Focusing on Indigenous Visions of Climate Resilience in the Bay Area

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ABSTRACT

Indigenous climate resilience and perspectives are rarely included in bureaucratic, political arenas and pose significant barriers to progress for all parties involved. Indigenous ancestral knowledge composed of the intricacies of the specific land on which they live could provide insights for future respectful collaborations between the state and Indigenous peoples. The East Bay of San Francisco Bay, California is the ancestral homelands of the Lisjan Ohlone people, which includes spokesperson Corrina Gould who co-created the Sogorea Te' Land Trust (STLT). Through participatory research, I archived 30 of Corrina Gould's conferences to learn the Lisjan Ohlone climate resilience narrative. Through 26 emergent themes, her narrative included the necessary awareness of colonization's erased historical and contemporary impact on the Ohlone people, as well as a need to come back into reciprocal relations with the Ohlone people, with the Earth —to heal collectively. This research also analyzed Oakland Climate Action Coalition (OCAC) through participant observation, and the 2030 Equitable Climate Action Plan (ECAP) through archival analysis to determine the inclusion of STLT and their voices. OCAC proved eager to the contributions and wisdom of the Lisjan Ohlone people but were not ready organizationally to provide the adequate structural needs. ECAP wrote a Land Acknowledgement without the involvement of STLT. 'Contact zones' and their impediments on potential collaboration within political power relationships are also analyzed. This research is part of a bigger effort to make the results from Corrina Gould's archival analysis into a decolonial ArcGis map for further outreach on the STLT website.

KEYWORDS

Contact zones, state politics, reciprocity, archival analysis, participatory research

INTRODUCTION

Despite the privileged, early academic literature that presented Indigenous peoples and cultures as static, and as something to be studied, Indigenous culture is more dynamic than ever and follows the current social institutions (McGuire, 2010). Describing Indigenous culture and identity through theoretical frameworks of anthropology is imprisoning (Biolsi, 1997) and Western science does not encapsulate the inherent liveliness at the foundation of Indigenous knowledge. This notion, that Indigenous knowledge fits outside of the theoretical constructs of Western science, further supports Battiste (2002):

Indigenous scholars discovered that Indigenous knowledge is far more than the binary opposition of western knowledge. As a concept, Indigenous knowledge benchmarks the limitations of Eurocentric theory — its methodology, evidence, and conclusions — reconceptualizes the resilience and self-reliance of Indigenous peoples, and underscores the importance of their own philosophies, heritages, and educational processes. Indigenous knowledge fills the ethical and knowledge gaps in Eurocentric education, research and scholarship.

It is vital to focus on how Indigenous societies generate, sustain, transmit and evolve their knowledge in their communities (McGuire, 2010). Prioritizing Indigenous knowledge forms the "basis for social transformation and empowerment in Indigenous societies" (McGuire, 2010).

Indigenous resilience is a concept that describes the positive resistance in Indigenous communities against hegemonic domination (Andersson and Ledogar 2008, Fenelon and Hall 2018, McGuire 2010) and is therefore crucial to recognize in an Indigenous context (Merritt 2007, McGuire 2010). Resilience became a social science term in the 1970s (Dion-Stout and Kipling 2003, McGuire 2010) and is generally understood to signify the ability to withstand everyday challenges (Valaskakis 2009, McGuire 2010). Exploring Indigenous resilience should focus on prioritizing community strengths, without an ideology of inherent contention amongst community members (Newhouse, 2006). Indigenous resilience is a term for the rejuvenation of social and cultural resiliencies that Indigenous people have cultivated and mastered over centuries (Valaskakis 2009, McGuire 2010). Viewing Indigenous resilience as solely responding to environmental and climate change effects is not inclusive of the knowledge and wisdom that Indigenous people have collectively cultivated over centuries (Ford et al. 2020). Although other

scholars have tried to encapsulate Indigenous resilience from a Western, anthropological perspective, Valaskakis et. al., (2009) defined Indigenous resilience as inherent strength:

Superimposed on adversity and historic marginalization, Indigenous resilience is reflection of an innate determination by Indigenous peoples to succeed. Resilience is the polar opposite of rigidity. It provides an alternate perspective to the more usual scenarios that emphasize Indigenous disadvantage and al-lows the Indigenous challenge to be reconfigured as a search for success rather than an explanation of failure.

This definition shines light on how Indigenous resistance is focused on the innate power and capacities of Indigenous peoples and emphasizes "success" rather than overcoming challenges (McGuire 2010). Cultural traditions and sustained relationships with the land are proof of continual community resilience based on conceptions of land (McGuire 2010).

Indigenous peoples are often considered "at risk" to environmental change (Ford et al., 2020), though this conceptualization diminishes the enormous efforts of Indigenous people in implementing climate change resilience and adaptation strategies (de Conick 2018). Indigenous climate change resilience stems from three themes identified by Whyte (2017): colonialism-based intensification, communal and traditional knowledge, and ancestral environmental acknowledgment. The first component broadly states that anthropogenic climate change intensifies environmental change via the colonization of Indigenous peoples. The second factor describes that recentering the communal knowledge and traditional ecological knowledges can strengthen Indigenous self determined climate change plans. The third factor culminates the first two aspects to express that Indigenous communities both are cognizant of their ancestral organizational and cohesive knowledge in regard to environmental change and of the damages of environmental destruction through colonialism, capitalism and industrialization (Whyte 2017).

As climate change intensifies, community-based adaptation policies are increasingly seen as an effective and proactive way of coping and mitigating the effects of the changing climate (Ebi and Semenza 2008). Urban resilience is a technique to deal with natural disasters (Van Long et al. 2020, Berkes 2007, Gunderson 2001, Meerowetal 2016), and can be combined with communal resilience to combat climate change (Whyte 2017). In Ecuador, Indigenous leaders and youth have been included in the Climate Change Action Plan that have both recuperated Indigenous practices \square such as land management \square and contributed to the sustainability of the capital, Quito, a primarily urban space (Chu et al. 2016). Indigenous identity and relationships with land and

resilience directly challenges the creation, upkeep and proliferation of the mainstream urban discourse (McGuire 2010).

However, the dominant discourse in community-based adaptation planning generally does not include Indigenous communities. For example, although a component of urban climate resilience addresses equity, the Indigenous peoples are not mentioned (Leichenko 2011). A comprehensive review finds that coordinated efforts with many different sectors are envisioned yet not always possible, and that prioritizing at least co-benefits is beneficial. The literature mainly targets mitigation measures in building, energy, waste and transportation while not mentioning Indigenous peoples (Sharafi 2020).

Lisjan Ohlone STLT

The Native peoples to what is currently known as the East Bay of the San Francisco Bay Area, are the Lisjan Ohlone people. Lisjan Ohlone is an umbrella term name for seven Tribes: Lisjan (Ohlone), Karkin (Ohlone), Bay Miwok, Plains Miwok, Wappo, Delta Yokut and Napian (Patwin) (Sogorea Te' Webpage accessed 10/19). It is important to note each tribe's distinctive practices and legacies, but for simplicity, I will be referring to the Indigenous peoples of the East Bay via the overarching name of Lisjan Ohlone. The territory of the Lisjan Ohlone spans the counties of Alameda, Contra Costa, Solano, Napa, San Joaquin. Sogorea Te' Land Trust (STLT), is an urban, inter-tribal, women-led trust co-founded by a Lisjan Ohlone woman Corrina Gould alongside a Shoshone Bannock/Carrizo woman Johnella LaRose. STLT is based from the unceded lands of Lisjan territory, more specifically on the territory of Huchiun which is currently known as the cities of Oakland, Berkeley, Alameda, Piedmont, Emeryville, and Albany. STLT was founded on the principles of rematriation, cultural revitalization, land restoration and calls for a union of Native and non-native people to develop climate resiliency centers:

Through the practices of rematriation, cultural revitalization, and land restoration, Sogorea Te' calls on native and non-native peoples to heal and transform the legacies of colonization, genocide, and patriarchy and to do the work our ancestors and future generations are calling us to do (Sogorea Te' Webpage accessed 10/19/20).

Examining the Lisjan Ohlone community's response to resilience in colonial structures may aid in determining future decolonial Indigenous solutions (McGuire 2010). It is important to note that for this research, I will be mainly focusing on Corrina Gould's narratives of climate resilience as

she is both a Lisjan Ohlone woman, and the co-founder of the STLT which although is intertribal, is rooted in the Lisjan Ohlone territory, place, and culture.

Objectives

The research methodology is therefore to actively engage in participatory research; the entire research process is conducted with the collaboration and guidance of a STLT member. All aspects are pre-approved and will provide benefits to STLT. The central research question is: In their own words, how are the Lisjan Ohlone people articulating their visions of Indigenous resilience and rematriation through their published articles, and other educational materials? Research methodology will be structured to answer the following subquestions: 1) How is the city of Oakland and different non-Indigenous stakeholders in Oakland articulating their visions of climate resilience in terms of motivations and desired outcomes, while respecting the Lisjan Ohlone people?, 2) What format do these narratives of resilience take, and how are they understood and enacted across communities in Oakland, CA?, 3) What outcomes emerge from different narratives of resilience?

Background

To understand the specific context of the Ohlone people, it is necessary to first take a broad overview of the Indigenous peoples' struggles worldwide. It is widely understood that the relationship between the Indigenous peoples and their lands is a large component of their identity and culture, and that the longevity of this relationship is dependent on some control over land and natural resources (Göcke 2013). This sovereignty has been stolen from them via colonization and the subsequent exploitation of Native people and lands throughout the world (Göcke 2013, Sowerwine et al. 2019, Nash and Scott 2019, Paperson 2014, Long and Lake 2018, Wires and LaRose 2019). The focal point of the Indigenous peoples' struggle has been to not only claim their right to own, utilize, and reside on their ancestral lands but to be acknowledged of these rights both politically and socially (Göcke 2013).

In the Pacific Northwest of North America, Native American populations were nearly decimated with Euro-American colonization and the consequent warfare, genocide, and diseases (Boyd 1999). One such tribe is the Lisjan Ohlone, inhabiting Northern California, current-day San

Francisco Bay Area (Wires and LaRose 2019, Paperson 2014, Fontenot 2018, Nash and Scott 2019). The settler-colonial model of the Franciscan missionaries, Spanish soldiers, Mexican Californios, and American miners has developed into the extractive capital model where the Indigenous people hold no value and are a barrier and threat to land usage (Nash and Scott 2019). Settler systems assumed that any land or jurisdictional rights of the Indigenous peoples were annihilated with the creation of Western structures of law and private property (Barry and Porter 2011, Porter and Yiftachel 2019). The federal government upholds this oppression through the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), who misinterpreted and declined the Ohlone application to become federally recognized, thus leaving the Ohlone without any reservation land (Department of the Interior: Bureau of Indian Affairs 2015, Field 2020, Laverty 2020).

Many studies have found that the devastating effects of colonialism still exist to this day and manifest in the form of food insecurity, health disparities, poverty, transgenerational trauma and many other violations committed against Native Americans in the United States (Sowerwine et al 2019, Fontenot 2018, Long and Lake 2018, Johnson 2016). Indigenous peoples' suffer from the one of the highest rates of poverty, food insecurity, and chronic diet-related diseases both nationally (Sowerwine et al. 2019, Tomayko et al. 2017, Jernigan et al. 2017) and in the state of California (Jernigan et al. 2013). Furthermore, ongoing legal barriers prohibit native stewardship of Indigenous ancestral lands (Sowerwine et al. 2019).

There has also been recent global movements that have been working on Indigenous self determination and sovereignty. In 2008, the UN adopted the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (DRIP). Article 31 declares:

Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain, control, protect and develop their cultural heritage, traditional knowledge, and traditional cultural expressions, as well as the manifestations of their sciences, technologies, and cultures including human and genetic resources, seeds, medicines, knowledge of the properties of fauna and flora, oral traditions, literatures, knowledge of the traditional games and visual and performing arts. They also have the right to maintain, control, protect and develop their intellectual property over such cultural heritage, traditional knowledge, and traditional cultural expressions.

The acceptance of DRIP by 144 countries demonstrates a global consciousness that is evolving to protect Indigenous traditional knowledge, cultural heritage, and traditional cultural expressions and the sovereign right to protect their intellectual heritage (Janke and Iacovino 2012). Article 26

states Indigenous rights to the lands they have traditionally owned and the obligation of states to provide legal recognition and protection of these lands.

Rematriation

Land and geographic sites (e.g., mountain, river) ensure the continuity of Indigenous culture, and certain lands of a particular tribe are central to the overarching Indigenous spiritual worldview (Abu-Saad 2008, Tsosie 2001). In the occupied land that is currently known as the United States, it is often assumed that most Native American people live on reservations, when in reality, more than two-thirds live in urban areas (Lobo and Peters 2001, Abu-Saad 2008). Even though extensive work needs to be done to amplify and uplift Native Americans still living in reservations, the scope and understanding of urban Native Americans has recently been increasing in awareness, recognition and collaborative power. Urban Native people are beginning to amplify their mobilization efforts, thereby uniting communities and growing in resilience. One of such organizations is the Sogorea Te' Land Trust (STLT), an urban, inter-tribal, Native American, women-led trust that facilitates rematriation of land in the territory of Huchiun known as the Bay Area, California (Sogorea Te' Webpage accessed 10/19). Though the term "rematriation" originated from the ReMatriate Collective campaign in 2015 that focused on reclaiming Indigenous womxn identities, it has grown and been applied to many different concepts (Schmidt 2019, Tuck and Gaztambide-Fernandez 2013, Tuck and Yang 2018, Newcomb 1995). In general, rematriation is the recentralization of Indigenous women as "spiritual backbones" to the land in Indigenous communities and includes restoring Mother Earth connotations to the land, while actively confronting and disputing misrepresentations of Indigenous women (Bazinet 2016, Schmidt 2019).

Sogorea Te' Land Trust

The Lisjan Ohlone, as well as other Native Americans, are advocating for awareness, recognition, better access to land and health and overall prosperity. STLT focuses on collective healing and transformation from colonization, genocide and patriarchy for both future generations and ancestors (Sogorea Te' Webpage accessed 10/19/20). STLT's vision and work transcends to focus on the extended legacies of colonialism in an effort to uplift and empower Indigenous community members (Ramirez 2020, Johnson 2016). In this manner, STLT's program, *Himmetka*,

the Chochenyo word for "in one place, together," prepares centers to foster community resiliency and to mitigate the impacts of climate change. The Lisjan *Himmetka* includes "ceremonial space, food and medicine gardens, water catchment, filtration, and storage, first-aid supplies, tools, and a seed saving library" (Sogorea Te' Webpage accessed 10/19/20). *Himmetka* exemplifies how STLT is working for the resilience and survival of the most marginalized areas of the East Bay especially in ever increasing and intensifying climate change effects.

Currently, STLT has access to four different locations that are part of their land trust. Lisjan, the first rematriated land, along with Rammay focus on providing cultural resources, community harvests, Plant Identification Workshops and other resilience aimed for the future of Indigenous youth. The third location, the Gill Tract, is a community collaboration space with UC Berkeley that focuses on ecological farming, food justice through volunteering, research, and education. Mugworts, the fourth piece of land, is part of an emerging effort toward an alternative land sharing model that prioritizes social justice through lessons on "economic justice, Indigenous intersectionality, Two Spirit and LGBTQTGNC+, intergenerational, abolishing the concept of "private property", open imagination for "What is Home", and democratic and non-hierarchical governance" (Sogorea Te' Webpage accessed 10/19/20).

Current positionality of Oakland and OCAC

STLT is located in present day Oakland, and therefore it is important to analyze the current political context of the City of Oakland and consequent city programs. The City of Oakland created the 2030 Equitable Climate Action Plan (ECAP) with the help of 16 ECAP Ad Hoc members to equitably reduce Oakland's GHG emissions and adapt to climate change (City of Oakland 11/15/20). It was passed unanimously in July 2020. One of the biggest focal points of the ECAP was to ensure the protection and enhancement of frontline communities especially in terms of climate action, because they have contributed the least to climate change yet bear the burdens of the harms of climate change and environmental injustice. ECAP expectations include cleaner air, improved economic security, increased green jobs, and more resilient communities, while minimizing climate emissions and negative externalities. ECAP was not written in collaboration with STLT and does not address specific Indigenous needs.

The Oakland Climate Action Coalition (OCAC) was first formed in 2009, and helped to write the 2020 ECAP as well as the 2030 ECAP. In 2018, the City of Oakland started the 2030

ECAP and the Equity Facilitator team was created. OCAC was mandated by the City of Oakland to implement the ECAP 2030 plan equitably. However only one person, a local climate activist was paid by the City to coordinate 30 grassroot organizations to create the OCAC which is responsible for the implementation. Since 2019, the implementation process has seen various amounts of progress. OCAC's main focus is to create institutions and infrastructure that build resilience among frontline communities who are the most affected by climate change effects (OCAC 11/15/20). In June 2020, OCAC connected to STLT for potential collaboration. The extent of STLT engagement in OCAC is highly determined on the progress that OCAC is currently engaged in, and will be explained in this research as well.

METHODS

To answer the overarching research question: In their own words, how are the Lisjan Ohlone people articulating their visions of Indigenous resilience and rematriation through their published articles, interviews, and other educational materials?, I utilize an overarching framework of Indigenous climate resilience (Whyte, 2017). To answer the three sub questions, the methods include two frameworks: archival work, and participant observation. The central research question and the three sub questions were created in collaboration with STLT.

The study incorporates decolonizing research methodologies and is participatory, engaging and working alongside STLT every phase of the research process through biweekly meetings (McKemmish 2010, First Archivists Circle 2007). Decolonial methodologies are centered on the recognition of colonization's impact, empowerment of Indigenous communities, and appreciation of Indigenous culture and knowledge (Kilian et al. 2019). This research methodology integrated Indigenous research principles: "collaboration, relationships, interconnectedness, connection to community, and respect for diverse forms of knowledge and lived experience" (Kilian et al. 2019). This study also centers around the practice of critical constructivism —the socially constructed aspect of knowledge that is influenced by culture, historical contexts and institutions. Constructivist paradigms have also been regarded as a decolonial method if regulated with collaboration with Indigenous stakeholders (Kilian et al. 2019).

Data Collection

To answer the first subquestion (SQI), I compiled, organized and stored all of Corrina Gould's public work that was made publically available online before January 27, 2020, but have only included 30 out of 77 works in this analysis. The data collection included doing a general Google search and evaluating the 13 pages of data, as well as examining YouTube and other websites for relevant information. Then, I inserted her interviews into TranscribeMe transcription service to obtain a rough transcript of all audio data (Dunayev 2018). After listening to each recording and manually correcting each rough transcription, I uploaded these audio transcripts along with the written documents where Corrina Gould had been quoted onto Taguette, a qualitative data analysis (QDA) computer software, to code the material (Rampin et al 2021). Using tags and highlights within this software allowed me to identify emergent themes to appear. Being careful to not split up Corrina Gould's stories or verbal information, I utilized multiple tags to get at the complexity and multidimensionality of her philosophy (Simonds and Christopher 2013). I also selected many in-depth quotes in an effort to maintain the integrity and wholeness of a given story or point.

The archival portion of this research follows a *Statement of Principles* from the Trust and Technology Project of Australia that underpins Indigenous human rights (McKemmish et al. 2010). These principles recognize that Western archival methods reflect dominant concepts of ownership and merely reproduce the colonist and settler ideologies, without prioritizing all archival Indigenous frameworks of oral memory, storytelling and associated traditions (Iacovino 2010, Faulkhead et al. 2010, Janke and Iacovino 2012). The US *Protocols for Native American Archival Materials* is a non-legal document utilized for archival and research guidance with Native American communities and also is consulted in this research (First Archivists Circle 2007). Scholars such as Simonds and Christopher (2013), have studied the adaptation of Western research methods to Indigenous ways of knowing, and have found that the tribal members involved in their research objected to individual themes being pulled from their stories.

Storytelling is a way of honoring tradition and honoring ways of knowing. ... everything Crow people do has a story behind it and people share their experiences as a way of teaching others. ... having scattered categories and breaking apart people's stories loses the meaning and the understanding of the whole picture and purpose of the story.

Moreover, it felt like a violation of the Crow culture because there is always a bigger purpose of the story that is lost when it is broken up into themes. Respecting and honoring Indigeneous sovereignty with their knowledge systems, will allow me to obtain a deeper understanding of Corrina Gould's prevailing climate resilience narratives among other emerging themes.

To answer the second subquestion (SQ2), I tagged and coded the written 159 page document of Oakland's 2030 Equitable Climate Action Plan (ECAP) for further analysis on articulations of climate resilience from the political sphere. I will also employ the technique of participant observation in all meetings with current and previous members of OCAC until April 2021. Participant observation allows me to observe interactions and conversations to better identify significant concepts and infiltrating socio-political forces (Holmes 2006). I took a cumulative amount of 30 pages of detailed field notes of every event and conversation of the OCAC meetings. The methodology also emphasizes the researcher's reflexivity, to continually examine beliefs and situate oneself in the research process to mitigate bias (Kilian et al. 2019). It is critical to actively evaluate my positionality and identity as a white Russian-American educated woman researcher of this work before, during and after research collaboration (Holmes 2013, Hall 1997).

Table 1: Summary of Methodology

Sequence of Methodology (Sub Questions targeted)	Methodology Conducted
Data Collection Period (SQ1 + SQ2)	Indigenous research: Archival research of Corrina Gould's work Non-Indigenous research: Archival research of ECAP and participant observation
Data Analyzing Period (SQ3)	Indigenous research and Non-Indigenous research: Analyze divergent narratives

Data Analysis

My study was designed into two main methods—archival research and participant observation notes backing the other, filling in gaps of knowledge, and verifying reoccurring perspectives (Salz 2018) (Figure 1). After collecting the raw data in the form of archival data, I utilized Taguette to categorize the written material into tabs and highlights that code for emerging

themes. Categorizing the various themes resulted in metaanalysis data. The overarching themes were then contextualized with relevant literature. The third sub question (SQ3) was answered by analyzing the divergent narratives through a compilation of Taguette themes from sub question one and two (Table 1). Utilizing the methodology techniques and ongoing organization and analysis of data requires a constant conversation with Indigenous collaborators at STLT to discern what is the most respectful and updated version to handle these Indigenous archives and materials (Kovach 2010).

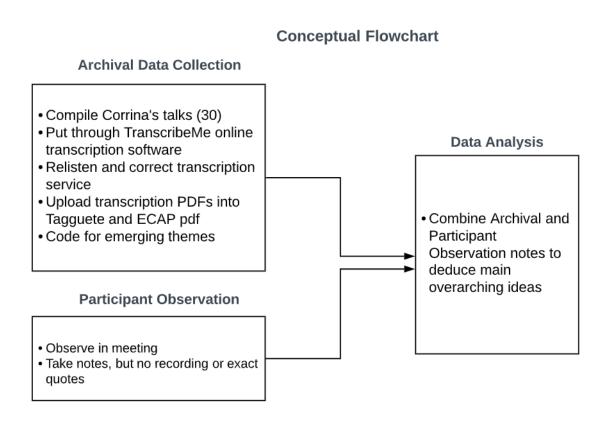


Figure 1: Summary of Conceptual Reasoning for Methodology

RESULTS

Visions of Climate Resilience

Indigenous visions

There were 26 recurring themes that emerged from in depth reading and analysis of the 30 transcripts: Colonization (138), Ancestors (114), Back Together/Community (115), Public Education (105), Laws/Politics (93), Resilience (67), Sacred Sites (66), Ancestral Land Knowledge (65), Reciprocity (63), Shellmound (63), Intertribal (49), Culture songs & Language (45), Land Trust (45), Seven Generations (37), Ceremonies (36), Interfaith (31), Women (25), Guest & Host (22), Prayer (21), Water (14), Dreaming and imagination (14), Urban (9), Bridge (8), Rematriation (8), Huchiun (7), Balance (4).

Colonization was the most recurring theme at 138 mentions. Colonization was used in past and present tenses, highlighting the vast arrays that colonization's current manifestation —the oppressive systems of capitalism —originated from colonizers exploiting the land, women, and Indigenous communities. Its current, more obscure, versions are articulated through laws and politics that continue to be dictated by those in power, the descendants of theory from the initial colonizers. Corrina Gould's words speak for themselves as they convey a heart wrenching story:

The state of California was created upon making these laws, these policies against Indigenous people that made it illegal to be Indian on our own land. Five dollars a head and 25 cents an ear. They would steal the children from villages by killing off the parents. It was creating this disconnect from the land and our ceremonies and our people, it was about trying to beat the Indian out of the children, to take them away from their land, to disconnect them from their ceremonies and their people. ... And I often wonder, what does that mean to wander about for thousands of years living in complete harmony with the place that you've always been on and to then to be placed in a prison? [From the Campaign to Protect the West Berkeley Shellmound talk, 5.13.2018]

By destroying our sacred monuments, our places that we pray at, [where] we buried at, that we live by, that destroys our past—it destroys our connection with the land. [From the Sogorea Te' Land Trust: an Urban Indigenous Women-led Land Trust talk, 4.28.17]

To wake up every single day on my own territory and to know that this government that took over doesn't acknowledge us or our sacred places — is a horrific thing to have to deal with every day. [From the Colonization and Resistance Panel, 2.22.2018]

Colonization and its current pervasive, intrusive manifestations along with past atrocities are not talked enough about in most aspects of society. Corrina Gould focused on the Indigenous people

of California having to whistand three waves of genocide: the colinization by the Spanish via mission systems, followed by the colinization of Mexico via rancherias, and the US colonization through upright genocide of people and the continuing contemporary "historical genodice" of not recognizing or acknowledging Ohlone land, people or culture. Corrina often tells a story about the horrid procedures of the Spanish missions (see Appendix A). One of Corrina Gould's missions is to tell the truth to history that has been deliberately institutionally erased and continues to be socially and culturally disregarded.

The next theme that arose frequently was Ancestors (114). Often at the beginning of Corrina Gould's talks, she offers prayers which are directed at her ancestors. She also calls on multiple generations to remember their purpose in living on this Earth and the obligations they carry to one another.

I want to ask all of our ancestors to come into this virtual space with us, to come into the rooms that we're sitting at right now to center us so that we could open our hearts and our minds and our ears to to a new way that we want to be in this world, a way that we want to lay out for the next seven generations and beyond, for us to begin to create and dream of a different way of being in this world. ... We ask grandmothers and grandfathers to help us to be courageous at this time, to stand up and to do the right things, to bring us back into the center, to bring us back together where human beings are supposed to be and the circle of creation so that we can remember our obligations and our duties to one another and to this earth that has given us everything that we need. [From the Radical Reciprocity Mutual Aid, Redistribution and Protecting the Sacred talk, 5.26.2020]

When talking about ancestors, Corrina Gould also talked about the shellmounds, the burial sites of her ancestors and the sacred importance of this place to the Ohlone people as grounding with the creator and land.

The shellmounds are the burial sites of my ancestors, and so they're significant in that they are sacred places. There are places where our ancestors resided and they also had ceremonial places there. [From the Indigenous Sovereignty: One Land Plot at a Time talk, 8.19.2018]

We don't have a mosque or a church or synagogue. We don't have any of those things. We have this parking lot [The West Berkeley Shellmound] that's a parcel of what used to be a village site, the first place that people ever lived in the Bay Area, the very first place that people set up to live, where my ancestors right here on the bay, the first place that people ever laughed, the first place people ever raised their children, the very first place anybody

ever pulled a fish out of the bay. This was that special place. ... Every single day the land says to me, get up. Every single day the land tells me, because my ancestors are still there, that this is where you're supposed to be and this is what you're supposed to do. This is the work of my ancestors. This isn't to wake people up because we have to all live here together. We talk about taking care of the water and the seeds. ... Why don't we save these places? Because to save these places saves who I am. It saves the Ohlone people. It saves us for our children. It saves it for my grandchildren. These places were places that were given to us by the creator to lay down our prayers. [From the Sogorea Te' Land Trust: an Urban Indigenous Women-led Land Trust talk, 4.28.2017]

Honoring the shellmounds because of their ancestral heritage and the generational connection to land they provide the Ohlone people helps to preserve the longevity of Ohlone culture.

The next appearing tags were Public Education (105)/Back Together & Community (115). Here, Corrina Gould demonstrates her reciprocal relations with people from all walks of life, and the joining together in common thought to work toward Indigenous self-determination and sovereignty.

We've had medicine, people from the Amazon, folks from Australia, Hawaii and New Zealand and all over Turtle Island that have come and prayed with us in ask. We've had people that are also Christian and Jewish and Muslim and Tibetan and people that have drummed there, Aztec people, Korean people, Buddhist people. And so there are all of these people that have come together around a place that is sacred. [From the Indigenous Women & the Land; Laulani Teale and Corrina Gould talk, 4.13.2020]

Corrina Gould models the unity around organizing and fighting for sacred spaces, and the collective power harnessed when inter-tribal, interfaith, people from all over the world come together for a common purpose.

Corrina Gould also emphasizes the necessity of white settlers to examine their identities and responsibilities to the Indigenous peoples' on their ancestral territories, as well as amplifying knowledge and truth especially as it pertains to the erasure of sacred sites and history of Indigenous peoples.

So I want to challenge you guys wherever you come from in this world, wherever you stay at right now that you call home, that you find out the name and the people that were originally there. And I want to challenge you that the work that you go back home and do, that you are inclusive of those folks, not just welcoming you to their land, but to bring them together as equals and the work that you do to make this world a better place. That's truly how we can begin to challenge yourself around what you guys are doing. When you began

to talk about white privilege and this symposium, one of the things that you have to do is to remember the First Nations people that are here. ... And then it is your responsibility when you hear the history, is to tell other people. That we look at folks that are not native to be our allies and our accomplices in the work that we do, saving and protecting sacred sites, telling the truth to history, ensuring that native people are brought as equals to the table. [From the You Are Not in California talk, 5.30.2017]

Part of the responsibility of settler guests, people who are not native residing on Indigenous peoples' homelands, includes showing up and working alongside Indigenous led efforts, and beginning to understand the long overdue reciprocal relationship with Indigenous peoples.

It's important for us to remember who we are by remembering where we come from. And the West Berkeley Shellmound is that place. It's the oldest inhabited village site in the Bay Area. And so it's not just important for Ohlone people. Of course, it's our sacred sites where our ancestors, it's part of our creation stories. But it's also important for the guests that are on our lands now to have access to that place to understand what their responsibilities are when they're working with the Indigenous peoples on our land. [From the Indigenous Women & the Land; Laulani Teale and Corrina Gould talk, 4.13.2020]

While Corrina Gould's knowledge and wisdom greatly surpasses what she even decides to publicly share, it is deeply important to remember these teachings she gives. These pulled quotes illustrate some of the themes from her talks. The other themes, while not any less important, showed up less frequently than the aforementioned themes and explain intertwined, vital concepts to some of the main themes above. For example, for the theme women (25), Corrina Gould ties together the climate change catastrophe with the historical rulings and decisions of the men who have held positions of power, and the opportunity for women to change this dynamic through honor and respect.

As we look for people that are working around climate disaster and environmental issues and food sovereignty and everything in between that women do, and it's important for us to realize that we are not the same as what our men predecessors have done. That we have this different way of being, and that is relationship building. ... It's important for us to understand that we can make a change. [From the Women's Grassroots Accelerator Program talk, 3.24.2020]

And we know that when men are in charge of land, there's a destruction of the land, there's a raping of the land, and that same violence happens upon women's bodies. And so in

order to bring that back into balance, the women need to go back into leadership. [From Indigenous Women & the Land; Laulani Teale and Corrina Gould, 4.13.2020]

Now is the time in the world where we can't do this anymore, our mother, our collective mother, this Earth is dying, she's sick. And the only way to bring that back into balance is if we as women bring this world back into balance through ceremony and song and through our leadership in a different way of seeing the world. And so to stop the extraction, to stop the violence and to really find our way back into that circle. [From the Indigenous Women & the Land; Laulani Teale and Corrina Gould talk, 4.13.2020]

Corrina Gould's philosophy is deeply rooted in reciprocal relations with the land, water, women and with others, as she says, "Our collective mother" when referring to Earth. Corrina Gould's definition of "Reciprocity" also entails restoring the Earth to a balance, a mutual understanding between the people and the land which results in harmony for all. She urges women to find their rightful place in the creation, circle of life, to exert their voices and together heal this Earth.

City of Oakland's visions

Corrina Gould's words and philosophy were used also as a framework for analyzing the ECAP document. The themes that overlapped with this framework were: frontline (117) communities, equity (150), climate equity (20), reciprocity with local Indigenous communities (1), Indigenous ecological knowledge (2), resilience (117) (Figure 2). It is important to note that these aforementioned themes were not the emerging themes from the ECAP and that even overlapping themes like reciprocity, greatly differed in meaning from Corrina Gould's definition and action.

The City of Oakland defines frontline communities as facing "intersecting vulnerabilities, including racial discrimination, poverty, disability, housing insecurity, linguistic isolation, poor air quality, and more, which magnify climate threats" (p. 5). This term is used 118 times in the 159 pages of the 2030 ECAP, and shows Oakland's intent towards lessening the impact of climate change on those who have done the least and are feeling the greatest effects.

Frontline communities experience high climate impacts and high social vulnerability -- the cumulative impact of environmental harms and socio-economic

disadvantages. This includes multiple threats that compound vulnerabilities to different climate impacts" (p. 145).

One way to ameliorate this inequality seen through frontline communities is through climate equity, which the City of Oakland defines as "inclusive of environmental justice and racial and economic equity" (p. 5). The use of climate equity demonstrates the City's knowledge in environmental impacts on equity and the combining, cumulative factors involved in further marginalizing underserved communities. The intersecting factors of environment, race, and the economy show the interdimensional ways of oppression and also provide direction to City resources:

Ensure that the most impacted frontline communities are appropriately identified and resources for climate action and resilience are equitably distributed based on data and through a continuous climate equity analysis (p. 113).

Equity, as written here, was the most used term when using the ECAP analysis framework. ECAP commemorates many committees dedicated to achieving equity, including the Department of Race and Equity, and an Equity Facilitator. The City defines equity as:

ensuring that those facing the greatest impacts are robustly represented in policy and program development -- and implementation -- ensuring that the benefits of Oakland's climate actions accrue first and foremost to communities that have been hit hardest by social and economic injustices (p. 15).

The CL-5: Establish the Oakland Climate Action Network (OCAC) to Support Inclusive Community Engagement on ECAP Implementation, attempts to represent the evolving needs of frontline communities through grassroots organization for collaborative execution of equitable climate action. Participant observation discovered that it was at this stage of the ECAP implementation that STLT was asked to join the Steering Committee of OCAC. The establishment of OCAC shows the direction and movement of the City, and symbolizes a marker because of the OCAC efforts towards the initial ECAP publication and City approval. Current lack of organizational and funding capacities at both the OCAC and City level are limiting the ECAP implementation (Participant Observation, November 16th 2020).

Indigenous inclusion

The Land Acknowledgement, that STLT did not provide consent and were not consulted for, was the only time "reciprocity" was written in the ECAP. The City said that it would "seek to build reciprocity with local indigenous communities" (Preface II). This action leads to the deduction that the City is using "reciprocity" as Indigenous and land acknowledgements. The participant observation of OCAC determined the fact that STLT was also named as a "Partner" (Preface V) to the writing of the ECAP despite only finding out about it after its publication, greatly questions the "reciprocal relation" promise of the City that is not backed with subsequent, "reciprocal" actions.

Even though Indigenous Ecological Knowledge was mentioned two times in the 159 pages of the 2030 ECAP, it shows the City's beginning acknowledgement of Indigenous peoples and their deemed strengths they could collaborate with the government. In CR-3 Rehabilitate Riparian Areas and Open Space Action, ECAP states:

Numerous community organizations and indigenous groups have deep knowledge of and commitment to caring for Oakland's riparian network. The City will work with these organizations and community leaders in implementing this Action (p. 101).

Recognizing the deep commitment to caring for the waterways of the Indigenous peoples of Oakland is productive, not only in mending Oakland bureaucratic relationships with Indigenous groups, but also in the potential future of the betterment of everyone in Oakland. The outcomes of this statement will exemplify the City's true commitment to honoring Indigenous peoples and their care to the environment. The City also acknowledges how the wealth of Indigenous ecological knowledge combined with agricultural areas, riparian and aquatic ecosystems, along with research universities, workforce development plans, and current industrial operations could foster carbon removal technology for local projects. The programs that are discussed prioritize job development for frontline communities while investing resources for long-term benefits.

Oakland's resilience (117) entails the long term sustainable regeneration of any given program or benefit. The emphasis on resilience led to the first Action for the Adaptation section to be the first listed A-1 Fund Creation and Operation of Resilience Hubs. Although the ECAP later stated how it was not feasible for the City to implement Resilience Hubs to "all Oakland"

neighborhoods" (p. 81), STLT has not waited for the unreliable bureaucratic processes and has created *Himmetka*, their own climate resiliency center. Along with the City's definition of a resilience hub, *Himmetka* "creates opportunities in local food systems, traditional and green infrastructure repair and maintenance, and other community support services" (p. 19). *Himmetka's* focus is also on collective resilience, both personal and at the neighborhood level, provides an exemplary model to the City's written statement on resilience to climate change:

It also means strengthening personal and neighborhood-level resilience during normal times, so that communities and families are better able to prepare for inevitable shocks and stressors" (p 87).

Equitable climate actions are to include first descriptions and plans and secondly appropriate subsequent interventions, of which *Himmetka* does both and is thriving. The City's local resilience focuses on healthy living opportunities, such as clean air, supportive and sustainable green jobs, effective and accessible public health services, reasonable living costs and protection from housing displacement. Although the ECAP aims to utilize Indigenous knowledge to implement a holistic approach to achieve climate equity for both current and future generations, "while paying proper respect to the history of this land and its original stewards" (Preface II), the extent of this statement will be further proved through subsequent actions of the City in the future.

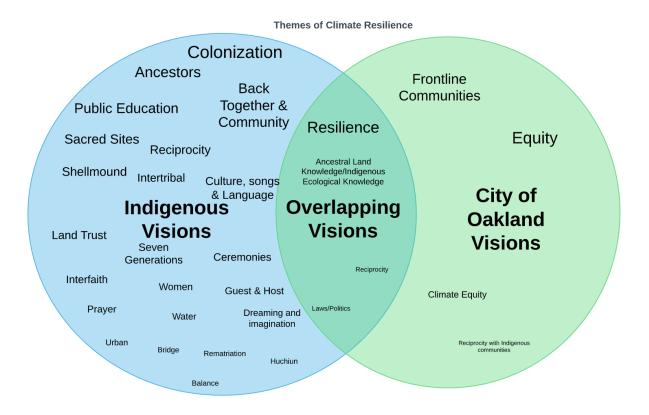


Figure 2: Overlapping themes with Corrina and the City of Oakland. The themes, even if contrasting in definition, were included in the overlap section of the diagram. The more a theme occurred, the higher on the Venn Diagram and the bigger the font it is.

DISCUSSION

Indigenous resilience

Indigenous communities have been forced to undergo a multitude of systemic phases of colonization such as premeditated attempts to displace and destroy them, such as boarding and residential schools, as well as many other methods aiming to annihilate their cultures (Kirmayer et. al 2012, McGregor et al. 2020). One way forced assimilation was attempted, was through kidnapping children, ripping them away from their communities and families, and abusively eradicating Indigenous culture and identity through abhorrent white-washing boarding and residential schools. These suppression and extermination techniques targeted Indigenous identity, close connection to the living land and the spiritual relationships through mass-media racism and

negative stereotypes of Indigenous people (Alfred 2009, de Leeuw Greenwood and Cameron 2010, Reading and Wien 2009, Kirmayer et. al 2012).

Knowledge of the effects of historical, or transgenerational trauma that colonization brought through the Spanish missionaries, the Mexican rancheros, and the white US settlers that continues to this day, is critical to beginning to comprehend the deep physical, emotional and spiritual violence committed against the Ohone people. The current manifestations of such oppressive systems include contemporary laws, education, and development through urbanization. Corrina Gould describes how the US colonization directly led to the current settler-colonial nation state filled with governments and laws that continues to create the genocide of Indigenous people.

So we talk about we have to talk about genocide and what that means and how is that a part of the colonization process. How our laws were created in order to allow this to happen and to continue to happen. Because now genocide isn't just about outright killing people, it's about erasing them in your history books. It's not about allowing them to be human beings because we are not a federally recognized tribe. [From Colonization and Resistance Panel, 2.22.2018]

So if you ever lived in the Bay Area, I was absolutely blessed to always be here, my land. But I wake up every day wondering if they're going to destroy any more of our burial sites, if they're going to pull up any more of our ancestors. So every single day that they're doing those things inside of our territory, we have to wonder and it continues to pull the scab off of the historical trauma that's still there. [From California Indian Genodice and Resilience Bioneers, 2.21.2018]

The transgenerational trauma is once again uncovered everytime a settler-urban developer, backed by settler-colonial laws, destroys Corrina Gould's ancestors and sacred sites. This is a process that is still continually occurring. This structurally racist, modern governmental body continues to perpetuate laws for the settler-colonial state such as the entire system of "federally recognized" tribes that demands Indigenous people to prove their lineage and Indigeneity to the state —for exactly which they have been actively persecuted against for 200+ years.

The recognition of the erased history and Indigenous genocide and its continual effects is a vital first step in acknowledging Indigenous resilience. The concept of resilience embraces individual and community successes amidst many hardships such as transgenerational trauma and destitution, thus shifting the focus from vulnerability to empowerment (Kirmayer et al. 2012, McGregor et al. 2020). Although resilience can have beneficial and working individual effects, it

is also enveloped by systemic and collective processes (Kirmayer et al. 2009, Kirmayer et al. 2012).

The prioritization of recollecting collective history, revitalization of Indigenous languages and cultures, and honoring the intimate relationships to family and land are some of the individual and collective resilience tools used by Indigenous people (Kirmayer et al. 2012). By collectively drawing on shared history and sacred teachings, these resilience narratives create a self-enforcing vitality of Indigenous culture (King 2003, Kirmayer et al. 2012). Efforts to preserve, revitalize, and transmit culture, language and spiritual wisdom to the next and the seventh generations contribute to communal identity, well-being and unity (Kirmayer et al. 2012, McGregor et al. 2020). Indigenous communities have an intimate connection and understanding of the surrounding environment through the foundation of co-existence principles partly evolved from "culturally informed notions of personhood that link the individual to family and community (both past and present), to the land and, often, to a spiritual world of ancestors and other-than-human persons that demand respect" (Nadasdy 2005, Kirmayer et al. 2012). Various resilience processes can originate from traditional knowledge and ancestral values, while also incorporating responses to current socio-political systems and emerging global Indigenous movements.

Although contemporary social-economic-political processes confront Indigenous peoples both individually and communally via new challenges, opportunities and constraints, new technology and Internet networking allow for the advancement of Indigenous belief systems into broader social and political arenas (Kirmayer et. al 2012, McGregor et al. 2020). Mass media and other outreach systems allow for electronic networking to better spread awareness of and about Indigenous activism and principles (Richmond et al. 2007, Stout and Kipling 2003, Kirmayer et. al 2012).

STLT Online Archive

One way to increase public education, raise awareness and support through electronic media and networking is through Indigenous accessible online archives. Here, it is important to define some of what kinds of teachings and knowledge can be included in cultural property claims for the online space. These range from the material (ancestral remains, artifacts, sacred sites) to the intangible (cultural teachings, music, traditional plant knowledge, and sacred symbols) (Greene 2014). By asserting these rights to property and knowledge, Indigenous communities attain more

'direct control over their cultural property by challenging and politicizing its use by nonindigenous actors' (Greene 2014). STLT has a Come Correct series in which they acknowledge how the current society is learning to navigate reciprocal land acknowledgements and relationships honoring Indigenous people's time, energy and resources. They also include the need to correctly and respectfully represent any portrayal or reference that is inspired by Indigenous people, and to be vigilant that representations can "recreate or interrupt assumptions, stereotypes, inequality, and/or power relationships" (STLT Instagram page, accessed 5/13/2021). This series also lists actions to avoid, such as utilizing just the facts that are wanted, utilizing power to take advantage, appropriation, and utilizing material without right, authority or connection. The series ends with questions for the seeker of Indigenous knowledge to ask themselves, including analyzing the power dynamics that the given representation uses and either interrupts or recreates, and the beneficiaries from the relationship including Indigenous people (see Appendix B). Questioning and politicizing nonindigenous actors in their use of Indigenous culture is a vital strategic decision in the self-determination and sovereignty of Indigenous communities. The power to reclaim tangible and intangible aspects from their culture from nonindigenous private parties such as private entrepreneurs, corporations, development agencies, museums, research institutions, and "effectively remove them from the public domain revolve primarily around the apparent sacrilege" and defamation that the misuse, possession, display, and/or commercial exploitation of these elements entails" (Greene 2014).

Sogorea Te' Land Trust

Another way that STLT is strengthening its individual and collective agency is through the political activism of the Land Trust. Diligent and effective engagement in land claims and political activism about Indigenous land and culture rights, can "bring material benefits and also reinforces collective identity, efficacy and self-esteem" (Chandler and Lalonde 2008, Kirmayer et. al 2012). Creating land trusts and advocating for the liberty to express and continue their traditional cultures are political strategies of self-determination (Greene 2014). Corrina Gould describes the rematriation philosophy behind creating an Indigenous women's-led land trust stemming from the history of women "being tossed aside and not being able to take care of [them]selves" and the importance to revitalize this self care medicine [From FE 2.4 Rematriation, 11.13.2019].

When we look at the work that we're doing currently in the Bay Area over at the Sogorea Te' Land Trust, it's about rematriating the land. And what this rematriation means. It really means about bringing balance back into the world. ... Men have been in charge of land for way too long. [From Indigenous Women & the Land: Laulani Teale and Corrina Gould, 4.13.2020]

It [Sogorea Te' Land Trust] was a tool ... and it needed to be an Indigenous womens-led land trust, not just an Ohlone womens-led Land Trust, but Indigenous women, because through relocation policies of the government, so many women have been moved here for now ... their children and their grandchildren live here. We have relationships with all of these people. And how is it that we can create these spaces also for them to have ceremony, to have foods that they traditionally had in their own homelands, a way for us to teach our children songs. And women are the first teachers and we are the ones that hold the songs for the plants and for the medicines and for the waters, and that it's our responsibility. ... Also because our traditional healers have also said that this is the time now for women to stand and take their rightful place in the world and to work with our brothers side by side in order to fix what we have destroyed as human beings in order for us to survive. And so it really is about the rematriation of land. [From FE 2.4 Rematriation, 11.13.2019]

STLT embodies the contemporary moment, a critical time in history, for Indigenous women to go back to being leaders, medicine holders, song-bearers, and to take their rightful places working together in reciprocity on the land. Indigenous. In terms of urban city planning, 'Indigenous planning' is an emerging sphere of influence in theory and practice (Jojola 2008, Barry and Porter 2011).

Cumulative political implications

There is a plenitude of literature on the increase in recognition of Indigenous rights and title in environmental governance within the past 20 years, including the development of governance forms based on joint-management structures between Indigenous owners and government departments (Jaireth and Smyth 2003, Lane and Williams 2008) increased consultation with Indigenous stakeholders (Berke et al., 2002), inclusion of 'Traditional Ecological Knowledge' (TEK) in environmental planning and increasing protections for cultural heritage sites and management processes (Jones 2007, Barry and Porter, 2011). The recognition of Indigenous rights and title in planning systems is a political and spatial complexity that is not yet widely discussed in planning theory (Hibbard et al. 2008, Barry and Porter 2011, Porter and Yiftachel

2019). Government planning, through 'public benefit' claims, aims to control, regulate and manage the use and development of land just as private owner investments shape planning policies and the regulations of state authorities in urban development (Porter and Barry 2015). Corrina Gould described the proposed development on the West Berkeley Shellmound, that entailed many subversive, devious loopholes that the developers used such as stating that a half would be used for affordable housing to therefore expedite the process to avoid recriminations from opposers.

And then when the new law, SB 35, came out, which allowed developers to fast track buildings, developments, as long as they were half affordable housing, the developers came back with a new plan. And that plan bypasses CEQA Laws that enforces native people to have a voice in development on their sacred places. From Preserving Ohlone cosmology and teachings, 1.11.2021.

That laws that were created since the beginning of the creation of this country have always left people out. [From Next Economy Now #112 - Corrina Gould -- Our Collective Responsibility As Weavers Of Healing, 08.10.2018]

The West Berkeley Shellmound is currently named one of the 11 most endangered historic sites in the United States because of the settler-colonial governmental law and regulations that perpetuate the urbanization and development of the displacement of Indigenous people. Indigenous land claims are constructed and ordained within preexisting governance systems such as courts and legislation – with little to no ability for modification (Tully 2004, Barry and Porter 2011). Two current models of recognition are territory recognitions that link Indigenous culture with a specific place, and acknowledging Indigenous political and government structures (Barry and Porter 2011, Tomiak 2017).

Contact zones

Indigenous recognition emphasizes a critical tension between the post-colonial governance systems and Indigenous sovereign movements calling for a fundamental transformation of state political and spatial relationships in particular to land (Tomiak 2017). These tensions are labeled "contact zones" (Pratt 1991, Barry and Porter 2011). Mary Pratt, a critical linguist, defined contact zones as: 'the social spaces where cultures meet, clash and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery or their aftermaths

as they are lived out in many parts of the world today' (1991: 34, Barry 2011). A contact zone is a political space that is 'manipulated, dominated or categorically ignored' by the legal and bureaucratic institutions (Barry and Porter 2011).

Urban spaces sustain the settler-colonial establishment by manifesting a governmental order that aims to fully displace Indigenous people (without ever fully terminating this pursuit), and thus have been extremely difficult spaces to recognize modern Indigenous governance and society (Porter and Yiftachel 2019, Tomiak 2017). The urban system also privileges private land ownership and the historical oppression of Indigenous peoples through colonization and dispossession. These property rights structures all contribute to the silencing of Indigenous recognition within systems of urban spaces and urban planning (Porter and Barry 2015). Corrina Gould expresses her philosophy that overcoming the settler-colonial spatial system of urbanization must include giving land back to Indigenous peoples.

Our land is urbanized. So it's like we would have to take down this entire government ... is to give back land. [From the Colonization and Resistance Panel, 2.22.2018]

Urban spaces include especially complex dynamics between the settler-colonial state but that nonetheless provide potential, direction and mobilization for STLT and other Indigenous organizations.

Contact zones expose the inequalities and uncertainties of environmental and urban planning and pose further critical analysis of property rights and place and regulating the voice and authority of that place (Barry and Porter 2011, Porter and Barry 2015). Many times recognition becomes solely 'tokenistic gestures of acknowledgement' and there has been little concession on the fact that settler colonial cities are built on unceded Indigenous lands (Porter and Barry 2015). Tokenstic land acknowledgements as performative or rhetorical acts of allyship are further defined under the Public Education page on the STLT website (see Appendix C).

City of Oakland's relationship with STLT

The City of Oakland has written a Land Acknowledgement at the beginning of the 2030 ECAP but have done so without consultation with STLT and have therefore made mistakes in the Lisjan Ohlone language and territory names. The second recognition of Indigenous political

structures is also absent. It also does not contain the recognition of Indigenous rights, title and political authority in Oakland (Porter and Barry 2015). The participant observation findings did find, however, a general urge to work with Indigenous tribes, placing them on the top of the list in terms of recruitment into the Steering Committee of OCAC. But, this 'recognition' approach can be elucidated as the city government planning confining Indigenous communities into the mainstream system, 'thereby making invisible the wider political and epistemological challenge of Indigenous recognition' (Porter 2012). STLT was also listed as a "Partner" and was only notified of the 2030 ECAP after it had been published. If the claims by STLT in the post-colonial Oakland city pose a significant objection to the core of state-based planning, then a "equitable" response would most likely require a 'deconstruction, and decolonization, of planning itself' (Barry and Porter 2011, Tomiak 2017).

Oakland Climate Action Coalition (OCAC)

Even though OCAC has continually prioritized the involvement and expertise of STLT to be the leader of OCAC Steering Committee, there are questions about why STLT is prioritized over other critical grassroot organizations in Oakland. One possibility is that OCAC simplifies Indigenous recognition to simply accommodate more Indigenous people in 'established, mainstream decision-making forums' (Barry and Porter 2011). Even though OCAC is in the process of envisioning a collaborative planning process and onboarding sessions for STLT and other Oakland grassroot organizations, these 'collaborative planning efforts are shaped and constrained by larger administrative and discursive frameworks – many of which are reflected and codified in written texts' (Healey 2007, Barry 2011).

Oakland archival analysis

A substantial part of the state-based planning structuring is conducted through specific texts: legislation, policies, regulations, and guidelines that later shape its operational objectives and dimensions (Barry and Porter 2011). A focus on the interpretation of the textual and power dimensions of the politics of recognition and understanding 'how texts shape, constrain, authorize and regulate' is a well-established approach to general public policy research (Barry and Porter

2011). Government plans and policy compositions are seen as exemplifiers of dominant policy frames and political and administrative mechanisms (Yanow 2007, Barry and Porter 2011). Planning texts mediate the terms of Indigenous involvement and collaboration and possess considerable regulatory power (Porter and Barry 2015). Even the online process to locate the 2030 ECAP, or what OCAC is, deems itself complicated and not straight-forward (Participant Observation, November 16th, 2020). Texts demonstrate the contact zones between Indigenous people and state-based planning systems while simultaneously regulating the contact zone by assigning Indigenous communities to established institutional systems with hierarchical structures (Barry and Porter 2011). These authority structures are grounded in Western legal and political conventions that do not adequately recognize Indigenous governance or structures (Barry and Porter 2011).

Indigenous recognition and Indigenous planning in political mediation

It is critical for working relationships with Indigenous organizations and state-based planning systems to move at the pace of trust and to acknowledge first-hand the historical and contemporary oppression that governance planning and historical relations of colonial power brings to Indigenous peoples (Barry and Porter 2011). It is also important to recognize that contact-zone-relational successes can also have transformational possibilities which are extremely influential (Barry and Porter 2011, Wensing and Porter 2016, Tomiak 2017, Nejad et al. 2019). Although urban development alongside nation-building desired the eradication of Indigenous connection to the land because it presented an ownership appearance, those deep-felt connections together with the political authority and property rights still exist to this day (Porter and Barry 2015). These connections are erased and barely understood or seen by white settler cultures and 'are rarely recognized as legitimate expressions of Indigenous sovereignty and title to land' (Porter and Barry 2015). Urban development continues to marginalize and disposes Indigenous peoples, despite a few promising 'legal and political shifts in the social field of Indigenous recognition' (Porter and Barry 2015).

ECAP 2030's wording though may seem more inclusive and "equitable" at first glance, serves to familiarly limit the recognition of Indigenous governance and knowledge in their ancestral lands and sacred sites (Porter and Barry 2015). The emerging fields of 'Indigenous

recognition' and 'Indigenous planning' increasingly require state-based planning to integrate Indigenous interests (Porter and Barry 2015). When state-based planning accommodates Indigenous interests in only the established institutions of knowing and acting, it displays an unrelenting failure of governance systems to respect Indigenous authority and autonomy (Porter and Barry 2015).

Limitations

This research specifies Lisjan Ohlone people of the Bay Area, California and results are not universal for US Native Nations. Another distinction is that the Lisjan Ohlone are an urban tribe and thus may show differences in goals compared to a rural tribal community. However, common themes of reciprocity and genuine relationships are likely applicable to political entities seeking Indigenous knowledge and direction.

Analyzing the written archives first of both STLT and the City of Oakland provided a starting point for understanding the different entities. Analyzing the technology of the archives themselves also allowed me to investigate the accessibility of certain documents and their relation to the themes they were portraying. Being a participant observer in OCAC meetings and complementing with archival research allowed me to support the research for more unbiased opinion and thorough understanding (Salz 2018).

My research question was sufficient in understanding the distinctions of STLT's and City of Oakland published materials. However, it did provide some gray area in categorizing OCAC. Initially, I understood OCAC as a political entity. However now I understand OCAC to be a middle ground between grassroot organizations and political bureaucracy that have the potential to work alongside influential grassroot organizations to influence City politics.

Future Directions

These findings prompt further exploration into Indigenous grassroot organizations and their relationship with political entities. If a workable relationship is found, it would be important to research it and explain the negotiation process of both parties, so that this model and agreements can be applied to other Native organizations seeking political support and recognition. Also,

further research can be done on OCAC's developmental progress and their progress of including Oakland grassroots organizations. OCAC comprises individuals who envision a socially just city and are volunteering time and energy for the implementation of ECAP 2030 and other such plans. Other future research can include researching Indigenous sovereign efforts as described by the environmental and social justice movement (Tsing 2005). Further yet, other research can answer the question posed by Barry and Porter (2011): How does it become possible to negotiate and renegotiate the terms on which the planning system will accommodate Indigenous interests?

In an effort to make the results of my thesis open and accessible for future STLT use, my menor Coleman Rainey and I are creating a map with ArcGIS that holds specific places that Corrina Gould describes throughout her talks with ancestral wisdom, to be incorporated into the STLT website. For example, if we were to look at where the Golden Gate Bridge is, we would be able to click and listen to Corrina Gould's ancestral land knowledge to that specific place. In her words, she explains "where the Golden Gate Bridge is right now, is our Western Gate. Our belief system is that when our ancestors move onto their next journey, they go through that Western Gate to be welcomed by their ancestors." [From Corrina Gould -- "Sogorea Te' Land Trust: an Urban Indigenous Women-led Land Trust", 4.28.2017]

Conclusions

What was found in this study is that even though Oakland is making significant strides to implement equitable measures, it is not prioritizing Indigenous knowledge about what those equitable measures are and how they could be best implemented. Indigenous resilience is a unifying process, bolstering individual Indigenous members but also other non-native people with reciprocity to the land and all living beings. Oakland City resilience is mostly based in writing the 2030 ECAP but aiming to not actually implement the Actions. So far, they have not funded ordinances that are to most benefit to frontline community members as the Racial Equity Impact Assessment (REIA) dictates. OCAC is a middle ground, both able to understand the internal power dynamics of City politics but also prioritizing equity and justice for frontline communities. Oakland has potential to model British Columbia, Canada and Victoria, Australia in their urban environmental planning systems. These British Columbia and Victoria models are dictated by a

decision by the high court to affirm the presence of Indigenous rights and title, and have begun to deliberate how they can co-exist within the Western structures of private poverty, and governance (Barry and Porter 2011).

However, currently there is still a lack of fully incorporating Indigenous leadership in political forums and meetings, creating space, and listening to their guidance and wisdom. Even though OCAC has continually emphasized the incorporation of STLT into their Steering Committee, the current disorganization of their entity dis-enthused STLT to join. However, STLT still retains hope to join OCAC when it is more developed and has clear contribution roles for STLT. OCAC has demonstrated that with adequate funding, community organizing and rallying it is possible to publish the 2030 ECAP, even against opposing Oakland City representatives. However, without continual adequate funding from the City budget plan, OCAC is unable to fully implement the 2030 ECAP. Continual City financial aid is necessary for compensation of Indigenous knowledge, time and expertise, which still has no proposed budgets or plans.

Creating government agencies that are dedicated to the liaison of Indigenous grassroot organizations and political processes is essential. Indigenous grassroot organizations lack capacity to investigate certain political measures, and would potentially benefit from a trusted and respected liaison to report back relevant information. If Indigenous voices from STLT were heard and amplified in the political sphere, then the resilience of Oakland would also be genuine in its reciprocity and impact on frontline community members. It would begin to go back a place of abundance without hunger or homelessness as Corrina Gould had said,

To imagine the abundance that was here less than just a little over two hundred years ago, that my ancestors could take anything out of the water. And you can drink the water out of the creeks. You could eat the foods that were here and that this must have been like what some people might have likened to the Garden of Eden ... [From Next Economy Now #112 - Corrina Gould -- Our Collective Responsibility As Weavers Of Healing, 8.10.2018], that there was not even a concept of hunger or homelessness. [From Sogorea Te' Land Trust, 11.7.2020]

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APPENDIX A: A story about the Spanish Missions

When the missions actually came and they weren't actually didn't have enough people to build these missions, so they gathered people from the different villages close by. They enslaved them. Once they became baptized, they became the property of this new mission system. I often talk about this with fourth graders. I said, imagine going home today and your parents aren't there. And there's someone there that is speaking a language you've never heard of.

And in that language, they're telling you you have to leave your home and you can't speak your language or eat your foods or dance the way you want to or practice religion the way you want to. You can no longer live on the land in the way that you are supposed to. And if you decide to run away, they would send out people from armies to bring you back and possibly kill you. Now, would that be a scary time? And fourth graders are always like "That freaked me out."

[From the Campaign to Protect the West Berkeley Shellmound talk, 5.13.2018]

Figure 1A: Corrina Gould's story to fourth graders about the Spanish missions. These pulled quotations begin to convey a story of what it must have been like to be enslaved at a Spanish mission.

APPENDIX B: How to Come Correct with Indigenous peoples

But we all are still in a world founded on the theft of the land and lives of Indigenous people. As a society we are really just beginning to learn how to navigate what it means for allies to acknowledge the history of the land we are on and then to go beyond that to build meaningful deep relationships that honor the past and to engage with the knowledge, time, energy and resources of Indigenous people in respectful and reciprocal ways.

(From Engage, How to Come Correct page on STLT website. https://sogoreate-landtrust.org/how-to-approach-sogorea-te/. Accessed 5/7/21).

How to Come Correct Series

Representations: Any kind of writing, art, research, project, or portrayal that includes an image of, reference to or are inspired by Indigenous people, Indigenous history, Indigenous issues, or Indigenous culture, creates a representation.

Representations can recreate or interrupt assumptions, stereotypes, inequality, and / or power relationships.

Allow Indigenous people to represent themselves and their experiences.

Cite Indigenous authors and scholars.

Read Indigenous news and media.

Follow Indigenous artists and writers.

Quote Indigenous activists and organizers.

Hire Indigenous people to make their own representations.

If you are sharing, using, or creating a representation ask yourself:

Who created or will create this representation? Why?

What power dynamics does this representation draw from, interrupt or recreate?

What are the roles of identity, privilege, and history in the creation of this representation?

Who will benefit from this representation? How?

How can this representation do more?

Avoid tokenism

Symbolic or performative portrayal

Avoid extraction

Removing the part you want

Avoid exploitation

Using power to take advantage

Avoid appropriation

Taking without right, authority or connection

(From STLT Instagram @sogoreatelandtrust. https://www.instagram.com/p/CNYBqzgB5ul/. Accessed 4/7/21).

Figure 1B: How to Come Correct. These pulled quotations are from STLT website and explain the current work that is being done about defining and owning representations, and the impacts they hold.

APPENDIX C: Avoiding Tokenistic Land Acknowledgements

Land acknowledgements can be a powerful entry point for deeper engagement in the work of rematriation but are also often token or rhetorical acts of performative allyship.

(From STLT website, under Engage, Land Acknowledgements, accessed 4/5/21).

Figure 1C: Tokenistic performative allyship. This quotation shows how Land Acknowledgements should not be used if no meaningful relationship is built with STLT.