"We don't need settler permission": Recalling the Haudenosaunee Thought Project (#htp) through Indigenous Autoethnography

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"Much like autoethnographic work, the sharing of stories on social media has deep cultural significance since these platforms often help users process questions of identity."

(Dunn & Myers 47)

"To demonstrate my own exertion of self-determination with/in the academy, I have presented, throughout this paper, 'another way'. A defiant stance to push back against dominant research methodologies and push forward with Indigenous autoethnography, insisting 'don't tell me what to do'."

(Bishop 376)

In December of 2017 political tensions divided the country. Donald Trump was almost a full year in office and many people expressed their politics on social media. Around that time, I had started writing my dissertation and working as a Haudenosaunee Studies teacher in the Seneca Nation.

One Saturday night I went to visit some friends at a local bar near downtown Buffalo, New York. When I arrived, I scanned the busy room and my eyes wandered towards the window, where I remember watching as the snow fell from the dark sky. I paused to observe the scene and I remember feeling lost in that moment.

Outside, it snowed chaotically onto the icy streets. The snow piled up on the ground and

glimmered under streetlights. Wind whipped snow down the dark alleyways. I traced the path of the wind by following the dizzying movements of the snow. This area is known for its winters. Strangers walked outside, shielding their faces from the biting wind. Most people living here, aka "Buffalonians" call this city Buffalo, but that is a settler name. For me, as Kanien'keha:ka (Mohawk) or Onkwehòn:we (Original people), we call this area Onödowa'ga:' the lands of the Seneca Nation. I thought about the land.

Inside, the bar felt cozy and warm, yet awkward and noisy. Dim multicolored lighting shined against the wooden frames on the walls casting long shadows in the corners of the room. Signs read: *Noon-8pm, $2.00 bottles Coors Light and $3.00 bottles Labatt Blue*. Buffalo Bills and Buffalo Sabres emblems decorated the walls. The crowd that was gathered there spoke loudly and belligerently which made it hard to hear. People shuffled among and between one another, some turning sideways competing for space at the bar. In some ways it felt more chaotic inside than outside. The smell of stale beer and sweat filled the room.

I was talking with "Mary" (pseudonym), an old friend of mine from college. Mary is a settler, a white woman, and at the time she was in her late twenties. She often had a lighthearted and cheery demeanor. While she and I were making small talk that night, our conversation arrived at the topic of social media.

"Yeah, I mean, it's weird" she said, smiling ear to ear. The bartender handed her a lightly colored beer. She took a sip, looked back at me, and continued, speaking loudly over the crowd and the music. "It's just difficult, especially since we are all so politically divided now. I mean, I'm pretty moderate… or like, neutral, politically. You know? I can see things from both sides." Mary held her left and right hands out widely, to emphasize "both sides" with her hands.

"Mhm" I said. I took a drink of the same beer that I had been sipping all night. I leaned in closer to show her that I was listening.

"Take *you* for example, Hugh. There is *you*… and then there is the *other* you online. I like the in-person version of you… the old version." She brushed her hair away from her face and continued, "You're funny and you're cool, that's the *you* that I know. But when you post on Facebook, all your political and, like, cultural views on Facebook are just so different than the person I know. I really don't know how I feel about that side of you." She scratched the back of her neck, looked away, and paused awkwardly. She smiled again. "And so, I just stay out of stuff like that, online." She stated this proudly. Her comments caught me off guard.

The other me? I thought to myself. I felt a pang of insecurity and adrenaline rush through my body. I leaned in closer, and I squinted my eyes as I tried to understand her perspective. My facial expressions must have given me away because her smile fell briefly. She quickly broke eye contact and changed the topic. The night went on and my mind stirred, I felt uncomfortable, and I wanted to leave.

After that night, I couldn't help but think: *Do my "friends" really even know me at all?* Mary said this to me during a heightened time politically within the United States and a critical point of my own growth as an Indigenous person. Her comments came in late 2017, after about a year of Trump's presidency and a period of my life where I had been examining my own Indigenous identity further, learning about Haudenosaunee identity, sovereignty, spirituality, and trying to build my own sense of community across our Haudenosaunee Nation territories. In fact, I had just begun conducting a small community-based project online called *The Haudenosaunee Thought Project* or #htp, a project designed to encourage online discussion on Facebook related to traditional Haudenosaunee teachings, deconstructing gender issues, examining internalized colonization, and sharing perspectives about Native identity from Haudenosaunee community members.

In this article, I revisit The Haudenosaunee Thought Project. I examine my own identity as a Mohawk, Haudenosaunee person and examine interactions with people, both insiders and

outsiders, who made passing comments about those posts and my overall presence on social media as an Indigenous person. Through a reflexive practice, I bring those posts from memory, back into being, to show how large-scale activism around political issues like anti-Trump, #blm, #metoo #waterislife may serve as an impetus to local community-based online discussions and self-examination of Indigenous sovereignty, Indigenous identity, and traditional Indigenous teachings.

Research Questions

Through an Indigenous autoethnography, I revisit the essence of those six-year-old conversations, not necessarily to share Indigenous community members' online discourse, but rather to centralize three research questions:

1. How can Indigenous peoples build community using social media platforms?

2. How can Indigenous peoples use digital social media for resurgence and to disrupt settler spaces?

3. What are some ethical considerations about social media and Indigeneity?

Through these questions, I hope, not only to shed light on my own reflections about "Indigeneity" in a community-building space from years ago, but also to relate #htp with current online realities to map future directions.

While these questions may center on me, I often use community responses and interactions as a catalyst to examine areas related to that online space. In this paper I use and problematize "Insider" (Indigenous) and "outsider" (settler) interactions to understand ethics on Indigenous knowledges in online spaces, explore ways that Indigenous peoples build community online, and ways that Indigenous peoples resist settler colonialism within a digital space. I hope that this piece will contribute to a larger discourse by intersecting Indigeneity, Indigenous sovereignty, and

community-building through online platforms (Carlson and Frazer; Caranto Morford and Ansloos; Hill).

Definitions of Terms

- "Indigenous" or "Native" or "Onkwehòn:we" is a term I use interchangeably throughout this article to refer to "Native Americans", "American Indians (AI)", "Aboriginal", "First Nations" or Native peoples who live within places which some might call "Turtle Island" also known as "North America"

- "Haudenosaunee" means "They [mixed group] build houses" a term I use to refer to the "Iroquois Confederacy," "Six Nations" also known as the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca, and Tuscarora Nations.

Literature Review

Background

In the summer of 2015, I had the honor of being asked to organize an in-person conference that we called *Revisiting the Basic Call to Consciousness* which was held during the *2015 World Indoor Lacrosse Championships (WILC)* and hosted by the Onondaga Nation. This conference generated conversation about Haudenosaunee sovereignty, Indigenous treaty law, gender issues in lacrosse, nation-to-nation governance, and effects of the Doctrine of Discovery throughout the world. This conference was held at WILC, in front of a local and international audience, to celebrate Indigenous survival through the game of lacrosse and to assert Indigenous sovereignty on a global scale.

The conference was based in a book called, *Basic Call to Consciousness* (Akwesasne Notes 2005), a book that describes various treaty agreements and Indigenous activism on self-

governance and nation-to-nation relationships between Indigenous peoples and settler governments, locally and globally. Several teachings include the "Kaianere'kó:wa" or "the Great Law of Peace," an established set of governing principles or a "law" among the Haudenosaunee which unified the original five Nations (Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca) centuries before European contact. Later in 1722, the Tuscarora joined the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, now known as the Six Nations. These governing principles still exist now among the Haudenosaunee. The book presents Haudenosaunee sovereignty, a model of Indigenous self-governance and revisits political activism in the early twentieth century and then a cultural revival in the 1960's and 1970's, advocating for global Indigenous self-determination broadly throughout the world. Community members, both Native and non-Native alike, had so many positive things to say about the event. I remember an Onondaga community member turning to me to say, "We should really do this more often. I learned so much" (personal communication).

Given the wealth of information and generative conversation at that conference, I grew interested in continuing the work in some way, perhaps by organizing another conference. At the time, my studies and mentors in graduate school sparked my interest in intergroup dialogue (Dessell, Rogge, and Garlington) and intragroup dialogue practices (Ben David, et al.). I liked the idea that people could talk together across difference, demographically-speaking (intergroup), and even within their own group (intragroup), to learn, and to address societal issues with which they would otherwise not have been familiar. I had seen people change after they participated in intergroup dialogue.

I wondered if I could combine intergroup/intragroup dialogue with Haudenosaunee identity to address a few areas of need. After about a year of reflection, in 2016, I proposed a project to the Humanities New York (HNY) that I called *The Haudenosaunee Thought Project* to create discussion. The project was eventually accepted, and my aim was to "generate critical intergroup and intragroup conversations about Indigenous identities within Haudenosaunee

communities and neighboring communities" (Humanities of New York). I grappled with how I would do this for some time, but I engaged with ideas that were shared from my cohort of brilliant colleagues throughout the New York State, who were conducting podcasts, creating comic books, and even using social media like Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram to create discussions around social justice issues to raise awareness of inequities experienced by marginalized communities.

Eventually I decided to scale-down my dream of organizing another conference, to create something more practical: *an online project*. After some thoughtful consideration, I decided to post discussion prompts about Haudenosaunee identity on my personal Facebook page from January 2017 to December 2018. While the audience was small (my Facebook friends) the online discussions were quite dynamic and meaningful, and some posts were shared on Facebook. Topics ranged from gender roles, spirituality/religion, generational changes, Indigenous education, and the meanings of knowledge, all while centering on Haudenosaunee identity. Participants would often make mention of Haudenosaunee teachings like the Haudenosaunee Creation Story, the Great Law of Peace, and other teachings passed down through the generations. For the most part I did not participate in discussions, if only to "like" a post or to convey my gratitude to the person's response. In later posts I engaged with posts more often and I commented back to people who made comments.

Haudenosaunee and Native peoples were the primary commentors in #htp discussions. It was rare, but at times non-Native people would comment, or "like" random comments, which admittedly felt strange. Additionally, some topics were discussed which were more culturally sensitive or referenced traditional teachings or even ceremonies, which I tried to be consciously aware of in discussion. For some time, I simply stopped posting discussion prompts because I felt weird about asking particular questions while non-Indigenous people were also able to view the posts. For example, if I had an idea for a prompt about gender and spirituality, I would often hold off on posting since people (Native people) might get upset that I posted a culturally

sensitive question, only typically reserved for "insiders" (Native people) and not for "outsiders" (non-Native people). Some of my online community identify as Native and non-Native (multiracial) and many of the non-Native people I know, live in rural Indigenous-white border communities.

Indigenous Spaces in Digital Media

Up until this point, I had never considered how effective it might be to actually create an online space for Native people to share about who we are, discuss traditional teachings and practices, and unpack our perspectives on Indigenous identity. For Indigenous peoples, not only are digital and social media platforms typically spaces that do not include Indigenous perspectives, even worse, they may be spaces which perpetuate settler colonialism. Yet, Indigenous peoples can also actively disrupt these spaces to enact cultural preservation and Indigenous sovereignty (Bronwyn and Frazer; Caranto Morford and Jeffrey Ansloos). Digital technology offers a space for Indigenous peoples to express their Indigenous identity (Indigeneity), Indigenous sovereignty, language revitalization efforts, community building, anti-colonial resistance, Indigenous resurgence and land-based relations as they exist in online spaces.

Racism and settler prejudice runs rampant on social media. In their article *Indigenous people and the varieties of colonial violence on social media*, Kennedy and Frazier outline ways in which Indigenous social media users are "disproportionately targeted with racist abuse" on online platforms, which exists in many forms including "hate speech, trolling, cyber bullying, online harassment, digital sexual abuse, and police surveillance" (4). Indigenous peoples are subjected to settler violence via cultural appropriation and ethnic identity fraud, in which social media influencers or famed scholars present themselves as Indigenous in public spaces or online for professional or economic gain, but in fact are not Native at all (Schaelling). The settler gaze is so pervasive in online spaces; it often becomes difficult to consider how and whether online spaces can be helpful for Indigenous peoples.

Yet, Kennedy and Frazier remind us of Indigenous resistance in online spaces, that while digital technology "facilitates new and innovative ways to deploy colonial mechanisms of oppression… Indigenous peoples as digital citizens are leading the development of innovative approaches to resist and reject existing and emerging forms of online colonial violence" (9). This point is also supported by Caranto Morford and Ansloos who also complicate settler/Indigenous relationships online further by describing the stealing of Indigenous knowledge: "settlers enact racist discourse and hate speech, steal Indigenous knowledges shared on #NativeTwitter, and commit acts of cultural appropriation" (300).

According to Caranto Morford and Ansloos, Indigenous peoples can use digital technologies to connect or reconnect with their homelands. Indigenous peoples enact a sense of survivance and language revitalization using #NativeTwitter, in a space fraught with politics of settler colonialism and anti-colonial resistance (303). Additionally, online spaces have become important for those Indigenous peoples who live away from their Indigenous communities and aim to understand and learn about their own Indigenous identity, as "the ability to connect with one's homeland through digital means has particularly transformative potential for Indigenous language learners who do not have physical access to their homelands and, thus, must learn from afar" (Caranto Morford and Ansloos, 302).

By creating clothing and traditional regalia, Indigenous peoples have always adorned and preserved their cultures, spiritualities, identities, dreams, and histories. Ansloos et al., explains that digital spaces can be therapeutic environments and on digital spaces such as Twitter, Indigenous communities have taken to beading to create a sense of Indigenous community, to heal, and for cultural resurgence. Ansloos et al., provide several ways in which beading can be a healing tradition, how digital spaces can support art therapy, and how ethical tensions arise at the intersection of beading and healing online (79). Overall, while online spaces may be riddled with the settler gaze which does not always center Indigenous peoples, Indigenous peoples can

use online platforms to center Indigenous identity, build community, practice Indigenous

resurgence, heal from past wounds, and resist and disrupt settler colonialism.

Methodology

In this section I describe Indigenous autoethnography as the methodology that I use to revisit #htp

discussions, both in-person and online in digital spaces. I provide my positionality and briefly

discuss ethical limitations conducting research on social media platforms as Indigenous peoples. I

describe how I use Indigenous autoethnography within the context of #htp.

I do not simply "passively comply" (Blair 23) with existing Western research methods. In

this research, I reference Indigenous scholar Michelle Bishop, whose defiant stance against settler

colonialism in the academy gave me the inspiration to continue this work as an Indigenous

autoethnography. Bishop writes,

> To demonstrate my own exertion of self-determination with/in the academy, I have
>
> presented… 'another way'. A defiant stance to push back against dominant research
>
> methodologies and push forward with Indigenous autoethnography, insisting 'don't tell me
>
> what to do'. (376)

I call attention to "doing" Indigenous research and Indigenous autoethnography specifically as

political action against ongoing settler colonialism in many spaces, in the academy and outside of

the academy, online and offline.

Originally called "indigenous ethnography" (Butz and Besio 1668), autoethnography as

method was said to allow those of "Native" or an "insider" status of a group, or subgroup, to

voice their experiences. Butz and Besio expand on indigenous ethnography more:

> 'Native ethnographers', as they are conventionally called, are members of subordinated
>
> groups who have metropolitan academic training and who study their own groups often
>
> from a position of opposition to existing metropolitan representations. We prefer the term

indigenous ethnography because it embraces a wider range of subaltern subject positions.

(1669)

Later, Bochner and Ellis describe autoethnography as a method which combines "auto" (self) and

"ethnography" (culture) to retroactively reflect on past experiences. In this piece,

autoethnography allows me to examine and to bring voice to my own experiences and to create

narrative to describe my experience in a digital format.

I often felt the need to write from the heart about salient issues experienced by myself

and my community members, as it pertained to Haudenosaunee identity. Within autoethnography,

Bochner stresses the importance of using "evocative narrative" (210), to use emotion as a form of

power in storytelling,

Facts are important to an autoethnographic storyteller; they can and should be verified.

But it is not the transmission of facts that gives the autoethnographic story its significance

and evocative power. Facts don't tell you what they mean or how they feel. (161)

An evocative storyteller highlights the importance of emotion and meaning in narrative to address

systems of power in their research. I observed myself being pulled into online discourse that had

perked my sense of curiosity, challenged my own beliefs, made me laugh, and felt emotionally

charged at moments.

Autoethnography also comes from a social justice imperative (Ellis, Cassidy, and Calafell

203), an approach that I always feel is necessary in spaces where systemic power is in-play,

especially on digital and social media platforms. Scholars are continually exploring ways that

LGBTQ2S+, Indigenous, Black and Brown people use autoethnography in digital media spaces to

center their experiences (Bailey; Brown; and Are). In his digital humanities blog, *#transform(ing)*

DH Writing and Research: An autoethnography of Digital Humanities and Feminist Ethics, Bailey

used autoethnography to examine methodology, ethics, and theoretical issues through digital

spaces to follow contemporary Black trans women on social media networks. Bailey explained

that centering Black trans women's use of digital spaces to reclaim screens and networks, while not centering impact on white supremacy, heterosexist, and trans misogyny, was the goal:

> The example of trans women of color's digital activism demonstrate the power of digital media to redefine representations of marginalized groups… The practices of reclaiming the screens of our computers and phones with content is not simply one of creating new representations but is a practice of self-preservation and health promotion through the networks of digital media. (Bailey 6)

Bailey's perspective is crucial to understanding how many marginalized groups including LGBTQ2S+, Indigenous, Black, Brown and Brown people use autoethnography within digital media spaces to practice self-preservation or health and wellbeing of their communities. In #htp, I intentionally positioned Indigenous posts and perspectives to be central to the project. Viewers who may not be part of a marginalized group are placed secondary. In other words, as marginalized people we *center* our collective reclamation of digital media spaces through acts of self-preservation and wellbeing.

My positionality is that I live and work in and in-between Indigenous spaces. I am Kanien'keha:ka (Mohawk) Wolf Clan and a Haudenosaunee community member, enmeshed within various communities, both Native and non-Native. I am from the Onondaga Nation (near Syracuse, NY) and I moved when I was young, to a predominantly white town called Youngstown, NY, which is near the Tuscarora Nation. While I identify as an "insider" to my own Haudenosaunee communities, I am also an "outsider" to many of the same communities since I often float "between" spaces, on and off the Rez, inside and outside of the settler academy, or within my own familiar Haudenosaunee nations and communities.

I am also an insider/outsider to the settler academy, a complicated space where, as an Indigenous person, I've felt left out, alienated, dismissed through the years, but it's also a space where I've grown and witnessed growth in my students. It's a space where I've built allyship and

created friendships. In the settler academy where I have grown, I have also struggled. In the past 20 years, I know that I am an insider/outsider in virtually every space that I stand where "neutral" doesn't exist and nothing is apolitical. I acknowledge my own power, privilege, and marginality within settler academic spaces in which I work and earn a living. It's in these "in-between" locations that I examine my own Indigenous identity, between non-Native and Native communities. Many of the questions that I generated were in relation to my curiosity leading up to the topic of my dissertation, a separate project that centered the experiences of Haudenosaunee men in higher education and explored aspects of Indigenous masculinities.

I also position myself generationally within the group of "old millennials", a group of people born between 1981 and1997, according to the PEW research center (Fry). I do remember a time before social media, but for the most part my world was then, and is still now, influenced by the internet and digital technology. Dunn and Myers write, "Millennials were either born using this technology or have learned to use it and inspired others to do the same" (48).

From an ethical standpoint as an Indigenous person, I connect deeply with Maori scholar, Paul Whitinui whose work *Indigenous Autoethnography: Exploring, Engaging, and Experiencing "Self" as a Native Method of Inquiry* posits that while Western research had been experienced by many Indigenous peoples as a "dirty word" (Linda Smith), Indigenous research does not have to be this way. Whitinui's work influenced my decision to approach this work through Indigenous autoethnography as a method of inquiry, a decision that I do not take lightly. According to Whitinui, four attributes to Indigenous ethnography include: protect uniqueness, problem solve, provide access in supporting social and cultural, and spiritual wellbeing, and heal when learning about self (Whitinui 479).

As I reflect on these questions from a fellow Indigenous scholar, I remember the steps I'd taken to engage ethically within #htp and the conflict that I had experienced during the process. I often refused to post certain posts that were too closely related to Longhouse ceremonies. Even

while writing this paper, I decided to remove some pictures of posts from this document, especially those pertaining to Longhouse traditions and spirituality, which I feel would not be appropriate to share in an open access journal for public consumption.

I find a sense of reward in deeply considering the wellbeing of my people through thoughtful and authentic conversation, even hard conversations that move people to consider perspectives that we may have not considered before. The questions that I asked during #htp were, I truly believed, questions to benefit our communities. When I reflect on being an Indigenous person "doing" autoethnography, I am thankful that I can ask such complicated questions at all, and for me this is how I protect my uniqueness, problem-solve, provide, and heal. While I rely on memory, the conversations depicted in this article, I took considerable time and effort to "fictionalize" scenes and hide and/ or change identities of those whose voices I recall.

Results (Part I): Revisiting the Haudenosaunee Thought Project #htp

iPhone Note:

January 1, 2018

So I'm not even sure how to write this, but I'll

make a quick note. Remember how you

were stuck? How everything that a group of

people thought of you, how they accepted

you, or didn't- mattered so completely to

you? Like, in high school- your peers

opinions mattered so much to you. Or a

group of friends. Then you grow up and you

realize that the world is SO much bigger

than that? Like, my world is so small- even

right now. There are so many people to

meet. Native people, non natives, all sorts of

people. My project right now is just one

project. One small world to another.

One small community inside another and

another…

[This was a personal note about the Haudenosaunee Thought Project #htp and my feelings about

sharing my "world" with people online]

In this brief section, I provide examples of #htp posts that I found to be relevant to this

topic and theme them into groups. As I look back to my posts online from the Haudenosaunee

Thought Project, #htp, some five or six years ago now, I pulled the old posts from my personal

Facebook. Below I have listed some examples of those posts between January 2017-December

2018. I "screenshotted" each of the posts for viewer clarity, blurred Facebook reactions, "likes",

and comments for anonymity, and added alt text for viewer accessibility.
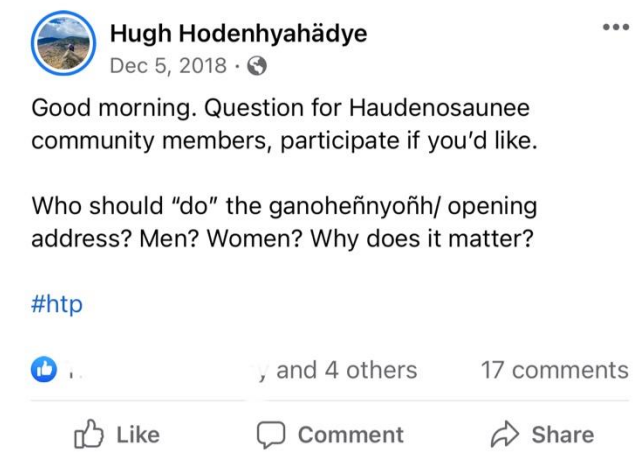

Text: Good morning. Question for Haudenosaunee community members, participate if

you'd like. Who should "do" the ganoheñnyoñh/opening address? Men? Women? Why

does it matter? #htp (12/5/18)

In this post, I was specifically questioning my own Native community's often rigid gender roles and why gender roles even matter. Traditionally, Haudenosaunee would have a male speaker deliver the "opening address" to a group of people gathered, to give thanks to the natural world. Posts swirled about Haudenosaunee gender roles, which prompted me to ask this question. The participants' responses were rather mixed, many believing that men and women could give the opening address, which I felt was an important and much-needed conversation.
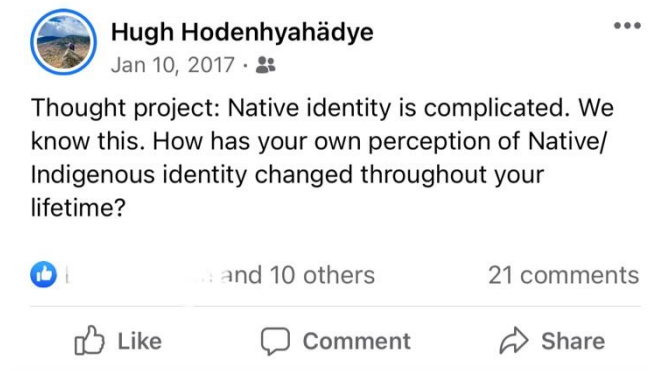
Text: Thought project: Native identity is complicated. We know this. How has your own perception of Native/Indigenous identity changed throughout your lifetime? (1/10/17)

I had asked this question because I wanted to understand if time made people shift in their understanding of their Native identity. Many people who were the same age or older than me answered this question, explaining that Native identity is complex and their perspectives may change throughout their lives.
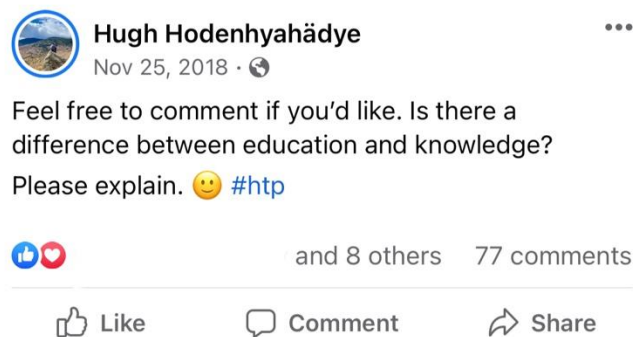
Text: Feel free to comment if you'd like. Is there a difference between education and knowledge?

Please explain. #htp

I asked questions around the meanings of "knowledge" versus "education" because there had been discourse around revitalizing Haudenosaunee languages, sharing traditional stories, and trying to understand those teachings within today's context. This post prompted Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants to respond. Their answers seemed similar, many described that lived experience is a form of knowledge and education. Many people expressed their discontent with the American education system; that it prioritizes Eurocentric knowledge and not Indigenous knowledge. I particularly enjoyed the comments from working class contributors, both Native and non-Native peoples, mostly from rural backgrounds, many of whom agreed that they feel left out of the education system.

These are just three examples out of 12 posts of the #htp project posts to provide examples to the reader. When I posted these, I had around 2000 friends on Facebook. The posts were sent during a heightened time politically within the United States and Canada. In the next section I grouped each of the 12 posts into themed categories. The posts ranged from Indigenous knowledge, Haudenosaunee gender, spirituality, identity, and other topics of interest. Many of these areas came from my own personal interests that I felt Haudenosaunee people would like to discuss.

- **Indigenous knowledges and education.** In four (4) posts I referenced Indigenous education and Indigenous knowledge. I asked people to compare and contrast "education" versus "knowledge" or asked how we can use Indigenous knowledge within community and educational spaces.

- **Haudenosaunee gender/gender roles.** In three (3) posts I asked about Haudenosaunee gender roles. I asked about who should play lacrosse or recite the opening address in public functions. I also asked Indigenous peoples if they identified as feminists.

- **Haudenosaunee spirituality.** In two (2) posts I asked questions about peoples' thoughts on Longhouse spirituality in comparison with other religions.

- **Indigenous identity.** In one (1) post I asked how peoples' perceptions of Indigenous identity might change through their lifetime.

- **Other topics of interest.** In two (2) posts I asked my Facebook audience which topics we could discuss regarding Haudenosaunee identity or other topics of interest.

While these posts cover only few categories, I tried to home in on specific discussion, tensions, areas of intrigue and critical issues among the Haudenosaunee. I asked questions about Longhouse or Haudenosaunee spirituality to understand the history of our people, differences between various religions, the meanings of adaptations or changes to our belief structure, and perceptions of what it means to be Haudenosaunee today. Lastly, I provide other topics of interest to gauge community interest in creating more topics to discuss and potentially moving #htp to a public space.

In the next section, I unpack interactions with community members who participated. I do this to provide the reader with the level of meaning-making behind these posts, the level of emotional labor involved, and ways that these posts might impact different people as "insiders" (Haudenosaunee) or "outsiders" (non-Native). I problematize even that binary insider/outsider as an ethical consideration, along with the limits of sharing online.

Results (Part 2): Personal Interactions about #htp Posts

Many of the interactions that I've had, and community that I've built, were built offline (in-person)

and often sustained online, especially since I don't get to see all my family or friends being in

different communities (interactions also decreased significantly due to the pandemic). In five brief

recollections, through an Indigenous autoethnography, this section provides interactions that I've

had with people I had seen publicly in-person and who have made passing comments about the

#htp and social media posts online. I provide context, describe the person who I am interacting

with (Native or non-Native) and my relationship to them, a brief dialogue, and some thoughts on

the significance of the interaction.

"This is not to be shared out there."

This quick interaction happened before I even started #htp but I had often posted about Native

issues and shared articles on my personal Facebook. A group of us are language learners and we

sat in a small room devoted to discussing language, culture, and ceremonies. Many of the people

in the room knew one another and the language instructor, "Carol", was and still is a highly

respected community member. She has a considerable amount of knowledge related to

traditional protocol, ceremonies, and language.

        As I was packing up my stuff, getting ready to leave class for the day, another language

student asked a question about a ceremony of ours and the language used in the ceremony.

Carol stood at the front of the class and described ways that the language can be used for this

specific ceremony. After she was done talking, she paused, looked at me specifically, out of about

6 people in the room and said, "And this is not to be shared out there, Hugh. This stays here."

After a moment, I nodded my head in agreement. Some people looked at me and some people

looked down.

        I never really understood why she stated this to me directly in front of everyone, maybe it

was because I was just starting my PhD classes and she knew this, conveying that it's not free for

scholarship or for the prying eyes of the settler academy. Maybe she meant that it is not to be

shared online for public consumption. Either way, she made herself clear, there are limits both academically and publicly, who gets to know this information. I will always respect Carol for telling me this so clearly and directly.

"You know how *Hugh* is."

I had a conversation with my longtime friend "Jessica", a white woman from my hometown, and close friend, who I would consider to be an ally. Jessica and I are both educators and passionate about social justice issues. Jessica did not often interact with people on the #htp posts but did talk with me in-person about Indigenous-related issues. One day we were walking and talking about differences between communities of color and the white community that we lived in growing up, when she described an interaction that she had with our old acquaintance and fellow high school classmate who I call "Jake", a white man, settler and former student athlete. She described seeing Jake:

"Well, I saw Jake the one day at this random event." Jessica said as we walked down the street, catching up. She continued, "Jake was telling me that he saw you recently." I thought for a moment and tried to remember.

"Oh yeah, I saw him and said "hi" to him some time ago. He was the only person I knew there. We caught up and it was nice to see him", I responded. Jessica smiled awkwardly at my comment. I knew that look. "Why, what's up?" I asked, slightly concerned.

"Well, he told me that he saw you too. This is how you came up in conversation."

"Oh?" I said. Jessica paused, half smiling. "And...?" I pressed her.

"Well, he definitely doesn't like what you post online", she said quickly. I felt confused.

"Really!" I responded, feeling somewhat surprised. "I thought we were cool?!" I said, as I could feel my voice inadvertently get louder. I turned to Jessica, my eyebrows furrowed. She half-smiled again and nodded her head. She could tell I was a bit shocked.

"Tellin' ya man", she said. She paused for a moment and stepped around a divot in the sidewalk. She continued, "He doesn't like what you post, probably because he's a white kid who grew up in [our hometown] and can't see it from any other perspective. You *know* how racist that place is!" Jessica said. She also rolled her eyes when she mentioned our hometown. "He said, 'Well, you know how *Hugh* is…'", overemphasizing the syllables in the sentence. My jaw dropped. She shot a look at me with her eyebrows fully raised and her all too familiar sarcastic smile.

"I'm absolutely shook. I just saw this guy and I was all nice to him. He was nice back!" I laughed at the thought. She laughed in response.

"Yepp!" She responded, shaking her head, still holding her smile.

We continued walking and talking that day. I recall his words, "You know how *Hugh* is", a comment which I feel carries a meaning about my perspective in an online platform, a perspective that people, especially white people from my small rural hometown often do not like. I also want to note that this white community also borders an Indigenous community and a Black and Brown urban community, something that both Jessica and I know and talk often about.

"It takes guts."

"I was talkin' with 'Mike' and he was saying that he really enjoys reading your posts… he also said you're pretty brave for posting what you do", Christine laughed quickly. "But we love it, Hugh. It takes guts to ask those types of questions online", she said. I paused, unsure about how to respond.

"*Oh!* Oh really? He liked it? You liked it? Wow, that feels really good, niá:wen. I'm not always sure what people thought about it!" I responded excitedly. My face probably looked dumbfounded to her. I had been visiting with Christine, we were talking about our friend Mike and how he enjoyed conversations. Both of them are Haudenosaunee. Christine is about 10 years younger than me. Mike is about 3 years younger than me.

I really found Christine's brief reflection to be helpful and considerate. I also recognized in myself, and in my reaction, that few people actually said anything to me about it at that point. It helps when these people are your friends and acquaintances. But this isn't always the case. Friends and acquaintances don't always return positive feedback.

I map my own surprise in this interaction because in the moment that Christine said this to me, I realized that I had internalized a deep-seated worry—that since I felt that I had pushed the limits of Haudenosaunee identity and posted critical questions about our traditions and practices in such a public space, I feared my own community didn't always support or appreciate it. I navigated a lot of silence about the posts, quite often. In this case, my interactions made me realize that I must have felt anxious for a long time and her comments, albeit brief, felt uplifting and encouraging. I also noted that they are from more of a "traditional" background. I use that term to mean that they are individuals who examine our teachings, learn our languages, and apply them to their lives on a daily basis. Their feedback felt good to me, since I really respect the people in our communities who uphold our traditional teachings but also grapple with complications in our teachings as well.

I also thought, *maybe I should get out more*.

"I'm not negative online."

There have been in-person moments that were more difficult for me. Another person I'll call "Frank" had some words to share with me about my online posts. We ran into one another in a waiting area of a restaurant. He smiled and greeted me, and I greeted him back. We made small talk standing in the middle of the waiting area and then we began talking about racism in online spaces. Eventually we broached the topic of white people who are unaware of their privilege.

"I don't approach things like you do. I am not negative online", he said to me, in a straightforward manner. I was taken aback by his comment. I quickly gulped and looked down

toward the ground. I caught myself and tried to retain eye contact with him, but inside I was rattled by his words.

"Oh, okay. What do you mean?" I asked coyly. I think I knew what he meant. I just wanted him to tell me more about his thoughts on my approaches in online dialogue.

"I just try to approach things differently", he paused, clearly trying to soften his language. "I think we can be gentler with people about what they don't know", Frank said. I nodded and took a swig of my water. I truly didn't know how to respond after he said that.

As I walked away from him, I remembered that maybe he was talking about how I posted things outside of #htp that was more about white privilege. I would often share memes, other people's posts, and even post my own thoughts on white privilege. I decided to use this as a teaching moment. Since "Frank" is a generally respected person in our Haudenosaunee communities, and a traditional person as well, I wondered if my approach was too heavy-handed or may be too "negative" in his words. Frank is also about 25 years older than me. People in my community often describe something as "negative" when someone is being too critical—and I do think that I am critical of issues of power pertaining to Indigenous/settler issues. In retrospect, I feel it was good to listen to people, especially people who are older than me, to gauge how they feel about how we approach our public or even online presence.

I would be lying if I said that Frank's words weren't still echoing in my mind today, as reminders of how to be and to remember our older generation's approaches to addressing issues with people who are not Native. Frank's words were medicine for me, the reality of how my own Native community members might perceive my approach—and a harsh reminder from a well-respected man who I've always looked up to. Admittedly, I still post in critical ways, but I feel it's only to bring awareness. How much should I care about how I make white settlers feel? Don't they live in our lands? Maybe that's too negative. Maybe it's not.

"It's the truth."

I received another message from a former high school classmate—a white man (settler) around my age—who was upset about a post that I put on my Facebook. He and I went back and forth via messenger for over an hour. He was upset about someone who made a comment online about white people and I defended my community member. Afterwards, I became upset because this was a longtime friendly acquaintance of mine and I couldn't deal with his level of anger, so I stopped responding. I knew right then that he was going to block me. After the interaction, I just sat there, watching a candle burn through its wax. I had been visiting my parents, and my mom walked by. She asked if I wanted hot tea or coffee. Even though I was trying to hide it, that's when she spotted my face—she knew right away that I was upset. I told her that I had an interaction with someone that was difficult. She nodded and sipped her coffee, as she listened. Eventually after some time talking, she responded.

"Well son", she said. I waited in full anticipation. She usually says this when she is going to impart some kind of magical-mom-wisdom on me. I honestly wanted her to solve the problem for me, but I knew she wouldn't, that's not her style. She looked up from her coffee and I won't forget her words, "Sometimes you write things on there that pisses people off… and ya know what… fuck 'em", she said. She smiled and we both threw our heads back and laughed. She continued, "At times people might get upset. But it's the truth and they need to hear it." I nodded, intently listening to her words. "And don't worry", she continued, "Sometimes it's important to leave people who you used to know in your past. Sometimes it's a disappointment to know that they've changed, I think." I nodded as her words immediately locked into my memory. "But please be careful, some people are crazy", she reminded me. I nodded and smiled.

I thought about the Native community member I defended online, against racist and homophobic comments from this old classmate of mine. In that small online interaction, I knew that, while I may have lost an old acquaintance, I gained my own self-respect and I hoped that my own Haudenosaunee community member appreciated that interaction. I thought about my mom's

comments that night. Her words felt supportive. I know that she always speaks from the heart, whether I agree or not, she always tells me her truth. I wrote her words down: "sometimes it's a disappointment to know that they've changed"… I thought: *Am I the one who's changed?*

Discussion: Indigenous/ settler power relations and digital media spaces

In this section, I discuss power relations between Indigenous peoples and settlers within digital media spaces. I discuss my own reflections of my experiences conducting #htp on Facebook by addressing the following research questions.

1. How can Indigenous peoples build community using social media platforms?
2. How can Indigenous peoples use digital social media for Indigenous resurgence and to disrupt settler spaces?
3. What are some ethical considerations about social media and Indigeneity?

In the following section I address the questions by providing examples of ways that Indigenous peoples might use social media as a tool to disrupt settler spaces by building Indigenous community and centering Indigenous experiences. I discuss limitations to the use of social media with culturally sensitive information.

Building Community

Despite many feelings that may arise after hard conversations and dialogic moments online, Indigenous peoples may use online spaces to build and to maintain community. When she created a Facebook account years ago, my mom told me that she loves Facebook because she can stay in touch with her family and friends from back home in our Haudenosaunee community. In the conversations that I have had with people who made passing comments about #htp, many provided encouraging words of support and provided positive feedback, which could bring us closer together. When a white male classmate had hard words to share with me online and my

mother caught my reaction (which I stewed over for hours) she decided to offer words of support and encouragement. This was not the only time that #htp felt empowering.

Christine, a younger Haudenosaunee language learner, seemed excited to give a word of encouragement about online discussion among our own community members far and wide across many Haudenosaunee communities. Our mutual friend Mike noted that he also enjoyed the type of conversations online that might deep-dive into Indigenous identity, and grapple complications of today's realities as they align (or don't) with our teachings. Even topics which seem a bit controversial have potential to bring people together to create community, such as giving voice to community members who might be wondering about the complexities of our teachings such as community educators, language learners, knowledge holders, community historians, youth, or Elders. These online discussions are more accessible to Indigenous community members who, for various reasons, might not have access due to their distance from their home community or individuals who may feel like they don't belong but want to. These community discussions are also more accessible to non-Native people who want to understand Indigenous peoples, to build connections, community, and allyship.

Indigenous-based discussions affirm identity and celebrate Indigenous survival. In *A Digital Bundle: Protecting and Promoting Indigenous Knowledge Online,* Wemigwans describes many ways that Indigenous knowledge in online platforms (FourDirectionsTeachings.com) creates important spaces to decolonize, to learn about cultural protocol, to make connections, and to build community. Instead of online presence and social media as a form of "avoidance machines", an Indigenous presence can be a political act of Indigenous survival. Wemigwans writes that Indigenous-based content can bring people together in community and "rekindle culture, teachings, customs, and history" (Chapter 4).

Non-Native people may also build community with Indigenous peoples through online interaction, who otherwise might not have if the space was not provided. In *A Digital Bundle,*

Wemigwans tells a story about a non-Native Italian student who wanted to study Indigenous issues, but her family held stereotypical beliefs about Indigenous peoples, and they dissuaded the student from attending the university to get her master's degree. Later, the student formed a relationship with a Native community and then went on to become a teacher where, in collaboration with the online Indigenous-based platform FourDirectionsTeachings.com, the non-Native student became a teacher who built community as an ally to Indigenous peoples within a teacher education program at OISE (Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto). The teacher then used the online platform to provide teacher training to non-Native students about Indigenous peoples.

My friend Jessica interacted with me on a regular basis and continued to strive to understand the posts in #htp. As a non-Native settler and Indigenous ally, Jessica continues to ask questions. While she was a "viewer" of the #htp posts, she rarely commented or participated. She often held her comments and questions until she saw me in-person, instead of posting in the online #htp space, which I felt was appropriate and an important consideration for Indigenous-settler allyship. Her questions were poignant, and her thoughts were often full of respect and empathy. She chose not to take up space in the online discussions, rather just observe and note her curiosities. This is the way she chose to build community, to center Indigenous perspectives (and not her own) and to interact with me in-person. Online communities can create a sense of identity development and provide important Indigenous knowledge to Native peoples who might otherwise be unaware.

Indigenous Resurgence and Disrupting Settler Spaces

In so many of the posts for #htp I was admittedly attempting to understand my own Indigenous identity and align it with people from my own community. Even a small post, or the mere presence of Indigenous anything online felt right because it meant something to me and to people like me

who are always examining the meaning of our individual and collective identities, what we know and what we don't know but want to learn more about as Indigenous peoples. This felt good and at times, even disruptive.

In *As We Have Always Done,* Leanne Simpson describes Indigenous resurgence, not just to seek inclusion within a multicultural framework, but rather for Indigenous peoples to resist contemporary settler colonialism radically and unapologetically, both in-person and online. Simpson describes Indigenous presence online as complicated by settler colonialism, corporate greed, and settler capitalism, and whether or not the internet or social media serve in building movements. While Simpson asserts that there are "no bodies or land on the internet" (222) and she questions how our ancestors would feel if we were "fully integrated into a system of settler colonial surveillance and control" (222), it is crucial to point out that during Idle No More, Indigenous movements were heavily surveilled by the settler state. There are so many negative things to know about social media, Simpson recounts, from our digital lives being the "antithesis of Indigenous life… that it amplifies fear, ego, and anxiety… [and] centers individuals within a corporate, capitalist and coded algorithm" (224). Yet, Simpson also writes that social media does play a role and it has a part in disrupting settler spaces and powering movements, "blogging, podcasts, and spreecasting became critical tools of representing ourselves, and our issues on our own terms, en masse" (225).

Jessica relayed Jake's feelings about my online presence. His comment to her about me, "You know how *Hugh* is", suggested that perhaps online posts about racism, traditional teachings, gender, and Indigenous identity disrupted Jake's everyday settler existence. Posting and naming settler colonialism no doubt disrupts everyday lives of settlers on a regular basis, yet it could also bring awareness to salient Indigenous-based issues. In this way, Indigenous peoples become visible in very public ways, maybe even becoming targets, but visible, nonetheless. Anything other than Jake's everyday viewing of typical white male hegemony on his newsfeed, likely disrupts his

settler sensibilities. Jake was born and raised in a predominantly white community which borders an Indigenous community. He is someone who has an opinion steeped in racism. Posting Indigenous content online might have forced Jake to briefly look through a different lens and to take a glimpse into the lives and perspectives of Indigenous peoples. It is worth pointing out that Jake did not say anything to me in person about my posts but felt it more appropriate to describe his feelings to a white woman who he felt "safe" to tell.

Frank, an older Indigenous man, had thoughts about the approach where he disagreed with what he called being "negative" towards non-Native people in an online space. Perhaps he felt calling out systemic racism online to be an attack on white people, insensitive, or not a traditional way of our people. His comments don't escape me, even to this day. I value his feedback because it is within our culture and worldview to speak tactfully and to deliberate calmly—ensuring that we interact with everyone using what my community members might refer to as a "good mind."

Yet, if I approach this work as unapologetically as Leanne Simpson does, through Indigenous resurgence, a challenge is placed upon us as community members in online spaces. How does one strive to understand Indigenous identity, yet not write about, and engage with politics around settler colonialism and systemic racism? If I understand Frank's interaction with me, it's to consider a different approach, a softer, more subtle approach. In my #htp posts, settlers might interpret posts to be off-putting, yet perhaps my own community members might feel the same way, too. Where is the line?

In all of her Mom-wisdom, I echo my Mom's words to address this issue: "At times people might get upset. But it's the truth and they need to hear it." These interactions demonstrated something important. While we may often worry about how settlers "see" us, simply *being* Indigenous online was and continues to be an act of disruption and of Indigenous resurgence. Nyaweñha for the teachings, Momma. Our coffee conversations for the win.

Ethical Considerations and Limits

In Carlson and Frazer's article, *"They Got Filters": Indigenous Social Media, the Settler Gaze, and a Politics of Hope*, where participants, all Indigenous social media users across many parts of Australia, described the politics of digital spaces for Indigenous peoples. One participant explained that it is not culturally appropriate to share information about "the passing of a dead person" or censor Indigenous peoples "fighting on Facebook" (5) because of the way settlers might "see" Indigenous peoples. Authors and researchers often describe the "settler gaze" to mean ways that Native peoples are often viewed through a deficit framing, stereotyped, or being "looked at or seen as 'other'" (Rice et. al 11) or in ways that Carlson and Frazier describe as externally problematized:

> for Indigenous people, drama is often externally problematized and pathologized in ways not experienced by other, non-Indigenous social groups… There is always the possibility that a nefarious observer is in the audience, ready to wield personal online interactions against Indigenous people as a social group. (5-6)

Since Native peoples are quite aware of the cultural protocol and the power of the settler gaze in online spaces, community members may self-police on Facebook, so that Native peoples aren't seen solely in a negative light by settlers.

In retrospect, Carol's words, "And this is not to be shared out there, Hugh", were meaningful interaction for me, especially from someone whom I hold in such high esteem as a language teacher and knowledge holder. Although we don't necessarily call people "knowledge holders" in Haudenosaunee communities, the meaning could be implied as a person of a particular responsibility, who holds our knowledge. She said this, not to police me, but rather to provide guidance in expectation and responsibility to cultural protocol, to provide a limit, and to extend a sense of trust. Being someone who recognized this early on, I always try to consider with deep

respect, the limits of sharing our teachings. When settlers "see" our words online, they might often see much more than words on a Snap, Tweet, or Facebook post. When settlers grapple with what they do not know, *we* also grapple with what *they* do not know, as well. We navigate how sharing of information might leave us open or vulnerable to settler ignorance, brought by the settler gaze, always.

Given the complication or limits of posting sensitive information, I often would reach out and ask people if a post about which teachings would be appropriate and which teachings would not be. I ended up drawing limits for myself by not posting about ceremonies at all. I did choose to post particular teachings, but only as they were centered in history or "our worldview," to couch such information that I felt would typically be discussed in college or university settings. As I continued to navigate posting or not posting, my perspective has even changed since #htp. I choose to have discussions about salient issues around gender, race, or ceremonial teachings to my own community in an in-person, closed space. Overall, I feel that since I am a learner, I should continue to limit my posts, perhaps even in more of a strict manner due to these implications of power.

Of course, to share or not, depends on the community, not us as individuals. Non-Native scholars, public news outlets, and people in authority positions have threatened Indigenous knowledge and continue to do so to this day. Wemigwans reminds us about the differences between personal/individual knowledge versus traditional knowledge:

> Personal knowledge is acquired through individual educational pursuits, empirical processes, or the gifts that one is born with or has received through revealed knowledge, which includes spiritual knowledge gained through dreams, visions, intuitions, and meditations. Personal knowledge is not bounded by the cultural protocols of the community in the way that Traditional Knowledge is. (Chapter 1)

Often academics or scholars as individuals have acquired knowledge (in the settler academy or individual pursuits), but this is different from the cultural protocols that are upheld in an Indigenous community where Indigenous knowledge is gifted, highly praised, often just spoken, and protected.

Limitations and Future Research

People can use digital social media platforms for so much more than I describe in this paper. #htp only encompassed some ways that I have used social media to describe Indigenous identity, to confront issues of power, or to find a limit in the sharing of Indigenous knowledge online. While #htp acted as a catalyst for me to see how far I could unpack Haudenosaunee identity on a public platform, it was far from perfect. Building online communities or having online discussions, if they lack personal interaction, may contribute to a lack of authentic interaction where facial expressions, body signals, and tones of voice play an important role in discussion, especially if people don't always agree. Online discussions are not always easy and have lasting effects, both positive and negative, which I hope I have demonstrated in this paper.

In future papers, I am personally curious about U.S. and Canadian Indigenous-Settler border relations using digital social media platforms, use of social media in P-12 settings or in teacher education, or Indigenous-to-Indigenous alliance-making on social media platforms. I have also found it difficult to locate research about ethnic fraud in online spaces pertaining to Indigenous peoples. I am also interested in differences across Indigenous nations and community protocol with regard to sharing traditional teachings, or to bridge divides for social innovation and dialogue about decolonized thinking concepts in online spaces (Turtle Island Institute). Lastly, as my children develop a deep understanding of digital technologies and online gaming, I'm curious about ways that they, as Indigenous youth and young adults, experience their online lives.

One day I hope they will teach me more; as it seems I understand less and less about digital technologies, as an elder millennial.

Conclusion

It was mid-August in 2022. I was grappling with the first draft of this article late one Monday night while sipping coffee that my mom gifted me. I took to Instagram for another writing break. As I scrolled through reels for some time, listening to guitar riffs and sharing funny memes to friends online, I eventually posted a picture of my laptop and my writing space with a small "sleepy face gif".

A friend and fellow Kanien'keha:ka scholar-activist, Dr. Konwahahawi Rourke, saw the picture that I shared on my Instagram story and asked, *"How's the writing going?"* We typed back and forth for a moment. She asked questions about the topic of the paper, and I responded. This was an exercise which I found helped to organize my thoughts. I finally found the words to explain to her, more succinctly, what this article is about.

H: "I grouped people in insider/outsider status. Basically, white people who were either curious or mad about my posts [and] our people who were interested or feeling weird about some topics. That's the heart of it… The conclusion is like, "we don't need settler permission to post about ourselves."

We don't need settler permission, I said to myself again. That's the first time I wrote that, and I liked it. Her response came quickly through Instagram messenger.

K: "People who get mad about posts often don't realize their implicit bias… it's so deeply engrained. Social media is such a catalyst for settlers to realize that their narrative is incredibly incomplete."

I felt so supported knowing that she *got* the paper idea, even when I couldn't describe it so well in the moment. But more than that, she described the exact issue that often plagues our social media

lives as Indigenous peoples online. Her words were crucial: *social media is a catalyst for settlers to realize that their narrative is incredibly incomplete.*

After this interaction, I asked her if I could use that for the paper. She agreed and said I could use her real name and not a pseudonym. I thanked her for her impactful words. Then I thought about the other aspects of the paper. For centuries since contact, Indigenous peoples have struggled to control our narrative, since our stories have all too often been told to everyone through a settler lens and interpretation. How can settlers tell our stories when their narrative about us has always been so flawed and incomplete?

When we use social media to understand ourselves, our teachings, our stories, and we share that space together in public, we stand in direct opposition to silent onlookers, settlers. Settlers gaze at our words, if only for a moment—and in that moment, they begin to understand how truly little they know about us. Simply by building community online, Native peoples disrupt settler narratives about us. And in all of our difficulties worrying about what to share, and what not to share, when all we truly need to know is simple—it's that we don't need settler permission to be Indigenous online. We never needed settler permission to be who we've always been; and we will never need settler permission to be who we will always be—the original people of these lands, Onkwehòn:we.

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