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# Native American Agriculturalist Movements in Oklahoma

*Randy A. Pepler and Randall S. Ware*

In grassroots efforts, Native American agriculturalists in Oklahoma have been decolonizing their agricultural livelihoods by creating business enterprises and establishing seed saving and food sovereignty initiatives. In part these efforts have been born of, and reveal, ongoing power struggles with government and financial institutions in obtaining agricultural loans and funding, as well as battles with corporate agriculture and government in seeking to preserve culturally important seeds and foods. Attempts to obtain aid nationally, hindered by government officials and bankers hesitant or unwilling to provide it, led in part to the landmark *Keepseagle v. Vilsack* class action lawsuit involving the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA), settled in October 2010.<sup>1</sup> More locally, attempts to obtain fair prices in the marketplace led to creation of Native business enterprises. Local attempts to maintain heirloom seeds, complicated by corporate agriculture's seed control efforts, have led to the creation of a food sovereignty initiative that includes tribal seed saving efforts.

As this commentary describes local tribal peoples' organized, prideful acts of resistance to unencumber themselves from control, publicize their plight, and gain support, we trace inquiries and themes bearing on political ecology and identity politics. These local Native actions seek to establish and perpetuate livelihoods on the

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land with appeals to the value of agricultural independence, local traditional knowledge, reinventions of traditions, cultural identity, sense of community, and grassroots self-determination. Coauthor Pappeler witnessed these grassroots acts of resistance during field research as he worked to understand how the agriculturalists observe and conceptualize weather and climate and how they use these insights to guide their activities on the land. He found that agriculturalists who place a high value upon their own ways of knowing about local weather and climate variability also desire to retain cultural identities and ways of knowing of the elders; in some cases, they relied upon this knowledge in their work.<sup>2</sup> As interviews and participant-observation activities unfolded, it became clear that the ability to be on the land and do something with it was neither simple nor easy.

Contemporary tribal movements such as those described here work to revitalize traditional cultural practices in a modern context.<sup>3</sup> Efforts to attain agriculture independence also may be seen as a way to preserve and extend these cultural identities and as providing one path to self-determination. If scholars such as Jeff Corntassel, Taiaiake Alfred, and Glen Coulthard, who offer critiques of self-determination as often framed, have argued how it might be reframed in terms of contemporary empowerment and recognition,<sup>4</sup> agriculturalists' grassroots efforts toward agricultural independence carry out this reframed self-determination locally.

The attempt by Native Oklahomans to enter into or remain in agriculture has a long history of roadblocks and discrimination which were exacerbated by dispossession of their land. For example, Bonnie Lynn-Sherow and Mark Palmer have written of the impacts of allotment on the Kiowa as well as their eventual, large-scale dispossession when millions of acres were transferred from Natives to non-Natives.<sup>5</sup> Historical reasons for the demise of farming and ranching by Kiowas in the twentieth century, or even attempts to farm, include: (1) small, 160-acre farm sizes made it more difficult to graze animals sustainably; (2) owner fractionation, often within families, resulted in too many landowners for one piece of property; (3) heirs to different allotments who married would sell or lease the unneeded land; (4) Native people had insufficient financial resources to establish farming for a living, or an inability to obtain such resources; (5) the Oklahoma reservation was legally opened to white settlement in 1904, followed by the Burke Act of 1906, which deemed Native peoples "competent" and therefore liable for taxes, after which Native-owned land was lost through default and subsequent auction; (6) farming was becoming mechanized and the county extension services of the USDA and the settler agricultural community at large failed to provide background training in commercial agriculture; (7) occasional, severe drought; and (7) eventual migration from rural to urban areas. According to Palmer, the result of these combined factors was that from 1901 to 1995, Kiowa trust land decreased by 59 percent.

## EFFORTS TOWARD AGRICULTURAL REVITALIZATION AND INDEPENDENCE

During field research, agriculturalists expressed many reasons for establishing initiatives to put Native peoples (back) onto the land. These include a desire to become

less dependent and begin doing things on their own in addition to the need to create more sustainable livelihoods in the face of unemployment, poverty, and the societal struggles of their youngest generations. Threats to cultural identity were felt with loss of traditional ways of conducting agriculture, including the loss of seed lines that have been passed down through generations and a resulting inability to prepare culturally important foods, and as diabetes and obesity became rampant, a desire to create healthier lifestyles grew as well.

Although we describe various examples of agricultural revitalization and independence as seen in Oklahoma, they are closely related to indigenous peoples' activism emerging worldwide. La Via Campesina is an international peasant food sovereignty movement;<sup>6</sup> in Mexico, efforts in food sovereignty and cultural preservation involve a conflict between indigenous maize and genetically engineered crops;<sup>7</sup> and internet advocacy is proliferating with such groups as [foodfirst.org](http://foodfirst.org), [peoplesfoodsovereignty.org](http://peoplesfoodsovereignty.org), and [grain.org](http://grain.org).<sup>8</sup> The words of a Muscogee youth in Oklahoma on food sovereignty embody the efforts taking place:

Food sovereignty means being able to choose for ourselves what we eat and how we get it. It means being able to grow our own food and support our own communities. If we really could grow our own food, it would be a first step in having more control over our own lives . . . For those of us who are serious about wanting to learn our language, our knowledge, and our history—not just as a hobby but as a way of life—revitalizing traditional agriculture is a logical step. We cannot both depend on our colonizer and at the same time fight for our identity and sovereignty.<sup>9</sup>

### *Obtaining and Providing Training*

Although entry into agriculture is seen as a way in which to create livelihood sustainability (if successful) and perhaps restore past social and cultural traditions, learning to farm is difficult, especially if one was not raised in an agricultural tradition. To fill this training void, Langston University in Oklahoma, a historically black college (HBC), began the Small Farmer Outreach Training and Technical Assistance Project, a training program focusing not only on small farmers, but importantly, African American farmers. Through its in-community training, named the Beginning Farmer and Rancher Program, and at an annual Small Farmers conference in Oklahoma City, Langston's program provided technical assistance and information about government programs available to underserved farmers.

An outcome of Section 2501 of the 1990 Farm Bill called "Outreach and Technical Assistance for Socially Disadvantaged Farmers and Ranchers," this project was to provide the resources necessary for education, assistance, and support to underserved farmers and ranchers and those with disabilities.<sup>10</sup> It was nurtured by successive Farm Bills, such as the 2008 Farm Bill providing for equal opportunity in obtaining financial and technical assistance (i.e., training), and improved access to USDA programs and services through establishment of its Office of Advocacy and Outreach (OAO).<sup>11</sup>

In June 2016, the USDA announced the availability of an additional \$8.4 million in competitive grant funding to support partner organizations that provide training, outreach, and technical assistance to those targeted by the Section 2501 Program.<sup>12</sup> While the Langston program ended abruptly after 2012 due to expired funding, it has since been reborn, as the conclusion will explain.

The Beginning Farmer and Rancher Program training series component delivers outreach and technical assistance at the community level. In April 2010, at a “So You Want to be a Farmer?” kick-off meeting in Anadarko, desires were heard to (1) perpetuate Wichita corn and its seeds (the Wichita people once raised large quantities of corn and traded surplus to neighboring hunting tribes); (2) create community gardens and greenhouses for vegetables grown with traditional seeds to help perpetuate the ability to prepare traditional foods; and (3) establish a Native farmers’ market in or near Anadarko to sell produce and provide it to elders. It was also announced at this meeting that a tiller had been purchased for use by anyone in the community members who wanted to establish a garden.

### *Establishment of a Tribal Conservation District*

The Kiowa Tribal Conservation District was established through a cooperative conservation agreement between the Kiowa Tribe of Oklahoma and the USDA Natural Resources Conservation Service in December 2007. At that time it was one of only twenty-nine USDA-sanctioned tribal conservation districts in the country and the only one located in Oklahoma. Such tribal conservation districts are established to “focus on working with USDA agencies and other local partners to care for Mother Earth, strengthen agriculture, encourage youth 4-H and FFA, work to increase the number of Tribal farmers and ranchers and to help protect and strengthen the amount of culturally significant plants and animals.”<sup>13</sup> According to coauthor and farmer-rancher Randall Ware, the idea for establishing the Kiowa conservation district came about when five people sat around a coffee shop table. Ricky Horse, the first chairman of the conservation district and a Kiowa agriculturalist, said the conservation district extends USDA Farm Service Agency loan information to farmers as well as provides information about new farming techniques and equipment.<sup>14</sup> The conservation district received some annual funding from the USDA.

### *Establishment of Limited Liability Corporations and Not-for-Profits*

The Kiowa Tribal Conservation District and the Langston University outreach program helped to produce several Native business ventures. Two such entities are Kiowa Native Farms, LLC (KNF), which formed in 2008, and the Indian Country Agriculture and Resource Development Corporation (ICARD), formed in 2010. Created specifically to be separate from tribal or government affiliation, they embody the agricultural revitalization movement’s spirit of independence and self-determination. ICARD is a nonprofit, 501(c)(3) corporation that focuses on grant writing to facilitate outreach and training opportunities. In contrast, KNF is a for-profit organization, not limited

to Kiowas, that focuses on the establishment of meat processing facilities, community gardens, and farmers' markets, in addition to southwestern Oklahoma economic development in general.

Ware reports that youth and women became involved in raising calves and bulls. Proud of the animals, these farmers believe their livestock should be able to compete in any market—implying that due to costs they cannot compete at existing feedlots and slaughterhouses. The ranching side of KNF includes plans for a meat-processing facility in the town of Cyril as well as a mobile facility that could travel to animals' locations. Larry Snake, a Delaware man involved in the meat processing part of KNF, said the mobile facility was particularly necessary for slaughtering buffalo because it is difficult to pen and transport them live, so the mobile meat-processing facility would travel to buffalo grazing areas.<sup>15</sup>

The KNF horticulture projects aim to save culturally important healing herbs, roots, vegetables, and their seeds. Building community gardens and greenhouses for tribes and communities would perpetuate these plants, and establishing farmers' markets would share what was grown. About the community garden concept, Ware explains:

We're doing it to help the community—we're giving the vegetables away to the community. We're not selling them. We're giving them to the elders, to the children, that want vegetables. They're happily picked. It's a joy whenever you see a grandma walking with two grandkids just laughing, having a good time, and they're picking vegetables. "Hey grandma—get that." They're loading up and they thank you for that. They bring their lawn chairs and they sit there—they like what they see there. Every year we put in one—this year it's going to be bigger. Right now it's about a half an acre and next year we are looking to put in an acre. Last year in Hobart we had 14 families that put in gardens we had assisted with. At our meeting there we had a meal and everyone brought their produce—it was delicious.<sup>16</sup>

To ensure the success of gardening in Oklahoma's climate, KNF adopted and promoted the practice of plasticulture.<sup>17</sup> According to Ware:

The ground is worked and raised, and covered with black plastic. Then you put a drip line in there. It's an organic garden—we are not putting fertilizers in it, everything is natural. You put that black plastic on it and it makes the ground sweat. It creates moisture and attracts the worms to come in and produce all that natural fertilizer. It's the healthiest fertilizer you can put in there. Our garden (in Fort Cobb) is so healthy, it is producing humongous vegetables.<sup>18</sup>

Those involved in these endeavors see the desire to ranch and farm organically as essential for producing a better food supply and eating habits for Native people. Horse spoke of this need both in the present and for the future:

We survived on the nature God gave us, the animals—now our systems cannot handle these processed foods and that's what they're saying with us, as Indian

people, why we have these problems. It is because we don't have this gene within us that hasn't evolved yet for us to cope with all these foods—that's why we're having these diabetic problems. But that's getting back to nature, you know. Our local gardens—our homegrown animals, our own beef, are good for us and for our bodies. I was telling my wife—"[stores are] putting in that chemical that makes that meat look fresh and real so you want to buy it. Regular meat when it's cut starts turning color within a few hours, it starts turning dark—you wouldn't buy it." Then, we got a garden out at Randall's—it's plasticulture. We got zucchini in there that's this big [gestures], I mean it's huge, but it's got infirmities on it, you can see where the bugs have eaten it or it's got different colors. . . . When you put chemicals on them they (the insects) don't want anything to do with them because they got all this junk on them. I enjoy our gardens and eating healthy. We all need to do that. If we all had a little garden back of our house, can you imagine what would happen?<sup>19</sup>

On the efforts of KNF and ICARD in general, Kiowa farmer and rancher Garrett Tartsah said, "We are coming together the past four or five years. This is growing day by day. We are changing from outside sources. It strengthens our bond—makes our Native American farming and ranching stronger and helps us achieve our objectives for our families and our tribes."<sup>20</sup> Ware added:

I see a need and a desire from tribal members of always wanting to farm and ranch their own lands. That's been the driving force. There's no jobs or manufacturing centers or anything like that. There's a way they can make a living by farming their own lands—that's always been the motivator. My philosophy on everything is, "We own the land. Why can't we farm it and support our families?" That's the way I see it. We can make it. It is happening.<sup>21</sup>

People were sharing their knowledge and time to make this happen. Milton Sovo, a Comanche rancher, said, "I'm working with them and the groups they have to try to share what I know with them, and I've told all of them, 'What I know is yours.' Because one of these days I'm not going to be here, and I want this to live on, because we need it. It is part of my calling. As Native Americans, as farmers, as Oklahomans, we need to know these things."<sup>22</sup>

The administration of KNF has been moved under ICARD, and also a new entity, 3 Chiefs Resource Group, has been created under ICARD that will handle the meat processing efforts of the enterprise, also to include cattle and goats. Plans include the building of a grass-fed goat kill facility on allotment land, the first in Oklahoma. There are ideas to set aside and allocate a portion of any proceeds to assist farmers and ranchers in need. Ware said, "We are still looking at ways to support ourselves."<sup>23</sup>

### *Establishment of a Food Sovereignty Initiative and Seed Saving Activities*

Another Muscogee youth has defined food sovereignty as "the understanding of what food is, where it comes from, how it is treated and the right of the people to govern

how they want that food to be cared for, raised, and processed.”<sup>24</sup> The Mvsokke Food Sovereignty Initiative (MFSI) is an organization in Okmulgee, initially supported in part by the Robert Woods Johnson Foundation.<sup>25</sup> It seeks to preserve the food heritage and traditions of indigenous peoples through hands-on classes, educational programs, intergenerational sharing, and sustainable agricultural practices. According to its website, “Growing, preserving and using traditional foods play an important role in cultural activities.”<sup>26</sup> The MFSI emphasizes youth participation in gardening, instilling in them at an early age the notion of perpetuating Native seed varieties as ways to introduce and foster cultural heritage. It conducts workshops and training, hosted a series of annual early spring symposia at the Creek Nation’s Mound Building, and extends information through its website and a monthly newsletter. At the 2011 MFSI Symposium, the MFSI’s youth director summarized the effort during a presentation, stating, “We are all connected, but no one is connected to the land like before. There is a disconnection from the land and our elders. What we are seeking is a revolution for our land.”<sup>27</sup>

The MFSI describes its work of collecting, saving, and distributing traditional seeds as important for self-determination and has collaborated with Native Seeds/SEARCH in its efforts to maintain traditional seed lines.<sup>28</sup> The Muscogee people want to keep traditional foods like corn and squash alive in order to sustain their people and traditions. The MFSI has worked closely with traditional planters and seed-savers to teach such techniques to its members. At the 2009 Langston Small Farmers Conference an MFSI representative lamented that climate change and seed contamination by genetically modified organisms (GMOs) have become major threats to their corn, which she sees as a social equity issue. Indeed, at the time, a bill in the Oklahoma House of Representatives was attempting to aid GMO businesses, to the detriment of both organic farming and measures proposed for seed control in order to preserve traditional seeds. Efforts to revive Native corn varieties are underway.<sup>29</sup> Deb Echo-Hawk, the Pawnee Tribe Keeper of the Seeds, was a featured speaker at the 2010 MFSI Symposium. She said there, “Our story continued as chance would have it . . . tribes repatriate your seeds . . . make your choices . . . take a chance.”<sup>30</sup> At the 2011 MFSI symposium she described how seeds have a memory, and told the story of how First Woman was sent down in the husks of corn and held the seeds of life within her. In our efforts to preserve seeds, Echo-Hawk said, we are “together again” with First Woman.<sup>31</sup>

### *Local Youth Activism involving Gardening*

The Anadarko Community Esteem Project was a program to help teenage girls through self-esteem issues and to help rebuild the town of Anadarko through involvement in a variety of community-based activities. As part of this the young women learned more about their tribal cultures; one project created a traditional garden with corn, squash, and many other vegetables and herbs. These efforts are similar to the MFSI’s activities that introduce gardening and environmental stewardship to youth and help educate young people about the importance of taking care of the



environment as well as ensuring cultural preservation. A goal was to teach the girls how to take care of and sustain the land, and to develop a deeper empathy for the environment. A small plot of land was provided for this purpose at the Redstone Baptist Church in rural Caddo County. Under the guidance of project leader Maya Torralba (Kiowa, Comanche, and Wichita), the girls planted seeds and seedlings, took care of the garden during the growing season, and eventually harvested. A key part of the project was having the garden and the girls blessed by a Road Man of the Native American Church before they began to plant. Torralba said those in the area were well aware of what the program was trying to accomplish, not only with the youth, but with self-determination in general:

I feel like if I start with social justice, and start showing everybody the needs that we have, that we need to take care of, then we have the ability, we possess the strength within ourselves to do that. We don't have to look up to anybody to do this. We never did. It was always a scheme. I hate to be sour about it, but now we can do that, we have the strength to.<sup>32</sup>

## LOOKING AHEAD

It is important to also recognize recent roadblocks that Native American agriculturalists have encountered as they attempt to secure loans and other assistance. Difficulties entering into farming, particularly in securing loans and other assistance, are not limited to Native farmers; indeed, reticence to provide loans to “high-risk first-time farmers” is characteristic of the entire lending industry.<sup>33</sup> However, the difficulties encountered by Native farmers, and the allegations of discrimination against them when attempting to obtain federal assistance, are well documented. For example, the USDA has been found deficient in its management of its civil rights efforts and in providing assistance.<sup>34</sup>

At the agricultural meetings and other events that coauthor Pepler attended as part of his field work, government officials and bank loan officers “talked the talk” when providing information about program availability to Native farmers, but conversations with individual farmers revealed problems when it came time for them to “walk the walk” in providing assistance or loans. A Kiowa farmer stated:

We are supposed to be protected by the federal government. But we ask for some help, and they come in and look things over, and they protect those other people (those who lease land from him) more than the owners (like him). When I first started farming I used to go to agencies to learn about programs. Thousands and millions of dollars available, and I would ask for a little assistance for insurance and things, and they would act like I didn't know what I was talking about. I had people come in from Washington, DC, and I gave them an idea of what I was going through. Just a year ago I was in a bind, and we had a bank that was about to close, and they were taking a lot of things back. If you were late they were taking everything and selling it. I was scared to death because I am barely making it, so

I went to the agency and put in an application that finally helped me. But it took six months to get the loan. I also asked for operating expenses for my calves, and they didn't give me a dime. I'm still working with a lot of old farm equipment that I keep running. I'm still dealing with people on credit. When I had a good banker he would help me, but the new banker won't budge for a dollar. I plead with them to make an investment because we've got all this land out here. We've got a co-op that's closed. We've got an opportunity to bring things up here. We have land to divide between us. With our people starting to be educated and trying to use what they have in the land department, the doors have been closing a little bit. It's like the doors are closing for us.<sup>35</sup>

In November 1999 a class-action lawsuit was filed targeting the USDA's discrimination against Native farmers in its farm loan and farm loan-servicing programs between 1981 and 1999.<sup>36</sup> Settled in October 2010, most awards in *Keepseagle v. Vilsack* were around \$50,000. Although these settlement awards might have helped the agriculturalists capitalize some of their planned activities, it is still difficult to see tangible progress. A 2016 lawsuit disputed how some of the remaining monies should be distributed, causing some payments to be held up. As of June, 2017 this remains unresolved due to appeals and possible policy changes in the Trump Administration's Department of Justice.<sup>37</sup>

Nevertheless, programmatic relief is a key aspect of the original settlement so as to prevent future discrimination, and takes several forms. A fifteen-member USDA Minority Farmers Advisory Committee (MFAC) was formed on March 24, 2011 by US Secretary of Agriculture Tom Vilsack. The MFAC provides to the Secretary perspectives from farmers, ranchers, industry, and the public on USDA strategies, policies, and programs that impact minority agriculturalists. As an example, an advisory committee meeting in September 2015 considered issues relating to the USDA's outreach and assistance for the Socially Disadvantaged and Veteran Farmers and Ranchers Grant (2501) Program, and in fact the MFAC is the public advisory arm for the 2501 Program. Coauthor Randall Ware, due to his outreach and activism in southwestern Oklahoma, was selected to be one of the board's fifteen original members, giving the farmers and ranchers in southwestern Oklahoma a direct voice. He has twice been reappointed to additional two-year terms.<sup>38</sup>

According to the lawyers at a February 2011 *Keepseagle* settlement meeting in Anadarko, Oklahoma, attended by about fifty agriculturalists, other programmatic relief was to include establishment of ten to fifteen USDA regional sub-offices to provide technical assistance, including instruction in finances, business and marketing management, and leasing requirements for tribal and restricted lands in coordination with the US Department of Interior's Bureau of Indian Affairs. Attendees at the meeting expressed a strong desire to locate one of the regional sub-offices in Anadarko, with which the lawyers agreed; and if USDA funds were available, they desired that USDA representatives be situated at tribal offices or on Indian reservations, with the stipulation that these representatives should be, in the words of one farmer, "culturally competent." The USDA was to report progress in these areas to the MFAC.

A customer guide was to be published to help farmers navigate the complexities of the lending process. Unfortunately, in the years since this Anadarko discussion, the regional sub-offices have not been established.

Despite the settlement for the period 1981–1999, some of the people at the February 2011 meeting stated that discrimination was not over. According to the lawyers present, acts of discrimination should no longer take place given that the USDA's Civil Rights Office was said to be a properly functioning bureaucracy. Nevertheless, the sense from the agriculturalists was that such acts, and certainly foreclosures, were ongoing, and that there were no reparations for any acts that have taken place since 1999. They also expressed skepticism that much would change, while the lawyers reassured those in attendance that "bad offices will be fixed." One such skeptic, an Apache man who was making a start in farming, stated on another occasion:

I do see now lately that the federal government is trying to do restitution to the Native Americans. They've given them back their sovereignty. But Native Americans still aren't full-fledged citizens like you are—we're still wards of the federal government. I think that hurts us. I still get frustrated about that. It's like a ball and chain that I'm walking with. Trying to carry it sometimes, it falls, and I'm dragging it.<sup>39</sup>

## CONCLUSION

By establishing training programs, independent entities, food sovereignty initiatives, and seed-saving efforts in Oklahoma, tribal agriculturalists are attempting to achieve some level of independence and self-determination in their agricultural activities as a way to create better livelihoods and existence, in many cases on lands that their families still possess. The efforts we have described are actions intended to free people from negative economic and cultural spirals, to inspire farmers, ranchers, and gardeners to do things on their own, and to help preserve food heritage and cultural traditions and practices through agriculture. It is important to recognize these actions as a further, tangible manifestation of the farmers' desires to adhere to and perpetuate cultural ways and to retain tribal identities. To maintain these lifeways is in concert with continued use and valuation of their own ways of knowing, which are complexly embedded within a belief system advocating intimacy with the nonhuman world. As we have just seen, though, there remain roadblocks to achieving these inter-related goals.

Nevertheless, the agriculturalists persist. The Langston University beginning farmer training program is starting again, so there is hope. As this commentary was completed, we received news of a four-part series of training sessions. Coauthor Ware was coaxed out of semi-retirement to help lead the effort, and there is a renewed sense of excitement and purpose. The flyer for the first session in February, 2017 announced:

## BEGINNING FARMERS AND RANCHERS TRAINING

Who: ICARD and Kiowa Native Farms Members

What: Beginning Farmers and Ranchers Training/Planning

When: Tuesday February 28, 2017, 6:00 pm to 8:00 pm

Where: Christ Our Savior Church

1115 W. Petree Rd.

Anadarko, Oklahoma

(Next to Wal-Mart)

Sponsored/Hosted by: Langston University

30 Hot links and chips provided, bring potluck if wanted, we'll eat together  
and catch up.

See you there!

Ah-ho!!

### *Acknowledgments*

The authors are grateful to all of the agriculturalists for fighting the good fight over the years, and to those who have been willing to help them. The first author is particularly indebted to the tribal agriculturalists who so freely gave of their time and their knowledge to make the field work portions of the project a success. Both authors are grateful for the wonderful suggestions provided by anonymous reviewers.

### NOTES

1. For example, see University of Michigan Law School, "Civil Rights Litigation Clearinghouse Case Profile, *Keepseagle v. Vilsack*," <http://www.clearinghouse.net/detail.php?id=12657>.

2. See Randy A. Pepler, "Knowing Which Way the Wind Blows: Weather Observation, Belief and Practice in Native Oklahoma" (PhD diss., University of Oklahoma, 2011); "The Call of the Wild: Local Weather Insights in Native Oklahoma," *Weatherwise* 65, no. 5 (2012): 33–39, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00431672.2012.707563>; and "'It's Not Balancing Out Like It Should Be': Perceptions of Local Climate Variability in Native Oklahoma," *Weather, Climate, and Society* 9, no. 2 (April 2017): 317–29, <https://doi.org/10.1175/WCAS-D-16-0081.1>.

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4. For example, see Jeff Corntassel, "Toward Sustainable Self-Determination: Rethinking the Contemporary Indigenous-Rights Discourse," *Alternatives* 33, no. 1 (2008): 105–32; and "Re-envisioning Resurgence: Indigenous Pathways to Decolonization and Sustainable Self-Determination," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 1, no. 1 (2012): 86–101, <http://decolonization.org/index.php/des/article/view/18627/15550>; Taiaiake Alfred and Jeff Corntassel, "Being Indigenous: Resurgences against Contemporary Colonialism," *Government and Opposition* 40, no. 4 (2005): 597–614, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1477-7053.2005.00166.x>; and Glen S. Coulthard, "Subjects of Empire: Indigenous Peoples and the 'Politics of Recognition' in Canada," *Contemporary Political Theory* 6, no. 4 (2007): 437–60, <https://doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.cpt.9300307>.

5. Bonnie Lynn-Sherow, *Red Earth: Race and Agriculture in Oklahoma Territory* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004); and Mark H. Palmer, "Sold! The Loss of Kiowa Allotments in

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6. See, for example: Raj Patel, "What does Food Sovereignty Look Like?" *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 36, no. 3 (July 2009): 663–706, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03066150903143079>; María E. Martínez-Torres and Peter M. Rosset, "La Via Campesina: The Birth and Evolution of a Transnational Social Movement," *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 37, no. 1 (2010): 149–75, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03066150903498804>; and Eric Holt-Giménez, "Grassroots Voices—Linking Farmers' Movements for Advocacy and Practice: Introduction," *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 37, no. 1 (2010): 203–36. See also, La Via Campesina: International Peasant's Movement home webpage, <https://viacampesina.org/en/index.php>.

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