Title
Na:tinixwe Education as a Site for (Re)newed Words and Worlds

Author
Chase, Sara

Publication Date
2020

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

Na:tinixwe Education as a Site for (Re)newed Words and Worlds

By

Sara Chase

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor in Philosophy

in

Education

and the Designated Emphasis

in

Indigenous Language Revitalization

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in Charge:

Professor Patricia Baquedano-López, Chair
Professor Prudence L. Carter
Professor Sandy Grande
Professor Beth Piatote

Spring 2020

Na:tinixwe Education as a Site for (Re)newed Words and Worlds

By

Sara Chase

Abstract

Na:tinixwe Education as a Site for (Re)newed Words and Worlds

by

Sara Chase

Doctor in Philosophy in Education- Language, Literacy and Culture

and the Designated Emphasis in Indigenous Language Revitalization

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Patricia Baquedano-López, Chair

By utilizing Indigenous, decolonial and most importantly Na:tinixwe methodologies, this dissertation documents the ongoing settler colonial history of schooling in Na:tinixwe, charts a community vision for the education of Na:tinixwe youth, and lastly documents ongoing praxis of these community visions.

The Hoopa Valley Tribe, or Na:tinixwe (Hupa people), reside in the far reaches of Northern California. Na:tinixw (Hoopa Valley) has been our homeland since time immemorial. Before the time of major European contact, around the 1850s, the Na:tinixwe lived along the Trinity River in 12 different villages. Each village was composed of different family groups. They lived their lives in the traditional Na:tinixw way, which included distinct political, social and economic systems. Education was a life-long process guided by teaching from ninisa:n, *the land,* kisdiya:n, *elders* and kixuna:y, *the spirit ancestors* (Nelson, 1978).

In 1893 the Hoopa Valley Indian School was established by the Bureau of Indian Affairs with the mission of teaching Na:tinixwe children how to be civilized, in the hopes of killing off all that made them Hupa through military bootcamp tactics (Nelson, 1978). One major part of this was to force them to speak English only and punish any use of Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe (Bushnell, 1968). This technique of Indigenous linguistic elimination was widely employed by government funded Indian schools and reflects an incredibly important piece of the settler colonial drive to eliminate its Indigenous population (Iyengar, 2014). Following the conversion of the boarding school to a public school, in the same location, Hupa language and knowledge continued to be suppressed and marginalized while settler curriculum remained at the center. Today like many other publicly funded schools serving Native American children across the nation, Hoopa Valley Elementary School and Hoopa Valley High School are “underperforming”, underfunded and understaffed. The majority of the teachers are non-Native and Na:tinixwe traditional knowledge is highly marginalized, if present at all within the curriculum. This dissertation brings together the voice and visions of the Na:tinixwe to chart (re)envisioned pathways and praxis for education in our community.

Table of Contents

Ts'ehdiyah Whima:lyo' (Acknowledgements)

Ts'ehdiyah Whima:lyo'. *Thank you my family and friends.*

First and foremost, I need to thank my parents, Emmett Chase and Eva Smith, for raising me in a way that allowed me to know who I am, where I come from, and most importantly how to live my life in a good way. Next, I am incredibly indebted to my life partner, Craig Merrick, none of this work would have been possible without your endless love and support. I also want to acknowledge my siblings for being wonderful models and support for me through this process. Thank you so much to my aunties, those that are still here and those that have passed on. I especially want to thank my Aunt Linda Saxon and Verdena Parker for their invaluable contributions to this work. Wha:dicwhing Verdena, none of this work would have been possible without you and I hope this is something that you can be proud of.

Thank you to my advisor and dissertation chair Dr. Patricia Baquedano-López for your mentorship, support and trust throughout my time at UC Berkeley and making this project a reality. Thank you to the rest of my dissertation committee Dr. Beth Piatote, Dr. Sandy Grande and Dr. Prudence L. Carter, for lending your time and expertise to help strengthen this work. Thank you to my sister-colleagues throughout this dissertation and PhD journey: Derrika Hunt, Tiffani Marie, Sophia Sobko for the countless theorizing sessions, laughs and loving spaces we were able to create in such an often-violent place. Thank you to the many others I had the privilege of learning from over my years spent at UC Berkeley. A special thanks also goes out to Dr. Baquedano-López's research group family and the plethora of important and generative feedback you all were able to give, including but not limited to: Bayley Marquez, Gabriela Borge-Janetti, Vianney Gavilanes, Theresa Stone, Omar Davila, Rosalina Godinez, Susana Castro, Maryam Moeini Meybodi, and Nathan Gong. In addition, I am incredibly grateful to Dr. Michael J. Dumas to have learned from you in your classes as well as our time teaching together. I would not be the scholar or teacher that I am today without your guidance. I am so appreciative for having received support from the Ford Foundation Pre-Doctoral Fellowship and the UC Chancellor's Fellowship at UC Berkeley.

Thank you to the Na:tinixwe, my people that are here today, those that have passed on, and those yet to come. Thank you to all of the elders and ancestors who fought to make sure we could have the language today. A special thank you goes out to my many collaborators. I would especially like to thank Danny Ammon, Melodie George-Moore and Jackie Martins. If it weren't for your Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe teaching just a few years ago this would have never existed. Thank you to the Hoopa Tribal Education Association and our cohort of ye-silin teachers, Erika Tracy (Ch'imiwingyo:l), Jenna Hailey (Je:nah, Melissa Sanchez (Xutł'e'dung'-xa:sina:wh), Jessica McKinnon (Tsing-wha:ne), Ashtyn Colegrove, Muriel Ammon (Xosa:k'), Brandice Davis (Tehla:n), Denia Beck (Tahde:ch), Ginger Rogers (Xołchwił-tah-t'un'nahsma:ts'), Shelly Carpenter (Mida:ch) and Viola Marshall ('Ist'ik') and the many summer youth workers. Thank you to all of the parents who allowed their kids to come to our camps. Thank you to all of the kids who warm my heart and never cease to amaze me.

Thank you to all of my Shinnecock family, as well as all of my many other friends and family, it would take too long to list you all, but you know who you are. I can

never say thank you enough times and to enough people to capture my gratitude for everyone who has touched my life in one way or another. Ts'ehdiyah Whima:lyo’

Xa' *Introduction:* (Re)envisioning and Roadmap of Chapters

Sara Chase who:lye'. Na:tinixw xomiłnawha:y. Me:dilding xomiłnawha;y. Ta:k'imiłding' xomiłnawha:y. Shinnecock xomiłnawha:y. UC Berkeley, Ohlonexwe-ding 'a:k'iwilaw na:whe'n.

My name is Sara Chase. I am from Hoopa. I am from the village of the place of many boats. I am from the village of the acorn cooking place. I am from Shinnecock. I am a student at UC Berkeley, the place of the Ohlone people.

I introduce myself in this way for many reasons. I tell you my name and then where I come from so that you, the reader, might know not only who I am, but also the place and people that I carry with me. Lastly, I tell you where I conducted my PhD. During my time at UC Berkeley I was a guest on Ohlone land, as most scholars in the Bay Area are. I write this with a strong commitment to the struggles of the Ohlone and their battles against settler colonialism. I write this with a hope that this project might help foster connections for (re)creating networks of our peoples and lands, and our commitment to decolonization at large.

I am writing this dissertation in English with the hope that somewhere in our next generations they can write theirs in Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe. Although I am not a fluent speaker of the language, my ontological and epistemological view of the world stem from my Hupa ancestors. Although all of my schooling has been in settler run institutions, some of my teachers were able to create small but vital spaces in which Na:tinixwe knowledge could be present. Outside of the school however, I have also been given huge amounts of educational instruction on how to live in this world from my family, language, stories (theory), elders, ninisa:n, (*the land*), our animal and plant beings, and the spirit world. This is the training that I will be drawing from first and foremost for this project, as it is first and foremost for the benefit of our people. The second reason is that my entire research project is centered around the renewal and resurgence of Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe. Therefore, I honor this project by beginning in the language.

Background

The Hoopa Valley Tribe, or Na:tinixwe, (*Hupa people*), reside in the far reaches of Northern California in a luscious green valley that falls between mountains and follows the winding Trinity River. Hay Na:tinixw, (*The Hoopa Valley*) has been our homeland since time immemorial. Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe, (*Hupa Language)* is the ancestral language of the Na:tinixwe. Following the influx of settlers to Northern California, settler colonialism in Na:tinixw began around the 1850s and continues today. Yet, despite and through these settler colonial impositions the Na:tinixwe survive, many of whom remain in Na:tinixw and continue important Na:tinixwe lifeways.

Of course, our community has also lost many things and faced many challenges as a result of this ongoing settler colonial structure. Our language was and continues to be a threat to settler sovereignty. Due to the ways that it has been and continues to be targeted, Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe can be classified as a highly endangered language. According to UNESCO: "A language is endangered when its speakers cease to use it, use it in fewer and fewer domains, use fewer of its registers and speaking styles, and/or stop passing it on to the next generation." This means that Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe is currently not being transmitted to children in the home as it once was. English is the first language of the majority of Na:tinixwe children. Although there

are a growing number of children learning Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe in tribal programs or at home, there are currently no children who have Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe as a first language. In addition, the handful of first language speakers of Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe alive today are all well over the age of 70. Na:tinixwe children attend school conducted in English and if they attend the public schools on the reservation the state gets to choose the majority of the curriculum, not the Na:tinixwe. This means that Na:tinixwe knowledge and pedagogies, unless children are fortunate enough to get one of the few Na:tinixwe teachers, are marginalized if present at all in the classroom.

In addition, to the lack of Na:tinixwe language or knowledge in the schools that Na:tinixwe children must attend there are many other issues that Na:tinixwe students must confront in school. Schooling, whether it be the Hoopa Indian Boarding School or most recently Hoopa Valley Elementary and High Schools, has been detrimental to Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe transmission. Schooling has also been detrimental to Na:tinixwe knowledge transmission and to Na:tinixwe children generally. Today like many other publicly funded schools serving Native American children across the nation (Sabzalian, 2019), Hoopa Valley Elementary School and Hoopa Valley High School are "underperforming", underfunded and understaffed. The Klamath-Trinity Joint Unified School District (KTJUSD), the district that these schools are a part of, has a student population that is 89% Native American with over 90% of students qualifying as socio-economically disadvantaged. In the 2014-2015 school year 100% of school dropouts were Native American and the rate of suspensions was twice that of non-Natives per capita (Robbins, 2016). Hupa and other Indigenous children who attend these schools are subjected to punishment and ridicule for simply being themselves. The Hoopa Tribal Education Association director, Erika Tracy, recently told me of a white teacher telling their class of (mostly Indigenous) kindergarteners that they would never go to college, students as young as 3rd grade being expelled, and students being punished for speaking only a few words of their Indigenous language.

Given the continued violent and colonial nature of school both to our language and our children, this dissertation is dedicated to a (re)envisioning of what education can and should be for our future generations of Na:tinixwe. I will chart the ways in which I approached this process in the following chapters.

Guiding Questions and Roadmap of Chapters

(Re)envisioning and Renewal

This dissertation intentionally takes a different approach than a traditional research project, in light of the colonial history of academic research. Therefore, it does not have formal research questions in a conventional sense. Instead, the research is guided by a central question that brings us throughout the chapters of this work: How can we (re)envision education for Na:tinixwe youth through Na:tinixwe nohje:', (*our hearts/minds/way of thinking*)? It will be useful to break down and explicate this guiding question, as it may seem vast and overly capacious. First the 'we' in the question refers to a multiplicity of voices, perspectives, and knowledges of the Na:tinixwe, ninisa:n and other beings I engaged with for this project.

Asking how we might '(re)envision', aligns the project with the work of scholars engaging in Indigenous research and resurgence for decolonization. Maori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) calls for 25 projects for Indigenous research. Number fourteen is envisioning. She describes it as such: to "dream a new dream and set a new vision. The confidence of knowing that we have survived and can only go forward provides some impetus to a process of envisioning" (Smith, 1999, p. 152). Formal schooling for Na:tinixwe youth,

including my own schooling, has been a tactic of settler colonialism. We have not known any other type of *institutional* education for Na:tinixwe youth in our lifetimes. This makes it all the more difficult to envision a different type of education, and yet we know we must strive for something different from what we have now. This process in Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe is ye-silin, (*bringing something into view).* The process of collective envisioning I will be exploring throughout this work not only brings another type of education into view conceptually, but also gives it material content and form into the world through working directly with youth to practice it.

The '(re)' of (re)envisioning is just as important to the questions, if not more than the envisioning. This comes out of a long tradition of Indigenous scholars (Grande, 2004; Hohepa, 2006; Goeman, 2013) who discuss the process of (re)doing something by reclaiming and asserting the knowledge of their ancestors while acknowledging such knowledge will become different in the process of bringing it back into our current world. Hohepa (2006) describes language (re)generation as a process of "growth and regrowth, development and redeveloping," and continues on that "nothing regrows in exactly the same shape that it had previously, or in exactly the same direction" (p. 294). (Re)generation and other projects of (re)doing are in direct critique of settler notions of progress along a linear timeline. It is a trust and honor in our ancestors and a movement of understanding with them to envision a world outside settler colonialism (Grande, 2004). A process of (re)envisioning education for Na:tinixwe youth then, is not a return to a false utopian Hupa past. Rather it sets forth a vision for a different world and way of life than the one we currently inhabit, using ancestral knowledge to tackle ongoing political, social and economic struggles.

This (re)envisioning put into action, done, and done again ,connects to the Na:tinixwe concept of renewal. Renewal speaks to a Na:tinixwe ontological view of time and the world. We have world renewal ceremonies that we conduct in the community every other summer. The world then renews through our ceremonies in a cycle rather than settler notions of linear progress. These are the same ceremonies given to us by our creator thousands of years ago that have continued despite settler colonial policies and pressures to cease. When we speak of bringing something back, such as our educational practices or language, in the community we use the language of renewal in line with our ceremonies. Although our language is currently endangered now, in the broader sense of things it is on a pathway toward renewal. Through the renewal of Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe we (re)open windows into Na:tinixwe epistemologies, by speaking these words once again and reconnecting these words to our people and land. Na:tinixwe scholar Jack Norton (1979) writes: "Spiritual leaders prayed for their protection of the land, the welfare of the people, and the harmony of the universe...The ceremonies, the beliefs, and the land where the people had come into being were the Hupa's greatest treasures, and each new generation learned to honor and care for them." (p. 35) Our people continue to pray for and create a world in which "each new generation" can learn to honor and care for our people and the world. It is through this knowledge transmission to the new generations that our people and world as a whole continues to be renewed. This is where the title of the dissertation: Na:tinixwe Education as a Site for (Re)newed Words and Worlds draws its inspiration.

The other theoretical work that this title pulls from is the important chapter by bell hooks (2014) entitled "Teaching New Worlds/New Words." In this chapter hooks uncovers the violence of English while also asserting the ways that Black communities have been able to reclaim the English language and make it their own in spite of this history in order to open up new ways of being. Adding the (re) to hook's notion of new worlds/words connects this work to

those of the Indigenous scholars above as well as the Na:tinixwe concept and praxis. Through the (re)newal of Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe we are (re)newing Na:tinixwe ways of being to counter the settler colonial ways of being that continue to be imposed on us. Bringing these two traditions of thought together to make the title of this work also points to the ways in which I am bringing together the knowledge of my community, so often unacknowledged by academia, together with important Indigenous and Black decolonial scholars to imagine a different type of world for us all. Although this work is situated within the Na:tinixwe context, it speaks to broader issues across this country and the world.

Guiding Sub-Questions and Roadmap of Chapters

In order to address the broader question: How can we (re)envision an education for Na:tinixwe youth through Na:tinixwe nohje:'? I broke this question up into sub-questions. Before we can even get to a place to begin to (re)envision education for Hupa youth we must first get a general understanding of what education has been for Hupa youth. And even before that, we must understand the broader context in which life has changed for Na:tinixwe youth through time and space, and why. Therefore, Chapter 1 opens with one of the most important theoretical texts for the dissertation, a traditional Na:tinixwe story. I then move to chart out a brief history of the Na:tinixwe and their language with a focus on colonization in the community. Throughout this history, I also interweave important theoretical terms and frameworks that will guide the rest of this dissertation, prioritizing the work of Indigenous scholars on critiques of settler colonialism, Indigenous resurgence, and decolonization. Following I introduce key terms and frameworks critiquing the American schooling system, and the Indigenous language resurgence and decolonization in the context of education. At their core these histories and theories are *stories* told at different times from different peoples. To illustrate the theoretical genius of Na:tinixwe intelligence and epistemology, the final section will explicate some of the important connections between the opening Na:tinxwe story and broader critiques of ongoing power structures.

In Chapter 2 I explain my methodological approach to answering this question and the context behind why I chose to work in this way, at this time, from this place. I explain my relationality to this project and then move to discuss what is at stake with the questions that I am asking and the problems I am hoping to address. Then I give a brief history of the research done in/on the Na:tinixwe, most specifically thinking about research done out of UC Berkeley around Na:tinxwe Mixine:whe. Following I introduce Indigenous critiques of colonial research and decolonizing and/or Indigenous approaches to research. The later sections of the chapter explicate the methodological approach: Łe:k'iwhlaw 'o:lts'it, (*knowledge gathering*), that I undertook to bring in the voices, experiences and praxis of the community in the remaining chapters. I then introduce the key sources of knowledge that I drew from: K'iwinya'n-ya:n, (*People),* Xine:wh, (*Language),* Ninis'a:n, (*Land).* Lastly, I describe the different approaches (methods) I used to gather knowledge and write the work you are reading here: Ch'idilwa:wh (conversations), Łe:ne:tɬ'-te, (planning meetings) and Ye-silin (Reflexive praxis camps).

In order to answer my guiding question: How can we (re)envision an education for Na:tinixwe youth through Na:tinixwe nohje:'? I broke this question into three sub questions, each of which is explored in the remaining three chapters. These three sub-questions were also questions that I would ask my collaborators in our conversations. The first sub-question was: What has education been like for Hupa people? The primary goal of Chapter 3 is to address this sub-questions by highlighting past and present educational and schooling experiences of

Na:tinixwe in order to tease out the things we have done in order to ensure the continued survival of our people and language, in spite of having to do much of this work within ongoing colonial structures. I want to both highlight the importance and power of the work we have been able to do, without falling into the trap of believing that colonialism has ended. This chapter is really where you get to hear and see the knowledge that I gathered, the voices of the community, to feel the calls for action and critiques from the Na:tinixwe and our experiences in schooling. Following the same form as Chapter 1, I will begin this history of education and schooling in Na:tinixw with a section on pre-colonial modes of Na:tinixwe education. Then I explain how some of those modes have continued despite ongoing colonialism. The following section goes into the history of schooling and linguicide in Na:tinixw, introducing the important theoretical frames of Safety Zones and Sovereign Na:tinixwe Educational Spaces, and moves us from the boarding school era into the present day. The chapter ends highlighting student voices and brings us to think through what this all means moving forward.

The next sub-question was: How do we r(e)envision education for Hupa youth? In Chapter 4 I weave together (re)envisionings of Na:tinixwe education based on the conversations I had in the community. I conducted conversations with a wide variety of collaborators including students, teachers, administrators, community educators, elders, parents, cousins, siblings, aunties, uncles, and grandparents. The ages of my collaborators ranged from 5-85. This chapter will explore key themes that emerged from these conversations as well as observations done in our ye-silin camps. Some of the themes that emerged were: a refusal of the current colonial structure, safety for students, land and language, a Na:tinixwe approach to what will be taught and how, expansion of Na:tinixwe Sovereign Educational Spaces without limits, intergenerational knowledge transmission, cultivations of everyone's individual and collective gifts, and student centered and driven education.

The final sub-question was: How do we put this (re)envisioning into praxis? From a Na:tinixwe epistemology knowledge is not something that is composed of universal truths that hold across time and space but rather knowledge is something produced in context which means such knowledge can and will change. Chapter 5 is dedicated to exploring the many insights learned through putting our (re)envisionings identified in the previous chapter into praxis. I explain the Na:tinixwe approaches to curriculum development that we took to build toward these ye-silin camps conducted in partnership with the Hoopa Tribal Education Association. I then introduce the Indigenous Language Resurgence pedagogies that we adapted from previously established approaches or approaches that we (re)created for these camps. The final sections of the chapter describe the three ye-silin camps that we undertook with Na:tinixwe youth in the community over the course of this dissertation including the curriculum and activities of each camp, the pedagogical approaches that we took, and the transformative work we were able to do. That being said, I recognize the major differences in time scale between the previous chapters documenting back in some cases thousands of years ago, to then in this chapter to describe the praxis done over a two-year period. In this chapter I want the reader to reflect on all that has come before it. What does it all mean for our people? Where do we go from here?

The concluding chapter will then return to the initial guiding question and bring together the ways in which I was able to address this question throughout my chapters. Given all of the knowledge gathered and discussed in the previous chapters this conclusion will attempt to craft an answer to this question. It will explore what these findings mean both practically and theoretically. I will close with a reflection on sites for future directions for the work and

possibilities for growth and the words of (re)newal from the Na:tinixwe youth I had the privilege of working with.

Notes on Language

Similar to the works of many Indigenous scholars, in this dissertation I will be using the terms Indigenous, Native, Native American, Indian and American Indian interchangeably. Davis writes: "When I use 'Indigenous' it is meant to convey something of the common cultural orientation, historical experiences, and/or contemporary concerns among the world's Indigenous peoples." (2013, p. xiv) It is also important to note the legal significance of the term American Indian as it is found in many treaties with the U.S. government that recognize our status as sovereign nations. Acknowledging and aligning this project with such a lineage also invites other Indigenous peoples to see the connections between the specific experiences, struggles and visions of the Na:tinixwe and their own, in hopes of creating relational solidarity across our communities. My collaborators use these terms interchangeably as well. We as Native people have rarely had the opportunity to be addressed in the ways we choose, most specifically our own distinct tribal nations. However, asserting our indigeneity positions us against the many colonialisms across the globe.

Just as Indigenous people generally have never had much say in how we are addressed, the Na:tinixwe have our own history of outsiders deciding who we are and how we might be addressed. We are and always have been Na:tinixwe. However, when settlers first arrived in the area, they asked neighboring tribes (the Yuroks) who we were. In their language we were Hupa. Therefore, we are also known as Hupa people. Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe is also known as the Hupa language. Another common spelling of Hupa was Hoopa. Therefore, the town in which I grew up was Hoopa. Legally, I am an enrolled citizen of the Hoopa Valley Tribe, which maintains sovereignty over the Hoopa Valley Indian Reservation. Although we did not have much say in the origin of these different names, we have claimed them as our own. Therefore, I will also be using Na:tinixwe and Hupa people interchangeably. Lastly, I will be using Hoopa and Na:tinixw interchangeably, as do my collaborators.

As the reader can tell by my need to explain these terms in the first place, even the language that we use is very much implicated in history and power. This dissertation is a project of Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe resurgence. I will therefore use many Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe words throughout. Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe has been spoken in this place for thousands of years. English on the other hand has only been spoken here for a few hundred years. Therefore, in the spirit of many Indigenous scholars, I will italicize the English translations to demarcate the fact that this is the foreign language out of the two.

Felt Theory: Family, Schooling, Opportunity and Loss

Education, for Native Americans, was a journey to lead us away from who we really are. It's no wonder that none of us who had a college education knew our language. It's obvious that in order to get through the education system, to make it to college, to get through college, to be recognized for our work, we had to leave many things behind. Language relearning is a journey back home.

---Darrell Kipp

To understand the significance of this dissertation, the context in which it focuses on, and the importance of the approaches taken, in this introductory chapter I provide a "felt theory" of myself and my family's schooling experiences (Million, 2009). Tanana Athabaskan scholar, Dian Million, puts forth the concept of *felt theory* as an Indigenous feminist approach to affect and history. She highlights the importance of Indigenous people, women specifically, telling their experiences of colonialism and thereby changing the nature of the conversations and critiques in dominant discourse. She writes:

> Indigenous women have spoken and written powerfully from experiences that they have lived or have chosen to relive through the stories they choose to tell. Our voices rock the boat and perhaps the world. They are dangerous. All of this becomes important to our emerging conversation on Indigenous feminisms, on our ability to speak to ourselves, to inform ourselves and our generations, to counter and intervene in a constantly morphing colonial system. To "decolonize" means to understand as fully as possible the forms colonialism takes in our own times. (Million, 2009, p. 55)

I write the felt theory of my family and my own educational and schooling experiences to illuminate, "counter and intervene in the constantly morphing colonial system" Million references above to assert the ongoing coloniality of schooling for Na:tinixwe. I do this in order to understand as deeply and specifically as possible how colonialism is working through our bodies and our territories, and to continue to challenge, counter and dream ways outside of it. I write the ways, and mark the shifts of the ways, that schooling changed and yet continued to control what we learned and how. I mark the ways that my family and I were used by, complicit in, and challenged the colonial orders of schools. Through this narrative I aim to think through some key questions that explicate the current colonial conditions under which this dissertation is even necessary in the first place. Why am I not fluent in Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe today? Why was I "successful" in school and some of my peers were not? Although this dissertation focuses on my Na:tinixwe side I will also briefly reflect on the experiences of my Shinnecock, Black, Creek and Pamunkey family because they are also central to who I am and how I enter this work. There is so much within these stories that should be explored in future projects that I will not get into here.

Although this project focuses on the Na:tinixwe, now known as the Hoopa Valley Tribe, I write from a very specific position as a Na:tinixwe myself from a particular family and lineage. In my Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe opening introduction I don't just say that I am Na:tinixwe, but in proper Na:tinixwe fashion, I also tell you what villages I am from. This connects me to a specific place as well as the families that I am from. This is significant because it highlights how important familial connections and knowledges are to Na:tinixwe. In addition, it also points to the fact that different families hold different, yet equally vital knowledges in Na:tinixwe. It would be inappropriate for me to try to speak on behalf of other villages or families from which I do not come from, even if we believe in similar things or have similar experiences. Therefore, I use this felt theory of my family to share the specific ways that settler colonial schooling has impacted our lives, knowing that many others have had similar experiences and should make those connections. You will also see this choice reflected in the details of whose stories I highlight at length and use their names explicitly, while others remain more anonymous. This is out of respect for those families and the knowledges that they hold and their sovereign choice to share their stories or not, not my own. While at the same time my experiences and those of my family are in relation to our people, places and the moments in time that they took place. So, I

will also use this felt theory to explain my story to reflect on what was happening to those around me as well. Therefore, in some ways my story and the story of my ancestors can serve as an introduction to many of the events going on in our communities during that time, especially if we think about the specific ways that settler colonialism impacted different generations and the ways that our people have been able to continue to survive and even find joy, desire and love in the face of such conditions. Lastly, there are many milestones within my experience attending school in Na:tinixw that continue to be important to students today that provide important context to what it means to attend these schools. I will mark these milestones in both the past and present tenses to signal their continued importance to Na:tinixwe students.

Schooling is a relatively new experience within my family. To my and my parent's knowledge three out of four sets of my great-grandparents did not attend school. My mother was unsure about whether or not her father's parents (my great-grandparents) attended school or not. My great-grandmother (my maternal grandfather's mother) Sara, who I am named after, was Black and of the Pamunkey tribe, her family moved to New York City from Chicago. She met my great-grandfather in New York City, he was Black and of the Creek tribe. My maternal great-grandparents (my mother's mother's parents) were able to take part in the Shinnecock modes of education that existed prior to settler colonialism throughout their lives: clamming, crabbing, basket weaving, caretaking, storytelling and ceremonies were just a few examples of their educational practices. My paternal great-grandparents were able to take part in the Na:tinixwe modes of education, many of which I hoped (re)incorporate into the ye-silin camps in this dissertation, my own life, and hopefully one day in a more lasting way in the community. Many of these modes still take place, most often outside of schools in Na:tinixw among the Na:tinixwe.

My grandparents were the generation to be forced into the U.S. settler colonial project of schooling. My grandmother on my mother's side (Shinnecock) attended a one-room schoolhouse on the reservation. My mother told me that when they came to take her to boarding school my great-grandmother would refuse to let them take her. Each time they would come she would go out to their car and scratch it with a rake. She did this over and over again until they didn't come back anymore. My grandmother chose the caretaking of her family over continuing on with her schooling after the 8th grade. Years later my grandmother moved to New York City for work, as there were very few jobs back on the Shinnecock reservation. This is where she met and married my grandfather and moved to his parent's brownstone in Brooklyn. He went to high school at the public school down the street from their brownstone. My mom was unsure whether or not he graduated. He died when my mother was 9 years old in an industrial accident, so we don't know much about his schooling experiences.

My mother attended public school in Brooklyn, NY. She started school in the 1960s. In her early years of school, the administration kept trying to place her in special education classes because she was very skinny (One could speculate that Indigeneity also had something to do with it). Although my grandmother Eva didn't go to high school, she always stressed the importance of education (which didn't always mean school). My mother recounted that her mother would always be at the school fighting to make sure that her daughters were being treated well. Just as her mother before her refused to let the government take her daughter to a place where she would be punished for who she was. My grandmother Eva would go to every PTA meeting and school event to support her daughters. In her later schooling years, my mother was bussed across town to white schools, as a part of the national school desegregation programs of the time. New York City, just as the rest of the major cities in the United States, was extremely segregated. I remember my grandmother Eva telling me stories about how when she moved to

the city she never knew where to go because she wasn't Black, but she also definitely wasn't white. Similarly, my mother was thrown into this binary and labeled as "colored". She didn't tell me any specific stories of the extreme racism she experienced, but I know it was sure to have happened. To me, they were too painful for her to utter in the moment of our conversation. All she told me was: "There was just so much horrible stuff and I never want to be in that context again." She also said that she wasn't able to participate in any extracurricular activities because she was not allowed. In fact, she was forced to leave school early so that the white students would not harass or beat her up just for being in "their school". Through her story, we can see the ways that settler colonialism and anti-blackness "bleed into one another." (King, 2013) We can also see the ways in which white schools, on Lenape land, were claimed by white families, students and administrators as white spaces where Native and Black bodies would be violently removed if necessary. This only reinforces the importance of incorporating Black studies critiques of the United States and visions for decolonization (King, 2013).

My Na:tinxwe great-grandparents were able take part in the Na:tinixwe educational processes throughout their lives. They were leaders in the community. My great-grandfather Ike Spencer was the ceremonial leader of the Na:tinixwe for many years. Both of my grandparents on my father's side attended boarding schools. They both passed away before I was born so I only know them through the stories my family tell. My grandmother attended the Sherman Indian Boarding School, located over 700 miles from Na:tinixw. Later she would return to finish 8th grade at the Hoopa Valley Indian School. My father said she didn't tell him much about the experience in boarding school other than about the homemaking skills she learned there. However, he stated that she definitely understood Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe, but intentionally did not speak it to him. He thinks this had a lot to do with her experience at Sherman. My grandfather attended a much smaller boarding school about 45 miles from Na:tinixw, the Glendale Indian School. My father stated that "he was always a rebel". And so, despite pressures and policies to discontinue his Na:tinixwe language and cultural practices he continued to use them, even at school. My father stated that he thought that might be why he only made it through the 5th grade. Which doesn't mean that his education stopped there, but rather that his colonial schooling ended there and his Na:tinixwe education would continue for the rest of his life just as my grandmother's. My father attended school at the public schools on the Hoopa Valley Indian Reservation. He only had one Indigenous teacher who was not from the area throughout his entire time there. There was no mention of Na:tinixwe language or culture in the school beyond the conversations that the students would have. Although he went to school after the boarding school era, he still felt its effects by the fact that his parents chose not to have him speak Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe as well as the language's continued absence from his schooling. Overall, he did well in school and stated that he enjoyed it, especially because he knew that if he didn't go to school, he would be doing hard physical labor at home.

My parents went on to leave their communities and eventually traverse higher education as Indigenous students at a time when there were even fewer than there are now. My mother is the first Indigenous woman to graduate from Dartmouth and my father is the first California Indian to become a physician. Today they are the only permanent physicians that work at the tribal clinic in Hoopa. However, while they were away in school there were many things that they lost out on learning being away from their communities, just as I am experiencing now. Through their educational and professional journey's my parents were able to provide me with the resources and knowledge necessary for me to "do well" in school as compared to many of my peers and cousins. This is both a testament to their hard work and also highlights some of the

privileges I had growing up on the reservation. This brings us to my felt theory of schooling as a contemporary Na:tinixwe and Shinnecock woman.

My most valuable learning experiences primarily took place outside of the classroom with my family and community out on the land. My most vivid memories of attending Hoopa Valley Elementary School and Hoopa Valley High School are of my Hupa language classes. I remember learning the language songs, playing language bingo and the day our teacher brought in sa'xa:wh, '*acorn soup.'* I was never really punished severely or singled out for being Native. I did well in my classes. I didn't necessarily enjoy the work, but I knew that I had to do it, and I was good at it. So, I got some sense of satisfaction from that. Later I would find out that my parents were requesting that the teachers give me extra work so that I would not be bored or get in trouble for talking.

Then I started to get tracked into the 'gifted programs.' I would get to go on more field-trips than others and get taken out of class for special events or programs. I would get the awards at the assemblies. I started to be separated from my peers. Many of them were my cousins and friends. I was placed above them. But at the time I just thought 'well that's how school works.' I thought, 'I'm good at this so I'm getting rewarded.' I did notice some of my classmates were not doing as well as I was. Sometimes the teachers would have me help them in class but other times these students would be punished. Around the same time I noticed that if I did make a mistake in class, for example, if I were reading out loud and mispronounced a word, it would be a HUGE deal and people would laugh and make fun of me and say "SEE SHE ISN'T PERFECT". I have a cousin whom to this day reminds me that he beat me in a spelling bee in the 4th grade. I remember this too as the pressure of being the "smart girl" weighed heavily on me in events like this that I was expected to win. I think of him often, as in my opinion he was much more naturally gifted intellectually than myself and yet we have very different life trajectories. I had the resources and support of my parents to know how to do well in school and certain expectations of me because of this, while so many of my classmates did not. I was hurt every time someone would ostracize me for a simple mistake. Now I realize that this was a reaction to the ways that I was being placed above them, in the gifted and honors tracks. School operates through negation: either you are gifted or you are not, either you are at the top or the bottom. Through this negation students are forced to think either they are either smart or dumb. Leonardo and Broderick (2011) write about 'smartness as property' and the advantages that being labeled as a smart student gives one in school and takes from others. They write: " constructs such as smartness only function by disparaging in both discursive and material ways their complement, those deemed to be uneducable and disposable." (p. 2208) As I was getting all of this recognition and special treatment, many of my peers were getting none.

Because I went to a school that was over 90% Native American and I was considered gifted I never faced a great amount of discrimination at school. This was also a way that my socioeconomic status played in my favor, again something I wasn't aware of as a child, but many of my friends were. In high school the big thing was/is sports. I remember when I first moved to Hoopa and we went to a high school basketball game. It was like going to a Chicago Bulls game at the height of Michael Jordan's career (or so I imagine). Indigenous scholars have written about the historical importance of basketball to Indigenous communities, as it provided a rare opportunity for positive recognition students in Boarding School (Lomawaima, 1995; Davies, 2012). The community showed up full force to support the team and we were so good, beating all of the mostly white teams from around the area. I was so excited to be a part of this. I played virtually every sport: volleyball, basketball, track and field and even golf. The feeling I got

playing in our home gym (the warrior dome) and putting on our maroon and white uniform was one I'll never forget. The whole community showed up for you, not just your parents, or even just your family, but *everyone*. They would yell for you and yell at the (often white) refs on your behalf if necessary. Sports provided an arena in which students with other gifts unrecognized by the school in other contexts, like athletic ability, were recognized, elevated and celebrated. In sports, we could play "rez ball" in our own Na:tinixwe way. Traveling for sports in high school, and even a little before that, is when I think I started to encounter quite a bit of racism in a school setting. But it was almost never in Hoopa. Instead when we would go to neighboring towns or even those far away that people would stare at us, whisper to each other and even make racist remarks to our faces. I knew other teams would always say "don't go to Hoopa it's crazy there they fight all the time, it's so dangerous". Now I know how this was part of a much larger discourse around us being savages. This is an ongoing racist lineage my niece is now inhabiting.

As far as learning in the classroom though, what I really remember are my Hupa language classes. We were actually learning about ourselves for once. This didn't take place all that much elsewhere. But here in Hupa language we could be *us,* and talk about *us,* and learn about *us*. It was much more than a language class. It was a history, culture, ethnobotany, and language revitalization class. I remember some students in the class would ditch all day and come back just for Hupa. There were other small spaces created for Hupa lifeways like culture clubs that would undertake somethings like carving or basket-weaving. I remember those too. I remember doing well in some of my other classes like Calculus and American Literature, but I really can't tell you any of those lessons I learned today. These were also tracks away from other students. Other ways to make them feel bad. From Hupa language class though, I still use those lessons in my everyday life and in this dissertation. These teachers were able to create Sovereign Na:tinixwe Educational Spaces in a colonial institution.

Other things that I remember from those other classes were my classmates getting punished, kicked out and even yelled at in class. I knew that I was being treated differently. However, these students were quickly written off as the 'bad kids' so to the teachers their punishment was justified. I knew it was wrong, it made me feel horrible. I didn't feel safe in that space and it wasn't even directed towards me. But I also thought:' what could I do? I don't want to get treated like that. Will I get yelled at if I say something?' Iyengar writes of the context of Indian Boarding schools but her sentiment continued to ring true for many of my classmates as the colonial structure of the school endured: "...for Indian students, their very being was defined as "misbehavior."' (2014, p. 54) My 'smartness', and obedience to teachers protected me in ways I couldn't recognize at the time. I think around the 6th grade my classmates started to disappear from our classes. One by one for various reasons: pushout, trauma, expulsion, displacement and many other consequences of colonialism, students would leave school.

Eighth-grade graduation and the 8th-grade trip are/were such great rites of passage in the community. I think a lot of students stayed in school for those. However, 8th grade was also when the punishment was really ramped up. A few infractions and they would not let you go on the trip, a couple more and you couldn't walk in front of your family and the community across the stage for graduation. If basketball in Hoopa was like the NBA, 8th grade graduation was like the Grammys. Everyone came out and you got to dress up and walk in front of the whole community as they yelled for you and beamed with pride. Similar to sports, 8th grade graduation is a space of joy in an institution often violent. We celebrate 8th grade because we are alive, and we made it this far. Not everyone makes it to high school and maybe that's ok, especially given the violent place that it can be for Indigenous students. This doesn't mean this won't hurt them,

or at least affect their quality of life in this current colonial world, but rather that we should create a world in which it doesn't.

After 8th grade, more of my classmates didn't make it to freshman year, and even fewer people made it past that. By the time we got to senior year at least a third of our original 8th grade class was gone. But where did they go? Some went to the continuation school, others got GEDs and others just left, or were what education scholars would theorize as pushed out (Morris, 2016). I think about them a lot. I see some of them in the community. Some are doing well and others are in prison, others have passed away. I was really isolated my senior year of high school and frustrated with the conditions of the reservation, so I was ready to go away for college. Overall schools on the reservation weren't so bad to me especially because I got the opportunity to learn the language. I remember my parents asking me if I wanted to go to school "out town" (the neighboring white schools) because they had more AP classes, but I knew that would mean sacrificing language and I wasn't willing to do that. This is a choice I am still grateful for to this day. I think I had some idea that my school was under-resourced and "underperforming," based on outsider's standards but I also didn't have a ton of other reference points at this time for what other schools were like. Later I came to find out that my mother was often told that she should absolutely *not* send my sister and I to school in Hoopa because it was such a "bad" school. I am also glad that she did not listen to them as so many other people do. Even those that are on the school board now, teachers, or other professionals in the community "send their kids out". They know that conditions at the schools are bad but instead of using their resources and power to improve them they bus them out to town, leaving those kids that don't have the same resources and power to fend for themselves. When my mom would fight for me to make sure that I was getting a good education she was fighting for all the kids in Hoopa not just her own. This is a legacy she carried on from her mother in Brooklyn and her grandmother from Shinnecock. Even though she isn't Hupa she knew that that was her family too and that we all needed to do well together.

However, it was when I got to college when I realized just how rare of an experience it was to go to school with a vast majority of Indigenous students and one that even remotely valued Indigenous language and knowledge. I remember sitting in core classes like Masterpieces of Western Philosophy, Music and Literature. I didn't really know anything about these so-called "masterpieces" but everyone else did. What I did know was our stories, our Masterpieces of Hupa philosophy, music and literature but no one there seemed to care. My first few years of college were rough. I was constantly having to explain who I was and where I was from. If I lived in a Tipi or not and if I could talk to animals. I was often the only Native student in the classroom, sometimes the first Native person those around me had ever seen or met. The second time I met with my academic advisor she called me her "Indian girl" so I never went back. It was exhausting and piled on the stress and insecurities I had from going to underprivileged public school on the reservation. It was a recipe for disaster. My body started to physically respond to suffering. Each semester when I would come back from a break to campus my body would feel physically ill. I would keep a brave face until my parents dropped me off and then I would cry in my room. After I would stay up late nights studying subjects I didn't care too much about, I would wake up to clumps of hair that had fallen out onto my pillow.

The only thing that sustained me through the semesters was the Native American Council, the Native American club on campus that would host social and political events. Ironically it was hard for us to find space to meet, of course, there was no space for the Native students on stolen Native (Lenape) land. I think they all had some version of my experience and

so we all had a common commitment to making Columbia a better place for future Native students than it was for ourselves. It wasn't until late in my studies that I really started to see the value in college. In the last semester of my Junior year, I took an Endangered Language Documentation course and I took Critical Native and Indigenous Studies with Dr. Audra Simpson. Through the language course, I was able to see the value in, use, and build upon the skills that I learned in Hupa language classes in high school. Through Professor Simpson's course I was able to see how theories had been produced by Indigenous scholars that could help me understand and contextualize the current conditions of my community, and even offer pathways to approach some of the problems we faced. For once my coursework was relevant to me, my life, my passions, and my people. Professor Simpson was able, similarly to my Indigenous teachers in K-12, to create a sovereign Indigenous classroom space in a colonial institution.

Through this telling of the felt theory of my family and my own pre-colonial, colonial, and decolonial educational experiences I hope to have traced the changing modes of power through time, space and our bodies. I have given face, flesh, and feeling to the theories that will be introduced in the following chapters. I bring my ancestors, their experiences and knowledge into this work. Their survival in a world dedicated to their destruction is why I *must* do this work. My most powerful learning experiences have all taken place either outside of the context of school or in the small spaces of possibility my educators were able to create within the schools. Despite going to an underperforming and under-resourced school the knowledge that I was able to learn growing up in my ancestral homeland with my people is far more abundant than any school with perfect standardized test scores could have ever given me. This abundant knowledge of my people is something that outmatches even the most highly resourced schools that I have attended for my undergraduate and graduate degrees.

Sovereign Indigenous educational spaces within colonial institutions have sustained me throughout my schooling journey from Kindergarten to my PhD. Other radical non-Indigenous spaces such as Ethnic Studies, Black Studies, Latinx Education, and Black Education spaces have also been so powerful, informative and sustaining to my academic career (Moten and Harney, 2004). These spaces are so important and were so hard fought by the ancestors to exist within these institutions. However, this does not change the overall colonial structure of the institution itself. This is an important distinction that I wish to make in this dissertation. Maori scholar Graham Smith (1997) writes that within their Maori educational reclamation one of the most important steps that they took was to make this distinction. They realized that there were always going to be limits within settler state run schools on how much Maori knowledge would be allowed. Maybe even more importantly they realized that no matter how much Maori language or culture they were able to get in the state schools the interests of the state would continue to be served through these schools. These interests were very different from, if not diametrically opposed to Maori interests. They knew they had to create their own institutions with a Maori *structure* not just Maori content. The concept of *Sovereign Na:tinixwe Educational Spaces* is something that I will return to in much more detail in the following chapters. Through this felt theory I hope start a shift in the current discourse of school as a place of meaningful self-determination, meritocracy and opportunity for Na:tinixwe students, to one that acknowledges the ongoing coloniality of schools and the need to (re)envision education for our youth and begin to practice this in a structural way.

Guide for Reading

As you can tell from this introduction, this is a highly personal project to me and my community. However, I also know that this is a dissertation that will be public knowledge. Therefore, I am careful and intentional with what I share here, knowing that once I finish writing it will have a life of its own. I want to create a model of research and practice that other Na:tinixwe, Indigenous and/or radical scholars, activists and/or community members can share in. I want this to be informative and helpful to other communities wanting to do similar work with their youth. I believe that this dissertation has a lot of important theoretical contributions to make to academic literature, but even beyond this I want it to have important practical implications for communities. How do you do decolonial work in your community? How do you begin to have these conversations? How can you continually accept that there will be mistakes but also growth through this process? These are the questions I have asked myself throughout this work and I hope that the readers may be able to feel throughout my chapters. I offer up what I have done and have learned through this intense collaboration with my own community so that others might have a reference to undertake similar work, as it is incredibly necessary in our current world.

However, I also don't want to share too much as that puts us at risk for exploitation, especially given the history of exploitation of Indigenous knowledge by the academy and world more broadly. This is reflected in every part of this work from the ways in which I choose to include certain quotes, to the Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe words I do and do not include. Each reader then will enter the work from a different position. I invite all readers to think about the ways in which to proceed responsibly from that position. What is your intention for reading this work? Depending on who you are and what you are hoping to learn there will undoubtedly be parts that will be most relevant or engaging for you. I intentionally wrote this work in a way so that it would appeal to multiple audiences simultaneously. What I do ask, is that readers engage in a respectful way that rejects settler colonial academic practices of extracting and decontextualizing the specificity of this work and the approaches from the community in which it originated. This is not a 'how to guide' for anyone to just change Na:tinixwe to their own community uncritically without actively engaging in the specificity of the power structures at play from their own positions.

Rather this is a call for readers to engage deeply in their own specific histories and ongoing struggles to see how we might all envision an otherwise that does not replicate these struggles. I am also intentional in who I cite, when, and how. This is a project of Na:tinixwe resurgence, contextualized within a broader global movement of Indigenous resurgence. Therefore, I hold up the voices of Indigenous scholars, writers, activists and community members. While at the same time I realize that there are many others who struggle against American Empire and schooling. They too have valuable insights and theoretical decolonial critiques. I would be remiss to simply ignore the tremendous insights I have learned during my time at UC Berkeley engaging with Black studies activist-scholars and the connections between our struggles, but even more importantly the importance of dreaming of (re)new(ed) worlds outside of the current settler colonial condition. So, you will see this reflected in my citation practices as well. Lastly, with this work I also want to unsettle what is considered academic and/or legitimate knowledge. Therefore, in many of my opening epigraphs and throughout the text of these chapters you will see the voices of Na:tinixwe community members side by side with academic literature.

Xa', *ok, let's begin...*

Ch. 1 The Stories We Tell: Historical and Theoretical Framework

Xontehł-taw Lixun YixonehLtse:tł': Coyote and the Sweetball

A long time ago, Coyote is walking around the world observing things, as he usually does, when he comes upon a group of kids standing in line outside of a cave.
They keep saying "roll out to me," and a small sweet ball rolls out and they pick it up and eat it.
Each kid only takes one and gets out of line.
Then all the kids leave from the cave.
Coyote decides he is going to give it a try.
He says "roll out to me" and the sweet ball appears.
He picks it up and puts it in his mouth.
"It tastes so good," he says.
He wants another one so he goes around a tree to act like he is a new person.
He asks for another. And another.
"Roll out to me" he keeps saying.
Then he thinks, "I want a bigger one."
So he asks for a bigger one and an even bigger one until he gets one so big that it rolls over him and smashes him.
He dies and decays down to bones.
Then two young women come along and see his bones and say, "Those look like Coyote's bones! I wonder what he was doing."
Soon after Coyote slowly started to come back to life.
His bones reconnect and his muscle and fur reconstitute.
He is alive again.
He jumps up and says, "Oh, I've been sleeping a long time."
Then he walks around the world again.

Dahungwho'-dun' ch'in do'n xontehł-taw ch'iqa:l ninis'a:n me:q'i na:'uya'… *A long time ago, it was told, Coyote was walking around the world; he always walked along everywhere*… Each Coyote story told in Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe (*the Hupa language*) begins and ends in a similar way. Xontehł-taw (*Coyote*) is always walking all over ninisa:n (*the world*) observing, learning, testing limits, and more often than not getting in trouble. Xontehł-taw teaches us what to do and what *not* to do as Na:tinixwe people. Xontehł-taw stories would often be told to younger children to teach simple lessons about paying for the consequences of one's actions. This educational practice continues to happen in some Na:tinixwe families today. In conversations with elders, family, and community members these stories would be, and continue to be for some families, a vital part of education for Na:tinixwe children told in Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe.

Above is my short retelling of the story in English for the purpose of this dissertation. I am intentionally not including Wha:dichwing *(my aunt),*Verdena Parker's version of the story because it is not mine to tell in this context, and I want to protect her words from being taken out of context, as this will be a public document. This full story belongs to the Na:tinixwe and so it shall stay with them in the community and not be a formal part of this written work here.

I open this chapter and the rest of this dissertation with this story for many important reasons. In this work I center Na:tinixwe knowledge, therefore it is appropriate to begin my opening chapter with one of the key sources of Na:tinixwe knowledge, theory and teachings: a story. This story has been told in our community for upwards of thousands of years passed down generation to generation. Indigenous stories are often written off as 'mythology' or 'folk' knowledge, but I challenge that notion here and place this story as a key theoretical text. I also aim to disrupt linear temporality that is often based on an arc of progress and enlightenment, with the backward 'savage', and their knowledge or lack thereof, on the other end of that line (O'Brien, 2010). This particular story served as the inspiration of the first Xontehł-taw Hupa Language Immersion Camp and continued to be a key part of each ye-silin camp in this dissertation. For so long there have been numerous incorrect colonial stories about the Na:tinixwe, and Indigenous peoples more broadly. This chapter will begin to counter some of these inaccuracies by charting out a brief history of the Na:tinixwe and their language with a focus on the history of colonization in the community. Although this is in fact the shortest part of our history, it is what is most relevant to this project. This chapter then moves to explain the importance of Na:tinixwe stories, notes on the framing of history, and then charts a short pre-colonial history of the Na:tinixwe in order assert the fact that this is a history as valid as any other. As there is very little academic work by Na:tinixwe scholars written about Na:tinixwe history, especially using a framework of settler colonial critique, the next section in the chapter is a brief historical overview of settler colonialism in our community from contact to the present. Within this section I also introduce key theoretical terms and frameworks that will guide the rest of this dissertation, prioritizing the work of Indigenous scholars on critiques of settler colonialism, Indigenous resurgence and decolonization. The following sections introduce key terms and frameworks, again prioritizing the work of Indigenous scholars, to critique the American schooling system, revitalize Indigenous epistemologies and work towards decolonization in the context of education. At their core these histories and theories are *stories* told at different times from different peoples. Each story attempts to explain why the world is the way it is just as the coyote story does above. To illustrate the theoretical genius of Na:tinixwe intelligence and epistemology, the final section will explicate some of the important connections between Xontehł-taw łixun Yixonehłtse:tł' and current conversations in Critical Indigenous Studies.

Chi'xolchwe Xontehł-taw

With the history and ongoing presence of settler colonialism in the United States and Na:tinixw more specifically, Coyote stories are not always told to Na:tinixwe children and almost never told exclusively in Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe. Settler colonial schooling, beginning with the genocidal Indian boarding schools and continuing today with state-run public schools, has done its best to endanger Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe and Na:tinixwe educational practices (Nelson 1978). Traditional stories that would be at the center of Na:tinixwe children's curriculum are pushed to the margins if they are present at all.

In opposition to ongoing attempts to marginalize and erase Na:tinixwe knowledge in schools we chose to base our ye-silin camp curriculum around Xontehł-taw stories told in Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe. The story that opened this chapter is entitled: *Xontehł-taw łixun yixonehłts'e:tł'* (*Coyote and the Sweetball*) told to me by Hupa elder Verdena Parker and retold here by me. This is one of many Xontehł-taw (*coyote)* stories. I personally did not grow up hearing a lot of traditional Hupa stories in my home, most especially not in Na:tinixwe

Mixine:whe. It has been such a powerful learning experience to have worked with this particular story over the past three years. I have learned so much about Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe and Na:tinixwe intelligence by working with this story and teaching it to students in our ye-silin camps. We chose this particular story for a few reasons. We chose this story because of the repetition of language that takes place throughout, repetition is key for language learning. We also chose this story because we thought it taught a good lesson to the kids, a lesson that could last them, and us the rest of our lives. Do: diwa:'unchwe'n, (*don't be greedy).*

Xontehł-taw, like many other Indigenous trickster figures, teaches us how we should live our lives by showing us what *not* to do, and suffering the consequences as a result. Anishinaabeg scholar, John Borrows writes of a similar figure in Anishinaabeg stories: "Tricksters are figures who turn the established order of life on its head to confirm, change, or transform generally accepted norms. In analogizing from their behaviours to our own, we can likewise ask: how do we draw reasoning and standards for judgment from their experiences?" (2016, p. 826) For Borrows stories aren't just an insight into Indigenous intelligence but also into Indigenous law. Our stories have so many meanings to each person: they teach us so many lessons and each part of our lives when we need them the most. Leanne Simpson writes: "Stories direct, inspire and affirm ancient code of ethics." (2017, p.152) They teach us as individuals and they teach us as a nation what we believe and how we should live our lives: in a good way, taking only what we need, and if we choose not to do so there will be consequences. I will return to this story later in this chapter to explain its theoretical implications. I will place these in conversation with Indigenous critiques of settler colonialism in academic literature to highlight the important teachings our ancestors have always known despite being intentionally left out of academic discourse as a serious and rigorous theory.

Notes on History

As I write this chapter, I know that it is inherently incomplete. This process has forced me to learn so much. To seek out this knowledge that I was not taught as part of my early education, not part of my undergraduate experience, not part of my PhD process other than what I sought out myself. Parts of this story, this history, I know are from family, community members, and the small spaces my teachers were able to create in the broader settler curriculum of the public schools. This speaks to the importance of teaching this history in the (re)newed vision of education which has been expressed by some of my collaborators. Every Hupa child should know this history, every Hupa person should know this history. It is our history and just like other stories we must pass these on. We must learn the lessons our ancestors and this land are still trying to teach us. I offer this chapter as a continuation of these stories, surely missing some pieces, leaving room for the next person to come along and learn more, speak more, live more of this history, to continue our stories of creation. In this section I will briefly highlight the works of two Na:tinixwe scholars who have written about our people and show the ways that I will be writing with them and building from their work.

Na:tinixwe scholar Byron Nelson's work *Our Home Forever: the Hupa Indians of Northern California* is one of the few book length projects devoted to the Na:tinixwe, most notably written by a Na:tinixwe person. In this text he states: "Our Home Forever is a memorable recounting of the heritage and survival of a Native American community as told by a member of that community" (1978, p. X) He gives a brief overview of life before colonization for the Hupa people, then details many important historical events for the Hupa people during colonization. He details through time and space the many ways that colonizers attempted to

eliminate our people and yet we continued to survive and remain in our homeland. No matter what they did or threatened us with Nelson exclaims with his title Na:tinixw, the Hoopa Valley, is "Our Home Forever". Through this proclamation he disrupts the notion settlers have any right to our territory, Manifest Destiny or not, Na:tinixw has always been our home and will continue to be despite the impositions of California and the United States settler governments. If those governments were to no longer exist, we would still be here. This text begins from time immemorial and gives accounts of historical events until the 1940s. Although this is a great account of Na:tinixwe history generally the colonial project of Na:tinixwe schooling drops out of the text after the conversion of the Hoopa Indian Boarding school to a public school. The text then takes a tone of a historical arc of progress that ends with the era in Federal Indian Policy known as "self-determination". With the historical account and theoretical analysis of Na:tinixwe schooling and language endangerment I put forth below, I hope to be in conversation with, and expand upon Nelson's work.

Although his focus is not exclusively Na:tinixwe, I will also be drawing extensively from Na:tinixwe scholar Jack Norton's work: *Genocide in Northwestern California: When Our Worlds Cried.* This is one of the first historical accounts of Northern California's colonial genocide written by a California Indian. In this text written in 1979 Norton, critiques the academic discourse of his time surrounding the history of Northern California. The horrendous genocidal policies and actions of California state and its settlers were widely missing from most historical works. In fact, most writings at the time told a narrative of cultural encounters and misunderstandings between settlers and Native peoples. He writes in response: "At its worst, it is sheer propaganda to uphold a brutalizing social structure. Within this theoretical model, the academician's 'truth's are perpetuated by a narrow education system." (Norton, 1979, p.ix) He gets straight to the point, noting that this discourse is not inaccurate on accident but rather omits and changes the narrative to fit a broader national discourse of American innocence and progress. He then goes on to note that this discourse is also upheld within schools at all levels from primary to higher education. I will also be writing with this text and hope to expand his critiques of this 'brutalizing social structure' within the 'narrow education system' for the Na:tinixwe.

Hay Na:tinixwe

The Hoopa Valley Tribe, or Na:tinixwe (*Hupa people*), reside in the far reaches of Northern California. Hay Na:tinixw (*The Hoopa Valley*) has been our homeland since time immemorial. Nelson writes: "Beyond the coastal mountains of northwestern California, the Trinity River runs through a rich valley which has always been the center of the Hupa world, the place where the trails return." (1978, p. 5) Before the time of major European contact, around the 1850s, the Na:tinixwe lived along the Trinity River in 12 different villages surrounded by our sacred mountains. Each village was composed of different family groups. The Na:tinixwe had extensive knowledge of the natural world that they lived with (and not in) which included making sure everyone had food to eat, everyone was healthy, and respected one another (as much as possible), and the spirits from which they came. They lived their lives in the traditional Na:tinixwe way, which included distinct political, social and economic systems. These systems were developed in order to keep balance between individuals, families, villages and between other nations and lands.

Education was a life-long process guided by teaching and reciprocity to and from ninisa:n (*the land),* kisdiyun (*elders),* and kixuna:y, (*the spirit ancestors).* Fishing, hunting, gathering,

cooking, weaving were/are just some of the daily practices of Hupa people. Our lives were guided by the calendar of the land and our ancestral teachings and responsibilities to one another and the land. We have stories about the negative consequences of not attending to these responsibilities and lessons. Of course, there were disagreements, conflicts and issues within the community just as in any other. We had complex systems of conflict resolution that would aim to hold people accountable for their wrongdoing while also working out an agreement with all sides involved in the conflict in which they could all agree on to move forward from the situation.

Acorns, salmon, deer, greens, berries and many other sources of food in and around the valley provided all that we needed to survive if the seasons provided and if all abided by our laws to gather only what we needed to maintain the balanced relationship with ninisa:n. We knew when and where to hunt, fish and gather. We knew only to take as much as we needed and leave offerings for what we did take. We had ceremonies to celebrate the first salmon, the healing of a sick child, coming of age for young women, and renewing the world. We had doctors, ceremonial leaders, medicine people, traders, builders, artists, cooks, caretakers, teachers, storytellers, philosophers, astrologers, ethnobotanists, political leaders, lawyers, fisherman, hunters, mariners and many other people who had expertise in many other things. Every person had something to contribute to the wellbeing of the community.

Stories would be told, and small lessons would be given by elders to help identify each child's individual gifts. Although some jobs were gendered, they were placed in balance with the other genders, not in a hierarchy of power and dominance. As children grew-up they would ideally be placed with appropriate mentors to continue their training and cultivate their gifts.

I write of these systems in this way to combat the 'savage' and 'uncivilized' tropes that exist about our community. I do this in order to assert that we had a fully functioning society complete with systems of health, justice, and education just as any other. We were by no means a perfect utopian society. Rather this section is to provide context for the many ways that our society differed from that of our current world and what those Na:tinixwe structure and lifeways that may serve as an important alternatives to the dominant settler colonial structures and lifeways that are more about balance with the world rather than exploitation. Settler colonizers did not introduce important societal systems into these to our community like education, but rather attempted to destroy our systems in order to replace them with their own. We still conduct many of these practices today despite their being outlawed and criminalized only a few decades ago, and continued policies and pressures from the settler colonial government to cease.

The Na:tinixwe find themselves located between the Yurok, Karuk and Tsnungxwe peoples. Although these groups would trade quite often, intermarry, and participate in ceremonies together, the languages they spoke were completely different. Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe is a part of the Athabaskan language family. Other languages in this family include Tolowa, Wailaki, Navajo and Apache as well as other languages found in the interior of Alaska. While Yurok on the other hand is a language in the Algonquian family, other languages in this family are found primarily from what is known today as the northeastern US as well as parts of Canada. Lastly, the Karuk language is a member of the Hokan family found in various parts of northern and southern California as well as Mexico. Migration stories of our Dene ancestors are found in versions of the Na:tinixwe creation stories. Given the fact that there was such linguistic diversity in such a small and interconnected area, multilingualism was quite common, most specifically certain people would be trained to be interpreters across these languages and communities. Norton writes: "They developed a sophisticated system of commodities exchange, despite language difference. These three tribes lived side by side for thousands of years in

relative peace and security. While there were varying types of competition based on tribal identity, they felt no need to project real or imagined fears upon the nation people near them...The earth was abundant for all people" (1979, p.9) Contrary to the "warring tribes myth" that Indigenous nations were constantly at war with one another before the arrival of settlers, conflicts between these three tribes were smaller and less frequent than before the strong influence and pressures of gold mining and violent settlers.

We all share(d) the sacred Trinity River and we knew that we had to take care of the river, and its many beings not just for our own peoples' sake but for those around us as well. We strive(d) toward constant balance with ninisa:n for all peoples because ninisa:n provided for all peoples. There were no strict boundaries or borders as there are now, there were landmarks that separated our homelands, but we could travel through them respectfully without trouble.

Maybe one day I will write a book completely devoted to Na:tinixwe history pre-colonialism. There is a great deal more to be written, or maybe even not written because the academy may not need access to this. However, before moving on it is important to note that there is an immense amount more to this story, we are exceedingly more than our relationship to colonialism. We have thousands and thousands of years of living, learning, and growing in our Na:tinixwe history that led to who we are today. As Na:tinixwe scholar Byron Nelson writes colonialism: "is actually the shortest part of our history" (1978). Yet, for the sake of relevance and what is most pertinent to this dissertation, in the following section I will be outlining a short history of settler colonialism in Na:tinixw in order to place the current issue of Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe language endangerment and violent conditions of schooling for Na:tinixwe children in a broader historical and political context.

Settler Colonialism in the U.S., California, and Na:tinixwe

Indigenous Studies scholars argue that history of the United States *must* be analyzed through a settler colonial framework, the elimination of Indigenous peoples is one of the major driving forces of this history *not* progress and/or equality for all people. Yet, similar to Norton (1979) they note that much of academic scholarship refuses to use this framework, as it upsets the national discourse and implicates them (the scholars) in this history and present-day structure (Dunbar-Oritz, 2014; Sleeper-Smith, O'Brien, Shoemaker & Stevens, 2015). Therefore, I will use settler colonialism as a historical framework to illuminate the differing techniques, tactics and approaches the settler colonial state has made throughout time and space in Na:tinixw, how they have changed and adapted and how the Na:tinixwe have resisted, refused and survived through each move. This will help us better understand the current moment of settler colonialism we are in and clarify possible ways in which this (re)newed approach to education, developed through this project, can fight against it and work to (re)build a world outside of it. For this reason, I will be weaving in important theoretical concepts that can help us further understand each moment and movement of settler colonialism in Na:tinixw.

However, to be clear this dissertation is not a settler colonial historiography of the Na:tinixwe, nor is it even a historiography of Na:tinixwe education with an emphasis on settler schooling. While at the same time we cannot deny the importance of highlighting and connecting this history and the ongoing structure of settler colonialism and the ways that it has and continues to have material effects on the lives of Na:tinixwe and their educational institutions. Therefore, in this chapter I hope to give a brief colonial history of the Na:tinixwe, which of course will also involve a history of the broader United States, as well as the specific inner workings of California and even more specifically of far northern California. I want us to think locally and

globally simultaneously through this chapter in order to draw connections between communities. The lens will focus into the specific experiences of Na:tinixwe individuals, then all the way out to broader critiques and implications for the country and the world.

Indigenous Critiques of Settler Colonialism

Here I articulate Indigenous critiques of settler colonialism. Indigenous scholars point to the importance of an eliminatory structure but also rightfully call attention to an enduring Indigenous presence to ensure they are not vacated from theory (A.Simpson, 2014). Critical Indigenous Studies provides theoretical frameworks for issues around the politics of recognition, critiques of capitalism, and sovereignty (Grande, 2015). While broad theoretical frames are useful for understanding how power works similarly across contexts, the specificity of settler colonial power in context often illuminates much more. Indigenous peoples and their bodies are mapped into particular spaces and time to ensure the continuance of the settler colonial project. Yet, Indigenous peoples have resisted and persistent despite these constant attempts at their elimination which also illuminates the incompleteness of the settler colonial project. We refuse to be eliminated. We are still here.

More than an analytical framework, settler colonialism structures life in Na:tinixw and the United States at large. It materially structures the day-to-day felt realities (Million, 2013) of myself, my community, and this project. As Native Studies scholars have noted, settler colonialism is a type of colonialism in which colonizers come to stay and make this new place their home. In order to do this, they have to eliminate the Native through physical, mental and spiritual violence. As settler colonialism in the United States is ongoing, the colonizers never left, settler colonialism is a structure and not just a series of events (Kauanui, 2016). Settler colonialism as a structure, changes its tactics of governance at different moments to maintain its power, some examples include frontier violence, assimilation through boarding schools and containment through reservations (Coulthard, 2014). These changes in tactics do not signal the end of the settler colonial project but its transformation (Coulthard, 2014; Goodyear Ka'opua, 2013). Dene scholar Glen Coulthard writes: "Settler-colonialism should not be seen as deriving its reproductive force solely from its strictly repressive or violent features, but rather from its ability to produce forms of life that make settler-colonialism's constitutive hierarchies seem natural." (2013, p. 152) Settler colonialism is not just about the violent erasure of Indigenous peoples and epistemologies, but also the processes that makes these relations of power seem natural, normal and/or inevitable.

Indigenous scholars have extensively written about the United States and Canada as settler colonial states. This means that we have and continue to endure a specific type of colonization in which settlers come to our homelands to stay and attempt to eliminate Indigenous peoples and their ways of life in order to make this new place their home. Land and resources are always at the center of settler colonial conflicts. For the Na:tinixwe one of our biggest fights continues to be to protect our river and all the life that it sustains. I am sure many other Indigenous readers (communities) can also recognize the ongoing presence of settler colonialism in our individual histories of treaty negotiations, removals, allotments and ongoing fights to protect our resources.

Settler colonialism is not in the past or relegated to one historical event. Rather settler colonialism and the drive for land and Indigenous elimination is a structure that continues today. Coulthard writes: "...colonial domination continues to be structurally committed to maintain...ongoing state access to the land and resources that contradictorily provide the material

and spiritual sustenance of Indigenous societies on the one hand, and the foundation of colonial state-formation, settlement, and capitalist development on the other." (2014, p.7) Our reciprocal relationship with our homelands is what has always sustained us as Indigenous peoples. It serves as the basis of the strength of our nations. Our relationship to land is best articulated through our languages, which come from the land just as we do (Kimmerer, 2013). On the other side of this settler colonial ideologies, policies, and practices continue to try to eliminate who we are in an attempt to control this land and its people and to exploit them for monetary gain and political power.

Indigenous scholars have also discussed how capitalism, as an economic system that monetizes everything and everyone, is only possible here in the US because of the violence done against our peoples and the land. Coulthard writes about the specific type of capitalism that exists in the US and Canada as *settler capitalism*. He notes that in order for Indigenous nations to thrive once again we must confront capitalism and the ways it has infiltrated our communities. While some may believe that we can combat social and political issues that colonialism has created through economic development, Coulthard boldly asserts: "For Indigenous Nations to live, capitalism must die" (2014, p.173). As we are seeing the intensification of corporate and government ventures into Indigenous territories in the past few decades, we know that this is a symptom of a much longer problem of settler colonialism. The assaults on our languages and lands are all part of the same violent structure and these assaults should be countered accordingly.

Native studies scholars have also noted that settler colonialism is a project of gender and sexual(ity) violence and policing. Arvin, Tuck & Morill write: "It is important to note that in many cases, the enforcement of "proper" gender roles is entangled in settler nations' attempts to limit and manage Indigenous peoples' claims to land." (2013, p. 15). Therefore, it is not just those who are racially oppressed by the settler colonial regime that also have a stake in decolonization but those oppressed along likes of sexuality and gender as well. Muscogee (Creek) scholar Sarah Deer draws direct connections between violence against Indigenous women and the broader colonial project. She writes: "In fact, rape can be employed as a metaphor for the entire concept of colonialism. The damage to self and spirit that rapists cause has some of the same features that colonial governments perpetrate against entire nations." (Deer, 2015, p. xvii) Indigenous womxn, non-binary people and the violence against them must be at the center of a settler colonial critique and their needs at the center of any decolonial project. Sexuality that deviates from the heteronormative standard that settler colonialism puts forth is also targeted from elimination. Morgensen writes: "Colonists interpreted diverse practices of gender and sexuality as signs of a general primitivity among Native peoples. Over time, they produced a colonial necropolitics that framed Native peoples as queer populations marked for death." (2010, p. 106) As we begin to move through the specific history of settler colonialism in Na:tinixw, I hope we can take into account these different techniques of domination used through time and space explained in the theory above to understand the enduring nature of its structure this our specific context.

Settler Colonialism in the Na:tinixwe Context

Given the isolated location of Na:tinixw on the West Coast of what is now known as the United States, the Na:tinixwe people were fortunate in some ways to have not come into major contact with settler colonizers until far later than other tribes. For example, the Shinnecock people (my people), whose homelands reside in what is now known as Long Island, NY, came

into contact with settler colonizers as early as the mid 1600s. Consequently, settler colonialism for them (us) has been almost 400 years of violence, resistance and survival. Their relationship with settler colonizers dates back before the 'founding' of the United State of America.

Na:tinixw is located in a valley between mountains of far Northern California. As a result, we didn't encounter settler colonizers in any majorly impactful way until after the California Gold Rush beginning in 1849. Contrary to other tribes further south and/or inland in California our isolation also protected us from Spanish colonizers and their Indian missions that would often force Indigenous peoples into slavery, if those tribes even survived the devastating effects of physical violence and the diseases they brought (Norton, 1979). As a relevant example to reference the Muwekma Ohlone people, whose territory UC Berkeley occupies, were forced into the Spanish missions as early as 1776 (Muwekma Ohlone Tribal Website). Even as the territory of California was acquired by Mexico after Spanish rule violence against the Indigenous peoples of California continued. Colonial power over California soon shifted hands again into the jurisdiction of the United States government in 1850. Gold and land greedy settlers brought a different type of genocidal approach to the land and their people: acquire as much gold and land as they could and kill any Indian that was in their way. The extreme brutality of the colonization of California has been a recent topic of academic discourse. As the American frontier began to close, any further West would be in the ocean, the settler colonial drive to acquire territory and eliminate Indigenous peoples began to heighten in this territory. Historian Ben Madley calls it "an American genocide" (2016). However, I should note that California Indians have always known and felt the effects of this brutal history, even if academic discourse is just now willing to acknowledge it. It seems as if Na:tinixwe scholar Norton's call 40 years earlier is only beginning to be recognized.

Attempted Extermination: Gold and Land Hungry Settlers (1849-)

Frontier violence, the physical killing of Indigenous peoples, is one of the earliest stages of a settler colonial context (Wolfe, 1999) and a technique of settler colonial domination that continues today. After settlers realize that the Indigenous people will not give up their land willingly, they resort to violent means of securing the land they desire. This violence is also guided by white supremacist ideologies that cast Indigenous peoples as uncivilized savages, and in some cases not even human (O'Brien, 2010). The land according to settler colonial ideologies rightfully belongs to settlers and therefore if Indigenous people have to die in the process, it is for the greater good (Norton, 1979). Na:tinixwe scholar Jack Norton (1979) explains that there were anywhere between 100,000 and 1 million Indigenous people in Northern California before 1849 by 1900 there were around 17,000. These deaths were from disease, starvation structured by state agents, and at the hands of settler colonizers. These were not just individuals acting on impulse, but most often state and federal sponsored militias specifically formed to exterminate Indigenous peoples. In some cases, these militias would kill Indigenous peoples with no regard to age, gender or ability. In other cases, they would kill the men, keep or sell the children as slaves, and rape the women. There was little to no prosecution for crimes against Native people at this time so settlers, especially militia men, were free to choose their preference for these grossly violent actions (Madley, 2016).

Settlers, searching to get rich quick, came in like a storm looking for gold and land, not caring who was in their way. In fact, a few tribes close to the Na:tinixwe were nearly driven to extinction (Rhodes, 2010). The more settlers that arrived, the more violent things became. Nelson writes: "Few miners who came to the area believed that killing an Indian was a crime.

Because they thought all Indians were a threat to their activities, they began to shoot people who had done them no wrong." (1978, p. 45) The Na:tinixwe learned of this violence through word of mouth and were strategically able to avoid a huge amount of the violence by enlisting the help of allied tribes, while not compromising much of their sovereignty (Nelson, 1978). We were very strategic about who and how we chose to engage with. In 1851 Redick Mckee, an Indian agent, came to Na:tinixw to negotiate a treaty with the Na:tinixwe. Lara writes: "Through the signing of the treaty, he promised a payment to repair damages caused by Whites to villages and tribal grounds, the creation of a reservation that covered their traditional territory, and most importantly, he guaranteed the safety and protection of Indians." (2009, p. 54) To the knowledge of the Na:tinixwe people this agreement had been made formal. However, Governor Peter Burnett, of the newly established state of California had other plans for the Indigenous peoples. He stated: "A war of extermination will continue to be waged between the races until the Indian race becomes extinct" (Forbes, 1968). As a result, Mckee's treaty was denied with no notice to the Na:tinixwe. At this time the State Assembly and Senate refused to accept any treaties from California tribes, they were not ready to stop killing our people yet, or even make it illegal. By 1853 settlers began to occupy Na:tinixw. Lara writes: "Settlers met in Arcata, approximately 30 miles from Hoopa, to plan the extermination of Indians." (2009, p. 55) She continues: "In addition to multiple massacres, Hupa and Yurok children were kidnapped and sold as slaves for twenty-five dollars each." (2009, p. 55) These children were targeted because they represented the futures of these Indigenous nations. They were stolen away from their own families to serve white families in neighboring towns.

In 1858, settlers began to sense the warranted hostility of the Na:tinixwe, for we had signed a treaty 7 years prior and yet were receiving none of the things we were promised. In order to prevent violent conflict, they took one of our leaders, Captain John, to San Francisco. It was virtually impossible for Na:tinixwe people to know just how many white settlers there were and whether or not we could win a war against them given our isolated location. They brought our leader to the center of their new settler state to show him just how many white settlers there were, to show him just how outnumbered the Na:tinixwe were, and that these white settlers could completely wipe out our people if they chose to (Nelson, 1978). Later that same year in 1858 military fort, Fort Gaston, would be set up to keep the Na:tinixwe "safe" from settlers in theory, but to control and punish their every move in practice (Nelson, 1978). In 1864 there was an attempt to violently remove us from our homeland. We were not going to leave even if that meant a war. Instead of a violent conflict, treaty negotiations began to take place once again (Nelson, 1978; Madley, 2016).

Containment and Domestication (1864-)

Following attempts to exterminate us, settler colonialists and the settler state moved to contain the Na:tinixwe and eliminate their freedom of movement and conceptions of place, space, and even basic means of subsistence through the establishment of the reservation. Containment is a defining logic of operation in settler colonial states (Goodyear-Ka'opua, 2015). In 1864, the Na:tinixwe signed a treaty (The Treaty of 1864) with the US government that was supposed to ensure this sovereignty over our home territories, however in reality it ended up being a containment center for all of the Indians in the area. This treaty promised: "healthcare, education and welfare" for the Na:tinixwe (Lara, 2009). When the Indian commissioners were explaining to the state's white residents the reasons for setting up a reservation for the Na:tinixwe (many settlers wanted to continue to kill them) officials articulated that it could

exterminate all of the Native peoples, or it could place them on reservations and domesticate them. The later would be the cheaper option. Nelson writes: "The government, they said, had two choices. It could 'exterminate' all of the Native peoples, or it could place them on reservations and 'domesticate' them. The second, they argued, was far more practical, since it would be 'cheaper to feed the whole flock for a year than fights them for a week.'" (1978, p. 54) Compulsory containment on the reservation would work in tangent with the continued massacres of California Indians across the state. Nelson writes: "Within their own lands, Hupa could now be shot simply for crossing an arbitrary boundary" (1978, p. 82) Indian agents would make conditions on the reservations so terrible peoples would risk leaving to find food, this violation would then result in their punishment and evening killing by state funded militias (Madley, 2016).

This attempt at domesticating the Na:tinixwe through their containment on the reservation and oversight by Indian agents was a devastating genocidal calculus for the Na:tinixwe. In 1873 Agent Dodge recommended that soldiers leave Fort Gaston because "the Hupa homes had been destroyed, their women violated, and their ways of life disturbed by the soldiers". (Lara, 2009, p. 56) Three years later, Agent Broaddus frustrated that the Na:tinixwe had not embraced Christianity, made plans to remove the Na:tinixwe to the Round Valley Reservation south of Na:tinixw and later to the Indian Territory in Oklahoma. Lara writes: "Neither plan was successful." (2009, p. 57) Anthropologist Pliny Earle Goddard, in his 1903 work about the Hupa people, quoted a lawyer from a nearby town who spent time on the reservation, "If the reservation was a plantation, the Indians were the most degraded slaves. I found them poor, miserable, vicious, dirty, diseased, and ill fed. The oldest men, or stout middle-aged fathers of families, were spoken to just as children or slaves." (Keeling, 2010, p. 30) Conditions on the reservation were horrendous due to the introduction to many Old world diseases, the food supply was short because of the environmental damage caused by settlers, and to top it all off Na:tinxwe were being dehumanized in the land where they were supposed to be sovereign. As a result of our refusal to move from our homelands government agents brought in people from other tribes forcefully removed from their homelands to the newly established Hoopa Valley Indian Reservation (Lara, 2009).

Assimilation: Elimination of Epistemologies and Relationships (1870-)

Following the signing and acceptance of treaties there was a shift in federal Indian policy on the national level from bodily extermination to extermination of the mind (assimilation). The Hoopa Valley Indian School was founded during, and shared ideological commitments of the Assimilation Era of Federal Indian Policy (1879-1934). This shift in policy approach is best exemplified in Na:tinixw with the dismantling of Fort Gaston and the building's conversion to a boarding school in 1893. The military barracks that housed settler officials that would often commit bodily violence against the Na:tinixwe was now being converted to a school in which the mission was to commit mental and spiritual violence against Na:tinixwe children. The ideologies and policies of this era sought the cultural and political assimilation of Indian children through boarding schools *and* the conversion of Indigenous economies to regimes of private property and the loss of land through allotment policies (Lomawaima, 1995). This was a tactic of dispossession just as the attempts to forcefully remove Na:tinixwe from their homelands, and then cutting up that homeland through the establishment of the reservation. The curriculum and structure of boarding schools were about killing the culture and connection of each child to their family and nation and making "civilized" manual and domestic workers out of these Indian

students (Piatote, 2013). I will discuss this school, and those that followed in more detail in Chapter 3.

In addition to assimilating the minds and bodies of the Na:tinixwe, during this same era The Dawes Act was passed, to assimilate the land under a practice and policy called Allotment. Our sacred homeland was to be cut up and divided into parcels of land then given to each individual family (defined by the colonizers) (Nelson, 1978). Then the remaining land would be given away to settlers. We can still see the results of this policy in the non-Na:tinixwe land ownership within the boundaries of our reservation. Allotment was an attempt to eliminate our family structures, diets, economy, relationship and connection to the land. We were to become farmers, a relationship to the land the settler government recognized, and leave our hunting, gathering, fishing and caretaking behind (Nelson, 1978). This was the plan for the policy but we refused to give up our ways despite the many attempts to eliminate them. One further attempt to assimilate Native peoples was the Citizenship Act in 1924 that was to further encourage Native nation to abandon their citizenship in their nation for citizenship in the broader United States settler body politic.

Imposing Settler Governance Models: Indian Reorganization Act, "Self- Determination" and Recognition (1934-)

The Indian Reorganization Act passed in 1934, resulted in a whole host of other policies that signaled another shift in settler governance tactics. This act was supposed to "end the allotment and assimilation period by forbidding future allotment of Indigenous lands, permitting the government to add the remaining lands to reservations" and encourage "self-governance of Indigenous tribes." (Lara, 2009, p. 62) Indigenous nations were encouraged to adopt their own constitution, however, the constitution template they were encouraged to follow was that of the settler state. Thereby, through this adoption eliminating the traditional governance systems that had been operating in Na:tinixw and other tribal nations for thousands of years. In this same year the former boarding school would become the Hoopa Unified School District.

Tribes were encouraged to form their own leadership structures under these new policies, this comes after the various attempts to destroy the leadership structures they had operated within for thousands of years before settler colonial impositions. Although we opted out of the IRA, we did proceed with establishing an elected body of officials that would be recognized by the US government. The Hoopa Valley Tribe elected their first official council in March 1933 who then began to draft the tribal constitution. Yet, to be clear this did not give them ultimate authority over their lands and people. Nelson writes: "When the members took office, they had to swear to 'cooperate with the Bureau of Indian Affairs' and 'assist' the Hupa 'towards better citizenship and progress.'" (1978, p. 169) In addition, the council had to seek permission for any major decisions from the BIA. Following the adoption of the constitution we developed many different tribal departments including Education, Fisheries, Forestry and even opened one of the few tribally run medical clinics. Although adopting this constitution was a major event in our tribe's history, to be clear this did not by any means signal the end of settler colonialism in Na:tinixw.

One notable issue to highlight as evidence of the ongoing presence of settler colonialism in Na:tinixw is our continued fights with the Bureau of Reclamation (BOR) and agribusiness to protect the sacred Trinity River and all of the beings that depend on it. In the 1960s, the Bureau of Reclamation began two projects to divert water from the Trinity River to farmers in the Central Valley, a part of California that naturally has a desert like climate ergo the need to bring in water from other places. Adkins writes: "The desire to expand the supply of inexpensive water

for growers in the Central Valley led the Bureau of Reclamation to build the Trinity River Division (TRD) of the Central Valley Project (CVP)." (2007, p. 7) This project created two earthen dams, the Trinity Dam and Lewiston Dams, that would eliminate 109 miles of salmonid habitat as well as divert upwards of 90% (U.S.DOI) of the Trinity Rivers natural water flow. As one can imagine this vastly changed the ecosystem of the Trinity River. According to the state and federal governments (the settler state) the water would be put to better use by the 'great American farmers' down in the central valley rather than the Trinity River's ecosystem, the Hupa people included. These two parties, the Hoopa Valley Tribe, and the Central Valley Project, have been at odds with one another since the project began. This conflict came to a head when a massive fish-kill, that happened in and along the shores of our beloved Trinity in 2002. Over 30,000 fish died from gill rot that was the result of high-water temperatures caused by water diversions to the Klamath Basin for ranchers and farmers (Martin, 2003). Prior to the fish kill our tribal Fisheries department had warned the BOR of the dangerous water conditions repeatedly and demanded more water be let out, but we were ignored, and catastrophe took place. We continue to fight to prevent future kills and to protect the integrity of the river to this day (Chen, 2015). This struggle is only worsening with the impacts of climate-change, but we will not back down.

Our relationship with the government continues to be a highly uneven balance of power. Nelson highlights the evolving, but ever-present threat to the Na:tinxwe, we "had fought volunteers and 'Indian hunters', miners, and missionaries, soldiers and bureaucrats." (1978, p. 178) I also might add administrators, teachers and farmers to this list of those we had to fight and continue to fight with today. We were promised certain rights and services from our treaty as well as other policies that have been passed, and yet we continue to struggle to receive quality educational service. We have to continually fight and go to meetings with the federal government to receive the money they we are owed and fight to maintain the health of our river and all the beings that depend on it. The physical, spiritual and mental settler colonial techniques of violence have not ended by any means either, but rather have taken shape and form in other contexts. For example we can see the results of this violence in the statistics that plague Native American communities such as high suicide rates, high drug and alcohol addiction, high rates of being killed by the police, high rates of sexual violence and murder of Indigenous womxn and non-binary people, high rates of diseases, low life expectancy, high poverty rates and many others. These of course are not just numbers but Na:tinixwe, Hupa people, my family. All worthy of life, but denied the chance to live in a good way by these ongoing settler colonial structures and institutions. Yet amidst all of this damage we have and will always survive, resist, refuse and rebuild. Nelson writes: "If catastrophe came to the valley, the people would repair the damage as their ancestors had rebuilt sacred house time and time again on the ancient foundations." (1978, p. 180) This dissertation is a project to continue to rebuild our homes. There is so much more to be written on the broader settler colonial history and present of the Na:tinixwe, however for the purposes of this project I will end this section here with the hopes that future Na:tinixwe scholars take up this call.

Towards a "Radical Intersectional Analysis" of Settler Colonialism and Decolonization

In this dissertation I want to think back and forth from the local and specific to the broader political landscape. Settler colonialism as a theoretical concept developed across different settler colonial contexts each with its own unique history. It was and remains incredibly important to draw connections across these geographical locations. However, the flaw in this

theoretical development trajectory is that the specific intertwined histories of Indigenous and non-Indigenous colonialisms, imperialisms, and slavery get left out of this framework in some of its iterations.

Native and Black studies scholars have recently called for greater research into the relationship between settler colonialism and anti-blackness In her work, Tiffany King (2014) aims to move: "toward a grammar of precision enables the articulation of Black political praxes that can respond to the ways that anti- Black racism is structured by settler colonialism..." while at the same time to "help us understand the ways that slavery/anti-Black racism structures settler colonialism." (p. 3) In order to fully understand settler colonialism in the US one must understand the ways that anti-blackness bleeds into settler colonialism and the ways that empire often pits us away from and against one another despite our common interest of fighting against said empire. This is true at the macro-structural level of settler colonialism and anti-blackness of the United States, as well as at the micro level of our children's schooling experiences. Think back to my mother's experience as an Indigenous woman with Black ancestry in desegregated New York City in the 1970s. Just as King wants to ensure that Black political praxes responds to the ways that anti-blackness is shaped by settler colonialism as not to replicate settler colonial violence, here I want to ensure that Na:tinixwe resurgence praxes does not replicate anti-black violence. Therefore, in this dissertation my definition of settler colonialism will be explicitly attentive to the afterlife of slavery (Hartman, 1997) within the structure of the United States and its schools.

In order to push past both the Black/White binary, as well as the settler/Native binary, that has persisted in academic discourse in order to understand the structural positions of power in the United States scholars has put forth different iterations of a triad: Settler/Native/Black (Wilderson, 2010; Byrd, 2011; Tuck, Sultan & Guess, 2014; King, 2014). Each position within the triad helps us to understand the specific ways that power operates on and through these different bodies. However, this leaves out other racialized bodies who are victimized under white supremacy. Where do they fit into this? Tuck & Yang (2014) note that settlers are not just white but people of color as well, yet in a footnote they note that there may be more structural positions than just those of the triad. I find Glenn's (2015) formulation to be the most compelling that I have come across in the literature thus far. She adds, borrowing from Veracini (2010), the category "undesirable exogenous others" to the triad. She writes: "settler colonial mobilization of race and gender to manage "exogenous others" beyond the indigenes and enslaved blacks. In contrast to virtuous...exogenous others (typically European immigrants) who may be selected for gradual inclusion, undesirable exogenous others (typically racialized immigrants) were considered morally degraded, sometimes irredeemably so" (Glenn, 2015, p. 62) Glenn specifically names Mexican and Chinese Americans in her article as historic examples of such groups and explains the ways that settler colonial techniques of domination originally used against Indigenous peoples were then used on these differently marked bodies. I would extend her formulation into the present and use the category of undesirable exogenous others to think through groups like Latinx, Arab and other racialized communities that continue to be marginalized and managed. One connection I hope to explore in future work is the intertwined violence between the diversion of the Trinity River to Central Valley farms, which then exploit migrant workers, most often Latinx and Indigenous from Mexico, Central and South America.

I take this time to flesh out a much more holistic and expansive definition of settler colonialism beyond how it only affects Indigenous peoples in order to bring us toward a more holistic project of decolonization in which all peoples have a stake. Coulthard writes:

> I argue that any strategy geared toward authentic decolonization must directly confront more than mere economic relations; it has to account for the multifarious ways in which capitalism, patriarchy, white supremacy, and the totalizing character of state power interact with one another to form the constellation of power relations that sustain colonial patterns of behavior, structures and relationships. I suggest that shifting our attention to the colonial frame is one way to facilitate this form of radical intersectional analysis. (2014, p. 14)

How do the techniques of settler colonialism domination continue to be deployed against Indigenous peoples show up in different ways on other bodies? How are deportation or police brutality not new issues but rather speak back to a much older and fundamental antagonism of this country and its education system? I invite readers to ask themselves these questions as they proceed.

Decolonization

A project of decolonization in the context of a settler colony must take into account the many different aspects of settler colonialism I introduced above, an undoing of the varying violent structures, ideologies and institutions. Many different scholars across many different disciplines and socio-political contexts have written about decolonization. Here I will be drawing from Indigenous definitions of decolonization in settler colonial contexts. Decolonization has been a term much discussed in Native American Studies and the details of which vary greatly. I believe that decolonization must be theorized both at the micro and macro levels. What does decolonization look like in Na:tinixw? What does decolonization look like at the level of the US nation state? These are two questions I wish to explore through this dissertation in different moments. How are they related and how can they inform one another? Of course, they are not questions that can be answered here, yet they are still worth thinking through. As settler colonialism continues to change and morph, so too should our definition of decolonization and our decolonial movements and praxes.

One key author in Indigenous Studies who has written extensively about decolonization is Maori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith. In the context of research Smith writes: “In a decolonizing framework, deconstruction is part of a much larger intent. Taking apart the story, revealing underlying texts and giving voice to things that are often known intuitively does not help people to improve their current conditions...it does not prevent someone from dying” (1999, p. 3) For Smith decolonization is not just a theoretical project of critique but must inherently work towards the prevention of death of her people. Decolonial work must have real impacts on the world and the lives of Indigenous peoples.

The alleviation of gender and sexual(ity) violence also must be a part of a decolonial project. Decolonization will mean very different things for different people. Settler colonialism for Indigenous peoples has had mental, physical and spiritual components, therefore decolonization must take place on these levels as well. This is especially true for colonial gender and sexuality ideologies. Sarah Deer writes: “Part of decolonizing the mind and body is to send a message that as tribal nations we will no longer tolerate the invasion of our communities through the violation of our grandmothers, our clan mothers, our life givers, our sisters, or our daughters” (Deer, 2012, p. 122) The individual work that we as Indigenous peoples can begin to do now in our own lives must then transition to meaningful changes in our communities.

Settler colonialism did not just affect our bodies but also our lands, languages and our relationships with them. Wildcat, McDonald, Irlbacher-Fox & Coulthard state: “if [settler]

colonization is fundamentally about dispossessing Indigenous peoples from land, decolonization must involve forms of education that reconnect Indigenous peoples to land and the social relations, knowledges and languages that arise from that land." (2014, p. I) As you will read in the following chapter, this dissertation draws from three sources of knowledge: people, land and language. These are all things that the settler colonial project attempted to destroy on their own but also to destroy the connections between them. For me decolonization in this context is bringing back together Indigenous peoples, their land and their languages and re-establishing those relationships.

Tuck and Yang in their article "Decolonization is not a metaphor" confront the many ways that decolonization as a term has been misused and even turned into a metaphor in some instances by scholars across many fields as well as educators and activists. They write: "The metaphorization of decolonization makes possible a set of evasions, or "settler moves to innocence", that problematically attempt to reconcile settler guilt and complicity, and rescue settler futurity." (2014, p. 1) Settlers misuse the term decolonization in order to evacuate themselves from complicity in the ongoing settler colonial project. Given the social political history of the United States there are so many different matrices of oppression that many fights for liberation, civil rights and social justice, erase Indigenous peoples and one of the original and ongoing violent structures that continue to make this country possible. So, although we may not have or even want an exact definition of decolonization we know some things that it should require in a settler colonial context: "...the repatriation of Indigenous land and life." (Tuck and Yang, 2014, p. 21) They also argue that abolishing anti-blackness must be a key part of a decolonial project. We must make that clear so that others cannot misuse or misread the work we are doing.

Decolonization is not one thing. As I stated before it will look very different across contexts. There are people doing decolonizing work every day in their communities. The goal is then to begin to foster connections between these "everyday acts of decolonization" in order to build a movement big enough to counter the existing colonial order in a meaningful and lasting way. Corntassel writes: "'Our children should have the opportunity to live more Indigenous lives than we do.' By understanding the overlapping and simultaneous processes of decolonization and resurgence, we begin to better understand how to implement meaningful and substantive community decolonization practices." (2012, p.99) Decolonization can and should be both overlapping and simultaneous across contexts, attentive to these needs of that specific context while also mindful of relationships with other contexts. Grande writes that those who are "either unable or unwilling to extend borders of coalition and enact transcendent theories of decolonization will only compound their vulnerability to the whims and demands of the "new global order." (2008, p. 6) An expansive, coalition based, capacious definition of decolonization is the framework I hope to use in this work going forward.

Indigenous Resurgence

I will be drawing extensively from theories of Indigenous Resurgence. Indigenous resurgence as articulated by Corntassel (2012) is a pathway to fight against the settler state and towards decolonization. Coulthard writes: "Resurgence, in this view, draws critically on the past with an eye to radically transform the colonial power relations that have come to dominate our present." (2014, p. 157) While these specifics of what resurgence is to each community may vary, for example within the epistemology and current discourses used in Na:tinixw renewal can be understood to share many of the same goals as resurgence and can even be used interchangeably. Leanne Simpson (2017) gives us a great working definition of resurgence that I

hope to strive for in this work. She writes: “Resurgence is hope for me because of its simultaneous dismantling of settler colonial meta-manifestations and its reinvigoration of Indigenous systemic alternatives —alternatives that have already produced sustainable, beautiful, principled societies.” (p. 49) Resurgence is decolonization because it directly combats the settler colonial drive to eliminate Indigenous life in its many forms. Resurgence is also the working towards creating a world for after colonization. It is not just a response to settler colonialism but a continuation of what came before, what currently remains despite settler colonialism, and what shall continue on for future generations.

In relation to language and education resurgence projects specifically, it is important to note not only their cultural and social significance but also their political implications. Leanne Simpson writes: “regenerating language, ceremony, and land-based practices is always political. Community-based resurgence projects like the language nests are inherently political and cultural because the intent is to facilitate radical transformation rather than just a cultural revitalization.” (2017, p. 50) With this work we began to (re)envision Na:tinixwe education not just to revitalize culture but to create new possibilities for (re)newed worlds for our youth.

Indigenous resurgence theories have also been critiqued for not taking into account what a resurgent decolonial project will mean for abolition (Sexton, 2014), as well as what the role for other racialized and minoritized groups may be (Wildcat McDonald, Irlbacher-Fox & Coulthard, 2014). With this in mind I also take into account the ways in which any resurgent decolonial project must also take into account the intersecting forces of settler colonialism, anti-blackness, white supremacy, heteropatriachy, global capitalism and the many other structures of oppression that converge in the Empire that is the United States (Byrd, 2011; Coulthard, 2014). Conversely, I believe that anyone invested in a project of decolonization will benefit from reading this work and seeing this process of (re)envisioning in action within the constraints of settler colonialism.

Indigenous Critiques of the Education System: Settler colonial schooling is a structure not an event

I see this dissertation within a long line of Indigenous critique of colonial education. Grande writes: “The miseducation of American Indians precedes the ‘birth’ of this nation. From the time of invasion to the present day, the church and state have acted as coconsipirators in the theft of Native America, robbing Indigenous peoples of their very right to be indigenous.” (2015, p. 15) These scholars do not just critique the boarding school system but rather draw connections from the violence of the boarding schools to the violence against Indigenous children continue to endure today. Goodyear-Ka’opua writes: “Settler colonialisms are historically rooted, land-centered projects that are never fully complete, thus requiring constant effort to marginalize and extinguish Indigenous connections so as to secure control of land...The public school system functions to naturalize these relations of power” (2013, p. 23) They bring together theories of settler colonialism to critique the structure of American schooling. Sabzalian writes: “colonial relations...undermine Indigenous self-determination in schools, many which surface in small and everyday acts of erasure, silence, and marginalization that are continuous with and foreground more epic colonial violence.” (2019, p. xiv) These colonial critiques are a departure from the majority of educational discourse. Smith, Tuck and Yang write: “Indigenous and decolonizing perspectives on education have long persisted alongside colonial models of education, yet too often have been subsumed within the fields of multiculturalism, critical race theory, and progressive education.” They continue that Indigenous decolonizing perspectives offer great possibilities for education... “beyond the limits of liberal democratic schooling.” (Smith, Tuck &

Yang, 2018, abstract) In addition to offering different visions of education that depart from mainstream educational discourse Indigenous critiques of education also offer a more in-depth, holistic, and historically oriented critique of the structure of American education and the many different ways that it continues to be violent to different children marked in different ways by settler colonialism (Marquez, 2019).

Indian boarding schools as a metaphor for all schools

One of the earliest texts written by an Indigenous woman, describing her own experience at boarding school is Dakota scholar, Zitkala Sa's (Gertrude Bonnin) *American Indian Stories, Legends, and Other Writings.* In her essay "The School Days of an Indian Girl and The Great Spirit", she recounts a terrifying memory from her schooling experience: "I cried aloud, shaking my head all the while until I felt the cold blades of the scissors against my neck, and heard them gnaw off one of my thick braids. Then I lost my spirit...Not a soul reasoned quietly with me, as my own mother used to do; for now I was only one of many little animals driven by a herder." ([1921] (1979), p. 91) She explains the reality that many Indigenous students across the nation were experiencing: getting their hair cut, spiritual violence, isolation and physical removal from their families, teacher who did not and would not understand their languages or cries for help, and dehumanization alongside so many other children.

Indian boarding schools have often been understood as institutions of forced 'civilization' and deculturization (Adams, 1995). Pease Pretty-on Top writes: "Worse, the U.S. government did its best to, first, try to kill the people who spoke these languages. When that didn't succeed, it went about, through government dicta, systematically killing the languages themselves and the cultures those languages promoted." (2003, p. 5) However the explicit connection to a broader structure of settler colonialism and capitalism are primarily found within Indigenous critiques. Grande writes:

> Perhaps the most critical insight to siphon from this history is that the colonialist project was never simply about the desire to "civilize" or even deculturalize indigenous peoples. Rather, it was deliberately designed to colonize Indian minds as a means of gaining access to indigenous resources. Thus, despite the tired characterization of the relationship between the United States and Indian tribes as one of cultural domination, the predominant relationship has been one of material exploitation: the forced extraction of labor and natural resources in the interest of capital gains. (2008, p. 4)

Boarding schools represented a shift in settler colonial tactics to colonization of the bodies, minds and spirits of these students in order to turn them into white Americans and to gain access to their lands and labor. This shift in violence would play out on these children.

Settlers needed to eliminate Indigenous ontologies and epistemologies, most importantly governance and economic structures, so that they did/do not conflict with the settler state's governance and economic structure. The existence of Native languages serves as a constant reminder of a pre-colonial reality, and a present and future threat to their legitimacy on this land. Iyengar writes: "A policy shift was needed in regard to Indigenous populations – from elimination-via-expulsion to elimination-via-absorption. But one thing remained the same: the logic of elimination, in its new guise, would still advance its purposes by working on language." (2014, p. 51) As Audra Simpson reminds us, settler colonial projects are ongoing and unfinished because settlers must continually reassert their sovereignty each day of occupation (2014). Milathi Michelle Iyengar writes:

> Boarding school linguicide... represents the epitome of Wolfe's "structural genocide": settler colonialism's arrangement of institutions in ways that (1) are explicitly directed at the elimination of the Native, (2) express themselves in terms of something like "culture" (e.g., "civilize the savages," etc.), and (3) are inseparable from biological destruction.(2014, p. 56)

The elimination of Indigenous languages is key to legitimating settler sovereignty because Indigenous languages are one of the primary sources from which Indigenous peoples conceptualize the sovereignty of their nations. This Indigenous sovereignty inherited from their ancestors both precedes settler sovereignty and calls into question settler sovereignty's claims to legitimacy in what is now known as the United States. Richard Littlebear (Northern Cheyenne) states:"...language is the basis of sovereignty...We have all those attributes that comprise sovereign nations: a governance structure, law and order, jurisprudence, literature, a land base, spiritual and sacred practices, and that one attribute that holds all of these other attributes together: our languages."(Littlebear, 1999, p. 2) Language and other embodied ancestral practices hold the key not only to how Native people view and live our lives but also how we govern them in relation to each other and the broader world we live in. Settlers needed to eliminate these alternative ways being, most importantly governance in this example, so that they did/do not conflict with the settler state's epistemologies and ontologies.

Morgensen (2010) describes the many different ways that Indigenous gender and sexuality identities that strayed from settler heteronormativity would be violently policed and marked for elimination within boarding school. He writes:

> Death thus still shaped sexual colonization in the era of containment and assimilation, but in new ways. Under colonial rule, Native people faced constant condemnation of gender and sexual transgression, which at times took shape as a violent education...colonial education prevented a new generation being raised, so an entire new ways of life could appear to have passed. (2010, p. 115)

Indigenous nations had varying concepts of gender and sexuality that were very different from settler concepts of cis-heteropatriarchy. Their concepts of gender and sexuality then posed a threat to the settler colonial structure and had to be marked for elimination. Boarding schools would target any children that deviated from settler norms and force them into these norms in the way they would force them to dress, act, speak and work (Lomawaima, 1995; Child, 1998; Morgensen, 2010; Piatote, 2013).

Given the devastating effects that these boarding schools have had on Indigenous communities many scholars as well as Indigenous people blame the boarding school for many of the problems that exist in our communities today such as language endangerment, historical trauma and sexual violence. However, as Ojibwe scholar Brenda Child notes that when we do this, especially in our communities we give too much power to this particular era of the schooling of our children and deny the ongoing violences that take place in the public schools. She writes: "But the intensity with which Indian people in the present day explain and respond to the role of boarding school in the broader history of their families and communities suggests that for many, boarding school is also a useful and extraordinary powerful metaphor for colonialism." (Child, 2014, p. 268) It is important to note this in our own communities, in relegating colonialism as a metaphor and situating the problem in an event of the past and not on an ongoing structure our responses to many of the issues in our communities may not be enough. It is with this dissertation that I hope to shift the discourse around colonial schooling in Na:tinixw

so that we are better able to respond to ongoing issues rather than having conversations around colonial schooling as being something of the past.

In relegating all of our issues to the boarding school we also overestimate the ways we were victimized and underestimate how we resisted and refused the project of our epistemological elimination. Child writes it is: "...impossible to view this history as one of simply victimization. In the end, what impressed me most about the boarding school story was the strength of Ojibwe family and community life, a deep and abiding commitment to children, demonstrated time and time again by parent and other at home, that outlasted and outmaneuvered a failed educational idea." (Child, 2014, p. 269) Our families have always resisted colonial impositions and loved and cared for one another despite them. Grande writes: "With regard to American Indians, this means understanding that "the Indian problem" is not a problem of children and families but rather, first and foremost, a problem that has been consciously and historically produced by and through the systems of colonization: a multidimensional force underwritten by Western Christianity, defined by white supremacy, and fueled by global capitalism." (2015, p. 23) Our children are not the problem as many studies, scholars, teachers and administrators would like to think, they have never been the problem, colonialism is the problem.

Towards a "Radical Intersectional Analysis" of Settler Colonial Schooling and Decolonial Education

I now want to develop a more capacious understanding of settler colonial schooling in order to move toward a theory of decolonial education that will necessitate the liberation of all peoples and not just Indigenous peoples, or at the very least that will not replicate violence against targeted peoples. In many foundational education courses, one will read classics from the (white) canon of critical theory such as Marx, Bourdieu, and Althusser to name a few. However, none of these scholars are based in America and all of these scholars are white men who have been critiqued at length for the ways in which they are insufficient for understanding and foregrounding the enduring nature of colonialism, white supremacy and heteropatriarchy (Robinson, 2000; Coulthard, 2014; Grande, 2015). Here I want to refuse to cite these scholars and rather focus Indigenous, Black and scholars of color because as Grande (2015) notes above, for Indigenous peoples the primary issues is not the social reproduction of inequality that American schools continue to reproduce but rather the colonialism it continues to uphold. While at the same time if we think back to recent calls to understand the relationship between settler colonialism and anti-blackness (Byrd, 2011; Tuck, Sultan & Guess, 2014; King, 2014) the American school is also an anti-black institution by its structure (Dumas, 2016). So here I want to think through what insights and connections we can make between Indigenous and Black critiques of education that continue to be ignored by mainstream educational discourse and conversations.

Carter G. Woodson in his text *The Mis-Education of the Negro* written and published just one year after the widely cited *German Ideology* (Marx & Engels, 1932) in 1933 writes:

> ...to handicap a student by teaching him that his black face is a curse and that his struggle to change his condition is hopeless is the worst sort of lynching...This crusade is much more important than the anti-lynching movement, because there would be no lynching if it did start in the schoolroom. Why not exploit, enslave, or exterminate a class that everybody is taught to regard as inferior (1933, p.3).

Woodson argues that the violence that continues to take place against Black people is the direct result of the education that is taking place in American schools, this education teaches Black students that they are inferior and helpless to change their condition, while it also teaches non-Black students that Black people are deserving of the violence they endure. He also warns that we should be fighting against these schools as they are one of the biggest contributors to this violence, they are what make the ideas and justifications for lynching possible in the first place. The same can be said of Indigenous students and the ways that American schools make them feel inferior and hopeless, while at the same time teaching non-Indigenous students that the violence against Indigenous peoples is justified both in the past and present. Similar to Indigenous critiques of settler curriculum (Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006) as well as policy v. practice, Woodson writes: "The status of the Negro, then, was justly fixed as that an inferior. Teachers of Negros in their first schools after Emancipation did not proclaim any such doctrine, but the content of the curricula justified these inferences." (1933, p. 22) Teachers do not have to state explicitly that Black people are inferior because it is always imbedded in the curriculum both in what is in the lesson plans and how it is framed as well as what is missing. For Indigenous peoples we are very familiar with the violence of absence and erasure from curriculum.

In the same year, W.E.B. DuBois writes against the movement to desegregate schools. Black schooling and Indigenous schooling work differently at different moments, just as settler colonialism has its shifts in techniques of domination, so does anti-blackness. Yet, many of DuBois' critiques of integrating into public schools speaks to the same violent experiences many Black *and* Indigenous students continue to face. He writes: "...there are many public-school systems in the North where Negroes are admitted and tolerated, but they are not educated; they are crucified." (1933, p. 329) If we remember my own mother's experience in desegregated New York City we can see how she was also 'crucified' by the white students. In addition, many Indigenous children resisted going to public schools and actually preferred the boarding schools because there was so much racism there (Child, 1998; Davis, 2013). DuBois wants us to prioritize the wellbeing of students over any possible lessons that they could teach white children about being anti-racist. He writes: "Sometimes, to be sure, the child triumphs and teaches the school community a lesson; but even in such cases, the cost may, be high, and the child's whole life turned into an effort to win cheap applause at the expense of healthy individuality." (1933, p. 331) Is all the suffering students endure in these settler colonial and anti-black institutions worth the health of the child? This is a question that we must continue to ask ourselves.

Dumas writes about schooling as a site of suffering for Black children, and yet it is one of the few sites where we don't acknowledge such suffering as legitimate and in need of . He explains this contradiction and the false promise of schooling that Black students are given:

> In the first case, students are told, despite evidence to the contrary, that participating in schooling is not suffering, but an opportunity to improve one's life chances. Then, as the group continues to suffer as a result of inequitable access to social and educational opportunities, that too is deemed not a legitimate form of suffering, but the inevitable and natural result of failure – on the part of the individual and/or the group – to take full advantage of schooling, either as a result of laziness or lack of innate ability. (Dumas, 2014, p. 8)

Similar to Grande's (2015) point about Indigenous students, Black students are continually named as the problem and their 'lack of success' is due to their own shortcomings and not the violent structure of the school. Dumas notes that one of the reasons that this specific type of suffering is not acknowledged or attended to is because of the extremely horrific suffering Black

people have endured in the past. He writes: “Thus, for black social actors, perhaps the most healthy way to make sense of contemporary acts of racial exclusion and disregard is to accept that this albeit ordinary suffering is the continuation of the more apparently traumatic form of eras past, rather than an aberration, or a pain that will pass momentarily.” (2014, p. 9) Given the also horrific suffering that Indigenous peoples have been through it seems as if this is also a likely explanation for why many continue to belittle or even ignore the suffering that Na:tinixwe and Indigenous students are experiencing in schools today.

Gender and sexuality also play key roles in who and how suffering is enacted upon children within the settler colonial *and* anti-black structure of schooling. Wun (2016) writes about the ways that Black girls are targeted for criminalization in schools. She writes: “This study identifies school discipline policies as mediums by which Black people, particularly Black girls’, are under constant surveillance but the complexities of their lives, pain, and suffering are negligible.” (Wun, 2016, p. 4) Not only are Black girls subject to extensive amounts of surveillance, but then their pain and suffering are ignored and unbelieved. Dhillon (2015) writes similarly about how the pain and suffering of Indigenous girls is ignored, unbelieved or normalized. When these Black girls would respond to the physical and mental trauma they were enduring on a daily basis they were not heard and even punished for their responses:”...the girls were being disciplined and punished for the ways that they navigated and responded to exposures to community and interpersonal violence. Although the girls were often under constant surveillance, their stories of injury, self-defense, and survival were ignored. Instead, the girls were punished.” (Wun, 2016, p. 21) Indigenous girls face similar consequences when they respond to experiences.

The historical origins of language policy, language ideology, and the school in the United States are heavily intertwined (Iyengar, 2014). It is widely accepted and written that Indian Boarding schools operated with an explicit policy to eliminate Indigenous languages (Lomawaima, 1994; Adams, 1995; Child, 1998; Iyengar, 2014). However, what often isn’t put in conversation with this history is the fact that at the same time Indigenous languages were actively being suppressed European languages were actively being supported (Iyengar, 2014). Iyengar writes: “But whereas the common schools for white students often became vehicles for heritage language maintenance, the schools for “Indians” were expressly designed to destroy Native languages and everything they represented.” (2014, p. 52) These common schools would go on to become what we know today, and often celebrate, as the public school.

In this historical moment we can see the triad (Wilderson, 2010; King, 2012; Byrd, 2012; Tuck& Yang, 2014) of settler-Native-Black being reinforced through language and education policies. In the same moment Indigenous languages were being suppressed and Indigenous children were being punished for their very existence in schools, it was against the law for Black children to read and marked as unworthy of education. Iyengar continues: “...white supremacist society built upon a material production-base of Black enslavement and Indian removal had perforce to make this technology [language] the universal property of whites and keep it out of the hands of Black peoples, while pushing Indians out of the picture entirely.” (2014, p. 41) When juxtaposing this history we can see that both the structures of the boarding school as well as the common school were not intended to serve the well-being of Indigenous children or Black children and in fact this structural violence against them is necessary for the future of the white supremacist settler society known as the United States.

Language policy and ideology is an issue that does not just affect Indigenous peoples in the United States today but also many immigrant and marginalized communities (Anzaldua,

1978; Cummins, 2000; Flores, 2013; Flores & Rosa, 2015). Flores & Rosa (2015) argue that it does not matter how much racialized students accommodate their language practices to match those of white students they are still discriminated against. If we connect this to the history of language suppression that took place within boarding schools, we will see that language suppression is a technique of the settler state to ensure its continued dominance over racialized and Indigenous people. While some of these scholars attend to the history of colonization within the United States and its impact of language ideology and policy in the present, the persistence of Indigenous peoples, their language, and the settler colonial structure, remain largely absent in these writings. Grande writes: "I maintain that unless educational reform also happens concurrently with an analysis of colonialism, it is bound to suffocate from the tentacles of imperialism." (2008, p. 5) I too want to push education scholars at all levels to have an analysis of colonialism and see the many ways that it maintains the many problems in education they seek to address.

I take this time to again flesh out a more capacious definition of settler colonialism, specifically settler colonial schooling to in turn work toward a collaborative project of decolonization Grande writes:

> ...insofar as the project for colonialist education has been imbricated with the social, economic, and political policies of U.S. imperialism, an education for decolonization must also make no claim to political neutrality. Specifically, it must engage a method of analysis and social inquiry that troubles the capitalist, imperialist aims of unfettered competition, accumulation, and exploitation. (2008, p. 6)

An ethical project of decolonial education must be specific to the context under which it is conducted, while also being attentive to the many intersecting power structures at play within the nation-state and the world.

Language, Education and Decolonization in Context: Theory and Praxis

As mentioned earlier Corntassel (2012) writes about the ways that decolonization is taking place every day, albeit in small instances, in different communities across the world through continued Indigenous knowledge praxis. Indigenous resurgence is happening all the time alongside the settler colonial drive to eliminate us and our ontologies. In this section I want to briefly highlight some educational spaces and the theoretical work that surrounds them, that I believe to be enacting decolonizing education practice. There is little academic work that brings together Critical Indigenous Studies, Decolonizing approaches to education, and Indigenous education and language resurgence, most especially in practice-based ways. I view this as one of this dissertation's theoretical contributions to such literature. I will discuss how this dissertation is in conversation with and builds from work from all of these fields in different ways. It is important to note that the lack of this work in academic settings is by settler colonial design. Pease Pretty-On Top writes:

> Research on the pedagogical applications of Native American languages is scarce; research on acquiring them as second languages is equally rare. Possibly this is because most everyone thought or assumed our languages were going to die anyhow – extinction! Thus, all that was done was to classify, sort and assign them to a language stock and then sit back and prognosticate about just how long it might take for them to finally croak and disappear from the "English" landscape. The cavalrymen, ethnologists, missionaries, anthropologists and linguists who

> were the first to write Native American languages had their own reasons for doing so, but often they wrote them without any thought whatsoever about saving them, let alone trying to strengthen them. (2003, p. 5)

We, as Indigenous peoples were never supposed to survive the genocidal campaigns against us. When we did, they targeted our languages. Then our languages were supposed to die off. and When they didn't no one truly wanted to bring them back except for us. So, I write this dissertation in this way for us.

As we have seen both in the theory and history in the previous chapters, undertaking a project of Indigenous resurgence in settler state run schools is very difficult, if not impossible given the ways these schools continue to maintain control to contain any radical work that we might be able to do. Leanne Simpson writes:

> We cannot bring about the kind of radical transformation we seek if we are solely reliant upon state sanctioned and state-run education systems. We cannot carry out the kind of decolonization our ancestors set in motion if we don't create a generation of land based, community based intellectuals and cultural producers who are accountable to our nations and whose life work is concerned with the regeneration of these systems, rather than meeting the overwhelming needs of the western academic industrial complex or attempting to 'Indigenize the academy.' (2014, p. 13)

This is true at all levels of education systems including this very PhD I am pursuing. This is why I am using this space to begin to 'create a generation of land based, community intellectuals' through the work of our ye-silin camps.

The Maori people in Aotearoa (New Zealand) were some of the first Indigenous peoples to create Indigenous language resurgence institutions and structures in the context of schools, one version of this model came to be known as Kaupapa Maori. Smith writes:

> The 'new' Kaupapa Maori formation adopts the strategy of not overly engaging with the 'reluctance of the system and concentrating on proactively setting up alternate structures and institutions. In the alternative framework, both the mode and the institution are able to be changed. In most of the old strategies of intervention, the 'institution audits embedded structures have remained very much intact and the majority of change has been developed at the level of 'mode; indeed as a generalization, the emphasis of liberalist reform has often been aimed at the modal level rather than structures. (1997, p.74)

By illuminating the difference between modal v. structural changes, they were able to create a holistically Maori school rather than a settler state run school with a few small spaces of Maori modes and content. We might think of the Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe language classes as an example of modal and not structural change. Although there are small amounts of Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe instruction taking place, the overall structure of the school remains colonial and serves the interests of the settler state.

To be clear these changes are not just about building schools that celebrate Indigenous cultures, they are about a movement of Indigenous resurgence that counters settler colonial relationships. Goodyear-Ka'opua writes: "...education that celebrates Indigenous cultures without challenging dominant political and economic relations will not create futures in which conditions of dispossession are alleviated," (2013, p. 6) The Kanaka Maoli in Hawaii began to create their own educational institutions shortly after the Maori in Aoteaora given their similar history of settler colonialism. They also sought to make structural changes to their children's

education, to decide what their students would learn and how. Both of these models have had amazing success both in the quality of education they have been able to provide students as well as in creating new speakers of their languages. However, Goodyear- Ka'opua also warns that in undertaking a decolonizing project one must always be attentive to the many ways that these projects can easily become swept up in other's agendas. She writes: "Indigenous decolonizing projects that seek to erode settler state authority must be self-critically aware of the possibilities of becoming linked with privatization schemes that deepen inequalities and uphold fundamental values that run counter to our own." (2013, p. 9) Goodyear-Ka'opua is thinking especially about the neoliberal agenda to privatize public education through charter schools.

The movement for Indigenous controlled education began in the mainland of what is now known as the United States and Canada in the 1960s. One of the earliest schools of this kind was the Dine Rough Rock Demonstration School. One community member said of the school: "We were never told the stories that Rough Rock children are now told, and write themselves. We're telling those stories now. In the process we are reversing the type of schooling we experienced. We see both sides of it, and we're helping children, through schooling, make connections to their own language and lives." (McCarty, 2002, p. 187 quoted by Galena Dick) Through this Indigenous community they were able to begin to reverse the violent schooling experience that the students, parents and grandparents had, both boarding school and public school.

Soon after, Indigenous communities across North America began to found their own institutions. Darrel Kipp founder of Piegan Institute, a Blackfeet Immersion school stated: "You don't reform, you abandon bad systems." (2000, p. 23) The Akwesasne Freedom School is another example of an Indigenous structured school. White wrote: "The school arose out of extreme political conflict in the late 1970s and continues to provide an opportunity for negotiating language and identity in a space designed to transcend a long history of colonization." (2015, p. 4) She explained the urgency of creating the school: "Parents did not want to send their children back out into the public schools where they were forced to dress up like George Washington and taught that Columbus was a hero." (White, 2015, p. 55) This freedom school is especially autonomous because they do not receive any funding from the federal or state governments. "The parents continue to run the school today and have exclusive decision-making authority. Having complete control over the school was and continues to be of paramount importance." (White, 2015, p. 62) Within this model the students need to take priority not administrators or even budgetary restrictions. One parent from the school noted: "If there was no money, it would still be there." (White, 2015, p. 68) In this school students are "free to be mohawk" without limits or zones of containment.

Other examples of Indigenous resurgence within the framework of a school were Indigenous survival schools. The American Indian Movement formed two survival schools in the Minnesota Twin Cities area out of necessity and refusal. Davis writes:

> The survival schools began because two families refused to continue putting their children through the daily trauma of attending public school...When asked whether something had pushed her over the edge in the decisions to found the first survival school, Pat Bellanger answered immediately, 'Yeah, my own kids!' For Bellanger, the 'survival' in survival schools was about 'keeping families together, keeping ourselves together' (2015, p. 96)

This community knew that the public schools were killing the spirits of their children, they had to create these survival schools for the survival of their children, and therefore their communities' future generations.

These are just a few examples of Indigenous structures of decolonizing education. This small body of literature is under-read and yet invaluable to my own writing and practice in my community. However, it is also important to note that all of this work is also written from a retrospective perspective, *after* these institutions have already been established. One key intervention this dissertation makes is that it was written while this institution or spaces is being established, or at least the beginnings of such a space are *in progress.* What are the challenges that I have faced? What has been the most successful? How have we been able to incorporate feedback? While there are a growing number of Indigenous controlled schools there is an even greater number of Indigenous communities whose children continue to face the violence of the public schools and their languages continue to be endangered. I write this for them in hopes that they will begin this building process along with us.

Indigenous Language Resurgence

The endangerment of Native American languages is a widespread problem that has its origins in the brutal practices of U.S. colonization. Before the arrival of Europeans over 300 different languages were spoken in North America. Today, about half of those have become dormant (Anderson, 2010). Virtually all of the other half are classified as endangered to different degrees by UNESCO. According to this metric Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe would be classified as highly endangered.

Although language endangerment is a global issue, this problem has manifested itself in many different ways depending on the geographic region in question. The most common name given to this problem is the concept of language shift. Language shift can be defined as "a massive shift in use from one language to another."(Fishman, 1991) I argue, however, that language shift is a dangerous misnomer when it comes to Native American languages and the ways in which they became so severely endangered in the United States. Native people were never given a real choice to continue speaking their languages in boarding schools. Economic, social and political barriers continue to discourage them from speaking their languages today. The actions of the United States government were consciously and deliberately aimed at getting rid of Native languages, as a much broader project of eliminating all things Native and these continue into the present.

Reversing language shift then is the solution to this problem often proposed by linguists (Fishman, 1991; Reyhner, 1999). Language revitalization is also another common phrase used in academic literature, often by non-Native linguists. Reyhner writes: "...language revitalization is part of a larger attempt by indigenous peoples to retain their cultural strengths in the face of the demoralizing assaults of an all-pervasive modern individualistic, materialistic...culture...it is so important to do everything we can to help." (1999, p. vi) While I agree that language revitalization is part of a much larger project of cultural revitalization it is not just the "modern culture" that is at fault for the continued endangerment of Indigenous languages but the structure of settler colonialism and all of its institutions, including the school. In addition, language revitalization as articulated by Reyhner comes from a place of help from outsiders, this history of "saving" is exemplified in the Sapir expedition to save the Hupa language.

Saving for what? and saving for whom? are incredibly important to any project of Language revitalization. Indigenous scholars working within their own communities of course have very different definitions and orientations to the work that they do. In place of language revitalization Leonard proposes the term "language reclamation". He writes that language reclamation "requires feeling and asserting the prerogative to learn and transmit the language...in

a way that reflects the community's needs and values" (Leonard, 2011, p.154-155). Language revitalization projects can sometimes look much more like language documentation projects and never get to the level of actual learning or teaching the language. While I find Leonard's term much more compelling, I prefer to orient my work within the tradition of Indigenous resurgence. Here and throughout this dissertation I will illustrate a necessity to orient language revitalization projects within a broader project of resurgence and decolonization. Our languages were a threat to the settler state so much that they attempted to eliminate them because they knew the power that they held for an alternative way of life. It is time that we recognize this power within our communities again and use it to fight against the forces that continue to try to eliminate us and our languages, homelands, and ways of life. Language revitalization as a phrase can be and definitely is practiced in a way that is aligned with Indigenous theories of resurgence. However, some projects, often led by people from outside the community, only attempt to bring back the words of the language and often describe this work and apolitical. Those who do not take up the political stakes of language work are limiting the transformative potential that language resurgence projects can have in the community.

This is a project of Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe resurgence. In asking: Resurgence for whom? and resurgence for what? The answers are resurgence for Na:tinxiwe and resurgence for the wellbeing of our people and decolonization of the world. This is far beyond revitalization to feel good, or because it is important to preserve languages for a broader human family. These are arguments that often arise for why this work has value and why others should care (Hinton & Hale, 2001; Krauss, 1992; Nettle & Romaine, 2000). Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe resurgence and Na:tinixwe resurgence in general are around re-creating worlds against and outside of settler colonialism.

Na:tinixwe Intelligence and Epistemology: Stories, Language and Land as Theory

I end this chapter how it began, with a story, *Xontehł-taw łixun yixonehłts'e:tł'*. Although the theories and histories that I have written about above are incredibly important to the framework of this dissertation I also want to center Na:tinixwe intelligence. Leanne Simpson (2017) highlights the power of traditional stories in her writing and practice. She explains her use of a particular story as a manifestation of Nishnaabeg theory:

> I am using Kwezens' story here in the same way it is used within Nishnaabeg intelligence – as a theoretical anchor whose meaning transforms over time and space within individual and collective Nishnaabeg consciousness. A 'theory' in its simplest form is an explanation of a phenomenon...stories in this way form the theoretical basis of our intelligence. (2014, p. 18)

I use this Xontehł-taw story in a similar way: a window into Na:tinixwe intelligence, a Na:tinixwe theory of how we should live our lives. I have found that many of the Indigenous critiques of settler colonialism found in the academic literature, as well as the tenants of resurgence theory, can be found in *Xontehł-taw łixun yixonehłts'e:tł'.*

For example, recall in the story that Coyote continually asks for more and more from the cave. There is a moment in the story when he thinks to himself, "I want a really big one so that I can keep it a long time." He knows from what he observed watching the kids before him that you are only supposed to take one small sweetball and yet he decides that he would deceive the process and get more for himself. He is not sharing with others. He is taking so much more than he needs. "Oh! But it tastes so good!" He takes and takes from the cave, asking for more and

more until the cave has had enough. It sends out a sweetball so big that it rolls over Coyote. It smashes him and he dies. It is within these moments that we get the teaching *do: diwa:'unchwe'n*, (*don't be greedy*). Not only do we get this teaching, but we also see that there will be consequences if you choose not to follow the teaching.

If we expand this teaching, this Na:tinixwe theory, out to our broader current political and economic climate we can recall Coulthard's call to action: "For Indigenous nations to live, capitalism must die." (2014, p. XX) For Coyote to live in this story he had to refuse to accumulate and instead embrace the Na:tinixwe teaching of generosity and reciprocity. He threw off the balance that we are supposed to maintain in our relationships with people and the land by asking for too much and he paid the consequences by dying. This settler society has taken so much from our homelands through resource extraction and made so much money off of it, never being satisfied. We can now see the effects of this extraction in our community: from massive fish kills like the devastating one in 2002 in which over 30,000 fish died from gill rot that was the result of high water temperatures caused by water diversions (Martin 2003), and continued fights against agribusiness to prevent more of them (Chen, 2015). We Na:tinixwe know all too well the detrimental effects that settler capitalism has had. It is in this example that we can see the ways that our well-being as a nation is often, if not always diametrically opposed to those of settler capitalist interests. Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe language resurgence projects that intentionally engage the land ensure that future generations will continue these fights. Through this story Xontehł-taw is able to teach a critique of capitalism to 5-year-olds, and to all of us, better than any theoretical academic text ever could.

Another way that this story disrupts settler ideologies is through its representations of gender. Under settler colonial ideology (white) heterosexual men are seen as superior to all other people. Native feminists have written about the devaluing of Indigenous women in the settler colonial structure which manifests in their abuse, and even death (Grande, 2004; Arvin, Tuck & Morill, 2013; Goeman, 2013; Million, 2013; Simpson, 2014; Simpson, 2017). Indigenous women are specifically targeted for settler colonial violence because they represent the future and continuation of Indigenous nations. Na:tinixwe women have always held leadership positions that would be unheard of in Western society. Respect for women is an important Na:tinixwe teaching. However, as a result of the infiltration of settler colonial ideologies women are ignored, belittled, abused, and killed at alarming rates. This teaching of respect for women is also something often left out of settler-controlled schools.

Yet, if we take a look at the portrayal of women within this particular Coyote story as well as the vast majority of other Coyote stories within Na:tinixwe intelligence women are strong and powerful. It is through their speech act and presence that Coyote is brought back to life. Na:tinixwe women make it possible for Coyote to walk around the world once again so that he can teach us another lesson. In telling this story to young children we are revitalizing the teachings of the power of women that have always been there, while at the same time disrupting settler colonial ideologies of Indigenous women. It is no coincidence that many of the leaders of Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe resurgence are women. We are continuing the legacy of our strong and powerful Na:tinixwe women ancestors to ensure the survival of our people and our language.

Rather than just write about the resurgence of Na:tinixwe intelligence, I want to center our knowledge here as a part of this resurgence praxis. Our knowledge has been belittled, ignored and degraded in many different ways for such a long time. Settler colonial schools, from preschool to doctoral programs, play a vital role in this process. In response I center our knowledge here as one of the most central rigorous theoretical frameworks for a doctoral

dissertation. In our ye-silin camps I also center this and other coyote stories as a foundational unit to an entire curriculum of Na:tinixwe intelligence, countering the work of these settler colonial schools. I follow the lineage of Indigenous educators both recognized and unrecognized by academia and hope to create even more space for our stories for the brilliant Indigenous educators to come.

Ch. 2 Łe:k'iwhlaw 'o:lts'it: Knowledge Gathering

The best place to gather knowledge for future use is from elderly people.

--Verdena Parker

In this chapter I will explain my methodological approach to this dissertation project and the context behind why I chose to work in this way, at this time, from this place. In this introductory section I explain my theoretical and relational position in the work. I then move to discuss what is at stake with the questions that I am asking and the problems I am hoping to address. In order to contextualize this dissertation, I also give a brief history of the research done in/on the Na:tinixwe, most specifically thinking about research done out of UC Berkeley around Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe. This moves us to think about Indigenous critiques of colonial research and Decolonizing and/or Indigenous approaches to research. The remaining sections in the chapter explicate the methodological approach Łe:k'iwhlaw 'o:lts'it, (*knowledge gathering*), that I undertook to bring in the voices, experiences and praxis of the community in the remaining chapters. These sections include introducing the key sources of knowledge that I will be drawing from: K'iwinya'n-ya:n, (*People),* Xine:wh, (*Language),* Ninis'a:n, (*Land).* Lastly, I will describe the different approaches (methods) I used to gather knowledge and write the work you are reading here: Ch'idilwa:wh (conversations), Łe:ne:tł'-te, (planning meetings) and Ye-silin (Reflexive praxis camps).

Whide:ch wholye', nohya:ch'e' wholye'

In this project I have consistently tried to remain critical and reflexive in my work and writing. I continually asked myself questions: Is this one of the many Na:tinixwe ways of doing this? How would the ancestors conduct this process? How would they write about it? How would they think about it? Are these processes in relation to the land? Is there a Hupa word for this concept that would be more appropriate? I, as a person in the academy, constantly need to decenter myself and resist the academic call to present myself as an individual who is an expert in academic knowledge. Even concepts of time, age and voice need to be disrupted in writing and working from this space. Sandy Grande is worth quoting at length on this issue. She states:

> In particular, as an arm of the settler state, one of the many ways that the academy refracts colonial logics is through the overvaluing of 'young' and individual voices and the undervaluing of elder and collective voices. And in a system that overvalues 'new' knowledge, fast productivity and solitary thinking, paradigms of connection, mutuality and collectivity are inevitably undermined. (2015, p. 3)

Grande wants us to understand the many ways that the academy devalues the ways in which knowledge is often produced and valued in Indigenous communities. This includes the length of time that it takes for one to be considered knowledgeable which includes careful and sustained relationships with the land and one another. While on the other hand the colonial academy values quick and fast knowledge that is often shallow and exploitative. Knowledge gathering is a careful and intentional process which prioritizes sustained relationships with all of those involved, not what is the quickest way to move the project to publication. By undertaking łe:k'iwhlaw 'o:lts'it, (*knowledge gathering),* which is grounded in a Hupa semantic frame given it is in the language itself, I must refuse typical expert and individualistic academic frameworks and work collectively and humbly. During this process I was often the youngest person in the

room, this meant acknowledging and respecting that others have much more experience and knowledge than I do.

One example of my reflexive relationship to the community as a young person was the Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe name I was given as a learner-teacher in our ye-silin camps. In the second ye-silin camp with the After-School Program, to be described in much more detail in the final chapter, all of the teachers took Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe names that the students could address us by. They had already established this practice within their program that students would have Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe names. This was a precedent we obviously did not want to upset. Other teachers already had Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe names, either given by their families ceremonially or given by elders in the community language classes. I will be using their Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe names throughout this text to honor this practice and the language.

The majority of the teachers are a few years older than me. In the early 2000s and prior, fluent speakers would get together to host community Hupa Language classes. These classes were often referenced in many of my conversations. My parents took my sister and me to these classes, however I was very young and do not remember much about them. What is often expressed about these classes is that they were a wonderful time when community members of all ages would get together to learn the language, eat food together, and have a good time. These elders were many of the teachers of the second language speakers that we have as Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe teachers today. The elders would also go into the Hoopa Valley High School Hupa Language classes to visit and teach students.

Unfortunately, as I came through language classes many of those elders that had given them names had passed away or no longer went into the High School language classes. So I was never really given a Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe name in the same way. However, wha:t, (*my older sister),* and her friends (some of which are the very teachers I was just mentioning) used to call me whide:ch, (*younger sister*). And so that became my Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe name. It may seem odd to be called younger sister by 8-year-olds. But my hope for them and their Na:tinixwe nohje:', (*Hupa epistemological),* journey is that they will grow up to speak the language and acquire so much more Na:tinixwe knowledge that I had at their age. I hope that one day they will be *my* teacher, and so little sister in that situation felt like a promise for them in the future. It was also appropriate for me to learn from the other teachers who have been working with tribal programs and children for many years. They have knowledge that comes from their families, their teachers, and the land. I am so grateful for them to share this knowledge with me and with the students of our camps and for this dissertation. I am the little sister, who observes the older siblings, to learn and benefit from their knowledge and experience.

Throughout this process I have also been nohya:ch'e', (*a daughter),* of my family and Na:tinixwe. I lived either with my parents or my mother-in-law when I was not in Berkeley. This meant that in certain situations this dissertation was not my priority, but rather the responsibilities of being a daughter were. For example, one day I was leaving the house to do a conversation with someone in the community and as I was leaving a white van pulled into the yard. They asked if my Dad (a tribal elder) was home. I said no and they asked if I wanted to take a salmon for him. I knew this would add at least 15 minutes to my departure time, but I couldn't pass up this gift for my father. So, I accepted the fish, fresh out of the river, slimy and whole besides its gutted belly. I took the fish back in the house, washed it off, placed it in a trash bag in the fridge knowing that directly after my conversation I will have to come back and fillet it. That's one of my many roles as a daughter in a Hupa family. This gives me less time to formally write, and yet is central to this project.

If the overall goal of this project is for a resurgence of Na:tinixwe knowledge and lifeways than both the familial relationships and the relationships between myself and łoq', (*salmon)*, must be upheld. Through this relationship with salmon I am also able to think through one of the vital Na:tinixwe educational practices, the appropriate way to prepare a fish to eat, and to honor its life. Thankfully this is one of the educational practices that has continued despite settler colonialism, and also continues to be threatened by settler capitalism and settler exploitation of the Trinity River water. As a result of the curriculum development projects we worked on during our meetings, I now think through this process in a way that could also teach biology in a way that will be recognizable to current schooling and still remain within a Na:tinixwe epistemology. This could come in place of dissecting a poor chahł, (*frog)*, that was harvested specifically for dissection in a classroom and then will be thrown away. Na:tinixwe people conduct(ed) a biology lesson every time that they had to prepare a fish for the people to eat. There is a very specific way that you must treat the fish, very specific places that you must cut, you must know what the different organs are and what they do, what they should look like. If the organs look bad the fish may have a disease and you don't want to feed it to anyone if so. What is also central to this lesson, that differs from whitestream biology lessons are also the teachings that require you to honor the life of the salmon by cutting it in certain ways that uses as much of the meat as possible, as not to waste anything and dishonor the life that has been taken. There are also appropriate ways to dispose of the organs and other remaining parts that give back to the land and other beings that will also take part in the feast of the salmon, sa:ts, (*bears)*, are a great example.

However, not everyone is given the opportunity to learn these lessons anymore and with climate change and corporate greed of farmers our fisheries continue to be under threat. As a result, this process takes place less and less. In previous years, there was a quota given to families because the river was so depleted, one fish per family. This was devastating to families who depend on fish to feed their families for both traditional and economic reasons. The river doesn't care if you have money or not, the river only cares if you know how to fish in a respectful way. But if there are no fish as a result of settler colonial impositions this throws on the balance of Na:tinixw, the valley. Within this example we can see the continuation and intellectual rigor of traditional modes of Na:tinixwe education, the devastating results of settler colonial imposition, and the need to continue the fight against these impositions through the continuation and sharing of this practice. Currently, you may see a fish be filleted during the fish fair at the public schools on the reservation that takes place once a year, which is great but not enough. Similar to the small amounts of Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe instruction in the schools, this small lesson sits at the margins of the broader settler curriculum and interests being served through this curriculum. So the question then becomes how do we create a place/time where these lessons are central to the curriculum and interests of the people, again? This is one question I hope to begin to address through this dissertation.

In addition to being the literal daughter of my parents and the responsibilities that this includes, I am also a daughter of Na:tinixwe and Na:tinixw. This community, land and people raised me. To return to do this dissertation is an honor and does not make me an expert by any means. I am still a daughter, with no children of my own yet, who has so much to learn from this community, land and people. This is reflected in my approach to this project as well. I am the student in most situations. There are some skills and knowledge that I have gathered in my schooling that are valuable to the community and this project, but they cannot and should not be

placed in an intellectual hierarchy above the knowledge of the community. So, I conducted this dissertation from the position of a daughter of my family, community, and the land.

People with higher degrees, researchers in particular, often enter Indigenous communities as all-knowing authority figures. They come in assuming they know what is best for the community, because they have read all the theories they *think* are relevant (Deloria, 1969). This is something I needed to remain conscious of throughout the entire project as some of my ideas were guided by academic theoretical perspectives. In their Indigenous land resurgence projects scholars Simpson and Coulthard state: "we're not renegades dropped into territories and determine what the most radical and transformative educational experiences *we* think would be relevant to *them*; it's done in a spirit of reciprocity, with community engagement and input" (2014). Similarly, I do not individually know what is best for the community. This process of (re)envisioning was a learning process for me as well. I am also a product of settler colonial schooling. In many ways I also have also been conditioned by the settler colonial desire to be disconnected to our language and land. This is something that I have to actively refuse each and every day of my life. This has been a process of resurgence for myself often times more than it might be for others that I worked with.

What is at stake?

What I write and how I write is done to save my own life.

--Barbara Christian

Although I believe there are many important theoretical contributions that this dissertation will make to the fields of Native American Studies, Settler Colonial Studies, Ethnic Studies, Education, and Linguistics what is at stake for me and this project is much more personal and urgent. I do this for my family, for my people, for our lives. I was lucky to be blessed with parents who were financially stable, who went to college, who then expected me to go to college and who could navigate the school systems at all levels. This was not the case for the majority of my friends, cousins and classmates some of whom are now in jail, struggling with substance abuse and even deceased as a result of various settler colonial impositions at different times in their lives. I see my family now and their children hating school, being constantly punished and disvalued. I see our language and many of our ways of life being marginalized and pushed out of the schools once again. My niece is 5 now and she is proud to speak what little Hupa language that she does know. Next year she will be heading to these schools. Will they beat that language and pride out of her? I hope not but I cannot simply stand by just hope, I have to do this work for her. The process of (re)envisioning education and putting that into action is for her and all of the other Na:tinixwe youth and future generations. I hope to have children within the next few years and raise them in a similar way with love and pride for their language and who they are. I cannot send them to a school that is structured for their suffering and their death whether it be physical, psychological or spiritual. This is not an intellectual exercise for me this is a fight for the lives of my people, language and homelands.

In this work I wanted to (re)define what it means to do research with the Na:tinixwe. I want this renewed definition to necessitate that the work done with the community has to have a positive lasting impact on the people and places one works with and that those people guide what that looks like. Leanne Simpson (2017) writes: "I believe my job as an Indigenous thinker and

writer is to use the work of my colleagues to expand us, challenge us, and to hold us all up, as this community continually does for me." (p. 32) These words come after she tells the reader what she is *not* interested in as an Indigenous thinker: decentering the white academic gaze tops the list. I see my role as a Na:tinixwe and Shinnecock thinker and scholar as one in the same. I see myself as following in the footsteps of all of my ancestors as well as all of the Indigenous scholars who have come before me and pushed, refused, took space and broke rules so that I could write this way today, so that I could have an expansive, important rigorous body of literature to cite.

UC Berkeley, Na:tinixwe and Colonial Research

Researchers affiliated with UC Berkeley have a long history of extracting from the Na:tinixwe: recordings, records, sacred objects and even the remains of ancestors. To this day these remain in University possession and widely inaccessible, distant and even off limits to Na:tinixwe. This problematic colonial history is the reason that I chose to do my PhD at UC Berkeley so that I might be able to access our knowledges held here and make them more accessible to others in the community. It also illustrates the importance of taking a different type of research approach with my community than what has been done here. Lastly, it speaks to the challenges I have had to face being here and trying to work against this history. One may wonder why I chose to separate this particular history from the broader historical narrative in the previous chapter. This is intentional and done to highlight the fact that this history, and ongoing problem, of research exploitation in the community is commonly done away from, or in ignorance of the material conditions of settler colonialism. So ,I want to focus here on using Indigenous critiques of settler colonialism, and more specifically Indigenous critiques of colonial research to analyze the specific historical relationship between UC Berkeley and the Na:tinixwe. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999), writes: "research was undeniably...about power and domination. The instruments or technologies of research were also instruments of knowledge and instruments for legitimating various colonial practices." (p. 60) In fact research in many cases was (is) not only *not* helpful, but also served to legitimate settler colonial discourse about the savage and/ vanishing Indian. Such research would be used to support some of the most horrendous of policies and actions done by the government, academic institutions and individual settlers. The Na:tinixwe were often the targets of such colonial research practices.

In 1927, renowned linguist, Edward Sapir wrote an article titled "An Expedition to Ancient America: A Professor and a Chinese Student Rescue the Vanishing Language and Culture of the Hupas in Northern California". Although Sapir was a professor at the University of Chicago at the time, he and many other notable anthropologists, such as Pliny Early Goddard and Alfred Kroeber, were affiliated with UC Berkeley and researched the Hupa people and their language. Yet despite all of this research being done on the Hupa it is evident that these researchers, as reflected by the notoriety of their careers, reaped the majority of the benefits of this work. Sapir failed to mention the settler colonial violences at work in Hoopa. At the time that Sapir was "rescuing" the Hupa language, Hupa youth were being punished for speaking the Hupa language in boarding schools on and off the reservation (Nelson, 1978). Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe continued to be threatened even after the boarding school converted to a public school. Despite Sapir and his efforts (or lack thereof), the Hupa language continued to become critically endangered with only a handful of first language speakers at present, all of whom are in or older than their late 70s.

This brief historical example is just one of many, that demonstrates a longstanding relationship between researchers working on the Hupa language, as well as the research they have produced that purports to "rescue a vanishing language," yet has done no such thing. Research, more specifically research done out of UC Berkeley, at best has been detached from the Na:tinixwe and at worst violent to Hupa people and their language resurgence efforts, and so I will refuse it. Beyond the invaluable support of those on my committee, UC Berkeley was a very violent space for me as Na:tinixwe woman trying to do this type of work. I have been used, exploited, questioned and belittled here. I can only hope, with this work, to make it a little easier for subsequent Na:tinixwe and Indigenous scholars more broadly to do this type of work in this place. I take this stance of refusal against doing research through a colonial academic frame from a long line of Indigenous scholars (Smith, 1999; Simpson, 2007; Tuck & Yang, 2014; Grande, 2015).

Indigenous Critiques of Colonial Research

These colonial research practices of course are not unique to UC Berkeley or the Hoopa Valley Tribe but are rather a widespread long-standing issue between Indigenous communities and research institutions. Many Indigenous scholars have written about this issue (Deloria, 1969; Smith, 1999; Simpson, 2007, Tuck, 2009). Dakota scholar, Vine Deloria explains: "an anthropologist comes out to Indian reservations to make OBSERVATIONS. During the winter these observations will become books by which future anthropologists will be trained, so that they can come out to reservations years from now and verify the observations they have studied" (1969, p. 79). Without the discourse of the vanishing Indian in need of saving and study these researchers would be out of a job, so they have to continue to perpetuate the discourse and pass on this practice for future generations of researchers. More importantly, If Indians are vanishing, there's nothing to stop total settler sovereignty over Indigenous land. To be in a state of "vanishing" is always to be partial and incomplete, so our knowledge and sovereignty is always partial and in crisis. Although those undertaking the research may have changed over the years and maybe even their intentions have become better and better as time goes on, this sheds light on a problem of design within the field, and academia at large.

Linda Tuhiwai Smith describes a similar situation within her community. While the white researchers had an obsession with the vanishing Maori people and culture, they felt as if they had to take it upon themselves to document all that they could before these "primitive" people disappeared for good. While all of this supposed work the researchers were doing "saving" Maori culture, the practice of the Maori culture by Maori people was outlawed. She writes of a well-known researcher on her community: "While Best lives on as an expert, the names of his informants and the rest of their knowledge lie buried in manuscripts and archives" (Smith, 1999, p. 85). The Native people who supply the information that makes these scholars famous in the first place are virtually never recognized. The very same thing can be said of Sapir (1927) and those that came before and after him as shown by this vast list of citations: Gibbs, 1851 Crook (1852-1861), Azpell (1870), Powers (1870s), and Curtin (1888-1889), Goddard (1901, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1907, 1911, 1928), Golla (1964, 1977, 1984, 1985, 1996a, 1996b), Reichard (1922), Bright (1950-1952), Woodward (1953), Gordon (1996, 2001), Ahlers (1999), Gordon and Luna (2005), and O'Neill (n.d.).

The history of this extractive type of research is especially prevalent within the field of linguistics. In his article "Zombie Linguistics" Maliseet scholar Bernard Perley argues that linguists who rush into endangered language communities to "save the language" are not

interested in saving the actual language for life and attaching it to the people they have extracted this information from but rather using it for data. We might place Sapir in this category. He writes: "The irony lies in the fact that the experts are interested in the language as a code, but not the speakers who use the code." (2012, p. 134) He writes about this practice both historically and in the present.

It is important to note that the field of Linguistics finds its origins within the field of Anthropology. Continuing in the tradition of Vine Deloria, Audra Simpson, Kahnawá:ke Mohawk, also writes against anthropology. As a trained anthropologist herself, she puts forth a new way of thinking about conducting research with an Indigenous framework. Simpson (2007) argues that anthropologists talk for and about the colonized. The colonized Native are never actually allowed to have their voices heard on their own terms. However, she pushes us to think about how the landscape of research might change when we actually listen to Native peoples not for what we think they might say according to other words of researchers, but rather what they are actually saying. She writes: "Within Indigenous contexts, contexts that are never properly "post-colonial," the sovereignty of the people we speak of, when speaking for themselves, interrupt anthropological portraits of timelessness, procedure and function that dominate representations of their past and, sometimes, their present" (Simpson, 2007, p. 68). The Indigenous researcher and the Indigenous research participants are equally vital to disrupting the past and ongoing violences that portray their people incorrectly.

Decolonizing Indigenous Approaches to Research

In place of the colonial research paradigms Indigenous scholars have critiqued, they put forward important and transformative Indigenous research approaches. One of the major strengths of decolonizing Indigenous methodologies is the diversity of perspectives and approaches that encompass this growing theoretical field. For that reason, it would be irresponsible for me to say that I am doing a full review of decolonizing Indigenous methodologies here. Rather I hope to highlight some key authors and approaches that I will be using in this project to conduct the work and move towards creating my own approach.

Audra Simpson's concept of *ethnographic refusal* is not just a critique, not just a 'no', but a place to generate Indigenous knowledge in response. She writes: "Rather, it is an argument that to think and write about sovereignty is to think very seriously about needs and that, basically, it involves an ethnographic calculus of what you need to know and what I refuse to write" (2014, p. 105) Instead of prioritizing the needs and desires of the academy Simpson places the needs of her people and their sovereignty at the center. Many colonial research paradigms push to know and collect everything, whether the people want them to or not. In response Simpson places boundaries on what she will allow the academy to know. From Simpson's work I was very conscious about what I recorded in my conversations, when I turned off the recorder, and most importantly what I chose to write here. It is about finding a balance between telling our story so that others can learn and share in it, while at the same time protecting us and our knowledge from colonial exploitation in as many ways that I can.

Quechua scholar Sandy Grande writes about her approach to research, *Red Pedagogy,* as an "un-methodology". She asks these key questions: "What does it mean for indigenous scholars to claim the space of educational research? Does it signify a final submission to the siren's song, seducing us into the colonialist abyss with promises of empowerment? Or is it the necessary first step in reclaiming and decolonizing an intellectual space-an inquire room-of our own?" (2008, p. 3) In response she notes that it is necessary for Indigenous scholars living in the colonial present

to expel the colonial frameworks of research while at the same time: "negotiate the forces of colonialism, to learn, understand, and converse in the grammar of empire as well as develop the skills to contest it" (2008, p. 3) As I noted in history of research on Na:tinixwe, colonial research methods have not served the interests of our community. Yet, being in the academy now has allowed me to create space and take some time to think deeply about these issues in a way that I might not have had in other places. In this work I am interested in creating intellectual as well as physical space for Na:tinixwe approaches to research and research projects that will directly serve and impact the community. Within this approach I am constantly aware and navigating the grammar of empire in order to contest it. The centrality of Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe to the project is its ability to speak outside of and against this grammar of empire.

Nishnaabeg scholar, Leanne Simpson (2017) lays out what a radical Indigenous resurgent research paradigm. She states: "It means a rebellious transformation in how we conduct research, whom we cite as experts, and how our thinking is framed and ultimately takes place." (p.52) She goes on to explain her approach to research and writing: "I've learned how important it is that our work as Indigenous scholars leaves our...nations in better shape than when we started, and how important it is to hold our peoples up as the brilliant, tough, loving, revolutionaries we are." (2017, p. 65-66) Academic research as usual, she argues, is not getting any closer improving the conditions within our communities. We have to do something different, which starts by recognizing our own Indigenous brilliance that settler colonialism has attempted to stifle.

Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) describes a similar approach she and many other Maori scholars undertake with their people called "Kaupapa Maori." Smith describes it as: "a 'local' theoretical positioning which is the modality through which the emancipatory goal of critical theory, in a specific historical, political and social context, is practised." (Smith, 1999, p. 186) This localized theoretical positioning is one that I hoped to practice in my own Na:tinixwe approach to this work, a research methodology of the people, for the people. Her husband Graham Hingangaroa Smith's (1997) doctoral dissertation: *The development of kaupapa Maori: Theory and praxis* explicates this methodology even further. In this work he states: "The testing and reforming of ideas must occur constantly within the community of interest. That Kaupapa Maori elements are 'known' and not 'new' (to those familiar with New Zealand Education and schooling) speaks to the success of praxis in action. Transformative action is made with the people – not behind their backs or in the seclusion of the academy." (1997, p. 61) Kaupapa Maori is not a new approach that Smith has 'invented' or 'discovered', rather Kaupapa Maori is something that has always taken place in the community because it draws from the knowledge of his ancestors. Praxis is a key part of the methodology, and this transformative action must take place *within* the community not just the academy. This approach serves the people not the academic industrial complex of knowledge production for knowledge production's sake. One important aspect of a Kaupapa Maori approach is that it is context specific, and yet capacious enough to be used and adapted by Maori researchers to use in their specific project and context.

Methodology*:* Łe:k'iwhlaw 'o:lts'it, *Knowledge Gathering*

Inspired and informed by the decolonizing Indigenous methodologies above, I wanted to think about Na:tinixwe approaches to research. I asked Wha:dichwing Verdena a few different times how she would express the process of research in Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe. We went through a few different iterations of different words and phrases with different sentiments, but I was still thinking and asking through a Western academic framework. Then I thought back to a meeting I had with one of my committee members, Dr. Beth Piatote, and the ways she explained

our presence in the University away from our communities. She said: *we're out here gathering like we would do years ago. We are gathering information to take back and share with our communities*. This really helped me to think through why and how I would be in the University if I had to be here. So, I started to think about gathering. I also thought about what I would be doing if I weren't here, if I were in Hoopa whether it be 2019 or 1819 as Na:tinixwe woman I would be gathering. There are many different types of gathering processes. We gather acorns, basket materials, medicines, berries, firewood, rocks, building materials, materials to make regalia. Everything that we create has to first start with a process of gathering. There are even different words in the language depending on what, when and where you are gathering. There are of course different approaches to gathering that originate in families or individual preference. The strength of this approach is the diversity of ways that one can accomplish the task, each way is no more or less valid than the other. However, there is still a basic formula that one enacts in virtually all gathering practices. First you go out on the land, but not just anywhere. There are certain places, known within the collective memory of the community, where the specific thing you are trying to gather can be found. But you can't just go out whenever. You also must know when to go. Is it the right season? Is it the right time of day? Are you in a state of mind and heart where you should go? You make a plan for what, when and where you gather. Once you have your plan you go out. If it looks like it is appropriate to gather, then and there you introduce yourself to the land. You tell it why you are there and that you come in a good way. You tread lightly and only take what you need. Sometimes you have to adjust what you thought you needed based on what the land is willing to give you in that moment and in that place. Once you take what you need you leave an offering and thank the land for what they have given you and leave in a good way. Following your gathering process, you make sure to use, store or prepare everything that you have gathered so that everything was taken with a reason and purpose.

Based on my reading of and work with Indigenous decolonizing research approaches as well as my work with Na:tinixwe I came to understand my approach in this dissertation as łe:k'iwhlaw 'o:lts'it, (*I am gathering knowledge, I am bringing knowledge together).* Łe:k'iwhlaw 'o:lts'it is the name of this project and the overall methodology of this dissertation. I want to put forth łe:k'iwhlaw 'o:lts'it as an approach to research to make the academic space for such a uniquely Na:tinixwe approach. While at the same time, I also aim to theorize łe:k'iwhlaw 'o:lts'it, (*knowledge gathering)*, as a methodology that is capacious enough so that other Hupa researchers after myself can make it their own, and other Indigenous scholars can find an appropriate adaptation for their own communities. To be clear łe:k'iwhlaw 'o:lts'it is nothing new. It is not a new approach that I have invented here but rather something that comes from our people and our languages. Something that we have always done. I, and this project, are part of a much longer continuum. None of us discover the things we are gathering, but rather use them for our communities and families and parts of what we gather are given back through the process. I inherit this practice from my ancestors and I know that others will come after me and continue on our ways.

In order to gather knowledge in the context of research, one must look for the specific tool or material(s) to fit your project. One must only take what you need and what you will use. Although I may have wanted to have conversations with many more people, I know that within the scope of this dissertation I will only be able meaningfully engage with so many. This also helps me to put away my recorder and not over collect/take over spaces with my research when it is not appropriate. Sometimes meetings just need to be meetings. I can't waste people's time.

Gathering is never really a finished process just something you do temporarily, until you need to do it again for something else, for another time, for another group, in another year.

łe:k'iwhlaw 'o:lts'it: Why Knowledge Gathering and Research and Data Collection?

As a scholar committed to a decolonial praxis, these are questions that I am compelled to ask. While I seek to conduct research in a way that confounds the colonizing moves of academic disciplinary, I also realize that I am in conversation with academics. While I want to challenge the way we produce knowledge and think, I also want to be understood.

--Tifanny King

In conducting this dissertation project, I was often lost for words. Lost for a language of how to do this work. I am not a fluent speaker of Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe so I didn't have the Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe words to guide me readily available at any moment to articulate my project and my approach. I am a fluent speaker of English and I have been training for most of my life to speak, write and do academic work in academic English. I also know how violent this language was and continues to be. Like bell hooks: "I can't hear standard English without hearing conquest." (2014, p. 169) So I'm constantly questioning the language I was trained to use and trying to learn the language that I was denied. One example of this that kept coming up was "data collection". When I had started the phase of my dissertation where I began to conduct conversations, people constantly asked me: 'what have you been doing?'. If I was talking to someone in the academy, I would tell them I have been collecting data, mostly because I know that language is easily recognizable. But as I reflected further on what I was actually doing and who I was actually working with, saying "data collection" started to feel crass. I am not working with "subjects" who give me "data" that I will then analyze to create knowledge. That is not the process I want to undergo, nor does it reflect how I understand knowledge production.

In Na:tinixwe epistemology one must always gather with a purpose. If I am gathering knowledge it must also mean I am going to create something. I am bringing things together to create something. The specific word I am using for gathering in this work, łe:k'iwhlaw, is a broad term that can mean to gather any type of object. For example it can mean 'to gather firewood' 'to collect things' and 'to bring people together'. Literally it translates to 'I finger things together'. Which is appropriate for my usage here as I am gathering knowledge by bringing people together, listening and collecting their ideas, gathering language to create the ye-silin camps and physically gathering on the land with teachers to prepare for the camp and the students during the camps. There are many other specific types of gathering that come with their own words like, ky'a:dawhne, (*I am gathering acorns (or other round objects)),* which reinforces the centrality of gathering to Na:tinixwe epistemology. I am bringing together things that are known in order to make something with it: this dissertation and the praxis we were able to undertake throughout.

Gathering is always an ongoing process, however this specific gathering for this project is also fixed in a time, place and only shared with one group at a time. I see this as very different from data collection. This is always such a challenging balance to maintain between making it clear that I am doing "research" for the purposes of getting this degree to be recognized in the academy and making space for a (re)newed approach. Calling the work you collect 'data' implies that you are out collecting raw materials. It inherently places the researcher as the authority, the one who *makes* it knowledge with their analysis, not that the knowledge was already out there.

This is why I insist on already naming it knowledge. I am not creating the knowledge, just as I am not creating the acorns, or wood or plants. They are part of a much larger project of creation. Rather I am just gathering what is already out there to create something for all of us, this dissertation. This does not make me an expert but a gatherer and a creator. In this role I now have a responsibility to actually use and create from what collaborators offer to me. This is the contract I enter into when gathering something. I also must give an offering. At each conversation, meeting or camp I aimed to give back something no matter how small or symbolic. I wish I could have given more but there are constraints of capitalism and being a graduate student at the time. This offering was whatever I had access to or felt appropriate at the time with each person or group. Curriculum was something that I could always give, this is a perk of having this built into the project.

Let's think now about the difference between gathering and collecting. Gathering comes with rules, accountability, responsibility. Collecting doesn't necessarily come with any of these. I think this is why it has been necessary for so many articles to be written about reciprocity in the research process, because it is never inherently there. Collection sounds a lot like accumulation. Which sounds a lot like capitalism. This also makes me think about the teachings from the coyote story. This is also a story about gathering v. collecting. Coyote got greedy and wanted to collect the sweetballs and that killed him. They collect our ancestors. Our remains and other sacred objects are stored in collections. I'm not collecting anything. They collect our language to put away on shelves and now in databases. I want it to live. Things gathered are only stored for short amounts of time to always be used later and never to just have. This is why I insist on a knowledge gathering approach for this dissertation.

Sources of 'o:lts'it, (*knowledge)*

K'iwinya'n-ya:n, (*People)*

The first source of knowledge that I draw from in this dissertation are K'iwinya'n-ya:n, *(People).* This knowledge gathering process took place in conjunction with the Hoopa Valley Tribal community, my community. This included the Tribal Education department, the Hupa Language Project, Hupa language teachers, speakers, elders, students and community members at large. Official permission and approval for this dissertation work with sought and given by the Hoopa Tribal Education Association. To my knowledge this is only the second dissertation project to have sought out or received official permission to conduct this work from a Hoopa Valley Tribal entity. This speaks to the history of and ongoing legacy of researchers doing work on Hoopa without our permission.

Overall, I worked with approximately 75 community members, meaning I either had a conversation with them, they participated in planning meetings or they participated in a camp. It was highly unrealistic to expect that all of these people that I worked with would take part in all aspects of the project, especially given that I only had resources for minimal amounts of compensation. I had conversations with 50 people between the ages of 5-85. Some of these people I only spoke to once and others I've spoken to about this project more than I can remember in both official and unofficial conversations. I worked most consistently with employees of the Hoopa Tribal Education Association and its programs, the After-School Program and Nohoł-diniLa:y-dig Niwho:ngxw, to plan (łe:ne:tɬ'-te) and conduct the three ye-silin camps. We also worked with language teachers Danny Ammon, Jackie Martins, and Wha:dichwing Verdena Parker extensive amounts to learn language, plan for the camps, and run the camps. We paid them for their work either through program budgets or grants that I was able

to attain for their expert knowledge. Lastly, we conducted 3 ye-silin camps with a total of 45 children and their families. One in July 2018, one in April 2019, and the last in July 2019, some children were able to attend all three camps. Given that I interacted with certain people much more than others including language teachers, ye-silin camp teachers from the Hoopa Tribal Education Department, and my family, and had much more established relationships with them you will hear their words quite a bit. However, although you may not get to see direct quotes from every person that I worked with that doesn't mean that their words were not vital to the project and praxis the we conducted. In the spirit of gathering and creating from what one has gathered, there are limits to what you can use for one project. This doesn't mean that the other things gathered will go to waste rather that they will be saved and used for something else down the line. I look forward to revisiting and continuing to build from this work and the plethora of knowledge that I was able to gather long after this dissertation in complete.

I began my selection for those I had conversations with, in the community, by seeking out people who have been active in both Hupa education and language resurgence. I am very aware that this choice was inherently biased and limited to my selection pool to my personal network. So, after having conversations with this group of people, I used what Audra Simpson calls the "roll out method", where I asked those that I have chosen if they have other suggestions for who I might speak with (Simpson, 2003). This expanded my network of people and helped to mitigate my personal influences on who I spoke to and who I did not. In addition to employing this roll out method, I also posted an announcement about the problem in a few virtual public tribal forums to see if others were interested. This announcement included a short description of the project and my contact information for those who were interested to get in touch with me. This was also to mitigate my biases and ensure that virtually everyone who wanted to be a part of the project within the community could.

The problem with choosing people that already had investments in education and language resurgence is that I was rarely, if ever, able to hear why the people that aren't involved didn't want to be. However, I also did not think it was appropriate to ask to have a conversation with them about this out of the blue, most especially about education given my reputation in the community as someone who has always done well in school and is now pursuing a PhD in Education. This created certain assumptions my collaborators would have about me, the questions I wanted to ask and the answers they *thought* I wanted to hear as someone who was seemingly very invested in the schooling given my successes and current ventures. I would have to battle this assumption in our conversations, but that is if they even agreed to have this conversation with me in the first place. So, this process was inherently flawed and influenced by who I am and the assumptions this creates about me, but I still thought it was a very important part of the dissertation and needed to be despite all of that. This example shows a deeper problem of Educational researchers: we have obviously done well at school at some points in their lives, are then in turn supposed to critique this system and figure out why students are not doing well? This is a paradox of our field that needs to be questioned, and unsettled.

Following the conversations that I had with community members, they would be asked if they wanted to participate in other aspects of the project like the planning meetings and camps. Although I did not expect them to participate in all other aspects of the project, I most definitely wanted to leave the invitation open if they did want to. We need as many people for this work as we can get with all of their unique skills and gifts that they bring. I would consistently check-in with my collaborators at the Hoopa Tribal Education Association about my progress with the project and the aspect of the project was most pertinent at that time, like an upcoming camp, at

least once a month. This group increased over time and we shifted from working solely on an autonomous immersion camp, to working with the After-School program to put on a camp of their own, and use what we had developed in the summer camp with the students they had each day. We also wanted to continue with the same (age) group of students we had been working with the past 2 years so we stayed consistent with another July camp with this group. Participants of the camp were self-selected by their families through an application process done through the HTEA.

Xine:wh, (*Language)*

As many of my collaborators noted, Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe is vital to our being as Na:tinixwe, Hupa people. These words, this language was given to us by our spirit ancestors to understand and communicate with this world that they created for us as Na:tinixwe. Many indigenous scholars have written about the importance of Indigenous languages. Kikuyu scholar, Ngugi Wa Thiong'o (1986) writes: "Language carries culture, and culture carries….the entire body of values by which we come to perceive ourselves and our place in the world." (p. 16) Northern Cheyenne scholar, Richard Littlebear (2003) writes: "Our language means much. They encompass whole linguistic solar systems of spiritual expression, whole galaxies that express universal human values like love, generosity and belonging, whole universes that of references that enable us to cope with an ever changing world." (in Pease-Pretty On Top, p. 6) Leanne Simpson (2011) writes: "Indigenous languages carry rich meanings, theory and philosophies within their structures. Our languages house our teachings and bring the practices of those teaching to life in our daily existence." (p. 49) Through the words of these three Indigenous authors we can see the importance of Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe resurgence and the use of Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe was as a theoretical framework for this dissertation as a part of this resurgence work.

I had to continually gather language knowledge in order to conduct the ye-silin camps and to do this writing. I didn't always have the words, but I gathered and used as much as I could. I had to make room for my mistakes. When I wrote my proposal, I didn't have the correct language, I may not even have it now but I'm getting there. In our language work with Na:tinixwe youth we encouraged students to make mistakes and hold space for growth. I know that they will be my teachers one day. Darrell Kipp (2000), founder of the Piegan Blackfeet Immersion Institute writes to language activists wanting to start their own immersion programs: "We will never speak the language the way we wish we could...We have hope for the children... You are starting this vision, and down the road, someone will pick it up and take it farther. " (p. 39) I gathered language from my aunt to share with others. This was *not* language documentation. This was language resurgence: learn, share, teach, repeat. This was *not* elicitation, documentation, or archiving. Even if we may have done some things that looked like each of these along the way, the priority remained reconnecting, people, language and the land. Even as I write I am still gathering to correct words to use, I went from whina:lt'e' to łe:k'iwhlaw 'o:lts'it**,** the method was to change and adapt as I went, as I learned and as I gathered.

Ninis'a:n, (*Land)*

Ninis'a:n, (*the land),* and its many plant, animal and other beings are a key source of knowledge for this project. Na:tinixwe scholar Byron Nelson (1979) writes: "Hupa land contained many resources, and there was much to learn." (p. 13) Na:tinixw, the Hoopa Valley, our homelands contain all that we need as Na:tinixwe people to survive and live a good life.

Nelson describes Na:tinixw: “Beyond the coastal mountains of northwestern California, the Trinity River runs through a rich valley which has always been the center of the Hupa world, the place where the trails return” (p. 5) Ninis’a:n in Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe means many different things it can be used to describe the ground, the mountains, sacred country, the earth and the world. It is everything. As Nelson describes it was also key to the education systems of our people. Learn the land and take care of it and it will continue to take care of you. Indigenous communities across the world have different relationships with the land but one thing that seems to be common across all of our communities is that we *have a relationship* with the land. It is not there for us to simply exploit and use at our convenience as it is in capitalist societies. Potowatami scholar Robin Wall Kimmerer writes: “To our people it [land] was everything: identity, a connection to our ancestors, the home of our non-human kinfolk, our pharmacy, our library, the source of all that sustained us. Our lands was where our responsibility to the world was enacted, sacred ground. It belonged to itself. It was a gift not a commodity. So it could never be bought or sold” (Kimmerer, 2013) Na:tinixwe people share a similar philosophy about the land. The land is not something to be owned, it is its own being that exists for itself. We are grateful for any gifts that the land provides for us and we show this gratitude through our relationship with it.

In Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe there is no way to say that you own a certain portion of land. There is no way to express land as property. When you want to talk about land and relationships to it you use the phrase ninis'a:n-whohłts'it which has two translations. The first is *I know the land*. The other is the more literal translation: (*the land knows me)*. This means that within a Na:tinixwe epistemology the land is its own being which has the ability to know or know things, and in this case to know people. This demonstrates the reciprocal relationship that one must maintain to both know the land and for the land to know you. The land knows, but it can also not know you if you don’t maintain that relationship. łe:k'iwhlaw 'o:lts'it (*knowledge gathering),* as the guiding methodology of this dissertation is also very much about maintaining relationships, even more so than I have done in the past. Through this process I have pushed myself to maintain a meaningful relationship with ninis’a:n and produce curriculum for our ye-silin camps that created opportunities for the youth to create and maintain this relationship as well.

Different approaches to gathering

In order to undertake this project, I conducted a three-part process of Ch’idilwa:wh (*Conversations*), łe:ne:tł'-te (*meetings*), and Ye-silin((*Re)envisioning Praxis Camps*). These three methods guided the knowledge gathering for this dissertation. Each methodological approach focused on a specific process within the research. I drew from three sources of knowledge to guide this work: K’iwinya’n-ya:n (*people*), ninisa:n (*land and other beings*) and xine:wh (*language*). Each method drew from these sources of knowledge in different ways at different moments.

Ch’idilwa:wh, (*they are conversing*)

Ch’idilwa:wh, or my conversational methodological approach focused on listening and learning. I wanted to reject the language of interview in łe:k'iwhlaw 'o:lts'it. UC Berkeley researchers have been interviewing Hupa people for over a century. These researchers made their careers off the words of Hupa people. After the project was over the people were left with little to nothing to show for it. Interviews conducted by researchers in my community have often been a heavily one-sided colonial endeavor I did not wish to undertake within this dissertation. In

place of 'conducting interviews' I put forward an Indigenous method of conversation. When talking with collaborators I undertook conversations in place of the language of 'conducting interviews.' Within this approach I am not simply asking questions, but often expanding upon what my saying from my position as a community member with equal investment in the answer. These are our visions and our youth. I conducted conversations with community members to gather the knowledge they were willing to share with me for this project. Some of this knowledge is written here, other aspects of this knowledge were put into action with Na:tinixwe youth, and other parts were too sacred to be shared at all. This is yet another refusal of research (A. Simpson, 2007).

I am not the first Indigenous scholar to use conversation as a more reciprocal method of communication that interviews (Kovach, 2010). Cree scholar Margaret Kovach (2010) notes that although conversation has been used as a method in research there are key factors that set an Indigenous conversation method apart: "a) it is linked to a specific tribal epistemology b) it is relational c) it is purposeful d) it involves a particular protocol e) it involves informality and flexibility f) it is reflexive." (p. 128) Relationality, informality, flexibility and reflexivity are the key aspects of the Indigenous conversation I used here.

Tribal specificity is vital to conducting this method of conversation in this project. The Hupa word for conversation is ch'idilwa:wh meaning, (*they are conversing).* However, what is most important is the root of this word dilwa:wh can be used to describe any communication taking place between not just people, but virtually all other living things from birds singing to frogs croaking. The birds surely have just as much to teach us and we can teach one another. Ch'idilwa:wh is a serious decentering of humans as the only producers of knowledge (Brooks, 2008; Goodyear-Ka'opua, 2013, Kimmerer, 2013). For example, the call and circular flying patterns of a buzzard can tell us that something or someone is either hurt, dying or dead. Through this method I take such messages very seriously and incorporate them into the writing and praxis in appropriate ways.

These conversations were done with Na:tinixwe people, educators from other communities, listening and learning from recordings and documents from UC Berkeley archives of Na:tinixwe ancestors, and engaging with academic literature on decolonial education (done in the previous chapter). These conversations with k'iwinya'n-ya:n (*people*) were done by reaching out to as many Na:tinixwe as I could through personal connections, formal events, social media and whatever other ways might emerge. Although it was unrealistic to expect all k'iwinya'n-ya:n that I had conversations with to participate in the other steps of the process, ch'idilwa:wh as a method was to make sure that all of their voices are heard in the project.

Theoretically ch'idilwa:wh sounds like a powerful disruption of the often-extractive interviewing process that has happened in the community more than the past 100 years. In fact, many people that I had conversations with told me that other outside researchers had asked them to be interviewed about similar topics in the recent past. I then asked if they knew what was going to be done with those interviews. They responded that they didn't know and recalled this happening in the past and never hearing from those researchers again. This is pattern most definitely *not* what I wanted to replicate. However, similar to the problem of the language of "data collection" when I would ask collaborators to take part in the dissertation process I would ask if they wanted to be interviewed so they would know it was for a formal thing and not just to visit. Although this is what I wanted to enact it is very hard to maintain this within the confines of also having to working within the University IRB framework. This is why I am pushing for ch'idilwa:wh, or an adapted version for specific communities, so that maybe somewhere down

the line that language will be recognized even if it isn't just yet. How does the history of research in the community keep showing up in my work, even though I'm trying to do everything I can to make it different? This was a question I continually asked myself throughout this process. I don't want to do an interview, but 'interview' signals research and I don't want to act like I'm not doing research and then collaborators feel as if they were deceived. Brayboy and Deyhle (2000) write about how being a good Indigenous relation sometimes means being a bad researcher and vice versa. I want to think of a research approach where this dichotomy does not have to exist. All I can do here is aim to change things for future Na:tinixwe wanting to gather knowledge and build for our people.

My process in conducting these conversations changed and adapted to my collaborators as I went. The reflexivity that I practiced in relation to my process and my conversations pushed me to be as accountable to those I was working with and learning from as I could. For example, I knew that my questions were very capacious, to the point where one could be confused or get lost within one. Therefore, I started to give my collaborators a printed abstract of my dissertation as well as the questions I was going to ask broken down so that they could reference them along our conversations. We could then both write notes when the other was speaking to comment on what they were saying and bring it up after they were finished instead of interrupting the person speaking. This also had some drawbacks as it started to guide the conversation in a much more strict and straight way than I had previously desired but there is no perfect procedure. People really didn't like to be recorded and I understood and respected that. It invokes a certain amount of anxiety about the finality of the words that you say on a recorder and how your voice becomes disembodied. This is especially true given the extractive history of research in our community. This is why I moved away from it in some of my conversations, while still seeing the value in it. The priority was the comfortability of my collaborators and the kids not the writing and getting good quotes. There were often times I could have pushed and asked questions or even used personal information that I knew about my collaborators to go deeper into conversations and get into topics that maybe my collaborators were intentionally staying away from. I think some of my academic training has taught me that, but I refuse it here because it doesn't actually help anyone or anything. Even though in our conversations we were talking about education there were constantly different events of trauma that happen inside and out of the school that would come up. I even found myself turning off the tape recorder for things I am going to say. Collaborators have asked and expressed the following sentiments: *What are you going to do with this? Do you have to turn this in? To your advisor? You won't present this will you? Please just let me know if you use a quote because someone used a quote I said once and I would have liked to have seen it before it was in something published.* An important part of ch'idilwa:wh is to be reflexive and responsive to the desires of my collaborators.

Ch'idilwa:wh, *conversations,* were primarily conducted in 1-on-1 settings either at the tribal education facilities, after camp at the campsite, in people's homes or in the location of their choosing. I tried to accommodate their schedules and locations as much as I could. I had a set list of guiding questions and topics going into these conversations, but I also tried to let them unfold as organically as possible. One key difference that I see between conversations and interviews is that I also have a stake in the topic we are discussing. I am not asking for information for an intellectual project as an outsider (who may or may not come back) but rather I want us to construct something for the sake of *our* youth and *our* community. Some conversations were conducted with families as a whole at the collaborator's request. For example, I was supposed to

speak to a mother of a student of the camp, but her daughters and husband were in and out of the house at the time, so I was able to speak with all of them.

Łe:ne:tɬ'-te *: (we'll come together, meet)*- land, language and people

Between conducting conversations with community members and conducting the ye-silin camps there was a great deal of planning and preparing that we had to do to put the knowledge gathered from the conversations into action. I am calling these meetings łe:ne:tɬ'-te, (*we'll come together, meet)*. Within these meetings, primarily conducted with Hoopa Tribal Education Association staff, although they were open to all who had participated in the project, we would plan the camps, conduct language trainings, and develop curriculum. During our camps after each day we would meet up to debrief about the day, plan for the following day and on the last day we would talk about how we might improve future camps and discuss our visions for the long-term. Following the end of the knowledge gathering process these meetings turned into accountability check-ins for myself to the community in sharing the ideas that I wrote here. Although there were only three camps within the scope of the dissertation, we also continued to plan camps and enact the knowledge gathered here.

Łe:ne:tɬ'-te meetings were also about bringing the three sources of knowledge together: language, land and people. The content of the meetings would vary based on what project we had coming up next. I would help with other events and programs that weren't within the scope of the dissertation in order to maintain a reciprocal relationship with my collaborators. For example, there was a community education meeting, so I volunteered as a note taker. In one meeting we would be playing language games, in another we would be ordering food, and in another we would go out and gather the materials we needed for the upcoming camp. Not by design, but we always end up talking about how bad the school is. In one meeting one collaborator was telling us about a student literally running away from the school and then being chased down by administrators in a car. These conversations were constant reminders of the urgency of the work. Yet also the limitations of my capacity to do anything because I am not there all the time.

One of my favorite meetings was a day where we went to scope out the campground where we would be conducting camp. We wanted to see what plants, animals and other beings we could have the students identify as an activity. We identified them both by their English and Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe names. Then we went to a different location to find traditional foods that we were going to serve at our parent lunch on the last day of camp. I had personally never been gathering for these traditional foods, so I was excited to learn. We gathered some nahst'ik, (*Indian tea)*. We also wanted to gather some xoji' yinehtaw, (*Indian potatoes),* but we found that they were not ready yet. We used the principles of gathering that I had put forth above and we were able to learn from one another. This is what łe:ne:tɬ'-te is about. I decided to use the future tense of this word because I hope that we will always continue to come together in this way even after the dissertation ends.

Łe:ne:tɬ'-te, is also a project of learning from one another and remembering the things that colonialism wants us to forget. Smith writes about remembering as one of the twenty-five Indigenous projects of research. She states: "Both healing and transformation become crucial strategies in any approach which asks a community to remember what they may have decided unconsciously or consciously forget." (Smith, 1999, p. 146) (Re)membering then are a coming together to confront all that we have lost, all that has been taken from us but also how we have persevered. Settler colonialism wanted our total elimination and yet we, Na:tinixwe are still here,

still in our homelands, still able to hear our language spoken. It is also about what we have retained.

Grande, San Pedro & Windchief write of remembrances: “Traditional knowledge and the lessons it embodies persist, not because it is written down but because it is held, shared, and remembered collectively by communities.” (2015, p. 117) Remembering is also about bringing back together the traditional teachings of our ancestors and sharing those within the community. Coulthard and Simpson writes about their resurgence projects in their communities: “we have to remember the ways that we replicated our nations through education and what were those critical components that produced people who could embody our political cultures and survive in our lands.” (2014) The way that I use (re)membering as a method in this dissertation is a combination of all of these things: remembering loss, survival and traditional teachings for future generations. Lastly, the land also holds memories that we may have forgotten or that were buried with our ancestors. Keith Basso in his work with the Apache recalls the words of one of the Apache elders: “Grandmothers and uncles must perish, but the landscape endures, and for this the Apache people are grateful. ‘The land’, Nick Thompson observes, ‘looks after us. The land keeps the badness away.” (1996, p. 60) We came together with ninisa:n as well.

Łe:ne:tɬ'-te, coming together, was conducted with ninisa:n and other Na:tinixwe. Through these (re)connections with land we planned out the curriculum and trained for the upcoming camps that took place in the form of ye-silin in praxis. The process of (re)membering is about bringing all three sources of knowledge together that settler colonialism tried to keep a part, to dismember. It is about the strength of the collective knowledge that can be produced in bringing k’iwinya’n-ya:n, ninisa:n, and Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe back together and how from this knowledge we can (re)envision a better education and life for our youth. We are stronger and smarter together. We disrupt the settler colonial paradigm that knowledge is produced individually. We are the girls at the end of the story putting Coyote back together, putting the world back together.

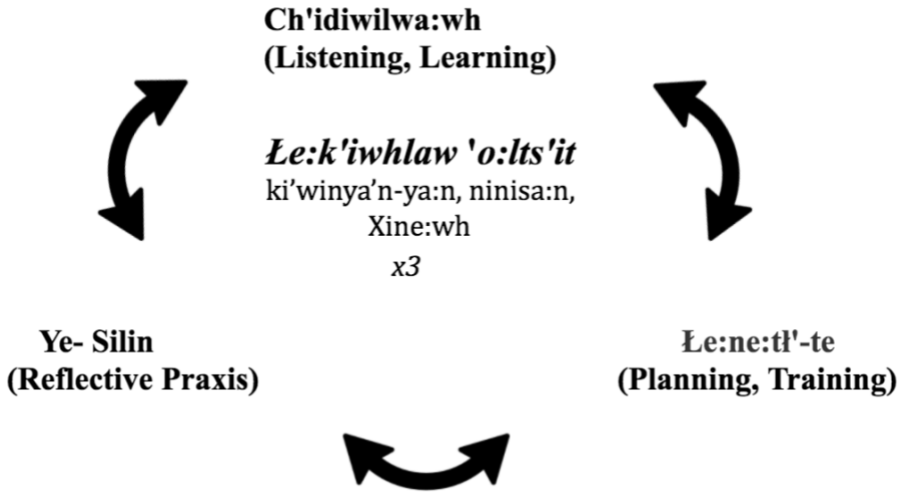
Another integral piece of this dissertation project was a small archival project within the California Language Archive, a UC Berkeley archive that houses Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe language resources. I sought out recordings held within UC Berkeley archives to bring back to the community, to (re)member, this knowledge both of language and epistemology to the people and the land. I used some recordings in the archives to create curriculum that could be given (re)newed life in the community through our ye-silin camps. For example, *Coyote and the sweetball* and *Coyote’s lips get stuck to the Tree* were both recorded over a decade ago. For our camps we turned these stories into books and created a wide variety of curriculum around them. In the archival recording of these stories with Verdena Parker one linguist said, "this would be a great story to teach in the schools." Yet this project was never taken up. In fact, I was a student in ‘the schools’ when this recording was made and yet these stories never made it there. This is an example of the continued lack of reciprocity to the community and highlights the importance of this particular methodological approach over those that have been practiced in the past.

Ye-silin, (*We see it coming into being)*:*(Re)envisioning in Praxis*

Ye-silin or (re)envisioning as an approach to knowledge gathering was a reflexive praxis of all the chi’dwilwa:wh, (*conversations),* and łe:ne:tɬ'-te, (*meetings)*. This manifested in three consecutive camps with Na:tinixwe youth. They took into account all of the knowledge, learning and planning done in each methodological approach before it. They drew on the knowledge gained from k’iwinya’n-ya:n, ninisa:n and xine:wh. During these camps, I was a

facilitator, ‘teacher’, as well as a participant observer. Although this is not a conventional ethnography, I do find Noelani Goodyear-Ka’opua’s undertaking of activist ethnography compelling and relevant to the aims of this project, especially in relation to the ye-silin camps. She writes: “’activist research explicitly aims to contest existing relations of power and to envision and live new relations” (Goodyear- Ka’opua, 2013 p. 40). These camps along with the other two research procedures aimed to contest settler colonial relations of power, envision a type of education for Na:tinixwe youth outside of these power relations and then live out these relations through the three programs. Ye-silin as reflexive praxis is about bringing the visions that we have seen in our individual minds through ch’idilwa:wh, brought into collective consciousness through łe:ne:tɬ'-te, and putting them into action together. These three procedures ch’idilwa:wh, łe:ne:tɬ'-te, and ye-silin were done in rounds beginning with ch’idilwa:wh and ending with ye-silin. Although I aimed to run these procedures in a cyclical manner the timing in practice was much messier than one after another, rather the process would unfold based on what and who was available in those moments, and what made the most sense in that time and place. What was most important about this process however was that as I moved between approaches to gathering knowledge I would aim to improve and grow each of the ways that I approaches them, most importantly with the youth in the ye-silin camps. There is no perfect process, but there is always room for growth and (re)newal.

Ye-silin (*we are bringing it into view*), or (re)envisioning is key to my guiding question for łe:k'iwhlaw 'o:lts'it. Smith writes in her description for Indigenous projects of envisioning: “The power of indigenous peoples to change their own lives and set new directions despite their impoverished and oppressed conditions speaks to a politics of resistance.” (1999, p. 152) This politics of resistance is something that has continued to ensure our survival as Na:tinixwe today and for future generations. Although I am the first scholar to use each of these methods in this way, conversing, remembering and envisioning have been processes Na:tinixwe have been undertaking since time immemorial. They will also continue beyond the scope of the dissertation. The collective voice I use is to signal that I am not an authoritative researcher within the project but rather just one piece of ye-silin. The graphic below shows the multidirectional cyclical interplay between ch’idilwa:wh, łe:ne:tɬ'-te, and ye-silin with łe:k'iwhlaw 'o:lts'it being the overarching project and method.



This dissertation followed these multidirectional cycles of these three procedures to build toward a decolonial Na:tinixwe educational structure for Na:tinixwe youth. I chose the number three for its significance in Na:tinixwe epistemology, for us three is a powerful and meaningful number. For example, in ceremonies one sings a song three times. Through this process of listening, learning, planning, training and reflexive praxis these (re)envisioned programs for Na:tinixwe youth began to take form. Teachers were trained. Students were recruited. Curriculum, pedagogy and structure were created. This is not the beginning of this process as there have been many other Na:tinixwe education and language resurgence projects before this, not to mention the thousands of years before settler colonialism that Na:tinixwe educated their youth in their own way. It is also not the end, as my hope for this work will help build the momentum necessary to move forward with the creation of this institution in place of the current settler state-run-public-school Na:tinixwe youth are mandated to go to. So, this project comes somewhere in the middle of Na:tinixwe survivance (Vizenor, 1994), resurgence and sovereignty.

Ch. 3 What has education been like for Hupa people?: Safety Zones into Sovereign Na:tinixwe Educational Spaces in and out of Colonial Schools

As I write my story I think how did I ever survive all of this?

--Verdena Parker

If I were to summarize what education has been like for Hupa people I would say it has been pretty negative, pretty atrocious, pretty genocidal, pretty militaristic.

---Jennifer George, Na:tinixwe Educator

The primary goal of this chapter is to understand the past and present educational and schooling experiences of the Na:tinixwe in order highlight our methods and practices of survival in these spaces in spite of an ongoing colonial structure. I want to feature the importance and power of the work we have been able to do to ensure the survival of our people and our language, without falling into the trap of believing that colonialism has ended. In the previous chapter I explained my methodology for gathering knowledge. This chapter is really where you get to hear and see the knowledge that I gathered, the voices of the community to feel the calls for action and critiques of the Na:tinixwe and our experiences in schooling. Following the form from the first chapter I will begin this history of education and schooling in Na:tinixw with a section on pre-colonial modes of Na:tinixwe education and explaining those that have continued despite ongoing colonialism. The following section goes into the history of schooling and linguicide in Na:tinixw, introducing the important theoretical frames of Safety Zones and Sovereign Na:tinixwe Educational Spaces, and moving from the boarding school era into the present day. The chapter ends highlighting student voices and moves us to think through what this all means moving forward.

Na:tinixwe Education

The Na:tinixwe have had educational modes, structure and practices since time immemorial in order to transmit vital knowledge to their future generations. However, when settlers arrived in Na:tinixw they did not recognize these modes as a legitimate form of education and forced them into their project of schooling. Therefore, it is important to make clear that education has been taking place in our community far before, during, through, and despite settler colonialism. Lara-Cooper writes: “Despite the history of genocide, relocation, colonial education and constantly shifting legislation, the HVIR community has sustained their ways of knowing and understanding, their relationships with the human, natural and spiritual realms, and their methods of transferring knowledge.” (2014, p.3) Therefore I begin this chapter with an attempt to sketch out some important tenets of Na:tinixwe modes of education based upon my conversations with community members. This is in no way to be taken as a complete overview of all Na:tinixwe modes of education, but rather a beginning to (re)connect our practices through bringing together the voices, memories and visions of community members. It is also important to start this educational history chapter with Na:tinixwe modes of education that were in this place far before settlers arrived. This goes against the settler colonial practice of writing history,

within what we now know as the United States, beginning with colonization (Dunbar-Ortiz, 2014). The Na:tinixwe and our educational practices are exceedingly more than their relationship to colonial schooling. Lastly, I begin here in order to disrupt settler colonial linear notions of time and history. The overall aim of this project is getting back to practicing the teachings of our ancestors, rather than settler insistence of moving forward, to a renewal of what they tried to take away from us.

What do you think education would have been like before colonization? What are/were Na:tinixwe modes of education?

These questions above were the hardest, most complex, and most thought provoking questions for many of my collaborators, and even for myself to answer in our conversations, the ch'idilwa:wh approach to gathering knowledge. In some conversations, collaborators would ask for my thoughts on the questions or to provide examples for them. This was encouraged given the reciprocity of my methodology. My answers to these questions would evolve with the more people that I talked with. Even the phrasing of the question was hard. How do you ask about 10,000 years of an educational system that within the last 300 years has been targeted for elimination? How do you ask a question about an education system we were told by outsiders never existed? It takes an entire (re)thinking of what we currently understand as education. This is of course an ongoing and long-term process. What this section provides is the beginning to a collection of community thoughts on what Na:tinixwe modes of education would have looked like before colonization as well as the many that have continued despite it.

Ashtyn Colegrove, a ye-silin teacher who was instrumental to the success of the first camp reflected on lessons from her grandfather-ne'in, a fluent speaker of Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe. She recalled his words on the importance and embrace of the diversity *within* Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe and Na:tinixwe knowledge across villages and families:

> I can think of a couple different times where I would come home from school [Hupa language class] and my grandpa would say oh that's how they say that on that side of the valley...So like he never really broke it down but it sounds like a lot of things were taught or passed down in your family not necessarily as like there's one way to do this…

This elder-ne'in[1] was describing and affirming the many different ways that Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe could be spoken, most especially across the different villages that make up the broader Na:tinixwe. In this quote we can also see multiple examples of Na:tinixwe pedagogy laid out. The first, is that rather than discrediting the knowledge of other sources (families or teachers) this elder explained that there were differences in dialects of the language that were equally as valid, 'oh that's how they say that on that side of the valley'. Knowledge is affirmed not in a ranking system but rather a relational one. Next we can see that knowledge was primarily passed down by Na:tinixwe families, positioning the family as keepers of vital knowledge. This is in opposition to the ways in which Na:tinixwe families are now belittled and their knowledge unrecognized within the current structure of schooling. Other Na:tinixwe collaborators shared similar sentiments about what they saw as traditional modes of Na:tinixwe education. Xutł'e'-dung' xa:sina:wh stated : "The grandparents would teach them, grandma would show them how to gather grandpa would show them what plan to pick for certain things. Every family had their own ways and their own values for life." Lastly, we see that Na:tinixwe

[1] A respectful way in Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe to refer to people that have passed on.

educators were multiple, there was no one teacher that possessed all the knowledge but rather the knowledge lay in the entire community, everyone had something to teach.

Another elder and Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe speaker, Wha:dichwing Verdena Parker, told me about both her schooling experiences as well as her experiences of Na:tinixwe education. Through her individual experiences we can see connections to the many ways that Na:tinixwe girls were and continue to be taught by elders and the land in specific and intentional ways in relation to her own specific talents. She was being trained to be a "lady warrior" for our community. Girls from different villages would be chosen at a young age to be trained for this position. This training began very early on in her life. As a young girl Verdena was counseled by elders. They would have her undertake different types of physical training as well as tell her stories and teach her life lessons. Much of this education took place on the land in specific sacred training spots. In addition to this formal instruction from elders, she also talked about the less structured learning that took place with her cousins on the land "making fish farms, swimming in the river and racing across boulders, and watching clouds to see what shapes they could see."

Even in the way that she told me about all of her educational experiences (schooling included) she used a Na:tinixwe pedagogical approach: storytelling. When I asked her about her educational experiences our conversations never went in the way I expected. She would bring up stories about her life, about her family, traditional stories, about Na:tinixw she would weave in and out of these different stories throwing in some Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe phrases. I know this is a Na:tinixwe pedagogical approach not only from my own experiences but also from the words of my collaborators. A. Colegrove recalled:

> I just remember that when I was little my grandpa used to tell us stories I don't think they were Coyote stories but you know just that moral like don't be greedy things like that so if I had to guess I'd imagine it was a lot like that so like stories that either started small and got bigger or they just made this different progression throughout your life but it was a lot of family and it wasn't like there's only one person that you have to listen to it was like a lot of different people.

Relatedly Jena:h stated: "My grandma the other day said you need to teach kids not only about respect but also having honor and then she told me a story about how my dad had honor." We also see the use of stories not just for young children but for the duration of your life teaching you the important moral lessons. Xutɬ'e'-dung xa:sina:wh added: "You listen to a story at a young age and you're like I like this and then you listen to it when you're older and you're like wait I like that about this story and it teaches you at different moments in your life and it's up to interpretation about where you're at." Stories follow you throughout your life teaching you many lessons along the way. Each of these Na:tinixwe women come from different families, and although some of us are related we can trace our various lineages to a few different villages, however it is clear from all of our experiences being taught through stories that storytelling is a vital Na:tinixwe pedagogical approach to teach children lessons that will last a lifetime.

I never got very many direct answers from Aunt Verdena, another example of storytelling pedagogy, but rather listened through the stories for the lessons she was trying to get across to me. Our conversation took place over a total of 4 hours as we would return to the topic between language lessons that we were practicing. Remember she is my language teacher as well. I wrote this in one of my reflections following our conversation(s):

> As I asked her what education meant to her instead of talking about school she told me many different stories from her life. A few about school but most about life lessons. Fun and silly things as well as serious traumas. She was the holder of

> such amazing Na:tinixwe language and cultural knowledge. She was trained by elders 'as soon as she could talk'. She told me about some of her most positive learning experiences and some of the worst negative learning experiences. She told me of Na:tinixwe ancestors and their lives trying to survive the colonial world of the time in the best way that they could: finding love, loss, joy, sadness. By dancing, singing, self-defense, trickery, eating, laughing, vengeance, cooking, kidnapping, playing, abuse, threats. So many different stories of near-death experiences. Instead of telling me what education has been for her she showed me through her stories. Teaching me the lessons she learned so that maybe I can learn from them if I am ever in a similar situation. Laughter always brings us back. Violence against women is violence against our language and culture.

This showing through the imagery and content of a story, rather just telling the answers you are looking for, is yet another aspect to the Na:tinixwe storytelling pedagogy.

There were two threads of educational experiences that I followed through her many stories. The first was of her schooling experiences which I will detail later in this chapter. However, the second, her Na:tinixwe education was so illuminating as to what Na:tinixwe education structures were like before colonization and continued to be in spite of it. She stated:

> Everything was a learning thing before there were white people and it was the elders that taught the children. There was a family house and a ta:kiwh. In the ta:kiwh all the men slept there and teenage boys were promoted to sleep there. The men taught them how to live their lives how to treat their wives and treat their children. Meanwhile the grandmothers were teaching the granddaughters and daughters how to take care of their home and treat their family and their children. There was a lot of good rules about respecting elders and taking care of elders.

Transitioning from pedagogical approaches to educator roles and structures, in this statement we can see that elders were the primary 'teachers' of Na:tinixwe children in a traditional model of education. However, the transmission of knowledge wasn't just between the generations of the grandparents to the grandchildren but intergenerational across all walks of life. There was also a balance of gender roles that took place in what was taught and at what age. Sarah Deer (2015) writes of many Indigenous communities having fluid and balanced concepts of gender rather than hierarchical or rigid. As I understand through my experiences, and through my conversations, I have also come to understand Na:tinixwe concepts of gender and gender roles, not through ranking but through balance. This is also evident in the fact that Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe does not have any gender pronouns. The prefix 'xo-' can encompass a whole range of genders and is applied to all people and even some animals in certain situations.

Verdena was trained by elders from a very young age to become a female leader of her village. She was also trained to tell stories. She would speak to the old people in Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe and received this counseling in the language as well, which is one of the many reasons that she is the master speaker and storyteller that she is today. Lastly, she talked about the many traditional medicines that can be found in ninisa:n for many different uses. For example, if you take the leaves from a certain tree and put it on a mosquito bite it will help the swelling, another plant can be used as a tea for sinus infections. Some more common medicines would also be a vital part of a Na:tinixwe education for all Na:tinixwe children. I am not going to reveal the plants and their uses here but what I learned from her will be used in the community and with Na:tinixwe children.

One thing is clear, the Na:tinixwe were a fully functional and complex society prior to colonization, meaning that we had a vast educational system that ensured the continuation of such a society. Whita', (*my father)*, Emmett Chase stated: "People knew different aspects about the different needs of the community. If you had different types of issues. Social, mental, health issues then there was someone in the community to help you." However, he wasn't referencing hundreds of years ago but rather decades ago within his lifetime. This means that many of these educational systems continued on despite colonization and continue today. He spoke about how when he was growing up Western Medicine and Healthcare was just making their way into the community. He stated: "Everyone in the community kind of scratched their head and said why do we need that because we already had everything we needed." He continued this sentiment later in our conversation in relation to not just health but all aspects of life in Na:tinixw: "Whatever you needed you could knock on somebody's door and say this is what I need and they would set it up but ya know until I was in High school I didn't think much about what the community needed because I always thought we had everything we needed." This speaks to the ways in which settler colonialism aims to make Indigenous communities dependent on their structures so that they 'need' them.

However, as Whita' stated, this idea of needing something from the outside is very recent in our community. Later in life when my father left the community to pursue educational opportunities people would often ask him 'what does your community need' and his response would always be "Nothing. We're ok". In our conversation we continued to talk about how our community needs to get back to this place. At a certain point in time, within the last few decades, according to many of my conversations there seemed to be a shift to look towards the outside world and a loss of faith in what we already have right in the community. It is time that we recognize once again that our people and our place hold all the knowledge and power that we need to survive. There continues to be so many outsiders coming into the community and telling us what we need to do most especially in the realms of healthcare and education. Reestablishing these Na:tinixwe modes of education centered around the community and our needs will be a major part of this project of remembering our own power.

Schooling v. Education

The distinction between education and schooling is something that can be explained through the wisdom of Na:tinixwe ancestors as expressed through our language. Our word for schooling is 'a:k'iwilaw-me'-ch'inehł'e:n, (*writing-in it-someone looks at it)*. Our ancestors recognized that schools operate primarily through the written form, which is not a bad thing inherently but if we think about the ways that our ancestors were forced to read in English, while being punished for speaking Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe this becomes a violent place and practice. Multiple collaborators from the same family stated that for some that went to boarding school the word for school and jail are the same: Xontah-chwa:xołwil, (*house-it gets dark*). This is because Na:tinixwe children (now elders or passed on) in the Hoopa Indian Boarding school would be thrown in a place they called the "jail" for speaking Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe (Lara, 2009).

On the other hand, another way to express a different type of educational space in Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe is: Nohołdiniła:y-ding niwho:ngxw, **(***The place where we learn things in a good way*). In this description of an educational space and practice, learning is not confined to the written word and both the pedagogical approaches and content must come to the students in a good way. Although according to settler standards our kids are "failing" and "underachieving" we can have continued our education practices primarily outside of schools. In fact, the

NohoLdiniLa:y-ding Niwho:ngxw (NDN Center) is a tribal program with whom I worked very closely with for this project, most especially to conduct the ye-silin camps. Their program provides after-school, in-school, and summer Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe and cultural activities. They provide an alternative and supplemental educational structure to the public-school system. Students at the NDN Center are succeeding and building a foundation for being Na:tinixwe, that they might not get in any other context, most especially school. I continually tried to make the distinction between schooling and education in conversations with collaborators. For some this was the first time they were introduced to this distinction. One collaborator stated: "That's an interesting way to think about it. I've never thought about it like that before. I always thought about education just as school." Another collaborator mentioned:

> Education is not just preschool elementary school high school college although those things are useful and some people are good at that and that's good and we need people in those institutions for survival especially in the spheres of government. However there are lots of types of education that occur outside of school and education is a lifelong process we're always learning. I can learn as much from a four-year-old as I can teach a four-year-old.

In this quote however, we can hear the importance and limitations of one current education structure: schooling. As it stands right now, schooling is necessary for our survival in a colonial world. This was another theme that arose in many of the conversations I conducted. Yet, education is also more than the current structure of schooling can accommodate. Education *is* a life-long intergenerational process. This same collaborator also spoke about how her family warned her about the dangers of 'getting too booksmart'. She made choices in her life based on that recommendation and chose to stay in or near Na:tinixw and continue her Na:tinixwe education here rather than pursuing degrees outside of the community. We then talked about the losses that come with leaving the community and going to school. Although you may be learning in these schools either on or off the reservation at any level (Preschool-Ph.D), you are also losing out on knowledge being transmitted in the community and that would be transmitted at home. The conflation between schooling and education often aids colonial discourses that devalue the knowledge of Indigenous peoples, most especially their families, by positioning schools and teachers as the only place to learn legitimate knowledge.

Settler Colonial History of Na:tinixwe Schooling and Linguicide

One of the few dissertation length projects dedicated to Na:tinixwe education and language was done by Yurok and Na:tinixwe scholar Kishan Lara(-Cooper) entitled: *Conceptions of Giftedness on the Hoopa Valley Indian Reservation*. In this work she examines concepts of 'giftedness' that the people of the Hoopa Valley Indian Reservation define for themselves. Lara's work draws heavily from Mary Eunice Romero's *Keres Study* (1994) in which Romero conducted interviews with tribal members of the Keresean Pueblo Indian community to identify a tribally specific definition of gifted. Lara undertakes a similar examination in the Hoopa Valley Indian Reservation community in order to show the differences between the community's concept of giftedness and the ways that students are being defined as gifted, or not, in school. She writes: "The purpose of this study is to utilize the HVIR concepts of giftedness to create space for Indigenous knowledge in the school system, broaden the global definition of giftedness, support the development of transformative knowledge in academia, and validate Indigenous epistemology." (Lara, 2009, p. 171) In this qualitative work she conducted surveys and in-depth interviews with a select number of community members in order to explore

what a concept of giftedness would be as defined by members of the Hoopa Valley Indian Reservation.

Building from Lara's work I want to examine and begin to sketch a Na:tinixwe vision of education to show the ways it is vastly different from what is currently taking place in the school system. Although Lara's text on examining this concept has done great work in illuminating the differences in the community's concept of giftedness in contrast to the school's, this study focused on highlighting the concepts only. One major contribution that I feel this project here will give to academic paradigms of research and more importantly to the community is putting these concepts into practice as part of the work rather than making recommendations at the end of the study to put them into practice.

Safety Zone: Settler Colonial Technology of Containment

I will now introduce a concept that I will be using as an analytic for the duration of this dissertation to understand one of the current tactics of settler governance in schools that remains from the boarding schools. Lomawaima & McCarty (2006) deploy their concept of the "safety zone" to track the ways in which Indigenous culture has been allowed in Indian schools throughout time but only in very limited, depoliticized, non-threatening ways. Therefore, the safety zone is not to protect the Indigenous peoples or their culture but rather to protect settlers and their power. They begin their analysis in the era of assimilation (1879-1934), more specifically within Indian boarding schools. They then turn to analyze public schools immediately following the end of the assimilation era and into the present day. They argue "U.S. society and government were not...simply vacillating through 'swings of a pendulum' between tolerance and intolerance. Each generation was working out...its notion of a safety zone, an area where dangerously different cultural expressions might be safely domesticated and thus neutralized." (Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006, p. 5) This was a very important intervention into the field of education because they disrupted the notion that Indigenous peoples post-boarding schools had access to a meaningful opportunity at educational self-determination. They argue that these small bits of Indigenous culture are in fact necessary as a counterpoint for the "progress" and "civilization" of American society (Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006). They showed that virtually all policies following the boarding school era continued to control Indigenous knowledge and educational opportunities. Despite policy changes the government continues to domesticate Indigenous epistemologies.

Kanaka Maoli scholar, Goodyear-Ka'opua (2013) expands Lomawaima & McCarty's notion of the safety zone to track the ways that the settler state continuously aimed to domesticate Native Hawaiian culture and sovereignty from the initial illegal occupation of Hawaii to the implementation of No Child Left Behind and its effects on Hālau Kū Māna, a Kanaka Maoli cultural immersion charter school. In addition to operating with a logic of elimination, settler colonialism also operates with a corresponding logic of containment. Goodyear-Ka'opua writes: "The history of schooling for Indigenous people under US empire shows, however, that settler states also maintain their authority through a corresponding logic of containment." (2013, p. 25) Indigenous epistemologies, already depoliticized by calling them cultures, are only allowed into colonial schools as long as they are in small amounts that can be contained. Similar to how Indigenous peoples could be allowed to live following the transition away from unrelenting genocide as long as they were contained on reservations. In her interpretation of safety zones, she argues : "Just enough 'culture' is allowable, so long as it does not threaten or undermine settler-colonial relations of power." (2013, p. 8) Indigenous cultures

can appear in certain moments and in certain spaces, settler state schools are no exception, but there are always limits set and maintained by the settler state.

Goodyear-Ka'opua's (2013) work also speaks to broader projects of settler colonial recognition. As she is one of the few scholars to bring together literatures in Indigenous Education and Critical Indigenous Studies in an empirical project, I will be drawing from her work extensively. Coulthard articulates: "colonial powers will only recognize the collective rights and identities of Indigenous peoples insofar as this recognition does not throw into question the background legal, political, and economic framework of the colonial relationship itself." (2014, p. 41) Demonstrations of recognition such as national apologies, presidential visits and national holidays evoke a positive emotional response from Indigenous people in relation to the settler state in order to conceal the persisting colonial relationship. While I want to celebrate the gains in Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe resurgence in the context of the schools, as they were hard-fought (to be explained in the following section), I also want us to consider how they have continued to stay in the safety-zone of settler colonial recognition. Educational self-determination for Indigenous people pursuing Indigenous resurgence projects in settler-state run institutions, like the public school, become subject to a terrain of reconciliation and recognition that, as Coulthard (2014) shows, is always-already uneven. I will use Goodyear-Ka'opua's adaption of the concept of the safety zone to track the continued control the settler state has over our usage of Na:tinixwe knowledge in the public school in the following section.

Sovereign Na:tinixwe Spaces Educational (SNES) in/against Colonial Institutions

While the analytic of the safety zone is very important and useful for examining the continued colonial control over schooling institutions and policies for Indigenous peoples, it does not give us insight into what is actually taking place within these safety zones and the potential that the work being done within them holds. In this chapter I will identify the safety zones around Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe and Na:tinixwe knowledge more generally in the Klamath Trinity Joint-Unified School District. While at the same time I am called by my own experience and collaborators to illuminate and honor the important and transformative work done by Na:tinixwe and other Indigenous educators have been able to conduct within these safety zones. This is vital work done to continue Na:tinixwe knowledge across generations that is being done within these spaces to ensure that students know the importance of such knowledge. Although within the constraints of the safety zone the amount and depth of such knowledge is not able to be fully explored, a meaningful connection between students, the Na:tinixwe, Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe and ninisa:n, are fostered. Given the trauma and loss in the community, as a result of settler colonialism, many students would not be exposed to such knowledge otherwise within their homes. Safety zones are a useful analytic from the outside looking in. Sovereign Na:tinixwe Educational Spaces are what I want to use as an analytic for examining resurgent spaces in the colonial school from the inside looking out. These spaces are much less about the control of the state and more about student experience and the work taking place within them.

In formulating this notion of the SNES I take inspiration from two sources. Audra Simpson writes about the concept of "nested sovereignty". In relation to nested sovereignty Simpson writes that contrary to many understandings of sovereignty: "...sovereignty may exist within sovereignty. One does not entirely negate the other, but they necessarily stand in terrific tension and pose serious jurisdictional and normative challenges to each other." (2014, p. 10) She continues: "Like indigenous bodies, Indigenous sovereignties and Indigenous political orders prevail within and apart from settler governance. This form of 'nested sovereignty' has

implications for the sturdiness of nation-states..." (2014, p. 10) The settler state (whether it be the United States government or California within it) continues to maintain sovereignty over all schools in Na:tinixw, which is an important analysis to put forth as this highlights its ongoing colonial structure within the boundaries of the Hoopa Valley Indian Reservation, Na:tinixwe sovereign territory. However, the Na:tinixwe bodies of both the teachers and students and Na:tinixwe epistemological resurgence work they are able to enact in whatever spaces they can within this institution highlights a type of nested sovereignty I am calling a Sovereign Na:tinixwe Educational Space. By highlighting such a space as sovereign, I am also calling into question the legitimacy and permanence of the settler sovereignty over our students and what they learn.

The other scholar whose work I invoke in putting forth this notion of the SNES is kiana ross and her notion of Black educational sovereign spaces. I find ross' work appropriate to use here to continue to encourage work that draws connections between Black and Indigenous students' experiences of suffering in schools and ways that we can imagine a world outside of such suffering. She defines Black educational sovereign[2] spaces as: "intentional all-Black counterpublics constructed within the context of mutli-racial/ethnic, diverse school settings for the purpose of supporting Black students in racially-specific ways." (2016, p. 1) She continues: "Black educational sovereign spaces can serve to mitigate students' racialized experiences and facilitate students' construction of identities that reimagine problematic notions of blackness that confront them in society an in school." (2016, p.1) This work of reimagining within these spaces and within often anti-black structures of schooling is done by both educators and students together. Similarly, I theorize Sovereign Na:tinixwe Educational Spaces as co-created by students and in some moments created solely by students that bring the Na:tinixwe knowledge with them and exert their sovereignty as Na:tinixwe in these spaces through this work.

As I reflect on my own experiences in school now, I recognize these SNESs that my Na:tinixwe teachers were able to create, as well those that other community members would create in school. In addition to my Na:tinixwe education taking place *outside* of school with my family and community members, through the existence of SNES *in* school, I was able to learn key phrases in Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe and Na:tinixwe stories. Sovereign Na:tinixwe Educational Spaces (SNES) are created by Na:tinixwe teachers within the public schools, Na:tinixwe teachers from tribal departments, and Na:tinixwe parents, family, students and community members who go into the school to push the allotted safety zones and create more SNES. To be clear these SNESs do not change the colonial structure of the schools that they exist within, but rather provide vital spaces of Na:tinixwe knowledge that foster resurgent possibilities with Na:tinixwe students and educators that can, should and sometimes have been realized. Hoopa Valley Elementary School and High School graduate, Ashtyn Colegrove, described examples of these spaces, and how it was through these spaces Na:tinixwe educators were able to create and the meaningful experiences that she had, that she realized the broader erasure of Na:tinixwe knowledge in all of her other classes. She stated:

> My third and fourth grade teacher [both local] were really good about bringing people in and that was the only reason why I was like, why I thought about why don't we have local history? Why aren't we learning about plants that are right in our backyard? Why are we learning about these random animals that are in a

[2] I do want to draw attention to ross' unclear use of sovereignty in relation to Indigenous sovereignty in the United States. Mostly especially, because there is tension in some of the academic literature around the language and use of sovereignty between Black and Indigenous Studies. This is outside the scope of this dissertation but important for the reader to note. For more on this this Day (2015).

> different country? But they did a really good job at balancing local history, oral history and traditional knowledge and things like that with school standards and so they set a really high standard that no teachers met after that.

Similar to safety zones we can also track SNES through time and space of different educational structures, colonial schools being one of them. Prior to the imposition of colonial schooling systems, Na:tinixwe educational structures were composed entirely of SNES. Through settler colonial schooling SNESs have remained in different ways, in different times, with different people. Yet all of these spaces have aided in the survival of our people and epistemologies. I will use both the safety zone and SNES to track what is taking place through time and space in schools in Na:tinixw.

Na:tinixwe Forced into Boarding School

In 1870, the first school, an Indian Boarding school opened in Hoopa. The opening of such a school was a sign of the shift in federal Indian policy on the national level from bodily extermination (detailed in chapter 1) to extermination of the mind, assimilation. Piatote writes: "To these advocates, policies of assimilation—that is, the systematic conversion of communal Indian land and cultural practices and individuated civilized forms amenable to market capitalism and liberal democracy- were preferable to the policies of bloody annihilation and had dominated much of the nineteenth century." (2013, p. 2) The technologies of settler colonialism shifted but the colonial structure remained in other ways, schooling was one of them.

The boarding school in Hoopa had very low attendance for its first few years because most Na:tinixwe families thought their kids would be better off remaining within Na:tinixwe modes of education. US government official Lieutenant Winslow, like Indian Agent Broaddus before him, was frustrated with the Na:tinixwe resistance to "civilization". He argued: "the only way to strip the Hupa of these beliefs was to detach the children from their parents." (Lara, 2009, p. 58) Consequently, in 1893 the compulsory Hoopa Valley Indian School was established by the Bureau of Indian Affairs with the mission of teaching Na:tinixwe children how to be civilized, in the hopes of killing off all that made them Hupa through military bootcamp tactics (Nelson, 1978). Bushnell writes: "With a shift of federal policy from simply isolating the Indian to 'uplifting' and 'civilizing' him, a boarding school for the Hupa...was established. The children adhered to a quasi-military regimen that included drilling, calisthenics, unquestioned obedience, and severe punishment." (1968, p. 1110) Although the school was in Hoopa students were not permitted to visit their families (Lara, 2009).

One major part of this campaign was to force them to speak English *only* and punish any use of Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe (Nelson, 1978). This technique of Indigenous linguistic elimination was widely employed by government funded Indian schools and reflects an incredibly important piece of the settler colonial drive to eliminate its Indigenous population (Iyengar, 2014). It is also important to note that it wasn't just Na:tinixwe children who attended this school, many other children from surrounding tribes were taken and brought to the Hoopa Indian Boarding School (Lara, 2009). Therefore, this school wasn't just responsible for endangering Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe but many other local Indigenous languages.

According to Byron Nelson (1978), the Hoopa Valley Indian School was relatively less physically violent to its students compared to other Indian boarding schools, but this would change depending upon the Indian agents in charge and their different views on assimilation. Each child's experience was sure to have varied based on their interactions and responses to this colonial system. Na:tinixwe elder-ne'in Winnie Carpenter recounted her experience at the Hoopa

boarding school: “They didn’t allow us to speak Indian at all. We had to speak English at all times. We had to do extra work if we spoke Indian— like iron, or sweep the floor, or scrub the floor...They actually had a little jail down there on the bottom. Sometimes, if they was real bad, they’d spend two, three days in there— sometimes one week.” (Lara, 2009) As stated earlier, speaking Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe in the Hoopa Indian boarding school at this time would result in a child’s punishment, even being “thrown in jail”. I spoke to multiple descendants of Winnie-ne’in and they confirmed that this was a story that continues to be told in their family. One echoed Winnie’s words: “...if you got caught saying anything in Hupa back in those days you got put in what she called a jail and I remember there was a few years back where someone found a big hole across from the education department they were doing some sidewalk work. And I thought that must have been the jail that my grandma was talking about.” The physical landscape of Na:tinixw remains imprinted as a constant reminder of this violent practice against our language and our families.

In 1896, Indians were legally considered wards of the government, as a result Commissioner Daniel Browning ruled that “Indian parents did not have parental powers over the decision of whether or where their children attended school.” (Lara, 2009, p. 59) This ruling would later be overturned in 1902 but the practice continued to take place long after. Na:tinixwe children started to be forcibly taken away in the early 1900s, parents would object and settler officials would react in violence (Nelson, 1978). Boarding schools operated under the ideology and practice that families were detrimental to the civilization process. Piatote describes the assimilationist settler colonial shift to target the Indigenous home: “...Indian economies, lands, kinship systems, languages, cultural practices and family relations—in short, all that constituted the Indian home—became the primary site of struggle. The battle, not the stakes, moved from the indigenous homeland, what I call the tribal-national domestic, to the familial space of the Indian home, or the intimate domestic.” (2013, p. 2) As Piatote notes, the highest stakes of Indigenous life and death remained, even if the settler colonial battle continued in new ways. John Ward, a federal Indian agent, stated, “The parents of these Indian children are ignorant, and know nothing of the value of education, and there are no elevating circumstances in the home circle to arouse the ambition of the children. Parental authority is hardly known or exercised among the Indians in this agency.” (Bear, 2008) Indigenous families were seen as lacking in any knowledge, despite their roles as the primary educators within the Na:tinixwe structure of education.

The schools needed higher enrollments so the administrators and Indian agents would go to homes and drag the children into the schools. Wha:dichwing Verdena Parker told me a story about the government officials coming to take her mother to the boarding school and her grandmother literally picking up and throwing the official back over their gate in refusal to relinquish her daughter. It was this singular act of refusal that made it possible for my Aunt to still be able to speak Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe, and for me to learn to speak from her today. This coupled with the undoubtably hundreds, if not thousands of acts of refusal to give up Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe by Na:tinixwe are what make up the broader project of resurgence that my generation must continue.

The government established a boarding school on the reservation, yet Indian agents forcefully took many Na:tinixwe children to boarding schools farther away to further sever their ties to their family, tribe, and land. These violent removals carried out by the settler state were yet another way to mentally and physically distance Indigenous children from their homelands and open them up for settlers to occupy (Lomawaima, 1997; Piatote, 2013). One of these schools was the Sherman Institute in Riverside, Ca, about 600 miles south of Hoopa Jimmy Jackson-

ne'in, was one of these Na:tinixw children. My grandmother Geraldine Chase-ne'in was another, along with many other Na:tinixwe elders. I was able to have conversations with many of their descendants and even more importantly their youngest descendants were able to participate in our ye-silin camps and learn to proudly speak the language their great(great) grandparents were punished for speaking. Jimmy Jackson-ne'in described his treatment at Sherman: "The teacher at the Indian school grabbed my friend by the arm and said, 'You're speaking your language -- I'm going to wash your mouth out with soap." (Brooke, 1998) One can only imagine how traumatic this experience must have been, to have to live in this environment and know that you couldn't run home even if you tried, and some did try (Parker, Conversation, 2018).

One of the settler colonial technologies of violence most relevant for this dissertation is the attempted elimination of Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe. For Na:tinixwe people this started with the ban of Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe enforced by the military fort on the reservation, soon followed by the strictly, and sometimes violently, enforced no Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe policies at the boarding school on the reservation and those that Na:tinixwe children were taken away to attend (Nelson, 1978). This process of eliminating language went hand in hand with the attempted elimination of our traditional land-based economic structures, political structures and relationships to land. In these boarding schools it also went hand-in-hand with the attempted elimination of traditional Na:tinixwe land- and community-based education structures and pedagogies.

All of these practices and policies were part of a much larger assault on our nation and sovereignty. Iyengar writes: "To kill the Indian (nation), this exhalation had to be prevented, suffocated. But that act of suffocation of language could not actually take place upon the 'nation,' as a 'nation' is an abstract concept and as such cannot be literally 'suffocated.' That act of suffocation of language/nation had to be enacted upon the bodies of individual children" (2014, p. 54). For the Na:tinxwe, these violences were not theoretical, but rather were done on the bodies of our grandparents, the effects of which we can still feel today. I feel it in the ways that my grandparents (and most others in the community) chose not to transmit the language to my father to protect him from the punishment that they faced for speaking Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe. I feel it in the ways that I struggle to (re)learn our ancestral language, which is so different from English – in the ways I struggle to hear the different sounds and, even more difficult, to produce them with my mouth. But we, as Na:tinixwe also feel the gratitude and strength of our ancestors who held on to the language, who fought for us to still be able to speak it in our traditional homelands and who guide us along the journey. We feel the hope that this next generation will not struggle as we did to speak and hear the language and that they will not be punished for it as those before us were.

When the survivors of these boarding schools would come home, if they ever did, they either did not know the language or did not wish to teach it to their children. As Blackfeet scholar Darrell Kipp (2000) points out, the choice to not pass on the language was most often out of love, in hopes that they wouldn't be punished in the same ways. My father recounted a similar sentiment and theorized their choices as those of survival: " I can remember the parents talking about education from their point of view it might be worth it for the children not learning the language it might be worthwhile for the children learning the white ways or the missionary ways so that they can come and tell us so that we can get through all of this because right now we're very confused about all of this we don't understand these people that have come into our community." In the generations following the conversion of the boarding school to a public school, language transmission between families to children continued to decrease for various reasons including historical trauma surrounding the language, fear, shame, lack of knowledge, as well as economic, political and social constraints. One community member recollected the ways

that she saw her grandfather influenced by the ideology of the boarding school: "I remember my grandpa being really hesitant about using Hupa or teaching it because he was like 'there's not really a place for it anymore' and like, just that. I'm not sure if he was old enough to go to boarding school...but that mentality from boarding school was still there even if wasn't a boarding school." She continued, he would say things like "'there's no place in the world today for language and there's no use for it so why are you going to teach it' so like a lot of that was still there." Another theme that came out across many of my conversations were the ways in which Na:tinixwe elders processed their boarding school experiences. Some of them would speak about the terrible experiences that they had. Others would focus on the positive things that they learned, like how to build homes and cook. While others did not talk to their children about it at all. My Aunt Linda spoke about her mother (my grandmother)'s approach: "My mother never told me anything about [her experience] going to school." One important point from her words that came out across many conversations were the slippages between who went to the boarding school and who went to the newly converted public school. This is significant because as we will see in the following section many changes in the ideology of the school were supposed to have taken place, but the reality was very much a continuation of boarding school ideals, policies and practices. As a result, the number of fluent language speakers of Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe been targeted down to around the 5 speakers that are left today.

Thankfully, some elders were able to hold on to their knowledge of the language and some even got the opportunity to continue their language use outside of school. Jimmy Jackson-ne'in was once quoted as saying:

> I was away at school where they were teaching us English. They didn't want us to speak the Indian language because they said the Indian language was wrong. And they scared us off. Everybody was afraid to say something in their language. If they had just kept out of it and let us speak the language in school, everybody would know it today. They took it from us. Now we have to try to get it back. (Trujillo, Carrasco & Lockard; 2003)

This generation of elders is responsible for keeping the language alive; myself and my generation are responsible for bringing it back so that it can thrive again as it once did. There were most definitely countless SNESs that these Na:tinixwe students created for themselves despite all the odds. We know this because many of those who came back to the community were teachers who passed on the important Na:tinixwe knowledge that they carried despite the trauma they endured. One such example, was a story someone told me about their uncles in boarding school who loved to sing ceremonial songs but would get punished for singing such songs in Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe. Rather than giving up on singing they created a song that sounded like a nursery rhyme in English but still held the form and rhythm of a Na:tinixwe song. This is a song that is honored today and can be heard in some of our ceremonial dances. The Na:tinixwe are eternally grateful to them and their sacrifices.

Public Schools 1932-

Following the closure of Indian Boarding schools and their transition to public schools, either state or federal, the colonial structure of these schools remained intact. Goodyear-Ka'opua argues: "Settler colonial schooling continues the imperial domesticating project of subsuming the lands and peoples of independent sovereign nations within the internal, or domestic, sphere of an imperial occupier." (2013, p. xiv) Although the policies may not be explicit in their assimilatory aims anymore, they continue to attempt to subsume Indigenous sovereignty, bodies and land into the settler body politic (Sabzalian, 2019). Goodyear Ka'opua continues: "Settler colonialisms are

historically rooted, land-centered projects that are never fully complete, thus requiring constant effort to marginalize and extinguish Indigenous connections so as to secure control of land...The public-school system functions to naturalize these relations of power." (2013, p. 23) If we remember, Coulthard (2014) noted that one of settler colonialism's current techniques of domination is the rendering of the unequal relations of power between Indigenous peoples and the settler state as normal and natural. The public-school functions as an institution that aids in this process through its curriculum and structure.

Maori scholar, Graham Smith explains a similar situation in Aotearoa state-controlled schools: "What are the things that are "taken for granted" within the current school system: The inferiority of the language, people, land and knowledge." (1997, p. 247) Although the schools may not say this explicitly and may even have policies in place that are supposed to allow for curriculum and instruction based in Maori language, people, land and knowledge, the underlying structure of the school continues to operate with these assumptions that will continue to go unquestioned if change is not demanded. Smith continues: "In this view, schools and the education system as a whole are seen as not just reproducing outcomes of social inequality for Maori, they are also received as agencies of colonization and therefore as instruments for the promulgation of 'dominant Pakeha [white] cultural interests." (1997, p.108) Yes, schools are sites from social reproduction of inequality as many education scholars note, (Bowles & Gintis, 2011; Bourdieu, 1973) but for Indigenous peoples they are first and foremost agents of colonization that reproduce the interests of the settler state, the elimination of Indigenous peoples in whatever form that elimination may take. Given this fact we may want to change our discourse both at the level of academic writing and community conversations around Indigenous student resistance to the project of schooling. Smith writes: "Within schooling, Maori resistance initiatives are discernible in the high levels of: pupil absenteeism; truancy; early school leaving: disruptive school behavior: underachievement; and at times overt cultural expression." (1997, p.276) Again rather than framing Indigenous children as the problem, when we frame the state and its schools as the problem then we might respond differently to student's resistance to school which results in their criminalization.

Education, and the school have played key roles in the settler colonial project both historically and in the present. For Indigenous peoples, children were/are specifically targeted because of the symbolic and material significance that our bodies represented. We can trace this targeting through the ways that Indigenous children were not spared in massacres, were stolen from their communities and sold into slavery, were stolen and taken away to boarding schools, continue to be taken away from their families and adopted by non-Native families, their overcriminalization and representation in juvenile detention centers and the violence they endure in schools today. Leanne Simpson states:

> Indigenous bodies, particularly the bodies of 2SQ people, children, and women, represented the lived alternative to heteronormative constructions of gender, political systems, and rules of descent...They represent alternative Indigenous political systems that refuse to replicate capitalism, heteropatriarchy, and whiteness. This is why the bodies of children and the structure of our families were attacked through the residential and day school system and continue to be targeted through the state's child welfare system and state-run education system. (2017, p. 41)

As Simpson writes two-spirit queer people, children and women are especially vulnerable under a settler colonial regime. This means that children who possess these other intersecting identities,

Indigenous girls for example are even more vulnerable and subject to violence. Dhillon writes: "Indigenous girls, then, operate as young Indigenous people in a distinctly settler colonial space where their very resistance and survival stands in opposition to fully consummating settler ownership and legitimacy—they stand in the way of settler colonialism and question the existence of the settler state as a fait accompli." (2015, p. 8) We must recognize this and the ways that schools continue to enact this violence on these children.

Although there have been many changes in the policies of American schools over the years Goodyear- Ka'opua highlights that these should not be seen as inherent improvements to these schools but: "Rather, there has been a shift in the strategies by which settler-colonial educational regimes work to assimilate, contain, or render innocuous Native communities." (2013, p. 90) While many Indigenous communities, including my own, are quick to fight for ninisa:n, our natural world and non-human relatives, we are much slower at fighting at a structural level for the wellbeing of our children in schools. Yet, this is the space in which the future of our nations is being either shaped or suppressed. This is a space we must reclaim for ourselves and fight for our youth. This is why this project focuses specifically on Na:tinixwe (re)envisioning for and with youth.

With the changing tide of Federal Indian Policy following the Meriam Report in 1928 the Hoopa Valley Indian School transitioned to a public day school, still under federal control, in 1932 under Superintendent Boggess (Nelson, 1978). In this transition the curriculum was to be changed to closer reflect that of other public schools although "vocational programs were still emphasized." (Lara, 2009, p. 61) Boggess even wrote that he wished to "encourage the Indians...to revive tribal relations, tribal customs and Native arts." (Nelson, 1978, p. 171) In 1934, the Indian Reorganization Act encouraged these forms of regeneration. On paper this sounded like a wonderful change in policy and practice for Hoopa students. Lomawaima & McCarty write: "Federal Indian schools were largely superseded by public schools in the late 20th century, but forces to transform Native students and control a safety zone allowable cultural expression continued largely unabated." (2006, p.5) Na:tinixwe culture could now be allowed but only in small amounts at the discretion of the school administrators. As I was talking to members of the community, both elders and employees of the tribal education department, no one could really give me a meaningful story, document, or even a definitive date of when this transition took place. In 1934 the Johnson O' Malley Act was passed in an effort to increase Indian enrollment, the day school became the Hoopa Valley Unified School District, a California state school. Bushnell articulated: "While the Hoopa school was no longer deliberately employed as an instrument for de-Indianization, it served increasingly as an agent for noncoercive acculturation." (1968, p. 1111) Although the Hoopa school would no longer explicitly be about "killing the Indian", it was still very much about the incorporation Na:tinixwe into the settler body politic.

Verdena Parker, who would have started in the new public school in the late 1930s, recounted her experience at the school: "In school the teachers at first thought that I was dumb because I would not answer any question in class, but it wasn't that I didn't know the answer, I just didn't know it in English." She told me other stories about getting in trouble for speaking Hupa in class. She recalled her teacher yelling: "School is for English. That [Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe] language doesn't have a place here." Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe was still not allowed in the school even after the transition from a boarding school to a public one despite the lip service of the superintendent. No formal classes would be offered on anything Na:tinixwe related for decades to come. Although Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe wasn't allowed to be spoken at school,

Verdena also told me that she and one of her friends would sneak out to the bleachers and speak Hupa to one another and exchange stories and lessons that their grandmothers taught them. She recounted:

> My best friend and I used to talk Hupa all the time. The teacher caught us talking Hupa. She growled at us. She told us now when you come here to the school you're supposed to speak English. That's what this school is for to teach you how to speak English so you should pay attention and don't be talking this other...Just for that we would go down to the football field and sit up there in the bleachers nobody around and M would come with us she was just a little girl she would tag along with us. Me and B would be talking in Hupa and she would tell us about what her grandma told her about things a long time ago and we'd say something in Indian and she would say 'that's just the way my grandma says it.'

The bleachers and the space created between these two, and sometimes three, Na:tinixwe girls is just one example of a Sovereign Na:tinixwe Educational Space Verdena and her friends were able to create despite the colonial school they attended. Following her early years in school Verdena became ill and had to miss an entire year of school. However, she was able to catch up on her work and actually was skipped up a few grades. Unfortunately, a few years later she was sexually assaulted which led to a chain of events in which she was forced to leave school. Her abuser would also discourage her from speaking Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe stating that she was speaking "goobly gook". Here I return to my reflection from our conversation together: *Violence against women is violence against our language and culture.*

In 1954, the newly passed Impact Aid Law that would provide additional funding for students who live on non-taxable federal lands, such as reservations, to build a new school. This was also the year the Hoopa Unified School District became the Klamath Trinity Joint Unified School District which would teach students primarily from tribes along the Klamath and Trinity rivers including the Na:tinixwe, Yurok and Karuk. This is the district that still exists today and the same site where Hoopa Valley Elementary School and High School reside.

Wha:dichwing Linda, who would have gone to school in the 1950's was one of the first in my family to attend public school. She stated that she was excited to go to school however there were many things going on at home that affected her emotional state which was sure to influence her experiences in school. She stated:

> When I was little I had friends and they were good friends but I had dirty clothes my mother was sick a lot so the clothes that I had were clothes that would come to us free from southern California or some place and that's what I wore because we were so poor. I went through a hard time then when my friend moved and I went through a hard time around 5th or 6th grade because I was being beaten...

Both of my aunts that I was able to have conversations with spoke of violence against them in their childhoods and later in life. This was a common theme not just with the Na:tinixwe women in my family but across the majority of women that I spoke with in the community. As the reader may recall violence against indigenous women and children (think about how girls are targeted twice) is a symptom of the settler colonial project. We can see the theories of Indigenous feminists playing out on the bodies and lives of these Na:tinixwe women. How can you think about your class assignments when you are enduring such hardship? Knowing the abuse that they endured and were still able to make it through school is a testament to their strength. I would be remiss to put forth a colonial history of education in Hoopa without mentioning the violence that was taking place and continues to take place on the bodies of these Na:tinixwe women and girls.

Colonial gender violence is also structured and not relegated to an event in the past (Deer, 2015).

Aunt Linda also discussed her high school experience:

> I made a lot of C grades. I don't know why I didn't think too much of myself. It was kind of hard making a C grade and no one ever taught me how to study or a lot of things weren't taught. A lot of the Indians dropped out of school when we got to high school. I was about the only Indian left going to school here it was sad because my friends quit school. So I had to go by myself but I made it and I appreciated it.

Following High School Aunt Linda went on to be a major advocate for Indigenous education in Hoopa and even in Kansas and Minnesota. Along with other Na:tinixwe she stated: "We became active in the hupa language and active in the school for our Indian kids." Soon after she became a teacher's-aid at the school. My father was an aid there around the same time. She explained that after being a teacher's-aid for 4 years she could "really could see how a lot of the teachers were white and the only Indians were cooks or clean up people or bus drivers and I was concerned about that, that there were no Indian teachers." This inspired her to do two things. The first was to help with a lawsuit against the principal at the time. She stated the principal was "kicking out children and they were Indian children in the elementary school." She continued he was "kicking out children for any bad little behavior." The second thing this inspired her to do was to become a teacher herself so that there was at least one Indian teacher in the schools in Hoopa. However, once she completed the Indian Teacher Education Preparation Program at Humboldt State University and returned home to apply for a job at the school, they turned her away. She didn't realize until later that it was because of her involvement in the lawsuit that they would not give her a job. My Aunt would go on to attend Penn State to obtain her teaching credential and work in Indian communities in Kansas and Minnesota. In her time in Minnesota she also advocated for the Indigenous children in the public schools there and against the discrimination they were facing. After years in Minnesota there were terrible things going on back in Hoopa including the murder of her daughter that brought her back to the community. During the course of my PhD the daughter of that daughter was murdered as well. Within my aunt's direct lineage there are three generations of Na:tinixwe women who were abused, tragically, for my cousins to the point of their deaths. As a consequence of settler colonial gender violence Indigenous women across the country continue to be murdered and rendered missing. My family knows this structure all too well. Aunt Linda continues to be an advocate for her many grand and great grandchildren who attend school in Hoopa.

Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe Resurgence Movement Begins: 1960-

A decade or so following the opening of the Klamath Trinity Joint Unified School District, in the civil rights and Red Power era (1960s-1970s) the Na:tinixwe, like many other Indigenous nations, were going to take their language back whether they had permission or not. In 1969 the report *Indian Education: A National Challenge* came out which highlighted the many issues for Indian children in American public schools across the nation including high dropout rates, low achievement, and lack of teacher support. This led to important legislation such as the Indian Education Act in 1972 and the Self-Determination and Educational Assistance Act in 1975 among others which were supposed to give more funding and control to tribes over the education of their students (Lara, 2009). The Hoopa Valley Tribal Education Association, the tribal education department, began in 1976. At this time, there were many first language speakers

of Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe who realized that tangible and real actions needed to be taken to ensure the continued survival of the language. The generations after the boarding school era began to realize that the language was at risk of disappearing if they did not take any action. As a result, they teamed up with the elders of the generation before them to do something about it. This moment in time signaled a massive movement for the Na:tinixwe to revitalize their language and the Na:tinixw way of life that settlers attempted to take away from them.

Through the next couple of decades elders taught weekly community language classes, the people created a dictionary in collaboration with a linguist, the community adopted written alphabet and pushed to formally implement the language in the public schools. As early as the 1960s Na:tinixwe conducted language classes at the Hoopa Valley Elementary School. These original classes were taught by elders and utilized the UNIFON writing system created in collaboration with the Community Development Center at Humboldt State. They were run from about 1967 to 1978. Hupa language classes would continue in a variety of pull-out contexts, transitioning to the teaching of an adaptation of the International Phonetic Alphabet that was adopted by the tribe in 1984. Despite small gains being made through the allowance of students to take Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe classes, the colonial structure of the school itself remained. This is an example of a safety zone that was allowed given the 'unthreatening' status of Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe at the time and the very small instruction time that was allotted. The majority of students were not performing well according to the school's standards. There was a report done by Dr. Don Bowlus, a psychology professor from Humboldt State in 1978 which determined that discrimination taking place against Indigenous students was instrumental to their lack academic achievement (Lara, 2009). In 1991 the community was able to secure a formal class in the elementary school (grades K-8). This was highly significant because unlike the classes before these classes became a formal part of the school curriculum and structure. In addition, teachers would be paid out of the district budget. Following, in 1997 the Na:tinixwe, along with the Yurok and Karuk won the right for these Indigenous languages to be taught in formal classes at Hoopa Valley High School. In the same space that the settler state run school once banned Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe from Na:tinixwe children, the settler state run school would now welcome it, or so it seemed.

This victory also closely followed the passing of the Native American Languages Act in 1990. This act vows to "preserve, protect, and promote the rights and freedom of Native Americans to use, practice and develop Native American languages." This was a dramatic shift in official settler state policy in relation to Indigenous languages. Once the state had an official policy against the use of these languages and now all of a sudden, they encouraged them. The passing of NALA really seemed like a turning point in the relationship between the settler state, Indigenous peoples and their languages. Yet, Lomawaima and McCarty note: "From the federal perspective, NALA was a symbolic gesture with little real consequence. As Schiffman points out, NALA's passage 'can be described as locking the barn door after the horse is stolen'." (2006, p. 136) The damage had already been done both to the language and also the traumatic experiences Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe speakers had endured. These symbolic gestures or shows of recognition are exactly what keep Indigenous peoples distracted from the real cause of the problem: settler colonialism. (Coulthard, 2014; A. Simpson, 2014)

Beginning in the 1990s Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe teachers would start to teach Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe classes in the same format as other "world" language classes beyond English, like Spanish. In the High School they would be available as an option to students in four different levels for 50 minutes a day. Through this option students about able to count Na:tinixwe

Mixine:whe as their "foreign language requirement" by the school and the A-G requirements of California state. One Na:tinixwe educator, Melodie George-Moore, who has been teaching Hupa Language classes in various capacities for decades was very much aware of her role as a creator of Sovereign Na:tinixwe Educational Spaces within a colonial institution. She stated: "I am begrudgingly participating in the institution of education because it has been at odds with Natives from the beginning... So my philosophy was to be a part of the system and to be like a little island of culture and language....I'm mindful that I am sometimes that only culture that kids are going to get." Within this educator's words we can see her consciousness of the colonial structure, alongside a deep intention to make whatever space she can for Na:tinixwe students that are required to go there, and to have access to as much Na:tinixwe knowledge they can in these spaces.

Despite the small tokens of recognition for Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe by the schools gained in the 1990s, similar to when language first began to be taught in the 1970s, KTJUSD continued to fail their students. In 1993 the Center for Indian Community Development conducted a study in the valley titled: "Educational Needs Assessment of the Hoopa Valley Reservation." In this study they report the results from a survey they undertook with about 300 people in the community, most of which were parents of the early childhood programs, elementary school or high school students, or students themselves. This report found that "Indian students are receiving a substandard education in their schools. Students are not learning well and teaches are not teaching well enough." (1993, p.1) At this moment in time the dropout rate was over 50%. The total student population of the district was 60% Native while only 13% of the teachers and administration were Native. The report found that parents were very unsatisfied with the teachers. They felt they were underqualified, did not care about the students, or student learning, were very disconnected from the community, and knew very little about teaching Native kids. The report also states that the Hoopa schools were consistently underperforming in the state tests, around the 50_{th} percentile. There were also concerns that students were being pushed out for not performing well in school or for behavioral issues. They also believe that the school had very low standards and expectations for its students and this contributed to student confidence and performance, or lack thereof. According to the report the standards were not implemented well, and the curriculum materials were outdated and low quality. On the other hand, the report notes that over 90% of people in the community want there to be more Hupa language and culture implemented in the school. This is one of the few positive aspects of the report. At this point the classes at the high school were not implemented yet.

One young Na:tinixwe woman, whose parents would have attended Hoopa Valley High in the early 90s stated: "My parents didn't like school at all. My dad was one of those kids who just got labeled as one of those troublemakers and so he was just passed through and I feel like that's an old problem in public school. It's just like groups of kids where they are just like ok we're just gonna move them through and they aren't gonna learn anything so we're not gonna spend the time." She continues by drawing connections between her parent's generation and their experiences to our generation: "Like that's frustrating that that's something that happened to our parents and that it's still happening today in the exact same way." She is countering the linear narrative that things are getting better and pointing to the structured nature of the coloniality and disregard for Na:tinixwe children in public schools. She also confirmed that the concerns of the parents in 1993 are just as relevant today as they were then. She continues:

> Like the problems that they [her parents] talked about in school and being frustrated with their teachers. My Dad would talk about how Ms. M was the only

> person who cared and I was like 'how sad there was only one teacher all the way through school who cared.' And my brothers talk about it in the same way like 'I only made it through these classes because of this one teacher.' My brother just graduated and he barely graduated.

She explained the way that he was tracked into special education classes and similar to his father labeled as a troublemaker while ignoring his academic needs:

> He had a really hard time because in school they were like 'he just doesn't apply himself, he doesn't try' but it turns out he had some reading challenges and so like he was dyslexic and they were like 'oh he has to be tested for all these different things' and then we're gonna put him in special ed and my mom was like 'that's not what it is. It's not special ed that he needs he just needs a little bit more time and attention in this specific area not to be completely separated' and so that's a whole different problem but he umm had problems in high school too he made it through because of Ms. L....

According to this collaborator, similar to their father, her brother only had one teacher who he felt cared about him. To be clear when I write about the colonial structure of the school, I am not discounting all of the great work that Indigenous teachers, and some non-Indigenous teachers are able to do within the confines of this structure. The point is that the structure *remains* and makes it incredibly hard to do good work with Na:tinixwe students.

One partnership between the KTJU School District and the Hoopa Tribal Education Association at this time that is worth mentioning, was their academic and culturally based summer school. Many former students of this program spoke very highly of it. Students who needed academic support over the summer on subjects such as Math or English would attend, but in addition to these subjects, classes other course offerings would include Hupa Language, basket weaving and beading. In this program Na:tinixwe knowledge would be placed as equal to other subjects, unlike during the school year. One former student mentioned: "Summer school was when *we* took over the school and made it our own." Sadly, this program ended in the late 1990s. This is an example of a SNES that was created within the colonial institution, even if it was in the summer, the power of taking over that physical space remained.

A sentiment expressed by many community members who were fortunate to be able to take part in Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe classes, no matter how short they were in duration, was the value that it brought to their schooling experiences. One Na:tinixwe Hoopa High graduate stated: "Even if the rest of school wasn't fun language was enough to keep me there." Another explained how the Sovereign Na:tinixwe Educational Spaces these Na:tinixwe educators were able to create helped her to overcome her insecurities about a learning disability that she had: "For some reason I couldn't read the "see sally run book but I could read the Hupa book...I had to take a lot of the classes for kids that weren't performing well so I got teased a lot...the cultural learning was something that I felt good about and felt like I was achieving." Another Na:tinixwe former student who would have graduated a decade after the two mentioned above spoke about how language classes for her, gave her a space of comfort and stability that she did not have anywhere else because of many issues going on in their homelife.

Another report was done by outside researchers in 2001 called *A Holistic Approach for Addressing the Social/Emotional Needs of the Hoopa Valley Elementary Children,* also known as the Calderon Report. Eight years after the Crosbie report, the Klamath Trinity Joint Unified School District continued to fail the majority of its students as reflected in their test scores and dropout rates. The Caledron report recommended that the social and emotional issues of the

children in the Hoopa Valley Elementary School, many of them Na:tinixwe, needed to be addressed within the school. It expressed a need for "behavioral management, teacher sensitivity training, culturally relevant curriculum, a culturally appropriate school environment and parenting workshops." (Lara, 2009, p.68) It had been almost 100 years, so many policies had been changed, so many reports had been done, and yet the colonial structure of the school remained in-tact, evidenced in the fact that there was still a major lack of Na:tinixwe curriculum or even a culturally appropriate school environment. The schools continued to serve the interests of the settler state over those of the Na:tinixwe.

2002- Present

Much of the progress and efforts made in Hupa language resurgence and tribal-school partnerships, seemed to take a much slower pace at the turn of the millennium according to language teachers. This is a trend that is consistent across Indian Country in language revitalization (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer, 1998; Littlebear, 1999), yet it is seldom contextualized in the conditions of ongoing settler colonialism in this literature. This loss of momentum coincides directly with the passing of No Child Left Behind (NCLB) by the Bush Administration in 2002. The subjects on these tests, chosen by the government, would in theory allow students to gain skills and knowledge necessary to participate in the national and global economy like math, science and reading, all done in the English language (Apple, 2007.) Yet, what NCLB really did was open up education as a site for private marketization. Apple writes of the law: "The major components of the legislation center on testing and accountability but also provide inroads toward a larger agenda of privatization and marketization." (2007, p. 110) He argues that through these high stakes tests, the government could choose what counts as legitimate knowledge through the content given on the test. He then goes on to state how this "flies in the face of decades of struggle over politics of knowledge and over the inclusion of cultures, languages, histories, and values of a country made of cultures from all over the world." (Apple, 2007, p. 111) Apple's critique highlights the limits of multiculturalism within the constraints of neoliberalism. The only knowledge that can be considered legitimate is the knowledge that will help open up more markets and accumulate wealth. He also notes how these tests could then create a new competitive market for education as some schools were deemed 'failing' and in need of privatization for improvement (Apple, 2007).

Although Apple's (2007) critiques of NCLB are important they also erase the much larger history and struggles Indigenous peoples have had since even before the very beginning of American schooling. Grande writes: "The miseducation of American Indians precedes the 'birth' of this nation. From the time of invasion to the present day, the church and state have acted as coconsipirators in the theft of Native America, robbing Indigenous peoples of their very right to be indigenous." (2004, p. 115) Not only does Apple ignore the colonial roots of schooling in America, he also limits the imagination for alternatives to NCLB to further inclusion into settler multicultural state, which is in fact a of mode of settler governance that further strips Indigenous peoples of their sovereignty (Byrd, 2011). This is why I insist on a settler colonial critique rather than just a neoliberal one as Apple (2007) and many other education scholars do.

The Hoopa Elementary School houses the largest number of Na:tinixwe students and yet there is only one teacher to serve them all, and dramatically less instruction time allotted than in the high school. Jackie Martins has been the Elementary school Hupa language teacher for decades. She learned the language later in life, as her mother did not teach her growing up. Needless to say, her time and energy are spread pretty thin. These compulsory tests put massive

pressure on Hoopa Valley Elementary School to raise their standardized test scores, making it much harder to teach anything outside of what was on these tests. Lomawaima and McCarty write: "NCLB is, in effect, an Engish-only law. These new state and federal policies place 'minority' languages outside the safety zone, severely limiting the educational choices available to language minority youth." (2006, p. X) NCLB, and its tests given in English, would place Indigenous languages outside the safety zone of what could be taught in schools once again. According to Jackie, the small amount of time she is allotted is incredibly difficult to teach any amount of language in. She stated: "The time limitations have been a half hour per class but not enough for teaching language. Everybody gets a little dip but not enough to practice." She continued: "I don't think that in the hearts of people it's not valued but in practice it just becomes another thing while they are trying to get their test scores up." Unfortunately, this practice of prioritizing test scores over language continues the logic of settler colonialism. Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe suffers as a result, it becomes labeled a less important subject, something extra, and even in the way. Although the official policy to accept Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe in the school continued to remain, NCLB in practice would ensure its presence remained marginal if it continued to exist in this space at all.

Jackie worked closely with many elders to learn Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe and to conduct her classes. She also spoke of the pain of continuing the work as all the elders she learned from passed away. She vowed to continue on the work and has been able to create a Sovereign Na:tinixwe Educational Space out of the small amount of time and ever-changing classroom. I remember being a young student in her class and her telling us that one day we might be language teachers ourselves. It was her class and the transformative work she was able to do that led me to the path that I am on now, this dissertation included. She spoke about her struggle being the only Hupa Language teacher in the entire school. She stated: "What I've had to do is advocate for myself and others that will come along after me for many years with no support...I feel very isolated...I am very isolated. I do feel like I work in a vacuum." In this quote we might call this feeling of isolation and working in a vacuum the safety zone of containment the school has put around her and Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe.

The settler colonial logic of eliminating Indigenous life, and in this case Hupa language, is ongoing and unrelenting to the point where Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe classroom instruction is merely symbolic, if it exists at all. The small amount of Hupa language time made possible through multiculturalism gives the appearance that Na:tinixwe life is now welcome only to contain it inside of depoliticized safety zone that will not threaten settler sovereignty. Goodyear-Ka'opua writes:

> In order to contain us they create safety zones that give the appearance and recognition that Indigenous life is wanted and welcome but only to a certain point. Such containment can manifest in geographic forms as reservations or small school spaces, in political form as legal-recognition frameworks that seek to subsume sovereignty within the settler state's domestic laws, and in ideological forms as school curricula that allow a sprinkling of Indigenous history and culture only to maintain its marginality. (2015, p. 26)

This "sprinkle" of Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe will not be enough for a full resurgence of the language. As one former student noted in school "we learn the language in pieces". The language that can be taught within this time period and physical location is ornamental and superficial. Colors, numbers and animals are about as deep as one can get. This is tragic, as the most beautiful and relevant concepts found within the language that can help guide our people to a world outside and beyond settler colonialism are left out. This is not by accident but by design of

the settler colonial school, from the Hoopa Valley Indian School of 1893 to the Hoopa Valley Elementary School of today.

In addition to the symbolic safety zone around Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe through time instruction limits, de-prioritization, and devaluation, there is also very much a physical zone of containment around the Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe teacher and her classroom. Jackie told me about when she first started teaching in the school "they didn't really know what to do with me." For years she would go into other teachers' classrooms and do short language lessons. However, with the construction of a new cafeteria, under the leadership of a Na:tinixwe principle, she was given a formal Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe classroom. Jackie stated: "the principle promised me that I and the language would always have a space of our own now she said: 'Jackie you'll never have to walk around with your bag of things ever again. This will always be your classroom.'" This was a small room right off of the new cafeteria, far away from the other classes, contained. Yet, with the increased instability and turnover of the administration, partly because of NCLB policies and the fact that the school was not meeting the required test scores, Jackie was "displaced" and forced to join another office with a desk in the corner. "They needed the space for something else more important I guess" she told me. She continued: "Then construction happened and they needed that space and when that sort of thing happens on campus Indian language is not a priority so I got moved around...Everything was left in my containers then at some point the Superintendent gave the word to dump them and I lost a lot of stuff.."" In the midst of construction and moving her out of her classroom the school lost some of her Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe curriculum, curriculum that she had been working on for decades, that was not duplicated anywhere and was irreplaceable. Even the physical space for Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe at the public school is always in crisis, it can and will be taken away at a moment's notice at the whim of the administration.

While the safety zone that the school district puts around Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe continues to shrink, the SNESs that continue to exist, exist largely because of the Hoopa Valley Tribe and its programs. Mida:ch described both her admiration for tribal programs and her disdain for the current state of schooling:

> It's almost like we've gone so far backwards that it's like [the school thinks] there's these dumb Indian kids again and they [the students] aren't learning... and the things they are learning are from these education programs and language and other things that the tribal education offers to them... that's where they are learning.

Through this statement we can see that things have not gotten better but rather gotten worse or at least reverted back to a boarding school mentality and operating system that treats our students like "dumb Indian kids." Which isn't to say that things were ever really good but rather just not as bad as they are now. However, the learning spaces, or Sovereign Na:tinixwe Educational Spaces that tribal programs are able to create in the short time that they are allowed to go in classrooms, evenings, weekends, or summers, are really where the important and transformative learning is taking place for Na:tinixwe youth.

Current Issues, Struggles and Experiences

Today, like many other publicly funded schools serving Native American children across the nation, Hoopa Valley Elementary School and Hoopa Valley High School are "underperforming", underfunded and understaffed. A number of Na:tinixwe students also attend Trinity Valley Elementary School in a neighboring town (Willow Creek), and Captain John Continuation High School. Other Na:tinixwe students attend school off reservation for various

reasons including that they live off reservation or choose to commute to other schools with more resources. The majority of the teachers are non-Native and Na:tinixwe traditional knowledge is highly marginalized, if present at all within the curriculum. Teachers are forced to teach for the standardized tests of the state that never include any Na:tinixwe knowledge or language. In 2016 the Klamath-Trinity Joint Unified School District had a student population that is 89% Native American with over 90% of students qualifying as socio-economically disadvantaged. In the 2014-2015 school year 100% of school dropouts were Native American and the rate of suspensions was twice that of non-Natives per capita (KTJUSD Impact-Aid Annual Reports). Hupa and other Indigenous children who attend these schools are subjected to punishment and ridicule for simply being themselves. The Hoopa Valley Tribal Education director told me of a non-Native teacher telling their class of kindergarteners that they would never go to college, students as young as 3rd grade being expelled, and students punished for speaking only a few words of their Indigenous language. It is clear that the colonial structure of the school, now the Klamath-Trinity Unified School District, remains intact.

Rather than do a typical damage and/or deficit-centered (Tuck, 2008) analysis of the current state of schooling for Na:tinixwe youth by spending lots of time analyzing statistics like test-scores, dropout rates, and disciplines rates I wish to put voices to the felt theory (Million, 2009) of these statistics and shift the way we think and act in relation to them. Over the past decade the KTUSD has been issuing yearly reports with such statistics. These reports have not made any meaningful positive impact on the community nor do they include any student or community voices (KTJUSD Impact-Aid Annual Reports). I want to shift the discourse from the 'problem' of Na:tinixwe education, being student performance in school, to the problem being at the structural level of the school. Even beyond the school itself, the problem being the settler colonial structure that I have been illuminating in the previous in this, and previous chapters. Smith writes about the hegemonic discourse of Indigenous students as the problem and not the colonial structure: "...learning difficulties and outcomes of underachievement are more likely to be explained as poor school choices by the student and parents rather than a structural anomaly related to issues such as the curriculum being a reflection of culturally selected forms knowledge." (Smith, 1997, p.244) These numbers of 'underachievement' are not about the capabilities of the Indigenous students, but rather the colonial structure they are forced to be a part of. Yet it is much more common for administrators, teachers and even families to explain these numbers as poor choices of individual students. When we shift the discourse, we question whether or not we even want to continue to uphold such statistics as having any validity to the type of educational project we might (re)envision for our youth. Why is it that we view students who ran away from boarding school as heroic and we villainize and punish students who refuse to go to school today? Smith explains these students within a frame of colonial resistance. He writes: "Within schooling, Maori resistance initiatives are discernible in the high levels of pupil absenteeism; truancy; early school leaving; disruptive school behavior; underachievement; and at times overt cultural expression." (1997, p.276). If we reframe our orientation to both the schools and our youth in this way it will take us to a very different place than aiming for high attendance and test scores in the current school structure.

In the 2015-2016 school year there were a total of 12 dropouts (a designation given by the report) district wide. One student was from Hoopa Valley Elementary School, 7 were from Captain John High School and 4 were from the Two Rivers Community School. 100% of these dropouts were Indian and 7 of them dropped out in the 12th grade. This number is up from 8 dropouts in the previous school year and 10 the year before according to the District Impact-Aid

Report. Only one dropout within the last three years was non-Indian. This data was obtained from the California Department of Education Website.

In the 2016-2017 school year high school graduation rate for Hoopa Valley High and Captain John were both around 94% this is above the state and county average. However, when one takes a closer look at how these figures are calculated the numbers may be highly inaccurate at tracking if our students are actually graduating and staying in school or not. According to the website a High School Cohort is defined as:

> The four-year cohort is based on the number of students who enter grade 9 for the first time adjusted by adding into the cohort any student who transfers in later during grade 9 or during the next three years and subtracting any students from the cohort who transfers out, emigrates to another country, transfers to a prison or juvenile facility, or dies during that same period. (California Department of Education)

This means that individual students are not tracked but rather just the overall number of students. These numbers only tell us how many students that are there in their freshman year and how many students graduate, not who goes where and why. Given that we view each of these students as an important member of our community we should definitely be tracking them individually to see where they end up otherwise, they will get lost in the counting system. In addition, this gives the school district the ability to boast such high numbers without attending to the individual needs of each and every student. Although these numbers may be inaccurate, I still want us to think through what a student dropping out of school might mean. Given that schooling continues to be colonial and a high stress environment it is no wonder that students would want to leave such an environment. Schooling through both curriculum as well as the practices of teachers and administration continues to punish our children for being themselves, and for responding to the trauma of colonization. Labeling these students as dropouts puts the blame on the students and does not help us understand the reasons why they might have dropped out in the first place.

Recognizing the importance of labels, and the ways in which "dropout" rates affect Black and Indigenous communities, education scholars have instead moved to the term pushout (Morris, 2016). School pushout can be defined as:

> Pushout refers to practices that contribute to students dropping out. These include unwelcoming and uncaring school environments and over-reliance on zero tolerance school policies that push students out of school. Historically, factors (e.g., suspension, expulsions, systemic inequality) that result in school pushout have disproportionately impacted students of color, students from low-income families, LGBT students and students in the juvenile justice and alternative education settings. (https://supportiveschooldiscipline.org/learn/reference-guides/pushout)
>
> Factors that can contribute to pushout are:

- lack of adequate resources and overcrowded schools
- overreliance on punitive measures such as suspensions and expulsions
- lack of adult support for students
- low expectations
- overemphasis on high stakes testing and test preparation
- lack of physical and emotional safety at school
- poor or limited teacher training and support
- inadequate curricula and interventions that fail to individual or special education needs
- lack of effective and equitable college preparatory and career counseling services
- lack of cultural and linguistic competence

Based on personal interviews, observations, and even the report from 1993, all of the schools where Hupa students are in the area, whether in the valley or not, check off every single factor that leads to them being pushouts. We must then think about this reframing in future work with the school and those labeled as at risk of dropping out. We must also collect more accurate and holistic data on who is actually being pushed out of school and why. Lastly, we must take more care for those students and their needs as we know there are lifelong consequences to not graduating from high school.

In addition, to "push-out" a concept that came up often in thinking about the school's current tactics with Na:tinixwe students was "push-through". Rather than taking the time to work with students to make sure that they are prepared to move to the next grade level teachers often push students through, most especially those that they don't want to deal with, on to the next grade level until they either become frustrated and leave or they graduate. However, these students are graduating without being given a chance to learn many of the skills they will need to live and work in today's world included reading, writing and basic math. This is of course not the students' fault but rather a system that as Gloria Ladson-Billings would say gives them "permission to fail." (2002) Tribal leader stated of the teachers: "if it's more difficult to deal with a student to actually take that time to make sure that they are learning to help them be successful in life" then teachers push them through. Taking time to really work with students "certainly doesn't appear to be a priority and that's really a failure." This is a failure of the teachers and structure and not the students.

School Discipline

In the 2016-2017 school year there were a total of 320 suspensions (175 of these being duplicates) and 3 expulsions. One Na:tinixwe educator stated: "Punishment seems to be the first response over there [at the school]." In the previous year there were 232 (106 being duplicates) and the year before that 469 suspensions (294 being duplicates). There is no expulsion data provided for the previous years. There has definitely been a significant drop in suspensions over the past three years with an increase back up this past school year. However, this data provided by the Impact-Aid Report also does not account for in-house suspensions, a practice that the district began to focus on in the 2015-2016 school year, which would explain the dramatic decrease. Males are more likely to get suspended and there is a consistent trend across the three years that students most often get suspended between 6_{th} and 9_{th} grade. In 2016-2017 HVHS, HES and CJ made up 65% of all suspensions in the district.

The number one "offense" for disciplinary action across all three school years, making up for 71% of all incidents in 2016-2017 was "disruption/defiance". This category is the only subjective category in which there is no material action that defines such an act and that it is completely up to the teacher's digression to define such an act. Education scholars have written about teachers abusing this category to control minoritized students. Wun writes:

> Less about controlling violence, these policies regulate students' non-violent movements, labeling expressions and forms of communication as "defiance" and "disobedience." Characterizations of what constitute "disobedience" or "defiance" are often subjective and defined by the adults. Despite the extensive list of discipline policies, only a few of them—particularly defiance and disobedience—typically affect Black students (2016, p. 12).

As reflected in the statistics this category targets Na:tinixwe students as well. Recall the colonial nature of schooling both in the past and present, Indigenous children are always inherently

positioned as a problem and in need of assimilation, punishments and/or elimination. One (grand)parent drew these connections:

> We need to realize that we're operating today with in the same structure as the boarding school if you think about what happened when kids wouldn't go to boarding school where they ran away from boarding school the parents and families would be punished. [Now]if you missed class or refused to bring them back in that structure then what happens: the parents get in trouble legally, the parents get SARBED ,and threaten to go to jail. But whose responsibility is that? They [the school] are supposed to have all of these resources and yet our kids are still running away in those meetings. At some point I decided hey this is not my fault and actually I should be suing you because you're failing my child.

In this example we can see this parent drawing connection between the structure of the boarding school system and the current day structure of the public-school system. She also brings up a great point about 'runaways'. Today in historical accounts of boarding schools, children who run away are often glorified and spoken of as brave survivors and yet, children who run away, 'ditch' or even drop out today are punished by both the school and their families and are labeled as troublemakers. This shouldn't be taken as me condoning these reactions but rather drawing these connections might help us better attend to our children and their responses and recognition of the violent colonial structure of the school they are attending.

In the school students know that often their teachers do not care about them and the curriculum (white American centered) is either not relevant to them or even directly violent to them through Na:tinixwe erasure. Therefore, their acts of "defiance" or "disobedience" can be read as a response to their colonial conditions that they are in turn further punished for through the use of this disciplinary category. It is no coincidence that over 92% of all suspensions were Indian children. One alarming trend is that the number of disciplinary incidents this past school year has doubled from the previous two years jumping from 559 to 1,145. One of our students from our ye-silin camps had a terrible experience where her medical condition resulted in her punishment under the justification of defiance. Her mother (Tehla:n) told us this story in one of our post-ye-silin camp conversations. The telling of the story is below:

Tehla:n- *Like when kiLna'dil was in 3rd grade. You know her she's very quiet she's very reserved and she does have epilepsy and she goes into these phases where she's just kinda spacey. But um when she was in 3rd grade her teacher. She shut down on her third grade teacher because she didn't want to talk to her cuz she didn't trust her, her third grade teacher told her well I'm gonna have to suspend you for….What did she say it is?*

Xutł'e'dung'-xa:sina:wh- *uhhh*

Jena:h and Tehla:n- *Defiance*

Tehla:n- *Defiance and she was like panicking she was stressed she was like I'm gonna get suspended. And I'm like did you throw a chair? Did you cuss at your teacher what did you do? And was like I wouldn't talk to her and that was it. And she was completely terrified.*

Whide:ch (Me)- *Did she get suspended then?*

Tehla:n- *She didn't get suspended because her aunt, because her aunty works there she went and ended up talking to her and I talked to Je:nah about it and she was like wait 'she's in third grade' she's like there's a law that you can't you cannot suspend a child third grade and younger for defiance. And I'm like she told her no I have to suspend you because you're being defiant because you're not talking to me and I'm like 'she doesn't trust you.'*

Xutł'e'dung'-xa:sina:wh- *Who was her teacher?*

Tehla:n- *It was Ms. X[3] at the time but I was like she doesn't trust you for some reason so she doesn't want to talk to you. She will talk to Mr. Y. She will talk to ya know Mr. Z. She would talk to anybody but she did not want to talk to her and she's like well 'she's being defiant. I have to suspend her.' And so it was like this big thing for a while. And she just came home stressed she was like 'I'm gonna be suspended. I'm a bad kid. I am gonna be suspended.' She didn't get suspended but it was a big issue.*

This 3rd grade Na:tinixwe student was punished for her unresponsiveness from her medical condition. She knew that she did not trust her teacher based off of these interactions and was then further punished for not wanting to confide in her teacher. As her mother stated she would talk to other adults in the school that she trusted but not her teacher. She then felt devastated that she would now be labeled a "bad kid". Thankfully she had a family that was able to have the access and resources to respond to the situation, so it didn't go any further than this and so that she wasn't actually suspended. However, who knows how emotionally damaging this may have been to her long-term. It also requires us to think about all of the children who do not have families with the same situations. Those children are subject to the whims of their teacher's punishment and the emotional toll that these punishments can take on them.

School Climate

As noted before there is valuable information that we can gain from the statistics in the Impact-Aid Reports, however, a big piece of what the reports don't tell us are the experiences of students. Some noteworthy statistics, found in the Whinist'e'-xoniwh Wellness Warriors Report compiled by the Hoopa Tribal Education Association, include: "According to the 2015-2016 KTJUSD Health Kids Survey, of the 11th grade participants, 24% reported that they had considered suicide in the last 12 months and 41% "experienced chronic sadness/hopelessnesss." 64% of those participants were American Indian/Alaska Native and attended Hoopa Valley High School." (p.2) They also stated that: "11th Grade participants self-reported that within 30 days prior to the survey date 38% had engaged in or drug use, 32% had participated in binge drinking, 24% had smoked cigarettes, and of all participants had been very drunk or high more than 7 times in their lives." (p.2) Current Hoopa Valley High School and Captain John High School principal Jennifer George stated: "I didn't know just how bad things were. I've had a few kids tell me that they don't want to live anymore based off of their experiences at the high school. There have been a few teachers who have told them that they aren't going to be anything in life unless they go to college." Students do not feel safe or welcome at school and in conjunction with many other things going on in their lives these experiences have been so bad they have considered taking their own lives. This is unacceptable and something has to change. I encourage us to look at these statistics not as isolated within the students who are having these experiences but rather that these behaviors and thoughts are a result of ongoing colonialism. Therefore, the intervention is needed not just on the individual level of the mental health of the individual student but also the structure(s) that continue to cause this stress and trauma in our community.

(Lack of) Accountability

All district Impact-Aid Reports state: "The district will solicit recommendations and suggestions from the Indian community at each school board meeting regarding the planning, development, and implementation of the educational programs assisted with Impact Aid funds."

[3] Names redacted.

The report continues: “The district encourages collaborative working relations with the Hoopa Valley, Yurok, Karuk, and Tsnungwe Tribes, the various tribal entities, and with the parents of children living on Indian lands. Designees of the district will meet on a regular basis informally and formally upon request with tribal entities at sites convenient to them within the school district.” Although according to conversations I’ve had, as well as community meetings I’ve attended, this is not happening at either the level of individuals, or tribal nations. If these meetings do ever take place tribal representatives are ignored, dismissed and even lied to. Despite countless attempts by the Hoopa Tribal Education Association to foster a more collaborative relationship the district continues to ignore its legal obligation. As a result the Hoopa Valley Tribe in consultation with the American Civil Liberties Union has taken action to report this lack of accountability to the state: “The state regulators found that KTJUSD failed to meaningfully describe the educational services it offers our high-need students, failed to explain how it used the majority of the $2.4 million in specific funding for high-need students, and failed to account for a significant portion of these special funds.” (Tracy, 2019) Yet despite this finding by the state the district continued, and continues now to refuse to consult with parents, community and the tribes in a meaningful way. To be clear, tribal grievances with the school district go far beyond financial accountability. Hoopa Valley Tribal Education director, Wha:t, (*my older sister*), Erika Tracy writes: “ Many feel that KTJUSD treats our children as “throw-away kids,” with punitive processes or apathetic and even dismissive attitudes towards the culturally responsive and trauma-informed education that our kids deserve.” (2019) Here Tracy is highlighting the structural issue of schooling's lack of care for our students, their well-being and identities. NDN Center Director Jenna Hailey stated: “I’ve heard a lot of parents say that they feel like the teachers don’t care and just kind of show up for the paycheck and aren’t invested in the kids or the community.” Whether or not teachers do care about their students, which I’m sure many of them do, the fact that parents feel that they don’t is a major issue.

Pushing students off their homeland

As a result of the district's constant failure to provide a quality education for all Na:tinixwe youth, some parents choose to send their children to schools with more resources upwards of an hour away from Na:tinixw. However, these schools are also majority white students and therefore many of these students face discrimination which in turn effects their individual and Na:tinixwe identity. In the particular example below this discrimination even affected her child’s will to learn Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe. One parent explains her child’s experience:

> At one point she had to go out to the coast to Jacoby Creek and she got bullied because you know we’re darker we’re brown so she got bullied for that and for about a month she didn’t want to speak. I would try to speak to her in Hupa and she would shake her head no. She would be like no and look around. So then after that I just kind of let it go. Then after about a month she was ready to do it and it made her back to being proud of who she was. It’s very important especially when leaving and going to the outside world to still have that self identity and being proud and rooted and standing straight up.

This particular parent who grew up on a different reservation was especially sensitive to the effect that schooling can have on language learning because she was punished as a child for speaking her other Indigenous language. She stated:

> When I was in kindergarten I got reprimanded for speaking my language. I went home and had my mom explain why and she said it was something that we could only speak in

our house. And that we would be punished if we spoke it outside the house so at a very young age I had to learn that distinction.

Within this example we can see two generations of Na:tinixwe women being punished and discouraged for Indigenous language use at school and in the world more generally. Neither of these women went to an Indian boarding school, so through their experiences we can also identify the lasting logic of elimination of Indigenous languages that continues despite the closure of such schools.

Student Experiences

I had conversations with students following each of our ye-silin camps about the camp and about their experiences at school. The majority of them attend Hoopa Valley Elementary School and were between the grades of Kindergarten to 4th grade at the time of our conversation. I end this section with a brief conversation between Ashtyn Colegrove and myself about Na:tinixwe experiences in college.

What do you like about school?

Students liked a variety of things about school. The majority of them liked school and had a love for learning. Including:

My teacher
Homework and learning
Ummm I like about school hanging out with my friends and art
Science and math
Math sometimes
School is about learning and playing.

One 6-year old student demonstrated an impressive theoretical critique of both his schooling experience and the goals of schooling.

Whide:ch (Me)*- Do you like school?*
Łiwh*- Yeah*
Whide:ch (Me)*- What do you like?*
Łiwh*- I have no idea*
Whide:ch (Me)*-What do you learn in school?*
Łiwh*- We just learn the stuff that we get our grades that's all we learn about*
Whide:ch (Me)*- You just learn stuff to get grades?*
Łiwh*- Yeah to get in grades*
Whide:ch (Me)*- Oh to move up in grades?*
Łiwh*- Yeah so our teacher knows that we're ready for that grade*

Although this student states that he does like school he can't tell me anything in particular that he likes about it. He is always highly aware that everything he is learning has been predetermined for him and that the entire structure is to learn these predetermined things to move to the next grade level. He is aware that he has very little choice in what and how he will learn.

What do you not like?

There is a definite culture of bullying currently happens at schools in Na:tinixw. One Na:tinixwe educator stated: "at the school the teachers mock one another, and they even mock the students." This 'mocking' seems to take place at the highest level of administration and then trickles down to the students, however, the students are the only ones who face consequences when mimicking

this behavior amongst the peers and directed at their teachers. Bullying was the number one concern students had and what they didn't like about school. Virtually all students named bullying as a response to this question.

I don't like that my cousin is always mean to me
Well I don't like when people bully other people
I don't like when people be rude
I don't like about school is bullys...lots of boys bully
I don't like my friend bossing me around

The students are very clear that they do not want to go to a school where they aren't treated well. Yet, as much of the analysis in this chapter highlights students aren't treated well in so many ways and we need to do better for them.

Do you learn Hupa language in school?

About half of the students said they learned some Hupa language in school while others said they did not. It is hard to know what students do or do not receive language instruction because it is based upon their individual teacher's choice. In theory they should all receive instruction so the fact that they aren't aware that they are receiving instruction speaks to the lack of time they are learning Hupa and the emphasis, or lack thereof, of the importance their teacher places on this class. In addition, certain classes receive small amounts of instruction from Hoopa Education staff at the request of the teacher. Lastly, some parents go into their child's classroom to provide instruction when they can. Therefore, it is the Na:tinixwe who are continuing to push and value Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe within the school while the majority of the teachers, administration, and overall structure of the school continues to devalue it. The Na:tinixwe continue to create and (re)create Sovereign Na:tinixwe Educational Spaces every day for the wellbeing of our children and language. This is demonstrated by one 6-year old student:

Whide:ch (Me)*- Do you learn hupa language at school?*
K'ige:ch*- No, they don't want Hupa language at my school.*
Whide:ch (Me)*- Do you know why?*
K'ige:ch*- Why?*
Whide:ch (Me)*- No I'm asking you if you know why?*
K'ige:ch*- Umm because it will bother everybody*

We can see that within this interaction the student is keenly aware that the Hupa language is not wanted at her school and that teachers express either explicitly, implicitly or both that it "bothers" them.

College

As some collaborators have noted, one of the positive aspects of the current state of education in the community: "we have a real college going atmosphere here now." This is a good thing in that it is now normal to go to college, however college can also be a site of suffering for Na:tinixwe students just as K-12 education. One Na:tinixwe woman, Ashtyn Colegrove, who in mainstream views would be considered as someone who "made it", and attended a prestigious University discussed her college experience in our conversation. She expressed the ways in which Hoopa Valley High School failed her: "I wasn't super prepared for going to college after going to school here." However, she also stated that that wasn't the biggest struggle she had in college, but rather having to constantly explain who she was and where she came from and facing erasure in the classroom as a Na:tinixwe woman. She described how the Na:tinixwe

knoweldge that she brought with her into the classroom was devalued. “When I would challenge something in class based off of things that I knew someone would respond ‘well it’s not in the textbook so it’s not right’ and I would respond ‘well this [knowledge] is older than any textbook.”’ In this experience we not only see a denial of the legitimacy of Na:tinixwe knowledge but also her powerful assertive challenge to the notion that knowledge must be written down. Our knowledge predates alphabetic writing on this continent.

This same woman and I had an extensive conversation around the timing of when, as Na:tinixwe students, we find out that Western systems and structures of education are against us. As I mentioned in my introduction, I didn’t realize this until I went to college. She stated: “it’s acceptable to question everything in college.” However, students that question their schooling before this have very different consequences and are often punished for questioning authority (think back to the high rates of punishment for defiance). Our conversation continued:

Ashtyn*: The kids might not say that the school hates me or whatever but they feel it. And that’s the really sad part. It’s there and it’s part of the system now you have to go through it if you want to get to these certain areas but that’s a super shitty reason to tell a kid to keep going to school. ‘Just suck it up and deal with it one day it will be ok.’*

Whide:ch (Me)*: and it might not be ok” thinking of the many ways that colonization is sure to affect their lives with or without a degree..*

Ashtyn: *Right...*

Whide:ch (Me)*: ...if you find out this place hates me when you’re in 8th grade and you start to question things and you drop out that’s a whole other life result.*

These students should be supported in their consciousness rather than punished and forced to suffer based on their responses to it.

One last important point that came out of this conversation with this Colegrove in discussing the “worth of schooling” was the time and resources college requires as compared to the lack of resources that exist as a result of colonization in the community. Our conversation continued:

Ashtyn*: Like I feel like I made it all the way through [this elite institution] with this fake it until you make it mentality. Everything that I wanted to do there is what I’m doing here [working for the tribe] so did I like just go to get this paper so that I can say now you have to believe me? I didn’t learn this there but I have the paper that says that I did. It’s frustrating that you have to do that. That you have to jump through all these hoops for people to believe you and like I feel like what college was, was learning how to translate this other thing that fits a little better into a box so that people can understand it. And that seems silly. It’s a lot of money and it’s a lot of time and energy for…*

Whide:ch (Me)*:...when time and energy is needed in so many different places.”*

Ashtyn*: Yeah like all the time and energy and money that was sunk into going to college for four and a half years what could that have gone to in Hoopa.*

What do we want for our youth? What do we want for our community? The following chapter will explore our visions for what we want for our youth and the final chapter will show the ways that we were able to begin to put them into praxis. It is clear that the settler-serving institution of school at all levels has not benefited our youth nor our community as a whole. So, let’s move toward something else together.

Ch. 4 How do we (re)envision education for hupa youth?: (Re)newal and (Re)expansion of Sovereign Na:tinixwe Educational Spaces

Ashtyn- *I remember in elementary school I had a few really good teachers who did a lot of local history but that was really early in like in 3rd or 4th grade and then I had that expectation but it was never really met after that. It was really weird to me that that felt so separate because it's not like I'm going to school so far from my reservation it's like I'm right in the middle of it and it's not like a reservation we were moved to so why isn't this a part of what we're learning. And like even the things that they could switch they never did like the things that were important here like the forest and the river that was very minimally involved and I remember being frustrated with that all the way through school and then...ugghhh…I don't know I never understood why they couldn't focus more on that because it wasn't like we were meeting normal standards anyways cuz we always did so low.*

Whide:ch(Me)- *Right, that's a good point*

(We both laugh)

Whide:ch (Me)- *If we're not doing it we should just not do it*

Ashtyn- *If we're not doing what they tell us to do we might as well just go all the way and do something that's useful because some of the kids around here are super frustrated with school. They are like 'oh I'm not smart enough' 'oh I don't get it' and then quit and then the teacher just let's them and they're like 'oh they're just naughty' or they 'they don't want to be here'.*

Introduction

I want to begin this chapter with another excerpt from the conversation that I had with Ashtyn Colegrove. This excerpt not only exemplifies my conversational method, as I am not simply asking questions but expanding upon what she is saying from my position as a community member with equal investment in the answer, but it also charts an important theoretical critique and vision for education in Na:tinixw. Ashtyn highlights what we may now call a Sovereign Na:tinixwe Educational Space. It was through her experience within this space that she was able to see the major contrast between that experience and the rest of the spaces in her schooling at Hoopa Valley Elementary School and Hoopa Valley High school. She noted, along with many other community members, how separate the school and its curriculum felt from Na:tinixw, especially given that it was in Na:tinixw. Na:tinixw including all aspects of ninisa:n, like "the things that were important here like forest and the river" were "very minimally included". Here Ashtyn is very aware of the fact that the exclusion of Na:tinixwe knowledge, or really any knowledge related to the local world around them, was a conscious and active decision being made and remade everyday. She states: "even the things they could switch", realizing that state standards are a major limitation on the school in what they can teach, yet even those small things that could have been switched to reflect the place and the people of that place were not. In her most poignant critique and vision for what formal education in Hoopa could be she stated slyly: "I never understood why we couldn't focus more on that because it wasn't like we were meeting normal standards anyways cuz we always did so low." Following her statement, I affirmed her words and we both laughed. Ashtyn's words: "it wasn't like we were meeting normal standards anyways" invokes the consistently with which KTJUSD schools do not meet

state standards. However, rather see this as a bad thing Ashtyn uses sarcasm to point out the irony that although administration most often points to the pressures from state standards as to why more localized knowledge is not included in the curriculum, attempts to bring up test scores have worked very minimally over the last few decades. Sarcasm and humor to make major theoretical points was also something that took place multiple times in my conversations with different Na:tinixwe, a pedagogy of laughing through the trauma and severity of our current situation to imagine a worth otherwise. I will point out other examples of the use of this pedagogy through the words of my collaborators in our conversations.

Schools in Na:tinixw continue to have below average standardized scores as a whole. However, I want us to reframe the discourse around test scores being a problem of the students, to the problem being the structure. I want us to view this lack of adherence to national and state standards as a refusal by the students to play the state's games. Students don't care about the tests because the school doesn't care about them. The information on the tests is violent to their lived realities through erasure of Na:tinixwe knowledge and the propping up of settler colonial stories and approaches (Grande, 2015). What Ashtyn seems to be proposing here is an embrace of that student refusal to adhere to the standards of the settler state and to create our own with our own knowledge at the center. Leanne Simpson makes a similar call to her Nishaabeg people: "Nishnaabeg must stop looking for legitimacy within the colonizer's education system and return to valuing and recognizing our individual and collective intelligence on its own merits and on our own terms." (2014, p. 22) Ashtyn in her words above, and I in this chapter, want to make a similar call for the Na:tinixwe to stop looking for legitimacy within the colonizer's education system, stop valuing and legitimating their metrics of success, which are designed to view our children as problem, and return to and remake our own intelligence on "its own merits and on our own terms." This chapter is the beginning of charting this process of remaking, or (re)envisioning what we want education to be for our youth based on what it has been, and what we might want it to be again. To be clear this is not a process of "indigenizing school" or even "Na:tinixwe-izing school" and settler school's standards. We are not translating the colonial structure to fit our needs. We are starting with our needs, desires, visions and (re)building the structures based from there. Of course, we are still in a settler colonial society and so if we must make this word legible to outsiders so that it may exist, that is something we might have any choice but to do. However, we don't start with that assumption. We start with us.

Ashtyn reiterates the students' refusal, and her desire for an embrace of that refusal, when she states: "If we're not doing what they tell us to do we might as well just go all the way and do something that's useful because some of the kids around here are super frustrated with school." She situated settler curriculum as something that is *not* useful, while Na:tinixwe knowledge is viewed as the *most* useful in her critique. In the previous chapter we heard of an elder who, internalizing the rhetoric of the boarding school, named Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe as not having a place in today's world. However, we can see that the project of the boarding schools did not work, Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe and Na:tinixwe knowledge as a whole continues to have a vital place in our world today.

Roadmap of Chapter

In the previous chapter I put forth a history of education in Na:tinixw starting with traditional modes of education that took place in our community for thousands of years and ending with present day experiences and issues. Throughout Chapter 3, I highlighted the Sovereign Na:tinixwe Educational Spaces that Na:tinixwe have continued to create and recreate

for the survival of our people and knowledge, as well as their limitations given the colonial schools that they must exist within. In this chapter I will begin to weave together (re)envisionings of Na:tinixwe education based on the conversations I had in the community. (Re)envisioning is a praxis of working against, in spite of, outside of, and after settler colonial education and schooling. I had conversations with a wide variety of collaborators including students, teachers, administrators, community educators, elders, parents, cousins, siblings, aunties, uncles, grandparents. Out of those that I spoke to of course held many of these roles at the same time. The ages of my collaborators ranged from 5-85. There were of course some that I wasn't able to hear from to be able to contribute to this vision for this dissertation, however, I plan to continue this work informally after this project is finished. My investment in this (re)envisioning process remains far after this dissertation has been filed. This chapter will explore key themes that emerged from these conversations as well as observations done in our ye-silin camps. These themes that emerged were: a refusal of the current colonial structure, safety for students, land and language, a Na:tinixwe approach to what will be taught and how, expansion of Na:tinixwe Sovereign Educational Spaces without limits, intergenerational knowledge transmission, cultivations of everyone's individual and collective gifts, and student centered and driven education. Of course, these themes are very much overlapping and so I want us to think of them not as separate but rather as woven together like a basket, or flowing together like a river, moving toward a common goal of community, land and language wellbeing.

Community Meeting Visions

As a way to enact community reciprocity I was a notetaker at a Community Education meeting hosted by the Hoopa Tribal Education Association (HTEA) on June 5th, 2018. This was a small gathering in the community college common room. We all sat on old couches and chairs around a big notepad throwing out ideas about how we could make the school a better place for the students there. There were both Na:tinixwe and non-Na:tinixwe present. Just to the left on the wall were the many pictures used for the Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe Accelerated Second Language Acquisition lessons that the HTEA programs provide. Participants were HTEA staff, parents, Klamath-Trinity Joint Unified School District teachers, and concerned family members. The rallying cry of the room was to make the administration more accountable to the community. From each person's positionality to the school and the community each of them felt unheard and disrespected. Overall it seemed like at the most basic level everyone just wanted their kids to be safe, treated well and to have a teacher that cared about them. This shouldn't be a major request. In fact, these are stated in the goals of the district, but they are not delivering on any of them (Yearly KTJUSD Report). Each person at the meeting was ready to do whatever it took to change the conditions of the school and I believe there are many others who feel the same way. Below is a summarized list of community suggestions from that meeting:

- Grading on individual ability and not standards
- Hire teachers from the community
- The focus should be first and foremost on the kids and their wellbeing
- Implement more create curriculum
    - i.e. Have students engage with the community garden
- Conduct a community input survey with parents and staff at the very least
- Create a class for new employees to get acquainted with the community
- Make the school board accountable by a recall
- Possibly host workshops on how to advocate for your child

- Write a community letter to district w/ timeline and ultimatum
- Possibly pursue a class action lawsuit

Within these suggestions we can see a vision for a complete restructuring of assessment, hiring of teachers, school priorities, and curriculum. In addition, they were very much aware that they would have to be on the defense for their kids and needed to leverage whatever power and rights they had in calling for an advocacy training, recalling members on the school board and possibly even pursuing legal action if attempts to reach out to the school board and administration stalled. Based on the suggestions from this meeting, and other meetings prior, we created a letter that we could all sign at the end of the meeting that would later be typed up and given to the school board.

It was in this meeting that I knew that we had the power and vision to run our own school, and yet we all felt entirely disempowered by the fact our students were trapped in this school. It did feel as if the discourse of what was possible was still very much about reforming the school rather than refusing it. This is one of the reasons I want to shift the discourse around what is possible and what is realistic from a discourse of reform to a discourse of refusal of the colonial school. Refusal both within it these schools and simultaneously building something to replace them. A praxis of such refusal education planning would require us to take into account all visions and suggestions for improving conditions for Na:tinixwe youth. It would be easy to dismiss some of these suggestions by saying that the school is colonial and will continue to operate in the way that it always has. It is much more complicated than that. We have seen in the previous chapter as a result of Na:tinixwe pushing boundaries some changes are made possible within the structure. There are things we can and should push more. These are legitimate concerns that the district and state have policies in place to address and if they don't there are legal options that should be pursued. We need to be pushing to fulfill the full potential of what the school could be despite knowing the limits of what it will never be given the settler state control.

(Re)envisioning as refusal to what has been forced on us

While the discourse within the community meeting was one of reformation, there was definitely an emerging discourse of refusal that came up within many of my conversations. Ashtyn Colegrove stated: "I feel like if I could do away with the whole education system I would. There's not really any part of it where I'm like well I guess that kinda makes sense." She rejected the commonsense narrative of progress that schooling has overall gotten better for our people when asked what parts of the system she would keep and what she should do away with. There is nothing she would want to keep despite these narratives. However, Colegrove knew that those who make such critiques are often dismissed right away for not having answers about an alternative. She continued: "But I feel like if I say that, then I have to come up with some better suggestions but I don't. I just know that the education system that's in place right now doesn't work." I want to make space in our emerging discourse for critique without quick answers, to make space for refusal. As described in Chapter 2, refusal is not just a no, but is often a generative place to imagine against the violence done to our communities (A.Simpson, 2014). If we are serious about (re)creating decolonial Na:tinixwe Sovereign Educational Spaces we must allow ourselves to begin to imagine at the place of refusing the violence schooling has enacted on our people. This journey will be complex so we must insist on time and care for planning, not quick fix solutions.

A similar (re)envisioning of education came out in an exchange during one of our post-camp debrief conversations when I posed the question to the group: *What would your ideal vision of education for the community be?* Jena:h responded: "Opposite of everything at the school", then the entire group laughed. Mida:ch reiterated: "Just wipe it out and start over." Once again, we are seeing this desire to refuse colonial schooling not just in its curriculum but in entirety. This is also another example of these Na:tinixwe educators enacting a pedagogy of humor to get across an important theoretical approach. It is hard to explain exactly how this pedagogy operates, it is something that I have learned to enact and learned from simply growing up in Na:tinixw. Vine Deloria Jr. writes about Indian humor across Indian country as a product of survival: "When a people can laugh at themselves and laugh at others and hold all aspects of life together without letting anybody drive them to extremes, then it seems to me that that people can survive." (1969, p. 53) Similarly, these moments of sarcasm and humor come at times of total refusal of what has been given to us. Here we have to laugh through the history and ongoing struggles of our students to keep moving forward. It could be very easy to be overwhelmed to the point of inaction given how much we have been through as a people. However, without continuing on I wouldn't be here today and so this is how we continue on through the hard times and teach our future generations to do the same.

Melodie George-Moore, an educator at Hoopa Valley High School for decades, recognizes that if we want our own uniquely Na:tinixwe education system what we have to do is go against the entire history of education (read schooling) in the United States. She stated, in favor of a decentralized and more community-based model: "Decentralizing education goes against all the history of education in the United States though where they took the land and right in the middle is the school and you send your kids to the school. You have to go against that." Her words "they took the land", settler colonizers being the implied "they" in this statement, juxtaposed with "you send your kids to school" also succinctly critiques the colonial core of this history of education we saw in the previous chapter not just for Na:tinixwe but for all Indigenous peoples in what is now known as the United States. George-Moore continues with her (re)envisioning against this history: "Making it more decentralized. [You just decide] we are gonna meet in so and so's kitchen and that's what we're gonna do." In this (re)envisioning legitimate knowledge is not held only in the socially constructed place that became the school, rather knowledge is dispersed throughout the entire community in places like kitchens in homes. Knowledge is also decentralized in that it is not contained in certain people in a specific place but rather everyone is a valid holder of knowledge no matter who or where they are.

Refusal of settler curriculum

Many visions for education came in part from critiques of the current system and what was *not* being taught. Wha:t, *(my older sister)* May graduated from Hoopa Valley High School in the 1990s. Her son graduated from HVHS and her daughter is currently a senior there. One major critique of the current curriculum was that the *real* history of California was not being taught. Wha:t stated:

> Sometimes I feel like our kids are at a disadvantage they may have gaps because they don't learn the history. It's not a good history but it needs to be known. Because you know for 4th grade they learn about the missions but I don't really feel like they *learn about the missions* and California history they just 'say oh they were farmers oh they were this' but they aren't really told that they were slaves and we were fortunate not to be

> a part of that but there's a lot about california history that's bad and the United States in general but to have some knowledge base to be able to talk about those things.

Wha:t, May voices her disappointment with the quality of the curriculum that students are receiving, even if they do learn about important topics such as the missions they aren't really learning about the violence of those missions and the ways that those institutions continue to have major effects in our communities. Kishan Lara-Cooper voiced a similar sentiment: "The first step is acknowledging the history and education's role in a lot of intergenerational ongoing oppression of today and we're not even to that point yet." There are multiple history classes being taught at HVHS, all of which must align with the state and Common Core standards, yet very few of which actually cover the very relevant history of the Na:tinixwe, Indigenous peoples of California, or Indigenous peoples more broadly. In my conversations with Wha:t and Lara-Cooper we talked about the power of knowing this history and how it helps to illuminate so many of the current issues we see in our community today.

Wha:t and I also discussed how she had to learn much of this history on her own as an adult through her own research. As she was telling me about the importance of this history, I realized I did not know much of this history prior to undertaking this dissertation. I too have had to do my own research about our history. As I was learning about the genocides of the Indigenous peoples of California, I was traveling from Ohlone Territory (Berkeley, CA) to Na:tinixw, to Umpqua Territory (Winston, OR where my Aunt Verdena lives), passing through many other nations territory along these routes. I could feel the pain that is painted in blood across the landscapes I traveled through, reminded over and over again that these problems are not unique to the Na:tiniwe, and in many ways we are privileged to maintain our original homelands and still have our language and ceremonies as major parts of our lives today. Our vision for Na:tinxwe education isn't just about teaching about Na:tinixwe but to fully understand ourselves so that we can begin to understand and support others around us. In a (re)newed vision for education for Na:tinixwe youth we would teach and learn about the intertwining and overlapping settler colonial history of our place and the places around us.

Safe Space(s) of love and care: Safety for youth, language and land

Colonial schools continue to be structured for our elimination as Na:tinixwe (see Chapter 3). In addition to Na:tinixwe students, Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe and Na:tinixw have been targeted for elimination. Therefore, Na:tinixwe (our people), our language and our land have never been safe within settler state schools. As a result, the safety of students, land and language are the primary concern of many Na:tinixwe in their (re)envisionings for education in our community. I want us to think about safety in as many different ways as we can. This means that their basic physical needs are being met. This means that their wellbeing is prioritized: physically, mentally and spiritually. This means that they are treated with love and care and who they are and where they come from are fully acknowledged and nurtured. This of course does not mean that there will not be any issues but rather than those issues will be approached with an ethic of care for that child rather than seeing them as a problem, a "troubled child", or an underachiever. No child is seen as disposable, to be punished, or pushed out. Each child is a vital part of our community and has a tremendous amount to offer no matter what issues they may be facing.

Safety of k'iwinya'ya:n, xine:wh and ninisa:n was something that was expressed by collaborators over and over again. Often in response to expressing the many ways that Na:tinixwe students are currently feeling unsafe. A dialogue between NohołDiniłayding-Niwho:ngxw (NDN) center staff demonstrates the student distress, but also the many ways that

the NDN center is able to provide a SNES where students can feel safe to rest at their program in the literal and metaphorical space they have created for them.

Xutł'e'dung'-xa:sina:wh- *I feel like the kids...just seem more tired and drained by the time they get to the program (after school).*

Tehla:n- *They're stressed*

Jena:h- *Or they've had horrible days, or they are crying cuz their teacher cut up their picture.*

Xutł'e'dung'-xa:sina:wh- *Or 'the teacher doesn't trust me', or 'I feel like the teacher doesn't like me.' They perceive when there's a slight or someone's being favored over them and the teachers will do that. There's some days where we'll have something fun to do [at the program] and they're like 'no I don't want to.' 'I just want to lay here.' And I think that if they had more stuff that was connected to their culture that they could learn about or maybe just be immersed in while they're in school so when they come to our programs they're not drained they're not like 'god I just don't want to do anything today' Cuz there have been a couple of times where some of the kids, not all of them at the same time, but a couple of them will just be like no I don't want to do nothing. You know, 'I'm upset.'*

Tehla:n- *I feel like mental health is like a huge thing right now to where it's like there's this big gap and there's nobody to help. But even just being out here makes you feel better just in general.*

Xutł'e'dung'-xa:sina:wh- *Some of those kids have anxiety like bad, like hard*

Mida:ch- *Yeah a lot of kids do*

Xutł'e'dung'-xa:sina:wh- *I feel like yeah as an adult you get that cuz you have all these things to do but as a kid you should never have anxiety. Be a kid! I feel so bad when they do and I feel like the school does contribute to that. Because they are out of their natural environment they are away from their mom and dad so when they get to school they get treated differently. Like my nieces and nephews they're not used to people or adults being like [makes a yelling posture] to them. And so whenever an adult does they get scared and they get frustrated. They come home and say 'oh my teacher or so and so did this and I'm so upset.' So they're not used to that. My dad always talks about how Native kids weren't ever treated the way that our colonizers treated their children. Like we never treated our kids the way they do ya know. Like we never sat them down and just scolded them for just being 'a bad kid!' we sat them down and maybe talked to them and maybe told them a story to show them that maybe their actions weren't really ok. They would get it without being like oh yeah I'm a bad person. Cuz at the school those kids get detention for little things and they'll get in trouble for little things and it makes them feel bad.*

There are so many key theoretical points and critiques being made within this exchange. The first is that our Na:tinixwe youth are not safe in school. The environment they have to endure in school "drains them" so that by the time they get to the NDN center after school program they have nothing left to give. So often times, although they may have lots of fun and important programming scheduled, the students are too exhausted to do anything and just want to do "nothing." What is also important to note is the fact that these students feel comfortable enough within the SNES of the NDN Center to express their feelings and know that they will be met with compassion and action, even if that action is as simple as letting them rest. They are often not allowed to, or at least highly discouraged to express such feelings, and definitely not able to rest at school. Of course many students also bring a lot of what is going on in their home lives that may be contributing to this exhaustion, but the fact that they cannot rest and are expected to push through the day and learn at full capacity, tells the kids this is not a safe space

for them to express their true emotional or physical states. Not only are they unable to rest at school; but the school itself is often a major source of stress for the students.

As Tehla:n mentions "they're stressed." Jena:h references an incident that happened just days before our conversation was taking place in which a student of their program had their teacher cut up a picture that they were drawing in front of the entire class. This particular student was a student at our second ye-silin camp and is a truly gifted artist. She understandably was devastated that her teacher (non-Native) would destroy her creation and humiliate her in front of her peers. These type of scare tactics are detrimental to student self-esteem as well as student trust in their teacher. As Xutł'e'dung'-xa:sina:wh reminds us, teachers don't have to express their disdain for students directly, but students can still perceive these feelings, and they weigh heavy on them. In the community meeting I mentioned above there were many parents complaining that they were frustrated with how the teachers (most of them white from out of the area) treat their students. Xutł'e'dung'-xa:sina:wh then connects parent frustration to the ways in which this tenuous learning environment exhaust the students. However, it isn't just the teacher-student interactions that contribute to this tenuous environment but also the absence of Na:tinixwe knowledge. Xutł'e'dung'-xa:sina:wh recognizes the violence of this absence, as well as the healing potential that Na:tinixwe knowledge possess.

Tehla:n also recognizes the current gap of mental health services within the school. It is also important to highlight that many of the recent mental health initiatives taking place in schools in Hoopa have been headed by the Hoopa Tribal Education Association. The Trauma Informed Movement group is one of these initiatives that has been able to add a reflection room to both the Hoopa Valley Elementary School and Hoopa Valley High School where students can choose to go if they need a break from the classroom. However, many of these initiatives have been very hard to implement and get buy-in from teachers, and administrators to take part in them fully.

In Tehla:n's second statement: "Even just being out here makes you feel better in general" we see the beginnings of a (re)envisioning of what safety will look like, being outside is one major piece of this vision. As will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter there was a dramatic difference between the temperaments of our students when we conducted our ye-silin camp indoors and outdoors. In our second ye-silin camp two out of three days were outside so we were constantly engaging with the land and we could all feel the difference in our own moods as well. We just felt better. Lastly, Xutł'e'dung'-xa:sina:wh gives us an alternative to the ways that students are currently disciplined which are having very negative effects on their mental health. She states:

> My dad always talks about how Native kids weren't ever treated the way that our colonizers treated their children. Like we never treated our kids the way they do ya know. Like we never sat them down and just scolded them for just being 'a bad kid!' we sat them down and maybe talked to them and maybe told them a story to show them that maybe their actions weren't really ok.

Here we can see a divergence in the ways that Indigenous (specifically Na:tinixwe) people ontologically understand how children should be treated and those of the settler colonizers. This is an example of an entirely different approach to interacting with children while still holding them accountable for their actions. Rather than punish the individual child or make them feel bad about themselves and what they did, they are encouraged to think about their actions in the collective sense and the ways in which these affect the entire community, most often through stories. Other community members voiced opposition to the current way that students are

supposed to be held accountable. Wha:dichwing Linda stated: “I think that they need to have a room at school where they’re acting up in the classroom instead of sending them home because they’re getting out of stuff.” She was referring to their current suspension policy where students are sent home but not always told what they did wrong in a way that they are able to learn from it.

In both Tehla:n and Xu’tl’e dung- xasina:w’s statements we can see the importance of the (re)envisioning framework rather than just envisioning. If we recall from Chapter 3 engaging with the land and stories were both central to the traditional Na:tinixwe education model. Therefore, these are not new ideas but rather ones that we want to make central once again from our ancestors. During another conversation Xutɬ’e’dung’-xa:sina:wh stated: “growing up my grandma just told me that it was so important to take care of yourself physically, mentally, spiritually and we just need a place where they can express and take care of themselves.” This place is somewhere that we are hoping to (re)build as a place for our Na:tinixwe youth to be able to take care of themselves in whatever ways that they need in a world that is not safe for them.

Physical Safety

A (re)envisioned definition of safety for Na:tinixwe youth be both a physical and philosophical place and space for them. The physicality of this place is also important to think about, as place is central to us as Na:tinixwe, and yet has been taken from us in so many ways, especially when it comes to the project of schooling. One example of this is the recent discovery of black mold in virtually all sites of KTJUSD. Black mold is highly toxic and yet students have been expected to learn in these classrooms for years. This highlights the ways in which their physical wellbeing is entirely deprioritized by KTJUSD. Following the discovery of the black mold students were pushed and pulled in so many directions from moving to classroom is portable trailers, to school closures, all the while students were expected to keep up on their schoolwork. Jena:h invoking this catastrophe stated in her (re)envisioning: “safe newer and clean facilities.” Wha:t May also mentioned this incident in our conversation as well: “It can be improved having the school redone with mold and having a lot of the school closures it’s somewhat like a jail now even with them remodeling now it was like my child was fenced in. And so I didn’t think that was very ya know ideal.” This reference back to the physical space of the school being “like a jail” also reminds us of Winnie George- ne’in’s experience in the Hoopa Indian Boarding School and the Xontah-chwa:xołwil, or what she called ‘the jail’ where you would be thrown for speaking Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe. For Na:tinixwe in many ways that school has always been a jail and continues to be today. The physical layout of a space says so an immense amount about what is happening in that space. Is it a welcoming space? Is it accessible to everyone? Is it shaped in a way where there is one person to pay attention to, or it is set up so that we can all see one another? In our (re)envisioning of education we must think about what this space both looks and feels like, knowing that it will most likely be multiple spaces, which will also be an important departure from the current model.

Caring Teachers

Wha:dichwing Linda expressed her worry for the current and past teachers in the school: “I know that it used to be we would have a meeting with the teachers where they would complain about everything. I don’t really know why they would teach if they hate it so much.” As a past employee of the KTJUSD and a grandparent to many students there she can also feel the ways that many teachers do not seem to care for their jobs let alone the students. I followed up: “So

you think getting teachers that actually want to be here?" She nodded her head vigorously in affirmation. Wha:t Erika Tracy, as the director of the Hoopa Tribal Education Association, has dealt with many issues with teachers in a district in various capacities including professional development to orient them with our community. She stated: "I think there's a lot of fear there too they [teachers from outside the community (most often white)] are afraid to talk to us, ask questions, make mistakes, or even drive downtown." Tropes about "savage" Indians on the "rez" are still very prevalent in the surrounding area which leads to teachers not only misunderstanding their students but also unwilling or even afraid to learn about them or speak to their families.

Tehla:n, as both a parent and as an NDN center educator at the time, stated her (re)envisioning for teachers of our students: "For some reason a lot of kids respect and seem to stay on track with somebody who is a Native teacher. Ideally that would be awesome to have teachers that have the same background. They know these kids and they know because they've lived it they know the lifestyle and they know where these kids are coming from." Although having an Indigenous teacher doesn't necessarily mean that they will care and understand for students, the chances that they will as opposed to a non-Native teacher increases exponentially. Being from Na:tinixwe is a very specific experience that is unlike any other in the world. There is both a history of settler colonialism as well as survivance that we are inheriting, that these students may not understand but are living each and every day. I can speak from my personal experience as a graduate of both Hoopa Valley Elementary School and Hoopa Valley High School that my Na:tinixwe teachers were those that understood me the most and made those SNESs that I would not have been exposed to otherwise. Students feel this and are often disconnected from their teachers, which from the previous quotes then leads to stress, distrust and an overall tenuous learning environment. Tehla:n continued on about the importance of having a teacher from your community: "So they can sit down with them and say I know where you're coming from, I was there too and look at me I went to school and now I'm back here." Just by the fact that many of the teachers are not from the community this already gives the message to the students that those in our community are not qualified enough to teach them. However, as Tehla:n suggests having a teacher from your own community who understands who you are really helps with whatever else you are going through in your life and actually makes you want to learn from them.

Having someone who knows who you are and actually cares, and even loves you as a teacher or mentor, was both a desire of the community as well as a (re)envisioning of what education could be for Na:tinixwe students. Those that we would consider to be teachers in Na:tinixwe model of education would inherently know who you are, and love and care for you as they were your family. However, as noted above many teachers in the current schooling system come from outside of the community, are often white, and don't know anything about Na:tinixwe or Na:tinixw. That means that even if they do want to love or care for their students, they might not be able to do so in a way that will meaningfully support them because they will be relying on their training from settler serving institutions. Consequentially, in this (re)envisioning we want to get back to this place where those considered teachers know students, and their people, and know how to best support them based on that.

Care for both students and care for the language were often spoken about together. Jena:h articulated for her (re)envisioning of education: "that it's taught in the language and that there's care for the kids. It's really basic stuff." In her vision safety and care for the language and students are at the forefront. One 7-year-old student in their (re)envisioning stated: "Have everybody be nice to each other and get a long and share…." I responded: "That's a good idea."

She then declared: “AND MORE HUPA LANGUAGE.” Just as the targeting of the language and children were connected so too are their healing and safety.

Healthy Relationship: Reciprocity and Responsibility

Having good healthy relationships with everyone at school including students, teachers and administrators was something that many students in their visions expressed. As mentioned in the previous chapter bullying was one of the number one concerns of virtually all students that I talked to. Yet, many of the adults around them believed that many of the root causes of this bullying was students observing how the adults bully one another, and even some students, then students think it is acceptable to treat one another in the same way. Another student stated: “I would have like three playgrounds and one is a special one for the people who are nice to other people and in the classroom it looks like there are three different subjects that you can do. There’s art, language and umm science and math. And there’s one room for the people that bully at school.” “There’s a different room for them?” I asked. “Yeah” they responded. Yet another stated: “I would make a school that would teach people to not be rude to others.” Others (re)envisioned: “For everybody to be nice to each other,” “No bullying,” and “In school I’d probably change no more bullying...Cuz I don’t like when people bully.” Modeling positive relationships and maybe even more importantly modeling positive conflict resolution strategies has to start at the level of the adults. This should be key to any (re)envisioning of Na:tinixwe education at the request of the current students. There are many Na:tinixwe methods of modeling such behaviors that could and should be reincorporated as a part of this (re)envisioned space. One example would be “settle-up”, a Na:tinixwe conflict resolution strategy in which someone is offered payment for offending someone else. There is an adapted version of settle up that is supposed to be taking place at the Hoopa Elementary School and Hoopa Valley High School. However according to both students and teachers it rarely ever is enforced. This is yet another example of a safety zone around Na:tinixwe knowledge that continues to be enforced at KTJUSD. Although there is a policy in place for it, in praxis it does not exist.

Xutł’e’dung’-xa:sina:wh tells us her (re)envisioning not just for education but for relationships more generally in our community. She articulated: “We took care of each other...we all worked together...the leaders of every village made sure that everyone had something before they did.” She continued: “My mom used to tell me that the widows, the orphans and the single parents were taken care of before everyone else, then everybody else took what they needed. It wasn’t like oh you don’t know or you don’t have the means so you can’t have.’ ‘It was we all have.’” Everyone in our community was responsible for one another. Education was a process in which you learned to practice this responsibility each and every day. Those in positions of authority, leaders or even teachers in the context of our discussion, were those with the primary responsibility to make sure that everyone was cared for in the most holistic sense of the word. They made sure that the basic needs of all their people were attended to and those in most need would be prioritized. In this (re)envisioning those who need the most support are put first and wellness is not based on individual needs but rather those of the entire community. If one of us is not well that we are all not well.

Safety, Sovereignty and Survival Knowledge

One final point about safety that I want to make in relation to these (re)envisionings are the fact that we continue to live in a settler colonial state, and even if we are able to create this/these space(s), we also need to make survival and the mitigation of violence against our

people key in order to continue to create a world in which these are no longer necessary. This is the ultimate (re)envisioning, however, we know that we are nowhere near that time or place now. Another important piece to this (re)envisioning process is that it is a process that never stops. We know that power is continually changing its form, shape and methods and so our (re)envisionings must do the same.

When I asked Wha:dichwing Verdena what one of the most important lessons she thought we should teach Na:tinixwe youth she gave an answer that surprised me. Although many of our conversations centered around the importance of Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe and Na:tinixwe knowledge more generally, her lesson in this particular conversation was one of survival against police brutality. She talked about how she made it very clear to her children when they were growing up that they were to be wary of police and extra careful when they pull you over. She stated: "Always pull over and keep your hands on the steering wheel" or "they will come up and shoot you." Wha:dichwing Verdena was referencing the incredibly high statistic of Indigenous peoples killed by the police in the United States, in fact Native Americans are most likely to be killed by the police than any other race in the US (Hansen, 2017). These are issues that we must also address in our (re)envisioning of education for Na:tinixwe youth, to fully prepare them for the world that they are living in. R Jackson stated his (re)envisioning for the future of our Na:tinixwe nation: "Hopefully we'll be stable enough gain strength to be able to defend ourselves in a way that really promotes sovereignty." Even if we are able to (re)establish a long-term broad scale Na:tinixwe educational space for our youth, we will continue to live in a settler colonial world for the foreseeable future. We must enact a praxis of resurgence that allows us to be able to defend ourselves in whatever ways necessary to maintain the survival of our people as we have always done.

Survival against state sanctioned colonial violence must be a part of this (re)newed space of Na:tinixwe education. Also given the centrality of gender violence to the ongoing settler colonial project, most especially how it triple targets Na:tinixwe girls and non-binary children, we must be conscious and intentional about not replicating colonial gender paradigms in our vision and praxis for a (re)newed education. Although I have mentioned how Na:tinixwe gender ideals (or at least my understand of them) vary greatly from our current cis-heteropatriarchal norms, it is important to acknowledge how these ideals may have made their way into what we would now call "traditional" Na:tinixwe knowledge and practices. Leanne Simpson warns: "It is not enough for us to say 'patriarchy was not part of our traditions' because the pervasive and insidious nature of heteropatriarchy means that for hundreds of years Indigenous children have been taught to uphold these systems." (Simpson, 2012) It is very important not to idealize Na:tinixwe knowledge uncritically and be very careful about what we want for our children to learn and live.

As I have mentioned in other parts of this dissertation the vast majority of Na:tinixwe women that I spoke to experienced some type of sexual, verbal and/or physical violence against them. Some of this was done by non-Na:tinixwe outsiders, others may have been the result of the colonial systems that they were forced into such as boarding schools or the foster care system, still for others it came at the hands of our own people. This has to stop and is something that we can take control of now. We have to hold one another accountable for the violence that we may do to one another, even if is a result of colonial infiltrations into our ideologies and practices, this does not excuse their perpetuation. This intentional accountability to eradicate gender and sexuality-based violence against children, and Na:tinixwe overall, must also be a part of this (re)envisioning if we are truly dedicated to a project Na:tinixwe resurgence that does not

replicate colonialism. This has to be present in all aspects of this (re)envisioning from the physical makeup of these spaces, to the content and approaches to teaching and learning for students. If we truly want to take the safety and care of *all* Na:tinixwe students seriously, we have to protect those that are targeted the most. That will require a lot of work on our part to move away from the problematic pieces that we have internalized and may even cloak as being aspects of Na:tinixwe culture. One major part of caring for one another is making sure we aren't replicating violences we have learned. (Re)envisioning must also be a process of unlearning.

(Re)newal and (Re)expansion of Sovereign Na:tinixwe Educational Space(s)

In the previous chapter, I introduced the concept of a Sovereign Na:tinixwe Educational Space to highlight the important work that students and teachers are able to do within and despite the limitations placed on them by a colonial institution, the school. However, in this chapter I, along with my collaborators, (re)envision what a resurgence of Sovereign Na:tinixwe Educational Space(s) without such limitations would begin look and feel like. Jennifer George expresses this desire to break through the current boundaries of the safety zones:

> We need to have more language and culture infused in the curriculum every day instead of just on club day or just on Native American day. I like to say everyday is Native American day. We can have fish whenever, we can do a dress show everyday, we can have speakers come in everyday because that's who we are.

Na:tinixwe knowledge needs to be implemented in everything and not just the small amounts of time allotted or on special days that happen once a year. What if we didn't have to operate within the limitations of the current settler colonial school? What if we had our own institutions, our own spaces, in which we as Na:tinixwe had complete sovereignty to choose what we learn and how? It is easy to say that we want to abolish the current school but what will we do in its place? These are the questions that I explore with my collaborators in this chapter. Our (re)envisioning of such a space, or multitude of spaces, will soon follow. Once again these are inherently spaces of (re)newal as before the onset of settler colonialism all of Na:tinixw was a Sovereign Na:tinixwe Educational Space.

Na:tinixwe Sovereignty Without Limits

It is clear that one desire of the community is that we as a tribal nation take control of our children's education, exerting our sovereignty as Na:tinixwe. However, to be clear this is not an exertion of sovereignty granted to us by the United States government, but rather the sovereignty that we have continued to hold since time immemorial. Having a tribally controlled school has been a topic of conversation in the community for decades. To be clear I am nowhere near the first to propose this, however, want to do with this work is to give us a blueprint of what such a space might look like, and if we even want to call it a school given its problematic history. Through this work we can interrogate 'school' as a given and think through what Sovereign Na:tinixwe Educational Spaces would be, as defined by us. But it's also important to note that people talk from what they know and for the last hundred years we have known the school as a site of education, therefore the word school is often mentioned and I may even say it myself in some places but we most definitely do not mean school in the way that it has been commonly practiced.

Shelly Carpenter, director of the Hoopa After-School Program (under the Hoopa Tribal Education Association) stated: "I would like to see [tribal] education have their own school." In other conversations she mentioned how some of the most transformative educational experiences

that Na:tinixwe students have today are often in tribal education programs and so it would only make sense for us to have our own school. Kishan Lara-Cooper mentioned: “It would be nice for us to have our own Indigenous university. I mean all the way preschool all the way through p-16.” Kishan is thinking long-term and for all youth. As a university professor herself she also knows the limitations that higher education often puts on Indigenous knowledge as well. Ryan Jackson, the Hoopa Valley Tribal Chairman at the time, added: “At some point I think we go in and take that school over I think that should be the goal the infrastructure that they have in place there is built on the backs of Indians and it’s on our land and it’s the result of them being here it’s all there and it should be ours and it should be something that we ultimately have control over.” Jackson recognizes the violence that led to the school even being possible and under settler sovereignty to begin with. He wants us to reclaim what is rightfully ours.

Jackie Martins too wants us to break out of the limitations and (re)new our SNESs. She described: “if we had our own school we could teach language and culture and do real things without punitive schedules and I don’t know why that couldn’t happen.” Having worked within the “punitive schedule” of KTJUSD for decades Jackie knows we need something, someplace else to do this work. She continued: “We need to give it [the language] more value and it needs to grow. It’s like a visitor. It’s here to help but we need to have strong roots and it needs to come from a foundation of strength and honor of this place.” The language, and this place Na:tinixw, and more specifically the ninisa:n upon which the KTJUSD school sites currently stand, have been limited by the safety zones put around them. Jackie and along with the many other collaborators that I have mentioned want us to push through these limits towards our (re)newed SNES.

Melodie George-Moore, a teacher at HVHS for decades expressed her thoughts on where we are as a nation: “People are wanting more for their kids than is currently offered that’s a positive thing. I don’t think the state, I don’t think that the feds are ever going to be fully funding everything that we need, and that’s not what we should be wanting. Because sovereignty, if we truly want it, means that we need to be able to really control our own education.” She continued: “And what that will look like I have no idea. It’s not my job to worry about that that’s your job.” George-Moore was my teacher, she has been one of the three Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe teacher at KTJUSD for decades. She has done so much resurgence work creating as many SNES as should can within the institution. She is putting out a call to myself and others in my generation to take this next step for our people. She doesn’t know what it will look like but she knows we need something (re)newed other than what we have been operating within. This chapter hopes to chart out beginnings of “what this will look like” as she puts forth.

SNES (Re)envisioned Curriculum

So far we know that we need (re)newed spaces of Na:tinixwe Education. We know that we want these spaces to be as safe as we can make them for our people, language and land. We know that relationships within these spaces should operate with an ethic of care and understanding. We also know that we want Na:tinxiwe sovereignty over these spaces without limitations. We know that there are many things if not all things that we want to refuse from the current settler state schools including their disciplinary approaches, metrics of success and overall treatment of Na:tinixwe students and knowledge. I now want us to think about some specifics of how these (re)newed spaces might be structured. For example, who will be the teachers? What will be taught? How? What counts as success?

Through my many conversations, reflections and praxis, parts of a (re)newed curriculum and pedagogy emerged. Virtually all of it was a departure from the current settler state

curriculum. Collaborators (re)envisioned having a land based, Na:tinixwe community project based curriculum taught in Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe. A curriculum taught about and in a way that helps to prepare them to be collaborative members of the Na:tinixwe-- to be able to take care of themselves, one another, the language and the land.

Mida:ch stated: "I'd like tribal education to be a big part of having the school. Going to the different tribal entities that's what I've always wanted." Mida:ch wants tribal sovereignty and our many different sources of knowledge that are now held in our different tribal entities: such as Forestry, Fisheries, and K'ima:w Medical Center, to be central to the curriculum of our (re)newed SNES. She continued: "I saw a lot of students that couldn't do classroom learning. They wanted to work out in the forestry and do that type of learning." Learning with and from the land as vital to a (re)newed SNES which is a major departure from the current indoor classroom schooling all students are now expected to perform in. In another conversation Mida:ch talked about how as a student she also did not like school and did not like having to sit in a classroom all day and only learn from books. She also added: "I'd like to see more [language] immersion and more outside and hands-on." Na:tinixwe youth had all of Na:tinixw as their classroom for thousands of years before settler colonial schooling and all of their lessons were taught in Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe. Mida:ch is calling for a (re)newal of such a classroom. She continued:

> They need more hands on stuff because our kids a lot of our kids don't leave the valley and go to college and you know do that kind of stuff. They stay here so ya know they need to know the fish, and the water, and they need to know the mountains and they need to know the trees and the plants and stuff so and I feel like that's what we're doing here. That's what we're doing here is we're showing them what is here so when if they don't leave then they can go into forestry and they can go into fisheries and stuff like that.

Experiential learning engaged with the land are what Mida:ch believes Na:tinixwe youth need to know, most especially if they are going to stay within the community to continue to caretake for the land. Another important point that came from this particular conversation was the fact that all Na:tinixwe should learn these caretaking practices even if they do move away because it is our responsibility as Na:tinixwe no matter where we are. My, and other ye-silin camp teacher's responses to Mida:ch's important words are below:

Whide:ch(Me)*- And even if kids do go away to college, I think it's important for them to know this for if and when they do come back.*

'Istik*- I think that stuff should just be more nature based in general like you might have a puzzle with circles that are red yellow blue and green but you could just take them outside and you know the grass is green or that different things are red it's not just that primary shade of red. And you could teach them like pattering like you could get leaves and rock and a leave and do ABC patterning and all that stuff I think should be way more nature based.*

Jena:h*-I agree and I think like for us trying to squeeze things into an hour hour and a half after school and we wanna gather roots and clean them, like that's hard and there's not enough time and the kids come exhausted from school. And they wanna take a nap and they want to eat or whatever that it's so hard to fit in all this stuff that we have to try to fit in a little bit wherever we can. Whereas if we had a language and culture school then it would just be part of everything.*

'Istik is gave us concrete examples of the many ways that we can continue to do common activities but adapt them in a way that we are learning with and taking care of the land. Jena:h highlighted the safety zone limits our SNESs now have to operate within, and how hard it is to engage in Na:tinixwe curriculum and pedagogies in a meaningful way when you have to

"squeeze things in." As she is (re)envisioned for us a SNES in which Na:tinixwe knowledge is "a part of everything." A SNES without limitations.

Current Hoopa Valley High School principal Jennifer George has a similar (re)envision for Na:tinixwe education. She states:

> Teach people to be responsible. To take care of nature. We are not being very nice to our valley in addition to not being very nice to our children. I want kids to take care of their valley and their place. And if we feel like we are one with our valley than we will just take care of it because we are part of it. I would like to see us become more in tuned with our environment. We need to be more accepting of each other.

For George the care of one another and our environment go hand in hand. We must (re)teach these practices once again.

Ch'imiwingyo:l stated: "I think service-learning projects are important in addition to the culture stuff. I think kids need to not only have connection to the culture but to the people and the land and know that they are part of a community and aren't just an individual existing alone." Reciprocal relationships between people, language and land are a major part of this (re)newed sovereign Na:tinixwe space. She continued: "...and that kid that's wildin' out is your responsibility too or that elder that's hungry is your responsibility you have the ability to contribute." Ch'imiwingyo:l is recognizing the ways in which the individualist settler ideology of 'every man for themselves' has made its way in our community, and so our (re)newed spaces must be intentional about refusing this and (re)establishing the shared responsibility we have to all other beings.

One anxiety of the community may be that if we are focusing on Na:tinixwe knowledge we will miss out on teaching and learning important skills such as math and science. However, I want to refuse this, as it is draped in settler colonial ideologies that Indigenous knowledges do not inherently already teach these skills. Xutł'e'dung'-xa:sina:w hgives us examples of how these subjects were taught in a tribal education program that she was able to take part in as youth through Na:tinixwe approaches: "one teacher did basketry and math through basketry and another did the flora and fauna and how that related to biology and chemistry." There are so many ways that we can ensure that we are still hitting the important lessons of each of these subjects through Na:tinixwe pedagogies and curriculum.

Temporalities of Sovereign Na:tinixwe Educational Spaces

Lara-Cooper's (re)envisioning brings us to think about the temporalities of a (re)newed Sovereign Educational Space. She states:

> And then in planning and preparing for wintertime for example when you're out gathering and all it's not just we're getting this for our family of 4 you know it's looking at the community as a whole looking at the village as a whole. And that concept is so important to us and it's what is going to help us heal in the end and help our environment to heal. Is when we start thinking of the big picture.

There were and still very much are seasons to the lessons and responsibilities of being Na:tinixwe. Kishan invites us to think of the winter-time specifically and prepare for what that means. It means gathering enough food and whatever else you will need, not just for yourself, but for the entire community. This gathering process has been discussed in my methodology but as mentioned before gathering isn't just a theoretical framework it is a lived Na:tinixwe practice for centuries. Gathering is a necessary, collective, intentional and careful practice of Na:tinixwe. One of the most important gathering practices in the fall to prepare for the winter are the

gathering of acorns that will have to last through the following year, as they are only ready to gather at this specific time each year. There are specific gathering practices and beings that are ready to be gathering in different moments throughout the different seasons. Temporalities of a (re)newed Na:tinixwe education will be centered around these circular seasons rather than the linear timeline of settler run schools, that have unrealistic expectations of all students being able to reach arbitrary goals by a certain age. These temporalities instead will be centered around what responsibilities we all must fulfill each and every time that they come around. Those at different ability levels will be able to contribute in a way that is most appropriate to them.

Kishan also wants us to (re)think who our family is. Native Studies scholars have critiqued the settler colonial imposition of the heteronormative nuclear family model on Indigenous communities (Piatote, 2013). Kishan wants us to return to a Na:tinixwe concept of family that includes many more people than your biological parents and their children. According to Wha:dichwing Verdena, what we might call cousins today would be considered your siblings in a Na:tinixwe ontology. Similar to Chimiwingyo:l's call to (re)estabilishing relationships of reciprocity, returning to a broader definition of family might help us get there. Also related to Mida:ch's call for a return to land-based education, Kishan recognizes that this will heal us and the land together.

Following this time of gathering in the fall, Kishan along with other collaborators talked about the winter-time as a sacred time when "we're supposed to walk about the world softly and not do a lot of things to draw attention. So, we're not you know out and about and you know we're within the home we're talking about how it really makes sense things we're really specific. Everyone's in the home then that's when that learning is happening." She continues:

> Then when it's spring and everyone is back out gathering again then that's a whole nother level of classroom teaching that's happening. You're not just learning from the people you're surrounded by but you're learning from the environment, from the spiritual energies so all of that is a piece of it too.

What we do then, in this (re)newed model, is not based on standards set by government officials far away but rather from the land and spiritual beings of Na:tinixw.

Lastly, Kishan bring together many of the aspects of the (re)newed SNES that have been mentioned thus far:

> So I think the traditional piece of education that's important that we should move forward is the influence of the environment that surrounds us in learning and then multiple people as part of the community. Everyone has something to contribute in the learning process. And then also being aware of the spiritual realms and how those influence how we are and how we walk about the world. And language connects all of that. So we may not remember specific teachings but when we look at the language and we start to translate language then that kind of guides us into how to be. And so that's an essential tool to connecting all of those things together.

In Kishan's words we can see a technique of using language to remember what we may have thought was lost through settler colonialism. Language gives us a semantic window into the teaching of our ancestors and can help us remember and practice those teachings once again.

Who will be the teachers?

Just as the word 'school' has a lot of negative connotations for Na:tinixwe so does the word 'teacher.' Yet, just as it was with 'school' and talking about (re)envisioning a space 'school' was sure to appear in many of our conversations because it is the language that we have

known. The same goes for the category of 'teacher'. Who will be the ones that will transmit the knowledge? Who will facilitate these processes and guide and support the youth on their educational journey? The word 'teacher' in this chapter should not be taken as a given either, while at the same time it is the language that we all currently understand so we will (re)envision who a teacher is and what they do.

As a response to the many ways that settler colonialism has attempted to sever all ties between the school and the community many collaborators expressed a (re)envisioning for a SNES where the community are the primary educators once again. Jena:h stated we need "More hands on stuff in the community." Ch'imiwingyo:l added school and community "should be the same thing. They are all our children. Knocking that wall down between community and school. There's a lot of walls up now that don't have to be." Ch'imiwingyo:l's (re)envisioning is both for the long and short term. She believes there is work to be done in the schools now as they are, while also (re)builing a SNES of our own where these walls will never have to be knocked down because they don't exist in the first place.

In Wha:dichwing Verdena's (re)envisioning of education for Na:tinixwe youth, elders are repositioned as teachers. She stated: "Listen to the old people they know a lot and that's why they're still here." She recognizes the current disavowal of elder knowledge in settler society. What is old is seen as inherently lesser than given the linear conception of time and progress (Grande, 2015). However, within a Na:tinixwe ontology elder knowledge is the highest and most valued form of knowledge. We must return to valuing and more importantly practicing this. She spoke of elder wisdom and its lasting impacts and the ways in which this knowledge will follow you throughout your life: "sometimes it's a guide to you that you remember if you have a problem and you think ahh what was I told about that and sometimes it's the solution to your problem so you're not just left high and dry." As one of the inspirations for my methodology Parker stated: "the best place to gather knowledge for future use is from elderly people." With elder knowledge you will never be alone without their words of advice she continued: "If you listen to them then you wouldn't be at a bad place where you don't know what to do about your problem." This knowledge will stay with you throughout your life and be with you. Elders have knowledge from their entire lives of experiences they want us to learn from their mistakes and live in a better way and it's time we all listen.

If we recall from the previous chapter intergenerational knowledge transmission is a major tenant of a Na:tinixwe model of education. Jena:h added we need: "more leadership and responsibility for the older kids with younger kids and mentorship. I think that's where they succeed and are happy to see themselves contribute something positive." Xutł'e'dung'-xa:sina:wh added we need "something more for the older kids" as many of the current SNES that exist in the schools and tribal programs are targeted toward younger kids. In the current schooling system children are split up by grade level and rarely given opportunities to interact with students older or younger than themselves. However, in a Na:tinixwe model everyone has knowledge to transmit to others across age differences and the more you learn the more you expected to teach others, even at a very young age. Kishan again wants us to renew our ideas of family and recognize that all of them are also our teachers. She states: "So if you think about our houses and the teaching that happened in the home with many different teachers you know so aunts, cousins, uncles, grandparents, parents, that it wasn't just this one family in a home you had multiple extended family within the home." Kishan is referencing our traditional xontah wherein which multiple families would either live in the same xontah or one very close to the other. Each person that you lived with would be your relation and they would be your teachers.

In a (re)newed vision of education we must also think about moving against the model of having just one teacher.

In our (re)newed vision of SNES everyone in our community is an educator. Kishan stated: "In creating the school one of the reasons is revitalizing the language but the other is identity and having connection. It brings you together. It's about building a language community, bringing in community to share. What it does for a child's self-worth is so valuable when they see grandma in the classroom." Once again, we see the coupling of the wellbeing of the language and the wellbeing not just of our children but of our families. We most definitely want to think about what having a child's grandmother in the classroom will do to that child's self-esteem, but we also want to think about what that will do to the grandmother's self-esteem too. We can even think about what this will do to the self-esteem of everyone else around them. Maybe some of the teachers are younger in age and also appreciate the presence of an elder in the classroom. Maybe that child's grandmother is their teacher's aunt. These scenarios are very likely to happen if we are serious about repositioning all of the community as educators. We need to reconnect with one another across generations and across our extended families for the wellbeing of our youth and that of our nation. Jackie agreed, when she stated:

> We're good people, we're honorable people and we come from strong strong people and our medicine is strong and we just have to know that and accept that and show that that's produced in us because there's so many people that got lost along the way. So it's not just the school it's the whole community.

Jackie believes that we need to reclaim our collective strength because as the way it stands now "so many people get lost along the way", this is especially true within the KTJUSD. Some students do well, and others don't, and are left to fend for themselves or treated badly until they finally elect to leave. We must reclaim both this collective strength and power and realize that our power lies within that collective. It is not about gathering together the elite, those with the most resources, those that are the best at school but *everyone*.

Na:tinixwe notions of giftedness and success

Another way in which we (re)envision a SNES is through a Na:tinixwe ontological metric of success and giftedness. It is useful to revisit Lara-(Cooper)'s work here as it centers around identifying a concept of giftedness from a Hoopa Valley Indian Reservation perspective. She writes:

> Giftedness can be defined through k'winya'nya:n-ma'awhiniw meaning to live in balance and harmony with the world by having honor and respect for community members, the environment, self, ancestors, and creation. The human way is guided by language and culture and is characterized by honor, humility, patience, gratitude, discipline, compassion, a good heart, generosity, responsibility and respect... (2014, p. 6)

Lara-Cooper expresses her identified concept of giftedness through a Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe semantic frame. K'winya'nya:n-ma'awhiniw, roughly translates to something like, (*an Indigenous or human way of being*.) In Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe, as mentioned in Chapter 2, the word for Indigenous people and human are used interchangeably. Her findings led her to the definition above. As you can see this definition is very closely in line with many of the (re)envisionings of my collaborators. There are two keys points about giftedness from an HVIR perspective according to Lara(-Cooper) (2014). The first is that everyone in the community is considered gifted from birth. It is then the community's job to help to cultivate the individual's gifts of that child throughout their life. However, the second point is that for this gift to be

recognized as such it has to be shared with the community. I wanted to highlight Lara-Cooper's work here as what my collaborators are saying here a decade later only reinforces the importance of her original recommendation that we should put these concepts of giftedness into practice and move away from Western notions of giftedness that are currently enacted in schools. This is where I see this work expanding from Lara-Cooper's in that through our ye-silin camps we were able to see how these concepts might be put into praxis and what effect that had on Na:tinixwe youth.

Another important takeaway of Lara-Cooper's work is that despite colonization many knowledge transmission strategies of the Na:tinixwe have continued. In line with my argument here in this chapter, what we need then is a (re)newal and expansion of the SNESs that have sustained these strategies in lieu of ongoing settler colonialism. So many of the words of my collaborators are also framed through the idea of resurgence or renewal of Na:tinixwe practices. Whita' Emmett Chase stated:

> I think going back to when we would have roles for people very early on so that they can experience success in what they are good at and be able to build on those successes so that they can become even more successful. I think that would be the ideal system. Part of it is just knowing where you're at and where you fit it but we can figure it out and gravitate toward what you know and what you feel good about. That would be ideal. I was going to say that part of the culture is keeping it the same. The systems that were in place for thousands of years were there for a reason and those were a slow process. I think that would be an ideal way of preserving the community because it's been successful for so long.

The first part of Whita''s words add an important piece to the idea that everyone is gifted. In a Na:tinixwe ontology everyone is gifted, and they should feel good about those gifts and others should continue to make them feel good about those gifts. In the current school system, our children's gifts either go unrecognized or in some cases are even discouraged and punished. For example, those who are gifted storytellers and/or those who have the gift to be able to bring laughter. These are two gifts that would be nurtured in a Na:tinixwe ontology for sure, as I've written storytelling and humor are two vital Na:tinixwe pedagogies. Outside of school I think we would all agree that someone who is gifted at storytelling or making people laugh are much appreciated. However, in school students are often labeled as misbehaving or disobedient for telling stories or making people laugh. Of course, there is a time and place for all things, but this is part of cultivating one's gifts, being able to help someone distinguish when it is appropriate and when it is not. Sadly, in the context of school youth are often told there is no place for their gifts so they either feel bad about them or abandon them all together. It is a reciprocal process of the child feeling good about their gift and the community supporting and teaching them how and where they might use these gifts in a way that everyone feels good about. The second part of Whita's words: "The systems that were in place for thousands of years were there for a reason", highlight the much longer temporalities our systems are operating from beyond the current settler colonial schools and their concepts of giftedness and success.

Many other collaborators voiced desires for having a (re)newed concept of success and giftedness. Each person has a gift and each has a place in the community to feel good about using their gift. Ch'imiwingyo:l stated her (re)envisioning for a "strength based and everybody having something to contribute" system because "in the school system it's not like that." She continued: "in a traditional [Na:tinixwe] system everybody has something to contribute and in school if you're not good at math then you are devalued." In schools if you aren't good at the

subjects that they deem important, most frequently those that are on the standardized tests, then you are structurally devalued even if no one says this outright. She also wanted us to think about how arbitrary those particular subjects are. The schools label you as gifted if you are good at those particular things when there are so many other things in the world that you could and most likely are good at. From a Na:tinixwe perspective she stated: "you might be a good regalia maker but not a good singer but that doesn't matter because you're a great regalia maker and that's awesome." Ch'imiwingyo:l highlighted for us that just because you are not good at everything, doesn't mean that the thing that you are good at isn't amazing, and that needs to be celebrated. She highlighted how the diversity of gifts and notions of success are key to the collective functioning of the Na:tinixwe. She stated: "It's just more open where in the other system you have to be good at three things and that's it and it's like no you can be good at 30 things or 30 people can be good at each of those things and each of those is a benefit to the collective." She also brings up the fact that if you are good, or not good at something, you are ranked against others. Students are inherently structured as being better or worse than one another through things like: grades, advanced and remedial classes, and gifted programs. Jennifer George also wants us to (re)envision how we might view students in relation to one another outside a paradigm of ranking and competition. She states: "We need to help each other more it shouldn't be a contest against each other it should be us growing together." Within a (re)newed SNES students should be encouraged to work together and see how their gifts might be used in collaboration to achieve a common goal, not how much better or faster they are than other students at that goal.

Ryan Jackson highlighted the failure of the current system for many of our people: "So I think the current state of education is we have people like you and me who will get through it no matter what are gonna get through it and do the things they want to do but then the students who aren't going to be able to succeed in that system it needs to be able to change for." Jackson is someone who "did pretty well in high school" and recognized the fact that both of us were students who did well in high school despite the structures, not because of them. But that shouldn't be enough for us. All students should be doing well in whatever ways that means for them. One collaborator expressed a similar sentiment in her (re)envisioning comparing the current system to what it used to be and could be once again:

> If you think about our community and what our community needs, there's a place for everyone and everyone's skills and we need to get back to that model of you know people that are good at gathering, hunting, fishing, cooking, building, weaving but the emphasis needs to be back on the community and not on the individual. At the same time I think even with in our tribe and the tribal programs there is starting to be in an elite or at least people think it's an elite where certain people get certain opportunities they get handpicked for this or that scholarships whatever else and everybody else just gets left behind.

She wants us to (re)new a system in which children are encouraged to be good at Na:tinixwe practices such as gathering, hunting, fishing, cook, etc. She is critiquing both the current school system as well as the current tribal programs and who they serve and how. This is an important critique that I wanted to include here because this project is working directly with the HTEA I don't want to appear as if I am bias and closed to critiques of my approach or the programs that I have worked with. It is quite the opposite actually, a major piece of (re)envisioning has to be open to constructive criticism not just of colonialism but of one another and the work that we do.

We all have learning and unlearning to do, and we can all work towards something better together.

Lastly, some collaborators were thinking in very practical terms of the ways that these Na:tinixwe notions of gifts and success can be implemented using some programs that might already exist. Jennifer George stated:

> What I'm trying to work on in 9-12, I believe our ideal vision for children would be that they have choices. Where you want to graduate with the least amount of units possible. Another track would be that you graduate with some type of certificate and experience to develop a certain skill like welding, metal fabrication, maybe you're gonna learn break loop chassis systems, maybe you're gonna do oil changes, maybe you're gonna make tiny homes. I see trades really skyrocketing here and so I see that and students being able to step right into a job. The next track would be a CSU system and the last track would be the UC system and private colleges where you would take your AP classes and even CR and get those credits ready to go.

Jennifer is thinking very concretely about how we might start to implement such programs in a way that will also provide some type of economic stability within the current structures, which is also very important to prioritize in an impoverished community such as ours. In other parts of our conversation Jennifer emphasized the importance of prioritizing Na:tinixwe knowledge in all parts of the curriculum of a school not just in safety zones, making these choices for students as well.

Part of sovereignty is respecting the sovereignty of our youth

One of the most important, and possibly often least acknowledged in the current structure, in a (re)newed and expanded SNES is acknowledging the sovereignty of the students no matter what their age. Leanne Simpson (2014) writes about the importance of trust in our children and consent in education in response to the lack of consent throughout the entire history of schooling and Indigenous peoples. Our children never consented to the things that happened to them in boarding schools, they never get to consent to what they are being taught and how, and they most definitely don't have sovereignty over any of it within the current colonial schooling paradigm. We must trust that our youth know what they want to learn and trust their decisions. We can guide and suggest but they should be the ones who make the ultimate decisions. They can and should be asked what they want. This was also a common theme among my conversations. Ch'imiwingyo:l (re)envisioned:

> Student driven stuff. I don't think we give students enough space to do the projects that they want to do like, that strength based stuff, like how do we support them in a project they are really passionate about and letting them explore that instead of saying this is your classroom this is the lesson that's it. So just like giving them lots of options that all have the same outcome but give many different pathways to get there.

Circling back to Whita''s words, students should enjoy what they do. They should be able to explore what they are passionate about and then be able to build on those passions rather than be forced to learn a curriculum they had no say in creating. M. Orcutt asks: "What do the kids want? What do THEY want? What are we trying to prepare them for the future? and all those things. I come to the realization that not everyone is going to be a college graduate or a PhD or whatever it might be but they might be wanting to do something different maybe start a business but we've never tailored it here and that's a challenge for the tribe." Orcutt too wants us to take into account and respect the sovereignty of Na:tinixwe youth and trust and build on that. As he

mentions, this is something we as a tribe have not been able to fully do within our current infrastructure. It is going to be a challenge for sure but one that we need to undertake as a people. Orcutt continues: “So my vision of the future is that people go off and get an education then come back. We have some really high powered Gates scholars and some really high power schools that people have gone to but having an openness to bring that back and not just getting them swept up in the system, getting them to make meaningful changes.” Orcutt is referencing something I touched on in the previous chapter, that although we do have some Na:tinixwe that are able to do well in school, including myself there are so many others who get “swept up in the system” and don’t get those same opportunities to do things to better the community because they were never afforded to them.

To be attentive to this aspect (re)envisioning I asked the students in our ye-silin camps what they wanted. What would they do if they could create their own school? Many of them also spoke of wanting their and other student’s sovereignty acknowledged. When I asked one student what they would teach in their school they stated: “Probably talk about what the children wanted to talk about.” Another mentioned: “Let the kids have whatever they want.” Yet another stated that in their school: “They’d be free to any other classroom.” This last student also wants us to think about the ways that their bodies are constantly policed and under surveillance in school. They are allowed in certain spaces and punished for being in others, even if it is for a good reason. Their movements are constantly restricted. Stay in your seat. Sit still. Line up. All of these orders are to control the movement of the students. Respecting the sovereignty of the bodies of these children in all ways must be central to this (re)newed SNES.

Many students expressed their desire for more Na:tinxiwe Mixine:whe in their current curriculum and noted that they would teach it in their schools that we talked about creating in our conversations. I could tell by their reactions to the question that it is one that they have probably never been asked before but were happy to start to think through. One student mentioned: “Because our ancestors talked that language so we should too. It turned legal back a while ago so now we can speak it whenever we want.” This student knows the violent history against our language. They know that they have the responsibility to close the gap in Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe speakers as a result of this violence.

Another student stated: “Give the kids some play time and do Karuk or Hupa [language].” Another added: “I would get to have a bunch of recess. I’d have a bunch of recess and I’d get to do a lot of art, Hupa language and also...hmmm better food.” Yet another stated: “If I could make a school I would teach Hupa language and math and I’d tutor kids.” Students want to continue to learn some of the key subjects and as I have written above students will be able to do this through Na:tinixwe knowledge. Other desires from students centered around play, joy, active learning and the land (going outside). One student reflected: “I would...hmm… I would play outside and play inside and go to lunch and have a fun day for the rest of my life...and to watch a movie and have popcorn.” One 6-year-old girl stated: “Do lots of fun things like go to the creek.” Another mentioned: “If they wanted I would give them a tag so they could go outside and back in.” One also mentions the creations of new facilities to enact these activities: “I would do all the basics and hmm make a big gym.” After each ye-silin camp I would ask all the students to (re)envision this school that they would like to create and what they would teach/want to learn. I would also ask them what they thought about the camp and if there was anything that they’d like to do in the following camp. We then tried to take every suggestion that they made into account for our next planning sessions. Our youth are targeted for the Na:tinixwe sovereignty that they possess and that their bodies represent: the future of our people

and Na:tinixwe sovereignty, the existence of which continues to challenge the totality of settler sovereignty. In our (re)newed SNES we must attend and honor this sovereignty.

A (re)newal and re-expansion of SNES will no doubt take the perspective of Na:tinixwe ontological orientations to the world. Another important theme that came from my conversations was a desire for a (re)newed space where we teach Na:tinixwe children how to live in this world in a good way once again. This is obviously a departure from the current schooling system. This system focuses on teaching students subjects such as math and science, and in some cases maybe even how to be a good American citizen. However, now that we have extensively discussed the violence of this to Na:tinixwe children, we must take an entirely different and (re)newed approach. In this SNES, lessons about morality and relationships will be just as central as learning geometry. In the current schooling system SNES are bound by the limits imposed by the settler state. Many of the most important lessons that need to be taught in a SNES of morality and reciprocity are never able to be addressed because such an ornamental amount of time is allotted for them. Even if one is able to have a discussion about something like respect within one of the current SNES, these spaces are so small and short that one isn't given the opportunity to fully practice such important relationships or model such relationships. As outlined in the previous chapter, within the current school system there is an absolute lack of respect at all levels within the school. A (re)newed and (re)expanded SNES would be large enough so that importance lessons of morality and relationships would be enacted every day and become the norm once again and not the exception.

Tehla:n discusses the lack of respect currently in the school system and her (re)envisioning of how respect should be central to a (re)newed SNES:

> I feel like a big thing that the kids learned here was respect and like right now we work in the school and that's one of the things unfortunately that our kids don't seem to have. They question the adults. They question the authority and a lot of it is the authority figures kinda make it hard for the kids to respect them. And here like I said everybody was all the kids were respectful, they were well behaved, they were encouraging to one another...And I do I see when we watch all these videos from training and everything it's all these survival classes and everything with all these other kids I'm like that's where our kids need to be. Like here like outdoors.

She is comparing what we were able to create within our own SNES, our ye-silin camps, and what the kids experience much more frequently in the school system, mostly because they spend so much more time at school than any other place. She highlights the ways in which we as teachers were able to model respectful behavior to one another and to the kids, then in turn the kids were able to express respectful behavior to one another and to us (the teachers). She is also referencing Indigenous spaces in other communities in which they have been able, most often through the models of schools, to create a place where their children can be fully Indigenous. Lastly, she is connecting this environment of respect that we will able to create to the fact that this was created outside on the land.

Once again it's important not to romanticize the past or uncritically take up Na:tinixwe cultural practices in a (re)newed SNES. Ryan Jackson stated his (re)envisioning for such a space:

> I think it would be based more on Hupa people and the culture and the traditions of the tribe from a thousand years ago and using that as a foundation and an incorporation of things we have today that we have to be a part of whether it's the science around fishery restoration and the ecology of the forest. A mix of what we have today an elimination of

> certain things but definitely a foundation on Hupa ideal and principles and culture and traditions and religion is what I think would be ideal and in that also talking about the history after 1864 or 1856 and sort of having that as a framework for understanding of life and who we are and who we've been after and sort of go into the future and also questions about topics on what do we want for the tribe in the future.

Ryan provided an important framework for our (re)envisioning work. We aren't trying to get back to a utopian idealized past but rather draw from the wisdom and power of our ancestral intelligence to address the issues of the world that we live in today. Ryan similar to Wha:t May, Kishan and Melodie also wants us to make sure that we teach the settler colonial history and present in this (re)newed SNES so that we can better understand what we have been through and how we might begin to live out an otherwise and defend and fight against the power structures that continue to be against us. Kishan invokes a similar temporality in her (re)envisioning, she stated:

> I think we're getting closer and closer to doing things like pre-boarding school time and I think that's the goal for many Indigenous communities is to get closer and closer to that goal because it worked for us. It didn't work for mainstream society, it didn't work for mainstream teaching because it wasn't their way of teaching. It wasn't the more Western focus on individualism and that linear sequential logic but it worked for us and for our health as far as being a community in that humane holistic way of teaching and so I think that kind of is like a goal to get back toward that.

The relatively recent impositions of settler colonial ways of living and learning on our community are not working. What we know has worked for thousands of years, however, are our Na:tinixwe ways of living and learning and so we must work to get back to those. Kishan is both critiquing settler notions of time, teaching, logic and relationships as many other collaborators have done throughout this dissertation.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have begun to chart out a collective (re)envisioning for (re)newed and (re)expanded Sovereign Na:tinixwe Educational Spaces. In comparison to the SNESs in the previous chapter limited and contained within the safety zones enforced by the settler state in the current school, these SNESs being (re)envisioned are spaces without limitations. Within these SNESs the safety and wellbeing of Na:tinixwe children, Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe and ninisa:n are central. Settler colonial safety zones of containment aim to keep settler sovereignty safe from Indigenous knowledge and sovereignty. In Sovereign Na:tinixwe Educational Spaces Na:tinixwe, Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe and ninisa:n are kept safe. This includes safe facilities, spaces to rest, spaces for students to express themselves, spaces to have their entire being respected. These SNESs enact a refusal of many of the current schooling paradigms, practices, curriculum, pedagogies and approaches to education that are taking place in schools. Na:tinixwe relationships, reciprocity, and morality are central to theses SNESs. The community as a whole are the teachers of the students, and the students have a significant say in what and how they learn, their sovereignty is honored. Students are not compared or ranked but encouraged to use their individual gifts that they all possess for the benefit of the collective. The settler colonial history and stories of survivance of our people are also central to these SNES so that we may be able to continue to survive against ongoing state sanctioned violence and colonial gender violence. We must learn, (re)learn and unlearn what we have been forced to accept, and what we have been forced to forget. (Re)envisioning is an ongoing ever-changing process that is always

open to constructive critique. With this weaving together of the words of my collaborators I have hoped to begin to chart a vision that will grow and change in time and praxis.

Ch. 5 How do we put our (re)envisionings into praxis? How can we continue to improve and grow this praxis?

Ya:ydil whima:lyo
Niwho:ng-xw niwho:ng-xw
Ya:ydil whima:lyo niwho:ng-xw dikyung
To:-ching whima:lyo niwho:ng-xw dikyung

We are walking my family/friends
In a good way, in a good way
We are walking my family/friends in a good way here
Towards the water we are walking in a good way here

Introduction

In Chapter 4, I explored the beginnings of mapping out key tenets of a (re)newed Sovereign Na:tinixwe Educational Space *without* the limits of settler colonial safety zones. Some identified tenets include: a refusal of the current colonial structure, safety for students, intergenerational knowledge transmission and the cultivation of each student's gifts. In this final chapter I will show the ways in which we were able to begin to put the key tenets of the (re)envisionings of the community for Na:tinixwe education identified in the previous chapter into praxis. I open this chapter with a (re)newed song that we sing during our walks to the rivers or creeks in Na:tinixw during our ye-silin camps. This song embodies many of the key tenets of a (re)newed SNES identified in the previous chapter: care for students, land and language, encouraging positive and respectful relationships, and having a fun and interactive lesson. We thank the students for spending this time with us, for walking with us in a good way together to our sacred waters. We are so happy that they are here in whatever ways that means, even if they are not having a good day, we are still so happy to see them and that they came to be with us, and we do it all in Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe. As this is the last chapter in the dissertation it also felt appropriate to send the reader off in a good way and thank them for being with me throughout all the different chapters. Below is a condensed list of some of the key tenets of a (re)newed Sovereign Na:tinixwe Educational Space to remind the reader of the key finding from the previous chapter and track the ways we were able to put many of these identified tenets into praxis through our camps described in this chapter.

Tenets of (re)newed Sovereign Na:tinixwe Educational Space

- Safety and care for students, language and land
- Encouraging positive and respectful relationships
- Spaces of interactive and joyful learning
- Refusal of colonial structure and curriculum
- Sovereignty without limits
- Intergenerational knowledge transmission
- Cultivation of individual and collective gifts of each student
- Student centered and driven structure and curriculum

Roadmap of Chapter

This chapter will begin by reminding the reader of the Ye-silin method of knowledge gathering, as this chapter is dedicated to exploring the many insights learned through this praxis. I will then move to explain the Na:tinixwe approaches to curriculum development that we took to build toward the ye-silin camps. Following I introduce relevant Indigenous language resurgence pedagogies that we adapted from previously established approaches or approaches that we (re)created for these camps and the Na:tininixwe Mixine:whe resurgence work that we were doing. The final three sections of the chapter will describe the three ye-silin camps that we undertook with Na:tinixwe youth in the community over the course of this dissertation. In these sections I will explore the curriculum and activities of each camp, the pedagogical approaches that we took and the transformative work we were able to do. You will hear from teachers, parents and students. You will also hear some of our struggles and visions for growth. The section on final camp will be shorter than the others because I will leave my broader reflections for the concluding chapter.

Ye-silin: (Re)envisioning in Praxis

Up until this point you have seen a lot of the knowledge I gathered through the conversations part of my methodology. In the dialogues between multiple people, most often between myself and Hoopa Tribal Education Association (HTEA) educators, you have already seen knowledge gathered from łe:ne:tɬ'-te, our *coming together in a good way*, our planning or debrief sessions for camp. In this chapter you will be able to see into the ye-silin part of the methodology the third point on the cycle that makes up the entire knowledge gathering process. Ye-silin means, *(it is coming into view, or being)* Ye-silin or (re)envision as a method was a reflexive praxis of all the ch'idwilwa:wh, (*conversations)*, and łe:ne:tɬ'-te, (*meetings)*. This manifested in three consecutive camps with Na:tinixwe youth. They took into account all of the knowledge, learning and planning done in each methodological approach before it. They drew on the knowledge gained from k'iwinya'n-ya:n, ninisa:n and xine:wh. During these camps, I was a facilitator, 'teacher', as well as a participant observer. These camps, along with the other two research procedures, aimed to contest settler colonial relations of power, envision a type of education for Na:tinixwe youth outside of these power relations and then live out these relations through the three programs. Although I aimed to do the three approaches to my methodology in sequence: conversations, meetings, and praxis, in such an order that would result in three cycles of each approach in reality the undertaking of such was much less linear. However, this overall a good thing in that it was a much more organic process that was adaptive to the needs of the community and my specific collaborators.

The first week-long camp took place in July of 2018, the second was a three-day long camp that took place in April of 2019, and the final was a four-day long camp that took place in July of 2019. These were camps of Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe resurgence. One of the theoretical contributions I hope this dissertation will make in the current academic landscape, is a description of decolonizing Indigenous language resurgent praxis *in process,* and not years after an institution (school) has been established. Much of the academic literature on such programs look at communities that have a substantial number of first language speakers in their community (See Ch. 1). We only have a handful of first language Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe speakers left and many of them were unable to work with our programs. Part of this chapter is also to show that it is possible and incredibly important and powerful for language resurgence work to be undertaken by people who are also learners themselves. Given the many colonial discourses that circulate

around Indigenous language death, decline, endangerment and impurity it is important to put forth a discourse in which learners of Indigenous languages are empowered and legitimized as agents of resurgence and knowledge transmission. I also want to present creative ways that communities who are in a similar language situation to Na:tinixwe can undertake similar projects in their communities.

Therefore, this chapter will be somewhat of a departure from the others in that it will be very focused around the practical work that we did, our process of continual reflection and growth, and how others might benefit from seeing this work being done. That being said, I realize the major differences in time scale between the previous chapters documenting back in some cases thousands of years ago, to then in this chapter to describe the praxis done over a two-year period. I would like the reader to take all of that history and experiences now documented from the previous chapters, including all of the violence, refusals, survival modes, suppressions and joy, to think through how were able to honor and be attentive to such history and experiences in charting our praxis forward for our youth. Although the scope of this dissertation only covered a few years of this praxis, I want to use this chapter as a projection into what the next thousands of years might look like for education in our community. Our time spent with these students is not just an investment in them as individuals but in our nation for the next generations to come as we know these children will grow up and have children of their own in a few short decades. What are the things we were able to (re)new? What were the violence practices we were able to abolish? What struggles will continue and how might we get through them? Chapter 4 began to chart a (re)envisioning for what we want. This final chapter will begin to chart such a vision in praxis and provides reflections, frameworks, and methods for how we might continue this work for generations to come.

Niwho:ng-xw łe:ne:tł'-te, '*we'll come together, meet in a good way*'

It would have been unrealistic to expect everyone that I had a conversation with to participate in all aspects of the project including planning meetings, training, and the camps themselves. Although they were all invited to take part in all parts of the process, we had a core group of people made up of myself, Hoopa Tribal Education Association (HTEA) staff, and other Na:tinixwe language learners and teachers. I worked with the HTEA director, director of the NDN Center and their staff as well as director of the After-School Program and their staff. These ye-silin teachers included, but were not limited to: Erika Tracy (Ch'imiwingyo:l), Jenna Hailey (Je:nah, Melissa Sanchez (Xutł'e'dung'-xa:sina:wh), Jessica McKinnon (Tsing'-wha:ne), Ashtyn Colegrove, Muriel Ammon (Xosa:k'), Brandice Davis (Tehla:n), Denia Beck (Tahde:ch), Ginger Rogers (Xołchwił-tah-t'un'nahsma:ts'), Shelly Carpenter (Mida:ch) and Viola Marshall ('Ist'ik'). I am incredibly grateful to these women for their contributions to this work.

As we were working on these projects over the course of 2 years there was turnover of staff from some programs. Yet, we were still able to maintain a consistent group of Na:tinixwe women who were dedicated to the work that we were doing and growing the projects based on our findings. It is highly significant that we were all women, because as you have now read so much resurgence and survival work of the Na:tinixwe has been undertaken by Na:tinixwe women. This is despite the horrendous acts of violence that continue to be perpetuated against us, even at times by the hands of our own people. If you recall from the story, Coyote and the Sweetball, it is the young women at the end of the story that bring Xontehłta:w back to life. It is their speech acts that set-in motion Xontehłta:w's resurgence. And so too then it is our speech

acts and work that is helping in the resurgence of Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe and Na:tinixwe knowledge.

For those that were a part of this core group, we held numerous meetings in-person, over email, and over the phone, to plan our ye-silin camps. Niwho:ngxw- łe:ne:tł'-te, (*we would come together in a good way*). Depending on the time of year the frequency of our meetings would increase. For example, a month or two before a ye-silin camp we would be meeting weekly if not daily to plan, prepare and train. In each of these meetings we could be lesson planning, developing curriculum, doing language lessons, training other teachers in language teaching and learning. Then at the beginning of each day of camp, and at the end of each day of camp we would meet once again to check-in with one another about what worked and what we needed to improve on for the next day. At the end of each camp we would meet once again for a longer amount of time to debrief the entire camp and talk through how we would grow for the next time. We always talked in a way that we would continue this work even after the dissertation ended. One thing that was sure to occur within each of these meetings was laughter. Humor got us through our fears and frustrations around doing this work and made for some of the most poignant critiques of colonial institutions, our group most certainly practiced the Na:tinixwe pedagogy of humor. I am so indebted to this group of women and I am incredibly excited to continue working with them long after this project ends. This dissertation would not have been possible without them.

Na:tinixwe Approaches to Curriculum Development

Given that there are so few fluent first language speakers of the language currently, and the fact that those speakers are elders, we developed a circular intergenerational curriculum building and teacher training process. We did not want to put the burden of teaching on elders, especially with young children. Yet, we also knew that we had so much to learn from them and how important it was to pass that knowledge down to the next generations (our campers). First, we would plan out what activities we wanted to do, then we elicited relevant language from Wha:dichwing Verdena and learned that language well enough to teach the other teachers, all so that by the time of the camp we were ready to teach the students. Language learning, teaching, and planning would all take place simultaneously. This circular curriculum development and teacher training process was then repeated as many times as possible and necessary to build the entire lesson plan and prepare us to conduct the camp. Our curriculum development was as intergenerational as possible. We would consult with elders and community members of our parents' generation, oftentimes we would consult with our parents, they too are community members with vital knowledge to contribute. We would work as collaboratively as possible. This would look differently each time depending on the context, lesson and how much capacity we had at that time. As I was gathering knowledge from the community in my conversations, I would bring those ideas into our meetings so that they could be incorporated into our curriculum development process. My conversations with students at the end of each camp also provided insight that we could use to improve for the following camp. Throughout all meetings we aimed to think through a Na:tinixwe epistemological approach to the specific topic we wanted to cover.

Teacher Selection

Teacher selection for the camps was based within the tribal education department staff and interns for two reasons. The first reason was that they have experience teaching and were a part of the previous camps and language programs. The second reason was that I wanted to

ensure that they would be able to be paid for the work that they were doing. In the two camps that took place in the summer ye-silin camp ła'and taq', we were also able to work with the youth workers assigned to the HTEA. These would be high school and college students who were interested in working in education. The addition of these youth workers was extremely beneficial to the camps and building our team of teachers. We were able to build on the Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe and knowledge bases these students already had and/or get them excited about learning and teaching in the camps. This also gave Na:tinixwe college students who would be away during the school year a chance to reconnect with the students, language and land. It added yet another vital age group to our intergenerational knowledge transmission system we had created. Our team would work with fluent speakers as much as possible, which varied from camp to camp. We would do our best to ensure that our pronunciation and usage were correct, as well as learn new words that we needed to know from previous days of camp. We were students just as much as our campers. This disrupted the settler hierarchy of knowledge often enacted in schools where teachers are considered as the holders of knowledge and students as the recipients. Our language capabilities varied from those of us who had studied the Hupa language all through elementary and high school to those who had a few classes in elementary school but remembered very little. During the camps we would pair teachers with less language knowledge with teachers who had more language knowledge in each group. This set the stage for an encouraging and nurturing learning environment for the teachers that would then translate later for the students.

We invited fluent speakers to be a part of each camp as much as they could commit. We were able to have Wha:dichwing Verdena come down for our Ye-silin camp ła'. That gave us the ability to work with her before and after we had students, but more importantly it gave the students a chance to connect with her. I wanted to make sure that she knew that everything that she was teaching us was being passed on to the next generation and not just stored in an archive. She said to me once: "I hope one day I see one of these kids in the store and they speak to me in Hupa." "That's my goal too," I told her. Verdena was of the last generation of children to speak Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe, those after her such as my dad's generation and my own may have heard that language as children or even taught pieces of it, but we were not speakers. However, when we connect Verdena with these children that we hope to speak Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe as children, we are reconnecting that lineage of speakers that settler colonialism attempted to sever. We were also fortunate to have one of the Hoopa Valley High School Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe teachers, Danny Ammon (K'ila:jonde'), on site with us as well for ye-silin ła'. He was able to also help us fill in the gaps in our language knowledge during the camp and even work with the kids individually to answer questions that we could not. It was really important to have him and Verdena there together and for students to see people having full conversations in the language. Although our lack of knowledge was supplemented by these fluent speakers of the language, we were not dependent on them to do the majority of the teaching. Elementary School Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe teacher Jackie Martins was also able to attend some of our camps, especially Ye-silin camp nahx. We also thought it was important for the students to see their teachers outside of the school to establish the fact that they can teach and speak Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe outside of the safety zones in the school.

Part of the success of all of our camps came down to our very high student teacher ratio. We averaged around a 3 to 1 student to teacher ratio, sometimes even lower. We were able to utilize our youth interns as assistant teachers during our summer camps to make sure we got this ratio. Although our language skills varied greatly among all teachers, we were able to help one another and support students in whatever ways that they needed. Sometimes students needed to

take a break or take a walk and having enough teachers so that one can step away with a student allowed us to be able to continue with the lesson uninterrupted. This also allowed us to tailor each lesson to each individual student's needs.

Any research grants I obtained would also go either to community members working as consultants to the camp or directly to the Hoopa Tribal Education Association in order to pay community members or purchase items for camp. Putting the research funds I acquired directly back into the community and in the hands of the people I was working with was very important to me and also a part of my methodological approach.

Indigenous Language Resurgence Pedagogies

Native American Language Immersion

We aimed to enact as many Na:tinixwe pedagogical approaches as we could within our camps. Yet, as we are still in the process of (re)newing many of these practices it was also very helpful to look to other Indigenous communities and see what approaches have been helpful for their language resurgence efforts. One such approach was Native American (Indigenous) Language Immersion. Although language immersion is a method used widely across a variety of language, social, cultural and political contexts, it is important to distinguish between a general language immersion approach and an Indigenous one, most especially in the context of an ongoing settler colonial occupation. Pease-Pretty On Top describes this approach:

> A people's initiative, Native American language immersion encompasses educational practices and social development that lie outside the mainstream language teaching, education and socialization methods of American children... Curriculum content and context rely on the rich Native American knowledge bases and their eminent scholars --- tribal elders and tribal land, resources. (2003, p. 8)

The goal of this approach is to immerse the students in the Indigenous language as well as cultural frameworks of working with elders, community members and the land. We aimed to do this in all of our ye-silin camps as much as possible with Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe. This method is very different from the language classes that exist in the Hoopa Valley Elementary and High School. In the classes in these schools, Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe is taught as a subject and English is often used in the lessons. By contrast in these camps Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe is the primary medium of instruction of the lessons we teach. These lessons are often grounded in a Na:tinixwe epistemological framework.

We also undertook a variety of approaches commonly used for second language acquisition of Indigenous languages. One we utilized quite a bit was Total Physical Response (TPR) as developed by James Asher. This method brings together physical movements of the body together with language learning to make language acquisition more interactive than memorization or reading a book (Asher, 1977). The other we adapted was Accelerated Second Language Acquisition (ASLA), a method developed by Stephen Neyooxet Greymorning at the University of Montana. Within this method you use images in order to build conversations and understand the grammar or a language without having to rely on formal grammar lessons or writing. We adapted these methods to fit within a specifically Na:tinxwe epistemological framework. For example, we would combine both ASLA and TPR in our morning yoga lesson. We took popular children's yoga poses and chose specific ones that would work well for young children in a group and that also could have similar names in the language. We used the pose commonly known as "downward facing dog" but we renamed it nin'chin' Xontehł-taw

'*downward facing coyote*'. We would say the name of the pose, then show a flashcard with a picture of a coyote on it (ASLA), then proceed to physically do the pose (TPR). This gave the students both a visual and physical cue for this phrase. We used flashcards with different images that corresponded to the activity that we would do. Given our limited language fluency capacities, visual and physical cues were great to be able to rely on, either when we did not know the words or the students did not understand what the words meant just yet. An example of this was our visual schedule. The students kept asking "What are we going to do next?" over and over throughout the day. We could say ya:yk'iwidiyun-te (*we are going to eat).* But if they didn't know what that meant, they would get frustrated and so would we. Yet, if we had the pictures to show them a group of students eating, the meaning was still conveyed and we did not have to slip into English, and students were given another opportunity to learn phrases such as this.

(Re)newed Pedagogical Approaches

Songs

Songs are central to a traditional Na:tinixwe educational approach as well as to the (re)envisioned SNES. Songs are incredibly important to Na:tinixwe. There are prayer songs, gathering songs, and songs central to stories. Unfortunately, some of these songs have been dormant for some time due to settler colonial pressures. However, that doesn't mean that many of these songs can't be (re)newed just as Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe. In fact, songs in Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe were one of the most effective methods of language transmission, most especially getting the students to produce speech. We had songs that we would sing at circle time accompanied either with posters or physical cues. Some of these songs had already existed in previous programs. We had such a fun time singing with the kids and they could not get enough of the songs, and they were learning the language in the process. Songs were also very helpful in aiding our growing language capabilities. We found that one of the hardest times for us, as teachers, to not slip into English was transition times between activities. Beyond our regular circle time songs, we also had transition songs. So instead of having to say, "Okay everyone, it's time to move to the next stations," we sang a clean-up song in the Hupa language that students quickly associated with moving on to the next activity. We had a "clean-up song" a "line-up song" and a "creek walking song" (see in intro). These songs made a world of a difference for us all to stay in the language and provided seamless transitions between activities.

Ninisa:n as Pedagogy

Another central tenet to our now identified (re)envisioning of a SNES also must include land-based education that enables children to explore and strengthen a reciprocal relationship with ninisa:n. In a Na:tinixwe ontological framework, we want the children to know the land and for the land to know them. Wildcat et. al. write: "Being present on the land provides powerful ways of seeing one's relationships to the land and other than- humans, as well as new ways in contesting settler colonialism and its sense making mechanisms." (2014, p. V) They articulate that land (and other than human beings) have always been a key source of pedagogy for Indigenous nations. Given that settler colonialism attempted to destroy this relationship going out, being in relation, and learning from the land re-establishes these relationships *and* contests settler colonialism and the ways it makes relations of exploitation to the land 'make sense'. We also employed this pedagogical approach in our ye-silin camps. In the first and third camp we scheduled time to walk to the creek, to transmit Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe, and to re-establish this relationship between Na:tinixwe youth and the land *and* contest the settler colonial relations to

land they learn in school, the media, and in the broader national discourses. Lessons in this activity would be guided by the land and the students exploration of it. One example of this was that students would crawl in the creek and plants much further than the adult teachers. They would find new plants that we did not cover in our language lesson previous to our walk. As a result, we could teach them new vocabulary words we would have not otherwise. Our second ye-silin camp was conducted almost entirely outside, meaning that all of our lessons, planned and unplanned, were centered around and with ninisa:n.

Multisensory Exposure and Reinforcement: Verbal (re)mapping

One last approach that we undertook was what we are calling *multisensory exposure and reinforcement*. This approach came from a combination of our adaptations of ASLA, TPR, our intentionality around engaging with the land, and out of pure creativity. Within this approach we aimed to expose students to as many different iterations of the word that we were teaching them as possible. For example, in teaching the word king (*tree*), we would first show them a picture of a tree, then we would do the tree yoga pose, then we would do a coloring page of a tree, then we would sing a song about a tree, and lastly we would go outside and have them interact with a tree. This is something that takes place in contexts of natural language acquisition but over much longer periods of time (Johnson, Swain and Long 1997), so we wanted to model that as much as possible within the time and space that we did have. Some language educators may call this approach verbal mapping (Otto, 2017). For Indigenous communities in settler colonial contexts, this process is a verbal (re)mapping of our lands, as settler colonial mapping practices erased many of our Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe understandings of the ninisa:n. In Mishauna Goeman's work she invokes (re)mapping as a process of contesting settler colonial relations of power through ancestral understandings of time, space and place. We (re)mapped Na:tinxw with Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe as much as we could in our camps.

Family Follow-up: Intergenerational Knowledge Transmission

Families of our students were invited and encouraged to stay and participate as much as they could during the camps. We had one mother and her baby that came consistently each day. Most parents of our students had little to no knowledge of Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe. We wanted them to learn as much as they could too, so that they could continue to use the language with their children at home, even after our camps ended. On the last day of each camp we gave each student a packet that included recordings, storybooks, coloring pages, posters, visual aids, games and many other curriculum items. We created a book with the illustrations used as visual cues throughout the camp and a transcription of the recording done by a linguist who works on Hupa Language and with Verdena Parker to document the language. He was able to use his expertise at transcribing Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe to help us create curriculum and bring those written words to life. We urge other linguists who work on endangered languages to use their skills to contribute to resurgence projects in communities from which those languages originate. Many families were incredibly proud to see their children being able to learn to speak the language that they were denied. They were so happy and excited to have their children teach them small phrases and most often the songs from our camp and the students were excited to do it. Tehla:n, mother of one of our students, was able to attend all three camps stated: "There was a lot that was learned and I'm learning a lot for my 6 year old is teaching me and then my other daughter comes and then her dad who didn't grow up here. He's on the [tribal] roll but he didn't grow up here and he's like well now I feel left out." This particular student has taken the initiative to

teach the rest of her family the language that she has learned in our camps. One parent who is Na:tinixwe but did not grow up on the reservation is now excited to learn from his daughter. A lot of this work is bringing our Na:tinixwe that have been denied the opportunity to learn the language for many different reasons back into it. Everyone is welcome. It is especially powerful if it is your child that is doing that work. Family and community are also central to our (re)newed SNES, in our camps family and community were the space and source of knowledge. Bringing our language back brings our people back together.

Ye-silin Ła': 2nd Annual Xontehł-taw Immersion Camp

The first ye-silin camp took place from July 16-20, 2018. This camp was conducted in conjunction with the Hoopa Tribal Education Association. The camp was a second iteration of the first Hupa language camp in the community in decades, the 2nd Annual Xontehł-taw Hupa Language Immersion Camp. The first Xontehł-taw camp was conducted in the summer of 2017 with 15, 5-6 year olds. This camp was funded by a Dreamstarter for American Indian Youth Grant that I had won in partnership with the tribal education department. Part of the reason that I applied for this particular non-academic grant was because I was having so much trouble in the space of academia finding grants to support this work in the way I wanted to do it. This second annual camp, the first camp within the scope of this dissertation, used the remaining funds from that grant as well as funds from the education department to run the camp.

The 2nd Annual Xontehł-taw Hupa Language Immersion Camp was the first camp of the dissertation and took place at the beginning of the knowledge gathering process. We had to strategically plan the camp in this particular part of summer so that students could come the entire day, and so as to not conflict with ceremonies regularly held in the community in the summers. Consequently, this meant that this camp took place before I was able to conduct a significant number of conversations with community members outside of the education department and the language teachers I was already consulting with. Therefore, we decided to have this first camp build from what was currently happening and had already happened in the community. This included ongoing Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe and culture classes, camps and programs. Beyond the practical reasons for this decision, it also spoke to the historical reality that so much important Na:tinixwe resurgence work had been happening far before this dissertation and far before I was even born. This project is community-based, and community-driven. Instead of coming-in with ideas from the academy about what and how things should be done, I adapted my dissertation to the current state of the things in the community and chose to support ongoing projects. Therefore, for this initial camp we tried to build on our personal and professional experiences and teachings as Hupa women. We drew from our teachings, experiences and the conversations we had up until that point, as Hupa women, most of whom grew up on the reservation, participated in ceremonies and traditional activities, and attended school on the reservation. I drew my contributing ideas from the teachings I have received from the language, land, ancestors and people.

Although we drew from previous programs, experiences and teachings that didn't mean we didn't make any changes from the previous year. As requested by the parents and teachers the year before we were able to extend the camp by a day. We were able to begin to plan much more in advance for this camp than we had for the previous camp. This allowed us to advertise for the camp and get the word out to more families, so that a broader range of kids and their families could be a part of it. We expanded from the previous year by 5 students, to a total of 20 students.

We were also able to include two experienced Hupa language teachers, one from the elementary school and the other from the high school. Both of them were our language teachers in school (those of us that took Hupa language in school) so it was great to have them involved and show that we were passing on the knowledge and continuing the work they have been doing for the past few decades. They were involved in the planning and the camp itself to utilize their expert knowledge. The students were then able to ask the language teachers on site questions about the language that the other teachers might not be able to answer. The other teachers like myself, with less language knowledge, would also be able to ask this expert language teacher questions at the moment.

We also introduced a new story in addition to *Xontehł-taw Lixun YixonehLtse:tL'*. The new story was entitled: Xontehł-taw Kiyiq'-me' Xoda' K'inta'a'n, '*Coyote's lips get stuck to a tree'*. We were a little worried that the students would get bored with the story from the previous camp. We were wrong. The first coyote story continued, and continues even now, to provide new lessons in language and life each time that we tell and hear it. The students were able to have a much deeper engagement with the story than they were the previous year because they were already familiar with it. They were able to pick out more words and phrases and understand more than before. So were we as teachers. We chose *Coyote's lips get stuck to a tree*, because it has a similar form to the previous story and even had a similar lesson.

This first camp took place at the College of the Redwoods Hoopa Campus. We had to move locations from the previous year. Because we chose to follow the same group of students as the previous year (5-6 previously, 6-7 during this first camp), they were now too old to be in the tribal early childhood facility. This was a large space that we were able to take advantage of using multiple classrooms so that we could create different stations for a variety of areas and activities. In July in Hoopa it usually gets very hot. Unfortunately, the air conditioner in the main room we planned to use went out, so we had to move to a much smaller and conventional classroom.

Each day of the camp had a different stated goal, key piece of curriculum to introduce and vocabulary to focus on. Below is a list of each day with its corresponding goals and vocabulary:

- **Day 1** *Goal: Comprehension; Introduce Story Intros, Numbers, and Keywords* ***Diydi hay-de:di? What is it?***
- **Day 2** *Goal: Production of speech; Colors, Meal-Time* ***Diydi Iłtsis? What do you see?***
- **Day 3** *Goal: Conversation (sentences and responses);*Introduce Story 2, Body Parts ***Nułxit! Touch it!***
- **Day 4** *Goal: Comprehension, Production and Meaningful Use; Creek and Classroom Objects,* ***Nułtsung' Find it!***
- **Day 5** *Goal: Comprehension, Production and Meaningful Use, Self-Voluntary Use* Review and Reinforce Everything

Although these were lofty goals to try to accomplish within the timeframe of 5 days. We found pretty consistently across this camp and the one previous, that the first few days had to focus on building relationships with the students and exposing them to as much language as possible, without expecting them to produce a whole lot in return. However, around Day 3 we could start to expect some speech production. On the 4th day was really when they started to show meaningful use of the language in the previous year's camp. This is why we were so excited to add another day and see how far the students would progress. They really rose to the occasion and started to feel comfortable in our routine and using the language that they knew. Five days

was definitely not enough but this didn't discredit the amount of progress we were able to make within our timeframe. Nor the importance of the love, excitement and joy we imparted upon the students for learning the language and their desire to continue learning after the camp at home, in school, and in the community. We made sure to send them home with language packets that included many of the activities and language that we covered in camp so that they could continue to learn at home.

Example Schedule

Below is an example schedule to provide context and a model that could possibly adapted in other communities:

10:00-10:20- He:yung Ye'inyawh: Snacks while they settle in
10:20-10:50- Circle Time: Discuss day, Read Story, Introduce Songs, Introduce Ya:tidisow (Yoga), Set Timer
10:50-11:20- Introduction game, Introduce basic commands and phrases
11:20-11:30- Formally Introduce Story (talk about stories): Introduce Key words, Play recording,
Tell through different medium each day: eBook Video
11:30-11:35- Revisit Vocab in Big Group, on projector Key Words
11:35-11:55 – 3 Vocab Stations: Listening Station, Cave, Matching
11:55-12:00-Clean-Up: Sing song, Prepare for lunch
12:00-12:30- Lunch: Introduce/act out vocab: big group projector, reinforce in groups, Eat Family Style
12:30-12:35-Clean-Up: Sing song
12:35-12:40- Creek Vocab: Review on Projector
12:40- 1:05 – Creek Visit: Line-Up Song, Ya:ydil whima:lyo', Diydi Iłtsis?, Diydi Hay-de:di? Da:ydi-xw?
1:05-1:40- Language Games: Ninisa:n-me:q', Xontehł-taw a:de:ne',
Free play w/ language options: Twister, Na:we, Whi'ching' chiLma:s
Ya:tidisow
1:40-1:45- Xa' na:ya:ydił: Walk back
1:45- 2:00- Closing Circle: Circle up, Closing song, Turn off timer and celebrate with compliments that we had a good day. Kiye' na:niwhtsis-te'

Planning and Design

Circle Time Conversations

This camp was intentionally a praxis of Na:tinixwe resurgence. In all aspects of camp, we tried to incorporate Na:tinixwe pedagogies and curricular approaches. We also tried to counter many of the approaches we know that take place in the public schools on the reservation. One example was one of our circle time songs in which we asked each student: Daxwe:di 'a:nt'e? *(How are you doing?)* We would then give them a range of emotions to choose from to tell us how they were doing. The well-being of our students was our priority. The well-being of the language and our future generations go hand-in-hand. We were enacting a Na:tinixwe pedagogy of love for our students and the language. These are approaches to teaching and learning that come from our ancestors. Based on our experiences either as parents, or even as teachers, coming into the classrooms at the public school we know that this is something that often does not happen (See Chapter 3).

We created parts of our curriculum specifically for this camp. We also drew from other language programs that we, or the Hoopa Valley Tribe, had done in the past. We would begin and end our day with circle time where we would have a conversation about the importance of speaking the language and what we hoped to work on for that day. These circle time conversations were critical to establishing the tone for the rest of the camp. It was very important to us to explain to the students why we were there, why Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe was endangered in the first place. We would talk about the history and experiences of our relatives in schools being punished for speaking the language and connect those to their own relatives. Teaching the real history of our people is also a central tenet identified for a (re)newed SNES. Our students in this camp were 6-7 years old. Some might think this age group is too young to introduce this history too, however many of them already knew it in some capacity and were very drawn to knowing what happened and why. It was a critical conversation that we were able to continue to have with them over the course of the camp and to reflect on the significance of what we were all doing.

Another marker of the beginning and end of our days was a special timer that went off after we reviewed the schedule for the day and reminded them of key phrases like 'yes', 'no', 'I don't know', and 'I have to go to the bathroom'. This was our Na:tinixwe Mixine:wh wha:ne *'Hupa language only'* alarm. This was to signal our transition into being intentional about speaking only the language as much as possible. Then we would go into our songs in the language that covered different topics and came with either actions or visual aids so that the students would understand the meaning. Some of these topics were: greetings, numbers, colors, actions, body parts, emotions, animals, and thankfulness. We would then do yoga adapted to a Hupa cultural framework to get them ready for the day (explained in pedagogies section). Our circle looked very similar at the end of the day. We would sound the alarm once again to signal that we had made it through our day in as much Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe as possible and to congratulate ourselves. We would then talk about what we liked from the day and leave our circle in a good way as families arrived to take their children home until the following day. This also gave the families an opportunity to participate in the circle time if they desired, and if not, it gave the students an opportunity to show their families what they had learned.

(Re)newed ch'ixolchwe praxis

In our circle time we would also talk about our stories and the lessons they teach us. This would be a great time to check the comprehension of the students and see where we needed to make adjustments so that they were able to understand the story. On the first day only, we would play the story in both Hupa and English so that they would be able to get some context for the translation of what they would be listening to for the next week. We needed to balance ensuring that the students understood the stories with exposing them to as much Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe as we could. All the while, knowing that they would not be able to understand a lot of the specifics of the language in the timeframe that we had. As identified in Chapter 4, storytelling is a key tenet of a (re)newed SNES and Na:tinixwe pedagogical approach. Na:tinixwe stories each have specific lessons to teach each time that they are told. Teaching Na:tinixwe morality was also a key tenet of a SNES, and stories are often the best way to do that. The key lesson for both of the Xontehł-taw stories that we used was: *(don't be greedy)*, do:diwa'unchwe'n.

We would begin each day talking about the story and lesson in English and then be able to use that framework to keep the kids accountable throughout the day in Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe. For example, if during snack time they were taking too much and there wouldn't be

enough for other students we could say do:diwa'unchwe'n, and they would know what it meant and could connect it to the story and also learn from Xontehł-taw's mistakes. Seven-year-old Nundil recounted her understanding and application of the lessons for us:

> Well the coyote wanted to drink too much water he wanted to be greedy he wanted to share it with no else. And that's what I like about that story. And the second one about candy. I'm not gonna be greedy about candy. He wanted a larger one and a larger one. Xoji' nikya:w mmm hmm and then he got smashed.

Nundil demonstrated both an understanding of each story line, the lessons that it taught and even applied it to her own practice moving forward. Seven-year-old Mack expressed the importance of learning Na:tinixwe stories. I asked: "Would you want to do stories like this at school?" He responded: "Yes, because this is where I was born." I followed up: "Yeah cuz it's part of who you are?" He replied: "Yeah, cuz our ancestors have been telling these stories for a long long time so they are really important." Mack is putting forth the long lineage in which these stories have been told, he recognizes that he is now a part of that lineage and that is hugely important.

Following circle time, we would move to the tables and review key words for students to listen for in our Xontehł-taw stories with visual cues and actions. We would all listen to a recording of Verdena Parker telling the story either with illustrations or with a puppet show to guide the students along the storyline. These were great ways for them to be able to understand the story without us having to directly translate it each time and, more importantly, for us to be able to completely stay in the language. In addition, this gave the students an opportunity to listen to extended fluent streams of Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe, again that none of our core teachers had the capability to do on our own. As this group was familiar with the *Coyote and the Sweetball story*, we switched between that story and the new one each morning. Each day they listened to the same stories with different visual cues so that they would be able to understand it progressively more each time. We also incorporated physical cues for key parts in the story that were repeated throughout. For example, for the key phrase which'in' ch'ima:s (*roll out to me*) that Coyote says repeatedly throughout the story we would gesture our hands towards ourselves to give them another context clue for the meaning of the phrase. By the end of the week the students clearly enjoyed interacting and following along with the stories. On the final day, once they were accustomed to the camp schedule, Verdena was able to come visit the classroom and tell them the stories in person. Students circled around her as she told the story in the language visibly engaged and excited presumably just as they would have hundreds of years ago. Aunt Verdena was also able to see the fruits of her labor in the growing language capabilities of the students and teachers (her students). Even if it were for those brief moments, Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe was being transmitted from an elder to young children through traditional storytelling practices once again.

Following story-time we would move to stations with activities related to the story. For example, we created a scene out of the story in a corner of the classroom so that the students could use the language from the story in context. It was in this station that students could use the phrase 'which'in' ch'ima:s' and see that the use of that phrase would signal the rolling out of a ball from our "cave" just as it did for the kids and Coyote in the story. Other stations included: matching, listening, pictionary and a nułtsung!, Find it!, game all of which reviewed the key vocabulary from story in fun, and interactive ways.

(Re)newed Family Eating Practice

Following the story stations, we would have a family style lunch. Unlike at the school where students and teachers eat separately, we were very intentional about eating with our students and using that time to continue to build relationships with them. This became a great time for unstructured informal lessons in our small groups or even in one-on-one settings. There were three criteria in choosing our menu. The first was that we chose food with simple names in Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe because many modern foods have very long and complicated names that might be overwhelming to the students to try to pronounce. The second was that we wanted to provide good high-quality healthy food to the students. They don't always get this at school, and they might not even get this at home, but in our camps, they could count on having good meals each and every day. Lastly, we had to balance all of this with foods that we knew the kids would actually eat. For example, we would eat chicken strips on the first day because we knew our students would eat them and the Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe work for chicken is jikin, which is a loan-word from English adapted to the Na:tinixwe Mixinewhe phonemic system. Many of our students expressed our food as one of their favorite parts of camp. Six-year-old Xut'le' wha: stated: "What I like about camp is that we get to have healthy food." Good nutrition is also key to the well-being of our students and we wanted to be able to provide that for them even if it were for those few days.

(Re)newed Relationships with Ninisa:n

At the end of each day we would take a structured walk to the creek. We had a specific walking song to occupy the students on our walk over. We would give flashcards of different beings that we would see along our walk to the creek: k'iya:wh (*bird*), king (*tree*), tse *(rock*), wha (*sun*). However, instead of just learning this vocabulary as one might do in a public-school classroom, we went out in the world to visit with these beings. As Wildcat et. al (2014) note decolonization is about reconnecting people to the land and the languages that arise from that land. We would ask them what they saw while providing them the vocabulary they needed in order to tell us. We had a walking song that we would sing during our trip and once we got to the creek, we would ask diydi 'ohłtsis? *(What do you all see?*) Then from the terms they learned before they could tell us in the language. This was a process of relationship building with the land through verbal (re)mapping of Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe onto the landscape. This provided a reorientation to the creek as a place to learn from and to use language.

We would then go to the park and let them have free time. At this point in the day they were starting to feel the challenge of learning the language, so this was a nice break for them. We would let them do what they wanted but also give them the option to play a language game if they chose to. Lastly, we would walk back to the classroom singing all the songs again. Once we were back at the classroom, we listened to the timer again to signal that we could now speak English and congratulate ourselves for making it through the day.

Celebration

The final day of the camp was dedicated to celebration. We took a field trip over the K'isdiya:n ya'kya:n-ding, the tribal Senior Nutrition Center. This is where many elders in the community go to every weekday for a free lunch, but mostly to visit with one another. We arranged a performance of the many Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe songs we learned for the elders. We told the kids about it earlier in the day and they seemed nervous but excited to show what they had learned. They also yelled to us in the opening circle the many relatives that they knew were

going to attend. Or they told us who they knew that ate there regularly and speculated about whether or not they would watch them perform. There were similar conversations that took place when we were walking over to the center. When we arrived, I introduced myself and our group to the room full of elders, many of them knew me but some did not. Then I told them what we had been learning and what they wanted to share with them. We proceeded to perform our songs guided by our visual and physical cues so that the elders would understand what we were singing as well. Some students were shy in the beginning but by our ending song they were beaming with pride. We finished and the room erupted with applause. We thanked them for letting us share and walked back to our classroom. As we were walking out, I overheard a conversation between some elders. One said to the other: "did you recognize any of the words they said." The other one responded excitedly "yes I think so!" This was so important and exciting for me. Many of these elders were of my parents' generation or a little older. So many of them were either punished for speaking the language or it was their parents who did not teach them to speak out of love and protection. That said, I'm sure that many of them have negative connotations with the language such as trauma, fear, regret and loss. The fact that from this performance some of them were able to feel good about what they remembered from the language, even if it was a few words, was incredible.

The other major addition to our programming for this camp was a small graduation ceremony that we conducted on the final day. We invited the families of our students and would honor each and every one of them for all of the hard work that they put in. Then they would be given take-home packets and their very own Xontehł-taw stuffed animal so that they would have a xontehł-taw to speak Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe with whenever they wanted. Their xontehł-taws would also be able to read along in their storybooks and remind them of the lessons he teaches. This was a great opportunity for families, students and teachers to come together and celebrate our survivance as Na:tinixwe learning and teaching Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe, despite all odds. One of my favorite parts of this particular graduation was that each student would be called up to receive their packet and be able to shake Wha:dichwing Verdena's hand to recognize their accomplishment and feel like legitimate Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe speakers because they were getting their approval from a speaker. I believe that Verdena enjoyed this just as much. Some students unprompted would give a hug rather than a handshake to express their love and appreciation for the language. Our graduation was a celebration and honoring of the language just as much as it was for our students.

Reflections

During this camp we would do language practice in the morning with Aunt Verdena, hold camp with students, and then debrief the day after the camp. It was an extremely long and tiring day. Therefore, I was unable to do as many written reflections after each day as I would have liked. However, in one of my reflections I wrote: "The goal is not to get data for my project but to get these kids speaking the language.*"* As a result, my energy and time would often be spent focusing on learning and teaching the language and attending to the students over writing and recording. In reflecting on what success was like for me in this camp I wrote:

> I looked to the kids and auntie to see if I was doing a good job. The kids spoke lots of English but really comprehended a lot of language. I think they all felt very safe and our teaching approach was probably different from what they had experienced. The language was first and foremost the most important thing in this space and all the other spaces that

> we created. I think they finally got the lessons from the story and that was super important and something that stayed with them.

Success meant we were all enjoying ourselves and learning language together in a good way. Students responded very positively to our approach. Many students in their post-camp conversations expressed the importance and love for language. One stated: "I want to learn the language because this was where I was born." Another mentioned: "If I opened my own school I would do a lot of Hupa language." Yet another added: "I really like coming here and I like the Hupa language." Their enjoyment and desire to keep learning the language was a great indication of the success of our first ye-silin camp.

One of the most important critiques of the public-school system did not come from me or the academic literature but from a 6-year-old boy. Tɬ'iwh said of the school " they just teach us to prepare for the next grade." He continued: "here it is fun and we learn to be Hupa." The goal of these ye-silin camps are to help grow hupa language speakers who are respectful and connected to their land, language and culture. Core teacher in this camp, Ashtyn stated:

> I really liked the camp and the way that it looked at everything differently. And gave a different point of view to something like those kids things just clicked with them. Like you could see it and they did learn a lot. We didn't learn all this math and science but it was like I have different ways of explaining my connection to this place and I can see this long history that goes back.

Ashtyn described our (re)newed pedagogical approach and the ways that it differs from that of the public-school system. She then connected what we were able to do to a "long history that goes back", that history of our ancestors, their knowledge, and praxis in this place for thousands of years. She also describes the SNES we were able to create as compared to those SNESs that have major limitations within the school system. She recounted: "It wasn't just this hour a day thing." In camp we create a space where "we're gonna give you the language and then put you in a situation where you use the language." Within our SNES, Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe is the desired and primary language of use and you are encouraged to take that desire with you in other spaces and times.

In our camp debrief with all of the lead teachers we were able to reflect on the learning community we created. Ch'imiwingyo:l talked about how our low student-teacher ratio and approach allowed us to "meet them where they were." This gave us the flexibility to "let kids learn in their own way." She reflected on a situation she was had with one student who was frustrated with a task, but rather than punishing her right away, Ch'imiwingyo:l was able to give her to time and space to "find what she needed to find." She compared this approach to what most often happens in the school: "Punishment seems to be the first reaction over there." Jena:h expressed her gratitude for feeling supported as a teacher: "I feel like as a teacher everyone had my back and everyone cared about the kids. I don't necessarily think that happens at school." She continued:

> I've heard a lot of parents say that they feel like the teachers don't care and just kind of show up for the pay check and aren't invested in the kids or the community. I felt like they were more happy and willing to tell us what was going on. Here they had a choice. Where at the school I don't really think they get that opportunity. Like I don't really think they have a choice at school. To me it looked like they were more connected with each other and what they are doing. Here they were allowed to ask for help or have a meltdown without getting into trouble.

Jena:h is describing the ways that we were able to prioritize the safety and well-being of our students. One of the ways that we were able to do this was caring for our students, but also caring for one another and modeling those positive relationships. Students were provided the choice and opportunity to share and express how they were feeling even if it wasn't good. All of this was without fear of punishment. This allowed them to connect in a deeper way with their peers and the lessons that we were conducting. Tsing' wha:ne added that we created: "A lot healthier environment compared to the school, over there it's tense, they didn't feel like they were gonna get in trouble." As detailed in Chapter 3 students are stressed out and tired from school, part of this stress comes from a fear of punishment. As Tsing' wha:ne described they did not have that fear or stress here at our camp.

Student consent, choice and joy were also central tenets of a (re)newed SNES that we were able to attend to in this first ye-silin camp. Xosa:k' explained: "because they [students] have the choice to do everything I think that makes it all the more valuable." Xut'le' dung-xosina:w added: "I think because we enjoyed what we were doing they did." We as teachers were also free to choose what we taught and how, without the mandates or limitations of state and national standards. Our ability to consent to and enjoy what we were teaching, created a learning environment in which students could feel the same way. The well-being of the students, language and land were all central to our SNES. The excerpt from our conversation illustrates how we were able to achieve this:

Jena:h- *When we would talk to each other we would say ts'ehdiyah and we would never mock each other at the school the teachers mock each other and they even mock the students*

Xutl'e'dung'-xa:sina:wh- *We didn't even call out a kid. That happens at the school and they point them out to the whole class and they feel bad. Like 'see we don't act like this person.' 'This kid is being...' And we didn't do that at all here. We did the opposite. It was ok for them to have emotions and let them let it out and then they could keep going."*

Jena:h-*We let them be human*

Tsing' wha:ne- *We created a safe space where they could make mistakes because mistakes are how you learn from those mistakes*

Ch'imiwingyo:l- *But here I think they felt very safe...they know that their teachers [at school] aren't connected. That's why this works because we're all connected, all these different connections to the content, the language, this place, the stories, the ancestors, to auntie, to each other, all of these different connections...mainstream schooling seems to disconnect a lot of things.*

K'ila:jonde'- *If you think about this as a mini-school it was completely a part of the community. So like everyone working here was from the community all the teachers. They did the big final harrah with the elders showing what they learned. When parents come to drop their kids off, they are welcome to stay and visit as much as they want really. Umm so it wasn't like this is the school and this is the community. It is all part of the same thing. And what I saw there was never any time when you're a bad kid I'm gonna kick you out, I'm gonna put you on detention, I'm gonna suspend you. There was never anything like that here. Although you did have stuff to deal with there was real stuff and like we tried to redirect and whatever but kids that were having problems were able to eventually come back and be part of the group and have their own success*

As you have read in many of our conversations, we were constantly thinking about the damage that the school does to our students and how we might remedy or counter it. As stated above, by modeling positive relationships among ourselves as teachers, giving students the space to be able

to express themselves and providing a Na:tinixwe centered curriculum and approach, we were able to create a really great space for these students in our week with them. We were free from the limits of the school and the students were able to benefit as a result. This was Xosa:k''s first time being a Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe teacher and she expressed what a transformative experience that was for her, especially since she did not go to school on the reservation. Therefore, she wasn't able to take part in the SNESs in the schools in Na:tinxw that many of us had. She told us that before this she always thought about the limits of what we could do with the language because of its highly endangered state. However, after the camp she emotionally expressed: "there aren't any limits to this...if you don't see it then you can make it." She addressed the immense responsibility that we all hold for our youth to (re)map and (re)make this world with Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe for the benefit of our people.

Suggestions for growth

Following each camp we held a łe:ne:tɬ'-te, debrief meeting, in order to brainstorm how we might improve on camps in the short-term and long-term future. Below is a short list of ideas that we came up with. I am including this here to show you how we were able to incorporate some of them into proceeding camps, to illustrate the ways that ye-silin camps are ever changing to fit the needs and desires of the people.

- Longer and more students
- Create and implement new songs
- Do scavenger hunt
- Reincorporate hand signals
- Be more prepared with images on hand so that we won't have to use as much English
- Make sure they know why speaking the language is important
- Do a family camp
- Do a camp over spring break
- Create miniature puppets for them
- We need to be prepared for kids with different needs (severe anxiety)
- Create plant books

Ye-silin Nahx: ASP Hupa Language Immersion Camp

I don't think we can ever do a camp in a classroom again, it's so hard to go back. I think this is a point we've been trying to get to for a long time and now that we're here there's so much more to build from.

--Ch'imiwingyo:l, HTEA Executive Director

The second ye-silin camp took place on April 15-17 from 12-2 pm at the tribally owned Tish-Tang Campground. We worked with 22 students ages 5-10 in grades K-4. Originally, we were supposed to conduct the second ye-silin camp in December during the Klamath-Trinity Joint Unified School District (KTJUSD) winter break. However, that time of year proved to be very busy for Hoopa Tribal Education staff. As an alternative we decided to do a camp over the district's spring break. We also partnered directly with a Hoopa Tribal Education Program: the Hoopa Tribal After-School Program, to conduct this camp. The original group of teachers from the first camp teamed up with the teachers of the After-School Program. Given the timing of the camp there were some teachers that were with us in the previous camp that couldn't make this one, but it worked out well to work with this new group of teachers. The timing also proved

difficult for many of the fluent speakers and teachers that we had worked with on the first camp. I was able to consult with Wha:dichwing Verdena on the curriculum but she was unable to attend in person. We felt that it would be a beneficial move to work with a program and a group of kids that could then continue to use the language learned in the camp. We transitioned from working with a general group of students (recruited through advertising in the community) to working with a tribal program. However, to make sure we continued to follow up with our original group of students we also invited them to participate. Throughout this entire process we aimed to work with as many kids, programs, teachers, families as possible. Opening up the ages allowed us to work with kids who might not be in any of the programs or even get language at school.

Changes from the first camp

Given that we kept a lot of the key curricular and pedagogical approaches from the first camp I focus much more on what we added and changed and the ways that this second camp adapted and grew based on teacher, student and community feedback. I will also be bringing in points of reflection that illuminate issues and important to (re)newed SNES praxis.

Deeper Engagement with the Land

There's something so powerful about bringing youth, language and land together. That's been central to the rationale behind these camps, but I think we did it more in this camp than any other that I had been a part of before. We had planned to be outside all three days but due to the weather, and our shade tents not arriving on-time, we had the first day of camp at the After-School Program building. This required some re-adjusting to the schedule and activities, but we made it work. Thankfully the weather was very nice for the following two days and we were able to conduct the rest of the camp outside at the tribally owned campground. Being totally outside with no power outlets and little phone service also required a shift in our use of technology. In the first camp we took advantage of powerpoints to show the different images of the vocabulary we were covering. However, since we didn't have access to the same set-up, we relied much more on printed images and the physical objects to provide the object referent for the words and concepts we were teaching. This really turned out to be quite positive for our learning environment.

It was a transition for myself, as I'm sure it was for some of the other teachers, from the traditional indoor classroom learning that we had used in previous camps. It was a transition from other classroom teaching experiences that we all had, and maybe most poignant, that we received ourselves. For me it required a process of letting go to the formal education structure I had known. This may seem like an obvious theoretical point but proved to be more complex in practice. I felt a certain type of anxiety, almost lack of control over the area in which we were learning. However, upon reflecting on this that loss of control I felt was part of the point, to have a free and open learning environment. This took some major adjusting on my part as a teacher, trained to 'maintain control over my classroom'. This adjustment made me really think about how even the physical space of a typical classroom: enclosed, with walls, borders, and boundaries with doors that lock, could be another method of controlling students. Outside there are no doors, or walls, no major physical borders of containment, only suggestions by the teachers as to the area in which students should stay for their safety. One of the teachers was worried about students 'just taking off into the bushes,' Even one of the students mentioned not liking students "taking off", most likely because she wasn't used to it either. She was panicking too. But what if this 'taking off into the bushes' is where the self-directed meaningful lesson with

the land takes place for students? It is an entirely different type of way of structuring, or even unstucturing a space for learning than many of us have experienced in school. It definitely requires trust in what we are doing and what our people did for so many years before. Given that we were in a more typical classroom setting the first day it was set up so that we could do a direct comparison between the two. Xutł'e'dung'-xa:sina:wh stated:

> It is so much better for them to be outside than it was in a classroom. Cuz in a classroom it worked really well too but I feel like outside it didn't give them the stigma of 'oh I'm in a classroom I have to absolutely do this.' Ya know and so like I think it gave more of a freedom. And a lot of them they used more language today. I feel like. I think doing it outside is more beneficial for immersion than being in a classroom setting.

When we speak about an engagement with land, we aren't just talking about the landscape itself but all the living beings that call the land its home, including ourselves. We were able to engage with other beings and be guests in their homelands. We are (re)newing our relationship with ninisa:n and by doing so contesting settler colonial relations of power (Ka'opua-Goodyear, 2013; Simpson, 2017). One teacher described a meaningful encounter she and her group had and how quickly the children were able to pick up on the lessons, reorient themselves to the beings and proactively protect them. In broader settler discourses, frogs often get constructed as gross pests. Humans and their needs and desires are always placed above them. In many biology classes across the country frogs are bread solely for their bodies to be dissected by students. Then they are disposed of. In my biology at Hoopa High we had baby sharks instead of frogs but the violence across the species is the same. On the other hand, to Na:tinixwe, Chahł (*Frog)* is an important figure in many of our stories. She and her people call this place home as well. We are not superior to Frog, we are in relation with her. You can see the shift in the students' relationships with the Chahł in this example. It is important to note that this particular scenario was not planned in the curriculum. The teacher recounted in our group post-camp conversation:

> Our group found a family of frogs! [everyone laughs] And they wanted to go get them and I said 'da:w chahł xontah'! and they said 'oh it's their house'! And I was like 'diye'! Then one student found a nail and said 'this is dangerous to them we need to get this away from them.'And I said niwho:ng, niwho:ng!

In this scenario we can see a group of students meeting a family of frogs and getting to know them. The teacher then relays to them, in Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe, that this is their home. Knowing that they have a home and wouldn't want anyone to mess with it they decided to leave them alone. Shortly after one student even sees something that might create a dangerous situation for the frogs and moves to protect them. We can quickly see their relationships with the frogs go from one of objectification and domination, to one of care and protection. I think this is such a valuable lesson so central to a Na:tinixwe epistemology, better yet the students themselves created the conditions for this lesson to take place because we gave them the freedom to do so. I wonder how this would have played out if we were at the school. Would they have not liked the frogs? Not protected them? Would a non-Native teacher have said she hated frogs and expressed disgust? Or worse would they be dissecting these frogs for no good reason?

When I went back to listen to our post-camp teacher conversation it wasn't just the voices of the teachers that could be heard. There were birds chirping in the background of our debrief. I was quickly reminded of the importance of the ch'idilwa:wh approach, and how it differed significantly from a conventional interview approach. If the reader recalls this particular verb in Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe doesn't just refer to conversations between or produced by human voices

but also could include frogs croaking or birds singing. In the previous example we witnessed the students having a conversation with the frog family. In this example we can hear the birds taking part in our debrief of the camp. The birds wanted to be a part of the conversation as well, chiming in along with us. Telling us how they think it went. We can only hope they were saying it was good. I'm sure they loved to be with the kids, to see them and to hear them speak the old language their ancestors knew. Being outside was so nice we didn't want to go back inside again for any kind of "business." Being in ninisa:n made our debrief much more enjoyable and we were able to hang out even for just a few hours longer in the (re)newed world we had created in those days.

Broader Age Range: Intergenerational support across ages and language abilities

I was a little worried about bringing together a group of kids from such a broad age range and how they were going to work together. Were the older kids going to get bored? Would the younger ones be frustrated? However, it turned out to be a wonderful experience and gave students the opportunity to support one another based on their individual knowledge. For example, many of our younger students had been in our previous camp, and actually knew quite a bit more language than our older students. This evened the playing field for all students because the older students could help the younger students in more complex tasks, while the younger students could help the older students bring up their language knowledge. We tried not to set them up in any kind of competition and so they had no reason to feel like they needed to compare themselves to the other students based on what they did or didn't know. There was one situation in which we created an obstacle course with two lanes. We didn't want it to be a competition but some of the students turned it into one, given that students varied in age with different physical abilities this discouraged a few students, one even left the game crying. This was a reminder once again that we need to encourage cooperation rather than competition. However, she was able to get her frustrations about in a healthy way, talk about them, reflect, and rejoin the group for a later activity. Beyond this situation we tried to keep activities focused on cooperative and supportive relationships. This resulted in everyone being confident about their current abilities and wanting to expand upon them together.

Given the broader age range we had a few sets of siblings in this camp. One set of siblings included one of our Xontehł-taw camp students from our very first camp and her older sister who had not been able to receive very much Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe language instruction at all in her life. In fact, their mother told me the younger sister is often the one teaching their entire family. Therefore, this was both an exciting and also intimidating environment for the older sister to enter. She was finally going to get to participate in the language camp her sister had been talking about, but she also knew she was coming with much less experience. What the younger sister didn't know was that we are constantly adding new songs and material. The majority of the students in this camp were enrolled at the After-School Program (neither of these sisters were a part of this) where we had recently introduced a new song, so there was some new material for them both to cover together. Given that the younger sister had participated in all our other camps she was surprised to find that we had incorporated a new song that she did not know. They were both very quiet the first day trying to learn the new song. Later, their mother told me that "they were nervous about the new songs." On the last day the two sisters were singing along with the songs loud and proud. I had seen this transformation in their confidence, and I was ecstatic for them.

What I didn't know until after camp was over, was that because they were nervous, and more importantly committed to learning the language and the songs, they decided that they wanted to practice at home with their stuffed animals after the first night. The sisters put all the stuffed animals they had, especially the ones that they knew the Hupa names for, in the circle and they went around and sang with them. One sister was one half of the animals and the other was the rest. They practiced over and over again until they felt confident about it. After circle time the girls went to their mother and yelled "we did it ourselves!". I was almost in tears when I heard this story. I think one of the biggest critiques of doing camps and working on language outside of the home is that it will only live in these camps and that in order for a language to fully be revitalized it must be in the home. However, what this story demonstrates is that the work we are doing is powerful and wonderful that the kids themselves are bringing it into the home without our prompting. The content and form of what we are teaching them is exciting and important that they want to continue the work whenever they can and make sure that they get it right. We are helping to cultivate a passion for learning and a positive environment where they can improve and grow with one another. In the conversation below Tehla:n, the mother of the two sisters in the story above, told us how transformative this learning environment was for her girls and all the students in general:

Whide:ch (Me)- *I was thinking about how we treat the kids and then how that goes out to them. You know like after they do anything we way "niwho:ng niwho:ng!" and then I started to notice Xontehł-taw doing that to everyone after they did something. He would say it to them. (laughter)*

You know that it's just a very positive learning environment.

Xutł'e'dung'-xa:sina:wh- *Positive reinforcement works everytime*

Whide:ch (Me)-*And it's not like this at the school.*

Tehla:n- *Did my girls fight at all?*

All of us- *No*

Tehla:n- *And that alone is like (laughter) cuz at home I'm like (shakes her head)*

Jena:h- *No they were like laying on each other*

All of us- *No they were so loving and checking on eachother*

Xutł'e'dung'-xa:sina:wh- *See! It brings out this positive energy for the kids.*

Tehla:n- *Like they're close but they'll fight. Like it's spring break they are with eachother all day so I thought for sure they would have been at each other's throats…*

Jena:h- *No not at all.*

Tehla:n- *And I'm like 'I'm not down there oh no.'*

All of us- *They did great!*

Tehla:n- *And I feel like all the kids were like that. I feel like there was no conflict.*

All of us- *No*

Xutł'e'dung'-xa:sina:wh- *Yeah there was no fighting. There was no (naggingly) 'she pushed me!' There was none of that.*

Tehla:n- *And like working in the school we see that every day. Every single day.*

Xutł'e'dung'-xa:sina:wh- *Even at our program where they're really comfortable they still do that a lot. Ehhh you know I gotta bug somebody.*

Whide:ch (Me)- *Every single kid that I talked to said they didn't like bullying at school and they liked that everything is good here*

Xutł'e'dung'-xa:sina:wh- *Awww*

Jena:h- *Right, like none of the kids or adults cuz I feel like at the school adults do that. Like were making fun of other kids. Like if they didn't say something right or if they were forgetting ya know no one was like 'hahaha you said it wrong or…'*

Xutł'e'dung'-xa:sina:wh- *Yeah none of the kids did that to eachother…*

Jena:h- *No not that I noticed*

Xutł'e'dung'-xa:sina:wh- *Cuz sometimes the kids [at school] are like 'I know that 5 plus 5 is. You don't know that??'*

Jena:h- *Whereas as if they knew more here they were helping…*

Xutł'e'dung'-xa:sina:wh- *Yeah they didn't do any of that negative stuff and I'm like so proud because that happens when a kid knows more than another kid like they'll show it but these guys none of them did that. They were all very supportive of each other very positive. That's what I liked the most.*

Tsing' wha:ne- *I was really surprised cuz the 4th grade girls they're like really harsh at school they're mean to each other they bully each other a lot. And like the ones that were here didn't have any conflict or tension at all…*

Xutł'e'dung'-xa:sina:wh- *YEAH*

Tsing' wha:ne- *..and got along really well.*

Xutł'e'dung'-xa:sina:wh- *That was really good.*

Jena:h- *Yeah 4th and 5th graders seems to have a lot of yeah. They are mean to each other and clique-y. And I think having the different age groups was nice too like I think that worked really well with even older and younger kids and stuff like at the school it's usually their grade level and their age grade kids and maybe when they're older they'll like go and read to the younger kids or whatever but it's kind of a nice mentoring opportunity for the different ages.*

Whide:ch (Me)- *Yeah and it was really interesting to because some of the younger kids actually had more language than the older kids and so they were kind of helping them. Like it created this very equalizing supportive environment.*

Again, there are many important points made in this exchange. One of my favorite memories from this camp that I explained above was when 6-year-old Xontehł-taw, took on our pedagogical approach of encouragement with other students. After nearly everything that students do we all exclaim "Niwho:ng! Niwho:ng!" to tell the students that they were doing a good job. And we mean it. We are extremely proud of every little thing that they do because it is incredibly significant in our current world for these children to be speaking these words on our lands. Xontehł-taw then took it upon himself to do the same telling his classmates "Niwho:ng Niwho:ng!" after everything that they would do. Others followed suit, and it meant a great deal to see them supporting one another without our prompting. Other teachers explained how even the same students that they work with on a regular basis in school were acting completely different outside of that environment and in the Sovereign Na:tinixwe Education Space (SNES) we were able to create. I think all too often we write off bullying and cliques within this age group as a given, however we have shown that many of these issues begin because of the toxic environment of the school. Within our SNES, even if it was for a few days, we were in good relations with one another, the land and our language.

(Re)newed Na:tinixwe Food Sovereignty Praxis

One of our most exciting curricular additions to this particular camp was the addition of our food sovereignty lessons, in which we were able to bring in community members to work with students to prepare Na:tinixwe traditional foods. We were able to bring in Chucky

Carpenter who has an expertise in cooking łoːqʼ (*salmon*) in a traditional way with fire on cedar sticks. We were also able to bring in Suzie Sanchez who has an expertise in cooking saʼxaːwh, *(acorn soup),* in a traditional way with fire and a special type of rocks. Then on the final day of the camp we had our guests show the students and allow them to help in appropriate ways with the process of cooking these foods. In traditional Naːtinxwe fashion we had to share this meal with our families. As an effort to get families more directly involved with the camp, we hosted a parent lunch during the final day of the camp. It was during the work lunch hour to be considerate of working parents. We were able to serve the traditional foods the students helped to prepare as well as others that we had prepared on our own including elk and nahtsʼikʼ, *(Indian tea).* For many families it is rare to be able to take part in the preparation of these foods and be able to eat them, especially outside of the context of ceremonies. Part of our work within this SNES was to bring the family back together. Many of the parents and families are of my generation or a generation older than me, this means that none of them are fluent Naːtinixwe Mixineːwhe speakers. They also grew up with the loss caused by boarding schools and so they too are a part of this (re)newal process. Boarding schools specifically targeted the Naːtinixwe family, in our SNES we bring our families back together in a good way. The other benefit to bringing in these family members is that they were also positioned as teachers and a vital part of our students' learning experience. The students can then in turn teach their parents what they have learned, and they can continue to learn from one another, not only in the context of our family lunch but also at home creating their own SNES.

Example Schedule

We kept similar goals from the previous camp for each day. Of course, we hoped to move at a faster pace because we had fewer days with this group. I would say that we did this successfully because the majority of the students from this group had consistent Naːtinixwe Mixineːwhe language instruction either at the After-School Program, at home, or in some cases both.

We kept the same hours from the previous camp. As you will see below, we kept many activities from the previous camp, most notably opening and closing circle time, but also changed activities as well. This group gets the Hupa language songs that we included in our first camp almost every day in their program. Therefore, as suggested by the After-School Program teachers we split the songs up into different days and different parts of the day so that they were not bored of singing the same songs in each circle time. We also used the second story that we introduced in the previous camp for this camp, Xontehł-taw Kiyiqʼ-meʼ Xodaʼ Kʼintaʼaʼn, (*Coyote's lips get stuck to a tree),* as the basis for many of the camp curriculum and activities. One exciting new activity we had the students do this camp was to create their own puppets so that they could potentially do the puppet show with their families at home after camp. We knew how much they loved the puppet show from the previous camp, so we thought it would be a natural progress to then have them make their own.

10:00-10:45 Opening Circle

- Introduction to Day
- Review activities for the day, visual schedule
    - *Naːtinixwe Mixineːwhe whaːne*
- Song: Colors w/ activity, What color is your shirt game?
- Puppet Show

- 2 or more Yoga poses: chair, butterfly

10:45-11:45 Nin'ching' Nułtsung': review vocab, egg carton scavenger hunt (stay in groups)

- First, Walkthrough
- Second, Find-it

11:45-12:00 Clean-up wash hands, song

12:00-12:45 Lunch vocab. and lunch: sandwich stations, Ts'ehdiyah Niwho:ngxw Awhilaw before they eat

12:45-1:15 Storytime w/ visuals, Student Puppets

1:15-1:45 Outside energy run stations: Action Obstacle Course

1:45-2:00 Closing circle: xoji xoh- circle w/compliment iwhyo', Diydi ilyo'?

- Yoga
    - Hand Signals

Closing Reflections

It was awesome to do something more than our usual summer camps but there were adjustments that had to be made. One of the biggest changes was that we didn't have the usual summer youth workers, so our student-teacher ratio was higher than the previous camp. However, because we were working with an established program the teachers of that program had great relationships with the majority of the students, so those critical relationship building pieces were already in place. We adjusted to having larger groups with a broader age range of students.

Being on the land for two days straight allowed us to work through new lessons on being Na:tinxwe in ninisa:n. What does it mean for something to be ready? When it is in season? This was something that we were able to explore with the students. We had students that were picking leaves off of trees, picking flowers out of the ground, and picking up grass carelessly. We had to make a point to teach them that they should not do this, but we also needed to tell them why. A major way that we were able to explain this was through our modeling of a reciprocal relationship with the land. Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe was a great resource for this. One example is that the word for eyelashes and leaves the same, mi'tung'. We would model to the students these similarities and then ask them in circle time if they would like someone to come and pick their eyelashes. They were horrified to learn this, and although it took some reminders throughout the day, they had much more respect for the plants. We would also show them specific plants and explain their uses and they would be excited to gather them. However, if they were not ripe yet we would have to explain why we couldn't pick them just yet. We also talked about not taking too many, only what you need, which also related directly to the central lessons of our coyote stories. The following day we gave each of the students tobacco, and instead of doing a scavenger hunt where they had to find and pick up a specific list of items, this day we walked around where we found those items and thanked the land for allowing us to use them. The students were confused at first but by the end of our walk they understood that we were thanking the land and were very happy to do it. The land teaches patience and the consequences of not being patient. If you attempt to gather before something is ready, then not only do you not get the thing you needed in the first place, but you have ruined it for future use. This is something we could all use reminding of and applies in so many other contexts of life. This is such an important lesson for us to pass on, however, outside of the opening circle it is hard to convey this in a deep meaningful way for us as non-fluent Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe speakers.

The hard part of doing this work within the current conditions of our language community is relaying complex ideas in ways that we will be able to express with our limited

language capabilities and have students understand them. We as teachers need to get on a level where we can talk about it in English and Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe language. One suggestion for the immediate future would be to structure in some English time where we bring in community member experts, then we follow up with a song and some immersion time. One critical question of language resurgence in highly endangered language communities is: How do we do a holistic version of language immersion resurgence without leaving out the expert knowledge of non-speakers? Our epistemological practices are highly threatened as well. We have to do both so that we can pass on that knowledge and the speakers we are creating will then be able to teach that lesson in the language in the next generation. We are exploring these complex issues in the conversation below:

Whide:ch (Me)*-"It's not just the language right, it's like being thankful...*
Mida:ch*- mmm hmmm*
Whide:ch (Me)*- ...and all of these other really important lessons...*
Mida:ch*- cultural, yeah it's cultural*
Xutł'e'dung'-xa:sina:wh*- Traditional*
Whide:ch (Me)*- ...that I just wanna really make sure…*
Mida:ch*- mmm hmm*
Whide:ch (Me)*- ..they're getting*
Jena:h*- right*
Whide:ch (Me)*- that I think could get lost in the language...just because were not at that level yet*
Mida:ch*- I think we could have different speakers come in cuz I think the kids are like the more the marrier with new people coming in to talk and new people coming into teach. It's just more and I think they really like it.*

Schools put limits on who holds knowledge who has the credentials to pass it on and to teach. We want to break these limits and value the wide diversity of knowledge that is still held in our community. Expanding the students' worlds and the learning community. The more people we can include the better, and the more people who get to be a part of the (re)newed world we hoped to create and recreate with our programs.

An example of the ways in which Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe empowers students was one young girl who found her voice during this camp. 'Isti'k' noted that she was especially proud of one student that is usually quite shy. She stated: "I was really proud of her! She never talks in the program. She never even talks in English. But she really tried!" This student attended our first camp and I also remember her being very quiet. I was really proud of her as well. It is so profound that she felt more comfortable, at least in this context, speaking in Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe than in English. This is the language of her heart and of the loving and supportive speaking environment that we created in the space of the camp. The evidence was that she used her voice. I think the goal for this camp, given its short duration, is safety of body and spirit for these kids as they often don't get to experience that in this world in its current conditions. So even if they aren't ready to speak Hupa yet even the fact that they feel comfortable enough to speak (when they often don't in many other situations) is a major win.

Continued Enthusiasm and Desire from Students as a Metric for Success

One of the primary ways that we measured the success of our camps was whether or not students continued to want to be there and to want to learn language. Fortunately, students during this camp expressed great enthusiasm and even wanted to forego the school all together and

attend our SNES instead. The following exchange illustrates some examples expressed by teachers and students:

***Tehla:n**- My girls were excited because they thought that every Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, now they were going to be going to this new school (all of us laugh) and then Thursday and Friday they would go back to the other school. I had to explain to them no it was a one-time thing…*

***Jena:h**- That breaks my heart!*

***Whide:ch (Me)**- I knoooowwww*

***Mida:ch**- Well you never know there's always next year, no? (jokingly)*

(We all laugh)

***Xutł'e'dung'-xa:sina:wh**- Xontehł-taw already asked 'you guys are doing this again next year right?' 'Can you sign me up right now for it?' Go ask Sara. Tell her we're gonna do it again! A lot of them. They love this. It does something. It energizes em.*

***Mida:ch**- mmm hmm*

***Jena:h**- right*

Students are ready for us to enact this (re)expanded and (re)newed SNES full time. You can observe our Na:tinixwe pedagogy of humor in use once again, taking the student's call seriously. When Mida:ch stated: "Well you know there's always next year, no?" We want this space to exist just as much as they do. It is us as teachers that need to get the building blocks in place so that we are able to do this in a good and sustainable way. Settler capitalism and settler bureaucracies around schooling and standards continue to be major obstacles in our way but we are getting closer with each SNES that we enact.

Suggestions for growth

- We have to do better for parent lunch we are doing too much now
    - Possibly hire someone for food at the very least schedule and coordinate that out better
    - It's hard to work with parents at lunch time.
- Spend even more time directly engaging with the land and maybe less on projects
- It was too short, possibly having a longer day with older kids
- Hiring more people, maybe even youth
- Holding camp at Na:tinixwe village sites
- Short fieldtrips around Na:tinixw ex. Gathering in the mountains
- At least trying to have camp each season.

Ye-silin Ta:q': 3rd Annual Xontehł-taw Hupa Immersion Camp

The third and final ye-silin camp took place on July 15-17, 2019 from 12-5pm each day at Me'dildin Ranch (a traditional Na:tinixwe village where other teachers and I can trace our lineage for thousands of years). We attempted to follow the same group of students from the 1st Annual Xontehł-taw Immersion Camp making this our 3rd annual, now working with 7-8 years olds. The final ye-silin camp might not have been what I wanted to have achieved after working with many in this group for 3 years, but that doesn't mean it wasn't impactful on us and the students. I think I had hoped that they would be a little further along in their learning of the language, however this is on us and the amount and length of programs we are able to provide not on the students. There were many things in the curriculum that we had changed, kept and added. Two of the things we continued to build on from the previous camp were having more

engagement with the land and working with traditional foods. While adding these important practices have added new challenges, in the long run these challenges create more opportunities for further developing those lessons with community members. We would improve on ways that we and other community members had suggested, each time that we conducted a camp. We tried new things and sometimes it turned out they didn't work and that's ok. In fact, that was the point of the ye-silin process, writing during and immediately after the work that we were doing rather than years later. I can write about and learn from our mistakes and embody that Na:tinixwe epistemological teaching: mistakes are one of the most meaningful ways that we learn. Mistakes should not be ignored or punished but rather discussed and improved upon. This was a process of growing with our students and hopefully with the language, a process of (re)newal.

Building from ye-silin camp nahx

As suggested from our previous camp debrief, we made some more changes to the camp. We switched the hours from 10-2pm to 12-5pm. We thought that it would be more considerate of working parents' schedules so that they could participate more in the camps if they chose to. However, what we didn't think about in considering this time change was the fact that this suggestion came in spring and we conducted this camp in the middle of July, most often the hottest part of the year in Na:tinixw. That meant that we were having camp in the hottest part of the year during the height of the heat everyday with our new hours. This proved to be challenging for students and teachers. We had to constantly ensure we were keeping cool and hydrated.

We moved our location from the tribal campground partly because the space was already booked, but more so because we were following another suggestion from the end of our previous camp. We moved to Me:dildin, *(the place of many boats)*, a traditional Na:tinixwe village. As mentioned in the first chapter prior to colonization Na:tinixwe lived in villages in xontah, cedar plank houses, that lined the river. Today there are a few village sites that remain with xontah, *(houses)*, xontah nikya:w, *(the leader's hous)*', ta:kiwh, *(sweathouses)*, and ceremonial dance pits. Me:dildin is one of these. We wanted the kids to be able to interact with this village and for the village to interact with the kids and hear Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe once again. This also opened up the opportunity for new lessons around villages and ceremonies. It was incredibly powerful to have camp down there and for the kids to be able to (re)inhabit the place of their ancestors, most especially outside of ceremony. They got to explore the everydayness of being Na:tinixwe and how they might be able to continue this in their own lives. While at the same time being at the village did pose some challenges as well. We had a similar lack of the use of technology than the previous camp, but we knew how to work around that. Me:dildin during this time of year, especially that spot we chose to set up was incredibly hot and had little to no shade. We had to be very mindful of not overheating. In addition, this is an area in which many other people come through and so we couldn't leave our set up there overnight. We had to come to the grounds early to set up and stay late to pack up every night. Before and after such a long day in the heat this proved to be exhausting. Our two big changes: the hours and location proved to have major benefits as well as challenges.

Building from the previous camp activity in which the students created puppets to match the illustrations in our Coyote stories, this camp we had them create complete storyboard dioramas where they could build their own setting and reenact the two Coyote stories. Since we were working primarily with the same group of students from the first ye-silin camp we chose to stick with the same two coyote stories because we felt that we did not get to fully engage with

the *Coyote and the Tree Story* from the previous year. We were then able to return to them both in more in-depth ways. We were able to add some new activities that paired with the stories including 'Xontehł-taw yi-xoniste'newha:n', (*That looks like coyote's bones*), in which students would have to find coyotes different body parts and put them back together just like at the end of each coyote story.

Another important thing that we improved on, was incorporating the traditional food lessons directly into the camp curriculum. The previous camp was the first time that we had guests help us with traditional foods. During camp nahx we as teachers helped cook some of these foods, and the other foods, prepared for the meal itself, continued to engage with students, and welcomed families as they arrived for the meal all at the same time. Therefore, it was very hard to make sure that we engaged with our guests as much as we wanted. Some students definitely got to engage, but not as much as we wanted, and not with the language we wanted to teach them beforehand. We honestly just ran out of time. That being said in this camp we were much more intentional about incorporating the vocabulary for cooking acorns and salmon throughout the camp and telling the kids each day that our guests were coming so that they were excited and prepared for their arrival. We were also able to crack acorns with the students prior to our guests' arrival so that the students were able to experience an important step in this process that they wouldn't have been able to otherwise. We wanted to have them grind acorns as well so that it would be as if they were able to go through most of the steps to get to the point where they were ready to cook on the final day, however, we had trouble locating a grinder at that time so we just talked about what you would do, so that they knew. The schedule below reflects some of the changes we were able to make for this camp.

Example Schedule

12:00-12:15 Settle-in/ Snack: Granola Bar

12:15-12:45 Opening Circle

- Intro: Lesson for the Day, What did we learn yesterday? Learning new things different ways (etc songs)
- Review activities for the day- Visual Schedule, Review key vocab
- ***Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe wha:ne***
- Songs
- Yoga

12:45-1:00 Clean-up wash hands, Hand washing song

1:00-1:15 Lunch vocab. and Ts'ehdiyah Niwho:ngxw Awhilaw before they eat

1:15-2:00 Lunch: De:diwLiq' mituq', kiqude' newha:n (Sandwiches and Carrots)

2:00-2:45 Nature walk-Plants: review vocab w/ images scavenger hunt

2:45-3:15 NahnehL! (Play!)

3:15-3:30 Snack: Ts'ehdiyah Niwho:ngxw Awhilaw before they eat

3:30-3:40 Storytime w/ Puppet show: Coyote and the Tree

3:40- 4:30 Stations 25 min/ Station

- Storyboard Diorama
- Acorn Cycle: Kinehsta:n and Cracking

4:30-5:00 Closing Circle: xoji xoh- circle w/compliment iwhyo', Diydi ilyo?

Closing Reflections

One really important and exciting addition to this camp were our Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe names. If you recall from Chapter 2, I never had a (formal) Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe name until just before the second ye-silin camp. The reason that I had to get one for this camp was that all of the tribal After-School Program students and staff had Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe names. This was a wonderful standard that Mida:ch the director, had set for her program. Therefore, we of course wanted to support this standard and took on our own Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe names for the second ye-silin camp we did with their program. We were so inspired by this practice we decided to give students a chance to be given or even choose their own Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe names. This was such a wonderful activity for them that they really thought long and hard about. We only had one student that didn't choose a name and that was alright. This also gave the students the opportunity to ask us questions about words in Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe that we wouldn't have talked about otherwise. These were two great examples of the ways that we were able to ensure the consent of our students and they were able to take control of their own learning environment. Both central tenets of a (re)newed SNES identified in the previous chapter.

Giving the students the power to choose their own name gave them such pride in using it. There were so many instances when we as teachers would forget their Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe names and call them by their English names and they would correct us. One example that always sticks out to me was when we gave our students the opportunity to put their feet in the river. We had to monitor them very closely but of course they kept testing the boundaries. I kept telling a student: "Come back in closer! Come back in closer!" Because I was worried about her, I forgot to use her Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe name. Then she yelled back to me: "My name is Jime:l! My name is Jime:l! She was right. Her name is Jime:l and I needed to remember that, and if I see her now, she will always be Jime:l. Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe names are highly significant given the colonial history of naming. When Na:tinxwe students the same age as our students during this camp were forced into boarding-school they were also often forced to give up their Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe names and take English names. Students were forced to do this they were not given a choice. Therefore, it was vital that we gave these students a choice to have a Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe name in the first place and second to choose was that name would be.

Jime:l was a first-time student to our camps. She lives outside the area and has never taken any Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe classes. Yet, she was able to fit right in with our students who had been with us for the past 2 years. In the example above you could see what this camp meant to her, what pride she felt in being Na:tinixwe. Although we aimed to follow the same original group of 5-6-year-olds from our 1st Annual Xontehł-taw Immersion Camp. We also did not want to turn away any students who had never got the chance to attend our camps. Therefore, each year, but especially in this last camp we had a mix of students who had worked with us for years, and students who had never attended camp. But once again we were able to foster a learning environment in which students supported one another and therefore this mix of students was a strength of the camp not a weakness. Each new student brought with them their own perspectives and gifts that added to our collective learning. Given that this camp was in the summertime it also gave families who lived outside of the area a chance to have their children attend. We sparked a love for Na:tinixw, Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe and being Na:tinixwe that followed the students back home with them wherever that was. Months later Jime:l's family told us that she was teaching her class (of primarily non-Native students) many of the songs that she had learned in camp.

Cultivating each child's gifts in relation to the collective

Tɬ'iwh attended the first ye-silin camp as well as the last. He also lives outside of the area and so this is really where he gets his only Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe instruction. From the post-camp conversation that I had with him the previous summer to the summer of this final camp his answer about whether or not he liked school went from 'yes' to 'I don't know.' From the first camp I knew that he did really well in small group settings but needed some support in larger group settings. As school is most often large group settings, I was worried how the teachers were going to support him or not. This change in answer confirmed my fears that they were not supporting him in the ways that he needed. I asked him why he didn't know if he liked school and he responded: "My teacher kept yelling at me for no reason." He then explained to me that he liked the camp but didn't feel like he was very good at Hupa language and that's why he didn't participate as much. He stated: "The reason I don't do it is because I'm not very good at it." My theory would be that he was told that he's not good at school and so he associates that with all forms of learning including Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe. I reassured him that I thought he was really great at speaking. I protested: "you did really good. I was so proud of you," and I really truly meant that.

One of the activities where I was the immensely proud of him was cracking acorns. I noticed throughout the camp that Tɬ'iwh just had a lot of energy that he needed to get out of his body. When we would go on walks, he would pick up sticks and hit things with them. Depending on what he was hitting this obviously wasn't a great thing for him to be doing. However, rather than punish him (which honestly, I think was a lot of our initial responses which proves how much unlearning we have to do) I wanted to think about how we could channel this energy into something productive. I hoped that cracking acorns would be just the thing. When you crack acorns, you get a rock that you can grip with one hand and then pound down on the shelled acorn to break the shell open and separate out the acorn nut that is inside that will later be grinded up. This seemed like the perfect use of his energy and it was. He was amazing. He cracked so many acorns, but he also knew that the acorns were very important, and so he had to do it in a good and controlled way. He did so well and that put him in such a good mood he stayed late to help me clean up all of the shells from his pile as well as the other students. I told him: "I was so proud of you when you were cracking acorns." "It's because I'm really good at cracking rocks" he responded. Then started to motion with his hands like he was cracking rocks. You could tell he was so proud of himself as well.

(Re)newed Ch'ixolchwe Practice

We worked with these same two stories for each of the ye-silin camps, however, I think the students understood them the most during this camp. This may have been the result of the fact that they had worked with them so many times at this point or it could also have been the way that we structured them in this camp. If we were to think through the framework of school standards, they demonstrated very important comprehension skills of each of the stories. They demonstrated the ability to be able to compare and contrast the stories. This is highly significant because their primary exposure to the stories was through Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe. This is an example of how such standards are already inherent in Na:tinixwe pedagogical practices. When it comes to a point where we have to incorporate or address such standards, and given the current political landscape I'm sure we will have to soon, we will be able to show that it is the standards that have to fit our Na:tinixwe pedagogy not the other way around.

The story dioramas that they created were a great way for us to see these skills demonstrated. Without our prompting as they were creating their storyboards and pieces, they were placing them in order of the sequence of events in the story. Some students would then put on little plays and retell the story to us and their families. Other students even created their own Xontehł-taw stories based on the form of Xontehł-taw stories that was established across the two that we worked with. This displayed a higher level of thinking that we didn't even realize the students were paying attention to. Both of the Coyote stories we used began and ended in the same way and followed a basic premise that Coyote would do something to trick someone and then face the consequences. Students then created their own scenarios that then followed this Na:tinixwe literary tradition.

As I have written in other places in this dissertation these Coyote stories don't just teach simple lessons about not being greedy, but also critique a capitalist system. One student's story that she created expressed her understanding of this broader critique of our current conditions. Jena:h recounted the story she created: "Coyote was so greedy he wanted more and more land and he got all the land but as he was taking the land he was losing his friends and so he died of loneliness with all of this land because he didn't realize until it was too late." This is a direct critique of settler capitalism as told by an 8-year-old via Xontehł-taw in a Na:tinixwe literary form. This student is getting to the heart of what drives the settler colonial logic to eliminate the Native, land. She is telling this story as a lesson to our people and this world that you can't just take more and more land without consequence, Xontehł-taw dies because of it. Her story connects to the millions of deaths of our people as a result of this desire for land, and it also tells us that the one who takes the land suffers too. Her story reminds us that it is our relationships with our people and our place that is vital to who we are as Na:tinixwe not ownership over the most land. I couldn't have hoped for a better indication that our Na:tinixwe pedagogical approaches are working.

Metrics of Success

As stated in the previous camp section, our metrics of success continue to be students' continued desire and enthusiasm for learning language. There were two connected experiences that helped us measure where we were at in the work we were doing. The first was the students' ability and comfortability to be their free goofy, silly selves. This was our third year with some of these students and so they started to feel very comfortable with us, which meant that they were testing a lot of boundaries they hadn't before to see how we would react. It was also very hot, and we were all hot and tired. This led to some warranted expressions of frustrations from the kids that we handled by giving them the space to express those and letting us know what they wanted to do as a result. This also led to a lot of goofy children joking about virtually everything and not being as engaged in the curriculum as they usually were. This was really frustrating from the perspective of a teacher, especially because we felt what we were doing was so important. I reached a point where I wasn't sure if the students were learning anything at all that day or if they were just playing all day. Tsisna' was one of these students. Prior to camp one of the teachers informed us that she was having a hard time at home and so would need some extra support during camp. It seemed as if she was coping by being silly in camp. However, upon reflection this was an important test to us as teachers and also to see how the SNES would react. If being silly was what the students needed, then that's the space we needed to provide for them in that moment. The goal was to create a Sovereign Na:tinixwe Educational Space in which they

felt they were able to express themselves in whatever ways they needed to at that moment, and we as teachers were able to respond in non-punitive ways.

We kept the graduation part of the camps from the previous two. However, what I realized in this camp was that if we had any type of assessment to see what the students had or had not learned, the graduation was it. It was a performance where they could showcase to their families many of the things we had learned. This camp we also moved the family lunch to a family dinner so that more parents could attend the graduation performance and ceremony. I was a little worried about how they were going to do in this performance as they were not engaging in many of the activities earlier that day. We were also all hot and tired. However, they did a wonderful job. They all sang loud and proud for their families and knew each and every song and lesson that we showcased. I was pretty shocked given that some of the students who barely participated in any of the songs all camp were now singing the loudest. They *were* paying attention and they *were* learning. It just looked different because they didn't need to sit still and look the way we understood an engaged student to look, they needed something else and we aimed to provide that for them in whatever ways that we could. This was really an eye-opening experience for me, as I had to readjust many ways of thinking and more importantly acting with students.

This was also a graduation for us as teachers in many ways. Many of our assistant teachers after three camps were not promoted to head teachers and able to use their growing Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe expertise. None of our fluent speaker mentors were available to attend camp either and so we had to rely on one another much more for practice and language that we may not have known throughout the day. Just as the students displayed growth, we were growing right along with them.

Conclusion

This chapter opened with a (re)newed song that we would sing on our trips to nilin, (*the creek*), to engage with ninisa:n and use the Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe words that we had learned to (re)map Na:tinixw in the language once again. In this chapter you were able to see the (re)envisionings of education for Na:tinixwe youth put into action. You were able to see the ways that we approached our lessons and the many successes and obstacles that we faced in the three camps that we conducted. We were able to engage with traditional Na:tinixwe stories, prepare and share in traditional foods our families, and continue to develop our relationships with ninisa:n and the many other than human beings in Na:tinixw. Although this chapter was dedicated to Na:tinixwe and the work that we were able to accomplish, I invite those from other Indigenous or colonized communities to responsibly engage the work we have done as a potential model to undertake similar projects in their own communities. As I explained in Chapter 4, a (re)newed Sovereign Na:tinixwe Educational Space includes understanding and honoring who we are as Na:tinixwe, as well who we are in relation to other communities. We must understand how our histories of colonialism are linked and therefore our visions of praxes of decolonization must be in relation as well.

Hayah no:ntik': Sovereign Na:tinixwe Education as a site for (re)newed words and worlds

We talked about when people said we couldn't speak our language and now I get the chance. I can take those chances like other people couldn't.

--Whiłiyo', 9 -years-old

I like being here and learning, and learning Hupa language because...so...umm... I could show the other people that they are like they aren't supposed to say 'don't speak Hupa language.'

--Xutl'e'-wha, 6-years-old

I open the conclusion to this dissertation with the words of two Na:tinixwe youth who explain why it is important to learn Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe, not only for them personally but for who they are in relation to a lineage of Na:tinixwe. In Whiłiyo''s words we can see the ways that she is connecting her own language learning, and even the fact that she is able to have an opportunity to learn Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe to the history of settler colonialism and the ways that it has targeted Na:tinixwe and Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe. She stated: "We talked about when people said we couldn't speak our language." Through this statement she also highlighted how we were able to talk about this history in our ye-silin camp in a way that she understood and really took ownership over. This is her history too. Countering many narratives that young children should be sheltered from the brutal history of this country and our peoples, rather than be afraid or overwhelmed by this history she is empowered by it. She stated: "I can take those chances like other people couldn't." Six-years-old at the time of our conversation, Xutl'e'-wha, is also acknowledging her role in this lineage of Na:tinixwe. She too is empowered by this message and not only wants to learn Hupa language, but also to show other people "they aren't supposed to say 'don't speak Hupa language.'" She knows that there are still people that do not encourage the learning of Hupa language and she will be the one to tell them they can't do that anymore. Both of these Na:tinixwe girls are exerting their inherent sovereignty as the future of the Na:tinixwe through a refusal against the settler colonial logic of elimination that targets our language and people.

These two Na:tinixwe girls, and really all of the Na:tinixwe children I had an honor of working with for this project, truly embody the essence of Na:tinixwe (re)newal and resurgence. They demonstrated an understanding and respect for what our people have been through, what we are currently going through, and embodied the future generations of what Na:tinixwe will be. However, in a lot of ways this 'will be' is often 'will be again' in the ways that they honor and take hold of Na:tinixwe knowledge and practices that haven't been done in the community for many years, especially at such a scale. Through this project I have aimed to facilitate as many opportunities for these children to be free to be Na:tinixwe in ways that children have not have the opportunity to do in many years. This includes facilitating opportunities for them to be immersed in Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe, ninisa:n, and as many Na:tinixwe educational practices and we could. There is no way that I could have done any of this without my many collaborators, even if it was just a short conversation that we shared in passing where they told me 'you should do this in your camps…' It was invaluable knowledge that I hoped to have honored through its use in these and future camps.

How can we (re)envision education for Na:tinixwe youth?

I now return to my guiding question: How can we (re)envision education for Na:tinixwe youth through Na:tinixwe nohje:', (*our hearts/minds/way of thinking*)? Throughout the preceding chapters I have explored answers to this question in a variety of ways. As mentioned in the Introduction, I broke this question down into sub-questions so that it would be addressed in a thorough and complex manner.

I opened Chapter 1 with one of the most important theoretical texts for the dissertation, the traditional Na:tinixwe story: *Xontehł-taw łixun Yixonehłtse:tł'*. In order to provide necessary context about Na:tinixw, Na:tinixwe and Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe, this chapter provided a brief history of the Na:tinixwe and their language with a focus on colonization in the community. Throughout this history, I wove through important key theoretical terms and frameworks, prioritizing the work of Indigenous scholars on critiques of settler colonialism, Indigenous resurgence and decolonization. I then introduced key terms and frameworks critiquing the American schooling system, Indigenous resurgence, and decolonizing education. This chapter ends as it began, with the Xontehł-taw story, explaining important connections between this Na:tinxwe story and broader critiques of ongoing power structures including settler capitalism and heteropatriarchy, proving the importance of a resurgence and trust in Na:tinixwe intelligence.

In Chapter 2 I introduced my methodological approach to answering the guiding question and the rationale behind why I chose to work in this way, at this time, from this place. I explained my relationality to this project as both a daughter and younger sister in the community. Then I moved to discuss what is at stake with the questions that I asked and the issues I addressed. To place this dissertation in context, I put forth a brief history of the research done in/on the Na:tinixwe, most specifically thinking about research done out of UC Berkeley around Na:tinxwe Mixine:whe. Following I introduced Indigenous critiques of colonial research and decolonizing and/or Indigenous approaches to research. Inspired by this legacy I put forward a Na:tinixwe methodological approach, Łe:k'iwhlaw 'o:lts'it, (*knowledge gathering*). I described the different approaches I used to gather the voices, experiences and praxis of the community you saw throughout this work: Ch'idilwa:wh (conversations), Łe:ne:tł'-te, (planning meetings) and Ye-silin (Reflexive praxis camps).

Chapter 3 addressed the first sub-question: What has education been like for Hupa people? Following the same form as Chapter 1, I began this history of education and schooling in Na:tinixw with a section on pre-colonial modes of Na:tinixwe education. In this chapter I presented many of the past and present educational and schooling experiences of Na:tinixwe to identify the Sovereign Na:tinixwe Educational Spaces we have been able to create and recreate to ensure our survival in spite of an ongoing colonial structure. This chapter was where you were able to see the knowledge that I gathered, the voices of the community, to feel the calls for action and critiques of the Na:tinixwe and our experiences in schooling. Through this history of schooling and linguicide in Na:tinixw I used the analytical frameworks of Safety Zones and Sovereign Na:tinixwe Educational Spaces. By using these frameworks, I was able to track the moves of the settler state within these schools throughout time as well as the counter moves of the Na:tinixwe, moving from the boarding school era into the present day. The latter half of the chapter presented student voices to put flesh and feeling to the current state of schooling in the Na:tinixw highlighting the many ways that the school through time has worked against Na:tinixwe children.

Chapter 4 addressed the second sub-question: How do we r(e)envision education for Hupa youth? In this chapter I wove together the (re)envisionings of Na:tinixwe education based on the conversations I had with a range of community members. This included Na:tinixwe students, teachers, administrators, community educators, elders, parents, cousins, siblings, aunties, uncles, grandparents. This chapter explored key themes that emerged from these conversations including: a refusal of the current colonial structure, safety for students, land and language, a Na:tinixwe approach to what will be taught and how, intergenerational knowledge transmission, cultivations of everyone's individual and collective gifts, and student centered and driven education. Overall, it is clear that the community wants a (re)newal and (re)expansion of Sovereign Na:tinixwe Educational Spaces without the limits of the colonial structure of the school.

The final sub-question: How do we put this (re)envisioning into praxis? was addressed in Chapter 5. In this chapter I explored the many insights learned through putting our (re)envisionings, identified in the previous chapter, into praxis. I explained the intergenerational Na:tinixwe approaches to curriculum development that we took to build toward these three ye-silin camps. I then introduced the Indigenous Language Resurgence pedagogies that we adapted from previously established approaches as well as approaches that we (re)created for these camps including (Re)newed Songs, Ninisa:n as Pedagogy and Verbal (re)mapping. The final sections of the chapter described the three ye-silin camps conducted in partnership with the Hoopa Tribal Education association for Na:tinixwe youth over the course of this dissertation. I explained the curriculum and activities of each camp, the pedagogical approaches that we took and the transformative work we were able to do.

Through this dissertation and the work in the community I was able to do through it, I hoped to have the beginnings of an answer to my guiding question. This question was vastly capacious on purpose so that we could continue to explore it even after this dissertation is over. What I have made clear through these chapters is that the settler colonial structure of schools remains and that we must begin to (re)envision, and even more importantly practice these (re)envisionings for the wellbeing of our Na:tinixwe children and the future generations of our people. Our Na:tinixwe educational practices hold tremendous transformative power, through this (re)envisioning process we renew many of these educational practices. We have been able to continue such practices in many spaces outside of schools and within the small amount allotted to us within schools. What I am arguing in this work is that we need to continue to push these small spaces, creating and recreating something out of nothing, while recognizing the major limitations that will always be there given its lasting colonial structure. Concurrently, we might also dream and begin to build a Sovereign Na:tinixwe Educational Space without such limits. Through this work I hoped to begin this process within my community and plan to continue on after this writing is done.

Closing Reflections and Future Directions

I will now return to where the last chapter left off, thinking about the broader impacts, challenges, limitations and future directions of the work we were able to do in our ye-silin camps, but really more broadly throughout this project. I do this both in a forward looking as well as reflexive manner in the praxis of renewal. How can we draw from what we have done to continue to grow in a good way?

Notes on Limitations and Possibilities of Short Camps

Within all three of our ye-silin camps we were able to create (re)newed Sovereign Na:tinixwe Educational Spaces (SNES) in which our students were free to be their Na:tiniwe selves. Given my limited capacity as a full time PhD student at an institution several hours drive away, and of my collaborators at the Hoopa Tribal Education Association and their full-time positions; we were able to commit to three, week-long camps at different times in the year. In addition, to our limitations as teachers and planners of the camps, we also had to think about the availability of the students. As illuminated in the preceding chapters, school can be an unsafe and exhausting place for Na:tinixwe students. We did not want to add to this exhaustion by having formal programs for more hours in the day during the school year. This time should be spent with their families and resting if they are able to. Therefore, we planned our camps around their school breaks. We are not ready just yet to have a self-sustaining and long-term SNES that could provide an alternative to school for Na:tinixwe students, but we are building toward it every day. My hope is that this dissertation will bring us just a little bit closer to this goal. These SNESs we created did not just live in the camps themselves, but also in the expansion of our expertise as teachers, the expertise of the students to become teachers. They continued on in the curriculum that was then able to continue to create and recreate SNESs in other moments in homes, in the community, and in classrooms even if any of us weren't present. SNESs are also limited by settler sovereignty and power structures that continue to make it very hard to live entirely within a SNES, but the more we create, expand and (re)new them the closer we get to where we once were, where all of Na:tinixw is a SNES.

Our approaches were by no means perfect. We have lots of room for growth and improvement. Immersion is a really hard thing to do, especially when neither students nor primary teachers are fluent speakers of the language. There were moments within the first few days of our camps where we weren't sure if it was going to really work. The students got frustrated when they didn't understand and we as teachers tried not to explain in English. This frustrated us as well. This is why it was/is so important to have a loving and caring approach with the students, because immersion takes an immense amount of trust in one another and in the language. Because our camps were so short our goals and expectations had to be realistic. We didn't expect them to become fluent speakers after one camp. We didn't even expect them to only speak Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe during the camps. Of course, this is what we hope for eventually, but we were not there to punish them if they didn't meet such lofty expectations. Our people have been punished enough over our language. Our goal was to give them as much language as we could within the time that we had, encourage them to use it, and hope they had fun and wanted to return to do this with us again. The great news is that this was what we accomplished. Therefore, we can only continue to build our relationships with the students and their expertise around and love for Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe and Na:tinixwe knowledge.

Ongoing Challenges to Face

We never have enough time: Confronting constraints of Settler Capitalism

Having enough time, more specifically having enough resources to devote the time to Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe and knowledge resurgence work full time was/is consistently one of our biggest barriers. All of the consistent ye-silin teachers, including myself, have other responsibilities to attend to, just to make sure that we are able to be financially stable enough in our own lives, let alone to make sure we have enough funding to keep these camps going. We spend so much time trying to find grants that will be able to fund such projects, then if we get the

grants, we have to manage them, then we have to report on them. This process takes up so much time we barely have any left to work on the actual project. This is one of the many ways that settler capitalism continues to hinder our work. Yet, in its current iteration many can point to the amount of grant opportunities that exist to say that things are easier and more inclusive. However, for the reasons I mentioned before they really end up taking up a lot of our time and energy. This also highlights the fact that within this current world, whether we are working within a settler state funded school or not, our work in some ways will always be subject to the limitations enforced by the broader settler colonial context. This was why I began in the first chapter with the broader context of settler colonialism in Na:tinixw, because the more focused context of the settler colonial school, works in tangent with the many other technologies of settler colonial control. Our ye-silin camp teachers expressed our frustrations with these constraints below:

Jena:h- *It's so hard because it would be nice if we had a full on language department. We have all these other projects going on that it takes away from practicing language. It's just hard. There's just not enough people and not enough time.*

Mida:ch- *There's never enough time*

Jena:h- *(sarcastically) That colonization huh??*

All of us- *Yeah...*

In this exchange we can see the Na:tinixwe pedagogy of humor in use once again when Jena:h sarcastically states: "That colonization huh???" She is using this pedagogical approach to ease into conversation a very important and heavy topic in a way that we can all process. We all affirm that these are the material conditions we are working within, yet we must continue to push against. Jena:h is also referencing the fact that it never seems like we have enough Na:tinixwe who are able to help us grow the work in the ways that we want. There are a lot of reasons why this is the case and many of them can be traced back to settler colonial capitalism. There is not a lot of money in learning to speak your language right now. That is by design. More Na:tinixwe may want to learn but have to choose other opportunities to provide for their families. Some of the other reasons are the colonial trauma that has either outright killed many of our people or is slowly killing them by forcing them to self-medicate this trauma with alcohol and drugs. In this very short exchange, we can see that our group of teachers knows this all too well and we know the source. However, some of our people do not know this and blame themselves for their current situations. This is why decolonial critiques must be central to our (re)newed SNES so that we can address the source of so many of our issues. This is going to be an ongoing challenge for the foreseeable future, however, through our work with Na:tinixwe youth we are also hoping to raise a generation of Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe speakers who can expand our work in ways we can't even begin to imagine and create more opportunities for Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe speaking and Na:tinixwe Educational spaces to be viable in a more expanded and sustainable way.

Holding spaces for one another: Acknowledging Colonial Traumas

Language immersion teaching is intimidating and honestly, we aren't in full immersion yet. It's more like a prayer for the one day (soon) that we will be able to do immersion. But I think actually doing it helps one understand that it really isn't that scary and that in fact the kids like it. Often we as adults are the ones who are scared of it and our abilities. Through these camps we were able to bring more people in to experience what it's like to do immersion and feel good about it. I think that is where we are and it's both scary and exciting. Immersion can be a scary concept for people who have had their language taken away from them and yet still hold

tremendous respect for the power that the language holds. We don't want to mess it up and it's a hard language to learn. That's ok to recognize. It's also ok to be mad about having to learn it in this way. We feel the loss as our tongues struggle to make the sounds of our ancestors. But we move through these anxieties and fears so that our youth will not have to inherit them. The conversations below highlight our anxieties about learning our language, as it comes with an immense amount of responsibility and pressure. Throughout this entire process it was an important conversation to have with any new teachers that we would train. Although we may currently be more advanced than them in our language knowledge that doesn't mean that we don't make mistakes or feel uncomfortable growing. Some of this anxiety around learning may come from trauma endured in classroom settings. The ability to learn anything can get conflated with how one does or did in school. This is a dangerous myth that we must continue to talk about and move past. Our conversation around this was as follows:

Xutl'e'dung'-xa:sina:wh- *There are a lot of adults that want to learn language but they don't want to take classes cuz the classroom setting can be like 'oh my god' anxiety*

Jena:h- *Traumatizing for some people for sure*

Xutl'e'dung'-xa:sina:wh-- *I mean I get anxiety and I love language*

Mida:ch- *I get anxiety too.*

Jena:h- *But if you're like let's do a nature walk in Hupa that's different.*

Whide:ch (Me)- *I think even if we just did this curriculum with the adults I feel like that would be really effective.*

Xutl'e'dung'-xa:sina:wh-- *and I think it would be good for the adults too so that they could really start connecting with their kids too so their kids come home singing the songs they can sing them with them and they start telling them hey don't do that ya know come over here. Like little things I think we could replace our English with and replace it with Hupa and it's just slowly start that trend where because I feel like we have enough language where we could replace our English.*

We end on the thought that sometimes the idea of learning language is often scarier than actually doing it, most especially in the ways that we approach it with our students through methods such as a "nature walk." Although it is outside of the scope of analysis in this dissertation it is important to note that we were able to test our curriculum out on some tribal early head start teachers. The reason for this was twofold. The first reason was so that the teachers could learn the language we taught in the camps, but the second reason was so that they could also learn the activities to be able to implement them in their own classrooms. It was very successful, and the teachers really seemed to enjoy it. Our adults have endured much of this violence described in previous chapters at the hands of the school and yet we aren't able to talk about this. We have a lot of healing to do along with our youth and language is a wonderful way to do this.

How might we improve: Notes on looking forward

While our goal was to conduct the camps entirely in Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe, it was probably more like 75% immersion given our current language capabilities, but immersion was definitely possible. We had our own struggles staying in Hupa, especially when we went outside or someone else entered the room. It was a major learning process for us as teachers. In fact, for some of us this was our first-time teaching anything, let alone a language we were not fluent in. We had to push ourselves and our abilities just as we were asking students to do. We were very up front with the students in the camp each morning in our opening circle about the importance of learning the language, also highlighting the fact that we were also learning the language right

along with them. We made it clear that Wha:dichwing Verdena was/is our teacher and that we want to pass on all that we have learned to them so that they can pass it on as well. We obviously had no way of enforcing this, but it is an idea that we repeatedly told them during the camp so that they know in order to keep our language alive we must pass on everything that we learn.

In conversations with a few grade school teachers at Hoopa Valley Elementary School (one Na:tinixwe, one Yurok), they stated that despite the fact that students are provided very little Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe language instruction by the school (30 mins per week), some students were coming into their classes singing language songs and teaching language phrases to other students. We soon realized that they were talking about some of our students from our ye-silin camps. Our ye-silin camp students were able to use the Na:tinixwe knowledge they gathered in our camps and assert their sovereignty as Na:tinixwe children in the colonial structure of their school to create a student initiated Sovereign Na:tinixwe Educational Space. These comments from our student's schoolteachers prove that our students were listening to our circle time conversations and that our model of teaching, learning and overall language resurgence can and will only grow in our camps and beyond.

One of my proudest achievements within the scope and timeframe of this knowledge gathering process has been asserting Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe language immersion instruction as something that happens annually, if not more often within the community. This took much of the pressure off of "getting everything right the first time" and opened up so many new possibilities of getting things better over the long term. As part of a practice of reciprocity in my knowledge gathering process, I assisted in the writing of a grant with the Hoopa Tribal Education Association that was awarded in July to work towards conducting a 4-week long Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe summer school in July of 2020. This enabled us to hire a full-time Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe language coordinator during the period of the grant and re-establish bi-weekly Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe classes and curriculum development meetings. The ye-silin camps, the curriculum developed and the teachers we have been able to train will serve as the building blocks toward this summer school and eventually an even longer-term school. Even after my formal knowledge gathering process ended, I continued, continue now, and will continue to work with the Hoopa Tribal Education Association and Na:tinixwe to (re)expand and (re)new our Sovereign Na:tinixwe Educational Spaces.

Na:tinixwe Education as a Site for (Re)newed Words and Worlds

Whiliyo's Story

I end this dissertation with the story of Whiłiyo' and the words of (re)newal of Na:tinixwe youth. Whiłiyo' was 9 at the time of our second ye-silin camp that was a collaboration with the Hoopa Tribal After-School Program. She was very nervous to come to our camp because she had not taken Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe classes in a few years. She was in the 4th grade at Trinity Valley Elementary school during this camp. After a few hours of being at camp, she went from being shy and timid to beaming with pride when we would sing our (re)newed Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe songs. Xowunchwing, *(her mother)*, later relayed to us how impactful coming to this camp was on her. After camp ended, I would find out from her mother that Whiłiyo' was having a difficult time at Trinity Valley, dealing with racism from students and administration. When we did our one-on-one conversation, I could tell that she wanted to tell me about an incident that happened at school. However, she was clearly emotional, and I didn't want to push her. Then later when I was able to have a conversation with her mother, Whiłiyo' got the courage to tell me what happened. An excerpt from our conversation is below:

Whiłiyo'*-But umm I feel good when I speak hupa and always feel happy I was never scared.*
Whide:ch (Me)*- Would you feel scared to be that way at school?*
Whiłiyo'*-[Shakes head yes]*
Whide:ch (Me)*-Do you feel like you would get picked on or something or made fun of?*
Whiłiyo'*-[Nods yes]...last yeah umm*
Xowunchwing*- Go ahead tell her...*
Whiłiyo'*-Last yeah umm the kids were making fun of the singing part of Indian Day and so I felt kinda scared of that [on the verge of tears]*
Xowunchwing*- And it hurt you?*
Whiłiyo'*-Yeah [quietly]*
Xowunchwing*- ...cuz you know what it means and you know it's special?*
Whiłiyo'*-...mmhmmm...*
Xowunchwing*- ...and it's a prayer*
Whide:ch (Me)*- Yeah that is scary. I'm sorry that happened but you know the power of that and you know the truth of that so you can hold on to that but that's scary and that's sad that that happened. I'm sorry and that's why we really wanted to try to do a complete opposite thing in the camp where singing was everything that we do.*

I want us to use this excerpt to bring us through the importance and immediacy of this project, the many approaches that it took, and work it was able to start in the community. In Chapter 1 I charted out a brief history of Na:tinixw and the Na:tinixwe and the many ways that settler colonialism impacted and continues to impact our lives. I also asserted the importance of Na:tinixwe intelligence. Songs are an incredibly important part of this intelligence. Our songs and ceremonies were targeted for elimination under settler colonial policies and practices. Whiłiyo's experience above highlights the legacy of that targeting. Yet the fact that she knew in her heart the importance of such songs, also speaks to our survivance as Na:tinixwe.

In Chapter 2 I introduced my Na:tinixwe approach to research, Łe:k'iwhlaw 'o:lts'it, *(Knowledge Gathering).* This excerpt also showcases my conversation approach, in the exchange between myself, Whiłiyo' and her mother. I have a vested interest in everything that Whiłiyo' is saying. Not only do I truly care about what she is saying, but also have personal experiences that relate to what she had to go through. In addition, and maybe most importantly through the ye-silin aspect of my methodology, I was able to create a space where Whiłiyo' could see and experience an education in which Na:tinixwe knowledge was centered and honored.

In Chapter 3 I illuminated the lasting colonial structure of schooling in and around Na:tinixw and the Sovereign Na:tinixwe Educational Spaces we have been able to create and (re)create to ensure the survival of our people, language and knowledge. In Whiłiyo's experience it is no coincidence that she felt unsafe in school. White students were emboldened to mock Na:tinixwe knowledge and then not held accountable for doing so. Whiłiyo' had to endure the trauma of the initial assault against our songs and our people, and then the second trauma of never having this assault acknowledged by the school. It wasn't just an attack on her personally but our people as a whole. Schooling was founded on attacking our people and what made us who we are, and we see that continuing in this story here.

In Chapter 4 I along with my collaborators began to (re)envision what education might be for Na:tinixwe youth in light of what it has been so far. Before I had the conversation above with Whiłiyo' and her mother, in passing her mother told another ye-silin teacher that when Whiłiyo' came home she explained what a good time she had. Her mother recounted Whiłiyo's words: "School would be such a happier place if they greeted each other and talked to each other in

Hupa and sang songs. It made my spirit feel good being there. I was happy." Her mother continued: "She felt like she belonged." Hearing this on its own was a great affirmation of the work that we were doing. However, later realizing the experience that she had in school just months before (recounted in the conversation excerpt) made it all the more significant. School was a place where Na:tinixwe songs and knowledge more generally, is relegated to one day: Indian day. And even on that one-day Na:tinixwe knowledge was mocked. Our ye-silin camp was a place where Na:tinixwe songs were one of the very foundations of our curriculum. Whiłiyo's (re)envisioning for education, for herself and her peers, illustrates the spiritual violence or affirmation that hangs in the balance for Na:tinixwe children in schools. In her statement we can see that as it stands school isn't a very happy place. But she knows how to make it happier, through everyone "greeting one another", "talking to each other in Hupa and singing songs." Whiłiyo' is calling for us to (re)new and (re)expand Sovereign Na:tinixwe Educational Spaces where we can do this again, not just on Indian day but every day.

In Chapter 5 I shared the many approaches and insights gathered through conducting three ye-silin camps. Songs were one of the most effective and important pedagogical approaches that we undertook. You can see this evidenced in Whiłiyo's story as well. But it wasn't just the songs. What Whiłiyo' also captured with her description was the feeling of the SNES that we were able to create: happiness, spiritual wealth, and belonging. We only spent three days with Whiłiyo' in the second ye-silin camp. Yet we had such a big impact on her, and she had such a major impact on us.

Words of (re)newal

These youth will be my teachers one day very soon. I know there is only so much that I can do in my lifetime. There is only so much that any of us can do. However, a Na:tinixwe praxis of renewal also knows that our world continues only through the transmission of our ways to future generations. This is why our Na:tinixwe education systems began from birth and continued for one's entire life. One person can never know everything, but if we gather enough knowledge to pass down to our future generations then our people will always survive and protect our land and ways. The most important part of this project then was not the product that you are reading now, but the knowledge and love we were able to pass down to the Na:tinixwe children we had the privilege of working with. It was the many conversations that I was able to have and have again with Na:tinixwe. It was the relationships we were able to continue to build with Na:tinixwe and it was the reconnection of land, language and people. And so, I want to leave you not with my own words but the words of our next generation of Na:tinixwe who will continue this practice of renewal. They know what is at stake in the work that we are all doing, and they know their part in it. They expressed their thoughts on the importance of our work:

Cuz we need to keep our culture alive or else nobody will remember Hupa language anymore
So our culture don't die.
Because there's not much people that know it [the language].
So we can learn more about our culture because it's going down.
Because we don't want to lose our culture.

Although these students were highly aware of the current status of our language. They also knew how it came to be this way. Yet, they did not view endangerment as a hindrance, but rather an opportunity for them to reverse the damage done and (re)new Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe. They stated:

It's because we need to learn our language again. It's very important to learn our language again.

Ummm...because so I could learn a lot of stuff and show other people that they are supposed to talk like that too.

Because in Hupa way we have to learn for our culture. If we don't then there's nothing to learn and so we can pass it down to our own children that we have.

It's because we need to learn our language again. It's very important to learn our language again.

Because I think it's important because of our culture and we have to and many people don't know how to speak it anymore so we have to keep it alive

Like you can teach your parents and stuff.

Students expressed their role in the (re)newal of our Na:tinixwe intergenerational knowledge transmission system and the vital work that they could do to teach their families what they never had to opportunity to learn. In working with Wha:dichwing Verdena, someone who was able to learn and speak Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe fluently as a young child and connecting her to these children whom I hope will one day be fluent, we are bridging the gap between the generations who never got this chance. These children are making it their mission of (re)newal to not only teach their parents but also their own children. As we have seen throughout the chapters Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe resurgence is central to this work but is about much more than language. It is through the renewal of our language that we can begin to access once again, understand, and practice the ways and worlds of our ancestors. We do this renewal work in appropriate ways that are opposition to the current settler colonial forces at play. Through this project I was able to facilitate some of the beginnings of this journey and I plan to continue with this work as long as I am able. I am so grateful to have worked alongside such amazing collaborators. I hope that whoever you are reading this work now can take away something good in whatever ways that means to you. It is these children that will carry this legacy on, and I know one day soon they will be my teacher and be able to live a life just a little freer to be Na:tinixwe than myself. It is through the (re)newal of Na:tinixwe Mixine:whe words and knowledge by Na:tinixwe youth that we can (re)new Na:tinixwe educational worlds.

Hayah No:ntik', ...*To there it stretches*

References

Adams, D. W. (1995). *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928*. University Press of Kansas, 2501 W. 15th St., Lawrence, KS 66049.

Ahlers, Jocelyn. 1999. Proposal for the Use of Cognitive Linguistics in Hupa Language Revitalization. Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.

Alfred, T. (2009). First Words, Native American Political Traditions, and Native Political Elites. In *Peace, power, righteousness: An indigenous manifesto*. Oxford University Press, USA.

Apple, M. W. (2007). Ideological success, educational failure? On the politics of No Child Left Behind. *Journal of teacher education*, *58*(2), 108-116.

Adkins, R, D. (2007) "The Destruction of the Trinity River, California" PhD diss., University of Oklahoma

Arvin, M., Tuck, E., & Morrill, A. (2013). Decolonizing feminism: Challenging connections between settler colonialism and heteropatriarchy. *Feminist formations*, 8-34.

Asher, J. J. (1977). Learning another language through actions: The complete teacher's guidebook.

Azpell, Thomas F. 1870. Comparative Vocabulary of Hoopa (Noh-tin-oah) and Klamath (Saag-its) August 14, 1870. National Anthropological Archives: NAA MS 83.

Basso, K. H. (1996). *Wisdom sits in places: Landscape and language among the Western Apache*. UNM Press.

Bauer Jr, W. J. (2016). *California through Native eyes: Reclaiming history*. University of Washington Press.

Bear, C. (2008). American Indian boarding schools haunt many. *National Public Radio*, *12*.

Borrows, J. (2016). Heroes, Tricksters, Monsters, and Caretakers: Indigenous Law and Legal Education. *McGill Law Journal/Revue de droit de McGill*, *61*(4), 795-846.

Bourdieu, P. (1973). Cultural reproduction and social reproduction. *London: Tavistock*, *178*.

Bowles, S., & Gintis, H. (2011). *Schooling in capitalist America: Educational reform and the contradictions of economic life*. Haymarket Books.

Brayboy, B. M., & Deyhle, D. (2000). Insider-outsider: researchers in American Indian communities. *Theory into practice*, *39*(3), 163-169.

Bright, William. 1950-1952. [Field notes on languages of northwestern California.] Survey of California and Other Indian Languages, University of California,

Bright, William. 1960. Animals of Acculturation in the California Indian Languages. University of California Publications in Linguistics 4(4): 215-246. Berkeley: University of California Press

Brooke, J. (1998) “Indians Striving to Save Their Languages.” *New York Times.* http://www.nytimes.com/1998/04/09/us/indians-striving-to-save-their-languages.html?sec=&spon=&pagewanted=all

Brooks, L. T. (2008). *The common pot: The recovery of Native space in the Northeast* (Vol. 7). U of Minnesota Press.

Bushnell, J. H. (1968) "From American Indian to Indian American: the changing identity of the Hupa." *American Anthropologist* 70, no. 6.

Child, B. J. (1998). *Boarding school seasons: American Indian families, 1900-1940*. U of Nebraska Press.

Coulthard, G. S. (2014). *Red skin, white masks: Rejecting the colonial politics of recognition*. U of Minnesota Press.

Corntassel, J. (2012). Re-envisioning resurgence: Indigenous pathways to decolonization and sustainable self-determination. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, *1*(1).

Crook, George. 1852-1861. Klamath River Vocabularies; Aliquah [Yurok], Arra-Arra [Karok], Hopah [Hupa] ca. 1852-1861. National Anthropological Archives: NAA MS 209.

Curtin, Jeremiah. 1888-1889. Hupa Vocabulary December 1888-January 1889. National Anthropological Archives: NAA MS 2063.

Davies, W. (2012). How Boarding School Basketball Became Indian Basketball. *American Indians and Popular Culture: Media, Sports, and Politics*, *1*, 263-78.

Davis, J. L. (2013). *Survival schools: The American Indian movement and community education in the Twin Cities*. U of Minnesota Press.

Dauenhauer, N. M., & Dauenhauer, R. (1998). *Technical, emotional, and ideological issues in reversing language shift: Examples from Southeast Alaska* (pp. 57-98).

Day, I. (2015). Being or nothingness: Indigeneity, antiblackness, and settler colonial critique. *Critical Ethnic Studies, 1*(2), 102-121.

Deer, S. (2015). *The beginning and end of rape: Confronting sexual violence in Native America*. U of Minnesota Press.

Deloria, V. (1969). *Custer died for your sins: An Indian manifesto*. University of Oklahoma Press.

Dhillon, J. K. (2015). Indigenous girls and the violence of settler colonial policing. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, education & society*, *4*(2).

Du Bois, W.E.B. (1935). Does the Negro need separate schools? *Journal of Negro Education*, *4*(3), 328-335.

Dumas, M. J. (2016). Against the dark: Antiblackness in education policy and discourse. *Theory into Practice*, *55*(1), 11-19.

Dunbar-Ortiz, R. (2014). *An indigenous peoples' history of the United States* (Vol. 3). Beacon Press.

Fishman, J. A. (1991). *Reversing language shift: Theoretical and empirical foundations of assistance to threatened languages* (Vol. 76). Multilingual matters.

Flores, N., & Rosa, J. (2015). Undoing appropriateness: Raciolinguistic ideologies and language diversity in education. *Harvard Educational Review*, *85*(2), 149-171.

Forbes, J. (1968). *Handbook of Native Americans of California and Nevada*. Sacramento CA: Naturegraph Publishers

Gibbs, George. 1851-1852. Hopa Vocabulary 1851-1852. National Anthropological Archives: NAA MS 128.

Goddard, Pliny Earle. n.d. Hupa Text (South Fork of the Trinity). American Philosophical Society MS 30 (Na20a.1).

Goddard, Pliny Earle. 1901. Conscious Word-making by the Hupa. American Anthropologist, n.s., 3(1): 208-209.

Goddard, Pliny Earle. 1902-1903. Tolowa Field Notes. American Philosophical Society MS 30 (Na20f.1).

Goddard, Pliny Earle. 1903. Life and Culture of the Hupa. UCPAAE 1(1): 1-87.

Goddard, Pliny Earle. 1904. Hupa Texts. UCPAAE 1(2): 89-368. Goddard, Pliny Earle. 1905. Morphology of the Hupa Language. UCPAAE 3.

Goddard, Pliny Earle. 1907. Phonology of the Hupa Language, Pt. 1: The Individual Sounds. UCPAAE 5(1): 1-19.

Goddard, Pliny Earle. 1908. A Confession as to Errors in Hupa Linguistics. American Anthropologist, n.s., 10(1): 170-171.

Goddard, Pliny Earle. 1909. Kato Texts. UCPAAE 5(3): 65-238. 175

Goddard, Pliny Earle. 1911. Athapascan (Hupa). In Handbook of American Indian Languages, Part 1, edited by Franz Boas, 85-159. Washington, D.C.: Bureau of American Ethnography B-40(1).

Goddard, Pliny Earle. 1912. Elements of the Kato Language. UCPAAE 11(1): 1-176.

Goddard, Pliny Earle. 1914a. Notes on the Chilula Indians of Northwestern California. UCPAAE 10(6): 265-288.

Goddard, Pliny Earle. 1914b. Chilula Texts. UCPAAE 10(7): 289-379.

Goddard, Pliny Earle. 1916. Beaver Texts. Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History 10(5): 295-397.

Goddard, Pliny Earle. 1917. Beaver Dialect. Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History 10(6): 399-517.

Goddard, Pliny Earle. 1923. Wailaki Texts. IJAL 2(3/4): 77-135.

Goddard, Pliny Earle. 1928. Pitch Accent in Hupa. UCPAAE 23: 333-8. Golla, Victor. 1963. [Hupa field notes.] Included on microfilm reel Lamb.m001, Survey of California and Other Indian Languages, University of California Berkeley. Associated audio recordings archived at the Berkeley Language Center, LA 119.

Goeman, M. (2013). *Mark my words: Native women mapping our nations*. U of Minnesota Press.

Golla, Victor. 1964. Etymological Study of Hupa Noun Stems. IJAL 30(2): 108-117.

Golla, Victor. 1970. Hupa Grammar. Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.

Golla, Victor. 1976. Tututni (Oregon Athapaskan). IJAL 42(3): 217-227.

Golla, Victor. 1977. A Note on Hupa Verb Stems. IJAL 43(4): 355-8.

Golla, Victor. 1984. Hupa Stories, Anecdotes, and Conversations. Hoopa, CA: Hoopa Valley Tribe.

Golla, Victor. 1985. A Short Practical Grammar of Hupa. Hoopa, CA: Hoopa Valley Tribe.

Golla, Victor. 1996a. Sketch of Hupa, an Athapaskan Language. In Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 17, Languages, edited by Ives Goddard, 364-389. Washington: Smithsonian Institution.

Golla, Victor. 1996b. Hupa Language Dictionary. 2nd. ed. Hoopa, CA: Hoopa Valley Tribal Council. [Available online: http://hdl.handle.net/2148/48]

Golla, Victor. 2000. Language History and Communicative Strategies in Aboriginal California and Oregon. In Languages of the North Pacific Rim, vol. 5, edited by Osahito Miyaoka, 43- 64. Suita, Japan: Faculty of Informatics, Osaka Gakuin University.

Golla, Victor. 2008. Lower Rogue River (Tututni) Lexicon. Manuscript, Humboldt State University.

Golla, Victor. 2011. California Indian Languages. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Goodyear-Ka'opua, N. (2013). *The seeds we planted: Portraits of a Native Hawaiian charter school*. U of Minnesota Press.

Gordon, Matthew. 1996. The Phonetic Structures of Hupa. UCLA Working Papers in Phonetics 93: 164-187.

Gordon, Matthew and Edmundo Luna. 2005. An Intergenerational Investigation of Hupa Stress. In Proceedings of the 30th Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society, edited by M. Ettlinger, N. Fleischer, and M. Park-Doob, 105-117. Berkeley, CA: Berkeley Linguistics Society.

Grande, S. (2004). Red pedagogy: Native American and political thought. *Lanham, MD: Rowman,*.

Grande, S. (2015). Red pedagogy: Native American and political thought. *Lanham, MD: Rowman,*.

Grande, S. (2008). Red pedagogy: The un-methodology. Handbook of critical and Indigenous methodologies (pp. 233-254).

Grande, S., San Pedro, T., & Windchief, H. (2015). 21st century indigenous identity location: Remembrance, reclamation, and regeneration. *Multicultural perspectives on race, ethnicity, and identity*, 105-122.

Goodyear-Ka'opua, N. (2013). *The seeds we planted: Portraits of a Native Hawaiian charter school*. U of Minnesota Press.

Hansen, Elise (2017). The forgotten minority in police shootings. *CNN* https://www.cnn.com/2017/11/10/us/Native-lives-matter/index.html

Hartman, S. V. (1997). *Scenes of subjection: Terror, slavery, and self-making in nineteenth-century America*. Oxford University Press on Demand.

Hinton, L., & Hale, K. (Eds.). (2001). *The green book of language revitalization in practice*. Brill.

Hohepa, M. (2006). Biliterate practices in the home: Supporting indigenous language regeneration. Journal of language, identity, and Education, 5(4), 294–295

hooks, b. (2014). *Teaching to transgress*. Routledge.

Iyengar, M. M. (2014). Not mere abstractions: Language policies and language ideologies in US settler colonialism. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, *3*(2).

Kovach, M. (2010). Conversational method in Indigenous research. *First Peoples Child & Family Review*, *14*(1), 123-136.

Kauanui, J. K. (2016). 'A structure, not an event': Settler Colonialism and Enduring Indigeneity. *Lateral*, *5*(1), 5-1.

Keeling, R. (1992) *Cry for Luck: Sacred Song and Speech Among the Yurok, Hupa, and Karok Indians of Northwestern California*. Berkeley: (University of California Press).

Kimmerer, R. (2013). *Braiding sweetgrass: Indigenous wisdom, scientific knowledge and the teachings of plants*. Milkweed Editions.

King, T. L. (2016). New World Grammars: The'Unthought'Black Discourses of Conquest. *Theory & Event*, *19*(4).

Kipp, D. R. (2000). *Encouragement, guidance, insights, and lessons learned for Native language activists developing their own tribal language programs*. Piegan Institute's Cut-Bank Language Immersion School.

Krauss, M. (1992). The world's languages in crisis. *Language*, *68*(1), 4-10.

Ladson-Billings, G. (2002). I ain't writin'nuttin': Permissions to fail and demands to succeed in urban classrooms. *The skin that we speak: Thoughts on language and culture in the classroom*, 107-120.

Lara, K. D. (2009). *Conceptions of giftedness on the Hoopa Valley Indian Reservation* (Doctoral dissertation).

Lara-Cooper, K. (2014). " K'winya'nya: n-ma'awhiniw": Creating a Space for Indigenous Knowledge in the Classroom. *Journal of American Indian Education*, 3-22.

Leonard, W. (2011). Challenging" extinction" through modern Miami language practices. *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, *35*(2), 135-160.

Leonardo, Z., & Broderick, A. (2011). Smartness as property: A critical exploration of intersections between whiteness and disability studies. *Teachers College Record*, *113*(10), 2206-2232.

Lomawaima, K. T. (1995). *They called it prairie light: The story of Chilocco Indian school*. U of Nebraska Press.

Lomawaima, K. T., & McCarty, T. L. (2006). *" To Remain an Indian": Lessons in Democracy from a Century of Native American Education*. Teachers College Press.

Madley, B. (2016). *An American Genocide: The United States and the California Indian Catastrophe, 1846-1873*. Yale University Press.

McCarty, T. L. (2002). *A place to be Navajo: Rough Rock and the struggle for self-determination in indigenous schooling*. Routledge.

Million, D. (2009). Felt theory: An Indigenous feminist approach to affect and history. *Wicazo Sa Review*, *24*(2), 53-76.

Million, D. (2013). *Therapeutic nations: Healing in an age of indigenous human rights*. University of Arizona Press.

Morgensen, S. L. (2010). Settler homonationalism: Theorizing settler colonialism within queer modernities. *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*, *16*(1-2), 105-131.

Morris, M. (2016). *Pushout: The criminalization of Black girls in schools*. New Press, The.

Moten, F., & Harney, S. (2004). The university and the undercommons: Seven theses. *Social Text*, *22*(2), 101-115.

Muwekma Ohlone Tribe, *Historical Overview* http://www.muwekma.org/tribalhistory/historicaloverview.html

Nelson Jr, B. (1978). *Our Home Forever. The Hupa Indians of Northern California.[1988 Reprint]*. Howe Brothers, PO Box 6394, Salt Lake City, UT 84106.

Nettle, D., & Romaine, S. (2000). *Vanishing voices: The extinction of the world's languages*. Oxford University Press on Demand.

Norton, J. (1979). *Genocide in northwestern California: When our worlds cried*. Indian Historian Press.

O'Brien, J. M. (2010). *Firsting and lasting: Writing Indians out of existence in New England*. U of Minnesota Press.

Otto, B. W. (2017). *Language development in early childhood education*. Pearson.

Parker, V. (Time Immemorial). Coyote and the Sweetball. Compiled by Sara Chase

Pease-Pretty On Top, J. (2003). Native American language immersion: Innovative Native education for children and families. *Battle Creek, MI, WK Kellogg Foundation*, *89*.

Piatote, B. H. (2013). *Domestic Subjects: Gender, Citizenship, and Law in Native American Literature*. Yale University Press.

Powers, Stephen. [1870s]. Comparative Vocabulary of Hupa and Wailaki, without English Equivalents ca. 1870s. National Anthropological Archives: NAA MS 220.

Powers, Stephen. 1877. Tribes of California. Republished 1976, edited by Robert F. Heizer. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Reichard, Gladys. 1922. Gladys Reichard Field Notebooks on Wiyot Indians, 1922. BANC FILM 2732, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Reyhner, J. (1999). Some Basics of Indigenous Language Revitalization.

Rhode, Jerry. "Genocide and Extortion: 150 years later, the hidden motive behind the Indian Island Massacre." *The North Coast Journal*, February 25, 2010, sec. News.http://www.northcoastjournal.com/humboldt/genocide-and-extortion/Content?oid=2130748

Robinson, C. J. (2000). *Black Marxism: The making of the Black radical tradition*. Univ of North Carolina Press.

Romero, M. E. (1994). Identifying giftedness among Keresan Pueblo Indians: The Keres study. *Journal of American Indian Education*, 35-58.

Ross, K. M. (2016). *Black girls speak: Struggling, reimagining, and becoming in schools* (Doctoral dissertation, UC Berkeley).

Sabzalian, L. (2019). *Indigenous children's survivance in public schools*. Routledge.

Simpson, A. (2003). To the reserve and back again: Kahnawake Mohawk narratives of self, home and nation.

Simpson, A. (2007). On ethnographic refusal: Indigeneity,'voice'and colonial citizenship. *Junctures: The Journal for Thematic Dialogue*, (9).

Simpson, A. (2014). *Mohawk interruptus: Political life across the borders of settler states*. Duke University Press.

Simpson, L. B. (2012). Queering Resurgence: Taking on Heteropatriarchy in Indigenous Nation Building. *Leanne Betasamosake Simpson*.

Simpson, L. B. (2013). "Politics based on justice, diplomacy based on love: What Indigenous diplomatic traditions can teach us". *Briarpatch.* https://briarpatchmagazine.com/articles/view/politics-based-on-justice-diplomacy-based-on-love

Simpson, L. B. (2014). Land as pedagogy: Nishnaabeg intelligence and rebellious transformation. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, *3*(3).

Simpson, L. B. & G. Coulthard (2014). Leanne Simpson and Glen Coulthard on Dechinta Bush University, Indigenous land-based education and embodied resurgence. Interview Transcription. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*

Smith, G. H. (1997). *The development of Kaupapa Maori: Theory and praxis* (Doctoral dissertation, ResearchSpace@ Auckland).

Sleeper-Smith, S., Barr, J., O'Brien, J. M., Shoemaker, N., & Stevens, S. M. (Eds.). (2015). *Why You Can't Teach United States History without American Indians*. UNC Press Books.

Smith, L. T. (1999). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples*. Zed Books Ltd..

Smith, L. T., Tuck, E., & Yang, K. W. (Eds.). (2018). *Indigenous and decolonizing studies in education: Mapping the long view*. Routledge.

Snelgrove, C., Dhamoon, R., & Corntassel, J. (2014). Unsettling settler colonialism: The discourse and politics of settlers, and solidarity with Indigenous nations. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, *3*(2).

Tracy, Erika. (2019) Tribal Members Urge School District to Provide Transparency Around Funding. *ACLU Nor Cal*. https://www.aclunc.org/blog/tribal-members-urge-school-district-provide-transparency-around-funding

Trujillo, O., Carrasco, R. L., & Lockard, L. (2003). *Nurturing Native languages*. J. Reyhner (Ed.). Northern Arizona Univ..

Tuck, E. (2009). Suspending damage: A letter to communities. *Harvard Educational Review*, *79*(3), 409-428.

Tuck, E., & Yang, K. W. (2012). Decolonization is not a metaphor. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, education & society*, *1*(1).

U.S. Department of Interior, *Record of Decision: Trinity River Mainstem Fishery Restoration*, 2000, http://odp.trrp.net/FileDatabase/Documents/Trinity%20River%20Record%20of%20Decision%2012-19-00.pdf

Vizenor, G. R. (1994). *Manifest manners: Postindian warriors of survivance*. Wesleyan University Press.

White, L. (2015). *Free to be Mohawk: Indigenous education at the Akwesasne freedom school* (Vol. 12). University of Oklahoma Press.

Wildcat, M., McDonald, M., Irlbacher-Fox, S., & Coulthard, G. (2014). Learning from the land: Indigenous land based pedagogy and decolonization. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, *3*(3)

Wilderson III, F. B. (2010). *Red, white & black: Cinema and the structure of US antagonisms*. Duke University Press.

Woodward, Mary F. 1953. [Hupa texts and vocabulary.] Survey of California and Other Indian Languages, University of California Berkeley, Woodward.001 to Woodward.003.

Wun, C. (2016). Against captivity: Black girls and school discipline policies in the afterlife of slavery. *Educational Policy*, *30*(1), 171-196.

Yosso, T. J. (2005). Whose culture has capital? A critical race theory discussion of community cultural wealth. *Race ethnicity and education*, *8*(1), 69-91.

Zitkala-Sa. [1921] (1979). The School Days of an Indian Girl and The Great Spirit. In *American Indian Stories, Legends, and Other Writings*. Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press.