

FROM RESEARCH TO RELATIONSHIP: TOWARDS AFFINITY-BASED
SCHOLARSHIP AND INDIGENOUS COMMUNITY EMPOWERMENT

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SCHOLARSHIP AND INDIGENOUS COMMUNITY EMPOWERMENT

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DEDICATION

First of all, to my wife whom I love so much. I would never have made it through this process without ALL your support. Also, to my three wild boys who I am trying to raise and teach, for all the times you forgave me for not being Dad during this time. Finally, to my father whose blood flows through my veins, whose path I follow, to my mother who did her best to teach and guide me through all the years, and to my other father who raised me and showed me what it meant to be a man. Thank you all for getting me here.

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ABSTRACT

Decades of technocratic development projects have been shown to mostly fail at reducing poverty. In response, decentralizing initiatives focused on community and local empowerment have become a strong trend. However, analysis of pros and cons discussed in community-related literature demonstrates a claim for the necessity of government hierarchical structures to assist with development. In this study, I contend that there could be another way for communities to access the resources they need without resorting to the vertical linkages of government assistance, drawing from an anarchist theoretical tradition. My alternative model suggests that institutions of knowledge could serve as facilitators of both resources and horizontal connections. To examine this possibility, I have looked at the world of universities and the researchers who work for them. My focus has also been narrowed to Indigenous communities and professors who are associated with these marginalized groups. Specifically, I discuss Drs. Hobbs and Larsen and their experiences with their respective groups, as well as the Maori people and several Indigenous scholars, including Dr. Palmer. In addition to exploring the potential embedded in these situations, I also interrogate the barriers that may hinder this potential, for the institutions, the communities, and the individuals. My research suggests some interesting possibilities, though not exactly the ones I imagined, and some further application of anarchist theories.

1. Introduction

1.1 Background

The state of both development and higher education are changing. Both of these worlds emerged from the colonial era of European modernist expansion. Both of them have been extensively challenged by critical thinkers, many from colonized societies. At the same time, there is a continued necessity for assisting marginalized groups and isolated communities with their practical needs. This necessity demands conceptualizing changes to both the development and higher education models. As Gibson-Graham have argued concerning diverse economies (2008, pg. 1), now is the time to “open up imaginative space” for both development and education alternatives. This study asks the question about what is possible concerning universities and researchers assisting communities with their practical needs, and also interrogates the barriers that may stand in the way of these possibilities.

To begin this thesis, I examine three relevant bodies of literature: development studies, Indigenous studies, and anarchist studies. The breadth of these vast amounts of literature dictates that this review will not be exhaustive, but rather a general overview. However, special attention is given to recent works in geography for each area. Following this, a basic survey of the pros and cons of hierarchical structures and localized autonomy is examined below, in order to better define the tension between these aspects. This survey then indicates the possibility of a more network-oriented grassroots system in which knowledge institutions and the researchers who work for them could function as critical nodes that facilitate assistance for communities. These

institutions could operate by the logic of affinity, enabling empowerment and mutual aid that goes around existing hegemony. The question is then, to what extent can universities and their researchers function as facilitators of grassroots development? To examine this model, I use a qualitative study to look at several Indigenous communities, the researchers who work with them, and their interactions with universities. This study is then followed by a discussion of emergent themes and conclusions on the viability of the imagined alternative model.

1.2 Defining Terms

Examining each concept that is relevant to this study is beyond its scope. Therefore, I provide here a general overview of some critical concepts and definition of terms. Many of these concepts and terms are embroiled in debates about their nature, or even their very existence, but for the sake of this study, they are assumed as being tangible concepts and are referenced throughout in ways keeping with the definitions below.

First, several development-related terms require explanation. The term *development* itself is hotly debated and politically loaded, and as seen below, can become almost problematic in its use. The concept that I adopt will be spelled out in the discussion below. The term *West* or *Western* refers to the tradition of thought and practice and culture that generally has been disseminated from Europe. It often includes elements such as democracy, capitalism, the Enlightenment, positivist science, and colonialism (Peet and Hartwick 2015). Those cultures that do not trace their heritage

back to Europe are usually *not* referred to as Western cultures. More recently, the terms *Global South* and *North* have arisen often referring to the divide between developed countries, which are predominately located in the Northern hemisphere, and less-developed countries predominately in the Southern hemisphere (Willis 2011). In community-related literature, the term *community* is also debated. For this study, it may refer to a group of people that are joined together in social interaction by some common factor, such as the Indigenous community or the academic community. But this term often is utilized to describe a geographically located group that interacts frequently in a generalized area. It is this use of the term community that is most associated with development (Wilkinson 1991, Kumar 2005, Flint et al. 2008, 2010).

Also, the term *indigenous* must be clarified. According to Smith (2014) ‘Indigenous peoples’ is a relatively recent collective term which emerged out of North American movements in the 1970s; one that internationalizes the issues and struggles of colonized peoples. Niezen (2000, 2003) traces the development of the global movement in much of his work. Literally, to be indigenous means to be “originating or occurring naturally in a particular place” (Oxford Dictionaries 2018). This definition can be problematic when referring to people, however, since most of the earth was settled at one time or another by humans. When considering individuals, it could simply be referring to the fact that they were born and raised in a certain place: they are ‘indigenous’ to that location. Usually, however, the idea of an indigenous people refers to those who have been in a place since time immemorial and were the first to arrive (Maybury-Lewis 2001). While this distinction is easy enough to see in the so-called New

World and other regions that were colonized by the European powers, it can be very challenging to define in most of Europe, Asia, and Africa, where no other particular group has conquered another from the outside, or where so many groups have conquered over the centuries that any distinction is long gone (Johnson et al. 2007). For the sake of singling out certain groups then, it may be more helpful to identify most Indigenous groups as also being *marginalized* populations who often live more traditionally (less adoption of modern means) than other groups (Maybury-Lewis 2001). Marginalization usually refers to the effect of being ignored and/or oppressed by society at large, living at the edges so to speak. Thus, a wide variety of groups who share certain traits might be considered as marginalized, such as homeless people, displaced refugees, or minorities of any type. Therefore, while not all marginalized groups can be defined as indigenous, the vast majority of Indigenous groups can be defined as marginalized. Many of them have suffered genocide physically, and even more have suffered it culturally, a process which is often called *ethnocide*, or cultural eradication (Maybury-Lewis 2001). A variety of harm has come to Indigenous groups through the centuries, whether it was intentional genocide, unintentional spreading of disease, or the forced 'education' of younger generations. This violence has mostly come at the hands of colonial powers, but can also come from other native populations who have more power. Some groups, such as nomads, have been marginalized for most of history, due to the challenge that they present to any given empire or state (Maybury-Lewis 2001). In general, Indigenous groups often lack the power, means, or opportunity to

speak or act on their own behalf to powerful forces external to their communities, though many do in resourceful ways.

Finally, the concept of *globalization* needs to be addressed. It has catapulted to the forefront of discussion in recent decades as well, and with it much debate. Some say that it is not even real, but merely a construct, while others simply discount the idea that it is anything new in human history (Ritzer, 2010). While humans have certainly been expanding across the globe for most of our history, and colonialism/imperialism have often been forces that brought increased contact and exchange between cultures and nations, the latest phenomenon that is usually identified by the term *globalization* refers to the rapid pace at which these contacts and exchanges have increased, especially since the end of the Cold War era (Ritzer 2010). With the advent of the internet, very few barriers to instant communication around the world remain (Castells 2015). Also, the entanglement of financial capital has increased to the point where almost every country in the world may be financially affected by the actions of others, especially the most powerful economies. These trends may threaten Indigenous groups that seek to maintain a certain way of life. Economic forces in particular may create more hardships for indigenous people who are already marginalized within society (Stewart-Harawira 2005). However, increased communication ability can also give indigenous groups a voice that they have never had before, one that can be heard across the globe. This increased ability might also enable diverse indigenous or marginalized groups to band together in mutual support and collective action, also called 'globalization from below' (Stewart-Harawira 2005, Ritzer 2010, Castells 2015).

Finally, increased cultural awareness around the world can provide new economic opportunities for nations or groups, such as cultural tourism (Iankova et al. 2016). For this thesis, I proceed under the assumption that globalization is a real force that is having an effect, especially as it pertains to communication and technology.

2. Literature Review

In light of the three aspects needing to be examined - development concepts, Indigenous studies, and anarchist theories – I organize the review of the relevant literature accordingly. Therefore, I explore a basic background of development works and concepts, from its modern inception to current debates. The different perceptions of development are also touched on. Specifically, approaches to development, both in theory and practice, are divided by scale, those that focus on macro (global and national) aspects and those that focus on more micro (community or regional) elements. Then, I focus more in depth on recent scholarship in geography. Following this, I briefly examine Indigenous studies literature, including a significant geography contingent. Finally, anarchist studies are briefly traced from their origins through today, much of which is already located within the discipline of geography.

2.1 Development

Discussions of development usually divide the topic into conceptual units. One common model is to divide the debate into the three areas of economic growth, modernity, and alternatives (Peet and Hartwick 2015). Another method is to divide along the lines of mainstream Western thought, Marxist ideas, and alternatives (Willis 2011). Some merely address the topic in its entirety from different angles, focusing on dominant aspects of the discussion such as population, culture, urban versus rural, and the juxtaposition of development and conservation (Hodder 2000, Newsham and Bhagwat 2016). For this thesis, I will not go into detail on each view, but rather provide a

broad overview of the topic before elaborating on the specific aspect that is most relevant to this study. The framework that I feel is most applicable for this discussion is as follows: macroscale (national and global) approaches and their foundations, microscale (community and regional) approaches as alternatives, and then what geographers have mostly been focusing on in recent years.

First, it is necessary to discuss the various models and how they define development. Those views that stem from a predominantly European and American lineage I will call *Western*, since it is a common title that has been utilized to group them. These views sprang from the Enlightenment and the Western rational scientific paradigm that dominated the 19th and early 20th century. These views commonly shared a modernist view of history, in which nations and people groups were seen as progressing along a common path toward modernism, which encompassed rational thought, science, technology, and other supposed hallmarks of advanced civilizations (Peet and Hartwick 2015). *How* societies became modern was the primary question that was debated. Discussions in the 19th century mainly revolved around capitalism, Marxism, and other alternative *-isms* such as anarchism. But all of these ideas shared the belief that humans could advance toward a better society, or in other words, *develop*. While the Western countries adopted the capitalist model, others embraced state-centered Marxist methods of development, yet both models maintained a prescriptive technocratic approach, where supposed experts devised plans that would lead to societal prosperity. The results of Marxist central planning are well documented in the history of the Soviet Union and other communist countries and will not be

discussed here. For a balanced and qualified defense of these methods, see Peet and Hartwick (2015). Instead, the historical focus will be on the debates and policies of dominant Western paradigms and methods. For lack of space to elaborate on all the various approaches and views of development, I have included a summary table drawn primarily from Willis (2011, see Figure 1 below) that is mostly in chronological order of appearance. Prior to sustainable development, all approaches define development in terms of economic growth.

Figure 1. Summary of Development Theories and Approaches (Willis 2011)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Main Actors</i>	<i>Description</i>
Classical Economic Theory	Private (Market)	Focus on market forces as most efficient way of organizing economies
Classical Marxism	State	State as key actor in organizing resource distribution and use; socialism/communism
Keynesianism	State and Market	State economic intervention to help the disadvantaged; semi-socialist welfare state
Modernization Theory	State and Market	Eurocentric assumptions concerning progress path of Northern countries that all others should follow
Marxist Structural Approaches	State	National government protection of domestic production as shelter from inequality

Marxist Dependency Theories	State	Economic withdrawal from global system due to exploitation of Northern countries of periphery
Neoliberalism	Private, NGOs, and individuals	State intervention beyond basic regulation seen as harmful to development; governments should adjust policies to stimulate growth; civil society helps poor
Sustainable Development	Various	Various approaches that focus on attempting to reconcile growth with environmental constraints
Ethnodevelopment	State; ethnic groups	Development decisions controlled by ethnic groups; Indigenous empowerment focus
Gender and Development	Various	Focus on gender equity and female empowerment
Rights-Based Development	State, NGOs, individuals	Focus on poor having ability to live fulfilled life with freedom of choice
Post-Development	Grassroots organizations	Development is destructive Eurocentric concept that destroys culture, should be resisted (Willis 2011)

2.1.1 Macroscale Mainstream Development

The bulk of development discussions revolve around several main themes, therefore, I will refer to these as *mainstream*. The contemporary mainstream concept of development in the West has a long and bumpy history (Gregory et al 2009, Hart 2009, Barder 2012). Its beginning is mostly attributed to the post-World War II rebuilding efforts, known as the Marshall Plan, and the actions of the institutions that grew out of this period. However, multiple authors point out how this was not the true beginning of the concept, but that it has its roots in colonialism and the idea of trusteeship (Hart 2009, Bain 2012). In some ways, the modern development project began as a political effort to maintain control of European colonies in the face of growing unrest (Hart 2009, Easterly 2013). That being said, the postwar era brought about the institutions and main ideas that still dominate today. At the 1944 conference in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, where the allied countries agreed upon a framework for global economic cooperation, three institutions were created: the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and the World Trade Organization (WTO). These organizations were designed to aid in global development (Peet and Hartwick 2015). In addition, the creation of the United Nations in 1945 aided in the agenda set by the Bretton Woods institutions. These events were soon followed by the de-colonization and independence of most of the European colonial territories across the globe.

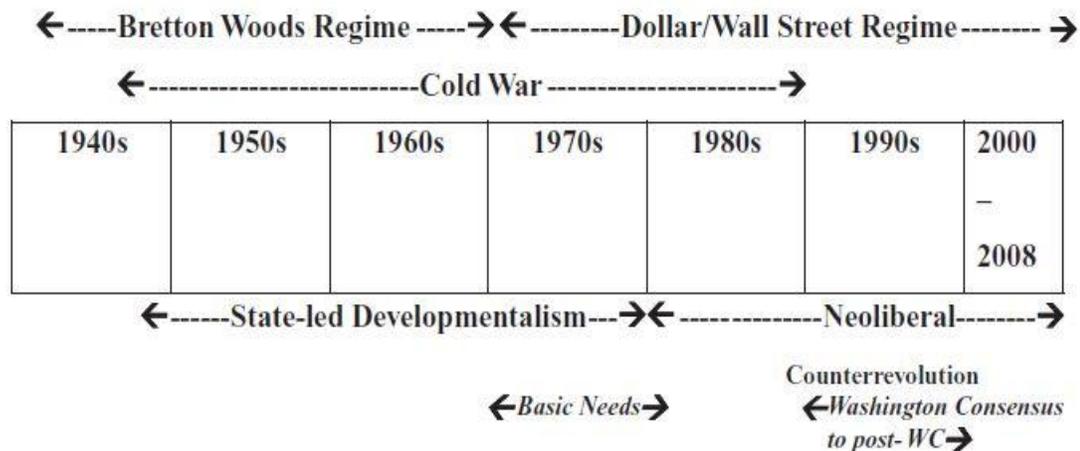
Barder (2012) traces the growth of the concept in his presentation, illustrating the 60 + years of technocratic approaches seeking a 'missing element' to a universal formula. The Harrod-Domar model was the first dominant paradigm following WWII,

stating that the right amount of capital and labor will inevitably lead to growth (Harrod 1948). A nuance to the Harrod-Domar model was introduced by Robert Solow (1956), stating that there was also a technical change that needed to happen within a poor country, but the nature of this change remained ambiguous and poorly fleshed out. Walter Rostow elaborated on this idea by introducing his notion of the virtuous cycle (1960). It essentially stated that raising the amount of investment into a country would kick start a cycle of savings and reinvestment, propelling a country out of poverty. These ideas represent some important key thoughts in the Keynesian and Modernization approaches (See figure 1). This thinking is still influential today and has dominated aid policy for most of past five decades.

However, by the late 1970s, it was becoming apparent that these models were not working or explaining the problems and that state-led development policies were failing. This accompanied a growing critique of the Keynesian welfare state and its supposed interference in free markets. Two major shifts occurred that affected the global economy (see Figure 2, Hart 2009). First, the Bretton Woods gold dollar standard ended in 1971 and was followed by what some call the Dollar/Wall Street regime, which maintained the dollar's hegemony and thus that of United States policy. Second, the political rise of what is now called *Neoliberalism* began in the US and UK in 1980 with the Reagan and Thatcher elections. Primarily, Neoliberalism entailed scaling back both government welfare and regulation (See figure 1). For development, focus shifted to policy reform, seen as the primary deterrent of growth, and institutions began adopting a basic framework that came to be known as the *Washington Consensus* (Willis 2011).

The basis of this so-called consensus was the restructuring of the national economy to include ten essential elements, such as fiscal discipline, tax reform, trade liberalization, etc. The framework was adopted by the Bretton Woods institutions and propagated throughout the developing world as the keys to development and growth (Peet and Hartwick 2015). The current dominant model grew from the rise of this thinking, closely connected to the concept of Neoliberalism, and the end of the Cold War. It has, however, evolved to include institutional reform across a wider spectrum than just government. As noted by Barder (2012), however, every attempt to identify the ‘missing link’ of economic development has essentially failed. Other authors have also extensively chronicled the decades of failure to produce any real development among the more technocratic approaches (Escobar 1995, Scott 1998, Easterly 2013).

Figure 2. Timeline of Development Emphases Corresponding with Monetary Regimes (Hart 2009)



With the rise of climate change science, a new paradigm began to define the development discussion at all levels: *sustainability*. The concept is usually traced to the UN World Commission on Environment and Development report, which in 1987 declared that “sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (43). This model has come to usually contain three elements: the economic, the social, and the environmental (Bridger and Luloff 1999). This framework has led to the formation of a number of sub-disciplines that attempt to reconcile the Western lifestyle with its own limitations, such as sustainable development, sustainability economics, sustainability science, and more (Baumgärtner and Quaas 2010).

A multitude of popular level books have been written by scholars in the last couple of decades. Most of the works that have been written since 2006 have primarily been focused around two New York economists, Jeffrey Sachs and William Easterly. Sachs’ book, *The End of Poverty* (2005), both defined the argument and dramatically affected the development establishment. His influence reached into governments and the UN, pop culture and celebrities, and NGOs of all sorts. The central theme of his view is the idea of the poverty trap, a condition of poor people who, for mostly external reasons, cannot escape their poverty without assistance. He made a bold call for dramatic increases in aid to help get these people on the ‘first rung of the ladder’ of development, so that they could then climb for themselves, reminiscent of earlier development thought. Easterly (2006) responded one year later, arguing that aid, especially broad and untargeted, did much more harm than good. It was his view that

there was no such thing as a poverty trap and that free markets could be encouraged and in the end, bring about much healthier development, that grew from the bottom up. Many different groups and players aligned with one view or the other, or tried to raise their own view in response. In a fascinating turn of events, Dambisa Moyo, a Zambian economist who was educated at Harvard and Oxford, joined her voice to Easterly's (2008). Her book essentially argued the same thing that Easterly did, but with the added potency of her grounded indigenous perspective. Collier (2007) attempted to tease out a richer view that perhaps bridged the gap between the two extremes. Banerjee and Duflo (2011) released their comprehensive study in an attempt to move the discussion into an actual context, with extensive use of data and trials and a focus on understanding the life of the poor. All of these works bridged academic scholarship with popular level accessibility. Meanwhile, Sachs and Easterly both continue to develop their views. Easterly has gone even further in his critique, joining the ranks of critical development scholars across the board (2013). The latest work from Sachs (2015) aims for a practically exhaustive discussion of all facets related to the topic of sustainable development. Though the authors are occasionally referenced in academic literature, these popular level works are usually not discussed at length.

Also in the past two decades, a significant critical contingent has arisen largely filled with scholarly works from the Global South. Apart from some of the Marxist approaches mentioned above (see Figure 1), the dominant paradigm for this critical school is that of *postcolonialism*. Postcolonialism is a critical approach that "seeks to disrupt ways of thinking about the world based on Northern assumptions" (Willis 2011,

30). While postmodernism is a school of thought that challenges the very foundations of modern thinking in the West by questioning and deconstructing so many of its norms, postcolonialism challenged it from the outside (Peet and Hartwick 2015). It is “an analysis and critique of the ways in which Western knowledge systems have come to dominate” (Sharpe 2009, 5). Usually, the earliest writer associated with this thinking in Franz Fanon, who was a doctor from Martinique. He wrote in the 1950s and 60s concerning the psychological trauma inflicted on colonized people, even going so far as to justify violent resistance (1963 [2004]). Probably the most well known postcolonial theorist, however, is Edward Said (1978), who focused on European portrayals of the ‘Other’, the Oriental, and the discourses that appear in Western culture that created countless preconceived notions of the rest of the world, often ones that demeaned the peoples of these regions (Sharpe 2009). Later writers such as Spivak and Bhabha would object to the simple binaries often drawn by Fanon and Said. Spivak (1988) focused on ‘the subaltern’, meaning those who are in any sense subordinate to others, and whether or not they could even have a voice for themselves. Bhabha’s work looked at the many fusions of colonial and colonized, the notion of hybridity, and how mimicry always changed the original colonial mode and often disrupted it (1994). In development, these ways of thinking were taken up by scholars such as Arturo Escobar, who wrote about the development project as a discourse from the West the imposed concepts such as poverty and underdevelopment, or categories like the Third World, on countries that had no concept of these notions, as yet another form of domination (1995). This type of thinking is what is associated with postdevelopment (see figure 1). Also, methods such

as Participatory Action Research (PAR), an early attempt at grassroots democratic development, arose in the late 1980s out of this critical phase of scholarship (Peet and Hartwick 2015). This overview does not begin to do justice to the vast amount of critical literature on development, but hopefully encompasses some of the most essential examples.

2.1.2 Microscale Community Development

There have been other currents within development in general, often centered around the question of centralized top-down approaches versus more grassroots local ones. These are reflected in some of the works above and their shift in focus over the last decade from macro interventions to more micro level ones. The ‘traditional’ community development school of thought that has continued and evolved since the mid-20th century still raises its voice for inclusive, holistic, locally-focused development at the micro scale. Other areas of focus, such as common pool resource studies, community-based resource management, and sustainable livelihoods approaches have all overlapped with community development studies in mostly focusing on local decentralized solutions, in contrast to the mainstream institutional development models, even when the former are appropriated by the latter (Bridger and Luloff 1999, Scoones 2009, Van Laerhoven and Barnes 2014, Matarrita-Cascante et al 2017).

Commons research is by its nature fairly antithetical to the Neoliberal paradigm. This research began in response to an article by Garret Hardin (1968), who argued that the facts of ever-dwindling resources and ever-increasing population needs created a

'tragedy' that incentivized every actor to overuse the earth's resources while no one was incentivized to take care of them. The only possible solutions to this perceived tragedy in his mind were to either privatize the resource or place it under state regulation. However, it is important to note that Hardin's argument assumes a capitalist Neoliberal reality where everyone is only out for their own self-interests and locked in endless competition (Springer 2016). Elinor Ostrom, in her seminal work of 1990, documented a multitude of exceptions to Hardin's rule and initiated a flurry of further studies that have meticulously and overwhelmingly proven Hardin wrong. Commons studies have thoroughly shown that local communities are indeed capable of maintaining sustainable resource use for centuries with neither private nor state-controlled property regimes (Ostrom 1990).

Some of the above mentioned approaches also fit more with the microscale focus of community development (see figure 1). Participatory Action Research (PAR) is almost exclusively community-oriented (Peet and Hartwick 2015). Also, ethnodevelopment's focus on indigeneity, the focus on greater gender equity, and the focus on human rights, freedom, and fulfillment are all predominately sub-national in scale (Willis 2011). In general, trends toward decentralization and grassroots participation have been growing. However, there are many appropriations of supposed community-based focuses and methods that are still highly technocratic in essence; decentralized prescriptions are still not grassroots (Willis 2011). The discussion below will delve further into these aspects.

2.1.3 Geography and Development

Within geography, scholars have mostly focused on the macro-scale in predominately critical ways. Beyond the excellent summaries of Peet and Hartwick (2015) and Willis (2011), there have been a range of articles addressing these various aspects of development. Pollard et al. (2008) discuss the need for dialogue between economic geography and postcolonial theory. They point out that postcolonialism rarely deals with the economy explicitly, perhaps only seen in the more Marxist approaches of dependency or world systems theory. They also express similar ethical concerns about research seen in Indigenous studies, as economic geographers often have no frame of reference for non-Western contexts. In 2009, Hart traced the various discourses of development up through the recent financial crisis that began in 2008, pointing out the connections between the dominant financial regimes and the discourses to help frame the most recent trends. Also, Silvey (2010) reviewed geographical scholarship up to that time, as it had a more critical sustained focus on the relationship of the state to development and what constituted the political. Sidaway (2012) discusses the changes to geography brought on by the dissolution of categories such as the Third World with the rise of 'emerging markets', and calls for new alternative geographies. Richard Ballard has penned three important review articles recently on geographies of development (2012, 2013, 2015). The first focused on criticisms of the celebratory narratives of the emerging middle class in developing countries, the second discussed the emerging trend of state-based direct cash transfers to the poor, and the third examines various ways that the poor take action for themselves. This third report is particularly useful here, as

it touches on collective action and social movements outside of established hierarchical channels. Pádraig Carmody (2012) has written extensively on the rise of other Global South nations in Sub-Saharan Africa, as well as the role of information and communication technologies in development. Mawdsely (2014, 2017) writes on the 'post-aid' era, referring to the recent ruptures of the established North-South axis of development hierarchy brought on by both the recent financial crisis in the developed economies and the rapid increase in South-South development cooperation. This rupturing process is eroding the long established Western hegemony. Radcliffe (2015) assesses the state of critical development studies, specifically emergent issues such as resilience-based approaches, post-Neoliberalism in Latin America, and the challenges of social heterogeneity. Noxolo (2015), meanwhile, questions the role of cultural geography, that seems increasingly removed from real-world problems, in addressing development. This list of articles represent a broad sampling of development geography literature, but is not at all exhaustive.

2.2 Indigenous Studies

Indigenous studies is an interdisciplinary area that has developed in recent decades that seeks to understand the situation of Indigenous groups. Due to its relationship with colonized countries, much indigenous scholarship overlaps with critical views such as postcolonialism that seek to illuminate the continuing effects of colonization and Western influence. However, a completely different take on indigenous peoples has grown from a renewed interest in their traditional ecological knowledge

(Berkes 2012). The threat of climate change and the shift in focus to ecosystem thinking has led to a strong movement in the natural sciences and conservation groups to partner with and give voice to indigenous groups. Adaptive co-management has become the popular model, both with Indigenous groups and with local communities (Plummer and Armitage 2007). Other areas and disciplines have benefited as well from attention to the emerging indigenous movements (Coombes et al. 2012). Also, with the rise of indigenous studies has come a call for *decolonization*. Literally, of course, this process refers to the removal of colonial power, much of which took place in the middle to late 20th century. However, when considering the lasting effect of Western institutions and prejudices, decolonization refers to the process of recognizing and removing these prejudices within the systems of influence and allowing for alternative views and ways of knowing (Smith 2014). It also means letting the groups that are being researched lead the way in how it is done and what the end product should be, if it is done at all (Kwaymullina 2016). Increasingly, this seems to be the trend, at least within indigenous research, and also the validity of traditional knowledge is gradually being recognized and incorporated into both academic research and ecological management practices.

Increasingly, the complex connections between humans and their environment are being acknowledged and examined. A shift in thinking has occurred with the acknowledgement of the advent of the so-called *Anthropocene Epoch* (Steffan et al. 2011). This is a proposed concept that aims to identify the era of human dominance over the systems of the planet, perhaps beginning in the mid-20th century. Not only is human society again being viewed as an integral part of nature rather than being

separated from it, but humans are now understood as effecting every part of the earth as they have a direct impact on climate forces (Young 2007). Scholars have also increasingly called for more ecocentric values (Grumbine 1994, Stanley 1995). This shift has revived interest in Indigenous knowledge systems that have consistently seen humans as in relationship with nature, not as separate from it (Berkes 2012). The dominant view in European-descended societies has been that of the right of humans to dominate nature (Stanley 1995), but most indigenous groups, as well as many non-European societies, have not shared this view (Berkes 2012, Larsen 2003). It is perhaps not surprising then that these alternative knowledge systems are being examined with more interest, as the consequences of Western modernity become increasingly clear.

Much of the focus in Indigenous literature has been on the research process, especially since the publication of *Decolonizing Methodologies* by Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999). Smith's work was a powerful indictment of Western research methods and the foundations that undergirded them. It was similar to postcolonial critique in its attack on Eurocentric ways of knowing and the colonization of knowledge, but its focus was the academic world. Smith's book was also a sort of manifesto for Indigenous scholarship and it had a profound effect on research methods. Tuck (2012) describes the enduring potency of this work fifteen years later, giving a generation of critical researchers "an anti-colonial lexicon of research, and an ethics of making space and showing face" (365). A second important contribution has been that of Margaret Kovach (2009) who wrote on the methods and approaches that various Indigenous scholars have utilized, including her own, taking up Smith's call to incorporate Indigenous ways

of knowing and doing into their research *within* the academy. A multitude of works have been written in the years since Smith's book and authors continue to attempt to elucidate the best ways of carrying out research, both from Indigenous groups and in collaboration with them. Kwaymullina (2016), for example, suggests three questions for respectful research engagement with Indigenous groups: should it be done at all, what is my positionality, and are all the ethical aspects attended to? These efforts seem to be having a significant effect on research ethics and Indigenous perceptions across the academic world.

Within geography, Indigenous studies have been a strong emerging theme. Several of the major contributors over the past decade within geography are interviewed and discussed below. Jay Johnson has written extensively on Indigenous issues. In 2007, Johnson et al. headed up a special issue of *Geographical Research* dedicated to fostering more anti-colonial geographies that embraced Indigenous knowledges. Johnson (2008) also discusses the challenges of doing Indigenous research and attempts to find an 'in-between place' where different knowledges can interact. Dr. Johnson has collaborated with Drs. Coombes and Howitt on three important reviews of Indigenous scholarship (2012, 2013, 2014). The first discussed three areas in which geographers were engaging with Indigenous environmentalism: political ecology, a focus on claims settlement, and propertization of human/environment interactions. This issue also pointed out a growing distinction between 'Indigenous' and 'local'. The second article focused on geographies that utilized postcolonial frameworks for both critique and hopeful possibilities, calling for a more cautious but still aspirational view.

Finally, the third article dealt with the Indigenous research aspect as a whole, interrogating even deeper into the methods used by ethnographers and critiquing them. Drs. Johnson and Larsen have also collaborated a number of times concerning Indigenous issues and other elements of place, specifically contributing an introduction to a journal issue focused on the experiences of both Native and non-Native geographers working with Indigenous communities (2012). This research was also expanded on in a co-authored book (2017). Also interviewed below, Mark Palmer has contributed extensively to the incorporation of Indigenous knowledge into geographic information science and cartography, as well as critical works focused on colonialism and mapping (2013, 2012a, 2012b, 2012c, 2009a, 2009b). He also looks at the integration of Indigenous cultural and natural landscapes at UNESCO World Heritage sites (2016). Other geographers have engaged with Indigenous research in social geography (Panelli 2008), critiques of PAR (Leeuw et al. 2012, Nakamura 2015), and 'posthumanist' theorizing (Sundberg 2014). Murton (2012) discusses the challenge of geographers in understanding Indigenous perceptions of place and calls for more phenomenological approaches, similar to the very focus used by Larsen and Johnson (2012, 2017). Hunt (2013) also has deeply examined the ontologies of Western geography and whether Indigenous ways of knowing can be seen as legitimate. Finally, Radcliffe (2015) has taken a break from her development focus to write three reports on geographies of indigeneity, the first of which – and the only one published to date – primarily discusses various works that extend understandings of the concept and try to articulate them.

2.3 Anarchism

The early anarchist geographers, Peter Kropotkin and Elisée Reclus, were friends and colleagues in the mid to late 19th century, contemporaries of Marx, Engels, and other socialist thinkers in Europe. They were also colleagues with other early influential geographers like Halford Mackinder. The socialists came to be known by two dominant schools of thought: anarchists and Marxists. Marxists held that political power must be taken from the state, so that a new classless society could be instituted and enforced. The anarchists, on the other hand, believed that it was possible for people to live free of state control, that truly classless societies had to be societies free of all forms of dominance. They did not eschew structure itself, but rather envisioned a structure that was organic and open to change, one that arose from social relationships that people were free to cooperate in or not. Kropotkin and Reclus were central to the anarchist movement, both in thought and in action (Springer 2012, 2013), but were also highly respected as scholars, both within and outside of the discipline (Kearns 2004, Cresswell 2013).

These men held ideals and described concepts that were both prescient and counter to the vast majority of voices in their day. As Ferretti (2012) thoroughly shows, Reclus, who was French, was a staunch opponent of his own country's imperial conquests, even though he did support colonization in the sense of immigration and the mixing of different cultures with one another. Reclus imagined a world of all mankind becoming one, foreshadowing the current concept of globalization. He argued for "the suppression of privilege and the recognition of right" on all fronts (Reclus 1884, 641).

Kropotkin also opposed colonialism and dominance of any kind, spelling out his view of humanity's natural tendency to cooperate without coercion in *Mutual Aid* (1902 [2014]). It was his contention that people would usually naturally cooperate as a species in order to survive, and that institutions such as government just got in the way. He accurately predicted, along with other anarchist writers, the devolution of the communist state experiments into dictatorships (Cresswell 2013). Kropotkin also believed that geography ought to be Similarly, if geography is to be "a means of dissipating... prejudices and of creating other feelings more worthy of humanity" (1885 [1978]).

Anarchist thought seemed to disappear from geography after Reclus and Kropotkin, as the discipline settled into the service of empire during the years of war and the quantitative revolution in the discipline (Springer 2013). In the 1970s, with the inaugural issue of the radical geography journal, *Antipode*, a renewed interest in anarchist theory emerged. Richard Peet (1978) wrote about Kropotkin and the need for a new geography of anarchism. However, this interest faded quickly, eclipsed by the other radical movements of Marxism, feminism, and poststructural theories (Springer 2013). But there were always some scholars, including within geography, that continued to study and promote anarchist ideas (Breitbart 2012). Recently, there has been a resurgence of interest in anarchist geography, with another special issue of *Antipode* solely dedicated to anarchist articles published in 2012 (Springer 2013). Most of the contributors to this issue focused on aspects like anarchist geographies (Gordon 2012, Ince 2012), anarchist views of space and flow (Ferrell 2012), and various forms of

resistance (Clough 2012, White and Williams 2012). This group continues to work on propagating more anarchist geography (Springer 2016).

Linked to the concept of mutual aid is that of *affinity*. Larsen and Johnson (2012) discuss affinity politics as one that engages in mutual aid, but disengages from the processes of the state and its institutions. They draw largely from Day (2004, 2005), who effectively traced the concept back through anarchist literature to Kropotkin's works. Essential to this concept is the ethical commitment to helping others build their own ability to determine their own lives. Affinity politics work outside of, or alongside of, institutions without taking power or begging for reform. One of the contributors to the special issue mentioned above devoted his article to responding to Day's work (Purcell 2012). Given recent trends and arguments within the development world in general, this concept is a very relevant one that will be examined in more detail below. While I do not focus extensively on anarchist works, it is this theory of affinity politics and its anarchist heritage which forms the foundation for my contentions below. My goal is to incorporate elements of anarchist theory into a more mainstream discussion of development and higher education.

2.4 The Intersections of Development, Indigenous, and Anarchist Studies

There are several specific ways in which these bodies of literature overlap that is critical for this study. Postcolonialism is of course a dominant paradigm both in postdevelopment and Indigenous perspectives. Barker and Pickerell (2012), in their contribution to the *Antipode* issue mentioned above, discuss at length the relationship

between anarchist and Indigenous movements, specifically how anarchist need to understand Indigenous perspectives of place. Also, Taylor (1982) explicitly traced theoretic connections between community development and anarchism. Springer (2016) also draws some correlations between commons literature and Kropotkin's writings on mutual aid. Larsen and Johnson (2011) trace connections between anarchist theories concerning social movements and Indigenous solidarity connections, often around environmental issues. These works represent some of the most explicit connections between these study areas.

3. Defining the Problem

In order to address the need for alternative development models and practical solutions, a basic survey of the pros and cons of hierarchical structures and localized autonomy is examined below. This survey then indicates the possibility of a more network-oriented grassroots system in which knowledge institutions – universities, ‘think tanks’, and other research groups - and the researchers who work for them could function as critical nodes that facilitate assistance for communities. These institutions could operate by the logic of affinity, enabling empowerment and mutual aid that goes around existing hegemony. This survey then dictates the research focus of the qualitative study that follows.

3.1 The Tension of Vertical Linkages

For this discussion, I have included a basic collection of pros and cons for both local and external control. Most of these are drawn from the content of community-based literature, including community-based natural resource management (CBNRM), commons, and traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) studies. An explicit examination of the tension between local and external authority seems to be missing, although commons literature and TEK studies have come close on occasion. The relationship and tension between these is only part of the vertical linkages of a community, but it has the most visible effect.

3.1.1 Advantages of local control

The trends of the past few decades in micro-scale development, and to a lesser degree on the macro scale as well, has been toward the devolution of controls and decision-making to the local level. This is still often mostly in theory and word more than practice, but it is far removed from the dominant top-down model of mid-20th century development policies. Decentralization has also been supported and justified by a broad interdisciplinary body of research (Dietz et al. 2003). Increasing technology, globalization, and climate change awareness led to a decline in place-focused efforts for a time (Bridger and Luloff 1999), but commons research and movements in CBNRM have pushed toward ever increasing local involvement and control, even if only on the surface (Kumar 2005, Meer and Schnurr 2013).

Most arguments for this framework revolve around sustainability. In general, there is more awareness and concern of ecological conditions at the local level, and a stronger incentive to adopt sustainable practices (Wilkinson 1991, Berkes 2012). It is the local level where sustainability becomes tangible and concrete, rather than an abstraction (Bridger and Luloff 1999, Kumar 2005). Local resilience and self-reliance is a major component of sustainability (Bridger and Luloff 1999). There is also an increased need for adaptability in light of systemic risk from increased connectedness, and adapting is more easily accomplished at the local level. Of course, communities do not always act sustainably or adapt, even in the face of dramatic ecological change (Diamond 2005). But there is still ample evidence in support of this argument.

A wide body of commons research has demonstrated the essential nature of community ownership, and has examined the vertical linkages aspect to a great extent (Van Laerhoven and Barnes 2014). Communities should have incentive to act sustainably even more when given control over a shared resource. With strong community, even local ad hoc institutions can excel at management and outperform higher levels of government (Van Laerhoven and Barnes 2014); some cases explicitly show that lack of effective external governance is *not* the main cause for a lack of community resilience, but rather the degree of community ownership (Mataritta-Cascante and Trejos 2013).

Part of the shift to ecosystem management approaches has been the increased emphasis on decentralization (Grumbine 1994). Command and control management and governance has increasingly been seen as a problematic, fostering dependency that repeats the pattern and ultimately precludes sustainability (Holling and Meffe 1996). Decentralization has been viewed as preferable because it usually lowers costs, increases efficiency, allows stakeholders to have ownership, and benefits users more directly (Phelps 2010).

One other strength of local control is extensively argued for in commons, CBNRM, and TEK literature: the importance and legitimacy of local knowledge (Berkes 2012, Phuthego and Chanda 2004). Scott (1998) defines local knowledge as ‘metis’, using the Greek word to help distinguish between different kinds of knowledge. He prefers this to ‘traditional’ because one aspect of this kind of knowledge is that it is highly adaptable. Also of interest here is the fact that these new initiatives have

coincided with increasing acknowledgement of Indigenous rights for resource use (Agrawal 2008).

3.1.2 Problems with local control

There are some potential inherent weaknesses with an over-reliance on local control. Isolation can defeat any effort of community development (Wilkinson 1991, Bridger and Luloff 1999) and reduce the effectivity of federal government assistance when local institutions are weak or corrupt (Mataritta-Cascante and Trejos 2013).

Without a certain amount of connectedness, more isolated communities are unlikely to thrive naturally.

Also, regardless of connectedness, there is always the danger of elitism, or even local despotism. Unequal power structures need to be addressed in order for community well-being to be truly realized, and this is often difficult without outside intervention. Benefits of change may often go to local elites while costs are born by community (Bridger and Luloff 1999). Even initiatives meant to be inclusive can create new elites that thrive on local corruption in the new 'decentralized' environment (Zulu 2008). There must be some level of monitoring to prevent this if the community is unable to overcome it.

3.1.3 Advantages of external authority

In light of the above mentioned issues, many authors point out the need for external vertical linkages, usually referring to governmental authority beyond the local

level. Big picture issues such as climate change are a classic example of global scale problems that must be addressed at every level. Communities may be unable, or even unaware, of tackling such issues. External authorities may also be more able to help mitigate or prevent shocks to communities that are not prepared for sudden or rapid change.

Another key issue often cited when pointing out the necessity for external governance is that no single locality can contain all the needed skills or knowledge to manage any local problem. Commons governance often needs outside specialists (Singleton and Taylor 1992) and certainly needs outside intervention when community is weak (Ostrom 1992). Government agencies are often designed and tasked with a specialized focus and may employ many key experts with the relevant knowledge. Local communities need access to these experts.

Also, in reference to the earlier point concerning local power structures, an external authority may be necessary for monitoring and enforcing equality. To keep local authorities from becoming despots or entrenching or reinforcing inequities, higher levels of government may need to step in (McCay and Jentoft 1998). Above all, this is probably the most essential function of government that even the most staunch advocate of liberty must still address.

3.1.4 Problems with external authority

For every need pointed out by many of the authors concerning vertical linkages and governance, there were multiple problems with such authority addressed.

Bureaucracies are notoriously non-adaptive, slow to respond, and lacking in innovation (Bridger and Luloff 1999). Resource governance often costs more the further removed it is from local users (Ostrom 1992). Top-down prescriptive control has a tendency toward generalization that ignores context. A common complaint about external mandated directives or initiatives is their one-size-fits-all approach. Communities and social interaction in general are complex systems, and while science and engineering are designed to work in controlled settings, dynamic environments often do not respond to generalized planned solutions (Berkes 2012, Barder 2012). Technical solutions tend not to fix existing negative structural issues either, but rather often bolster them (Bridger and Luloff 1999). This is also seen when 'communities' are grouped in 'readable' way, based on geographic location instead of local dynamics, usually with disastrous results (Stone and Nyaupane 2014, Scott 1998). The evidence for all this stretches back over the 60+ years of failed development initiatives.

Governments and institutions are also often the worst in the very countries that need the most community development. Corruption is renowned throughout and leads to a level of distrust and apathy (Mataritta-Cascante and Trejos 2013, Olopade 2013, Stone and Nyaupane 2014). Also, resources are more shared in developing countries, making communal involvement even more important, and the lack of it more problematic (Flint *et al.* 2008, Meer and Schnurr 2013). Institutions often still retain colonial framework and are incapable of adequate management (Meer and Schnurr 2013). In the face of such inadequacy, it seems that every other recourse to government control should be explored in developing countries.

Another factor is seen in the evidence that the more a state is relied upon, the more it becomes indispensable. Vertical linkages take precedence over horizontal linkages and community interaction can be drastically weakened (McCay and Jentoft 1998). Every attempt at a new 'inclusive' paradigm over recent decades still often sees the state fail at its goal (Kumar 2005, Meer and Schnurr 2013), as seen in CBRM initiatives across SSA (Zulu 2008). These supposed 'inclusive' policy prescriptions are a contradiction and are not truly grassroots and inclusive at all. Mere lip service or even compensation and 'ownership' is not enough, communities need to be able to determine their own course (Kumar 2005, Flint *et al.* 2008, Meer and Schnurr 2013).

Though not addressed explicitly in the community-related literature like what is reviewed above, external authorities have historically been intrinsically biased toward marginalized communities. As noted in the Indigenous literature above and seen clearly in the case studies below, nomads, Indigenous peoples, and even just common rural communities in any country are often viewed by the elite as being ignorant, backward, and even destructive. This cultural framework often leads to interventionist policies with inevitable disastrous results (Hobbs 2018). The resurgence of recognition for TEK and its validity may be changing this pattern, but it is only just beginning in the smallest of ways.

3.1.5 Could there be another way?

So, what are we to make of these advantages and problems? To summarize the sources I reviewed, a high degree of local control seems desirable in general, even

essential to truly realizing sustainability, but it may need to be monitored in some fashion to avoid or overcome inequities. If they are not isolated and have adequate access to external resources, communities have proven more than capable at resource governance. State intrusion and direction is predominantly not preferred and often disastrous, but can also be a source of necessary expertise and knowledge about broader scale issues. In developing countries, however, it is predominantly the former. Even in more developed countries, an over-reliance on government can be detrimental to community interaction and development. Complexity theory has also shown that emergent and dynamic solutions are often exponentially more effective than engineered ones (Barder 2012). However, there are still incentives that can push toward centralization (Phelps, 2010). Some of the proposed solutions to the tendency for centralization to emerge are innovation, self-reliance, and flexibility in institutions (Holling and Meffe 1996).

In light of this analysis, is it possible to address the problems with local control without looking to external authorities? Is it possible to remove barriers to the natural process of community development without prescriptive intervention (Wilkinson 1991)? How could knowledge, resources, expertise, and enforcement be provided to communities without looking to the state? Issues like climate change demand a global perspective, yet governments often fail to translate these realities to the local context, or they are subject to politicization at the government level, fostering confusion and mistrust. Also, crucial to this consideration is the current context of globalization. More than ever before in history, horizontally-oriented linkages have been increasing at an

exponential rate (Castells 2015). While this trend may not be new economically or politically in history, nor is it an inevitable process (Gregory *et al.* 2009), it is hard to debate that it is new technologically. Short of global catastrophe or a drastic rise of isolationism, connectivity will not decrease. New technology has increased risk, but also empowered horizontal linkages like never before (e.g. crowdsourcing).

Therefore, I contend that strengthening these could lead to a positive feedback loop that increases mutual vulnerability. Institutions and government agencies could transition more to being facilitators of connection, instead of technocracies, though this is unlikely. A functioning network of networks can extend to a global scale and operate with higher efficiency than a hierarchical structure. This network can even serve in the role of monitoring and rule-enforcing in an accountability mechanism, overcoming the problems associated with isolation. This is a reality that may be more possible now than ever before and it is worth exploring the implications and possibilities of such an approach.

3.2 A Possible Alternative Model

What would it look like to move toward policies of increasing horizontal linkages and knowledge diffusion and away from reliance on hierarchical relationships? To imagine such a conceptual framework, it is useful to examine certain theoretical and conceptual constructs. The logic and politics of affinity and mutual aid can be seen to have extensive overlap with the interactional understanding of community development.

The idea of operating apart from vertical linkages is rooted in the logic of affinity. This contemporary notion is connected to ideas going back to the geographer Kropotkin and his theory of mutual aid (1902 [2014]). Day (2004, 2005) traces these connections and defines the logic of affinity as “that which always already undermines hegemony” (2004, 717). Hegemony is essentially whatever dominant form that holds sway at the moment. Day (2004) lists the key elements of affinity: “a desire to create alternatives to state and corporate forms of social organization, working ‘alongside’ the existing institutions; proceeding in this via disengagement and reconstruction rather than by reform or revolution; with the end of creating not a new knowable totality (counter-hegemony), but of enabling experiments and the emergence of new forms of subjectivity; and finally, focusing on relations between these subjects, in the name of inventing new forms of community” (740). He also describes this concept as moving away from the politics of demand (reformism or revolution) to the politics of the act. Rather than begging for change or seizing power through revolution, affinity actions press ahead without turning to vertical linkages, and in the process, can render them redundant and unnecessary. Another key element is “the desire to express chosen ends in the means used to achieve them” (Day 2004, 728). Unlike other politics, such as Marxism, that might justify the means with the ends, affinity politics are prefigurative: they reflect the very reality that they are intended to bring about.

These concepts overlap in many ways with the interactional approach to community. Affinity logic focuses on social interaction as the key to change, not structures or institutions. Affinity works alongside or outside the system, and prefigures

the end in the means, and a theme shared by interactional perspective in the idea that just *trying* counts (Wilkinson 1991, Flint *et al.* 2008). Community development is envisioned as a continual process, rather than an end goal. Also, according to community interactional approaches, the community field is the 'structure' that needs to be developed, but it is an emergent and dynamic structure based on social interaction, not a rigid one, an idea very aligned with affinity theory. Truly grassroots approaches will empower and encourage solutions outside of vertical linkages. Wilkinson's (1991) description of community being natural also closely parallels Kropotkin's concepts explored in his theory of mutual aid (1902 [2014]). These concepts also anticipated ecological thinking and complexity theory, which also relate to interactional community development ideas.

There is a flaw in community development thinking that probably goes back to its technocratic days, where vertical links are seen as a sort of necessary evil or the inevitable reality at best, or the remaining framework from which 'planners' work, encouraged to be mindful and aware of communities' needs, at worst. This illustrates what Day calls "the hegemony of hegemony. By this I mean the commonsensical assumption that meaningful social change - and social order itself - can only be achieved through the deployment of universalizing hierarchical forms, epitomized by the nation-state" (2004, 717). If it seems impossible to imagine alternatives to hierarchical solutions, then domination itself has become dominant. In spite of decades of documented failure and continued pleas, community-oriented agents are often still trying to reform vertical approaches to be more inclusive, and still often failing (Meer

and Schnurr 2013). But in the current day context, another avenue may truly be possible.

This then raises the question of existing vertical linkages and the role they might play. For some, in the position of external authority, if reform were possible and they could act as facilitators of community processes, that would be ideal. But again, the possibilities being theorized here are oriented toward rendering them redundant and unnecessary, and therefore, solutions to community problems should be sought horizontally as often as possible. There are examples in commons research of state institutions maintaining a facilitatory, rather than intrusive, role, even as referees or rule-keepers (Ostrom 1992).

As for other institutions, such as universities, think tanks, or NGOs, that may be classified as vertical in linkage to a community due to a top-down approach or position of expertise, these groups could perhaps adopt a more horizontal orientation in their interactions with communities. There are numerous emerging examples of this, especially in relation to Indigenous peoples and TEK work (Berkes 2012). If we extend the notion of 'critical nodes', often applied to key members of a community who facilitate processes positively (Dale and Sparks 2010), to a larger scale of networks, then we begin to get a picture of how institutions, and even government agencies, could fill this role. If Barder (2012) is correct in his assessment that development is a complex process, then his prescription for agencies of all sorts should be headed: resist the urge to engineer a solution, because adaptive systems of experimentation solve problems better than designed plans, and it is impossible to plan for non-linear factors in complex

systems. He elaborates, “development policy should not try to look for missing ingredients or try to engineer poverty reduction. It should try to harness the strength of adaptation and complexity. It should embrace experimentation and look for ways to nurture adaptation” (Barder 2012, 46). Institutions then could provide the much needed specialized expertise, knowledge, and resources needed by local communities, as well as facilitating connection with other communities that may have these resources to share.

4. Research Methods

Following the above analysis and identification of the need for development alternatives, I decided to focus on one particular aspect of this potential model, that of the university as a facilitator of community assistance. What follows then is the beginning of an exploration of this potential model, both what is possible and what inhibits these possibilities. An explanation of three qualities of my methods for this study is essential for understanding its direction: the justification for this type of scholarship, an admission to the bias that it flows out of, and an explanation of the general approach to its design.

First, according to Boyer's (1997) model, this is a study that could be classified as scholarship of *integration*, but also one of *application*. It is my opinion that integration is particularly fitting for geographic enquiry. Indeed, I would argue that all geography is synthesis, as we look for patterns, identify relationships, and regularly straddle and bridge numerous disciplines. This type of scholarship focuses on just that: giving "meaning to isolated facts, putting them in perspective...making connections across disciplines...illuminating data in a revealing way" (Boyer 1997, 18). This is lofty language that I would hardly claim that this study lives up to, however, it has been my aim. Also, my hope is that this integration of ideas across disciplines can lead to application, where the focus is on scholarly service that flows from their own areas of expertise.

Second, while this study has a degree of pragmatism, seeking solutions to practical social problems, it is best described as stemming from a *transformative* philosophy. A transformative design is one in which a transformative theory, such as

social justice, frames many aspects of the research (Creswell 2013). While I do not take a specific theoretical approach in my analysis, there are obvious linkages to postcolonial, anarchist, and Indigenous frameworks that inform my view. There is an undeniable normative aspect to my study and I argue for what I believe *should* be, at least in some fashion. I do not go to great lengths to undergird my assumptions with philosophical justifications, but rather admit that they are assumptions that form the foundation of my research. In seeking practical solutions to development problems, I often struggle with my own Western biases and fully admit that there are many that I undoubtedly do not even recognize. Delving into Indigenous and postcolonial critiques has made me intimately aware of this fact. I am a white American male from a settler society and make no claim to represent the views of marginalized people accurately, though I strive to understand them and then critique my own context. In fitting with qualitative work, I have strived to be reflexive and honest concerning my own biases.

Finally, concerning the specific approach of this study, it is circular in its qualitative flow, moving from inductive to deductive and back again. It started with a normative idea, that there needed to be alternatives to current development methods. This was then confirmed through the above inductive analysis, which showed that tensions existed between the two scales of development and that an alternative model could be theorized. What follows is then a sort of test of this hypothetical model, another inductive investigation to synthesize the lived experiences and opinions of researchers in the contexts of the Indigenous groups they have worked with. Finally, any emergent themes from this data are then reconnected to the theoretical model in the

end. In this sense, it is similar to grounded theory, though not as pure in its design nor involving any kind of coding of data. Indeed, this study has defied design at numerous junctures. Each next step has been guided by relationship, whether between myself and my professors, or inadvertent contacts that have aided my investigation, or even from my own deep connections with places and cultures for which I have a great affinity.

My initial research question was essentially: “to what extent can universities and their researchers function as facilitators of grassroots development?” As I chose my specific focus, professors who worked with Indigenous communities, several aspects of this question were augmented. Instead of grassroots development in general, the focus shifted to Indigenous community needs, which in some ways surpassed basic development frameworks to issues like empowerment. Other questions emerged, such as, what is the nature of the relationship between universities and indigenous groups? Next, is there evidence of potential for a facilitatory role that universities could play in these relationships with indigenous groups? And finally, what barriers might be obstructing this potential, if it exists? Therefore, the question might be better summed up as this: “what potential exists for universities and their researchers to assist Indigenous communities with their own agendas, and what barriers exist that inhibit this potential?” This, I think, captures the essence of what I sought.

In order to explore the idea of universities helping facilitate community assistance, I chose to focus on two specific researchers who have worked with communities in need of various types of assistance, both of which can be classified as Indigenous groups, are easily identifiable communities, and are highly marginalized

within their countries. These cases flowed out of relationships, as both researchers were professors within my own department. I needed to understand the personal human perspectives of those who work and interact with the academy, but also work with Indigenous communities for their research. The lessons that they had learned over time were essential to imagining what was possible within these types of interactions. In addition, I learned about their methods as ethnographers, and in small ways, applied them to this study.

First, Dr. Joseph Hobbs who worked with the Bedouin of Egypt extensively, and who was instrumental in the concept of this study, was interviewed and recorded twice. Also, I reviewed his numerous publications about the Bedouin, several of which contained very personal content and an intimate writing style. It was not difficult to imagine the life he lived with the Bedouin or comprehend the depth of relationships that he had and still has. In addition, I interviewed Dr. Soren Larsen who works with the Cheslatta First Nation in British Columbia, Canada. While Dr. Larsen's work is not nearly as personally revealing as Dr. Hobbs', he was kind enough to discuss these things on record. The overlap between these two men and their experiences was of great interest, but so were the differences.

For additional data, I also did field work in New Zealand in January 2018 exploring the state of Maori rights and their relationships with the state and knowledge institutions. As a contrast to the experiences of the Bedouin and the Cheslatta, the Maori have gained a much more substantial amount of recognition and political leverage in their country. Although I was unable to conduct any official interviews, I was

able to gather a few personal experiential observations from Maori people who had attended or were currently attending university. Their observations were telling in a number of ways. I also personally visited the University of Auckland campus and observed the Maori Centers located there. To further enrich these observations, I studied a number of secondary sources to try and comprehend the experience of the Maori with higher education institutions.

Also, additional perspectives were gathered from Indigenous scholars who have an understanding of both the Indigenous and academic worlds. These views were crucial because they could, at least to a degree, represent those that might not feel welcome within the academic world. Again, two of these contacts came from relationship, one being another of my professors, Dr. Palmer, and the other a frequent collaborator of two of my professors, Dr. Johnson. Other perspectives came from secondary sources such as video recordings of conferences and interviews. All of these sources helped to enrich my data, as the realities of straddling the academic and Indigenous worlds became increasingly clear from their personal stories and opinions.

The three group studies could be classified as *instrumental* case studies. The concept of the instrumental case study comes from Robert Stake and is spelled out in his chapter contribution to Denzin and Lincoln (2003). He writes that this description applies when “a particular case is examined mainly to provide insight into an issue or to redraw a generalization. The case is of secondary interest, it plays a supportive role, and it facilitates our understanding of something else. The case still is looked at in depth, its contexts scrutinized, its ordinary activities detailed, but all because this helps the

researcher to pursue the external interest” (Stake 2003, 137). My examinations of these three groups are exactly this: examples that are illustrative of a variety of experiences that are relevant to this discussion. Each group has had similar experiences with researchers and universities and would be considered similarly marginalized throughout recent history, but they live in radically different contexts both physically and socio-politically. The Maori case in particular might emerge as a *crucial* case, since they have succeeded in ways in which so many others have not as of yet. Even the professors personal experiences and opinions are instrumental in this same way, providing insight into a host of issues. These types of case studies are also in keeping with the idea of a scholarship of integration.

Of course, there are certainly limitations to this study. First, even for a qualitative study, this one is fairly light on data. I had hoped to gather more opinions and experiences of researchers, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous, but time did not allow it. Therefore, any conclusions drawn from this data cannot easily be generalized. Also, the design is somewhat complicated, as it meanders from one logical step to the next, incorporating my various methods. However, I would argue that such is the nature of the scholarship of integration. Attempting to bring together diverse topics and theories, as well as diverse data sources, inevitably poses challenges. Therefore, though I may go in depth with a small number of sources, I do little justice to the broader topics that I address.

5. Case Studies

5.1 *Joseph Hobbs and the Bedouin of Egypt*

The Bedouin are indigenous in the sense that they have lived in their territory since time immemorial, maintaining a traditional, in this case nomadic, lifestyle since long before modern nation-states. Most of the following information is drawn from my interviews with Dr. Hobbs (2018) unless otherwise noted. The Bedouin are certainly separate from and marginalized by the other cultures around them, though they do share their religion. However, to say that the Bedouin are *more* literally indigenous to the area than the Nile Egyptians or other Arab groups living around them would be inaccurate. It is the Bedouin lifestyle and traditional knowledge that sets them apart, even though they share many cultural similarities with surrounding groups. Also, the physical landscape that they inhabit is strikingly different from that of the Nile valley.

The Bedouin are facing a number of problems connected to globalization and climate change (Hobbs 2018). Their territory is already one of the driest on earth and the need for water cannot be overstated. They are mostly shut out from the national and even the local economies, let alone the global economy. Tourism has brought far more pressures than opportunities, as land is sold to foreign companies and local groups are excluded from any benefit. What jobs they might find are often short-term manual labor positions. The cash economy has also created competition for jobs where network cooperation has been the norm (Hobbs 1998). While conventional wage labor is typical, in some portions of the Sinai Peninsula, cultivation of poppies for opium among some Bedouin groups is also a major problem, as they seek sustenance livelihoods. All of these

pressures combined have led to a dramatic sedentarization of the Bedouin, that has in turn affected their culture. Their traditional self-reliance and freedom is severely threatened. Education has often replaced traditional knowledge with irrelevant knowledge in the younger generation and afforded them little benefit. These processes also serve the government in their attempts to control the Bedouin population. As noted by Hobbs, "It is official policy to promote settlement of Bedouins throughout Egypt's deserts, in part by building new villages that officials reason nomads cannot resist occupying. Once settled, the Bedouins can be counted, taxed, conscripted and trusted" (1995, 213). Compulsory military service also flows from this.

The Bedouin are marginalized within their own country. The Nile Egyptians are prejudiced toward them, as are the Bedouins of Egyptians, and there is a significant cultural gap between the two groups. The government tends to ignore them, most likely only because they live in such an undesirable area with no valuable resources. They are illiterate for the most part, which may even lead to prejudice within their own Islamic religion, because of the high value placed on reading and memorizing sacred text. They have no property rights as their entire territory is largely government-owned land. They also completely lack any kind of political representation. For this reason, the Islamic State organization has made inroads in the Northern Sinai toward recruiting Bedouin for their cause. Rarely is there any cooperation among the tribes. Long histories of enmity between some tribes are strong inhibitors of cooperation and collective action.

5.2 Dr. Hobbs' Experience

Joseph Hobbs' first encounters with the Bedouin people happened in late 1980 while he was studying Arabic at the American University in Cairo (Hobbs 2016). He had lived in Saudi Arabia when he was young and had loved Egypt since visiting there as a teenager. He was 24 years old, with a master's degree in geography from the University of Texas, and met up with a friend to travel to document bird migrations. They needed a permit and a Bedouin guide to enter the area. The man they hired, Saleh Ali Suwaylim, was a member of the Khushmaan clan of the Ma'aza Tribe who lived in the northern part of Egypt's Eastern Desert. The illiterate man had an incredible wealth of knowledge about the land he lived in and all the life and patterns that were found there (Hobbs 2016). He was a living encyclopedia. It was this knowledge that inspired Hobbs to earn his PhD learning from Saleh and his people.

Dr. Hobbs would immerse himself in the Bedouin life for days or even months at a time, traveling with them, learning their ways, and documenting as much as he possibly could capture (Hobbs 2001). Of special interest was their seemingly endless knowledge of their environment. The Bedouin prized the sense of freedom that the desert provided, and Saleh despised being in a city or indoors (Hobbs 2016). They considered those who lived in 'civilization' to be unfortunate and not very bright. Egyptians also feared and disdained the Bedouin and considered them to be inferior. But Dr. Hobbs found them to be hospitable and friendly people, and Saleh became one of his dearest friends. Saleh, who passed away in 2015, was perhaps around 45 when they met, although he did not know his own age (Hobbs 2016). He could kill a gazelle

with a rock from 40 feet away. The Bedouin prize family above all things and can trace lineages 300 years back. Dr. Hobbs tried to reciprocate this context by bringing various family members of his own to meet Saleh and his family.

Dr. Hobbs describes Saleh as his co-author, or himself as Saleh's scribe and interpreter (Hobbs 2016). Often it was Saleh who would set the agenda, guiding Hobbs to anything that Saleh thought he might find interesting. Dr. Hobbs would record as much as possible, staying up very late to transcribe the wealth of data. Much of this travel centered around plants and the indigenous Bedouin knowledge of them. Since the 1990s, Bedouin have been settling in towns at an unprecedented rate, due to the combination of enduring drought, perceived economic opportunities, and pressures from globalization (Hobbs 1995). Thousands of years of indigenous knowledge is disappearing in the course of a few generations. Dr. Hobbs saw it as part of his mission to preserve this knowledge for others.

Dr. Hobbs enjoyed writing and was fascinated by the life and knowledge of these people. In many ways, academia was simply the logical course. He did not seek out a group to study in order to get his PhD, he sought out a PhD program so that he could live with and learn from the Bedouin (Hobbs 2016). For him, academia is a mouthpiece and he never had a problem with the university system, because it enabled rather than inhibited him. He believes that if a scholar is productive, then the system is a good one. As an ethnographer, Dr. Hobbs never had much use for conceptual theories and he disliked anthropology. He felt that all of that often simply obscured reality and was most influenced by geographers like Anne Buttimer and the humanist geography school of

thought. He just wanted to learn, understand, and share the life-worlds of these people. Explorative fieldwork and experiential methods are the key to his work (Hobbs 2001).

That being said, Dr. Hobbs did struggle a bit with the feeling of inability to 'give back' to those who benefited him so much, especially his friend Saleh (Hobbs 2016). Once, he had an idea to try and reintroduce Barbary sheep in the area, because they had been hunted to extinction. He got in touch with a British researcher in Oman, who had reintroduced oryx under Bedouin monitoring in the late 1980s, to see if it was feasible. But every Bedouin family or group he shared this idea with all had the same response: "why would you do that? They are gone, finished." He said that experience taught him a valuable lesson about imposing an outsider's idea. When the opportunity came to participate in the Bedouin Support Programme, he jumped at the chance, hoping to be able to 'give back' to these people who had shown him so much and whom he held in high regard.

The Bedouin Support Programme was an initiative attached to a project to establish and administer the St. Katherine Natural Protectorate in the southern mountains of Egypt's Sinai Peninsula that began in 1996. The following is largely drawn from his article on its inception (Hobbs 1998). The component was designed to provide tangible benefits to the area's Bedouin inhabitants in order to build their support and gain their participation in the project's conservation initiative. Dr. Hobbs was invited to join a nine-person field team, due to his experience with the Bedouin and knowledge of the area. The team was diverse and balanced and included one local, and they conducted extensive discussion sessions with representatives of all tribal groups living

within the Protectorate. They used the approach of Participatory Action Research mentioned above, asking the groups what they needed and how they could assist with the program. The people had a number of needs that they expressed: assistance in job creation and income-generating activities, improvement of water supplies, reversal of trends in environmental deterioration, involvement with tourism, and access to health and educational services. They also suggested a number of ideas for conservation-related activities in which they could participate. The team also consulted companies and government agencies which would be affected in some way by Bedouin-related aspects of the project. Using these varied perspectives, the team developed a work plan for Bedouin Support Programme activities. The project was jointly funded by the EU and the Egyptian government and the BSP amounted to 13 percent of the total budget. Unfortunately, when the funding dried up, the program evaporated (Hobbs 2018).

During the Arab Spring in Egypt, friends in the Bedouin contacted Dr. Hobbs to see if he could help them seize the moment to improve their political situation, which he was completely unable to do as there was no productive avenue for advocating Bedouin rights to the Egyptian government. One young woman named Samira recently contacted Dr. Hobbs and informed him of her intention to start up a literacy program for the Khushmaan Ma'aza, her own tribe. She spoke of their continuing need for livelihoods, clean water, and political representation. She claimed to have set up a special charity to help fund these efforts. Dr. Hobbs himself has not been back to the Bedouin lands for some time now. In Dr. Hobbs' view, government intervention has been nothing but destructive for the Bedouin and other Indigenous groups.

5.3 Soren Larsen and the Cheslatta Carrier Nation in Canada

The Cheslatta T'en are a Dakelh (translated "Carrier") community that have lived in an isolated portion of north-central British Columbia, Canada, for an unknown length of time. Archeological evidence traces human occupation in the area for as long as 7,000 years (Robertson 2009). The Cheslatta people were a fiercely independent group, living in isolated villages around the lakes and rivers of the Nechako River Basin, including the one that bears their tribal name, about 600 miles north of Vancouver. The Nechako River is the second largest tributary of the third largest river in Canada, the Fraser River (Picketts et al. 2016).

As with many other indigenous groups, the Cheslatta people's property and resource regimes changed with the arrival of European colonizers and the fur trade (Demsetz 1967). What had been a primarily communal subsistence economy became divided into family governed zones with imprecise boundaries (Larsen 2003). Robertson (2009) explains how by 1905, permanent European settlements were established about 30 miles to the west of the Cheslatta Carrier Nation (CCN) villages on Ootsa Lake. While their relations with the settlers were mostly amicable, land pressures soon led to the establishment of 16 formal reservations around the lake in 1916, confining the CCN to 1200 acres of land and consigning them as wards to the Dominion of Canada governed by the Indian Act, all of which was unbeknownst to them. Robertson also describes how the CCN was unique in its practices, lacking many of the cultural features of the surrounding tribes, but still maintained a matriarchal system of property ownership and hereditary chiefs, the last of whom died in 1951. His death actually marked the sudden

and brutal end to what had been a relatively comfortable period for the Cheslatta people.

Around this time, following World War Two, the British Columbia government invited the Aluminum Company of Canada (ALCAN) to explore hydroelectric potential throughout central BC. This was part of a province-wide industrial boom and rapid expansion of hydroelectric development (Toller and Nemetz 1997, Coates 2007). ALCAN proposed development of the Kenney Dam on the Nechako River and were granted unprecedented authority and resource rights by the Industrial Development Act of 1949. The massive project created a system of reservoirs that diverted the eastward flows of the lakes and rivers backward to the west, where it was directed through large tunnels to turbine stations at Kemano in order to power the aluminum smelter at Kitimat, which became the largest single mineral-based export source in BC (Coates 2007). As the dam was nearing construction, however, concern over the salmon population prompted the creation of a smaller spillway that emptied into the Cheslatta lake system that still fed the Nechako River.

By this point, no one had yet informed the CCN people that their villages would soon be flooded by the reservoir. Robertson (2009) relays how they were urgently and bluntly informed that they had two weeks to relocate, as the government hurriedly pushed them through the process, at one point threatening imprisonment for resistance. After bitter negotiations, the band was reported to have agreed on a compensation of \$129,000, approximately 10% of what the white settlers had received in the area with 2-5 years of notice. They never received these funds. With no legal

assistance or advice, and almost no ability to read or write in English, the Cheslatta supposedly 'surrendered' to this deal, though forensic evidence later showed most of the signatures to be outright forgeries attributed to the Indian Agent charged with the eviction (Larsen 2003). Eighteen days after their first contact with ALCAN and the Department of Indian Affairs, on April 22, 1952, 76 Cheslatta people took a muddy wagon trail with what they could carry or haul and walked north for 45 miles to the Grassy Plains area. They were told that they could return later in the summer to retrieve their belongings, but when they did, they found that ALCAN contractors had been hired to burn all of the villages. Later, their cemetery was flooded and the remains of their ancestors desecrated. When a minimal amount of compensation was finally received in 1953, some members found new parcels of land to purchase, but without legal designation as reserves, they were ineligible for assistance of any kind. In 1964, some of these new properties were finally designated as Indian Reserves. The close knit society was now scattered in all directions, a 173 mile journey round trip between all of their new dwellings. The new rigid boundaries of the reserves made it impossible to continue any semblance of their former way of life (Larsen 2003, Windsor 2005). Unsurprisingly, many social problems that had been virtually non-existent quickly began to emerge, such as widespread substance abuse, suicide, and other violence.

Change came slowly in the late 1970s and early 80s, as new leadership began to try and reunite the people. Larsen (2003) explains several key events in the latter 1980s proved to be turning points for the CCN. In 1980, ALCAN announced its plan to move ahead with the second phase of ALCAN's hydroelectric development project, Kemano II

or the Kemano Completion Project (KCP). After much debate and criticism, in 1987, ALCAN reached a settlement agreement with federal and provincial officials to proceed. It was during this time that the CCN brought in two non-native helpers to work at the band office. During this time, they also turned their attention to fighting the KCP. A significant campaign was mounted that unified multiple causes and groups, including support from much of the local non-native community and the forest industry (Larsen 2003). A strong environmentalist contingent had arisen in the area and these groups found that indigenous values resonated with their own and were drawn by the CCN's story. Also, many groups and officials expressed concern over one company having jurisdiction over river water and holding such sway in the region (Coates 2007). Resistance to the project continued to build and eventually, in January 1995, after the campaign had garnered province wide attention, BC officially canceled the project (Larsen 2003, Coates 2007). During these years, the CCN people embarked on a mission to build sustainable economic opportunities for themselves and their area.

Since this time, the CCN has spearheaded numerous projects that incorporate other First Nations and the local non-native community. Indeed, it has become a pattern. Both Robertson (2009) and Larsen (2003) recount several examples. A healthcare clinic was badly needed in the area, but each group was only promised a small sum for assistance. In 1998, the CCN called the community and other neighboring First Nations together and proposed a pooling of resources to construct a large clinic that would serve the entire area. It was the first joint venture health clinic in Canada, completed in 2003. In 1999, the CCN was approved for a water treatment plant and

mainline for their households. They proposed, however, to construct a larger system that served other First Nations in the area, as well as the non-native community. The multi-million dollar project was commissioned in 2004 with a 40 kilometer long mainline that serves as many non-natives customers as native ones. Cheslatta Forest Products Ltd. was created in 2000, a three way partnership with Carrier Lumber Company, the CCN, and a community company called Ootsa Resources, whose shareholders included non-native local residents and other First Nations people from other tribes. A sawmill became operational in 2001, with an interethnic employment base of around 60. There are also examples of ways in which the CCN utilized their relationship with the BC Ministry of Forests. As Larsen (2003) explains, the CCN secured a 40,000 hectare 'protection corridor' from the BC Forest Service in 1995, as well as timber salvage licenses for the entire flooded area, and sought out partners with whom they could have equal ownership for themselves and the surrounding community. Then in 2007, they were granted a 25 year Community Forest agreement by the Ministry of Forest, giving them jurisdiction over much of the Cheslatta Lake watershed and encompassing all values of land, not just the timber. This territory is within the 1995 Cheslatta Protection Corridor. In January 2012, what is now Rio Tinto Alcan returned nearly 12,000 acres of fee-simple land back to the CCN free and clear, giving them title to all property situated on the Cheslatta River and Lake system (CCN 2012). When combined with past purchases made by the band, the CCN is actually one of the largest private property land owners in the province (Larsen 2018). The Cheslatta people have

demonstrated a propensity for innovation throughout these various reclamations of their ancestral territory and resources.

In the wake of booms and busts that are typical for this resource dependent region, the CCN have sought and will continue to seek sustainable livelihoods for themselves and their neighbors. Their approach has not been profit seeking, but provision seeking (Robertson 2009). A manifestation of climate change in the North American boreal forest, the pine beetle outbreak of the past two decades has decimated the local economy even more, as the NRB is near the epicenter of the epidemic (Larsen 2018, Picketts et al. 2016). As a result, after an initial high demand for lumber, market prices collapsed and the sawmill was shut down. In 2009, in response to these events, the CCN sought out business funding to begin the Chief Louie Paddle Company, a venture that blends environmental responsibility with historical integrity, creating products from salvaged wood from their homelands, at first mostly left over from the closure of the lumber mill (Larsen 2018). As further challenges present themselves, such as climate change related factors, the CCN has positioned itself as adaptable and innovative leaders in the region. Also, while much progress has been made in the CCN concerning their social indicators, there are still problems (Larsen 2018). However, unemployment in 2009 was around 15%, education was increasing with each generation, and substance abuse and violence had been dramatically reduced (Robertson 2009).

Also significant is what the CCN has *not* done. While each First Nation has its own unique approach to government dealings, many of them go through the provincial

process of treaty settlement that was reinstated in 1993 (Larsen 2018). The CCN, however, abandoned this process, finding other avenues more effective in accomplishing its goals. According to Larsen (2018), there are several reasons for this. First, the advantages include both flexibility and efficiency. Once a band is in negotiations, the process is subject to many delays, and once it is done, no further legal recourse is allowed. While a group may receive substantial control over their territory, it is permanently fixed and still subject to ultimate government authority. Another aspect that is especially significant is that by fostering a larger cohesion among interethnic groups, with benefits accruing to the entire regional community, the CCN approach has proven to be an example of a truly postcolonial period. Finally, related to the legal recourse issue is the water aspect. While the CCN may be able to regain rights to their ancestral lands, water rights still lie with Rio Tinto Alcan, giving them control over its flows (Larsen 2018). The CCN brought a court case in 1998, the same year that they unofficially abandoned the treaty process, seeking an 'Aboriginal Right to Fish' concession that would allow them to challenge the water release process. However, it was unsuccessful. To date, they are attempting to negotiate a framework for a Reconciliation and Settlement Agreement with the province that would include water rights.

Also addressing this remaining issue, the CCN is currently pursuing a project to create a water release facility that would permanently end the periodic flooding and partially restore the watershed. Once again, the band has chosen an unexpected approach toward a solution that involves and benefits all the relative stakeholders.

According to the proposal, the release facility would accomplish both ecological and social restoration as well as community well-being. Ironically, the group has proposed a smaller hydroelectric station that would be attached to the new spillway that would help regulate the flow of water in a way that would be much closer to how it used to be (CCN 2012). In keeping with their established pattern, the proposal includes a partnership with a construction firm, broad support from the local community as well as government agencies, and a practical and innovative plan that would provide benefits to the entire community.

5.4 Dr. Larsen's Experience

The following is taken from two interviews with Dr. Larsen (2018). Soren Larsen's journey to the Cheslatta people really began as a child. As a 'faculty brat', he moved often enough that he needed to develop an ability to make sense of new environments. He says that this is what gave him an early start in ethnography. A second formative part was the time spent in western Tennessee on the Tennessee River. Dr. Larsen described it as an anchor place, a place where he felt 'sm(all)'. This place was romantic for him, where his mother's people were and his Papa represented the 'authentic'. As an undergrad at Illinois State University, he took on a senior year research project focused on this beloved location. He interviewed four share -croppers who had been relocated in 1942 when the Tennessee River was damned. The interviews revealed a whole world that had disappeared and shattered some of his romantic notions of the place. This led to a search to find a place that had also been flooded and whose people had been

dislodged. An internet listserv mailing from Cheslatta seeking assistance caught his attention. When Dr. Larsen cold-called the number, he spoke to Mike Robertson, who invited him to come visit. He then sought out an advisor who allowed him to do his thesis in Applied Anthropology at University of Kansas. She was a first-year advisor who was unsure of how formulaic the study needed to be, which also allowed him to be very flexible in his approach.

At first, it was just a traditional use study, very formal, where Dr. Larsen recorded 19 interviews over the summer. Later, as he developed his technique, it was not with a tape recorder or a formal interview. Rather, he would try to be his own tape recorder, with a flip pad where he could write down notes that he had 'recorded' with his mind. He found that tape recorders often changed the way people acted and what they said. His experience with Cheslatta was not one of going up there with a prefigured plan, but rather the opposite. He would ask them what they wanted him to do. Dr. Larsen says that he learned ethnography in the field from the people themselves. Part of this was the fact that he had remained largely undisciplined in the academic sense. He had not been boxed in by disciplinary boundaries.

Dr. Larsen also describes struggling with feeling like he hasn't always done 'right' by his relationships with Cheslatta. He admits to having gained much from the relationship while they have not. In 2013, when he visited the area again, he describes a time of soul searching. There was a disconnect between doing all the writing at home and going back up there for research. When Mike Robertson was able to visit the University of Missouri in 2017 and tell the Cheslatta story, he says that it opened up his

thinking. He felt that his role had always been that of 'advocate': to teach, present, and share the Cheslatta story, but that he was not satisfied with that. He still felt that he treated them as 'subjects' for many years in my writing. He would get approval and an invitation, go up there, do the research, come back, write it all up, send them drafts that they never read, and then it would be published in the academic world and get filed away in their archives. He felt somewhat guilty and complicit in this model, like he had taken advantage of them, even though as he shared these feelings with them, they emphatically said that was not the case. But he was realizing yet another aspect of what they had taught him about research, that relationship building *was* research, and that relationships were reciprocal. This could be seen in how the CCN went about doing research. Often, Cheslatta's first step in trying to solve a problem was to begin to build relationships that would lead to practical solutions. It was his relationships with them that had taught him all that he had learned about them, and only as those relationships were deepened had he understood their views and life-worlds more clearly.

These realizations led to the idea of using the resources of the university and creating a children's book for the Cheslatta people, one that would cost them nothing and they would own full rights to do with as they pleased. It was the first time that he had proposed and developed a project that was truly collaborative with the CCN chief and council and taken it through their formal protocol process for approval. He has recruited five student illustrators to submit their work and a photo-journalism student to be involved. The students have to know going into it that they relinquish all rights to their work and all creative control. Written in both languages, the story will be done in

full collaboration with the group. Even though he sees this as a small step for him, he also sees it as a beginning of a 'catching up' process, things that he should have been doing a long time ago.

This process has been a personal journey that reflects a growing movement toward decolonization within the university. In his view, the university is set up to discourage this type of work. If it does not bring in grant money or get publications, it is seen as worthless. Going through tenure, he felt anxiety to produce, as well as disincentives to do anything that would be seen as unproductive. He mentioned a broad discussion that has been going on for some time that critiques the structure of academic promotion for being backward: the expectation is for an academic to excel straight out of the gate of graduate school, but it often creates a 'quantity not quality' situation. He notes that this system cannot work for indigenous studies, "If we want to change the way universities work with indigenous people, we must change tenure and promotion structure." It is only now that he is tenured that he can learn to embrace failures and patiently work within the fluid world of indigenous studies. He views his utilization of university resources to help the CCN as a personal way of decolonizing the system.

5.5 The Maori of Aotearoa/New Zealand

Of all the Indigenous groups in the world, especially in Western settler societies, the Maori have perhaps fared the best when it comes to rights and legitimacy. The Maori are the Polynesian people who have inhabited New Zealand, which they call Aotearoa, since their ancestors came to the islands centuries ago. The Maori hold a

unique position in history as an indigenous people. Most of what follows is taken from Claudia Orange's work on the Treaty of Waitangi (1987, 2015). Their story was different than most for several reasons. First, the British Empire was determined not to repeat some of its past mistakes with respect to treatment of the native population, as New Zealand was one of the last places to become settled by the British. Because of this motivation, before a true colony was established, a treaty document was carefully drawn up and explained to the Maori. The Maori would say that they actually 'invited' the British to come and live (Mutu 2013). Unfortunately, some elements were lost in translation and the Maori surrendered much more of their sovereignty than they realized. They contend that the document that they received and signed was not the same thing as the British version. That being said, compared to many other indigenous groups in history, the Maori were able to maintain some degree of control over their lands, and have legal grounds for complaint later when too much control had been lost. This document, the Treaty of Waitangi, has served as the foundation for most of the Maori people's political action. A second way in which the Maori fared well was in their inclusion in New Zealand's affairs and society. Again, though they were still marginalized and discriminated against, it seemed not to be at all to the extent that many other indigenous groups have suffered. The New Zealand government, though not always in practice, has historically promoted a bicultural nation and allowed Maori to vote and be elected to Parliament. Throughout their protracted battle to gain recognition for the Treaty of Waitangi, they have had Paheka (European-descended New Zealanders) offering varying degrees of support. Though they have suffered from cultural prejudice,

ethnic intermarriage has been common and true racism seems to have been more rare than elsewhere. Finally, though their language and culture were suppressed, many elements were incorporated into New Zealand life. For example, most of the places in New Zealand still retain Maori names and most European descendants seem to know their meanings. While there may be a fine line between respectful and disrespectful appropriation of cultural elements, Paheka again seem to have remained mostly respectful as they have promoted Maori elements as defining New Zealand culture. For example, the national rugby team, the All Blacks, perform a *haka*, or Maori war challenge, before their games. It seems to come from a place of genuine respect as opposed to many US sports teams' appropriation of Native American cultural elements. All this is not to make less of the wrongs done to the Maori, but just to state that in general, though the Maori have endured similar challenges as those of many other indigenous groups, these difficulties have been lessened in severity by other more positive factors.

Despite all their apparent advantages, however, by the mid-20th century the Maori people were increasingly marginalized, being punished at school for speaking their language, and driven deeper into poverty. After more than a century of struggle, the turning point came slowly in the late 1970s and early 80s, and by the end of this period, attention to the Treaty of Waitangi had grown immensely. In 1975, the Waitangi Tribunal was established to begin examining possibilities for settlements based on a breach of the Treaty. According to Mutu (2013), the Waitangi Tribunal often used three key words to describe what the Maori were subjected to in their own land: poverty,

deprivation, and marginalization. Mostly emanating from the Labour government, New Zealand began to incorporate Treaty considerations into all manner of state matters. These changes led to the creation of Maori television, radio, and language classes. Co-management schemes in forestry and fisheries and many other areas were adopted. Even a Maori political party has been formed to help represent Maori interests in Parliament (Mutu 2011). Hundreds of claims have been investigated by the Tribunal and settled by the government, often with a public apology for past actions. Since the 1990s, tensions have been a bit higher and increasingly polarized, with lots of protest actions. However, in spite of all the challenges and bureaucracy, the New Zealand government has been more amicable and willing to negotiate with their Indigenous population than most other governments of the world.

The various concessions that the Maori have won over the years have filtered into academia as well. As massive amounts of research were required for assessments of cases before the Tribunal, many New Zealand academics were drawn into the work. Already, research methods were being questioned and calls for more participatory collaborative research had begun (Bishop 1996). Especially since the publication of the seminal work by Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, in 1999, however, universities in New Zealand follow a strict protocol when working with Maori, one that is dictated by the Maori themselves. The University of Auckland created the James Henare Maori Research Center (MRC) in 1992, dedicated to research and development services for the Maori of the Auckland area (MRC 2018). Also, the university hosts the Nga Pae O Te Maramatanga (NPM, meaning 'horizons of insight'), New Zealand's Māori

Centre of Research Excellence (CoRE) funded by the Tertiary Education Commission (NPM 2018). Founded in 2002, with Linda Smith as one of its directors, the Centre has 21 partnership research entities, all conducting Maori relevant research. Multi-disciplinary research is done through collaborations across departments and institutions. The NPM has also set goals for supporting the scholarly endeavors of over 700 Maori PhD students (2018). These factors have made New Zealand a global leader in indigenous scholarship and given the Maori solid foundations for merging their knowledge with that of Western academia.

While the Maori have seen much success, especially in the last 20 years, there are still many changes that need to happen. The area of most interest here is the very atmosphere of higher education. While in New Zealand in January of 2018, I gathered observations and had conversations that illuminated some of the remaining issues. For example, one Maori man I met was earning his PhD and worked in the MRC building on the University of Auckland campus. The building itself was located next to the Department of Maori Studies and the NPM building that the university hosts, which is itself adjoined to the Waipapa marae on campus, a special Maori meeting house. However, the MRC building, which hosts a small staff, looks like little more than the Victorian-era dwelling that it started as and sits in the shadow of a massive modern building that the student termed 'the Gulag', the university home of Anthropology. The student described his perception that this program still very much dictated the direction of Maori-related scholarship, and that those who went through the protocols seemed to him to be merely 'ticking boxes', or following the rules without truly believing in the

spirit of them. He spoke of free Maori language courses being offered by the university that were still taught in the European fashion, thus missing a significant element of the culture of the Maori language itself. A similar observation was made by a woman I spoke with on Waiheke Island. She had gone to specialized Maori schools for most of her life before finally entering a Western-style university. She described how dumbfounded she was at the idea of learning in a classroom, considering that her major was Outdoor Education. She now runs a tour group that educates tourists about Maori life in a hands-on place-based manner. She said that the Maori way was to exhaust their bodies learning outside in the day, followed by mental exhaustion learning by books in the evening. It seems that even though Maori culture is now shown deference in both government and academia, much progress remains to be made in pedagogy and how knowledge is perceived.

The Maori are increasingly seen as leaders in indigenous matters worldwide. Dr. Smith's work has had a profound impact on both Indigenous and non-Indigenous researchers (Tuck 2013). There is now more of an atmosphere of hope, one that can move beyond critique to a world of hybridized creativity (Coombes et al. 2013). Maori researchers are visiting and helping other indigenous groups and movements around the world, moving beyond place-based politics toward uniting with others in shared values. Indigenous groups are often too strongly thought of as place-based, an accurate description but one that can be overly limiting (Coombes et al. 2014). While the Maori may view themselves as people of the land (or sea), these attachments do not bind them to a concern only for their territory. Also, the Maori are viewed by some

Indigenous groups and scholars as ‘canaries in the coal mine’, sending out indications of not only what can be accomplished, but also of how it may be received.

The models of the MRC and NPM are also pictures of some of the potential that lies within universities and other institutions of knowledge. The MRC, for example, sees its role partially as “focusing the University’s research expertise on the needs of Tai Tokerau, with national and international links” (MRC 2018). The Centre mainly focused on the Tai Tokerau group, those Maori in the areas all around Auckland, and the goal is to provide expertise for research and development. Universities could expand this concept to all departments and marginalized groups around the world. The NPM comes closer to this idea, though as a multi-partner institution that is not itself a university, it particularly fulfills the roles of facilitation and connectivity. Their vision is not just to help with Maori development, but for Maori to “lead New Zealand into the future”, and to “provide solutions to major challenges facing humanity in local and global settings” (NPM 2018, “Strategic Direction”). Further investigation into similar institutional structures that already exist, could be altered, or have potential for being created needs to be done and could illuminate further possibilities.

5.6 Dr. Margaret Mutu’s Experience

Dr. Margaret Mutu is the head of the Maori Studies department at the University of Auckland in New Zealand. What follows comes from a presentation that she gave at the University of British Columbia for the Peter Wall Institute for Advanced Studies (2013), where she described the history and current state of Maori Studies at the

university. According to Dr. Mutu, in 1883, the first university system was established in New Zealand and within 2 years, Maori tribes requested that Maori be offered as a subject, but it was not until 1928 that it was included as an option. Maori Studies was first established as a dedicated subject at the University of Auckland in 1951, upon the insistence of a Paheka (white) professor, “against a backdrop of strong white resistance to its inclusion.” She describes how today, it is taught in its own small and marginalized department in the Faculty of Arts and in similar units in the Faculty of Medical and Health Sciences and in the Faculty of Education. In the late 1980s, the academic building and the marae were built, a major step. Soon, focus shifted to addressing the needs of Maori communities, and employing more active staff who were working in their own communities. The MRC was established to ‘serve the research needs’ of the communities of the North around the Auckland area. Also, the department was, as she described it, ‘liberated’ from the Anthropology department. Some issues later arose from Maori faculty being called on to lecture across numerous disciplines, in order to bring in Maori knowledge, which was positive but also hurt their ability to do research and publish and therefore get promotions. During the early 2000s, university fees were skyrocketing, and the first ones who could not afford them were Maori students. Similar to the situation in the US, this has led to deep debt among students. At the same time, however, there were many Maori tertiary institutions that were tuition-free, and this posed a challenge to bringing in Maori students to the expensive university system. When Mutu took over the department, she focused on graduating PhD Maori students. In 2013, a quality assessment of all research institutions across New Zealand showed the

University of Auckland was on top, and the Maori Studies department was 2nd of all.

The three departments that have Maori sections are separated by physical distance and the disciplinary boundaries of their respective faculties, which can be a challenge to collaboration. Still, there is no Bachelor of Maori Studies, which could then have an emphasis in law, economics, art, etc.

According to Dr. Mutu, access to British knowledge was part of the original treaty. She imagines that if universities in New Zealand had been formed in accordance with the treaty, 'white studies' would only be part of what was offered. She imagines:

"an institution of higher learning where it is the norm that (1) the various branches of Maori knowledge form an integral part of the country's knowledge base and their preservation development and enhancement is fully resourced and underpins all teaching and research and that would be the norm – (2) at governance and management levels -Maori hold the most senior positions having been appointed by Maori in accordance with Maori procedural practice and academic standards (3) all decisions in respect of Maori knowledge, Maori language, law, and other areas of expertise would be made by suitably qualified Maori. Then Maori decision-making processes would be the norm. (4) that white knowledge bases, Paheka knowledge bases, are included and are fully available to Maori - one of the things our people were always curious about how other people's thought and how they perceived the world and so that was one of the things we wanted was to understand how others perceive the world in a particular the British when they came - and then (5) is that Maori graduate fully qualified as professionals not just in the Maori world but also in

the white world and come walk comfortably in both of those worlds - that said, we're nowhere near achieving these standards in any university in New Zealand, and the primary reason is that white officials never adhere to the treaty.”

As they stand now, Dr. Mutu sees both the benefits and problems associated with universities. She notes how the resources at a university’s disposal are extensive, and that the role of critic and conscience of society is important, and is statutorily protected in New Zealand. So long as a scholar stays within their own area of expertise, they cannot be fired for what they say or write about. Also, she noted that there is a critical mass of motivated supportive colleagues who keep things progressing. All that being the case, remaining institutional racism make it an ongoing struggle to access those resources fairly and realize inclusion of their knowledge systems. She suggests that possible strategies continue to include trying to get supportive leaders into positions of authority, conducting research that helps their own communities, and working to change curriculum to be inclusive of Maori knowledge in every way.

5.7 Other Indigenous Scholars and Institutions

In addition to the above cases, I examined one other research institution that focused on Indigenous empowerment through research, the Center for Indigenous Research, Science, and Technology (C-FIRST) at the University of Kansas (2018). Also, two scholars that are associated with C-FIRST were interviewed concerning their views on Indigenous community needs, the potential of universities to assist them, and the state of decolonization in general. Jay Johnson teaches at the University of Kansas,

located in the same town as Haskell Indian Nations University, and has collaborated with scholars from Haskell in both research and teaching courses that were cross-listed at both institutions. Mark Palmer is a professor at the University of Missouri and I have had the privilege of taking several of his classes. His perspective is particularly telling, being a member of the Kiowa tribe of Oklahoma.

5.7.1 C-FIRST and the University of Kansas

The Center for Indigenous Research, Science, and Technology focuses primarily on the relationship between Indigenous peoples and their environment. The Center's goal is "to bridge Indigenous and Western sciences, through appropriate principles, protocols, and practices, in order to better understand the conditions of place-based vulnerability and the best strategies to achieve resilience by facilitating Indigenous-led research initiatives" (C-FIRST 2018). C-FIRST collaborates with the NPM in Auckland, as well as other international research centers, and partners with Haskell Indian Nations University (Haskell Environmental Research Studies Center) and KU's Department of Geography & Atmospheric Science. The Center has three research working groups, a project, and an Indigenous scholars network. The working groups focus on research in Indigenous geography, climate change, Indigenous knowledge and science, and other aspects of human-environment interaction from the Indigenous perspective. The Collaboratively Harnessing Indigenous Principles, Protocols, and Practices (CHIRP³) project focuses on creating guidelines for collaboration between non-Native and Native scholars who work with Indigenous communities. Finally, The Facilitating Indigenous

Research, Science, and Technology Network develops strategies for meeting the research needs of Indigenous communities and helping them build capacity to lead their own initiatives. Dr. Palmer (2018) described his initial thoughts of wanting to connect community knowledge bases with academic knowledge bases and even government and industry, to try and set up networks where knowledge flows fairly seamlessly, and where no knowledge is privileged. It was from this vision shared with the other founders that C-FIRST was established.

5.7.2 Dr. Johnson's Experience

Jay Johnson grew up in Kansas and comes from a mixed Native American (Onodowaga, Tsalagi, and Lenni Lenape) and European heritage. The following comes from an interview conducted in March 2018. Dr. Johnson has worked with numerous indigenous groups, mostly in Western settler countries, including Kansas, Hawaii, Canada, and New Zealand. He heads up C-FIRST and is involved in many collaborations, some with University of Missouri professors. He also described how Dan Wildcat at Haskell had the idea to cross-list courses between the two universities, both located in Lawrence, and that they collaborated on a couple of them. His was held on the Wakarusa wetlands near Haskell, and involved equal numbers of students from both schools, with many group projects and student collaborations.

As a teacher, Dr. Johnson describes his method as the 'breadcrumbs' approach. He says that this works better for some courses than others. It can be difficult to pull away foundational things because people become unsteady, and he notices this among

his students. But it is these types of methods that will hopefully affect change, as well as getting students outside of the classroom and engaged with place. He primarily sees his role for the last ten years of his career as attempting to mentor as many Native scholars from undergraduate through to advance degrees as he can. Soren Larsen describes Dr. Johnson as being very service-oriented, being a social worker in his first career, who has led him by example (Larsen 2018). Currently, 75% of all Native Americans pursuing graduate degrees in Geography are at KU. He also runs a summer program to try and prepare Native students for grad school, ideally in STEM disciplines. He believes it is still beneficial for Native students to acquire the methods and skills for research from Western scientific approaches. The challenge is to get them this training, but hopefully keeping them from being sucked into the academic world.

Concerning university potential for facilitating community assistance, Dr. Johnson does not see much progress. Most importantly, he points out how universities do not have any incentives to operate outside of the state system that created them. They are products of global colonialism and are driven by capitalism. Even if we consider decolonized countries that are completely disconnected from global economic system, like Zimbabwe, we see that they still have not broken rank in any way from the behemoth of the global higher education system. The consequence for doing so is to lose access to Western science and all its goodies, which is disastrous even for 'a bit player' on the global stage. He could only find small examples like tribal colleges that have done this, and he noted how in New Zealand they have been brought back in in harsh ways by the Ministry of Education, even getting shut down completely. Therefore,

he cannot see how universities have anything to gain from engaging in any meaningful way with native communities. The one area where he has seen shifting in different ways in these different countries is about diversity and equity. At KU, it has become touchstone issue, yet there is still very little engagement with the tribes in Kansas.

Along these lines, Dr. Johnson thinks that if you have an academic career, even once you have tenure, you still have the entire system against you. All of the years that the administrations allowed you to get out of service, for example, are often then piled on. Teaching is more within the system than without, no matter what innovations you might introduce into your methods. He noted how often when someone really wants to be a radical academic, they often have to put it off until they reach a certain point, but by the time they have the freedom to think 'outside the box', they are so inside the box that they are incapable. He says that he knows many Native scholars who, if they choose to work with their communities early in their career, they take a hit for it.

Beyond this, Dr. Johnson admittedly struggles with imagining a truly decolonized and open academic environment, even as he recently participated in a Royal Geographic Society plenary panel on decolonizing the university environment. He notes that aside from throwing out everything we know, he is not sure you can completely decolonize it. When it comes to collaborations and working together, there is often a problem trying to incorporate indigenous knowledge into research. The ontological divides can be so unwieldy that people struggle to find the connections that build the bridges and create the dialogue. For example, when it comes to climate change research, scientists often want the information that Indigenous people can give them, but once they have it they

don't know what to do with it. The result is that it often becomes an anecdote, a story about the Native guy sharing his centuries' old wisdom. Decolonizing from within is telling the scientists that they must give up the fundamental evangelical connection to positivism, because for them, science equals positivism. It is so fundamental and foundational, that there is no hope of dialogue. While social scientists have made some strides in this area, natural scientists have made almost no efforts to move in this direction.

In Dr. Johnson's mind, the bigger issue is that we need to start talking about Indigenous research sovereignty more broadly. Indigenous groups need to begin taking control of their own research agenda. First, they need to realize that they have a research agenda; people might not often identify it as that, but they can identify the needs of their community, and they need to bring those together into an initiative and seek assistance. He relayed how he has worked with the Nisqually tribe in Washington state and that they were using casino money to buy up a good deal of land along the Nisqually river. When they could not buy the land, they were trying to build alliances with farmers, ranchers, and dairy farmers, all to fix the river. They used their money to hire their own scientists who worked for the tribes, and for these scientists, the agenda was the tribes' agenda, not getting tenure or NSF money or anything else. He believes that things need to head more in that direction. If tribes would use their money for the communal good, including more than human, and set up their own research institutions for that kind of development, he would approve of that style of development. All too often, what he has witnessed has been Indigenous groups trying to be better capitalists

than the capitalists. When the tribe makes a large sum of money, from a casino for example, it tends to pool among those in power. If it is distributed among the community, it is often in the form of per capita payments that are often spent poorly, instead of as a community for development projects. More often, local communities see very little of these profits.

5.7.3 Dr. Palmer's Experience

What follows is drawn from an interview with Dr. Palmer (2018). Mark Palmer is from the Kiowa tribe in Oklahoma. He collaborates with the other scholars at C-FIRST and has worked extensively on Indigenous participatory geographic information systems. Also, he researches UNESCO World Heritage sites, especially those that blend cultural and natural heritage. I have taken several of his classes, collaborating with him on a small GIS project in one of them, and traveling to New Zealand for another.

Among Dr. Palmer's people, he says that poverty is still a major problem. In his view, it has much to do with land policy and bureaucratic regulations, but also family factions wanting to maintain power. He said that every group he knows of in North America has these types of problems with factions. This stifles processes that take place and creates paralyzing structures. He says that he often challenges people to take the idea of sovereignty and transform government models to meet the needs of the people. After all, they have the ability to come up with entirely new forms of government, fusing the past with the present. But trying to get things done takes a lot of effort and often depends on who is in power, because there is such a lack of trust.

Concerning institutional barriers, whether at the University of Missouri or elsewhere, he notes how when an Indigenous professor comes, the administration will go to them and try to enlist them for connections to their communities, but then only act on the ideas the professor might have if they like what they hear. He believed that he had exhausted his usefulness within the first three years or so. He said they were looking for something tangible, like recruiting students, but that he had suggested that they needed to go to the people who lived here and ask them what the university had done, how they were complicit in the wrongs done to the people. He said that they needed to sit and listen to what they had done to any Indigenous groups, regardless of how long it took, and then maybe after all that, there would be room for negotiation and acceptance of responsibility. In other words, 'fess up and be honest, then you can negotiate a friendly environment for Indigenous students. He pointed out that there is an Osage scholarship in Arts and Sciences, but no Osage students. No one has taken the time or made the effort to invite the leaders of the tribe in to talk. In his mind, these kind of things must happen everywhere as part of the decolonization process. Until he sees that happen, the opening up of space to show your intent, the rest will not work. If that would happen, Mizzou could be that facilitator with a lot of power and influence, they could be a hub of bringing people together. Pockets of individuals are already doing things, and Mizzou could become a hub of Indigenous research with a community focus, but it requires resources. These kinds of efforts are an investment in community network building that could do a lot, but when the institution is low on money, individuals are forced to work on their own without connection. If these 'nodes' could

be connected, groups could take these theoretical ideas and put them into practice in their own way, but we don't have that cohesive network and resources.

Concerning the personal barriers that exist within the academic system to researchers facilitating community assistance, Dr. Palmer was frank and personal, with the unique perspective of having a foot in both worlds, so to speak. His father is a professor, and Dr. Palmer says that this helped greatly in preparing him for what he would face in his academic career. He described how his father told him, "don't try to be a good Indian, be a good scholar." He recalled contemplating, "do I write about something I'm passionate about and work with my community, even though I have to sacrifice some sovereignty?" He decided that he would not give up that power, because of promises he had made to his wife, because the community would have a degree of control over how long it would take for him to finish. So, he focused on systems and sacrificed working with his people. He admitted, that is the reality, he would not allow any community to determine his future; in his words, he chose to be 'selfish'. Only now, 10 years after finishing his dissertation can he start exploring working with communities again and be willing to deal with considerations that go hand-in-hand with this kind of research. As an example, he claimed to have a 274-page book ready to go that could get him to the next step of his career, but that he is willing to sit on it for now, because he is not comfortable giving away the rights of that knowledge that belongs to his tribe. But he is only able to consider these things because he has tenure and doesn't have to worry about reaching that level.

He also spoke of the challenges to working with Indigenous communities, even those of his own tribe. He described how his Dad chose a small group to work with, and told him many stories, and that he had also decided that it was too much of a headache. Even coming from the position of having existing relationships, he still felt incentivized to avoid community entanglement. He admits as well to questioning his choices now, but he deals with this by offering assistance whenever he can, especially in technical areas such as GIS. When communities need help, he tries to help for free, as in-kind work, whether the communities are Indigenous or not. That said, he will not usually come in and suggest problems to solve when they have not taken the initiative. Another system barrier that he sees within communities themselves is that when you deal with people, you will always take a side whether you intend to or not, there is always opposition, there are internal struggles, and there is jealousy. Again, he had heard his father's stories and just decided to avoid these types of complications to his research.

When it comes to decolonizing the university, Dr. Palmer's approach mainly centers around his teaching. He describes how his learning experiences were a mixture of outdoors-related, scientifically-related, and his Dad just telling stories. He felt like he had many different learning trajectories and he applies that to his teaching. When he asks what others are doing as far as decolonizing goes, he doesn't feel like he gets a good response. He says that often people just mention the *Decolonizing Methodologies* (2012) book and perhaps some other articles. But in his mind, very few go beyond those theories or put them into practice. He thinks that it has not been written about satisfactorily, though Margaret Kovach (2009) is the closest one as far as bringing in

stories about how it can be done. Linda Smith's work was so important, but it does not go into depth about how it works outside the Maori context. He also noted how there is less opposition to these notions when it comes to research, but there is still plenty when it comes to teaching. For him, the classroom can be liberating or trapping, depending on your approach. He mainly tries to avoid oppositional dichotomies as often as possible. Though he tries to imitate his father's approach, he feels that he does not have the same strengths. He describes his method as trying to amalgamate different views and merge them and not let them become oppositional dichotomies. He likened this process to being a chemical tech as an undergrad. He would take mercury and add a powder to remove the toxicity and that is his approach to ideas as he teaches, especially when trying to get students to think beyond their foundational understanding and cultural context. He tries to use what is relevant to the class he is teaching to amalgamate these ideas, sometimes it works sometimes it doesn't. Basically, he likes to bridge ideas rather than separate them. It is hard to describe for him, but having witnessed his methods in several classes, I could understand what he meant. For example, in New Zealand he would often teach outside and ask questions to challenge the students to reconsider some of their foundational understanding of things like knowledge and reality. He would then offer stories or concepts for their consideration, but always with the qualification that he ultimately did not know the 'right' answer. I have also seen him take an idea or response from a student that clearly reflected their own limited understanding, but he would never just 'shoot them down'. Rather, he would affirm the legitimacy of their view while still offering alternatives. I have also witnessed frustration from traditional

American students at these methods and have felt that frustration myself as well.

However, upon further reflection, I have found that I often retain and appreciate his lessons later as I reflect on them.

6. Discussions and Conclusion

6.1 Emergent themes

Comparing the experiences of the three case study groups vertically with their respective governments reveals some clear distinctions. Though the Maori have had many struggles over the decades as they have attempted to secure their rights, they have gained a significant amount of recognition and representation in the national government, compared to almost every other Indigenous group in the world. This is partly because of the legal standing that they have had to file complaints and partially because of their respective portion of the population (Orange 2015). The Cheslatta by contrast have had a minimal amount of interaction with the national government of Canada, and only slightly more with the provincial government of British Columbia. Some of this is certainly by choice, to avoid the entanglements of the bureaucratic process of treaty settlement (Larsen 2018). The Bedouin on the other hand remain virtually ignored by the national government, with the only solutions offered being ones that force them to surrender their way of life (Hobbs 2018). Ideally, if the Bedouin could cooperate as one toward collective action, as the Cheslatta people have done with others groups, and the Maori did some time ago, they would likely have far more leverage. Although the Egyptian state continues its militant history of crackdown on rebellion even after the Arab Spring, that event did demonstrate what is possible when anger and empowerment come together (Castells 2015). Perhaps peaceful demands for representation would carry more weight if the Bedouin could tap into the growing global concern for the rights of Indigenous groups.

However, one possible problem the Maori are facing is a potential backlash from the Paheka population of New Zealand over what they might perceive as prescriptive government intervention in the preferential treatment of Maori (Orange 2015). The fact that the Maori have dealt predominantly with the central government may have fostered an over-reliance upon that government and a lack of solidarity with local communities. They may have over-emphasized the vertical relationship, even in seeking reform. Cheslatta, by contrast, has focused primarily on garnering local support for their cause and creating alliances across differences horizontally (Larsen 2003, 2018). Could the Bedouin perhaps strive more to build positive relationships with local non-Bedouin communities? The social barriers of racism that seem to exist universally among Egyptians may continue to prevent this, however.

Concerning these groups' experiences with institutions like universities, the perceptions seem quite different. The Bedouin seem to treat researchers with a degree of trust and acceptance, happy to share their knowledge with anyone willing to endure the challenges involved in obtaining it. The Cheslatta experience has been more of a mixed bag, as one experience with a linguist from BC turned out very negative as he claimed ownership over elements of their language (Larsen 2018). Similarly, Dr. Palmer described an anthropologist who worked with the Kiowa as having this sort of guardianship mentality over Kiowa knowledge, as though it was his to protect (2018). Of course, the Maori have also likely experienced countless similar situations, but they have also learned to leverage the power of the university for their own benefit (Mutu 2013). All of the cases brought before the Waitangi Tribunal were meticulously

researched by academics working in service to the tribes (Orange 2015). Maori have also gone so far as to incorporate their own protocols and worldviews into the academy itself.

As for the experiences of Dr. Hobbs and Dr. Larsen, a number of similarities can be seen. Both of them entered into their work with their respective Indigenous groups with minimal disciplinary 'boxing in'. However, Dr. Larsen admits to looking for a project that matched certain criteria in which he was interested, with the relationships forming later. By contrast, Dr. Hobbs was drawn in by a relationship with an individual, Saleh, and sought out a means of having the freedom to learn from this man all that he could (Hobbs 2016, 2018). Both of them fully admit to being taught how to by these people, and seeing their roles as 'advocate' or 'mouthpiece' for the people. The two men view that academic world differently, Dr. Hobbs seeming to not have a real problem with the system, but this perhaps being due to his lack of interest in these types of discussions. His focus is almost completely on the lived realities of people, though he is certainly not naïve to power relationships or political dynamics. Dr. Larsen, on the other hand, has given a great deal of thought to the power structures of the university system and the problems that ensue. Perhaps this difference is also simply explained by the two men's different experiences, or the era of higher education within which they have spent their careers. Part of it is also surely because Dr. Hobbs did not set out to get a PhD and tenure so much as he set out to learn from Saleh. Dr. Larsen, like Dr. Palmer as well, knew what was coming and what was expected of him, therefore perhaps having a greater sense of anxiety about his performance as an academic.

6.2 Discussion

What then about the research question of the potential of universities to facilitate community assistance? There is little doubt that universities have powerful potential to serve communities. They are repositories of knowledge, resources, and networks that are virtually unparalleled. As Dr. Mutu noted, their resources are extensive and protected from certain levels of political interference (2013). Also, they are not bogged down to the same extent as government agencies. While they are certainly subject to bureaucracy and the whims of politics, it is not to the same degree. The primary way that universities could support indigenous resurgence is through building strong connections with local Indigenous communities and exchanging knowledge (Alfred 2015). This idea echoes Dr. Palmer's comments above (2018). Also, it is important to note that the community development tradition often flows from university departments such as Rural Sociology and Natural Resources at the University of Missouri. These institutions have a land grant tradition, being founded with the purpose of serving local communities. This tradition carries over in many positive efforts at present, some even with Indigenous communities (Gilles and Valdivia 2009, Valdivia et al. 2010, Gilles et al. 2013). These sorts of efforts do typify to some degree the sorts of relationships that are being imagined here.

However, there are many barriers to universities filling this type of role. At the heart of these barriers is the colonial model upon which they were formed and the capitalist system in which they operate (Johnson 2018). The positivist paradigm that shaped development ideas also shaped the university system. Although there have

certainly been constructive elements that have developed from this system, it leaves little room for alternative views or ways of knowing. As Coombes et al. note, “the privileged position of universities as sources of wisdom for environmental planning and social investment mean that purely Indigenist research is impractical, and it may be undesirable” (2014, 848). While some efforts within community development schools do attempt to incorporate this knowledge, the colonial structures can still be deeply problematic. Also, in the current capitalist system, universities must operate as businesses first, with every decision being weighed by financial considerations. This type of driver inevitably leads to number crunching metrics where performance is all that matters. While universities today claim to desire equality and representation, the invitation remains for the marginalized to come and join a system that is completely not their own. So often, ‘equal representation’ means just assimilating the marginalized into the dominant hegemonic structure (Mutu 2013). Some Indigenous scholars, such as Dr. Johnson (2018) and Dr. Alfred (2013), remain cynical about the possibility of decolonizing the university system, but others like Dr. Palmer (2018) believe that a system can change. Institutions need to recognize the mediating structures and reinforcement mechanisms that exist within them that inhibit relationships between researchers and the groups they work with (Kidman, 2007). Even progressive methods such as PAR can still fail to overcome the challenge of dispersing “intellectual authority away from holders of advanced degrees” (Coombes et al. 2014, 847). This is a deeper level of decolonization that opens up the institution to real change and adaptation. It is

a level that moves beyond the 'hall of mirrors' and the endless self-replicating theories and into the life-worlds of the people about which these theories are made.

Ultimately, the best examples of this potential may be seen in tertiary research institutions. Groups such as C-FIRST or the NPM are already doing this type of work to a certain extent. Their focus is not to do research for the sake of promotion or performance only, but rather so that those resources and networks can be accessed by marginalized groups and isolated communities (NPM 2018, C-FIRST 2018). Their focus remains narrow, however, mainly positioned to serve the larger Indigenous community or specific groups. But if this model could proliferate into multitudinous forms to serve countless groups, each of them networked to the larger network of research, the conceptual model theorized above might become a reality.

Current challenges to the established university system may force change to happen, the only question being in what fashion. Technological advancement, skyrocketing student loan debt, and shifting priorities for workers facing ever more education requirements for menial pay are only some of the shifts that have begun to occur. The tenure promotion system may indeed disappear simply because it is rendered unnecessary.

Along those lines, for researchers, there are still many barriers and disincentives to assisting communities and working with them in an equitable way. Tenure remains as a system that is designed to reward only one type of scholarship: publishing. This out-of-balance focus tends to propagate the 'hall of mirrors' environment, where scholars are seen as and see themselves as only achieving if they inscribe the world with their own

ideas about reality, and the only ones who interact with these views are other scholars. As Dr. Larsen noted, this colonizing of knowledge enacts 'epistemic violence' upon the world (2018). Also, the system of grant funding is skewed to expect Western-style results, and in a Western timely manner. As noted by Coombes et al. (2012), securing the funding necessary to do Indigenous research can be challenging when relationships must be slowly developed over time. Even university systems such as the Internal Review Board (IRB), which are in place to hold researchers accountable, can be a barrier between them and the community. It continues the pattern of patronizing the 'weaker' groups, such as Indigenous peoples, by assuming that they do not have their own ethical protocols that may in fact be more robust than those of the IRB. IRB tries to solve the ethics problem, but it neither stops intellectual robbery nor makes up for the evils of the past.

The very concept of professors being primarily researchers is still relatively recent, emerging in the late 1800s (Boyer 1997). Indeed, there has already been much debate and focus on shifting priorities away from the pressure to do research and publish (Nibert 2001). Scholarly service is that which "must be tied directly to one's personal field of knowledge and relate to, and flow directly out of, this professional activity" (Boyer 1997, 22). Boyer continues, "Such a view of scholarly service – one that both applies and contributes to human knowledge – is particularly needed in a world in which huge, almost intractable problems call for the skills and insights only the academy can provide" (1997, 23). There have been increasing calls for faculty to "apply their expertise in new and creative ways in partnership with communities" (Calleson et al.

2005, Abstract). The gap between rhetoric and reality, however, is still significant. The barriers to this sort of scholarship are still strong.

So, what can university researchers do in light of these barriers? Dr. Hobbs was able to keep himself free from systemic politics, not because he was naïve to them, but rather he seemed to simply ignore them and do his research as he saw fit. Also, Dr. Hobbs was specifically given a role in a Participatory Action Research project to assist the Bedouin in meeting their perceived needs (1998). But many others do not have that opportunity or attitude. Also, barriers exist beyond the walls of the ivory tower. Dr. Hobbs described how all his own efforts to work with Egypt to invest in Bedouin knowledge were to naught. He was often perceived as a colonialist, a spy, or worse, facing suspicion by many government agents just for being with the Bedouin, and had to work around Egyptian prohibitions to do his field work (2018). Within the academy, Dr. Larsen admits to having extreme stress over his research, and only now being able to consider his standing with the Cheslatta community as a tenured professor (2018). Dr. Palmer similarly believed that he had a choice, as expressed to him by his father, to either be a 'good Indian' or a 'good scholar' (2018). He consciously sacrificed working with his own community in order to first attain tenured status. Dr. Johnson has witnessed other Indigenous scholars struggle to advance their careers if they have chosen to work with their own communities (2018). These struggles, as well as the lack of legitimacy for Indigenous methods and ways of knowing, confront many Indigenous scholars working within the academy (Kovach 2009, Smith 2012).

Regardless of the barriers, researchers can themselves operate according to the logic of affinity. They can be 'Robin Hoods', taking the resources from the rich environments that they move in and using them to aid those who are lacking access to these resources. The challenge is of course, that they must delicately balance their systemic duties with their direct action. This requires creative thinking, not just to imagine solutions to problems, but to imagine ways around hegemony. The fact that this is so difficult illustrates the hegemony of hegemony (Day 2004); academics cannot always comprehend a different way, it is either conform to the system or struggle to reform the system. There are many ordinary everyday direct actions that resist hegemony, or go around it (Ballard 2015). Drs. Palmer and Johnson both incorporate direct action into their teaching methods, as they each creatively facilitate friction between different ways of knowing and viewing the world (2018, 2018). Dr. Larsen has embarked on his own quest to assist Cheslatta in creative and resourceful ways with his children's book project (2018). As Dr. Hobbs notes, there is still much freedom afforded to university researchers to seek out truth, so long as they are willing to pursue their own agendas with the communities they work with, or ideally, the agenda *of* the community (2018). Anarchist ideas like affinity logic do not always resonate completely with Indigenous ways of thinking (Barker and Pickerill 2012). It must be rooted in relationship, not just with the people, but with their place and their way of knowing and being (Larsen 2018). They must constantly maintain an openness, an ongoing dialogue, with the people they hope to assist.

The future of higher education institutions, researchers, and marginalized groups also depends heavily on open dialogue that is ongoing, not just a short-term solution or focus (Coombes et al. 2012). Sharing knowledge is a long-term commitment (Smith 2014). The desire for relationship must be genuine, not contrived to get results, and that likely requires a fundamental shift in the institutional model. There have been some setbacks. Even some projects that claimed to be participatory research, collaboration, and community empowerment ended in failure and damaged indigenous perceptions of researchers once again (Coombes et al. 2014). Changing some fundamental aspects of university culture could perhaps stave off these sorts of misunderstandings in the future. Further examination of the mediating structures of higher education that reinforce negative practices is still necessary. Perhaps, for example, researchers could collaborate to set up alternative methods of funding Indigenous research, or just look to the many other crowdfunding platforms that already exist and are growing rapidly (Harrison 2018). This is yet another example of affinity logic, moving outside of the long-established funding mechanisms.

6.3 Conclusions

The results of the case studies seem to clearly indicate several things. First, that as noted in the *Defining the Problem* section, when government is dismissive or even hostile to a given community's needs, an alternative method of assistance is the only way for them to access the resources they need. Some, like Cheslatta, are able to harness local alliances and deftly maneuver within the existing systems. But many

others are forced to choose between gaining a foothold directly with the central government, like the Maori, or languishing in the face of rapid change and cultural threat, as has been the case for so many Indigenous groups and seems to be the case for the Bedouin. Second, that universities themselves still seem to be unable to function in a facilitative manner. However, networks of research collaborators have begun to function this way, at least for Indigenous communities in Western settler societies. It is possible that these models could be adapted and expanded to include marginalized groups everywhere, not to mention on regional and community scales in general. Third, that fundamental structures within the university system act as inhibitors to community assistance work, due to disincentives for both the institutions and for individual researchers within them. Until change can be affected, researchers must function along the lines of the logic of affinity. They can be 'Robin Hoods' within the system or simply ignore the disincentives and be willing to suffer the consequences. They can also attempt to create more network-oriented institutions that are more aligned with facilitation. This requires thinking beyond the hegemony of hegemony. It requires direct prefigurative action that moves outside, underneath, through the cracks of the dominant system. Finally, that ultimately, current challenges to the university system may force change, the only question being in what ways. The tertiary network institutions may be the ones to pick up the slack. These are the groups most capable of enabling communities to shape their own development and research agendas.

6.4 Future Research

This study is exploratory and theoretical in nature, imagining what might be possible and then examining some initial inputs to see in what ways they illuminate these possibilities. In that sense, this thesis only begins to delve into this issue. Much more robust and thorough study is required to test some of the early conclusions drawn here. Several key aspects need to be pursued further. First, a much deeper look at the economic and technologic challenges that universities are facing would be helpful. Though it is reasonable to conclude that these challenges are going to force changes to the structure of higher education, the key question is what those changes will entail. How this coincides with decolonizing efforts would then be the question that follows. Second, a closer view of the efforts of tertiary research institutions would also yield much richer data for analysis. Specific examples of community assistance and empowerment would be extremely useful. Beyond that, more examples of Dr. Johnson's model of Indigenous research agendas fully driven and supported by the community would make for fascinating case studies. Finally, a broad examination of the interaction between the grassroots democratizing potential of technology and the creation and propagation of knowledge would be particularly informative to this topic.

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