous research paradigms, and three of the most common pillars are explored below: relationships, respect, and reciprocity (Kovach, 2009; Wilson, 2008). Some scholars also include relevance and responsibility (Adams, Scott, Prince, & Williamson, 2014; Barnhardt & Kirkness, 2001; Mui et al., 2019), but they are incorporated into the value of respect within this paper. The pillars interweave and often describe rather than define the components; similarly, each stand on their own yet are simultaneously interdependent, as explored below

Relationships

Relationships and relational accountability are central to Indigenous methodologies and knowledge systems between individuals and human collectives, people and all of Creation, and with the spirit realm (Jäger et al., 2019; Kovach, 2009; L. T. Smith, 2012; Wilson, 2008). These relationships depend on respect, trust, honor, and mutual responsibility (Whyte, 2017); trust development becomes especially important within cultures with a historical backdrop of oppression such as many indigenous communities (Burnette & Sanders, 2014). In addition, relationships and relationality recognize the inherent collaboration between people and entities necessary for authentic progress, process, and ceremony.

The nonlinear quality of relationality within Indigenous epistemologies highlights cross- or intergenerational relationships within Indigenous communities. The importance of relationships rooted in relational understandings with the present, past, future, and cross-generational frames

shape relationships and knowledge shared across generations (Budowle, Arthur, & Porter, 2019). With this in mind, we can understand how the western idea of the "nuclear" or immediate family attempted to subvert the extended and interwoven kinships of Indigenous relationships (Corntassel & Hardbarger, 2019). Furthermore, when the power of relationships to span time is recognized, connections and continued relationships are held accountable to ancestors (Barnhardt, 2007; Breidlid & Botha, 2015). Relationships in this sense are not limited by time.

Within Indigenous paradigms, relationships do maintain a place-based component. Academic literature has extensively documented the extent to which Indigenous relationships with the land influence their lifeways and worldviews (K. Anderson, 2005; Budowle et al., 2019; Corntassel & Hardbarger, 2019; Gilio-Whitaker, 2019; Norgaard, 2019). Land education explicitly presents the role of land in education (Tuck et al., 2014). Land-based relationships have sustained Indigenous peoples for generations, giving sustenance and influencing the ability of a people to maintain collective continuance, perpetuating the development of identity and shared values through experiences. Anishinaabe scholar Kyle P. Whyte (2017) identifies an inherent dependence on relationships for a societies' collective continuance, or "overall adaptive capacity to maintain its members' cultural integrity, health, economic vitality, and political order into the future" (10). Whyte understands the connection of these relationships to particular ecologies and the specific knowledge and culture associated with that place as fundamental. This becomes important to consider when developing resources, such as First Food knowledge transmission resources, and a significant portion of the CTUIR community lives at a distance from their ancestral lands.

Knowledge, collectively generated and thus collectively owned, depends on these authentic relationships (Kovach 2009). Indigenous worldviews makes authentic relationships necessary for Indigenous research. Wilson (2008) underscores the incredible role of relationships when he explains that the new or strengthened relationships created through research are the greatest benefit of research. To the extent that Western research attempts to "eliminate" the researcher and present

data and analysis without relationality, research becomes dangerous by miscommunicating the context within which it exists. Wilson (2008) quotes Indigenous scholar E. Hampton explaining that when "we try to cut ourselves off at the neck and pretend an objectivity that does not exist in the human world, we become dangerous, to ourselves first, and then to the people around us" (56). The research and the researcher must be placed within the context of those around them so that an authentic relationship exists between participants, research, and researchers. From this perspective, Wilson believes the alchemy of what different individuals, creatures, or entities manifest through new relationships makes research sacred and thus begets the name of his book, *Research is Ceremony*.

Reciprocity

The pillar of reciprocity in both Indigenous research and Indigenous worldviews incorporates a sense of responsibility to relationships. The concept of reciprocity for the CTUIR is grounded in their Creation story and the covenant between humans and all other life forms, acknowledging the care and exchange between two entities (Quaempts, Jones, O'Daniel, Beechie, & Poole, 2018). When the First Foods, discussed in more detail in Chapter 4, gave their lives to feed humans, the humans promised to reciprocate the care and responsibility to them. Quechua scholar Maria Elena Huambachano (2019a) quotes Anishinaabe activist Winona LaDuke suggesting that reciprocity "plays a key role in defining the ethical behaviors between humans and nonhumans within natural law (that) encompass the values of respect and gratitude (pg. 95)." Indigenous research, like natural law, expects all participants, academics, and community members to learn and share. It is not just for a researcher to come and learn and take, but the researcher must also share and give in gratitude and reciprocity. Barnhardt and Kirkness (2001) emphasize that deliberate efforts to be accessible and vulnerable allow for more successful reciprocity and authentic relationships. The pillar of reciprocity builds trust in relationships and knowledge sharing from both sides of the relationship, recognizing a responsibility and responsiveness within relationships.

Between individuals, gift-giving is a way to give back to another, and tribal-specific protocol determines how and which gifts best fulfill this exchange. Gifts such as sharing time, experience, and knowledge challenge researchers to participate in thoughtful and respectful reciprocation of time and energy (Tobias, Richmond, & Luginaah, 2013). Research within communities and with individuals following Indigenous research methodologies can follow the practice of gift-giving to fulfill reciprocity. To practice research together, the act of being invited into the community, having trusted connections that introduce me to other community members, and having strangers share a part of their life story all demonstrate significant efforts very worthy of reciprocity. Annishnabe scholar Whyte explains that responsibilities are necessary to be in respectful relationships with others (2017). The reciprocal patterns of responsibilities by and of various parties and their roles produce accountability in the relationship. Recognizing the responsibility to someone or something that gives of themselves, either by giving their body, story, or time more respectfully and responsibly following their wishes. By following CTUIR's formal and informal protocol in small and big ways, I hope to have reciprocated the energy they gave me (further explained in Chapter 3).

Respect

Potawatomi scholar Robin Kimmerer (2018) understands respect and reciprocity as imperative components of knowledge in a cultural context. She explains that grounded in respect, plant and First Food knowledge revitalization must "incorporate responsibility for the knowledge...in Indigenous pedagogy, knowledge is always coupled with responsibility" (pg. 45). Adding to responsibility, she understands that when knowledge or experience is shared, it becomes the responsibility of the person receiving it to not simply "extract" it but to recognize and reciprocate credit to the pro generator of the knowledge. As an Indigenous paradigm, this truth guides Indigenous research as much as Indigenization within Indigenous communities.

Built into respect are the ethics of responsibility, goodness, and well-being, rather than a sense of dominance or control (Bredlid & Botha, 2015). Chickasaw scholar Eber Hampton, quoted

within Barnhardt and Kirkness (2001), defines respect as a relationship "recognized as mutually empowering" (9) and connected with self-determination and relevancy. Other scholars also comment on the need for self-determination for respectful and meaningful relationships to form (Levkoe, Ray, & McLaughlin, 2019; Morrison & Brynne, 2016). Demonstrations of respect range from showing accountability to Indigenous protocols (Tobias et al., 2013) to acknowledging Indigenous knowledge and authority regardless of institutional recognition (Peltier, 2018; Younging, 2018).

If a Tribal partner recognizes and self-determines knowledge as valuable, a researcher practicing Indigenous research accepts that, regardless of where it is published or not. Thus, respect legitimizes and centers Indigenous knowledge and practices, aligning with the primary goal of Indigenous research methodologies. Cherokee Nation scholar Eva Garrouette (2003) writes that

"Entering tribal relations implies maintaining respect for community values in the search for knowledge. This respect is much more than an attitude, it requires real commitments and real sacrifices on the part of those who practice it" (107).

Like a braided chain, relationships, reciprocity, and respect each exists independently and interdependently simultaneously.

Prioritizing Indigenous leadership needs to be present in every stage of the research project, and that begins with the research question defined from the community (Getty, 2010; Kovach, 2009; Wilson, 2008). Contrary to how much Western academic research is conducted, respecting Indigenous authority insists that the research conducted be determined by the community itself. This necessitates that the questions that guide the research are relevant to the community's needs (Snow, 2018). Such prioritization requires respectful treatment of schedules, ensuring that Indigenous leaders have the time and space to determine key aspects of their knowledge to protect and contribute to research (Whyte, 2018b). Michif and trawlwoolway¹ scholars Walter and Anderson (2013) ask researchers to reflect on the Indigenous community's participation: are they

¹ Lower-case name follows author's use.

acting as active participants or engaged specialists? To this, Walter and Anderson say, "we need to be leaders, not helpers" (135). Respectful Indigenous methodologies center Indigenous voices, not with western knowledge systems but on their own and for themselves. Indigenous research respects Indigenous communities as the partnering community and centers Indigenous worldviews which inform and direct every element of research development, implementation, and production.

Food Sovereignty and Indigenous Food Sovereignty

From what I understand, the CTUIR's recent initiative to understand the current level of First Food knowledge within their community began with conversations using the term "food sovereignty." CTUIR's Yellowhawk Health Center brought Vicky Karhu, a First Nations Development Institute trainer and co-author of the 2nd Edition of their Food Sovereignty Assessment Tool, to offer a two-day workshop in 2019 to the CTUIR community. By the end of this workshop, CTUIR community participants collectively produced a plan to assess their community's food sovereignty. The CTUIR completed the first step of this plan by completing the food system survey even though the term "food sovereignty" did not follow the process to the end. Including food sovereignty literature within this paper not only addresses the context of their preliminary efforts, but it also places the CTUIR's process in context with other Indigenous movements engaged with similar work.

International scholars and activists coined the term "food sovereignty" to respond to weakened relationships through the globalization of the agricultural trade and reduced national self-sufficiency. The grassroots group, La Vía Campesina (LVC), first defined food sovereignty in 1996 as "the right of each nation to maintain and develop its own capacity to produce its basic foods respecting cultural and productive diversity" (Claeys, 2012, p 4 quoting La Vía Campesina). Food sovereignty, therefore, operates at a plurality of scales; around the world, movements manifest through social grassroots efforts as well as projects that engage the United Nations. The LVC is a trans-national movement representing indigenous communities, peasants, small-scale farmers, farm

works, and fisherfolk from 164 organizations in 73 countries (Claeys, 2012; Meek, 2020; Wittman, Wiebe, & Desmarais, 2010). The definition has responded to its constituents by evolving over time. LVC's most recent iteration of food sovereignty in 2007 defines it as "the right of peoples to healthy and culturally appropriate food produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods, and their right to define their own food and agriculture systems" (La Vía Campesina, 2007). By beginning this definition with the "right of peoples," the LVC situates the definition in contrast to global institutions whose authority over-rules or overwhelms some peoples' ability to self determine their food system. Also, this "right to define" potentially implies the role, and the right, of recognized alternative worldviews to inform the food systems of a people within their natural environment.

Some scholars understand the food sovereignty definition and its attention to the rights of peoples to stand as a movement or paradigm against the global neoliberal model (Alkon, 2013; A. H. Alkon & Mares, 2012; Claeys, 2012; Copeland, 2019; Coté, 2016b; Rosset, 2008). Although food sovereignty's rights-based focus attempts to challenge the neoliberal assumption by re-centering small-scale farmers, other scholars believe it remains within a neoliberal framework. Norgaard believes that this same focus on the individual, small-scale farmer keeps food sovereignty within a neoliberal framework because the key unit of social analysis is the individual rather than collective and community-based units (2019). In some areas, the individual farm units are remnants of land colonization as settlers pushed their frontiers to acquire land, framing land as a commodity. Yang and Unangax' scholar Eve Tuck (2012) quote Quechua scholar Sandy Grande saying that "both Marxists and capitalists view land and natural resources as commodities to be exploited, in the first instance, by capitalists for personal gain, and in the second by Marxists for the good of all (4)." This persistent view of exploitation, at an individual level and with a relationship of ownership over natural resources, limits food sovereignty's ability to visualize a transformational shift from Western hegemonic beliefs such that Indigenous food sovereignty offers.

The limited perspective of “owner” and “property” based on the concept of natural resource gain eliminates reciprocity, shown previously as a key aspect of Indigenous paradigms. Reciprocity denies the exploitation of resources and people. Grey and Patel (2015) explore the friction of “owner” and “property,” profoundly shifting the concepts from their almost neutral expressions; Indigenous relationships to land are so familial and kin-like that commodification of land was understood by Indigenous people as enslavement. The commodification of land is a "simultaneously physical, economic, social, and metaphysical rupture, as well as an emotional and intellectual blow" (Grey & Patel, 2015: 437). The act of land ownership for production, regardless of whether or not it is for an individual or collective good, still produces a violent blow upon Indigenous peoples. Regardless of improved land management and consumption patterns, owned and controlled lands perpetuate colonized systems upon Indigenous communities and Indigenous lands (Daigle, 2019a; Yang & Tuck, 2012).

Unlike food sovereignty, Indigenous food sovereignty aligns closely with Indigenous research and research methodologies (Martens, 2017). Some academics could argue there is no distinction between Indigenous food sovereignty and food sovereignty since the inception of the term "food sovereignty" did include Indigenous voices although I have not seen that explicitly stated in academic literature. That said, I have also not found a list naming the Indigenous representation present besides language stating that La Vía Campesina includes "indigenous communities from Asia, America, and Europe" (La Vía Campesina, 2006). While Indigenous peoples played a role in this process, it remains unclear if these efforts attempted to reflect a worldwide pan-Indian perspective or if their contributions were adequately included. Some scholars believe Indigenous food sovereignty has not adequately been addressed in the LVC literature (Rudolph & McLachlan, 2013). Regardless, Indigenous activists and scholars have begun to distinguish an Indigenous (sometimes Native American) food sovereignty. The new terms recognize that ‘food sovereignty’ does not fully express Indigenous paradigms and relationships with food (Coté, 2016; Daigle, 2019b;

Jäger et al., 2019; Martens et al., 2016; McMullen, 2012; Mihesueah & Hoover, 2019; Morrison, 2020; Native American Food Sovereignty Alliance; Ray et al., 2019; Whyte, 2016).

Dawn Morrison (2011), founder of British Columbia's Working Group on Indigenous Food Sovereignty (WGIFS) and Secwepemc activist, presents an explanation often referred to in academia that says:

“Indigenous food sovereignty describes, rather than defines, the present day strategies that enable and support the ability of Indigenous communities to sustain traditional hunting, fishing, gathering, farming and distribution practices, the way we have done for thousands of years prior to contact with the first European settlers” (97–98).

Food sovereignty, aligned with Indigenous paradigms, becomes more normative in its ability to engage with decolonization theories and potentially transform food systems. Morrison participated in meetings, forums, workshops, and discussion groups with Indigenous Elders, traditional harvesters, and community members that developed four pillars of Indigenous food sovereignty which include:

- "(1) Sacred sovereignty, that food is a sacred gift from the creator;
- (2) Participatory, that it (food) is a call to action and that people have a responsibility to uphold and nurture healthy and interdependent relationships with the ecosystem that provides the land, water, plants, and animals as food;
- (3) Self-determination, that food sovereignty needs to be placed within a context of indigenous self-determination with the freedom and ability to respond to community needs around food;
- (4) Policy, to provide a restorative framework for reconciling indigenous food and cultural values with colonial laws and policies” (Morrison, 2021).

These pillars, respected as relevant within Indigenous communities, have entered into academic journals through inclusion by scholars building a body of work around the idea of Indigenous food

sovereignty (Armstrong, 2010; Desmarais & Wittman, 2015; Huambachano, 2019a; Wittman, 2012).

As identified within Morrison's Indigenous food sovereignty pillars, food is sacred. This fundamental difference named within Indigenous food sovereignty and not food sovereignty informs the two frameworks' distinguishing components. Also from Canada, the Indigenous Circle of People's Food Policy Project embraces the idea of "food as sacred, part of the web of relationships with the natural world that define culture and community" (Whyte, 2013). Reflecting Indigenous paradigms, "sacred" and "secular" distinctions express the differences between personal/impersonal, independent/interdependent, and ultimately space/time (Grande, 2004). The significance of space, or land, connects Indigenous peoples to sacred sites, family, tribe, ancestors, and the plants and animals. These inherently sacred relationships with plants and animals informs the position of the Indigenous food sovereignty paradigm in the development of movements and policies regarding their First Foods.

Beyond food sovereignty, Indigenous food sovereignty's pillar of participation further focuses on cultural responsibilities and relationships. Côté (2016), a Tseshah/Nuu-chah-nulth First Nation scholar, explains that Indigenous relationships and responsibilities to their foods and food knowledge require examining the efforts made to restore relationships. Côté emphasizes responsibility, mutuality, kinship, and relationship as prerequisites for Indigenous food sovereignty. Cree scholar Tabitha Martens (2017) reflects on her participation in an Indigenous food sovereignty project that forged a deeper connection with her own identity and the movement itself:

"If you cannot identify and reflect on your own heritage, it is not possible to move on a pathway towards Indigenous food sovereignty. The movement needs Indigenous voices. I found out that relationships are key to creating a network of supports and friends to help guide the way and redevelop Indigenous food systems." (pg. 10).

Marten's reflections call attention beyond the relationships that participation builds between humans and the ecosystem, but she also highlights the role of participation in deepening her relationship with her community and her own identity through Indigenous food sovereignty.

Morrison proposes that Indigenous food sovereignty provides a framework for Indigenous values to influence and reconcile colonial laws and as such Indigenous food sovereignty must be political. This distinction between Indigenous food sovereignty from food sovereignty demonstrates its role not as an alternative food system as seen by some but rather a framework for counter-hegemonic goals grounded in indigeneity (Figueroa-Helland, Thomas, & Aguilera, 2018). An Indigenous food sovereignty paradigm fosters "labor and decision-making based on communality, reciprocity, consensus, equity, and intersectional social justice" (Figueroa-Helland, Thomas, & Aguilera, 2018, p. 182). In so much as Indigenous food sovereignty can inform Indigenous reconciliation on colonial laws in present days contexts, Whyte (2013) understands Indigenous food systems' role in maintaining "its member's cultural integrity...and political order into the future" (355). Native Hawaiian scholar Alma M.O. Trinidad (2012) reminds us that Indigenous politics must be place-based, "food democracy requires that people develop the knowledge and skills necessary to actively participate in society and to have an impact on a different political level (p. 10). Whyte further shows that the systems of responsibilities between a people and their food create a feedback loop of knowledge, "through which members of a collective can evaluate whether certain traditions should continue, change, or be allowed to expire" (Whyte, 2016, para. 12.37). Food creates spaces where struggles and joys of imagining and maintaining unique social relations continue.

Continuing to explore Morrison's Indigenous food sovereignty pillars, her self-determination pillar presents the collective as having an option to control how to realize and perhaps even define Indigeneity in our contemporary world. As Anishinaabe scholar Kyle Whyte (2018) explains, "collective self-determination refers to a group's ability to provide the cultural, social, economic, and

political relations needed for its members to pursue good lives" (p. 67). Self-determination refers to, in this context, the collective option to allow "its constituent members adapt so as to protect the valued aspects of the members' quality of life" (Whyte, 2015, p. 8). A component of self-determination is that it requires identity. As Cree scholar Tabitha Martens (2017) says, self-determination "involves a movement of Indigenous people understanding who they are and what that looks and feels like. Only from that point can we define food systems and all that is necessary to defend them" (p. 9). Martens agrees with Whyte and the role of identity in guiding self-determination within Indigenous food sovereignty, yet she also focuses on the collective. Within this research, I am aware of the collect but rather focus on individual perspectives of self-determination in response to the structure of the interviews.

In conclusion, Indigenous paradigms in themselves and Indigenous food sovereignty specifically demonstrate both the lens to understand First Foods and the roles they play in Indigenous communities. The three elements of Indigenous paradigms, relationality, respect, and reciprocity, underscore all components of Indigenous worldviews and their potential futurity. These elements thus inform Indigenous food sovereignty. In this next chapter, I present how Indigenous paradigms also inform the process and methods which guided this thesis.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY: RESEARCH CAN BE CEREMONY

By asking scholars to enter (rather than merely study) Tribal philosophies, Radical Indigenism asks them to abandon any notion that mainstream academic philosophies, interpretations, and approaches based upon them are, in principle, superior. The demand that researchers enter Tribal philosophies cannot stand by itself. If the adoption of those philosophies is to be something more than mere appropriation and exploitation of Native cultures, it must be accompanied by researchers entering Tribal relations. Entering Tribal relations implies maintaining respect for community values in the search for knowledge. This respect is much more than an attitude, it requires real commitments and real sacrifices on the part of those who practice it.

(Garrouette, 2003, pg. 107) quoted in *Placing Indigenous Traditional Ecological Knowledge at the Center of Our Research and Teaching* (Jacob et al., 2018)

Research methodologies reflect researchers' epistemologies through norms and practices in which they carry out research (Kovach, 2009; Martens et al., 2016; Wilson, 2008). Because of this, research can become a tool for decolonization when Indigenous methods are centered and legitimized, claiming space and place for Indigenous knowledge (Kovach, 2009). One Native saying speaks directly to what Indigenous methods try to influence and change: "Researchers are like mosquitos; they suck your blood and leave (Cochran et al., 2008, 22)." Indigenous research intends to remove the objectifying and abusive qualities of dominant research methods. Western grounded research practices have historically been extractive, pathologizing, and objectifying of Indigenous peoples, lands, and knowledges; such research perpetuates colonization. Maori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith (L. T. Smith, 2012) expands the decolonizing goal of Indigenous methodologies suggesting they support Indigenous communities in self-determination by promoting transformation, mobilization, and healing. To this end, I centered Indigenous research methodologies throughout this research process by prioritizing relationality, identifying reciprocal actions to include, and recognizing Indigenous authority over this process.

However, because I am not an Indigenous person and cannot fully embody Indigenous research, I complement this framework with anti-colonial methodologies. The qualitative research

methods adopted for this research intend to appropriately and respectfully explore CTUIR community members' experiences related to their First Foods.

Indigenous Methodologies

Opaskwayak Creek Nation scholar Shawn Wilson (2008) explains how Indigenous peoples' research methods, used since time immemorial, are based on observing and interacting with their biological and social environments. The relational quality of Indigenous epistemology, introduced in Chapter 1, forms the reality of Native peoples; Indigenous research paradigm and methodologies likewise center relational accountability (Wilson, 2008). Maori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith's (1999) *Decolonizing Methodologies* is considered the first literature to present the need for Indigenous-led and centered methodologies through overarching concepts that encompass shared Indigenous epistemologies and values. Kovach (2009) notes that decolonizing theory is not the perfect tool as it still initiates from the 'colonial' and does not center Indigenous views. Recent years have seen a growth in Indigenous-based methodologies as Indigenous scholars build a body of literature to reference. Indigenous scholars continue to develop specific methods that reflect their own Tribal nation's epistemologies through frameworks and methodologies (Kovach, 2009; Lavallée, 2009).

Indigenous research methodologies and approaches align with Indigenous worldviews (Held, 2019; Kovach, 2009; Peltier, 2018; L. T. Smith, 2012; Walter & Anderson, 2013; Wilson, 2008). Getty (2010) explains that Indigenous research methodologies perform a paradigm shift, making possible the creation of other "cognitive map(s) that guide inquiry" (11). In terms of this research project, the map that guided inquiry initiated the moment the CTUIR First Food and Food System Workgroup began working with me and the process we took to develop this research question. Smith (2009) advocates for centering Indigenous principles, concerns, and worldviews in a manner that claims power by the participants and their communities.

Anti-Colonist Methodologies

To conduct Indigenous research, it must exist entirely within an Indigenous worldview and utilize Indigenous values. Values and worldviews develop over a lifetime in relation with community. While sincere, respectful relationships raise awareness of other paradigms, they cannot account for a lifetime of lived experience. As a non-Indigenous person, can I conduct Indigenous research? Kovach (2009) identifies Indigenous methodologies as requiring situational appropriateness, a methodology only fully actualized when existing in the whole context. She continues, “situational appropriateness then asks the questions: Do you have an Indigenous worldview, history, and experiences? Can you position your process in an Indigenous worldview and framework?” (161-162). Values and worldviews develop over a lifetime in relation to community, and while sincere, respectful relationships raise awareness to other paradigms, they cannot account for lived experience. Thus, Indigenous research can only be conducted by Indigenous scholars. Non-Native American scholars can strive to become knowledgeable about worldviews and their protocols. However, reading about the values grounded in epistemologies and ontologies of another people will never equal embodying them. Neither does proximity enable full adoption of another’s culture or worldview. Self-location, as Kovach presents, is a primary step of Indigenous research, and I self-locate as a settler.

In response to this, I turn to an anti-colonial approach to guide this research. Bredlid and Botha (2015) understand the purpose of this approach to engage with hegemonic, colonizing formations “in order to expose and undermine their marginalizing tendencies and attempt to re-order the relations of knowledges and power to privilege a select few” (320). Elizabeth Carlson (2017) presents anti-colonial methodologies for settler researchers, posing that settler-colonial research promotes anti-colonial, decolonial, and solidarity content. It must occur in relationship and meaningful dialogue with Indigenous peoples and draw upon work by Indigenous scholars. She then articulates anti-colonial research methodology for settlers through eight principles: 1) resistance to

and subversion of settler colonialism, 2) relational and epistemic accountability to Indigenous peoples, 3) land/place engagement and accountability, 4) egalitarian, participatory, and community-based methods, 5) Reciprocity, 6) self-determination, autonomy, and accountability, 7) social location and reflexivity, and 8) wholism. These principles guided my engagement and research process while working with the CTUIR community.

Indigenous Research in the Time of COVID

It was my responsibility to respect CTUIR authority and honor the reciprocity of the relationships I made within the context of this research (Wilson, 2008). When considering the importance of relationships, it is essential to note that the context of this research process is set in the context of the global COVID-19 pandemic. In response to the Tribal government's concern for their community and their Elders, the CTUIR government placed restrictions on gatherings in March of 2020. As a result, these restrictions canceled in-person meetings, trainings, celebrations, and ceremonies. This also included a restriction of movement for Tribal members and CTUIR staff within 75-miles of their homes. Thus, COVID impacted my ability to build relationships through these missed opportunities to get to know community members.

Still, opportunities presented themselves in the face of these limitations. In the spring, the First Food and Food Systems Working group granted me permission to volunteer in the CTUIR community garden, and I was fortunate to build relationships with Yellowhawk Health Center staff, Talia Tewawina, who managed the space. This was a great opportunity to share space and become accustomed to the pace of the Reservation as people inevitably walked by to see what we were doing. Conversations with CTUIR staff provided invaluable perspective through stories, laughter, and tears shared over beds of tomatoes and strawberries. In the face of COVID, this time was precious. The First Food and Food System Working group invited me to join some of their outings in the fall. I gladly accepted; for one thing, I had only met most of them via Zoom meetings at that point. This introduced me to a wider group of individuals and gave me face-to-face contact with

some working group members in the context of work they loved: picking berries and digging roots. Additionally, I participated in meetings, trainings, and seminars that would have been difficult if not impossible to attend otherwise if not for their virtual formats such as bi-weekly First Food and Food System workgroup meetings, the Living Breath of wələbʔaltx^w Indigenous Foods Symposium (Morrison, 2021), CTUIR-led cooking classes, and Nez Perce language classes.

Indigenous Research Pathways

Indigenous paradigms shift research from being done *on* Indigenous communities to *with* them (Martens et al., 2016). The Indigenous paradigms presented in Chapter 2 that prioritize relationships, respect, and reciprocity guide Indigenous research methodologies and inform how this research process can exist as an act of anti-colonial work. The pursuit of building relationships, using respect, and working towards reciprocity is worth the effort and attempt to position researchers as allies in Native American self-determination efforts.

CTUIR Research Authority

This research recognized CTUIR authority over this process which follows the Indigenous Foods Knowledges Network's guiding principles, "Indigenous communities have authority over research projects that affect them" (Behe et al., 2017, p. 3). In early 2020, the First Food and Food System Working Group conducted a food system survey and sought a data analyst. Through initial conversations with the previous Food System Coordinator, the CTUIR First Foods and Food System Work Group received my application and invited me on as their intern to conduct analyses of their survey data. Following the completion of the data analysis project, I asked permission to continue the research through interviews, which they granted me permission to do.

With the Working Group's permission to continue, I sought formal permission to develop a collaborative research process from the CTUIR Communications Department. The document that the Communications Department ultimately accepted informed the University of Oregon's Institutional Review Board (IRB). The CTUIR research permission documentation includes

language that ensures the data gathered can be used to write this thesis, but at no point can I reprint or present the research without first consulting with CTUIR, indefinitely. CTUIR protocol also requires researchers to provide a \$50 honorarium to all participants involved, and this was added to the University's IRB. As a small effort to personalize my gratitude, I additionally sent a thank you card with a small art patch to each interviewee. Additionally, I attempted to include the CTUIR leaders working with me as co-researchers within the University's IRB. However, challenges with this process made this impossible, specifically the prohibitively time-intensive demands required to meet University protocols, and the final IRB submission did not recognize the valuable role of Tribal co-researchers. Finally, as defined in the research permission contract, I provided the Tribes with all material resulting from this project, and they maintain sole ownership of them.

Further efforts also ensured I followed CTUIR protocols. For example, I asked for suggestions on how I could follow Tribal protocol during interviews. To this, CTUIR Tribal member and staff Teara Farrow Fermin reiterated a message to me: "Don't interrupt. Listen. And don't interrupt" (personal communication). I can only imagine that this message responded to previous experiences with researchers who engaged with her community members, ultimately dominating conversations and processes. This message resonated in my mind while conducting the interviews, simultaneously trying to balance listening while also engaging in a way that authentically built relationships in the short time we shared together.

Question Formation

Western knowledge-based institutions insist that a question be formed and processed through an IRB process before research begins; however, this is contrary to Indigenous methodologies; research questions must be community-based and community-relevant. They must "lead to some change out there in that community" otherwise, it only serves the purpose of the researcher and academia, perpetuating colonizing practices upon Indigenous communities (Wilson, 2009, pg. 110). Authentic determination of relevant questions for research depends on relationships

rather than objective-based studies. This process itself demonstrates through actions that the ultimate authority of this process lies in the hands of Tribal leadership.

The principal effort to identify the most relevant question to the CTUIR's current goals began with the analysis of the Food System Survey in early 2000. The extensiveness of the data gathered instigated a collaborative and iterative process to develop analysis goals. Over a couple of months, I participated in multiple Zoom conversations with the First Food and Food System Working Group that illuminated their highest goals for what the survey analysis could provide. Ultimately, they prioritized understanding the level of community First Food knowledge and experience rather than the CTUIR food system that includes local grocery stores and other eating habits. Aligning with Wilson's (2009) understanding of relevant research, this analysis intended to provide information that would help shape policy and programs within the community. The final goals that guided the survey analysis were:

- “To better understand the current relationship of the CTUIR community with their First Foods
- To identify tribal interests in traditional and cultural knowledge through education and outreach.”

(Farrow-Ferman & Sampson-Samuels, 2020, Dec 2).

The presentation of this analysis and report consisted of an in-person stakeholder gathering at the CTUIR governance building. I presented a brief presentation of the data followed by nearly seven hours of participant conversation. Still building relationships and without research permission in place, I took notes of the conversation. This conversation helped me realize the possible utility of follow-up interviews to explore and explain the results of the data analysis. I submitted a draft list of questions to the Working Group to use in semi-structured interviews. Working group members gave suggestions that I incorporated into the interview questions, and we moved on to the next step in the process together.

CTUIR Community Member Authority

As part of the study I implemented specific efforts intended to offer multiple opportunities to receive and respond to participant feedback. Each participant had the opportunity to choose for their interview to be recorded by video or audio and whether or not they wanted their contribution to remain anonymous or include their name (Younging, 2018). To increase ownership of the material, each person received the file of our interview, either audio or video, and the draft transcript of our session to make any changes they felt necessary, including but not limited to spelling and grammar. Upon completing the analysis of the interviews, I sent drafts to those that were quoted or referenced in any way to ensure accurate representation and interpretation of their ideas, stories. Additionally, when I condensed interviews, I sought approval or suggestion on how to represent their interview best. In the case of the anonymous participants, it was vital that they felt safe in their anonymity. I did receive feedback from an interviewee, and we had a wonderful conversation about the data and analysis presented. Ultimately, no changes were deemed necessary to incorporate.

The process of incorporating Indigenous participants in data analysis has been compared to cleaning berries after gathering them – both involve community members and removing the excess “twigs and leaves” (Martens et al., 2016). As I began to identify patterns and questions in the data gathered, I turned to my Tribal relationships to share my ideas and receive feedback. Through these conversations, I identified topics that were more or less novel and worth exploring and analyzing deeper, sometimes pointing me in directions I had not considered previously. Feedback contributed to the final decisions of what to include or exclude, ensuring that individuals and the Working Group alike felt their community fairly represented in a way they wanted shared within and beyond their community. Respecting their feedback guided my decisions on how to best move forward with the data and analyses. Finally, I sought from the First Foods and Food System Working Group, and feedback was incorporated into the thesis, and no changes were gathered or deemed necessary to incorporate.

Building Relationships: Interviewee Recruitment

I want to say first that identifying the goal to “build relationships” as a methodology feels strange to me. On the one hand, I understand the intention to inspire authentic connections with a community to begin to understand lifeways, stories, and their community. This all helps realize the community’s research goals and interpret and analyze the “data” gathered. I fear that naming this goal can also cheapen the relationships developed by showing it as a box “checked off.” No words on paper can inform you of my authentic self in this part of the process, I only hope that the respect and responsibility I held in those relationships were apparent in my actions with them.

My relationship with the Tribe and with CTUIR community members began before the work of this thesis. As mentioned previously, the First Food and Food System Working Group invited me to join conduct the analysis of their gathered 2020 survey data, and this involvement included me into biweekly working group meetings. I volunteered in their community garden on a weekly basis which gave a wonderful opportunity to build relationships with a few community members in particular and also begin to be accustomed by the rhythm of the Reservation. Whenever I met with community members, I tried to always bring not only a baked good to share, but one that also reflected that I’d been listening to them and tried to give something I thought they would like. These two involvements led to my being invited to join a berry gathering day and a root gathering day, both days incredibly fun as I drove out into the woods chatting with the others in the truck and walking through the woods helping gather First Foods for their future events. From conversations in the community garden, I’d become familiar with some of the protocols; with this information, I knew how important it was to thank my First Root Dig teacher, and I did so accordingly. Recognizing and respecting individuals through protocols such as this and through shared experiences in general both allowed me to show my respect and provide actions of reciprocity for their time and shared thoughts.

The most significant limitation in this research is my settler, outsider, and academic-researcher status. I do not have a lifelong relationship with the land or the community, both needed to begin to engage with systems fundamentally distinct from the settler frameworks and epistemologies in which I've been raised. My ability to engage in qualitative research depended on who was willing and able to engage with me. As mentioned previously, I had hoped to recognize my CTUIR co-researcher, Wenix Red Elk, the Education Outreach Specialist in CTUIR's Department of Natural Resources. She worked closely with me to develop a list of individuals representing some of the CTUIR community's diversity, she introduced me to them and invited them to participate in this interview process. Many of them told me that they agreed to participate because of her introduction. After these interviews, I asked the interviewees if they would suggest anyone else to interview, thus utilizing the snowball method. The snowball method asks key informants for suggestions and connections to others who would be relevant to speak with on the subject (Patton, 1990). This method allowed Wenix's list of interviewees to connect me with additional participants, increasing community representation, and still following Indigenous methodologies through networks of relationships.

Defining "CTUIR Community Members"

To sample "information-rich cases" for specific issues important to the research topic (Patton, 1987, p. 52), Wenix and I discussed the diversity present within her CTUIR community. We sought representation that could reflect the varying levels of education, socio-economic status, current location, time spent on the Reservation, and assumed access to First Food knowledge. Additionally, we strove to have equal gender and age representation. We also invited individuals that live off-Reservation to reflect CTUIR Tribal community. Again, approximately half of CTUIR enrolled Tribal members live on- or near the Reservation, implying that approximately half of all enrolled CTUIR Tribal members live at a distance (Schure et al., 2013).

Participation was voluntary, and thus, this research only represents the perspectives of people who opted to participate, and the following graph demonstrates the demographics of eight of the ten interviewees who responded to the invitation. As mentioned previously, I asked interview participants if they wanted their names included with any excerpts included; two interviewees chose not to have their names included in this research to maintain their anonymity. Following these wishes, the below graph does not include their identifying information.

Table 1. CTUIR interviewee demographics, representing 8 of the 10 interviewees

<i>CTUIR Interviewee Demographics</i>			
Age	1 – 18-35	5 - 36-54	2 - 55 and over
Gender	5 - women	3 - men	
Education	0 – No higher education	2 - Some higher education	6 - Higher education
Raised on or near CTUIR Reservation	5 - yes	3 - no	
Enrolled Tribal member	7 - yes	1 - no	

Table 1 calls attention to the successes and shortcomings of CTUIR community representation. The interviewee participation includes all three age groups, although there is a significant over-representation of the middle age group. Both genders are represented but with greater representation of women over men. Additionally, all interview participants have some higher education, with the majority either having attained a Bachelor’s, Master’s, or Ph.D. degree. While I could not locate data specific to the CTUIR community national statistics showed that in 2014, only 13% of Native Americans 25 years of age or older had completed a bachelor’s degree or higher (Fish & Syed, 2018). Following this statistic, the CTUIR community member interviewees likely do not reflect the diversity of educational attainment in their community. The over-representation of educated participants could be due to my inability to develop relationships across the community. It could also reflect a lack of trust in academic research. Considering the age-old

adage that a picture says a thousand words, the following image demonstrates an Oneida cartoonist's perception of the damage caused by colonial research upon Native cultures and perceptions that could have led to less representation from individuals without higher education experience.



FIGURE 5.1. Research. Indian people are often concerned about the effects of research on their culture. (Source: Drawn by W. Sommers Quistorf, a member of the Oneida Indian Nation of Wisconsin, whose cartoons are published in the newspaper *Indian Country Today*. Printed in *Indian Country Today*.)

Figure 4 Cartoon from “Real Indians: Identity and Survival in Native America” (Garrouette, 2003)

Only one person interviewed was not an enrolled Tribal member, Robin Zape-tah-hol-ah Minthorn. Recognizing this, Robin asked via email for confirmation that we knowingly invited her to participate, to which Wenix Red Elk responded:

“I am very interested in hearing both you and (your partner’s) perspectives and knowledge. (Your partner) growing up here and knowing of our culture. Also your learned knowledge and educational perspective and what you know and don’t know about our First Foods. It is important to us to assist our Tribal community and extended communities as mothers of children who are Tribal members or even though you’re not enrolled here you’re still part of this tribe. This is to help us create programming for you and your daughter that you might want to come down and attend at some time” (Email correspondence, April 13th, 2021).

Because of this, the participants included in the interview process diverge from those included in the food system survey’s analysis, whose scope included only enrolled CTUIR Tribal members. As

referenced by Wenix, this decision intended to represent the diverse experiences and realities of the entire CTUIR community. Therefore, considering the diversity of participants included within this research, this thesis discusses and analyzes the perspectives of “CTUIR community members” rather than “CTUIR Tribal members.” This includes the above understanding that the community extends beyond the enrolled Tribal members and includes the people around them who are a part of their community.

CHAPTER V

DEFINING FIRST FOODS

The CTUIR first coined and defined the term “First Foods” within their Department of Natural Resources’ Mission Statement in 2006, defining it as the “minimum ecological products necessary to sustain CTUIR culture” (Jones et al., 2008. pg. ii). Because of this, as Wenix Red Elk describes, “Whenever you hear other Tribes talk about First Foods they will refer to the Umatilla Tribe(s) as the leader in the movement of the term and using it as a management strategy and implementation of the Mission Statement” (email communication, August 25, 2021). As CTUIR community member Wenix mentions, through resolution by the CTUIR Board of Trustees in 2006, the DNR adopted the following First Foods Mission Statement:

To protect, restore, and enhance the First Foods - water, salmon, deer, cous, and huckleberry - for the perpetual cultural, economic, and sovereign benefit of the CTUIR. (Jones et al., 2008, p. ii)

So why does this research dedicate space to further defining it? Even though the CTUIR Department of Natural Resources is widely accepted to have coined the term, CTUIR community members hold different and sometimes contradictory definitions of First Foods for themselves. This spectrum and diversity of definitions and descriptions is what I seek to address in this chapter. My understanding of “First Foods” and all that term potentially contains evolved throughout this research and through conversations shared with CTUIR community members. I believe the goal of this research, to inform First Food knowledge transmission strategies, can only benefit from exploring the continuum and components of First Foods definitions used by CTUIR community members that these strategies hope to share.

The following sections present both interview excerpts and extended quotations that CTUIR community member’s used when discussing First Foods. As mentioned before, I asked the question, “What are First Foods?” as a warm-up and a segway into further First Food questions and conversations. In the course of these interviews, it became apparent that individuals

presented definitions that both align with and diverge from the CTUIR definition. Some individuals preferred to answer this question succinctly while others returned to this topic throughout their interview. The process of analysis evolved as well; when it occurred to me that this topic needed to be included in this thesis, further reflection brought to my attention the importance of comments on First Foods given in response to other questions. I wanted to include all of the responses that I understood to answer the question of “What are First Foods,” thus I included responses from 9 out of the 10 interviewees. The tenth interviewee and I very loosely followed the questions I developed with the Working Group, so I never asked her directly nor found a response otherwise nor had the question’s importance occurred to me at that time.

These points of divergence go so far as to use additional terms to describe the relationships with “First Foods” they have in their lives from the definitions (rather than description) presented by the CTUIR’s Department of Natural Resources, thus highlighting components that “First Foods” does not encapsulate for them.

History of “First Foods”

For the Cayuse, Walla Walla, and Umatilla, as told by CTUIR community Elder Roberta Conner and William Lang, the First Foods are those foods that offered themselves when they learned that humans would be coming and like babies needing food to eat (Karson, 2016). This first act of giving has guided the physical and spiritual way of life of these peoples, through a Covenant between the people and their foods, for thousands of years:

This covenant between the Creator – who made the land, the water, and all the species therein – the plants and animals who offered themselves to the people, and the people who promised to take care of all that was given to them is the basis of native respect for all creation. (23)

The first to come forward and volunteer themselves was salmon, followed by deer, xawsh (biscuit root), and huckleberries. These First Foods represent the four groups of foods recognized and celebrated during their ceremonies: aquatic species, game animals, those gathered for the roots underground, and those with fruit gathered above ground (Karson, 2006; Pandey, Manandhar, &

Kazama, 2014; Quaempts et al., 2018). The depth of relationship and engagement with these foods varied among the Umatilla, Cayuse, and Walla Walla peoples due to their pre-colonial accustomed lands. The Umatilla and Walla Walla peoples stayed closer to the rivers, self-identifying as salmon people, while the Cayuse spent more time in the uplands, thus shifting their primary relationships with their foods (Pandey et al., 2014).

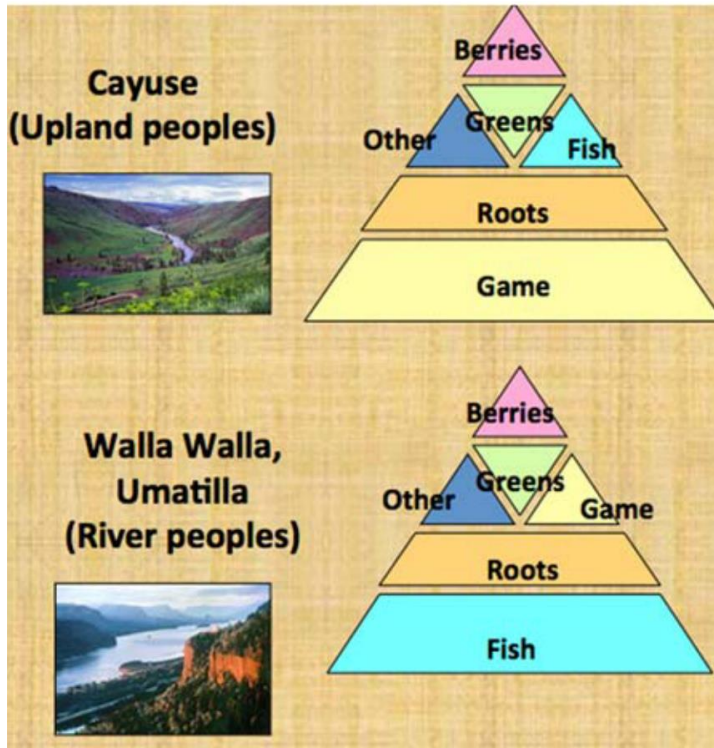


Figure 5- Conceptual representation of the approximate importance of foods in CTUIR pre-colonial diets (Pandey et al., 2014)

CTUIR’s usage of the term “First Foods” encapsulates beliefs, values, and relationships between the peoples and the lands, increasing the Tribes’ ability to communicate goals and promote these foods’ use, maintenance, and protection both within their community and with external entities. It serves as a framework that guides departmental mission and goals and is included in the 2010 CTUIR Comprehensive Plan (CTUIR Board of Trustees, 2010). CTUIR’s Department of Natural Resource (DNR) Director, Eric J. Quaempts explains in their Umatilla River Vision’s (2008) preface that “the (First Foods) mission was developed in response to long-standing and

continuing community expressions of First Foods traditions, and community member requests that all First Foods be protected and restored for their respectful use now and in the future” (pg. ii). In this way, the DNR and other branches of the Tribal government formally adopted the Covenant with their Creator, placing their foods in the forefront and as a framework to guide their work and relationships. Incorporating this framework has informed larger organizational visions and department-level guidance (Jones et al., 2019, 2008a; Quaempts et al., 2018).

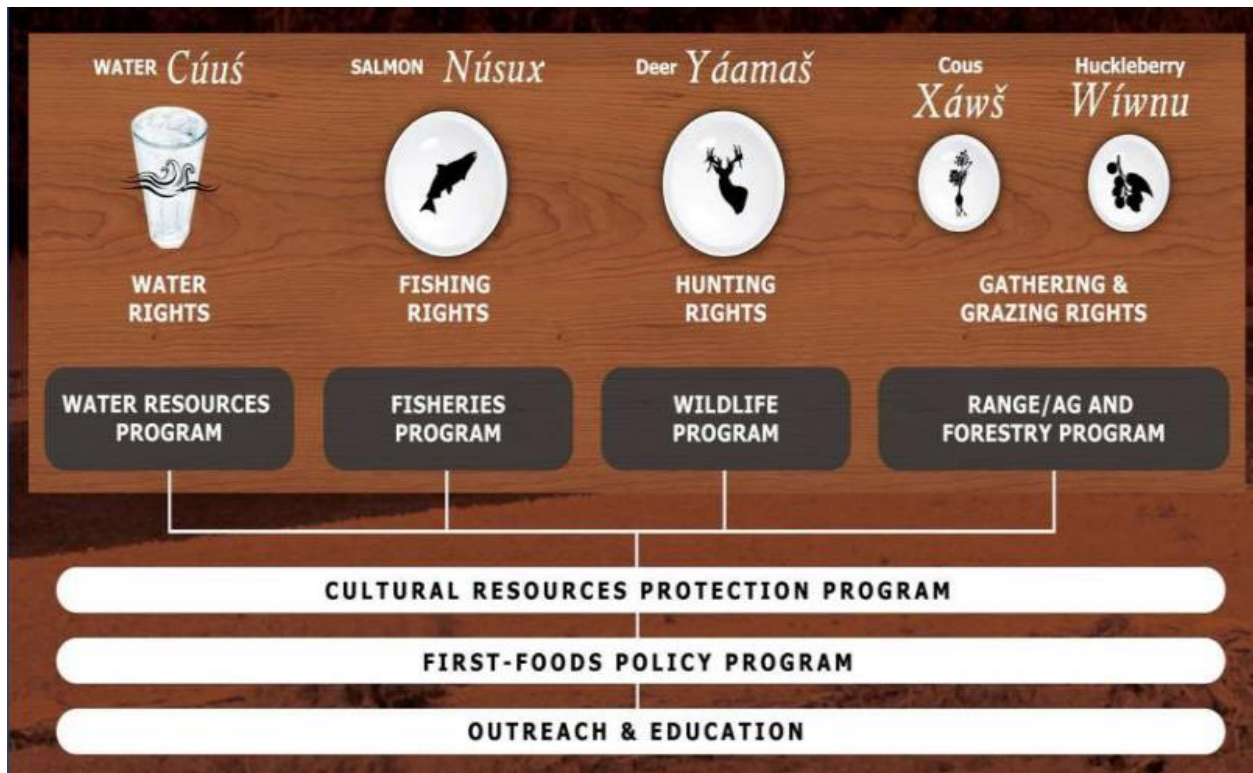


Figure 6 Visual representation of how the First Foods mission guides the CTUIR’s DNR organizational structure (Shippentower, 2019)

The CTUIR community recognizes a spiritual component of their First Foods. Pandey et al. (2014), collaborating with CTUIR on climate change research, describe First Foods as more than a food source by demonstrating their role as "integral to the cultural, spiritual, and community identity of the Tribes" that in turn contribute to their physical, mental, and spiritual health (pg. 10). The CTUIR’s 2010 Comprehensive Plan also recognizes the spiritual component of First Foods when it identifies “the Reservation is also an area of sacred foods” (CTUIR Board of Trustees, 2010, p. 42-

43). The generous offer of themselves by these foods to the humans demonstrate *Tamánwit*, the traditional philosophy and law that has informed the CTUIR peoples physical and spiritual way of life for millennia. The basis of this respect and reciprocity guides these peoples' sacred covenant to care for their First Foods (Karson, 2006).

“These marvelous gifts cannot be taken for granted and must be propitiated through ceremony and song. It is only through consuming the five foods that Indian people can maintain their world and their place in it - water first, salmon and fish, red meat, roots, and berries. The Indian identity is wholly vested in the sacred foods.”

Text given to the Fort Walla Walla Museum by the Tamástslíkt Cultural Institute (Walla Walla Fort Museum, n.d.)

The First Foods gave themselves to the Tribes, and the Tribes, receiving the Foods, reciprocate the gift of care back to them.

First Foods Synonyms

The concept of First Foods, as used by the CTUIR community, does not exist within academia. Academia does use the term “first foods,” both with lower- and upper-case letters, but focuses on the diets of infants, young children, or animals (Siefert, 1972; Abdurrahman et al., 2013; Freeman, 2014; Baker et al., 2021). Because “First Foods” does not exist in academia, synonyms help clarify how the CTUIR community uses the term. Academics employ combinations of Indigenous, native, country, or traditional accompanying food, food systems, or foodways similar to the CTUIR’s First Foods. Many terms have attempted to encapsulate the complexity of Indigenous peoples' relationships with their foods. Depending on their use, academics vary the center of their term’s focus, intent, and use. The variations within these definitions additionally contextualize the CTUIR’s “First Foods².”

Exploring these terms and their uses attempts to capture the multiplicity of meanings in which the term “First Foods” situates itself. Although academics use various terms to explore

² The multitude of definitions and connections between First Foods and academic concepts are similar to that between traditional ecological knowledge which also addresses the relationships between natural resources and cultural relationships (Baines, 2016; Huambachano, 2019b; Kimmerer, 2012; Molnár & Berkes, 2018).

consumed foods within Indigenous cultures, other Tribes have adopted “First Foods” after the CTUIR Board of Trustee’s 2006 resolution, such as the Muckleshoot, Yakama, Warm Springs, and Nez Perce. Additionally, the Conservation Northwest and the United Tribes Technical College in North Dakota have also adopted the term First Foods (Harbarger, 2019; Purvis, 2021; Betcher, 2019).

As CTUIR DNR Director Eric Quaempts (2008) writes, identifying and placing “First Foods” at the forefront of the DNR mission responded to community member requests to “restore” the First Foods respected role in their community, implying a return to or renewal of tradition. Similarly, Red Elk confirms that the CTUIR commonly used “traditional foods” before they coined “First Foods” (email exchange, 2021). Traditional foods are considered vital to tribal culture by their role as a conduit to historical, cultural, and physical connections (Lynn et al., 2014). I infer here that within the CTUIR definition of First Foods, “tradition” implies an unbroken connection with the past rather than the temporal setting of the food. Academics have also defined traditional foods by their contrast to “modern foods” (Ryser, Bruce, Gilio-Whitaker, & Korn, 2019). In other contexts, a “traditional” temporal definition limits the foods to those consumed pre-colonial invasion. Upon confirming this temporal setting, some academics give minimal attention to a community’s current cultural uses of plant and animal species (Kuhnlein, Receveur, Soueida, & Egeland, 2004). In this way, “traditional” can be interpreted, or perhaps misinterpreted, as something unchanging. “Tradition” can overlook and simplify modifications to traditions that adapt and transform objects or practices to retain relevancy and vibrancy in today’s world (Ruelle & Kassam, 2013).

Often presented with a temporal context, scholars define foods with the quality of “subsistence.” Anishnaabe scholar Kyle Whyte (2015) discusses the “disruptions to subsistence food systems” enacted by England upon the Maori, placing it within a historical context. However, subsistence foods are most often placed in the context of diet and health, recognized for their

nutrient value and role in community flourishing (Isaac et al., 2018; Satterfield, DeBruyn, Santos, Alonso, & Frank, 2016; E. Smith et al., 2019).

A place-based quality is central to many of these food definitions. The term “biocultural diversity” emphasizes the physical place or ecosystem and secondarily incorporates a human element. An example of this is a “biocultural refugio” and its place-based capacity to carry social memory such as knowledge and experiences. Foods in this sense provide a self-organized system of rules for their human counterparts (Barthel, Crumley, & Svedin, 2013). For Power (2008), the very fact that a food is “wild-harvested,” based on location rather than temporal or historical connection, classifies a food as a “traditional food.” This definition causes issues when invasive species have been introduced to ecological systems, thus significantly shifting the potential relationships with foods.

Other “First Food” definitions center on the cultural component of food and peripherally incorporate the physical place-based food elements. Foodways is one such term, primarily attentive to the history and culture of food. In their research with the Standing Rock Nation, Ruelle and Kassam (2013) use the term “foodways” and do not name place when they confirm foodways’ social significance and cultural meanings. Rather they focus on representing beliefs and behaviors as they relate to food production, distribution, and consumption. Turtle Mountain Chippewa scholar Melissa Nelson (2013) uses the terms “native foodways” and “Indigenous foods and lifeways” in the same paragraph to talk about the same foods (201). She explains both as representing the nature-culture nexus, connecting the interface of biological and cultural diversity but does not emphasize specific places. However, Indigenous foodways in the context of the Quechua in Peru are defined as “not only knowledge and practices concerning the plant species and animals found within peoples’ territories, but also a rich cultural component embodied in stories, songs, recipes, and practices” (Huambachano, 2019b). This definition not only identifies the importance of territory but also culture and people in relation with food.

Foods have relational qualities that play an essential role within their communities. These relational qualities not only connect people with their food but also people with nature and people with each other. Maori and settler researchers Reid & Rout (2016) illustrate Maori relationships with their food through animism's theoretical perspective, understanding that "food products emerge as animated representations of reciprocal place-based relationships" (427). Foods also create intergenerational connections and communicate identity (Budowle et al., 2019; Whyte, 2016). Anishnaabe scholar Kyle Whyte (2013) identifies his food's integral role in family and ability to act as a facilitator of trust and goodwill in society. He says that "food is a kind of hub whose value lies in how it can bring together many of the collective relations required for people to live good lives" (p. 10). Thus, food plays a role in building relationships between people and their natural environments just as it plays a role in building relationships between people within a community. Norgaard and Karuk co-researcher Ron Reed (2019) extend food's role in building relationships to the development of Karuk community members' gender identity.

"Subsistence" foods is a final academic synonym for First Foods, defined as relating "to the activities through which food is acquired, processed, prepared, and consumed (i.e., what people eat, how they produce or acquire it, and whether those activities emphasize hunting, gathering, and fishing or horticulture and agriculture" (Burnette, Clark, & Rodning, 2018, p. 371). In fact, a CTUIR staff authored a paper in 2004 titled with a version of this term: Exposure Scenario for CTUIR Traditional Subsistence Lifeways (S. G. Harris & Harper, 2004). Moving away from word-based definitions is the following story told by Shawna Larson, an Ahtna and Supiaq scholar and Indigenous Foods Knowledge Network steering committee member, as she presents her experience in seeking an Indigenous definition for "subsistence:"

Several years ago, I was at a Tribal Council meeting and one of the elders brought up the fact that in a lot of United States government documents they were using the term "subsistence." He opened the dictionary and read us the definition for subsistence: "the source from which food and other items necessary to subsist are obtained." This definition didn't capture the relationship or the meaning of our way of life. As traditional people, we know that the land

and the people are inextricably linked and that we have a very strong relationship with the land and animals. So, he asked me if I would be willing to help find a more traditional word to use.

I thought that it would be pretty easy to find a substitute word, and I figured that other Tribes would have something already written up on it. If not, I figured that I could always just ask our elders what the word in our own traditional language was. So, I agreed to take on the task and spent some time on the internet, trying to find other Tribes that had done this work. I spent a few weeks researching it, but I wasn't able to find anything that captured the meaning that I was looking for.

Next, I decided to check in with our elders. After several conversation with elders, in which I received answers like "Subsistence is when the berries are ripe, when the fish have arrived, when it's time to hunt moose," I realized that these phrases were not really what I was looking for to express our understanding of "subsistence."

A few months later, I was at a Federal subsistence board meeting with a Yup'ik elder with whom I had worked with in the past. I thought: maybe in the Yup'ik language they will have a different way to say this. I asked him, and it was so fascinating because his response was exactly the same as what my elders had said. "When it's time to hunt the seal, when it's time to pick the berries." I said, no that's not really what I meant. He chuckled at me—I'm sure he could see my frustration. I held up both my hands and he pointed to my left hand and said, "if this is the land and the animals..." And I held out my right hand and pointed and said "and this is the people..." And I clasped my hands together and said: "How do we say this?"

And he said "Oh! There is no one word to describe what you're talking about because what you're talking about is a relationship, and in order to understand relationships, we told stories. We told stories because stories make you feel. And feeling is the only way to really describe the responsibility and the relationship that you're talking about with the land, with the animals, and our way of life." I was so struck by his words and all at once, it all made so much sense to me. Our traditional stories are how we taught our children to behave and have morals, values and respect.

I felt sad that there was no words in English to describe something so important to us. But in the end, I know this relationship and responsibility is something our traditional people have always known and we carry it in our hearts with us wherever we go (Jäger et al., 2019, p. 47-48).

This story and description of this woman's search for a word concluded my search for First Foods definitions in academic literature by representing the relationship of a people with land and animals, as only can be told in a conversation shared in time and place with another. This passage helps a western academic perspective understand the challenge of describing "First Foods" and, in fact, the impossible task of defining them, akin to the impossible task of defining a cherished family member.

Tamánwit

Any conversation hoping to authentically engage with CTUIR First Foods must also include the introduction and exploration of their Indian Law: Tamánwit. In the Columbia River Sahaptan language, Tamánwit is defined as a “throw down” (CTUIR Board of Trustees, 2010). It refers to their natural law or divine law and encapsulates the “ideology by which all things of the earth were placed by the Creator for a purpose” (Morning Owl, Karson, 2006, p. 3). This traditional philosophy and law has guided the CTUIR people's physical and spiritual way of life for millennia, and the basis of this respect guides these peoples' promise to take care of their First Foods.

“The promise that this land made and the promise that we made as Indian people to take care of this land, to take care of the resources, and to live by those teachings is the grander principle of the bigger law that was put down on this land when this world was created... When we can live by those traditions and customs, then we're fulfilling that law, we're living by that law.”

CTUIR Elder, Armand Minthorn (Karson, 2006, p. 224)

From the CTUIR Comprehensive Plans to departmental decisions, efforts continue to revitalize and re-center around *Tamánwit*. Through these efforts, the CTUIR governing bodies intend to (re)connect First Foods, the CTUIR community, and Tamánwit. First Foods knowledge plays a role that significantly extends beyond simply fulfilling sustenance needs as they are understood to form even the backbone of their society's culture and religion, re-Indigenizing their community (Viles, 2011).

First Foods: As Complex as a Beloved Family Member

Considering the complex components and roles that foods have within Indigenous communities, it comes as no surprise that individual responses vary when asked to define First Foods. The following section presents excerpts of definitions given by the interview participants during our semi-structured interviews. The First Food definitions offered both include and extend beyond the CTUIR definition and the various definitions provided by academia. This might simply reflect the fact that interviews provide an opportunity to tell a story in relation to a larger context in a

way that a definition will never be able to do, but they are nonetheless valuable to consider. I acknowledge that these responses to my request that they ‘define’ their First Foods also exist within the limited relationship of trust I had built with them and explored during the limited time we had to talk together. I attempt to organize the following excerpts under general topic groupings, conscious that not a single one captures the term’s complexity. In the same way, these short excerpts provided during conversations can only begin to reflect the complexity of the relationships that each person has with the term.

Participants identified First Foods as foods in relation to their historical context. First Foods were seen as those consumed pre-colonial or pre-contact. In this sense, there was also a sense of the foods as subsistence, the connection between food and the physical body.

Michelle Liberty

Yeah, I guess I think of them as the foods that our Tribal people lived on when there were no markets or to trade. Of course, we ate what we were able to trade for, back in the olden days. It wasn’t just what was in our homeland or traditional lands. And I don’t know what all of those are. And even though it was a fairly varied diet, it was still fairly limited, too. And I don’t know back then, if there was that desire to experiment with foods in a way that made it more flavorful or interesting or fun. Versus making it last over the winter, or you know, making sure that it kept so that you never ran out.

Food is set in the temporal, pre-colonial context as well as subsistence context based on necessity and lack of other opportunities.

Bambi Rodriguez

It’s those foods that were traditionally gathered by our people over time. And depending on availability it was the things that they sustained themselves on. Prior to the introduction of other crops that came in with the non-Indians. So it’s those foods that were here before colonization.

Similarly, the foods are here defined temporally, pre-colonization. It is unclear how the term “traditionally gathered” means in this context, but because it is used with the past-tense “were,” it appears to hold a temporal meaning. It is unclear if “traditional” implies a component of continuity

to present day or if it limits the definition to historical food practices. Here, Bambi also recognizes the foods' ability to sustain her people, aligning with the qualities of subsistence.

Teara Farrow Fermin

For me, the First Foods are the foods that our ancestors fought really hard for, to protect in our treaty with the United States government. They are the foods that they lived off of, subsistently, for, you know, their entire lives and generational. They passed those traditions down on to younger members to keep those traditions going, but also, those are the foods that provided healthy nutrition to their bodies.

Teara places First Foods within a political context, identifying them as those foods fought for and protected, aligning with Indigenous food sovereignty's principle of the importance of incorporating and protecting food into laws and policies (Morrison, 2021). Consistent with Whyte's (2016) and Budowle et al.'s (2019) discussions of food's role in intergenerational connectivity, Teara includes the familial and kinship quality of First Foods, mentioning the generational quality of knowledge passed down. Finally, she refers to them as subsistence foods that provide nutrients for the body.

Several participants mentioned included the sacredness of First Foods, connecting them with their ancestors and their Creator through old laws, or Tamánwit.

Sunflower (pseudonym)

To me, I really like that they came up with that First Foods, because in the language, ketuet, uet means beginnings and ket is the feasting part or the biting I guess, like technically. So, "ketuet" means first feast, to celebrate the first foods of the year. And so, it's like a new beginning of growth and it's like the new, every year, it's like a new birth of life, and it's the gift from the Creator because when our people were created (voice cracks with emotion)... oh my God, I'm going to start crying! (They wave their hand in front of their eyes and hide their head behind their hand) I'm sorry!

When (hoooo!) we were first created, all the people were coming, there were no people on earth, and everybody was like, "Hey, these people are coming, what are they going to eat? What are we going to do?" And so, these animals, they could talk then, and we could understand them then. They stood up and said, "You know what? I know this is important. I'm going to offer, or sacrifice, myself for these people, to be able to live, as long as these people can take care of us and take care of the earth." So, we have this real symbiotic relationship with the foods of the earth and our bodies being healthy and life, you know what I mean?.....

Cause it's our laws, as Native people, because of those animals that stood up for us, it's like required of us (wipes tears away) if we want to keep receiving foods from the earth. If we

want to keep being allowed to do that, then we have to dig them. We have to feast them. And we have to honor them. And we have to celebrate them. And then we have to go get them. But then we have to take care of them. And then we have to eat them. So, we have to put them in our bodies in order for it to work.

But, you know it's a lot, a lotta work. And there's so many foods out there. I don't, I only know a small amount of all the different foods and the language. There's so many. That's kind of what First Foods are to me. They are our survival foods and by law, we're supposed to make sure that they're taken care of.

Diverging from the previous definitions, Sunflower does not speak about subsistence or sustenance. Rather, they speak of eating the First Foods as part of the sacred Covenant Native peoples have with the foods, taking the foods into their body as a means to receive foods from the earth, and not predominately as a means to fulfill nutritive requirements. Sunflower emphasizes the spiritual role aligned with the original Covenant the CTUIR people have with the foods, and they name the actions associated with foods in this sacred context. Much like Shawna Larson above (Jäger et al., 2019), Sunflower understands the relationship between themselves and the foods as most important. When Sunflower names the "law," they connect First Foods with the Tamánwit, or their "old way," law, or religion (Karson, 2006; Hiers, n.d). Sunflower's "symbiotic relationship" refers to the Indigenous paradigm of reciprocation, committing to caring for their lives in return for the gift of their lives (Huambachano, 2019b; Kovach, 2009). This passage shows the spiritual connection that persists in the hearts and minds of some CTUIR community members in relation to their First Foods.

Lloyd Wannassay Commander

Well, they're, I guess, the original diet of our Tribal people, going back thousands of years before Euro-Americans came. And we follow a seasonal round of foods, when they're ready. In the water or on the land. And we know and believe that our Creator made it that way, so traditionally we followed those foods. We weren't nomadic, we just followed the food when they were ready.

One Elder says you gather and then you store. You distribute. So that would be the core of the purpose of the foods. To maintain the food structure given to us by Creator, and then work those out, live those out in our culture....

Of course, today, we maintain that way of life. That's a growing part of our Natural Resources Department, and it's growing in our people here, too. Promoting those things and events. Hunters are still teaching their sons and daughters to hunt and to fish and to gather and when to do those things. So, they're passed on. But it's a way of life. But also in the modern day, we still go to the store, we still go to the restaurants. We participate in probably, you would say, a world cuisine. But we're a part of this land and we believe our Creator gave it to us. And we're going to participate in the way that our Elders and our ancestors were taught. To maintain that relationship with the land.

Lloyd touches on several components of First Food in his definition. He speaks to intergenerational knowledge sharing a way of life within families, similar to Budowle et al., (2019). He also identifies First Foods and their purpose to maintain cultural and social structure and community connection, consistent with Whyte's (2013) explanation of food as a social hub. Yet he understands this as a way of life that also includes stores and restaurants demonstrating the idea of continuity from past iterations of First Foods within his community that have become adapted into present-day transformations.

Lloyd speaks to the importance of kinship in First Foods. Similar to Sunflower, Lloyd also connects the First Foods with a spiritual component, identifying the relationship that connects people and the land to his belief in the Creator. As seen in the following section, this place-based relationship plays a significant role in the cultural relationships community members have with their foods and with each other,

Robin Zape-tah-hol-ah Minthorn

So, my knowledge of First Foods is how we as Native or Tribal people have connected to different foods that we have always had accessible to us. That we acknowledge has been an intimate part of our knowledge, and of course that has also evolved, right? Because some of us were dispossessed and displaced, not necessarily for the Umatilla Tribe but for other communities. We've had to re-identify First Foods, right, because maybe our original First Foods are no longer accessible to us. But with the Umatilla Tribe, I think they've had a really good connection to maintaining those First Foods connections and holding the ceremonies that they need to, to acknowledge when there is a first kill or when there's a first harvest or first coming out of different foods. So that's how my knowledge base and connection to that is in regards to that.

Robin is a CTUIR descendant raised largely away from the Umatilla Reservation. She also has experience with another tribe as an enrolled member of the Kiowa Tribe, a tribe displaced from their

ancestral homelands and relocated elsewhere. Here, she compares a displaced tribe's relationship with place and land with the relationships the CTUIR has maintained with their foods as well as the ceremonies they were able to continue forward. This place-based connection is similar to how Lloyd, a Tribal member that returned to the Umatilla Reservation, spoke of First Foods, as skills passed down that "maintain that relationship with the land."

Willow (pseudonym)

"First Foods, I believe, is something that we, you know, the accords and all the BPA (Bonneville Power Administration) stuff, we've settled that first, which was our fish, our salmon. Securing that as our First Food, that First Foods order, I'm understanding the First Food, securing our salmon, because I learned, and I was told that. We lose that salmon, you know, we lose us. We can't really, we can't go to catfish... we have to secure all those things for our future generations. I see the importance in it. I know the importance because I do the same thing with my kids, translating all the teachings that I hear... So, I think that's a huge part of being sovereign, is our First Foods.

Willow does not identify the nutrient or subsistent qualities of First Foods in their definition.

Rather, his primary focus identifies the political nature of First Foods as well as their fundamental role in identity, first for themselves and also the intergenerational role it has passing this identity to future generations (Budowle et al., 2019). In this context of passing on teaching, this participant further connects First Foods with their role in Tribal sovereignty and in the futurity of maintaining Tribal identity.

Sovereignty also speaks to the political goals of a Tribal nation. Willow's first understanding of their First Foods role in policy, specifically naming the Bonneville Power Administration (BPA) and the Salmon Accords (mentioned in Chapter 2) that the Tribes hold with them. This aligns with both Eric Quaempts' DNR mission statement and Dawn Morrison's Indigenous food sovereignty pillar, both identifying the role of the foods to guide policy (Jones, Poole, Quaempts, O'Daniel, & Beechie, 2008b; Morrison, 2021). Additionally, First Foods are identified for their role in cultural continuity and their relationship to kin. While the following two individuals also name identity and

relationships as key components of their foods, they also hold clear distinctions in their minds between “First Foods” and “traditional foods.”

Trevor Williams

Trevor: First Foods, again, having grown up with my mom, so I was always on the periphery of the CRPP (DNR’s Cultural Resources Protection Program), so I was always around them doing some of their earlier work with this stuff, my own definition of it is basically just traditional foods, especially regional foods here, that are not only economic and just are food, but are also the cultural makeup of our people...

I think probably the most memorable (First Food outing) would probably be one particular huckleberry outing we had when I was real young. I think that was one of the most memorable, just like, I think... traditional experiences that I’ve had in my life, not just First Foods, because it was an entire weekend of gathering with a whole bunch of relatives and people I know. We even had, they built a sweat house up there and so we did sweat and did a lot of that, and it was a lot of fun.

Lydia: So, you differentiate traditional from First Foods? How would you talk about your other First Foods experiences?

Trevor: I do (see) the difference between traditional and modern, sort of, because I would describe the way that I fish as modern. I kind of have a differentiation cause even, you saw how Talia was, in the (Zoom cooking) class the other day, she was differentiating the traditional way to make pemmican (a food preparation) and modern methods. And there is, personally in my view, a very big difference in sort of the philosophy and the actual methods. Because traditionally, stuff is usually done by hand and it takes a long, long time to do stuff. And it’s actually really frustrating and tedious. And those are more the traditional ways. And modern ways you can make pemmican in ten minutes with dehydrators and food processors and stuff like that. And even, the way that I talk about the way that I fish being modern, it’s done with monofilament gill nets, with the plastic buoys, and on a fiberglass boat and a gas motor. So it’s not pulling hemp nets with a canoe (big laugh)...

(I don’t participate in) a lot of ceremonies. And that’s sort of a part of my own personal division between traditional and modern. Is the modern has definitely lost a lot of the ceremonies. I know of some of them. You’re supposed to pray for every fish that you catch in your net. Traditionally, when... you’re supposed to wait on the side of the river, and when the first fish comes up, the first person pulls it out and your supposed to pull their nets up and you’re supposed to let one day go by and have a feast. I was never really a part of the Longhouse culture growing up. I was always there, a lot, to make money and have a freezer full of fish myself. So I never really had that traditional, ritual aspect to it. Which is something that doesn’t particularly surprise me. My particular family is not really traditional, at all. We’re a very modern, kind of secular family...

But I do want to get out more. One of my goals is to do pemmican from start to finish. I want to get the fish, gather the berries.

Initially, when asked, Trevor calls attention to the regional, place-based relational qualities of First Foods. Additionally, he identifies the cultural component of First Foods.

However, further in the interview, I heard Trevor differentiate traditional foods and First Foods, and when I asked him to explain, Trevor continued by comparing “traditional” and “modern” foods and practices. Trevor’s initial definition of First Foods includes an economic element, placing a monetary value on First Foods and aligning with the First Foods’ economic goals such as presented by Director Eric Quaempts (Jones et al., 2008b). However, Trevor also references First Foods’ ability to fulfill a basic, nutritive and subsistence need by “just” being food. This subsistence definition was made clear later in his interview when he spoke of his two roles as a Tribal fisherman: he both sells salmon as an income source while at the same time he is recognized as a food provider among his family members when they ask for help.

Trevor further identifies “a very big difference” between modern and traditional foods both in philosophy and method. His use of these terms aligns more closely with Ryser et al.’s (2019) polarization between modern and traditional practices and less with Lynn et al.’s (2014) use of tradition, which focuses on the thread that connects historically practiced methods and their current manifestations. He understands First Foods to reflect and represent the “modern” relationships the CTUIR community has with foods. He associates modern methods with his contemporary fishing practices that use motors, plastic buoys, and other equipment to increase his speed and ability to fish. Trevor compares this to traditional methods which are slow, take time, and do not use tools that did not exist pre-settler. Trevor also appears to connect the philosophy and its connection with ceremony to speed and perhaps a limiting factor for maximum economic success. Tradition, he explains, insists that fishing stops after the first fish is pulled and that every fish be prayed for. He mentions that, not being raised in the Longhouse, he never practiced that “traditional, ritual aspect.” This contrast ultimately defines First Foods as culturally relevant yet secular in practice. It also begs the question, how woven are spiritual practices within an Indigenous paradigm, modern or

otherwise? Dawn Morrison's (2021) states the inherent sacred quality of foods within her Indigenous food sovereignty pillars, however Indigenous paradigms present the importance of relationship (G. Cajete, 1994; Kovach, 2009; Wilson, 2008), which Trevor has had with salmon his entire life. This demonstrates a tension in definitions of these foods in contemporary CTUIR community members' daily lives.

Andrew Wildbill

Lydia: How do you define First Foods?

Andrew: I prefer the term traditional foods. Just because there's, I guess, you know... the reason I like traditional foods better than First Foods is because, or traditional foods, when you say that it really, you are trying to define a person, a community. And I really think that saying, as a Columbia River Indian, "These are the traditional foods that we eat." Just growing up, and having traditional values, I think that those foods, they really are who we are. And without the foods, just kind of repeating what I've been taught, without the foods, one, we wouldn't have sustenance to be here and two, we wouldn't have the culture that we have and the culture that we're trying to bring back, and not lose parts of it....

And, you know, the First Foods is a good, a really good term. But I always thought that traditional foods is something stronger. And the foods are deeply rooted in our identity. That I think the term traditional foods makes your relationship a lot more stronger. In a sense of First Foods versus traditional foods. In my mind anyway.

Lydia: Oh man, I feel like we could spend the rest of the hour just talking about that question.

Andrew: (laugh) Ok, well let me expand on that. You kind of, you learn about our history and in school a little bit. And then as you, you know, as an Indian person, who's taught our, some of our ways, maybe in the school system. But there's a lot of misrepresentation in there. But, us as Indian people are going back to our roots, like the most organic roots of our identity, you have these different traditional philosophies, and you have these traditional rules. And with that community makeup of the philosophies and the rules, and the unwritten laws. Or the old law, the old ways. And the traditions that we try to uphold and these foods that we try to protect. I think just going back to that organic relationship, the deeply rooted relationship. I think that traditional foods just make more sense to me.

And I think that we have several different positions in the community. There's the traditional chiefs and the modern chiefs and then myself. I'm part of it, I have a traditional role in our Tribe. And having a traditional role and valuing those traditions kind of, I guess, I think the traditional foods speak more volume to that relationship with these foods. And also, as youth and as someone who tries to teach younger kids that relationship with these animals and these resources. I think instead of telling my kids that these are your First foods, I say, "This is what your grandma grew up eating. This xawsh is what your grandma grew up eating all the time. These were her traditional foods. You know, that's what raised

her to be a strong woman.” You know, just the comparison of the two terms. We could be splitting hairs, you know, we could be. But that’s just my preference.

(He returns to this idea again at the end of the interview)

Andrew: Yeah, I just kinda want to say this. Growing up as a kid, I guess this is kind of like my example, of traditional food versus First Food, Ok? Growing up as a kid, you know, jerky. The term “jerky” is used pretty interchangeably with different things. But growing up as a kid, anytime my grandparents or great-grandparents had jerky they, if I said “jerky,” if my uncles said “jerky,” we all got in trouble. My grandparents and my great-grandparents, they wanted us to call it “dried meat.” So, that was their... so to me, First Foods is like jerky... and sometimes I correct my kids. If I make dried meat and they want to call it jerky, “Grandma told me, that’s dried meat. That’s not jerky.” Going back to that comparison. Yeah, jerky is First Food if it’s made with, you know, elk or deer or bison. But it’s traditional food if you’re calling it dried meat. And it’s made the way that your grandma taught you, you know, or your uncle. My uncle taught me how his grandparents taught him, and their grandparents taught them.

So, there’s different styles. The old way of making dried meat is like an art. It’s not just salt and pepper and some kind of teriyaki flavoring or sweet and sour, whatever you might see in a convenience store. The old way of cooking those, preparing meat, is traditional food. Does that make sense?....

It’s when, say Wenix or Linda Sampson, say they prepare (xawsh) to cookies, it was often used as flour. Say you made bread with it. That’s traditional food. When you prepare it the way that your old people did and your old people taught you. Then, that’s a traditional food.

Andrew immediately veers away from using First Foods as it appears to not hold all of the meaning he wants it to, and he dedicated significant time in the interview, even returning to the topic at the end, to ensure that I understood this vital difference for him. In this context, it appears that “traditional” relates to culturally informed values that connect him to his ancestors and relatives, similar to the role of a knowledge and relationship conduit as presented by Lynn et al. (2014). He mentions the role of traditional foods maintaining relationships between his family and with the “old laws,” Tamánwit, imbining the food with a sacred quality such as presented by Dawn Morrison (2021). For Andrew, traditional foods carry with them traditional values and their philosophies, while First Foods do not. Similar to Trevor yet different than Sunflower and Lloyd, First Foods are secular while traditional foods are not.

For Andrew, traditional foods are also relational in a way that First Foods are not. He mentions the importance of explaining both the distinction and importance of traditional foods to

his children; they are the foods that his “grandmother ate to be strong” or prepared in the way his grandmother or uncle taught him. “First Foods” then seems to hold a definition focused on the material or objectiveness of the foods, which aligns with Power’s (2008) use of “wild-harvesting” as a key element to identify the foods. “Traditional foods” more deeply connect simultaneously with the Creator and with his relations. In this sense, Andrew names the relationality that Shawna Larson (Jäger et al., 2019) and her Elders discussed, what Whyte (2013) called bringing together “collective relations.” Andrew appears only to attribute this element of relational accountability and connection to “traditional foods,” not “First Foods.”

Facets of First Foods

As shown through these excerpts, CTUIR community members have a diverse understanding of what the term “First Foods” does and does not incorporate. We see both a community member sense of temporal separation (the foods that “were” eaten) versus a sense of the food’s role in acting as the conduit for continuity (continue to be passed down through families). Some individuals have a stronger sense of the food’s role within diets and nutritive requirements through their use of words such as “subsistence” or “sustain,” while others highlight the political role of First Foods, such as naming their role in the Bonneville Power Administration. Additionally, the importance of food to perpetuate culture and identity through intergenerational knowledge transmission appears throughout these explanations.

The presence and extent of spiritual or sacred quality given to First Foods varies greatly among interviewees. Several participants did not include a sacred element within their First Food definitions while Trevor explicitly implies a secular element to First Foods. Andrew also states that he prefers the term “traditional foods” over “First Foods” when he thinks of the spiritual connection to the “old laws,” values, philosophies, and Indian identity. For Andrew, this spiritual component is also closely tied to the relational qualities of “traditional foods” and their role in connecting individuals with their ancestors and relatives. On the contrary, Sunflower and Lloyd clearly state

their understanding of “First Foods” to embody a sacred component. Lloyd includes a sense of spiritual quality of First Foods when he says, “And we know and believe that our Creator made it that way, so traditionally we followed those foods.” Similarly, when Sunflower is asked to define First Foods they share the Creation Story as a way to explain them, a connection so profound as to bring them to tears.

Even though interviewees presented a significant breadth of definitions for First Foods, only Andrew and Trevor identified and named contradictions in what the term did and did not encapsulate. As defined by them, First Foods represents the modern elements of the relationships with the foods. Additionally, for Trevor, First Foods provide economic opportunities in a way that traditional foods do not, partly in connection to the access and utilization of faster techniques to procure (fish) them, such as powerboats and the elimination of ceremonial practices (stopping to pray for the fish and let one day go by). In this way, practicing and relating with First Foods might transmit technique and knowledge, but they do not provide nor describe the same relational connection between CTUIR community members, their ancestors, and the Creator in the way “traditional foods” are perceived.

Traditional foods, in contrast and as defined by Andrew and Trevor, more deeply connect with philosophy and values. Trevor identifies these values as ones that people become familiar with at the Longhouse and during ceremonies. Trevor also classifies traditional food preparation as slow, “tedious and frustrating” in a way that modern preparation is not. Andrew does not qualify traditional food preparation with a speed but rather the inherent connection to relationship. Perhaps another way to say this is that traditional foods exist at the speed of relationships. Anyone can prepare elk, but that doesn’t make it a traditional food, contrary to Power’s (2008) “wild-harvested” based definition. Only the relational quality of knowing where the method or recipe to prepare the elk came from, and using it, makes food traditional.

The importance of considering the multiplicity of relationships and understandings that CTUIR community members have with their First Foods, or traditional foods, takes us into the next chapter. Even here, with representation from only nine community members, evidence of a wide range of definitions and understandings exists. On one hand, the creation of the First Food mission within the Department of Natural Resources' mission statement requires a "definition" rather than "description" of these relationships. This is not only because of its planned utility in planning and policy development but also because of its use to communicate CTUIR goals across world views. Specifically, this definition needed to communicate CTUIR First Food values across worldviews and with agency partners that do not have the breadth of indigenous worldviews to contextualize CTUIR goals. The previous descriptions and definitions provided by community members highlight that the First Foods definition might still require additional communication and explanation within the CTUIR community, an updated definition lead by outreach to incorporate community member thoughts' on this description, or a combination of both.

At the very least, understanding the diversity in CTUIR community members' relationships through these descriptions and definitions can shed light on the kinds of education that CTUIR community members might expect and desire and the messaging within their outreach that can capture their attention. The next two chapters will explore more deeply how six CTUIR community members discuss the factors that create opportunities or barriers for them to access First Food knowledge and opportunities. The range of these definitions helps explain some of their experiences with First Foods, how they received knowledge, and what opportunities and knowledge they want going forward.

CHAPTER VI

RELATIONALITY OF FIRST FOODS

Importance of Relationality

The following section continues to present stories, experiences, and emotional responses that individuals shared with me during the interview sessions. Expanding from the previous chapter's exploration of the spectrum of First Food definitions, this chapter considers the spectrum of relationships that individuals have with First Foods. Because of the importance of relationships in this section, more stories and experiences are included, and each person's section begins with how they introduce themselves in response to my prompt that invited them to do so. These experiences illustrate the resources that the individual used or had available to them that allowed them to receive or retrieve First Food knowledge, thus more deeply exploring the context in which First Food knowledge transmission has occurred up to this point and is desired going forward. This chapter groups two individuals in each of three sections, guided by land education's framework and focus on relationality to place and community. This chapter introduces and defines independent and interdependent resources, groupings I use to categorize knowledge transmission resources. Each section has a brief reflection of the analysis presented while the conclusion of the chapter highlights what I understood to be the main points presented.

After extensive analysis and reflection of the ten semi-structured interviews, a spectrum of relationships emerged within their stories and experiences. A spectrum speaks to the rich gradient within a range, and this is exactly what I found within these interviews. However, it appeared that categorization of these relationships could help call out patterns more easily than if I included all of the variations of the relationships presented within these conversations. Indeed, I believe extending this conversation out to the entirety of the CTUIR community would continue to demonstrate even more complex and varied relationships that individuals have with place, community, and their First Foods. For this thesis, six interviews were chosen from the participants, paired, and presented in

three groupings in the following section. I both show the extremes of relationships these individuals shared and call attention to the relationships that elicited the most emotional responses from the interviewees.

The groupings draw attention to the range of relationships that CTUIR community members have with the CTUIR lands and the CTUIR community and include: distant in relationship with land and community, close to land and distant to community, and close to land and community. The six interviews presented here in no way represent all of the relationships with First Foods present within the CTUIR community, but intend to reflect the wide range of relationships that exist. Identifying these distinct themes calls attention to some of the current relationships that CTUIR community members have with their First Foods, the resources they currently use to connect with them, and the educational opportunities they seek.

In the following analysis, I use two terms to help organize First Food knowledge transmission: independent and interdependent resources or opportunities. Within academic literature, the education field uses “independent study” to discuss teaching strategies that prioritize self-initiated qualities and emphasize individual study with little to no supervision (Johnsen & Goree, 2009). Here, independence refers to a “pupil-centered approach” placed in contrast with a unilateral and hierarchical “teacher-centered mentality” (Moore, 1988). I extend this definition to imply forms of individual study that require neither a teacher or any other person, peer or otherwise.

Through my research, I did not find education journals to utilize the term “interdependence” or “interdependent” when exploring strategies. However, I did find references to “reciprocal education” as an educational strategy that shares leadership roles between teachers and students, based explicitly on modeling and guided practice grounded in dialogue (Doolittle et. al., 2006; Hartman, 1994). This term explicitly aligns with Indigenous paradigms, the attention given to “teacher” and “student” leads me to retain “interdependent resources or opportunities.” This is not to say that teacher and student reciprocal dynamics do not exist within an “interdependent”

dynamic. However, the term “reciprocal education” used in academic literature does not extend the definition far enough. As Santa Clara Pueblo scholar Gregory Cajete explains, “interdependent resources and opportunities” emphasize the mutually reciprocal role of not only all participants but also “all living communities in the surrounding natural environment” (2016, p. 367). Additionally, Secwepemc activist and founder of the Working Group on Indigenous Food Sovereignty Dawn Morrison (2008) uses the term “interdependent” by declaring the responsibility to “interdependent relationships with the land, plants, and animals” an essential component of Indigenous food sovereignty (11). Thus, the use of interdependent resources used here simultaneously implies mutual and reciprocal roles between people as much as between people and land. Based on these definitions and preferred terms, independent and interdependent will be used to describe the resources and opportunities used and desired within the following interviews.

The following chapter uses condensed conversations to portray participant interviews by keeping them within their context. This method follows the style applied by Plains Cree scholar Margaret Kovach (2009) in *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts*. In this way, it prioritizes their voices over my own. Due to the semi-structured, oral interview nature of these conversations, the following excerpts sometimes edit parts of conversations to capture the related themes found throughout the conversation. Considering these conversations lasted between one and two hours, I transcribed 10-30 pages for each of the interviews. My highest intention is to honestly present the soul of what they shared with me in these interviews and that addressed the research question. This meant to me that the following sections included how they each chose to introduce themselves, sometimes some of their personal story to provide context if they provided one, and finally sections of their interview that spoke directly to the context of how they did or did not receive First Food knowledge. Again, this varied greatly from person to person. Ultimately, I edited within a story or quote itself only when trying to keep the story to a reasonable length. This

process I did not enjoy doing because I felt very strongly that the individuals speak for themselves and not through my lens and its distortions.

This chapter is divided into two parts: one that highlights independent resources and the other that highlights interdependent resources. The first part further is divided into two sections: one focusing on interviewees who live at a distance from the Umatilla Indian Reservation and their relationships with the CTUIR community and the other focusing on interviewees who live close to or on the Umatilla Indian Reservation but share a feeling of distance from the CTUIR community. The second part, following this pattern, illustrates First Food relationships of CTUIR community members who live close to or on the Umatilla Indian Reservation and equally spoke of close relationships with their community.

Independent First Food Knowledge Seekers

The first four interviewees made apparent that independent resources for CTUIR First Food knowledge provide an essential service within the CTUIR community. I developed this category of “independent resources” based on First Food resources mentioned by community members and how they explained their use with them; this includes turning to the internet or published literature for First Food knowledge. These resources do not require physical proximity to the CTUIR land nor relationships or interaction with CTUIR community members to engage with it, thus allowing independent utilization. Physical distance to the Umatilla Indian Reservation and relational distance to the CTUIR community appear to influence community members' interest in independent educational opportunities. These perspectives demonstrate how spatially-mediated and interpersonal relationships impact the kinds of First Foods knowledge educational opportunities previously used and currently pursued.

“I think if we knew...”: Place and Relational Distance

For various historical and personal reasons, many CTUIR community members live remotely from their lands and community. CTUIR community members currently live across the

Pacific Northwest, throughout the United States, and worldwide. This distance produces varied relationships with the land, the community, and their First Foods. These complicated relationships are as much the result of policies that influenced relocation, such as the Indian Relocation Act of 1956 (Waapalaneexkweew, 2018) or the creation of reservations with boundaries. The two following condensed conversations show how physical distance has led to greater dependence on First Foods knowledge transmission's independent forms and the varying degrees of interest individuals have engaged with the First Foods themselves. It does not imply an absence of relationships with either people or place but rather illustrates the responses to the challenges that manifest in distant relationships.

The CTUIR community constitutionally recognizes a difference between Tribal members located on- or off- the Reservation when they determine who can represent them on their Board of Trustees (BOT). This distinction was first put to law in the 1949 CTUIR Constitution (Article VI, Section 2), which “requires that members of the Board of Trustees be residents of the Umatilla Indian Reservation” (CUJ, 2020 February). On February 26th, 2020, and after two years of debate, CTUIR Tribal members voted to add a constitutional amendment that allowed Tribal members who live within the 1855 Treaty Reservation area the right to be on the BOT, rather than limited to the smaller 1885 Treaty Reservation area. This extended the opportunity and recognized Tribal members that live in a greater geographic area (CUJ, 2020 March). These constitutional amendments demonstrate and quantify the tension of worldviews on the Reservation, that place *does* matter, and not all CTUIR Tribal members are recognized equally. As Barnhardt and Kirkness (2001) say, “the holistic integration and internal consistency of the Native world view is not easily reconciled with the compartmentalized world of bureaucratic institutions” (p. 7). The very act of identifying an individual by their “demarked” location represents the presence of U.S. Government assimilation projects within the CTUIR community today.

Nevertheless, the relationship between Indigenous peoples and land mentioned previously complicates relationships for CTUIR community members who live remotely. Wilson (2008) explains that Indigenous knowledges are “acquired by local peoples through daily experiences” (55). The focus on daily experiences aligns with the Indigenous food sovereignty pillar, participation, which gives responsibility to people at multiple scales: individual, family, community, and regional levels (Desmarais & Wittman, 2015). Norgaard’s (2019) relationships with the Karuk lead her to also associate these daily encounters with the natural world. These encounters act both as links between micro-level experiences of self-conception and identity as much as macro-level community structure. Indigenous epistemology upholds the worldview that relationships are place-based. However, in contrast to that, Indigenous epistemology also does not measure the world by units of time and space (Gilio-Whitaker, 2019; Hiers, n.d.; Kovach, 2009). Indigenous food sovereignty does not name “place” or “place-based” as pillars that inform who can or cannot participate in its strategies; with responsible participation, “place” is relative (Morrison, 2021). This aligns with Tuck, McKenzie, and McCoy’s (2014) land education framework which maintains that land is all the earth and “extends beyond a material fixed space... and is highly contextualized” (quoting Styres and Zinga (2013), 300-301). Regardless, the experiences of each CTUIR community member determine their familiarity with the community and their responsible participation with them. The following two interviews demonstrate how distance affects their access to the CTUIR community and First Food knowledge opportunities.

Michelle Liberty

Michelle: We lived on the Reservation until I was 12, and then we moved to John Day. It’s been many years since then, so I’ve lived in a lot of different places. When I was younger, my parents divorced, and my dad did not stay on the Reservation either. He moved away so then we had even less reason to focus there and be participants in things. Since then, I’ve moved back to the Reservation a couple of times and worked there, that kind of thing. Most recently, I came back to this area in ’98 and chose to live in Walla Walla versus Pendleton. I live off of the Reservation, so the information I get is primarily through the CUJ (Confederated Umatilla Journal). The few times that I’m over there, is usually very

purposeful, like when I am at the museum doing work or at Yellowhawk Medical Center, something like that.

I was at a tourism conference recently and they were talking about tribal foods nationwide and all the tribes and the great things they're doing with foods. It got me very excited about trying to follow up on some of those things here locally. We could benefit not only from healthier foods on the Reservation, but also making it lucrative to invest in fresh foods, grow foods, or create foods for today's pallet. I guess I'm excited about the way they can, how those foods can produce other profits, you know, other results, than just having good food to eat. Creating some kind of opportunity for people.

Lydia: Along those lines, if you had a question about First Foods, is there someone that comes to mind as someone you could ask?

Michelle: It's funny cause just this last June, Top Chef, the series, intended to feature salmon and tribal foods. I do some liaison work with Travel Oregon, and they wanted to talk with some people that knew the foods and that could show them more. I started to ask friends, "Do you know who I should reach?" If you go to the website, there is not a good directory at all. There is certainly not an easy to find location for people that have an expertise in areas or projects going on. So, I was trying to contact everybody I could think of: Eric Quaempts and Wenix come to mind. Most people I couldn't find because it was in the height of the pandemic. I was going through different people to get to somebody. I had some names but I really just couldn't find anybody.

Lydia: Why did Eric Quaempts and Wenix come to mind?

Michelle: I knew that they were doing things in First Foods. I would read about First Foods events and see names. And it was a short timeframe that I needed to talk to people. Sometimes when I had a name, I didn't have contact information.

Lydia: How do you see developing resources or increasing communication to increase sharing of First Food knowledge?

Michelle: I think it starts internally, you know. Making sure that Tribal members have information and know what's going on and have opportunities to learn. The more involved you get in those, the more easily you learn about other things, too. So, for me, just being this far away and not getting over there and hanging out, I sometimes miss out on a lot of opportunities. But I see that growing and that's great.

I don't know if anybody travels from a far for any specific ceremonies, there probably are some, and it would be based on going back to the family they have living there and doing those activities. I think there are things that happen, and they get the word out and it happens and then it's over. So, there's nowhere to go where you kind of see that it has happened, or why it happened. I just think it can be easier. And probably that is always the case with what you're looking for. We have an incredible newspaper, I'm very proud of it. It's a great place to have information. I have gone through to try and look at previous issues, so that has helped.

I am just really busy with work. When I talk about foods and bringing some opportunities that there might be now, I'm really excited about it. I've identified some things, and that's as far as I've gotten. Cause in the end I have to get back to work.

I think it would be a fun challenge to cook with roots and wild-growing things and experiment for today's pallet. I love cooking. I think there is opportunity there for our traditional foods. For my interests, the availability of foods would help me learn them. I would love to see a farmer's market on the Reservation. I don't know if you can collect enough so that there's some for you and some that you could sell that would make it available for people who don't go out and collect. Maybe I'm lazy, too (laugh), so a market does have some appeal to me. It's not that I wouldn't go out, but I wouldn't recognize the things, I'd have to be supervised very closely (laugh). But I don't know how much is out there.

Michelle's distance, approximately one hour from Walla Walla to the Reservation, contributes to her distanced relationships with the CTUIR community and her limited connection with First Food knowledge and experiences. She mentions that her closest family connection, her father, moved away from the Reservation which limited the reasons for her to return, and this relational distance with the Reservation continues today. As someone who has since primarily lived away from the Reservation, Michelle identifies the challenge to First Foods knowledge opportunities primarily due to her infrequent interactions with the CTUIR community. In agreement with Morrison (2021), Michelle acknowledges participation as a component of Indigenous food sovereignty strategies. She assumes that the distant community members who return to the Reservation have family there that they return to. However, Michelle does not have close family ties connecting her to the Reservation and informing her of upcoming activities and opportunities. She believes information about upcoming events is shared between CTUIR community members rather than the CUJ or the Tribal website.

Both the physical and relational distance leads Michelle to seek out independent learning opportunities. For Michelle, this is on the internet through the Tribal government websites and the Tribal newspaper, the Confederated Umatilla Journal (CUJ). The contacts she mentioned reached out to initially were friends as well as Eric and Wenix, people she saw mentioned multiple times in the CUJ. When available contacts did not respond with answers, Michelle continued searching for information online to find connections. This search included the CTUIR government website and CUJ archives, neither of which depend on relationships, but both can be self-initiated following

Moore's (2020) description of independent study resources. However, as Michelle mentions, these resources were challenging to navigate, with limited information, and had few suggestions for people with whom Michelle could connect.

Unique to Michelle's interview is her interest in seeing the Tribes consider the economic opportunities of First Foods and increased opportunities for her to purchase First Foods. Neither Bambi nor Trevor, two other interviewees, spoke of increasing marketing opportunities of First Foods, even as they are both well-established CTUIR Tribal fisherfolk that participate in the salmon market. Michelle believes that Tribal members could increase involvement with First Foods if the Tribal community perceives it as a lucrative opportunity to engage. I must confess that this idea seemed disrespectful of the First Foods when I heard her mention it after having read academic articles that prioritize the reciprocal relationships between people and their foods. However, after further reflection, this is far from fair. I have purchased both salmon and dried deer meat from Tribal members. Huckleberries can be purchased in various forms, from raw to processed, such as in ice cream at CTUIR's Mission Market. A CTUIR community member also informed me that they buy some of the roots on eBay (personal communication). In 1995, the CTUIR Columbia Basin Salmon Policy writes, "Before our Tribes had a thriving fishing economy. We traded salmon up into Canada, down into California, and far to the East for goods from those regions. We were a wealthy, self-sufficient nation at that time" (Hiers, n.d.)³. Indeed, as land education presents, the concept of "authentic" Indigeneity is a settler-colonial construct that limits and harms Indigenous community's ability to collectively envision their own futurity (Tuck et al., 2014). In the future, what could it look like for the CTUIR community to increase focus on all of the First Foods in markets? How could increasing the market valuation of First Foods impact Tribal community relations with these foods?

³ This reference does not quote the original document, but rather the quote within the document. The link to the Salmon Policy document no longer functions.

DNR Director Eric Quaempts himself names the economic importance of their First Foods in the mission statement presented to the community. Increased access to purchase First Foods would provide an opportunity for Michelle and others to build relationships independently with their First Foods. As she explains, she does not have time and does not feel confident in going out to gather on her own. Purchasing at a market would not require the time needed to develop relationships between herself and her community or the land itself. However, it does provide an opportunity for her to have safe access to foods that she could experiment cooking with, in her own way.

Robin, the following community member, also demonstrates her experiences with First Foods from a distance from the CTUIR lands and community and how they influenced her access to First Food educational opportunities. As someone who has recently moved closer to the Reservation, she explains the connections she already has informed her continued efforts to seek educational opportunities for herself and for her family.

Robin Zape-tah-hol-ah Minthorn

Robin: So, *hatso Robin Zape-tah-hol-ah Minthorn*, hi, my name is Robin Minthorn. I'm a citizen of the Kiowa Tribe of Oklahoma, but I'm also a descendent of the Umatilla, Cayuse, Nez Perce, and Assiniboine Tribes. I was actually born in Pendleton, Oregon in 1979, and we only stayed there until I was about six months old, and then we moved to Oklahoma. My dad is David Williams. He was born and grew up on the Umatilla Rez. My brothers are enrolled Umatilla Tribal members, everybody is except for me and my mother, who are enrolled Kiowa. So anyways, because we moved to Oklahoma, my dad wanted to be intentional about bringing us back with him to visit. Home again is a relative home. So, I grew up in Oklahoma, but I still had part of my home on the Umatilla Rez. When my mother and him separated and divorced, he moved back to the Umatilla Rez when I was 13, and I was able to come back and spend the summer and stay with him. After high school, I came back to live and work in the summers.

My husband is not enrolled Umatilla but grew up on the Umatilla Rez, so he's a community member, that's how I would identify him. My husband and I just moved to Washington state (Tacoma) in 2019, so we've been able to go back and forth recently. The intention is that we can return home, home being the Umatilla Rez, as much as we need to and want to.

Because I lived and grew up in Oklahoma, my connection to First Foods as far as ceremonies were concerned was very limited because we only went home to the Umatilla Rez when it was convenient for us, when we were not in school and able to get back. I have

been able to attend a couple Huckleberry Feasts so most of my connection has been to the huckleberries. I don't remember my grandma or my aunts or uncles really talking to me about First Foods specifically, but I do want to acknowledge my uncle who has been a fisherman all of his life, and salmon is one of our foods. I remember going to find him on the Columbia River and visit him a bit. Other education has been through conversations and that knowledge sharing. I have mentioned my cousin, or my husband's cousin, who has talked about it. Not only to me but with others and she shares it on social media.

Thankfully, I have my husband's cousin and others that we can go up and say, "Hey! If you're going to go out, let us know." I know I've heard Nix (Wenix) and others talk about this, having a place where we're going to do this, so that way, for some people who many not already have that connection, like going out to pick berries or going out to dig, that they can do that if they weren't able to have that as a person, that they can share that knowledge with their children and bring them that connection and build that connection.

Lydia: Is that an opportunity for you? You are a bit farther away.

Robin: I think if we knew... I talked with my husband, he was going to follow up with his cousin to ask when she's going to go digging so she can let us know. I know it can be a spur of the moment, but if we know at least a couple days ahead of time, we could try to get there, and we would make it a priority, to give her (our daughter Roxie) these experiences while she's younger. So she's not having to figure that out later.

For me, with my limited access, because of living in another state, my experiences have been based on when we could make it back. Bobbie Conner, with the creation of the Tamástlikt Tribal Museum and the books that have come out because of her work and others' work, has really built a cultural connection for some of us that haven't grown up on the Reservation, to be able to have that knowledge and connection to information, too.

Lydia: Are there any other opportunities or resources that would help you learn First Foods?

Robin: I've actually really appreciated the online access because of COVID and the pandemic that's been happening. I wasn't able to attend last Thursday because it was really hectic in our house, but I have the recording now that I can go back and watch. But being able to have access to those webinars or the ability to share that way, I think that because of this pandemic we've been forced to create access to community members on the Rez but also this is providing a broadening approach to those of us that live off the Rez, too. So that's really been helpful. Technology has made it more accessible over the last 10-15 years, because of social media, because of access to webinars and Zoom and other places. I hope that what we're able to see now can provide access to community members or Tribal members who live off the Reservations, to that information and to that knowledge. At least have a cursory knowledge until we're physically able to be there to experience and be a part of that connection. And so, I think it's going to build connections with our communities off of the Reservation to on the Reservation. Maybe they will feel there's more of a connection and maybe they will also feel more of a sense of responsibility to the community.

Before Robin moved closer (now five hours from Tacoma to the Reservation), Robin lived a significant distance further away from the Umatilla Reservation and had limited opportunities to

visit and participate. During this time of her life, she identified independent learning opportunities as important resources for knowledge. For unspecified reasons, her family members largely did not contribute to her First Foods knowledge, however the CTUIR's Tamástlikt Museum was a place she could visit and could learn from. The books published through the museum also helped provide her with independent opportunities to learn about her culture, which includes First Foods. Trevor, a 25-year-old Tribal member who lives near the Reservation, also cited the Tamástlikt Museum, its books, and other written documents as very helpful First Food self-guided, independent resources (Moore, 2020). The importance of having access to written documentation of First Foods benefits a wide spectrum of the CTUIR community.

As a remote CTUIR community member, Robin highlights the usefulness of technology in her First Foods knowledge acquisition. Social media was identified as a way for her to keep connected to both her family, their practices, and the First Foods they are engaging with. Following her husband's cousin's posts, she learns about the individual First Foods and their seasonal timing. Because of their existing relationships, when Robin sees gathering photos, she is comfortable asking if her family can join on outings. Although remote, technology allows for deepened relationships between Robin and her family members located on the Umatilla Reservation and a growing relationship between Robin's family and the land itself.

With the recent COVID pandemic, Robin also noticed an increase in First Foods online opportunities made available by CTUIR's institutions, such as webinars and Zoom meetings. Robin spoke of these resources and the multiple purposes they serve. As a mother, a professional, and a remote community member, recorded sessions allow her to stay connected to her community when she has time available. As someone with less place-based knowledge experience due to partially being raised away from the Reservation, she understands these resources to be points of entry for off-Reservation Indians. Robin says cursory information can be imparted from which a person can begin to feel connected to the CTUIR community. Similarly, Kovach (2009) says, "while

colonialism has interrupted this organic transmission (of knowledge), many Indigenous peoples recognize that for their cultural knowledge to thrive it must live in many sites” (12). Robin agrees and believes providing access to these resources can grow a sense of responsibility to the CTUIR community and lands, even for those CTUIR community members who live at a distance.

While CTUIR is exploring webinars, there exists hesitancy to capture and record trainings. For one thing, when recorded knowledge is made available, the potential for the Tribes to lose control over who accesses the context increases. Who would determine who has the right to have this access? How would that decision be made? Recording First Foods knowledge becomes political, but so is Indigenous food sovereignty (Morrison, 2021). The relationality that fundamentally underlies this sacred knowledge is lost when anyone with no connection or relationship to the Tribe can access it. Additionally, some of the knowledge includes storytelling, and within Indigenous paradigms, stories are relational (Kovach, 2009). That said, CTUIR Elder Thomas Morning Owl spoke these words at the Living Breathing Symposium in response to these concerns:

“I have no qualms of writing it down. Some people are worried that it will be stolen by people who want to steal everything and make it theirs. We don’t have no hesitation sleeping on a memory foam mattress, getting in a car, we hunt with guns. These things are tools. If, as a knowledge carrier, as an Elder that has that knowledge, if I don’t take the time to pass it on, if I don’t do anything with it, whether it’s a language or First Foods, I’m the one who is stealing it if I die and take it with me. If it’s recorded, if it’s taken down, my grandchildren can hear it and might take the challenge like Linda did.” (June 2021)

Thomas mentions another CTUIR community Elder and knowledge holder, Linda Sampson, and her use of recordings. As a pre-school teacher, she shows recordings of Thomas sharing First Foods stories with her students, and at this conference she spoke of the impact she has seen the videos have on students, igniting their curiosity. She has dedicated her life to identifying and locating First Foods with which the Tribal community is not currently engaged. Thomas prioritizes recording and sharing the First Food knowledge over the fear of potentially spreading beyond the CTUIR’s community members.

With more access to webinars and trainings, Robin speaks to the challenge of building relationships that can inform her of First Food experiential opportunities. She does mention knowing that Wenix offers outings to community members but, for unspecified reasons, she does not mention trying to participate in those opportunities. Robin's experience as a distant CTUIR community member differs from Michelle's; Robin's existing family relationships connect her to the Umatilla Reservation from both her and her husband's families. Robin expresses her gratitude for having her husband's cousin to turn to and ask about the gathering seasons and upcoming community events. Despite Robin's greater distance to the Umatilla Reservation, these connections have enabled her and her family to be informed of and feel welcomed to gathering opportunities, celebrations, and other community events in a way that Michelle does not have.

More so now than ever before, opportunities make First Food knowledge available for distant CTUIR community members. Through these growing First Food opportunities and resources, distant members can build connections with the CTUIR community itself. With that in mind, it is necessary to consider the barriers, resources, and interests of distant community members when developing First Foods educational opportunities. To be engaged with First Foods, the distance requires them to be independent learners with less dependence on land and community relationships.

Can Reciprocal Relationality Exist at a Distance?

CTUIR's applied anthropologist, Jennifer Karson Engum (2014), presents an element of whether or not place inherently determines a Tribal persons' membership or ability to remain in relationship with their culture and First Foods. She says, "the sense that I get in listening to these elders' words is that when reciprocity is in place, the people — the Natítayt — and their culture remains intact" (443). Thus, place may play a significant role in First Food knowledge transmission, but ultimately, the reciprocal relationality determines if the relationship and culture stay intact. So then the next question is, can reciprocal relationality exist at a distance?

In these previous two interviews, Michelle and Robin bring attention to the resources they have sought and used to seek First Food knowledge and experiences. These include independent resources such as the Confederated Umatilla Journal, the CTUIR website, books, and papers published by CTUIR, and webinars or remote Zoom trainings. Unfortunately, these resources provide no opportunity to generate reciprocal relationality. What could responsibility to these resources look like? Social media, on the other hand, could debatably be an interdependent or independent resource. What is clear about social media is its function as a platform that allows relationships to continue over distance, eliminating the importance of place. Through these connections, Robin stays informed of familial First Food events.

Robin says, "I think if we knew..." in this instance implying that if she knew about Wenix's and the DNR's First Food opportunities coming up, her family would make an effort to organize and drive across the state to attend. She pivots and says that her husband was reaching out to his cousin to check on timing. This could be interpreted in two ways: either Robin has not seen the First Food opportunities offered, or she prefers to gather with family. Either way, the importance of relationship and participation highlights the desirability of First Food options and the extent to which she has access to that information. Being at a distance from the land and the community requires more self-initiated involvement to find resources and maintain relationships.

Physically Close, Relationally Distant

Indeed, the debate over who are the "real" Indians, the new Indians, the wannabes and the "frauds" rages with great fury. But this solidarity is for whose benefit? What is at stake? Who is victimized?

Vine Deloria Jr. quoting Clifford M. Lytle (1984, p. 266)

For CTUIR community members who live on or near the Umatilla Indian Reservation, geographic distance does not impact their access to First Foods knowledge. On the contrary, individuals located on or near the Reservation have increased awareness of their First Foods' seasons, easier access to the land, and increased proximity to both the CTUIR community and more

opportunities to participate in educational and outreach opportunities. Regardless of this, some CTUIR community members suffer relational challenges that distance them from community members and the opportunities to learn with them. Two themes arise that help explain some of these relational barriers: lateral oppression and, from an Indigenous paradigm, the importance of relationships.

The two interviewees confront challenges when they reach out to people beyond their closest connections, identifying these challenges based on relationships and power, and they share several characteristics. They both 1) have physical proximity to the Reservation's land and community 2) have family and friends on the Reservation yet moved to the Reservation as adults and 3) want to expand their First Food knowledge. They want to expand the knowledge they have beyond what their closest relationships can provide. As mentioned in Chapter 3, only two interview participants asked for anonymity in this report, and these two participants chose the pseudonyms used within this section. They are also the two individuals who spoke to the relational qualities within the CTUIR community that limit their access to First Food knowledge. The request for anonymity further emphasizes the heavy emotional and relational qualities this topic carries.

Sunflower

Sunflower: I've lived here on the Reservation since the early 2000s. But growing up, I lived here every summer here with my (grandparent) when I was a child. My (parent) is from here, born here, raised here, but they moved when they were in high school and then worked in (an urban area) where I was raised.

Lydia: When you think of somebody that has First Food awareness, who comes to mind? What makes you think of them?

Sunflower: I think there are some people that come to mind immediately, you know, like Thomas, Mildred, Linda. When I think of these people that know this stuff, what they do... well first of all, you know, you think of these people because that's who you go to. You know they know everything. They're popular because they're at every function, they're brought to light by the Tribe. They're put in the spotlight. They are shown to everyone, "look if you want to know, this is who you go to," that kind of a thing.

Lydia: Where do you go when you have First Foods questions?

Sunflower: I started with my own family members to see what we still had knowledge of. Unfortunately, a lot of my family was very assimilated through the church. When you go to your own peer group, you know, your own peers, they usually know who, or can direct you to who. I could go to the people my (parent) was close to, they would say, “Go ask...whoever. They could tell you.” So usually, my family first and then you figure it out from there. And if they know anything, they’re willing to tell me the information. But right now, most of my family is gone.

Lydia: What opportunities or resources would you like or would help you learn about your First Foods?

Sunflower: It would be neat if there were more videos made of things. Pictures of what the roots looked like. Like if there was a real guide for root diggers. A root diggers guide. That would show you the bad root and the good root on each root, name it. And then tell you where you could go get it. Like... (big exhalation, drops head slightly). That’s hard though because people have their spots. And once you open it up to everybody then people flock there and take it all. And you still have to respect people’s places, where they go. Kind of like an unspoken rule. You don’t just hone in on other people’s spots that they have. At the same time, that’s why people are so guarded about where they are. But at the same time, we really have to know where to gather these things, certain things, because otherwise they’re going to be lost! And if only five people know where to go get ‘em, what’s going to happen if something tragic happens, then it’s just gone? We have to have something archived or documented. All of these little details need a good directory. All of this information needs an archive or search engine or something.

Ahh! It’s so hard, we just need access. And then we need to stop “knowledge hoarding” just because you grew up in the city and because you’re a (fingers in air quotes) “half-breed.” It doesn’t matter your situation, you should be able to have access to that information to practice. If I know all this stuff and you don’t, I have power. It’s a form of lateral oppression. And they don’t mean to do it, it’s just something that happens. And it’s because of trust and trauma. And it’s NOT your fault! Imagine someone told you, “You didn’t know that?” (with scrunched-up face). And humiliate you and shame you. That’s terrible, and it’s why a lot of people get turned off to do certain things, for feeling like they’re judged or put down or humiliated. I came from a different place and all I needed was to have people to teach me to be the Indian me again. People think all these things like, “I don’t know you, why should I tell you? What are you going to do with it? I don’t trust you.”

...Every year I try and add a new root. I really try to go out and find somebody that knows the root and then ask them to show me where it is or show me a picture. I’ve already asked four different people that I know who know, have dug it, so now I’m just waiting for replies. It’s hard. Cause you have to, whoever knows it, then you have to get them to be willing to go out and show you and that’s hard to coordinate. And then getting them to admit, or to agree to show you, that’s hard. For me. You have to be willing to be open-minded, be willing to ask questions, but also be willing to be quiet.

Sunflower begins by saying that, through her involvement with community events, they know whom the community upholds as First Foods knowledge holders. However, Sunflower continues to say

that family is still where they begin when seeking knowledge; they explain their ability to ask their family for their knowledge and connections and their family's willingness to share it. They are dependent on their closest relationships for connections to First Food knowledge. Efforts to connect with knowledge beyond their family are limited, but Sunflower mentions that they do not perceive the same willingness to share information from non-family members. When the challenge of these previous interactions comes to mind, Sunflower introduces the term "knowledge hoarder."

These "knowledge hoarders" could be understood to be defending their territory, simultaneously encompassing land, relationship, and knowledge. Strong land stewardship notions based upon familial relationships with land may produce reluctance in sharing gathering, picking, or hunting location information for fear of exploitation and competition of the resource. Exploitation in turn could cause lasting damage to a location with which a family has had long-term relationships and a responsibility to maintain. CTUIR Tribal member Wenix Red Elk said that people

"need to learn how to harvest in a way that is productive. When the Elders are gathering, they say, take it all in. Is there actually enough? Will it hurt it? You have to be careful while it is establishing. You must gather in a way that it makes the product more bountiful" (Fossek, May 2021).

These lessons vary between every root and plant, and if a relationship doesn't exist that leads a knowledge holder to trust someone and share information, they sometimes won't.

From this perspective, a person not willing to share information, especially location, could be understood to "guard" rather than "hoard" knowledge. One example of this was seen during the Caretakers of the Land Zoom presentation by Robert (Bobby) Fossett II. He and his partner Brosnan Spencer are known for their efforts to share traditional knowledge with the CTUIR community. A participant in the presentation, presumably with no relationship to either of them, asked where the plant photographs in the presentation were taken. Bobby's response was that they came from "no tell 'em ridge near don't say creek" (Fossek, May 2021). Although presented as a

joke, the lesson was clear: location would not be shared to the distant (non-existent) relationships made via a Zoom presentation even if the purpose of the presentation was to share knowledge.

Sunflower speaks to the fundamental necessity of relationships and trust when they mention a response they'd received, "I don't know you, why should I trust you?" What elements then contribute to a knowledge holder feeling comfortable to share their knowledge? They believe that their otherness as a "half-breed" causes people to not consider them a member of the Tribal community which implies that trust is partially based on an individual's CTUIR Tribal blood quantum. Likewise, Sunflower believes their urban background contributes to people not trusting them. Trust is then partially based on the extent of their perceived membership and shared experiences within the Tribal community. To what extent can these perceived differences be overcome? Is there a point at which a Tribal member who relocates to the Reservation becomes part of the community? Would it be based on time, involvement, experiences shared, or something else? What role, if any, does the Tribal government have in determining who belongs?

Lateral oppression, a term referenced by Sunflower, reflects the understanding that power differentials on the Reservation determine who has access to knowledge. Even though it was only mentioned once in the semi-structured interviews, I also heard this term in conversations I had with other Tribal members. The term caught my attention both because it was new to me and because it was used with strong emotions of sadness and frustration. Lateral oppression refers to negative feedback both within and between oppressed groups, where oppressed groups displace aggressions to one's peers rather than oppressors (Capodilupo et. al., 2018). Lateral violence, a term more frequently used in academia, includes bullying, blaming, social acts of disrespect, and having a lack of trust toward peers (Bombay, 2014; Ceravolo, et. al, 2012). These common or daily manifestations of aggression persist often enough on the Reservation to dissuade CTUIR community members from seeking to learn their First Foods, and Sunflower and the following participant, Willow, talks about their experiences with lateral oppression.

CTUIR community member Wenix Red Elk provides a possible reason why knowledge is hoarded and lateral oppression exists. When traditional practices were made illegal to practice, the knowledge became hidden and guarded. Those practices only became shared with people they absolutely could trust to not put them in danger or at risk of legal repercussions. Trauma associated with even having the knowledge, including physical and emotional abuses at boarding schools, keeps individuals from wanting to engage with those topics, let alone share them (Personal conversation, July 8, 2021). It is exactly these systemic forms of oppression through intentional and repeated acts of assimilation that manifest not only in the remnants of these acts but through interpersonal oppressions within Tribal communities. These interpersonal and lateral oppressions become incredibly damaging within a culture whose foundational structure is based on relationality: lateral oppression is the manifestation of systemic violence perpetuated through interpersonal violence. Those challenged feelings persist today, increasing the importance of trust in a relationship if First Food knowledge is to be shared.

Conversely, trust is also necessary for knowledge seekers to reach out to knowledge carriers. Sunflower recalls responses from community members that caused them to feel shame and humiliation when they asked First-Food-related questions. These emotions were not mentioned in other interviews, but I heard them used by other Tribal members in personal conversations. Willow, as you will see, does reference their discomfort when seeking First Food knowledge as an emotion that leads them to not seek First Food knowledge. These emotions keep them and others from seeking and engaging with First Food knowledge activities, and these relationships are equally dependent on trust.

Willow

If I could change one thing about First Foods, it would be that they are more accessible on our Reservation. As in community wise. I do need xawsh and I do need some potishway (roots), and I don't know where to go get those. I wanna drive up top of the mountains and go and get those foods. You know, I remember at the racquetball club, you know, everybody goes in there in the sweat or the steam room putting medicine on rocks and stuff.

I wanted my own little stocks to have at home, cause it made me feel like, well, I don't have any. Cause I don't know where they are. That family's been going up there and getting some from the same place their whole life and his dad taught him. So, I don't have that, I don't have that. And then if I ask somebody, that kind of makes me feel, like, uncomfortable because that's their place to go get it. It's not my place to go get it. And that's what really throws me off. This ISN'T a community thing or this IS a community thing? Cause all my family gathered from there, we always got from there. I feel uncomfortable goin', "Hey, well, where is it exactly?" They don't want to do that, that puts them in an uncomfortable position. So, I just don't, I avoid it. I guess I just won't ask.

It's uncomfortable, very uncomfortable. I wasn't brought up that way here, but I want to, you know. I want to do the same thing, that cool thing with my kids. But you know, you don't have, you weren't raised here, how I was. So that's that disconnect I have. Recently my Elder friend passed and that was my connection. I felt like I could ask him everything and now that he's... so I kinda go, who do I go talk to? He was my connection to my great (grandparent.) I felt way comfortable asking this dude everything. You know, we enjoyed each other's company. And so I'm actually looking for that resource right now. You know, however, spiritually, in my own life. Who can I reach out to?

That's the disconnect I think I still have with First Foods. Yeah totally. I think it's not shared enough. You don't want to tell them cause then next year I'm gonna be up there. But we're supposed to be together doing this, ya know. But I know it's special to some people and you gotta keep it that way, so you just don't overstep that boundary. And going outside of your comfortableness and offending somebody, I just don't want to do it.

Reflecting on their confusion about the relationships they have in their community, Willow asks, "aren't we all family?" This implies a feeling of disconnection between them and their community because they were raised somewhere else and perceive it as a barrier that they cannot overcome. Although actively trying to engage with the community and with First Foods, Willow still feels disconnected. This lack of connection is detrimental to their accessing and receiving First Food knowledge and experiences. Aside from not receiving knowledge, Willow also experiences missed opportunities in providing for their community. Speaking about their sweat experiences, they acknowledge that they benefit from the medicines brought by others and want to reciprocate and contribute. Their loss and weakened relationships are therefore experienced doubly.

The Barrier of Challenged Identities

Acts of lateral oppression, or violence, demonstrate power differentials that exist within the CTUIR community. On the surface, the perceived acts of lateral oppression are not "violent," yet the outcome remains the same: CTUIR community members do not feel safe to seek First Food

knowledge from their community. In this case, individuals or groups with more First Food knowledge have more power than those *seeking* First Food knowledge. The manifestation of these acts is perceived in three forms: exclusion from the power structure, not having power, or being powerless (Griffin, 2004; Capodilupo et. al., 2018). Upon asking First Food questions, these two interview participants experienced 6 of the 10 most frequent forms of lateral violence named by Martha Griffen (2004), including:

1. nonverbal innuendo (facial reactions of disgust)
2. verbal affronts (lack of openness or abrupt responses)
3. undermining activities (not being available or misconstruing the extent of their knowledge)
4. withholding information (such as location)
5. scapegoating (casting blame of mis-care to First Foods and lands)
6. infighting (causing feelings of judgement, humiliation, and shame).

Not included within these forms of lateral violence is an example that encapsulates the influence of identity politics. Identity in our globally, regionally, and locally fluctuating world can shift in complex ways. Mi'kmaq scholar Bonita Lawrence (2003) writes that identity is seen either as something that a person does or by defining what a person is: "Identity, in a sense, is about ways of looking at people, about how history is interpreted and negotiated, and about who has the authority to determine a group's identity or authenticity (4)." The inclusion of history, as stated here, is equally important in Tuck et al's (2014) land education. Set in the context of Secwepemc activist Dawn Morrison's (2021) third pillar of Indigenous food sovereignty, and identity closely tied to foods becomes further complicated; her self-determination pillar does not state who has the power to determine or whether "determination" is at the individual- or community level.

Should the entire nation or community self-determine who is and is not able to identify as a member? Whyte (2018a) presents that "the conservation of certain foods and food systems is closely connected to a societies' exercise of collective self-determination under US colonial conditions (p

347).” However, if an individual community member self-identifies as a member but their community does not recognize them as such, what then? Is this to the detriment or benefit of a community’s Indigenous food sovereignty? Both of these interview participants refer to their challenged identity, such as when Sunflower mentions the perceived challenge of being “half-breed” and Willow responds to interactions by asking themselves if they are truly a part of the CTUIR community; these external perceptions are to the detriment of efforts to increase First Food knowledge transmission in their community.

On the one hand, as Robin Kimmerer (Potawatomi) explains (2018), “knowledge might be withheld unless the recipient has demonstrated an understanding of the responsibilities attendant to that knowledge (p. 45).” In these instances, the authority held by knowledge-holding individuals determined the two interviewees’ identities which simultaneously gauged their “understanding of responsibilities.” Knowledge holders yield a tremendous power, which in this case minimized the interviewee’s access to self-determine their own Indigenous food sovereignty (Lawrence, 2003). Relationships inform this authority. Speaking about their Elder friend who has recently passed, Willow says, “He was my connection to my great (grandparent.) I felt way comfortable asking this dude everything. You know, we enjoyed each other’s company. And so I’m actually looking for that resource right now.” Willow is not only looking for a friend and relationship, but they are also looking for someone who respects them enough to entrust them with the responsibilities necessary to enter into First Foods relationships.

Ultimately, although they experience frustration, both of these interviewees express some understanding of the roots behind the challenges they encounter. They both link the reasons behind withheld information to the individual or group’s highest intention of care for the land and the First Foods, connected to their acceptance that families have maintained relationships with the land for generations. Sunflower also connects the distrust with generational trauma explicitly calling attention to Anishinaabe kwe/ Rainy River First Nation scholar Amy Bombay’s (2014) definition of

lateral oppression. Bombay suggests that residential schools were the primary cause of these oppressive behaviors “thought to be prevalent within Aboriginal communities.” To some extent, trauma, trust, and familial connections recognize these actions as both “knowledge hoarding” and “knowledge guarding.”

Even though both of these interviewees are CTUIR Tribal members that live on or near the Reservation, these challenging interactions likely contribute to their wish for independent First Foods learning opportunities. This is also considering that their interviews referenced group activities in which they’re involved. Independent resources are not utilized with others but rather are self-initiated and experienced alone. Sunflower specifically asks for a root diggers guide with images, information on the edible First Foods, their dangerous look-alike, and naming locations where they can be found. They also enjoyed the video trainings. Willow, similar to Sunflower, both uses and would like more independent learning resources to acquiring their First Foods knowledge. Willow mentions formal documents produced by DNR as important in learning about First Foods and craves a resource, like a dictionary, that will keep them from making mistakes to both eliminate judgment from community members and ensure that they respect the Creator and the Creator’s rules. Willow named turning to Google with questions. Whether on paper or digital, these independent resources provide a safe pathway for CTUIR community members to continue to pursue First Food knowledge with care.

Interdependent Relationships

The spectrum of possible relationships within the CTUIR community extends to those who feel strongly connected to their community and their lands. Because of these relationships, the following two individuals have different experiences than Tribal community members with more distant connections. These relationships influence perceptions of what First Foods are, their role in lives, and the role that these individuals have in their community through First Foods. These relationships not only contribute to their connection and access to interdependent resources. These

resources previously taught them their First Food knowledge and are those they continue to return to when they have questions.

Althea Huesties Wolf

Althea: I've lived near the Reservation pretty much most of my life, there's only been stints when I left. When I was young, there were no jobs on the Reservation. Before we moved so my dad could earn money, my mom and us kids, we picked up cans. We pulled rye in the fields for farmers. That's how much my mom wanted to live here. I dug roots for survival. And I learned with my mother how to preserve those roots.

I was in second grade when I joined the Gatherers. They're the ones that do the initial gathering to open up the gathering season. My mom and I always gathered xawsh, but when we started gathering with the women, and these elder ladies who taught all the current ladies, we were able to learn not only how to find the other roots but even get an idea of the kind of soil, the direction of the hill in terms of the sun. So we were able to kind of like, landscape wise, it's probably over here, or it should be here. So my mom and I were able to gather much more roots after being a part of the women. And my brothers were hunters, they hunted.

Lydia: If I ask you to think of someone with a lot of First Food awareness, who do you think of? What made that person come to mind?

Althea: Aside from my mother?

Lydia: It could be your mother.

Althea: Yeah, my mom. She was, she's the oldest of her siblings so she wears a lot of hats already. But I feel like she's real graceful with her knowledge, I don't know if I'm graceful, I'd never say that I was graceful. But just the way that she's silent in her knowledge about things. She's not known for correcting people. But she... It's not like it's a private knowledge. It's just something, you know, reserved for people who not only love her, but she loves them back. And that's... anybody can be a friend, and entertaining, and "it's fun to be around them once a week" or "I like being around them when we go do that." It's another for somebody to give back to you the feelings you give them. And it's not that she's stingy with her knowledge it's just... there's a certain level of love to share those moments out there in the root fields and huckleberry bushes and in the drying tent that are just silent. Where you just are in the comfort of being grateful that you're carrying on what you were taught. And there isn't much to say in the moment. You can just be quiet and be in the presence of one another. That's what I love. I think of my mother.

Lydia: I love that. Do you have a memorable experience learning about First Food?

Althea: Gathering was just something that me and my mom did. So, it didn't necessarily start becoming special until my great grandma, her name was Ada Jones Patrick, it didn't start becoming special until my great grandma insisted on bringing all of us out so she could show us where she gathered. She is one of my favorite people, my great grandma Ada. I must have been about 10, ten years old, when I realized how special this was. That these kids I see at the Longhouse, not all of them have a grandma who does this with them. I

mean, everybody has their special moments with their grandparents, I'm not trying to take that away from somebody. It was just in that moment that I realized how special it was. That we were gathering this, it wasn't xawsh, it was another kind of root. And it was found up near Indian Lake, and I haven't been able to find it again. I have a bad feeling that it might be gone. For whatever reason, it's just hard to find. She was showing us how to get this particular root. When she was talking to us, we all had to sit down.

And she began to talk to us about when she gathered here as a child. And of course I don't remember everything. But I remember her saying, "I gathered here when we were in hiding. And I gathered here as a child." You know, what does she mean, 'in hiding?' So again, back into college and I'm reflecting about different things to write about, like, "What the heck did she mean by 'hiding?' And then I found out until about 1910, maybe it was more like 1915, the Umatillas had their own police brigade that patrolled from, pretty much our ceded lands. And they just made sure that Indians were safe. What was happening though is settlers were killing Indians because if an Indian wasn't located on the Reservation, they could be considered hostile. So what happened was, my grandma, she lived in hiding because her dad fought living on the Reservation, he didn't want to live on the Reservation. They basically hid from everybody because even other Indians were helping settlers hunt us down. Cause, my family, we lived in the Blue Mountains. But her and her mom and sisters lived in the mountains as long as my great grandpa could keep them there, and then he finally moved them down here. But that is a gathering memory. And it's just, it gets overwhelming when I think of what she went through.

Lydia: Althea, then on the other side. Do you have a memorable experience sharing First Foods?

Althea: Yeah, with my sisters-in-law. My sisters-in-law, they're descendants. One of them passed away. She died in a car accident. My sister-in-law that is remaining, she's just a fanatic of the First Foods. So those two really reinvigorated me on those memories. Cause they would say things like, "How come we weren't taught this?" And I was like, "I don't know. It was just something we grew up with." My brothers and I were like, it's just something we grew up with. I mean, yeah, it's special, but we thought everybody did it. We thought everybody knew about this stuff. I do feel like there's a lot of people that know about our First Foods. They're kind of like us, they don't really talk about it, they just know it. Being around them is invigorating. My sister-in-law, Feather, she has such a deep appreciation of the First Foods and our way of life.

Lydia: When you were learning about First Foods, do you remember any community events that were important or helpful?

Althea: Well, the Gatherers. The Gatherers was probably the best lesson. They're the ones that do the initial gathering to open up the gathering season, they call it Root Feast, and things like that. And back then, I had the great honor of being able to serve with some of the gatherers that taught all of the modern-day gatherers.

I want my girls to do it. I'm imposing that on my daughters just because I know it's good for them. It's a lot of work. And that's more of a social type of, cause when you gather on your own as an individual it's not nearly as hard. Cause when you go out in a social setting like that, you are being judged. And some of the women will call it out. Like, "How come you're

not wearing braids? And where are your leggings? Why aren't your legs covered?" And, I don't know if it's because I'm old now, but it seems like people are so sensitive to that that they just don't even want to participate in it or they think they're protecting their kids from that by not letting them participate. Like, "Oh, they're mean. And blah, blah, blah." And I'm like, "Well, even if they are mean, you gotta get to know your community. And you gotta be strong enough to withstand that kind of judgment."

And I think that's one of the things that people miss out on, is they go off and gather and they post it on Facebook. And you know, on Facebook you get nonstop praise about anything. I'm not on Facebook anymore. I was on it, but I left it cause I just couldn't stand it. But people will do that, they'll gather and they go, "The Sisters are out." You know, and they'll take a picture of roots. Or, "Had fun fishing today" and they'll take a picture. It's almost like they want the street cred for gathering. Or hunting or fishing. And for me, if you can go gather with the women, and yeah, I don't get along with all of them. But we come together for four days, differences aside, and our energy is set on gathering, getting the first roots out, hosting Root Feast, in the best way possible, with the best possible intentions. That is what we think more of. The gratification of getting 100 likes on Facebook compares nothing, it's not comparable to the gratification you get for completing years of work gathering in a social structure like the women.

Because not all of them get along, and we're all aware of that. It's like, we know not all of the women get along. But they work through all of that enough to make Root Feast happen. You know, I warned my daughters, "Yeah, not everybody gets along. But you're there to be that glue. The ones that are mouthy will think twice about sharing their opinion when you're in the room." And they go, "Why?" "Because you're young. No woman wants to be seen as a meany, or no woman wants to teach a kid how to talk bad about another person. When it comes down to it, no woman, or person, but in this instance woman, wants that on their conscious. So, you make people better just by your presence. And you give them a lot of confidence by just being good listeners and appreciating their time."

So, yeah. I was really hesitant at first letting my daughters go out because I am aware of the conflicts and the arguing and the bickering. But a lot of prayer goes out at that time of year. Cause I'm praying constantly. "Help them be safe. Help there be happiness and light brought forward. Help them think of the greater good." There's so many people like me who are praying on their own. And then the women are out there praying. So for me, yeah, that's cool that you're gathering on your own or in the safety of your friends or even with people who don't know as much as you. To me, that's real safe. The hard part is going out and digging with peers and people you're not related to. And doing it in a good way and getting along through the whole thing. That's a big achievement and that's why I push my daughters to be gatherers with the women during Root Feast. Cause it taught me a lot.

Because spouting off on social media or website, a chat room. Yeah, you're big and tough in a chat room but can you say it to my face? If it's not worth saying to my face and out loud, then maybe you shouldn't be writing it either. That's why I really support these social gather things. That's why I do want to be a part of them. Because I think there are some assumptions about me that I know it all. And it's like, well, I don't know it all. I'm curious about how you make pemmican. So of course I want to be involved. And some people, if I'm involved, they think I'm judging them. And I'm like, "I wanna learn how you do it." I

genuinely want to learn. So yeah, I think supporting socializing our First Foods in a Tribal setting is important. Because that's how you keep a community together.

Althea has strong relationships with the community and with the land, and both relationships are firmly connected and thanks first and foremost to her nuclear family relationships. Not only does it appear that she trusts these relationships, but she also speaks of the importance of love within them. Althea's mother and greatest teacher taught her First Foods for survival that were both dependent on and represented reciprocal actions of love. Additionally, Althea remembers the turning point in her life when she first felt how special First Foods are, when her great-grandmother took her and her cousins out gathering roots. Her great-grandmother ensured that her great-grandchildren heard from her the story of how they were connected to the land and to the roots, to their ancestors, and to each other.

Through these stories, Althea's land education reflects multiple elements of Tuck, McKenzie and McCoy's (2014) land education. These scholars and Althea concur, "relationships to land are familial, intimate, intergenerational, and instructive" (9). Althea's experience of her great-grandmother taking her to the land to share her story illustrates how land serves as a conduit of memory that "triggers the ethics of relationality with the sacred geographies that constitute Indigenous people's histories" (Byrd 2011, 188, quoted in Tuck, McKenzie, & McCoy 2014). First Foods and Indigenous knowledge in the context of decolonization cannot engage in this struggle through, as Althea calls them, "fun to be around once a week" relationships. Rather, indigenization depends on relationships like Althea has with her mother and great-grandmother, based on love, trust, and respect to not only transmit First Food knowledge but engage with Indigenous food sovereignty. This work of indigenization, or as Quechua scholar Sandy Grande (2004) calls it, the "struggle in the common project of decolonization (is that which) requires courage, humility, and love" (175).

Althea insists that her daughters participate in the Gatherers' outings to gain all that the group teaches; Althea names the "social work" of these outings as the highest goal and in fact does not mention increased roots knowledge as a goal. Althea's recognition of the group's highest goal to be other than knowledge of the plants themselves is striking considering Althea herself attributes her deepest knowledge and relationship with the land to the Gatherers; "we were able to learn not only how to find the other roots but even get an idea of the kind of soil, the direction of the hill in terms of the sun." That said, those skills are not why Althea sends her daughter out with the women. Through participation in these groups, Althea wants her girls to be strong enough to overcome the hardships of judgment. Interestingly, Secwepemc activist Dawn Morrison defines the Indigenous food sovereignty pillar "participation" as people's responsibility to "interdependent relationships with the ecosystem" (2021). Morrison does not include the interdependent participation of an individual within their human community as part of the definition. However, within Morrison's Indigenous Food Systems Network's document, "Responsibilities and Relationships: Decolonizing the BC Food System Network" (Morrison & Brynne, 2016), the authors do include the importance of Indigenous peoples working together to "participate authentically and safely...so that we are coming together as equals" (7). It appears that further reflection of these definitions could be beneficial to incorporate all of the interdependent relationships Indigenous communities value.

The intergenerational time Althea's daughters spend with the Gatherers gives the women an opportunity to include the girls in their wisdom and social structure. Conversely, her daughters "give them confidence by just being good listeners and appreciating their time." Potawatomi scholar Robin Kimmerer writes that "knowledge revitalization is an exercise of intergenerational reciprocity" (2018, p. 46). Through this interdependence across generations, Althea posits that the highest knowledge First Foods contribute is the ability to socialize within the community, because First Foods are "how you keep a community together." From her years in relationship with the Karuk, Norgaard (2019) agrees with this:

“activities associated with managing, gathering, harvesting, preparing, preserving, storing, sharing, and consuming traditional foods serve critical roles in transmitting intergenerational knowledge and practices. These food-related activities also serve as social glue that binds the community together, outlining social roles that provide a sense of identity and serve as the vehicle for the transmission of values” (152).

Intergenerational practice with First Foods transmits values through socialization. Althea understands that there are challenges associated with gathering in groups, but for her, overcoming those challenges and continuing to gather with them provides an incomparable gratification that cannot be found otherwise.

Althea’s relationship with her sisters-in-law, both Tribal member descendants, also illustrates the importance of relationships. Although gathering is “just something we grew up with,” she mentions how her sisters-in-law’s interest to learn and participate reinvigorated her interest in gathering. Again, this demonstrates the interdependent roles of teacher and student. Not only is knowledge shared benefitting the students, but the teacher also gains a renewed appreciation for the knowledge through their eyes.

Additionally, in this case, as in other relationships mentioned in the interviews, it does not make a difference if the person has Tribal member status but rather the important factor is the depth and the role of the relationship. Other interviewees also spoke of meaningful learning and sharing experiences involving non-Tribal members, be they descendants or settlers. Tuck, McKenzie, and McCoy (2014) address this through land education and how more than one people might call a place home. They quote a Kainai Elder who says, “The Blackfoot are not going anywhere; the newcomers are not going anywhere; now the same peg anchors the tips of both” (14). Within these interviews, non-Tribal members are considered important teachers of First Food knowledge, such as Teara’s non-Indian mother. She says:

“my mother was non-Indian and my father is the Tribal member. And so, it was actually my mother who helped me learn a lot of the women’s foods, because my aunts that also married into my father’s family, one of them was a Warm Springs Tribal member and the other one is from here. They taught my mom about our culture, our traditions, and our ways. The Warm Springs Tribe has very similar traditions in culture and food that the CTUIR have,

and so they kind of brought her under their wings, and so they would take her out, mainly gathering berries and things like that. I learned the roots from my aunts.”

Here, Teara shows that, like Althea, non-Tribal members and even non-Indians play an essential role in the continuation and dissemination of First Foods knowledge amongst the CTUIR community, be they students, teachers, or facilitators. What matters most are the respect and relationships that exist between them, in this case, grounded in the land.

Finally, Althea comments on the interdependence of the entire CTUIR community to collectively have knowledge. Even though she learned specific recipes or skills, Althea wants to participate in opportunities where she can learn how others do them saying, “I know my way, but I want to learn your way.” She attributes the expanse of her knowledge to extend beyond what one person, her mother, could teach her. After years of spending time with the Gatherers in the mountains, she learned unique pieces and perspectives of First Foods knowledge from each of them. She understands the value and has benefited from multiple styles of teaching, ways of doing things, and kinds of relationships in participating, and Althea continues to seek further opportunities to do this in her community. The following interview with Andrew Wildbill calls attention to this collective education style he has experienced and prefers when sharing First Foods knowledge and experiences.

Andrew Wildbill

Andrew: I was born in Pendleton, and I have lived here pretty much my entire life. Pretty much only between 2003 and 2010 I actually lived outside of Pendleton.

(Regarding First Foods), I have a couple of relatives that really taught me a lot. The reason they would come to mind is because they really taught me about my identity as a Tribal person. That we all kind of are ambassadors, in a sense that we are trying to keep our people strong. We want to keep our people healthy. We want to teach our youth to know how to make better decisions and to value the same stuff I value. And all the stuff that I value I learned from maybe two or three people. My passion for our foods came from two people, maybe three people. And that’s pretty much why I’ve stuck with fisheries for my career. It’s because these people impressed upon me that we needed our own people to be in positions that carried our Tribal voice for the resources. But you know, I have a couple of uncles and an aunt who really impressed upon me that I needed to think about our resources and protect them.

Lydia: Do you have a most memorable experience of learning about your foods?

Andrew: I guess the most memorable would actually be learning how to fish. I was taught how to fish by a lot of different fishermen. And I was taught how to take care of fish. I mean, meat, you know, taking care of deer and elk is pretty straight forward for the most part. But when it comes to fishing, fishing requires a lot of technique. As a really young kid, you know, when I was maybe seven, eight, and nine, I used to sit on a boat with my uncles while they commercial fished for sturgeon and salmon. And I remember being like a ten-year-old and staying up all night watching a scaffold, you know, watching my uncles fish. And it wasn't until I was a teenager and old enough to do that stuff on my own that I really started to pick it up. You know, scaffold fishing is really an art. Fishing in general is. Anybody can buy a fishing pole but knowing how to use it and understanding a river, that's one thing that's really hard to learn if you're not taught, you know. And if somebody isn't there that's already done it, there's a lot to learn. So, I really think fishing is something that has really stuck with me over the years. I remember just about every time I caught my first fish in a certain location.

Lydia: Do you have a memorable experience teaching or sharing First Foods?

Andrew: Teaching. When we teach, it's usually me and my brothers. They may not be my blood relatives, but they're my brothers. We all grew up hunting together or fishing. Teaching youth, you know, I have a 13, 14-year-old son. I try to teach him everything I can. But sometimes he's just not interested. Maybe he is, but I don't, it doesn't seem like it. I can be hard on him. But when it comes to getting him experience, you know, like I said, I can teach him lots of stuff. But when I hunt, I try to send him out with his uncles. Cause they're going to teach him stuff that I can't. And they're going to show him different ways, and maybe their ways are better for him and not my way. So when we take youth out, we try to do that. We all kind of, say we get a deer, we'll show them a different way to get a leg off, or a different way to gut it, or a different way to get the head off, or skin it. Using your hands or using a knife. But when we are teaching as a teacher or a mentor, when we try to mentor these younger kids, we all take turns. We think it's very helpful, anyway.

In the past few years, we have a kids' Root Feast. And, about three years ago, we, you know, my hunting partners and I, we decided that we, you know, it's not just important for them to get that experience digging or harvesting berries but also to hunt. So we've been trying to, except last year and I don't know how this year is going to work out, but if there's a kids' feast, you know, my brothers and I will go get these kids who are nine, ten, eleven, and some of them probably haven't hunted before. And we'll take them out, and we might have time to let them shoot a rifle, but we usually don't. So what we do is we shoot and then they're there along with us for the whole hunt and they get to gut it and skin it or watch us gut it and skin it. So there's always just really good teachable moments between three or four men and four or five youth. So that's one of our approaches to teaching.

Also, just to add to that: hunting. There's different ways to hunting, and I don't know how you grew up hunting, but we, you know, the style of hunting that I grew up hunting is doing drives. You have doggers who go out and push the animals out of the canyons and draws. And then you have the maybe the older people up on top of the ridges, waiting for the deer or elk to be pushed out. That style of hunting is something that we really try to do with our youth. And it might not just be people who haven't hunted, but it's usually youth who have

been around us. Like my sons and my nieces and nephews, or my nephews anyway, who usually go with us. The point to get them out there in these hunts with us is so they learn the land. That's like traditional knowledge that's been passed down. We have an elder person in our group who tells us where we're going to go and what the plan for the day is. And then we get our men lined out and it's the elder person of the group who basically organizes the hunt for the day. And that person knows where these animals go. And that's something that we've all learned as hunters, is the route for the deer and the route for the elk. And that's knowledge that is basically really passed down. I grew up doing that as a kid, I was a dogger, I spent my time walking through, down steep canyons and up steep draws and walking through really thick, you know, trees and downfall.

Like Althea, Andrew speaks of the importance of collective and interdependent learning. Althea took innumerable pieces of information to inform her understanding of the hills and the First Foods roots to gather. Similarly, Andrew mentions the group experiences that taught him to fish and hunt, saying that many fishermen taught him to fish. Likewise, he learned to hunt in hunting drives where everyone in the group had a role, all participants necessary and dependent on one another for a successful drive.

Not only does each teacher contribute their piece of knowledge, but they each contribute and teach in their own style. Andrew noted how important it is to make available different styles so that those who were learning could find the manner that worked best for them. In the same way, the more teachers there are, the greater the chance the students will connect to the lesson itself and with a teacher, connecting and building a relationship with the style and the person themselves.

Andrew and his brothers are currently seeking and creating ways to increase their opportunities to teach the First Food knowledge they have through the kind of experiences they value. For them, that means working together as a group with youth, each contributing experience and expertise as a skill or a recipe and in a way true to their personality. Santa Clara Pueblo scholar Gregory Cajete (1994) says, "Indigenous education integrated the notion that there are many ways to learn, many ways to educate, many kinds of learners, many kinds of teachers, each honored for their uniqueness and their contribution to education (212)." Likewise, opportunities for Andrew and the other hunters to collectively interact with children increase these children's chances to find

the style of learning they prefer and build a relationship with a teacher. It also means that they want to bring youth out to have these experiences on the land. Thus, he understands this to grow relationships between teachers and students and between the students and the land.

Through their experiences, Althea and Andrew understand that there is no one way to do anything but many ways, and being part of social activities and outings is an essential way for learners to acquire new techniques, skills, recipes, land-based knowledge, and knowledge about their family. After all, knowing is an expression of relating (Wilson, 2008). The importance of this relationship returns to Andrew's effort to differentiate First Foods from traditional foods. It is not just that you learn a skill, but that you know who you learned it from and how they are connected to you. For Andrew, that connection is strongest when it's familial but also extends beyond blood through experiences.

During the Naknuwithlama Tiichamna: Caretakers of the Land Zoom presentation series, CTUIR community members Robert (Bobby) Fossek II and Brosnan Spencer also spoke of the importance of communal and participatory learning. Referencing the work of their nonprofit that provides traditional ecological knowledge for their community, they used the example of their deer hide tanning workshop. Before the workshop, they had studied methods and were prepared to lead the group. Bobby added, "We don't know everything, we're all just babies. The intention is to focus on Tribal members and Tribal community. It's something that we all do together" (Fossek, May 2021). They found that all the participants contributed to the shared educational experience by contributing memories and methods of how their families tan hides. Conversations that share memories and methods such as these function as feedback mechanisms within these learning opportunities that build from each other; the group collectively built knowledge to improve the tanning process. As Plains Cree scholar Margaret Kovach (2009) explains, Indigenous knowledge is collectively generated and collectively owned.

When asked about their most memorable experiences learning and sharing First Foods, both Althea and Andrew spoke of land-based experiences that they shared collectively in a group. As Tuck, McKenzie, and McCoy (2014) explain, land is collective, insisting that “‘We are, therefore I am’ to express the saliency of collectivity in Indigenous life and knowledge systems” (10). Hunting drives taught Andrew the lay of the mountains and the common routes of animals, while the Gatherers taught Althea how to pay attention to the sun on the hill and the quality of the soil. The importance of place aligns with Indigenous epistemologies’ world view intrinsically linking humans with place (Bennett, 2007; Breidlid & Botha, 2015; Fixico, 2003; Gilio-Whitaker, 2019; Kovach, 2009). When learning opportunities collectively exist with and within the natural environment, the experiences generate and support dynamic socio-ecological systems grounded in interdependent and co-evolving relationships (Boillat, Mathez-Stiefel, & Rist, 2013). Some of the greatest First Food knowledge “resources” in fact are the very relationships themselves.

CHAPTER VII

BUILDING BRIDGES AND BREAKING BARRIERS

I hope that this thesis contributes to and has followed the goals presented by the First Food and Food System Work Group. It is apparent that now, during this COVID-pandemic evolving world, presents an opportunity for unique reflection, and this research happened to fall coincidentally in the middle of it. I have written this conclusion more times than I care to admit as I seek to balance commentary that authentically speaks to my analysis while not overstepping my ignorance as an outsider with a momentary window into a different culture and community. To that, my mind goes to a conversation I recently had with one of the anonymous interviewees presented here, the only person who took my offer to provide feedback on this research. Initially, they felt concerned about their words being traced back to them. After discussing together this research, analysis, and the role of their contribution, I reiterated the offer to make any change that they requested. This person said that no changes were needed and that they were important comments for the CTUIR community to hear. I told them that I do not take lightly my role as an outside researcher to provide commentary that might be difficult for anyone within the community to make public and that I would do my best to speak these reflections respectfully and fully. So here I am.

As understood through these conversations and interviews, the ability for First Foods knowledge to disseminate across and to all of its community members is dependent on a feeling of trust, respect, and responsibility that individuals have to each other and within their relationships. CTUIR Tribal Elder Thomas Morning Owl (Morning Owl et al., 2021) understands this to be the work of friendships:

“We have come through a period of darkness with COVID and isolationism, it will be harder to build the bridges... I think we are able to be moving forward. Not only as tribal governments but as tribal individuals. Friendships. Friendships, friendships can build the best bridges and break down barriers.” Living Breathing Symposium (2021)

While Thomas was not speaking to First Food knowledge transmission, his point nonetheless bears weight in this conversation. It is friendships, and relationships in general, that “build the best

bridges and break down barriers.” In the case of First Foods, attention to these relationships can do exactly that.

There is no question that forced assimilation projects upon Indigenous communities, including the CTUIR community, have influenced the present-day relationships that exist between humans as well as between human and non-human entities; in the case of this thesis, these non-human entities are the CTUIR’s First Foods. This thesis sought to understand the state of these present-day relationships. To explore this topic, Tuck et al’s (2014) land education theoretical framework insisted that research, especially Indigenous education research, name and recognize place and community within research analysis. This focus centered on Indigenous paradigms and insisted that Indigenous education research consider the vast diversity of relationships that exist within their communities. It also highlighted the settler-colonial-based beliefs of ‘authentic’ Indigeneity, guided by assimilation projects, and this thesis demonstrates how the “authentic” Indigeneity concept in fact damages and limits First Food knowledge transmission.

Food’s role as a hub for collective connectivity and a conduit for values and philosophies point to it as a vehicle for revolution. However, Quechua scholar Sandy Grande (2004) believes that “until Indians resolve for themselves a comfortable modern identity that can be used to energize reservation institutions, radical changes will not be of much assistance” (pg. 91). To what extent is the integration of cultures embraced? Grande (2004) further asks that Indigenous peoples

“take seriously the notion that to know ourselves as revolutionary agents is more than an act of understanding who we are. It is the act of reinventing ourselves, of validating our overlapping cultural identifications and relating them to the materiality of social life and power relations” (pg. 8).

The ability of a people to reinvent themselves speaks to the power and potential of self-determination. It speaks to standing up to hegemonic powers and interpretations that limit a people from determining their own community's collective continuity.

Although not planned, Chapter 4 "Defining First Foods" became necessary to engage with analysis that suggests CTUIR community members interpret First Foods differently and sometimes even with direct contradiction. These definitions show that a diverse range of relationships exists between CTUIR community members and their foods, and it attempts to gather the multiple facets and meanings that First Foods have for CTUIR community members. Like the community members themselves, these definitions are rich with idiosyncrasies that demonstrate the transformation and continued evolution of this nation, as happens amongst all peoples but especially one who has had to respond to extreme external pressures. The definitions demonstrate a range of relationships with their foods, including perspectives that highlight First Foods embodying relationships along a spectrum with includes policy, economics, familial, and the sacred. These understandings of their First Foods also demonstrate the diversity of kinds of knowledge and experiences individuals will look for and be drawn to. Following land education's framework, all of these definitions must be considered if we accept that there is no "authentic" definition of First Foods, as defined by settler-colonialism.

Chapter 5 further analyses the semi-structured interviews through Tuck et al's (2014) land education theoretical framework, calling attention to place and relationship. Three subsections categorize strata along the existing spectrum of relationships within the CTUIR community: distant from community and land, distant from community and close to land, and close to community and land. These subsections further highlight two general groupings of resources used by individuals for First Food knowledge transmission: independent and interdependent.

In the first section, individuals who live at a distance from the Umatilla Reservation (that account for approximately half of the CTUIR Tribal members) do not have the opportunity to

participate in the day-to-day life of their Tribe or lands. These activities include building relationships with community members through small actions or with the land itself. That does not mean that they do not have relationships with the community or do not have the interest to learn their First Foods. It does mean that their choice and utilization of resources is very informed by their distance to both land and community, prioritizing independent resources that they can engage with on their own time and on their own.

The second section presents two individuals that have returned to their Reservation as adults and their experiences at gaining First Food knowledge. In their case, the daily presence and relationship with their ancestral land is accessible, and both shared stories about building relationships with their First Foods on the land. However, in their situations, external perceptions of their “outsider” or “other” status cause knowledge holders to not share First Food knowledge, prohibiting them from self-determining their Indigenous food sovereignty. This action leads these individuals to equally seek out and wish for independent resources. It is important to mention here that, through conversations outside of these interviews, there are Tribal members that were raised on the Reservation and still feel distanced from land and community which breaks from this stated pattern. As they did not wish to participate in this interview process, exploration of that occurrence could be a topic for future research.

The third section presents the web of connections that exist between the intergenerational exchanges and human with more-than-human relatives demonstrating a closeness to land and community. A possible conclusion from the previous two sections suggests the role of relationships in transmitting First Food knowledge, which is unique in this case as First Foods rather become the agent for building relationships and community. Interdependent resources require reciprocity in a way that independent resources do not, and it is this component that strengthens community more than anything else.

From the Past and Looking Ahead to Future Research

This thesis, through its use of Indigenous methodologies, interviews, and analysis, adds to the body of academic literature in several ways. First, it presents another example of research informed by Indigenous methodologies yet conducted by a non-Indigenous person. This required extensive exploration of Indigenous epistemologies and substantial reflection of self-awareness. Lastly and most importantly, it became apparent that very little attention has been given to exploring or understanding the relationship between tribal community members and their First Foods (and synonyms) in the face of the incredible diversity of tribal members and the spectrum of reinvention they have. This thesis addresses this gap directly first through research that demonstrates the diversity of definitions that academics use to illustrate Indigenous peoples' relationship with foods. Secondly, this research centers the language used by individuals of one region and people, the CTUIR, by placing the descriptions of their relationships in context with the academic ones. In my research, I also did not find academics discussing the different kinds of First Food knowledge transmission nor why different kinds of knowledge transmission exist.

It became apparent in my research that a gap in the literature exists that calls attention to the incredibly wide spectrum of indigeneity that exists within Indian Country and what that means as they are determining their food systems. Indigenous food sovereignty does speak to policy being self-determined, but includes it among pillars that also uphold the sacredness of food, which my research presents is not an element for every CTUIR community member. Indigenous food sovereignty and traditional ecological knowledge both appear to often present food and knowledge within an "authentic" Indigeneity framework which excludes the Indians that live in cities, embrace secular living, or have other variations of relationships to their family and community but are none the less Indigenous peoples. Further addressing this gap will enrich the conversation for how modern and reinvented Indians see themselves, their relationships with their foods and lands, and the resources that can best connect them together.

Breaking Barriers

Independent resources, such as social media, webinars, and Zoom meetings, break down the barrier that physical distance places upon relationships between CTUIR community members that live far and from the rest of the CTUIR community. Robin speaks to this perfectly: for those that live off of the Reservation, these resources provide an opportunity to build “cursory knowledge.” For an individual to return to their Reservation, even for the first time, they can hope to have a basic knowledge of what is expected of them and minimize the potential judgment that can be presented to “outsiders.” As Robin says, “maybe they will feel there’s more of a connection and maybe they will also feel more of a sense of responsibility to the community.” Breaking barriers that exist between CTUIR community members and their First Foods requires trust, and trust is developed within relationships. As I’ve said throughout this thesis, there is a spectrum of relationships that CTUIR community members have that requires an attention to both place and community. Robin has enjoyed the remote opportunities made even more accessible during COVID that allow her to continue to learn about her First Foods even at a distance. Social media gives her a window in the practices also happening at a distance from her, but most importantly provides a method to stay in touch with her family and in-laws, increasing the chances that she will be informed and invited to First Food events.

Based on Willow and Sunflower’s descriptions, I propose that independent resources further break down barriers between individuals and their First Foods by providing options where they feel safe to be curious, free from potential responses of shame and humiliation. As both of these community members also mention, they feel laterally oppressed by their fellow community members due to a sense of a lack of trust. Independent resources provide introductory opportunities to learn the practices that, as Wenix said, guide people to “gather in a way that makes the product more bountiful.” Self-determined initiative to learn practices could be one way that individuals build trust and so also relationships with knowledge holders in their community.

Interdependent resources, while more dependent on shared place and time, also function as ways to break barriers. In these situations, such as participating in hunting drives, going out to dig roots in groups, or at ceremonial meals, everyone present has a role and learns to fulfill it. The success of the entire event is dependent on every person's presence. The barrier broken in these situations is actually isolationism; as Althea mentions, the interdependent resources require reciprocity and its presence builds community.

Building Bridges

Addressing First Foods knowledge transmission, I believe, will require attention to some difficult questions. One question is: Who is and who is not recognized as a CTUIR community member? This would include frank conversations asking the CTUIR community to consider who are explicitly or indirectly included or excluded community members. From the limited perspective of these interviews, it appears that expanding the definition of who is considered a CTUIR community member would increase pathways towards knowledge transfer and increase possible points of contact for relationships. The subtle unstated yet felt categorizations that currently exist cause harm and exclusionary practices limiting individuals' access to First Food knowledge and prioritizing their seeking out of independent resources. The second question that requires further attention is: How does the community define First Foods? This question, as shown in this thesis, might lead to a diversification of resources and opportunities for CTUIR community members to learn their First Foods. For example, attention to the economic benefits might lead to business and marketing classes to provide a new relationship between individuals and their foods. Another example, rather, with attention to the role of relationships might look like ancestry classes helping individuals better understand their familial connections or an "Adopt-an-Auntie" program to build mentor and mentee relationships and trust.

There is a tension within the CTUIR community between adapting and evolving or returning and retaining. This can be considered through the two definitions of "traditional:" does

CTUIR interpret “traditional” as an unchanging, pre-colonial quality (Ryser et al., 2019) or the conduit to their past that continues to evolve with the community (Ruelle & Kassam, 2013)? The COVID pandemic forced CTUIR departments to explore outreach opportunities not previously used, such as Zoom and remote meetings. I believe there is power in embracing transformations and validating contributions, and this is not a new concept within the CTUIR community. During a cooking class offered by CTUIR’s Yellowhawk Health Center, the CTUIR community member and teacher Talia Tewawina (2021) said, “Improvising is what our people used to do. It’s what I’m doing now.” Improvisation is the creative process of practice that overflows rules, roles, and routines producing both order and change (Galvan, 2013). Creativity, improvisation, and transformation, when self-determined, changes collective identities in a constant flush of rejuvenation. The CTUIR now have the opportunity to situate themselves in these new tools and adapt them to meet the needs of their widely diverse CTUIR community.

First Foods themselves have a role in building these relationships. These interviews show that through First Foods, family members are brought closer together (such as Althea and her sisters-in-law) and communities are strengthened (such as Andrew’s hunting drives). While not presented in the previous excerpts, interviewees also mentioned through several different examples how sharing their CTUIR First Foods knowledge to individuals outside of the CTUIR community provided powerful opportunities that reiterated the importance of First Foods in their lives.

It is clear through the rich examples presented here that the CTUIR government and the CTUIR community already provide a diversity of resources and opportunities for their community to connect and learn their First Foods. I believe further clarity that embraces the transformed and emerging relationships with First Foods can highlight new possibilities to offer these resources, thereby offering more points of entrance into this knowledge. This will support the CTUIR community and community members alike in self-determining what the indigenization of their food system looks like and feels like, for themselves.

APPENDIX: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Warm-up questions:

- How long have you lived on the Umatilla Indian Reservation or in the area?
- Tell me a little bit about yourself.

Intro

- Think of your favorite First Food. What made you think of that First Food?
- How do you define First Foods or traditional foods? Where did you learn this?

Deeper

- Think of someone you believe has a lot First Foods awareness. What do they do, or what have they done, that makes you think of them as having a lot of First Food awareness?
- Tell me about a time when you had a memorable experience learning about First Food.
- Tell me about a time where you had a memorable experience sharing First Foods.
-
- How has your family contributed to your First Food experiences and knowledge?
- How has your education contributed to your First Food experiences and knowledge?
- How has your community contributed to your First Food experiences and knowledge?
- How have your experiences with traditional practices or ceremonies contributed to your First Food experiences and knowledge?
- What other opportunities or resources could help you learn more about First Foods?
- What are your barriers to learning about First Foods?
- -- Maybe not?-- What is your interest to learn more about First Foods?
- If at all, has COVID changed your relationship with First Foods? If yes, how?

Age-specific questions- generationally informed answers:

- Of three age groups (under 35, 35 – 55, or 55 and over), where do you place yourself?
- What specific roles do you see your age group having in First Foods cultural experience or knowledge sharing?
- What changes have you seen in your lifetime that have made learning about First Foods easier? Harder?

Gender-specific questions:

- Do you think being a (man or woman) impacts which of the First Foods you've learned about? If yes, how?
- Do you participate in roles traditionally considered the other gender? What are your thoughts on gender roles in regard to First Foods?
- How, if at all, does gender influence which First Foods people know about? Do more women have knowledge of women's foods and men have more knowledge about men's foods?

Closure questions:

- Which First Food do you wish you had a stronger relationship with? Why? Tell me more? What could help you? What is keeping you from building it?
- If you could change one thing about your relationship with First Foods, what would it be?
- What makes you most proud of being a CTUIR member?
- Is there anything else you would like to add?

- Who do you think would be interested in being interviewed? Who else could I interview that would help capture the diversity of your community?

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