

Native Ways of Knowing: Let Me Count the Ways

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This article reviews Native Ways of Knowing and similar terms in academic scholarship. The first section introduces questions to guide a discussion on Native Ways of Knowing. The second section deals with the assumptions or general framework for this discussion and definitions. The third section describes a continuum to analyze the use of the terms Native Ways of Knowing (NWK), Indigenous ways of knowing, and traditional culture in academic venues. The description is helpful as means of placing scholarship on Native Ways of Knowing contextually and temporally in mainstream academic review. The fourth section deals with sample scholarship described using a nonhierarchical typology of process, position, person, and product (results). It draws on 24 pieces of scholarship in the last decade. The fifth section presents a term lattice derived from use of the terms in representative publications and draws conclusions about the use of the terms.

There are over 500 distinct Indigenous¹ communities in North America. Each belongs to a specific language group and recognizes and practices cultural traditions in combinations that distinguish communities from one another, especially their members. Some communities share a language heritage or land base yet remain distinct in other characteristics. Attempts by non-Indigenous social scientists to categorize and subsequently explain certain traditions and practices are confounded by the research lens that attempted to offer explanations rooted in Western, largely male, perspectives, but also by non-Indigenous researchers who for the most part explained all tribes in much the same way. One example of outsider perspectives that failed to acknowledge insider understanding is the inability to distinguish between matriarchal and patriarchal governance systems (Wagner, 1996, Teuton, 2003; Moogk, 2003). This is just one example; however, its origin in historical records has been affected by popular culture through the preponderance of representation in textbooks and the media.

In this article I acknowledge the depth of tribal identity and explore examples of intertribal consensus as it relates to *knowing* and *understanding* the world in which one lives. Barnhardt and Kawagley (2005) explain this process as recognizing generalization as indicative but not definitive. The task in this process requires a balance of perspectives. Native Ways of Knowing, in contrast to Western educational practices, are acquired and represented through the context of place, revolving around the needs of a community and the best efforts to actualize a holistic understanding of the

community's environment. Native Ways of Knowing use an Indigenous research lens to study and interact in the world. Western educational practices dissect and disconnect knowledge, whereas Native Ways of Knowing presume a holistic context. The primary difference between the two lies in the emphasis of Native Ways of Knowing on *knowing* as a verb and Western educational practices that emphasize the accumulation of *knowledge*, a noun.

Native Ways of Knowing can be found in scholarship with examples and comparisons with Western practice in science and mathematics: fields that are research-oriented in a context that denotes field experiments, tables and numbers of observations, and testing hypotheses. Examples of the various insights or perspectives provided by Native Ways of Knowing to mathematics, to weather, to cultivation, or to the study of rivers and oceans can be found in such texts as Cajete (1994), Eglash (1999), and in the body of work produced by the Alaska Rural Systemic Initiative (www.ankn.uaf.edu/arsi.html). These insights rely on data collection and observation, but they also rely on the context or place. Native Ways of Knowing are less frequently explored in literature, linguistics, and governance through a wide variety of venues not described here. In this article I do not explore Native Ways of Knowing outside educational research and pedagogy. Further, I limit myself to scholarship in North America.

This article is in five major sections. The first introduces questions to guide the discussion. The second section deals with the assumptions or general framework for this discussion and definitions. The third section describes a continuum to analyze the use of the terms *Native Ways of Knowing* (NWK), *Indigenous ways of knowing*, and traditional culture in academic venues. The description is helpful as a means of placing scholarship on Native Ways of Knowing contextually and temporally in mainstream academic review. The fourth section deals with sample scholarship described using a nonhierarchical typology of process, position, person, and product (results). The fifth section presents a term lattice derived from use of the terms in representative publications and draws conclusions about the use of the terms.

Counting the Ways

In this article I explore the following four questions.

1. Each culture's knowledge and understanding of the world varies with its tribal understanding bound by traditions and experiences. With over 500 distinct tribal entities, are there correspondingly over 500 Native Ways of Knowing?
2. Is there an accepted definition of Native Ways of Knowing, and if so, what current research perspectives have emerged?
3. What similarities are found in academic scholarship to suggest that Native Ways of Knowing cross the geographical and political boundaries of tribes?

4. What differences are found in academic scholarship to suggest that Native Ways of Knowing are linguistically or culturally specific to a group?

The answers to these questions if asked of the individual scholar would probably be politicized. If someone were to ask me if there were over 500 ways of knowing, I would be inclined to believe that an argument could be made for an affirmative answer. Yet I know that the 500+ tribes do not represent 500+ languages or even dialects or even more specifically groups of fluency. So the political answer would be *Yes, it is possible*; but the realistic answer would most probably be *No*. The practical answer would be that it is some number lesser than this and would include another question: Does it matter? Do the terms we find used synonymously distinguish themselves enough to be different descriptors? Does an author choose Native Ways of Knowing over Indigenous ways of knowing for a specific purpose?

All these questions form parts of a lens through which to look at Native Ways of Knowing. It is necessary first to look at the venues and texts in these venues that are available to a broad audience. Data-mining for terms such as Native Ways of Knowing produces some limited examples on the Internet; most accessible as full text are those items that can be found in a comprehensive university library. I found many of the articles used in personal journal subscriptions.

Dissemination

Published scholarship on Native Ways of Knowing has increased in the past decade; the publications shown in Table 1 are representative of this time frame. These variables contribute to the increase in publications:

- The growing number of Native scholars,
- Changes in venues for such scholarship,
- The creation of academic journals that target issues and research in Indian country,² and
- The global access to information as a result of technology.

These changes reflect the capacity and privileging of Native voices, often with the sponsorship of non-Native scholars. What might have been characterized as “voices in the wilderness” in the latter half of the 20th century have grown into a global sharing of Indigenous knowledge. In this article I do not attempt to catalogue the quantity of publications in the last decade or to attribute publications on Native Ways of Knowing to time-specific eras. I propose a quantitative rule of acceptance (Figure 1) that could be used in future research to describe the dissemination of the works of Native and non-Native scholars using Native Ways of Knowing, indigenous knowledge systems, or traditional knowledge. This type of categorization and cataloguing of materials, whether in general or specific to a field, would serve as a gauge to assess the availability of academic venues. The gauge could be the relative likelihood of which venues were to close

Table 1
Selected Articles on Native Ways of Knowing

<i>Typology</i>	<i>Terms</i>	<i>Abstract</i>
Process	Indigenous Aboriginal Traditional teachings	Alfred: Taiaiake focuses on Native communities' shared experiences and knowledge as requisite to understanding an indigenous reality.
Process	Aboriginal knowledge Aboriginal ways of knowing Traditional knowledge	Archibald: Using examples of teaching styles, specifically, ritual, repetition, and relationships, the author defines storywork: sharing traditional knowledge by engaging the learner with a story and creating a synergy with the listener to prologue this journal edition.
Process	Indigenous knowledge systems Native Ways of Knowing Cultural knowledge	Barnhardt, Kawagley: Asserting the need to reconstitute the relationship between Indigenous peoples and their environments in order to document the integrity of locally situated cultural knowledge and skills, the authors critique the learning processes by which knowledge is acquired, transmitted, and utilized.
Process	Aboriginal Indigenous	Battiste, Bell, Findlay: Methods and practices to decolonize postsecondary research and policy for Aboriginal students and teachers are presented.
Product	Indigenize Culturally relevant curricula	Boyer: The development of culturally relevant curricula reflecting traditional values and language is a political act.
Product	Indigenous Indigenous articulations Tribal choice	Bruynell: The author frames a logic of Indigenous politics to examine Indigenous political claims and activities from various historical events.
Product	Traditional knowledge Indigenous knowledge Ecological knowledge	Bruyere defines traditional knowledge for use in exploring examples of how modern science and traditional knowledge are complementary.
Person	Aboriginal world view Indigenous	Cardinal: A personal essay that proposes a definition of Indigenous; it is reflective of circle work and dream work as research methods.

Table 1 (continued)

<i>Typology</i>	<i>Terms</i>	<i>Abstract</i>
Person	Cultural literacy Cultural ways of knowing and learning	Chinn: This research study examines theories of relationship building among individuals from various cultural backgrounds using a community based professional development program.
Product	Aboriginal Indigenous ways of knowing Ways of knowing and communicating	George: The author outlines her work in the development of Native literacy and learning through the National Aboriginal Design Committee, Toronto, specifically, the Rainbow and cognition.
Person	Indigenous Talking circle Aboriginal holistic	Graveline: This is an example of scholarship that models more traditional oral interpretations; the text is supported by extensive description footnotes, references, and appendix.
Process	Aboriginal Native Holistic	Kenny: This public policy paper provides support for Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal researchers working in an Aboriginal context using a holistic approach.
Position	Culturally negotiated Yup'ik ways of knowing	Lipka documents the scope of a Yup'ik mathematics curriculum that uses native culture and language in formal schooling.
Position	Native	Lomawaima: Reviewing newer tribal research protocols, the author argues for responsible and respectful scholarship in Indian education.
Position	Aboriginal Holistic Medicine Wheel	McLeod: The article explores the collaborative team effort of a group of Aboriginal educators who empower students through personal Aboriginal language development using traditional values and practices.
Person	Native	Medicine reviews the role of elders in knowledge acquisition and reflects on idealized culture and contrived culture.
Product	Indigenous Native Ways of Knowing and learning	Pease provides an extensive review of language immersion activities in North America.

Table 1 (continued)

<i>Typology</i>	<i>Terms</i>	<i>Abstract</i>
Product	Indigenous Tribal world view	Pewewardy provides a model of best practice to engage non-Indian collegiate students in exploring similarities and differences across ethnic memberships.
Product	Culturally centered learning	Price: Indigenous education and Western education are both important to native students for survival.
Process	Indigenous world view Ways of knowing, being and doing	Steinhauer: Building a case for the need of a standardized Indigenous research methodology, the author provides a comprehensive review of indigenous research methods.
Process	Aboriginal knowledge Intangible heritage	Thomas: This paper argues that scholars should be persuaded to find appropriate alternative approaches for recognition and protection of indigenous intellectual property rights.
Position	Talking circle Indigenous Native world view	Transnational Arctic: Final report of the CATANAL workshop that explored the potential use of technology to translate Native languages with computer-assisted technology to preserve those languages using the expertise of analytical, computational, applied, and sociolinguists.
Process	Native Ways of Knowing Indigenous Culturally appropriate	Warner, Wilson: The authors outline the implementation of indigenous pedagogy in an urban Indian environment.
Person	Spiritual knowledge Indigenous	Wilson shares personal insight and reflects on the spiritual perspectives needed to balance Native people today.

or what new venues might open. The Likert-scale measure would require an assessment based on the volume of scholarly publications and might include publication dissemination numbers. For example, journals with small dissemination numbers would be less likely to affect the field than journals with broad and large dissemination numbers. If we intend to broaden the scope of dissemination for scholarship on Native Ways of Knowing, it would be important to move scholarly publication into arenas where there are more readers. Venues created for specific, targeted audiences like the *Journal of American Indian Education (JAIE)* would probably have less readership than the *Harvard Educational Review (HER)*. Both journals are represented in the sample in Table 1, yet publishing in *JAIE* is like “preaching to the choir,” probably a small choir compared with the *HER*.

The proposed scale in Figure 1 could be defined specifically to a time period based on the researcher’s intent. For example, a researcher might choose to look at Native Ways of Knowing scholarship in the same periods as the political eras in the United States (similar phases can be found in other countries). In the US, various historians propose the following phases.

Extinction Phase (1492-1870s). Fuelled by federal policies, articulated as Manifest Destiny after the West was opened by Lewis and Clark, research was historical and anthropological and designed without regard to the need to understand the cultural context. All Indians/Indigenous peoples were considered the same.

Dependency Phase(1870-1920s). This period is marked by the move of American Indians to reservations and early attempts to “civilize” tribes. The period ends with a Supreme Court ruling that establishes American Indians as citizens of the US.

Assimilationist Phase (1930-1950s). Assimilationist research dominated the periods of federal Indian boarding schools and was dictated by government policy. In an effort to “educate” American Indians, it was believed that if children were removed from their cultural influences, customs, including languages, would be replaced by non-Indian practices.

Stages of Acceptance in Mainstream Scholarship					
0	1	2	3	4	5
Aversion	Ambivalence	Acquiescence	Acknowledgment	Aid	Acceptance
– Negative					+
Positive					

Figure 1. Proposed scale of acceptance to be used in assessing availability of scholarship on NWK in academic peer-reviewed journals.

Termination Phase (1960-1970s). This decade brought renewed attempts to abrogate treaty obligations to American Indian tribes and continued through the removal of several tribes, most notably the Menominee Nation in northern Wisconsin.

Self-Determination Phase (1970-1990). During the 1970s and well into the 1990s, American Indians continued to be researched, but this era marked an emergence of American Indian research scholarship in academic publications. American Indian scholars surfaced in mainstream institutions and began to write and publish in refereed academic journals. Indigenous voices sounded, but were deafened in journals controlled through editorial processes by generations of academics schooled in the inflexibility of Western research.

Native Ways of Knowing (1990 +). Greater access provided by technology fosters collaboration among Indigenous scholars globally. Research and scholarship increase; self-determination is moved to self-actualization through increased capacity.

Looking at Indigenous scholarship in these discrete time frames, various strategies for assigning a range based on Figure 1 would be designed. Figure 1 was designed as a rating scale. Scholarship by (or about) Native people on NWK can be described on a continuum from aversion to acceptance in mainstream literature. The rating scale appears to overlay the historical phases.

The definitions of the variables designed for this proposed scale are as follows.

Aversion: Tending to extinguish scholarly publication; devaluing the research of Indigenous scholarship; active resistance through review of manuscripts.

Ambivalence: Noncommittal; coexistence of opposing attitudes toward Indigenous scholarship; believing it not worthy of specific attention.

Acquiescence: Passive assent or agreement to inclusion of Indigenous scholarship in mainstream publications.

Acknowledgment: Recognition of the existence and validity of Indigenous scholarship.

Aid: Co-authorship; to furnish support in publication of Indigenous scholarship.

Acceptance: Favorable reception, approval, and agreement on and belief in Indigenous scholarship as equivalent to mainstream scholarship; privileging all voices.

In proposing this scale for Stages of Acceptance in Mainstream Scholarship, I propose vigilance on the dissemination of Indigenous scholarship in academic communities.

Native scholars now provide perspectives that contribute to education, science, medicine, mathematics, literature, and governance as a result of the acceptance of non-Indigenous scholars in these and other fields.

Notable examples can be found in the research projects, evaluations, and related scholarship sponsored by the National Science Foundation (NSF) in the US and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) in Canada. In both instances Native perspectives and research can be described on a continuum in the top three stages in Figure 1 (3-5).

In this article I consider the generalities and commonalities that some Native scholars portray using the term Native Ways of Knowing. I suggest the continuum shown in Figure 1 for further research and rely on the statement that Native Ways of Knowing can be found in levels 3-5. I also rely on the following assumptions about Native Ways of Knowing to frame this discussion.

- Indigenous pedagogy is valued among North American Indian cultures.
- Native Ways of Knowing are not a debate about the effects of colonization, but actualizing NWK in a curriculum is a political act of self-determination.
- Among 500+ distinguishable Indigenous peoples are distinct similarities and distinct differences in languages, traditions, religions, and governance systems.
- Some examples suggest that mainstream scholarship is moving to the acceptance phase for Native Ways of Knowing.

I propose the scale of acceptance and the set of assumptions as the context to a review of samples from scholarship in the past decade. My review of scholarship is limited to work by and about Indigenous peoples in North America.³ Table 1 is constructed by selecting representative articles, including a brief statement of the scope of the article with my name, and a column listing the terms used in the article. As the title of this article indicates, I was interested in the similarity or differences in the use of terms to describe Native Ways of Knowing. Column 1 is my own label based on Grint's typology for an Essentially Contested Concept (Gallie, 1955-1956). This designator positions the term(s) used in the article to represent Native Ways of Knowing in one of four categories.

Person, Product, Position, Process

To begin a discussion about the use of the term Native Ways of Knowing, I reference Grint's (2005) book using Gallie's (1955-1956) notion of an Essentially Contested Concept. The typology for his analysis is Person, Result, Position, and Process. Modifying that typology for this discussion, it becomes:

- Person: Is it *who is* Native that makes it Native Ways of Knowing?
- Product: Is it *what*, the product achieved, that makes it Native Ways of Knowing?
- Position: Is it *where* the research or practice operates that makes it Native Ways of Knowing?

- Process: Is it *how*: we get things (research or practice) done that makes it Native Ways of Knowing?

As an essentially contested concept, Native Ways of Knowing mirrors other terms in “limited advances” in the specificity of the term; however, the typology reveals consensus for an understanding of the use of the term Native Ways of Knowing in the literature. A review of the samples presented here makes it clear that some terms in column two of Table 1 overlap. Some terms involve more than one element in this typology, but it is also clear that the terms are radically different when used by an insider rather than a scholar (even a Native scholar) who is an outsider in the Native community where the research or practice is found.⁴ Grint’s typology is particularly relevant because it is nonhierarchical, thus allowing the complexities of use to mirror Indigenous cultural assumptions of community and tribal cultural values.

Limiting the scope of this discussion to the past 10 years, I reviewed 24 pieces of scholarship. Table 1 identifies the scholarship as correlated with the typology in column one: Process, Product, Person, Position. The *Terms* column lists the representative terms found by scanning the text. The last column identifies the author/s and a brief statement of scope. Table 1 does not differentiate between Native and non-Native authors; however, the term *lattice* in Figure 2 separates the two. Essentially, the term *lattice* in Figure 2 acknowledges that Native and non-Native scholarship on Native

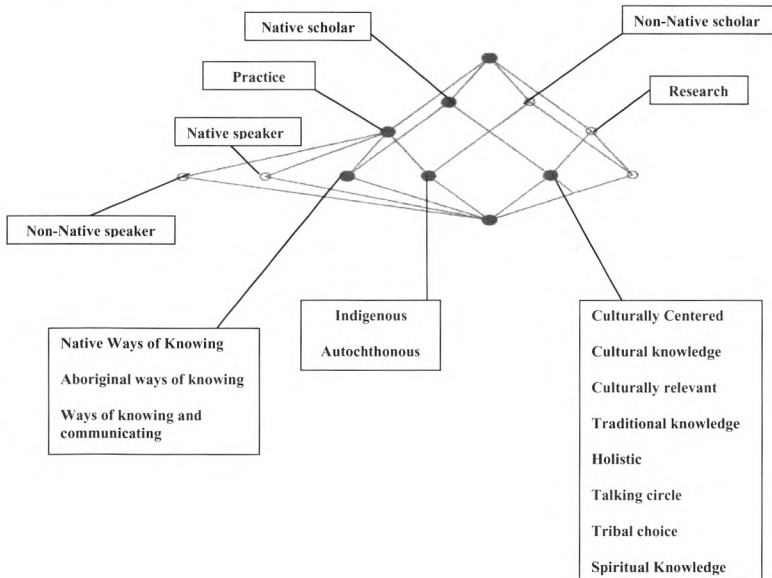


Figure 2. Term use lattice depicting the options for Native Ways of Knowing, Indigenous and Traditional, created by Native scholars (with and without language fluency) and non-Native scholars engaged in research and practice.

Ways of Knowing exists and may be influenced by Native language fluency.

Native Ways of Knowing lattice

Table 2 was designed using the terms representatively found in the articles from Table 1. The specificity of a definition for any of these terms relies on the author's or authors' perspectives or purposes, that is, it is often situational and even more frequently place-bound. Yet Table 2 illustrates the commonalities found among the terms. Terms are listed only once regardless of how often they occur in the text because the texts include an extensive word-count range. Each term exemplifies a belief system and way of thinking that is distinct from Eurocentric, industrial systems and plays a critical role in the preservation and renewal of North American Indigenous communities. The samples in Table 2 were limited to North America. They do not include Hawaii, New Zealand, or Australia, primarily because it is difficult to access full texts even with the Internet. Each piece of scholarship was reviewed in full text regardless of length (book, refereed journal article, essay, or curriculum unit).

The review of scholarship represented in Table 1 indicates a range of term use. Table 2 configures the terms based on the typology of Person, Place, Position, and Process to determine if the function or intent determined the term usage. The terms in Table 2 are listed and grouped alphabetically. Not all the terms found in Table 2 are represented in the word lattice, but the representative family of terms can be found and are differentiated in the three columns of Figure 2.

Table 2 is developed from Table 1, specifically from *Typology* (column 1) and *Terms* (column 2). Table 2 provides more specificity for the analysis of term use. Based on Table 2 Terms and Typology, we find the following tendency for term usage.

Person. I categorized five of the 24 articles as Person or *who is*. In these five articles the term *Native* is found; however, none of the authors used *Native Ways of Knowing*.

Product. I categorized seven of the 24 articles as Product or *what*. *Native Ways of Knowing and Learning* was found in this set of articles.

Position. Four of the 24 articles reviewed are categorized as Position or *where* using the typology. *Native world view* and *Native* were found in this set.

Process. Nine of the 24 articles reviewed are categorized as Process or *how*. *Native* and *Native Ways of Knowing* were found in this set. *Ways of knowing*, *ways of knowing and learning*, *ways of knowing and communicating*, and *ways of knowing, being, and doing* were found at least once in all sets. In addition, *Aboriginal* and *Indigenous* were found in all sets. The use of the term *Indigenous* was found more frequently than any combination of other terms. From the overview provided by Table 2, we are able to create a word lattice to explore the use of terms further.

Table 2
Terms and Typology

<i>Person (5)</i>	<i>Product (7)</i>	<i>Position (4)</i>	<i>Process (9)</i>
Aboriginal holistic Aboriginal world view	Aboriginal	Aboriginal	Aboriginal Aboriginal knowledge
cultural literacy cultural ways of knowing and learning	culturally relevant culturally centered learning ecological knowledge	culturally negotiated	Aboriginal ways of knowing
indigenous	indigenize	holistic	cultural knowledge culturally appropriate
Native	indigenous indigenous knowledge	indigenous	holistic
spiritual knowledge Talking Circle	indigenous ways of knowing indigenous articulations Native Ways of Knowing and learning	Medicine Wheel	indigenous
	traditional knowledge	Native Native world view Talking Circle	indigenous world view indigenous knowledge systems
	tribal world view tribal choice	Ypu'ik ways of knowing	intangible heritage
	ways of knowing and communicating		traditional teaching traditional knowledge
			Native Native Ways of Knowing ways of knowing and connecting ways of knowing, being, and doing

The purpose of this word lattice is to represent data, including synonyms, without grammatical constraints to determine the use of terms most often associated with Native Ways of Knowing. The synonyms for Native Ways of Knowing are shown in the outboxes below the lattice. Conventionally, word lattices are designed to parse a sequence of words using algorithms designed to validate sentence structures grammatically or hypotheses about sentence structures. Essentially, this word lattice was designed to map the use of terms found in the representative scholarly texts. The lattice includes variables of scholarship origin (Native and non-Native); focus on research or practice; and linguistic ability (Native language speaker or non-Native language speaker). These variables would serve as indicators for future research.

The lattice in this example is a conceptual scale that illustrates the relevance for the chosen set of attributes or descriptors. The attributes found in the text boxes below the lattice are relevant when analyzing the semantic structures and the linguistic results achieved from term use. "It is the central task for any natural language processing application to disambiguate the words encountered in a text to determine to which lexical entries they belong. Normally this involves both the use of a lexicon as well as the use of a syntactic parser." For a more complete description of the use of formal concept analysis in natural language processing, see Priss (1999). Processing natural language relies on the written text alone, so although Figure 2 includes variables that relate to the background and perhaps intent of the author, the study of such terms as *Indigenous ways of knowing*, *Native Ways of Knowing*, or *traditional knowing* would be limited.

The use of the scale, typology, and term lattice to attempt to answer the questions in the first part of the article may be flawed to the extent that Native scholars will critique the analysis with the apples-and-oranges analogy. Essentially, the scale, typology, and lattice, including the structure of each, represent an attempt at quantitative analysis: the compartmentalization of Native Ways of Knowing derived from Eurocentric, Western social science. So although my first example of outsider misrepresentation of culture is embedded in historical fact, that is, the inability to distinguish between two systems, the analysis here may be characterized as an insider misrepresentation of term use—characterized as insider because the author is Comanche and characterized as misrepresentation because I have attempted to follow the logic and nuances of word use through descriptors and measures of Western social science. If this analysis is open to this criticism, how does the author contextualize the analysis to mitigate such criticism. One such contextualization may be found in the language use of other Indigenous terms.

Snow and Rain

Derby (1994) recorded a list of 49 terms for snow used by Greenland Eskimo; Poser (2004) records a similar list of 49 terms for snow and other

forms of water in Carrier, the language of a group of people who live in a large part of the north central interior of British Columbia. Native Hawaiian scholars list over 100 words for rain (Hanohano, 2005). The nuances and subtleties of word use are familiar to all peoples. Native Ways of Knowing, Indigenous ways of knowing, traditional ways of knowing—each relates knowing to place, knowing to a specific place. On this baseline, each of the terms shares enough of a definition as to be synonymous. Linguistically there are more reasons to know the differences in snow in places where snow is an integral part of life just as there are multiple terms for rain in a place where the effects of rain affects people's lives. This Native Way of Knowing about the weather is specific to place.

So although the frequency of term use may be important, it is the context (place) of term use that tells whether it is important to the user. Indigenous ways of knowing and Native Ways of Knowing appear to contextualize the concept of knowing through comparative differences with Western ways of knowing. The examples of the word use for snow and rain would indicate that complex systems of categorization occur in Native languages. In the confines of the land base for over 500 distinct Indigenous communities in North America, Native scholars have used at least 38 terms for Native Ways of Knowing in the samples reviewed.

The globalization of our world through technology is the single most representative explanation of a movement to acknowledge Native Ways of Knowing in scholarship. None of us is place-bound in the historical sense. Understanding our place/s enriches all our lives through Native Ways of Knowing regardless of the nuances of term use.

Notes

¹*Indigenous* is defined as originating and living or occurring naturally in an area; in this article it is politicized. Indigenous people are those who live on their own land historically, but who have little or no political power on that land.

²The legal definition of the boundaries of Indian Country was set June 25, 1948 in the US Supreme Court. This discussion does not limit the use to specific geographic parameters cited in P.L. 83-280. *Indian Country Defined*. P.L. No. 83-280, 18 U.S.C. 1151 (1948), nor does it limit Indian Country by a political boundary dividing North America.

³Original paper presentation developed for First Nations, First Thoughts, annual conference at the University of Edinburgh Centre of Canadian Studies, May 5-6, 2005, targeting scholarship from Canada and the US.

⁴This article does not differentiate between Native and non-Native scholar as author.

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