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Information as a relation: Defining Indigenous information literacy

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Abstract

Informed by relationality and reciprocity, Indigenous librarians who teach play a key role in creating learning opportunities for students to gain information literacy (IL) skills and become better users and creators of information. Through unstructured interviews with seven Indigenous librarians, we find that Indigenous identity and ways of knowing based on relationality and reciprocity are key components shaping the pedagogy of Indigenous librarians, as it informs the ways they enact accountability, build relationships, set boundaries, and practice care. Through this work, we offer a definition of Indigenous information literacy, which is the ability to use information and create or gain knowledge, while practicing the Indigenous concepts of relationality, reciprocity, and respect. This work lays the groundwork for further explorations of relationality, kinship, and Indigenous ways of knowing in information literacy and Indigenous librarianship.

Keywords

Aotearoa; Canada; identity; Indigenous librarianship; Indigenous information literacy; information literacy; United States

Introduction

The complex work of Indigenous academic librarians who provide information literacy (IL) instruction is critical to the emerging discipline of Indigenous librarianship. Informed by relationality and reciprocity, Indigenous librarians help students become better users and creators of information as they conduct research and gain knowledge, particularly with Indigenous topics. Guided by a desire to better address Indigenous issues and needs in higher education, Indigenous scholars and educators have been creating spaces and learning opportunities to support Indigenous students, faculty, and community members. However, the work of Indigenous librarians is often overlooked.

In this article, we explore the practices and perspectives of seven Indigenous librarians who provide IL instruction in colleges and universities in the United States, Canada, and Aotearoa. Building on the work of Loyer (2018), in which relationality is understood as the defined kinship roles in how we are related to each other, we assert that Indigenous librarians bring their own knowledge systems to their roles as IL instructors who are aware of the emotional, spiritual, and

physical health of students and other patrons they teach. Using the stories and experiences of these seven Indigenous librarians, we find that Indigenous identity and ways of knowing based on relationality and reciprocity are key components shaping the pedagogy of Indigenous librarians, as it informs the ways they enact accountability, build relationships, set boundaries, and practice care.

This research seeks to understand how interview participants view themselves, not only as teachers or librarians, but also as Indigenous people. The field of librarianship, with its critical lack of Indigenous authors of LIS publications (Lilley, 2017) also suffers from a lack of understanding of how Indigenous cultural identity impacts the work of librarians (Andrews, 2021). By asking participants the ways their Indigenous worldview and identity influences how they teach, this research aims to broaden the understanding of IL as part of culturally-specific understandings of information. We explored the following research questions:

- What is an Indigenous information literacy?
- What shapes the practices of Indigenous librarians who teach?
- How does Indigenous identity and culture impact the ways Indigenous academic librarians teach?

To address these questions, we will review the literature, and weave in examples from Indigenous librarians from different nations who articulate the ways that their worldviews influence their teaching.

Drawing upon the praxis of critical information literacy, which considers "sociopolitical dimensions" and "systems of power" (Drabinski & Tewell, 2019), and the frameworks created by Indigenous scholars who weave ancestral values within colonial institutions (Barnhardt & Kirkness, 2001; Lar-Son, 2022; Littletree et al, 2020; Tsosie, 2022), we suggest that Indigenous information literacy is the ability to use information to create or gain knowledge, while practicing the Indigenous concepts of relationality, reciprocity, and respect. The term Indigenous information literacy can be used to describe the skills needed to conduct respectful research with Indigenous peoples, materials, and lands. Indigenous information literacy applies to source evaluation, citation practices, research methods, and data analysis; as well as practices such as conducting genealogical research, navigating our natural environment, recognizing messages from ancestors, and knowing when and how it is appropriate to participate in ceremony. Furthermore, those practicing Indigenous information literacy have knowledge of their own specific Indigenous protocols, and the self-awareness and cultural humility necessary to navigate information while challenging bias, cultural appropriation, and white supremacy. In an Indigenous context, an information literate person builds upon the concepts of relationality. reciprocity, and respect while they use information and become creators of knowledge. Although our Indigenous worldviews are distinct, our definition is grounded by our shared practice of following Indigenous protocols for using and receiving information.

We make a distinction between *Indigenous information literacy* and instruction formed through Indigenous information literacy. While non-Indigenous people can be taught about our knowledges, they will never truly be accountable to our ancestors and lands in the same ways we are. However, they can practice different kinds of relational accountability as allies, caregivers to Indigenous children, etc.

We are three authors who come from three different Indigenous backgrounds and draw on a range of literature and peer perspectives in writing this work. We acknowledge that terminology has shifted over time and it varies by region. We have done our best to match the terminology of our interview participants, including Aboriginal, Native, Indigenous, Métis, First Nations, or with specific community names. Throughout this paper, we primarily use the more general terms "Indigenous" and "Native" depending on the context.

Situating ourselves/identity

In many Indigenous communities, it is customary to introduce oneself before speaking to a group. Introducing yourself using kinship terms, clan and tribal affiliations, geographic locations, etc. creates a foundation for listeners to build a relationship with you. In line with other Indigenous scholars who use personal introductions as an Indigenous research practice (Pewewardy, 2018; Krebs, 2012; Tachine & Nicolazzo, 2022), the three authors, coming from three distinct Indigenous backgrounds, will introduce themselves for the readers. Our Indigenous affiliations clearly state we are writing in a field that lacks Indigenous voices (Lilley, 2017).

Nicola Andrews:

Tena koe! Ko Nicola Andrews toku ingoa. Ko Ngāti Paoa te iwi. Ko Māori ma Pākehā ahau. No Tāmaki Makaurau ahau. Kei te noho ahau i Hana Paraniko. My name is Nicola Andrews, I am a member of the Ngāti Paoa iwi, and I am of Māori and Pākehā descent. I am from Tāmaki Makaurau, Aotearoa, and currently live in San Francisco, on Ramaytush Ohlone land. I have been working in libraries for over 15 years, including over 5 years as an academic librarian with teaching responsibilities.

Sandy Littletree:

Yá'át'ééh. Shí éí Sandy Littletree yinishyé. Eastern Shoshone nishłį. Kinyaa'áanii éi bá shíshchíin. Eastern Shoshone éi dashicheii. Ta'neeszahnii éi dashinali. Ákót'éego diné asdzáán nishłį. I am Eastern Shoshone from my maternal grandparents, I am from the Towering House clan from my paternal grandmother, and I am from the Tangled clan from my paternal grandfather. I am an enrolled citizen of the Navajo Nation, originally from the northwest region of New Mexico. I am an assistant professor at the University of Washington Information school, focusing on Indigenous library services.

Jessie Loyer:

tân'si nitotêmtik. Jessie Loyer nitsiyihkâson. nêhiyaw ekwa otipêmisiw niya. Calahoohk ohci niya maka niwîkin otôskwanihk. niya okâwîmâw mêkwâc. Hello, friends. I'm a member of Michel First Nation and Cree and Métis. I'm from Calahoo, but I live in Calgary, where I've been a librarian at Mount Royal University since 2012. At the time that we are submitting this manuscript, I'm on maternity leave. ekosi maka.

While we, the authors, come from Indigenous communities, it is important to note that we cannot and are not attempting to represent all Indigenous viewpoints. As we reflect on our Indigenous and professional identities, we pause to "examine and reflect on what constitutes and shapes our own thinking, our own present rationales for defining and judging who we are and our own practices" as information professionals (Nakata, 2012, p. 100). We encourage the readers of this article to do the same.

Indigenous ways of knowing

In this article, we argue, as does Loyer (2018), that relationality and reciprocity are at the core of an Indigenous information literacy framework. In Shawn Wilson's (2008) articulation of Cree relationality, he acknowledges that relationships exist among people, but also with "the natural world, ideas, the cosmos, objects, ancestors, and future generations, and furthermore, that we are accountable to those relationships" (p. 80). Crucially, relationality does not exist solely through human relationships, but extends out to build a web of responsibility and relational accountability to land, water, plants, animals, languages, and ceremonies. For Indigenous librarianship, "the relational approach is at once both ontological and axiological, meaning it is orientated towards a way of making sense of the world as well as the definition of a right way to live a good life, according to Indigenous ways" (Littletree et al., 2020, p. 415). By centering

relationality as the foundation of understanding Indigenous ways of knowing, Indigenous librarians ensure their interactions with patrons and collections are compassionate and caring.

Using her understanding of the nêhiyaw (Cree) law of wâhkôhtowin, Loyer (2018) outlines the underiable importance of responsibility and accountability in research in an Indigenous context.

Informed by the context of our relationship to the land and to each other, wankohtowin allows librarians to position ourselves in a framework of care because it recognizes that those who teach information literacy are responsible not only for the mental work of research but also for providing an ethic of care. We can lean on 'principles of loving accountability and reciprocity [that are] deeply embedded in Indigenous legal orders and relationships 'to guide our research relationships. This accountability informs us, as librarians, of our responsibilities to those we teach: it helps us understand that we are responsible for teaching to a comprehensive sense of research, not only a mental exercise. Awareness of emotional, spiritual, and physical health become necessary principles in teaching students about accessing information. (p. 153)

Loyer's kinship model complements other Indigenous philosophies of care, reciprocity, respect, and holism. Stól:lō scholar Jo-ann Archibald (2008) offers an Indigenous pedagogy comprising seven principles: respect, responsibility, reverence, reciprocity, holism, interrelatedness, and synergy. Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg scholar Leanne Betasamoske Simpson (2017) writes about the term Nishnaabewin as a framework that provides the "original instructions" for living through "deep engagement with Indigenous processes that are inherently physical, emotional, intellectual, and spiritual" (p. 23).

Literature review

The literature of Indigenous librarianship addresses Indigenous perspectives on library services by and for Indigenous people (Burns et al., 2010; Gosart, 2021; Makanani, 2011; Roy, 1999, 2002; Roy & Hogan, 2010; Williams, 1999). Defined by Burns et al. (2010), Indigenous librarianship:

unites the discipline of librarianship with Indigenous approaches to knowledge, theory, and methodology. It emerged as a distinct field of practice and an arena for international scholarship in the late twentieth century bolstered by a global recognition of the value and vulnerability of Indigenous knowledge systems, and of the right of Indigenous peoples to control them. (p. 2330)

Informed by the seminal work of the Protocols for Native American Archival Materials (First Archivist Circle, 2007) and the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Protocols for libraries, archives, and information services (Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander, 2012), the field of Indigenous librarianship is situated on the history of colonization, and the need to create norms in information and ethical research practices that center the values and perspectives of Indigenous people. Indigenous librarianship models from specific regions have become growing areas of interest, such as Hawaiian librarianship (Komeiji et al., 2021). Indigenous knowledge systems contain protocols for access and using knowledge that differs from western academic perspectives (Callison et al., 2016).

Previous scholarship in Indigenous academic librarianship addresses topics such as collection development (Bishop et al., 2017; Blume & Roylance, 2020; Kostelecky et al., 2017; Lee, 2023; Loyer et al., 2017), Indigenous-centered physical learning spaces (Brown, 2017), knowledge organization (Doyle et al., 2015; Lee, 2011), ethical research practices (Lee, 2019), community engagement (Bishop et al., 2017) and reference services (Lilley, 2012). Lee's (2001) study of library usage of Aboriginal Canadian college students reveals a major gap in services for this

population. Cooper et al. (2019), in their study of academic libraries support of Indigenous studies scholars, depict a holistic approach that places Indigenous perspectives and values of place, language, and sovereignty at the center of inquiry. Indeed, an Indigenous-focused inquiry must benefit Indigenous communities and acknowledge that meaning is created relationally.

While other authors have studied the perspectives of librarians in the field of IL (Aharony & Bronstein, 2014; Hess, 2020; Julien & Given, 2003; Rath, 2022), few have addressed the perspectives of Indigenous librarians. Ford's (2022) study of Indigenous information literacy is a rare example that explores how Indigenous voices can shape IL in academic libraries. Deborah Lee's body of work (2001, 2008, 2011, 2019, 2023) focuses on Indigenous knowledge in Canadian academic libraries, offering an Indigenous perspective on IL instruction, collection development, knowledge organization, Aboriginal student perspectives, and ethical research practices.

Librarians and scholars have published IL instruction practices shaped by the cultural values or epistemologies of specific tribal nations or communities, including Diné, or Navajo (Beatty, 2007, 2011; Roy et al., 2011; Sorrel, 2019), Māori (Feekery & Jeffrey, 2019; Roy et al, 2011), Anishinabe (Roy et al., 2011), and Cree (Loyer, 2018). Chong's (2022) guidebook, *Indigenous Information Literacy*, takes an intertribal approach, centered on Canadian Indigenous perspectives, as it outlines practices for academic researchers to evaluate the credibility and authenticity of Indigenous sources, find Indigenous authors to use in their research, and work respectfully with Elders. Chong incorporates the work of Cree librarian Lorisia MacLeod, who created templates for citing Indigenous elders and knowledge keepers using APA and MLA style (MacLeod, 2021).

The professional literature of IL instruction rarely addresses the unique perspective of Indigenous librarians, perhaps because there are so few in the profession. Only 1.2% of American Library Association members are American Indian or Alaska Native; and 0.2% Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander (ALA Office for Research and Statistics, 2017). Māori also make up the minority of librarians and graduates of information studies programs in Aotearoa (Andrews, 2021). Additionally, just over 2% of the members of the Canadian Academic Library Association are Indigenous (2.18%, or 19 individuals) (Canadian Association of Professional Academic Librarians CAPAL Advocacy Committee, 2019). The lack of Indigenous academic librarians is mirrored in the overall representation of Indigenous faculty on college campuses. For instance, according to the most recent figures from the United States-based National Center for Education Statistics (Irwin et al., 2022), American Indian or Alaska Native individuals made up less than 1% of the full-time faculty in US institutions in fall 2022.

Our Indigenous communities have always included experts in knowledge management and teaching protocols. However, the scarcity of opportunities for Indigenous teaching librarians within the western profession creates a critical gap in the academic published literature. Numerous authors have explored the insights of under-represented minority faculty in colleges and universities (e.g. Turner, 2008). Those who explore the experiences of Indigenous faculty at universities, such as the authors of the article titled, "Before they kill my spirit entirely," (Walters et al., 2019), do not include Indigenous faculty librarians. Indeed, there is a lack of Indigenous voices in the published library and information science (LIS) field, even within the articles written about Indigenous librarianship (Lilley, 2017). In an overwhelmingly white library profession (Honma, 2005; Schonfeld & Sweeney, 2017) on college and university campuses that are majority white, Indigenous librarians are working in institutions that have not been designed for Indigenous people or to facilitate Indigenous ways of knowing (Brayboy, 2005; Deloria & Wildcat, 2001; Grande, 2003). The exception to this generalization is academic librarians who are working at tribal colleges and universities (Metoyer-Duran, 1992; Weasel Fat, 2014).

We build upon the research that explores IL from a sociocultural perspective (Harris, 2008; Hicks & Lloyd, 2016; Lloyd, 2007), decolonial perspective (Laverty & Berish, 2022; Marsh, 2022), social justice perspective (Saunders, 2017), and critical perspective (Accardi et al., 2010; Downey, 2016; Elmborg, 2006; Tewell, 2016). These authors have argued that IL is not a neutral process, nor can it avoid the context of the learners 'lives as they build the skills and awareness to use information relevant to their worlds.

We also build upon the extensive literature in Indigenous pedagogy that has been applied to higher education settings, such as Barnhardt & Kawagley (2005), Grande (2004), Cajete (1994), Pewewardy et al. (2022), Dei (2000), and others. Specifically, Dei (2000) argues that "Indigenous knowledge must be taught in the academy," and that the "goal of integrating (i.e. centering) Indigenous knowledges in the academy is to affirm [the] collaborative dimension of knowledge and, at the same time, to address the emerging call for academic knowledge to speak to the diversity of histories, events, experiences and ideas that have shaped human growth and development" (p. 113). If we build Dei's argument into the work of Indigenous librarianship, we see how centering Indigenous knowledge in the academy via IL instruction requires a recognition that Indigenous knowledge is "not static" as it becomes an "integral part of the ongoing co-creation and re-creation of academic knowledge/work" (p. 113). Clearly, Indigenous ways of knowing do not sit outside of the realm of IL instruction.

Finally, this research builds upon the Indigenous ecology outlined in Roy (2015), where she describes how Indigenous worldviews can be incorporated into LIS education. Roy argues that Indigenous knowledge systems are compatible with the key values of LIS and can form the basis of praxis in LIS education that includes information ethics, information justice, and progressive librarianship.

Methods: Kitchen table conversations as an Indigenous research approach

This research was originally conceived as a "kitchen table" conversation among the authors, three librarians and LIS scholars whose teaching emerges from their respective Indigenous traditions: Diné, Cree-Métis, and Māori. The authors worked remotely through the first two years of the COVID-19 pandemic discussing pedagogy, challenges in teaching Indigenous topics to non-Indigenous students, and much more. Building on this approach, the research with the seven Indigenous librarian participants of this study followed a similar open-ended approach that prioritised conversation as a methodology.

Following the Indigenous research methods described by Kovach (2009) we determined that, "highly structured interviews are not congruent with accessing knowledges that imbue tradition, or that respond to the relational nature of Indigenous research" (p. 123). Instead, we relied on a conversational method, as described by Kovach (2009, p. 124):

Conversational method that involves an open-ended structure that is flexible enough to accommodate principles of native oral traditions, and is thus differentiated from a more traditional interview process. Conversation as method is unlike standard structured or semi-structured interviews that place external parameters on the research participant's narrative. An open-structured conversational method shows respect for the participant's story and allows research participants greater control over what they wish to share with respect to the research question.

Using Kovach's conversation method, we designed an interview guide of five set questions pertaining to identity, IL, and library science curriculum; and four optional questions addressing knowledge organization, relationality, teaching non-Indigenous students, and taking care during traumatic research. Our questions were designed to address our diverse interests as

researchers, the vast expertise of our interview participants, and to let our discussions unfold authentically and organically.

Between May and August of 2022, we interviewed seven academic librarians and faculty who self-identify as Indigenous, after obtaining Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval from our respective universities. Interviews were conducted over Zoom and spanned 45 to 120 minutes in length. The researcher(s) who already had an established relationship with the participant guided the conversation. All participants were sent the questions in advance. Each interview was transcribed, and each participant was given their transcript to provide edits and any clarifications. We collectively coded the transcripts to bring overarching themes to the surface through iterative qualitative analysis.

With the consent of the participants, none of the responses were anonymised, acknowledging the responsibility of respondents who commented on knowledge held collectively within their nations. Throughout the research process, we were careful about possible diplomatic issues resulting from the information shared. Our colleagues, the seven participants, have based their careers in Indigenous library services, and have much at stake in sharing their professional stories. Our goal is to be as respectful as possible of their professional contributions while honoring their individual identities as librarians and members of Indigenous communities. Each interviewee signed a consent form for their participation in the recorded interaction.

Below is a table of the individuals we interviewed, including their name, Indigenous Nation or community, title, and institution where they were working when the interview took place. One participant was no longer in a librarian role, but instead had transitioned to a tenure-track faculty position outside of the library. In the findings section, we use first names to maintain our Kitchen Table methodology of relationship building.

Name	Title	Institution
Carrie Cornelius (Oneida Tribe of Wisconsin & Prairie Band Potawatomi)	Librarian	Tommaney Library, Haskell Indian Nations University, USA
Carla Jeffrey (Māori)	Business Librarian	Massey University, Aotearoa NZ (currently on secondment)
Kayla Lar-son (Métis)	Indigenous Programs and Services Librarian	Xwi7xwa Library, University of British Columbia, CA
Keahiahi Sharon Long (He Hawai'i (Hawaiian))	Librarian	University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa, USA
Kajola Morewood (Inuk)	Indigenous Initiatives & Services Librarian	Okanagan College, CA
Jennifer O'Neal (The Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde)	Assistant Professor	Department of Indigenous, Race, and Ethnic Studies, University of Oregon, USA
Melissa Stoner (Diné)	Native American Studies Librarian	Ethnic Studies Library, University of California, Berkeley, USA

Findings / analysis

In the following section, we summarise the perspectives and stories shared by the participants.

Indigenous information literacy

Here we consider the ways that an Indigenous information literacy expands the concept of IL, noting there is both a widening of the types of information considered within Indigenous frameworks, and of the pedagogy that structures the teaching of these literacies.

Interview participant Jennifer O'Neal offered a robust definition of Indigenous information literacy that positioned the need for historical and political context:

You can start with teaching the basics of finding sources and how to evaluate them and things like that...I found though, instead of just starting there, you have to go even farther back. Especially if you're teaching Indigenous information literacy, it's important to always have a first couple of sessions just about basics of Native issues, who are Native people, what is our history, why is Indigenous information literacy different than just regular information literacy. It is important for students to understand the context of the history and politics involved in Indigenous issues. Things like Indigenous sovereignty, self-determination...

Jennifer goes on to discuss the need for students to understand the appropriateness, accuracy, and authority of Indigenous materials, especially given that many of the documents and materials about Native people were written by outsiders. According to Jennifer, it's important that we help students and others "to be knowledgeable and literate about how to assess all those different sources" and to understand the "different layers of information" that exist, particularly in Native contexts. In her own community, she recalls, it became important for community researchers in the 1970s to gather their own documents as well as federal and state documents to prove their lineage for the restoration of the tribe's federal status. In this sense, Indigenous information literacy contributes not only to Indigenous sovereignty and self-determination, but also to Indigenous survivance. As stated by one of the authors: "So much has been taken from us and we have to work so hard to just get a little bit back sometimes."

Carrie Cornelias discussed her approach of teaching students to discern the appropriateness and accuracy of information, and who is it coming from:

I show them [Ancestry] databases, which have the treaties, the pictures, the images of the treaties where people just put an X for their name or [I] show them how they can search the census rolls and that the census rolls were made by location. Someone walked from one house to the next house, to the next house and put in the information. [The students] start to think about how information is created or someone's perspective.

For Indigenous people, documentation from processes like treaty-making have created systems of authority that continue to shape Indigenous life. While parsing authority and understanding the contexts that create published information is a component of any form of IL, for Indigenous people, these processes have an urgency and an applicability to our lived experiences. Treaty-making, for example, is not merely historical, but understood as an ongoing relationship.

The next example demonstrates when teaching IL skills, Carrie avoids certain resources, particularly for first year students at a tribal college.

I don't show them [first year experience students] EBSCO at that point, EBSCO's just really white. We can find information in ProQuest, but their public health information are the results of those grant studies — it has that painful information that is spewed out the same way all the time.

For this IL lesson, Carrie avoids a platform that she knows does not have much coverage of Native topics or authors, and she avoids using a database that contains an abundance of traumatic information. As a tribal college librarian, many of her students identify as members of tribal nations.

IL instruction cannot always avoid traumatic experiences. Keahiahi Sharon Long commented on how a genealogy assignment led to the student discovering unsettling information about a family member. Keahiahi had done a "one-shot" instruction session with the student's class, and the student came back to her later asking what he should do with this information he found in the library. She indicated that while it was a difficult question to receive, she "offered to do a lot of pule (prayers or blessings)" for the student, and she turned to her community of fellow Hawaiian librarians, family, and friends for help. As outlined in Loyer (2018), Indigenous research often surfaces traumatic experiences, which may evoke trauma for the student and the librarian.

The two examples above demonstrate how Indigenous librarians practice a framework of care, as described by Loyer (2018, p. 153): "There is space for librarians as instructors to see themselves as responsible for building a student's research capacity, including the physical, emotional, and spiritual components of challenging research; within this concept is a sense of holistic care and radical love that requires a recognition of emotion as wellness."

If a major goal of IL instruction is to help students become producers of new knowledge, some librarians encourage Indigenous students to consider how they can speak back to the materials they find. Carrie again provides a good example of this in her interview when she tells students:

You're an expert. And so is your mom. And so is your dad and your uncle and your auntie and your grandma.

She reminds them that they, as Indigenous people, have authority to write, and she encourages them to publish because, "their perspective is just as important as all the other Western research."

Other participants, like Kajola Morewood, commented on how faculty in an Indigenous Studies program want students to cite Indigenous authors, but helping students find and vet that information can be challenging. Jennifer O'Neal shared an assignment she created that requires students to find five to ten sources by Native authors or from Native sources, which meets two goals: to introduce students to Native newspapers, journal articles, and books; and requires students to determine if the author is Native, and if they are, to describe what tribe they are from as well as their perspective. If they find a non-Native author, they must describe how their perspective is different from a Native author.

Indigenous knowledge systems engage with many formats generally ignored in academic IL spaces. While academic librarians frequently teach using scholarly articles, encyclopedia entries, monographs, and other textual sources, Indigenous librarians are often engaging with additional formats, in two broad categories: non-tangible expressions of culture, which can include oral histories, songs, dances, etc.; and material culture, which can include beadwork, drums, wampum belts, winter counts, etc. While this discussion was shared by the authors, a few of our participants mentioned alternative formats in their work.

Participants spoke about the ways their pedagogy incorporated Indigenous ways of knowing and doing. Their processes of teaching IL were deeply rooted in Indigenous ideas, in some cases articulating this activity in an intertribal sense (acknowledging the experiences shared by diverse Indigenous people) and, for others, in ways specific to their nations. Some, like Kayla Lar-Son, spoke about the importance of having a good relationship with the land if one is doing Indigenous research. "The mountains are our ancestors, and they are also archives themselves," she stated. Thus, an ethical approach to conducting research using land-based knowledge, such as food systems or geology, should "incorporate some of those different understandings of ethics and protocols and asking people for permission and thinking differently about ownership and ownership of information and asking about sharing stories, so bringing in more of that relational sense." Kayla suggested that an appropriate way to teach Indigenous information literacy and Indigenous-based research is to move these lessons outside, to be on the land to hear protocols for sharing knowledge.

Participants also spoke about teaching non-Indigenous students to understand protocol, respect, and correct conduct with the information they find. Kajola remarked on an aspiration for non-Indigenous people:

One of my good friends read [the book *Hungry Listening* by Dylan Robinson] ... And she was like, 'There's a chapter in there that's only for Indigenous people. 'And so she had put markers on the pages; she knew not to read those pages. And so I was thinking, how do we instill that kind of respect for Indigenous knowledge so that somebody won't read that. They'll actually be like, 'I'm not supposed to read this. I'm not going to, even though it's right there and nobody's going to know.' So I was thinking, how do we do that?"

Teaching students and others to be respectful of boundaries is a critical challenge for the protection and revitalization of Indigenous knowledge systems.

Indigenous ways of knowing

The Indigenous librarians in this study discussed the importance of having good relationships with students and the Indigenous community by building trust through caring for students outside instruction sessions and being present in the larger Indigenous community. In these examples, the librarians demonstrate how Indigenous ways of knowing inform their work. To be clear, we rely on the definition of Indigenous ways of knowing as "the actions—the verbs—that describe how Indigenous peoples deliberately engage with the world, people, places, and ideas, resulting in an enduring intergenerational way of life," as described by Littletree et al. (2020, p. 414).

Carrie discussed being invited to cultural events, such as naming ceremonies in the community. "I've always embraced going to wherever it was, like the Ndaa 'ceremonies [a Diné ceremony]." She goes on to talk about the impact of accepting invitations to be with the cooks or participate in celebrations:

I was a librarian and getting invited to be in with the cooks. So in our seasonal ceremonies, our fall summer, spring, winter ceremonies, one of our knowledge keepers, one of our bundle keepers invites me in I'll do whatever she says! She said, 'Carrie, you need to play grandma softball'. So I did that. Now I'm limping! [laughs] But you know, from being with her, I really respect her way of talking to others and that she's there to make certain that the ceremonies are being ran correctly. Being invited in to be with the cooks ... it's a different realm than sitting as a guest in the ceremonial side, in the dancing side, the drumming side. The cooks are able to talk about anything ... and you can hear stories of ... just how things are done.

For Carrie, getting multiple experiences to be in "the cook shack, ... being with all the grandmas and hearing their stories" and playing "grandma softball" has helped the community see her as more than just someone who is "centered around books ... and people that write." She is not just a librarian who stays behind the desk—she's also part of the community.

Keahiahi had a similar perspective, noting that being a librarian with a degree is not as important as doing things that benefit the community: "a lot of times your degrees aren't in your practice or don't benefit your communities. *Don't show me your degree, show me what you did for your 'ohana.*" While academic degrees are necessary for the work of librarians, they are not important when it comes to having a good relationship with your family and community.

Sometimes building trust with Indigenous communities means being an outspoken advocate for Indigenous perspectives in the library. Melissa talks about having to overcome the colonial legacy of the institution by engaging with the community:

It has taken me a long time ... to really feel comfortable engaging with community members in the sense that they don't see me as just this institution. A lot of that work happened when there was something that was digitized [by another library on campus] that shouldn't have been All libraries on campus were looking like they were the bad guys. I did not want to have our library be lumped in with that. So it was just really being active and being vocal about these collections and making sure that they're being handled with respect.

The librarians in this study often remarked upon the work they do to help Indigenous students feel comfortable in the library. Participants discussed providing food for students, whether in their offices or as part of library services. Carrie put it like this: "Hey, we have some extra coffee, would you have some if we make some? We try to cook in here a lot ... but just telling them there's extra food in there and come sit by us in here." Inviting students to eat and "come sit by us" is an aspect of maintaining good relations. Melissa talked about providing a comfortable place for Native students because she knows how difficult it can be for some students to trust the library or ask for help:

I think about ... how brave some of these students are when they come to my office. That's why I always try to make it so comfortable. I have tea and chocolate and it's a very comfortable place ... I want to reassure them ... to feel comfortable when they come asking for help because that has always been something difficult for me.

The participants also discussed other ways they build trust and reassure Indigenous students, using humor, visiting, and storytelling:

However you can connect to them—telling animal stories, Rez dog stories—that's the connection. They're going to trust you. (Carrie)

I love to visit. I think positioning ourselves and visiting, kiyokewin ... the art of visiting, that often comes out in the information sessions that I'm doing with students ... Getting to know students and asking how they're doing and caring about how they're doing ... have that good relation with them, so that they feel comfortable in the library and feel comfortable with us as librarians and break down that barrier or break down the stereotype of who a librarian is and what job we do or what is our role within academia itself. (Kayla)

I spend a lot of time talking about them, about us and just trying to figure out what they're interested in and why they're choosing their topics and how they got into our program That's mostly what we do, just talk story, because I want them to know that they can talk to me. I'm not going to be able to solve all of your assignment problems in

45 minutes. So I hope that when I leave, they feel they can come and talk to me or feel more comfortable at least coming into our space. (Keahiahi)

Finally, the librarians in this study demonstrated ways they connect with students by learning with them and being humble about what they know as information professionals. Some see it as a "reciprocal relationship":

For those of us who are Māori who work in this space, it is that reciprocal relationship. So we go in there not thinking we know everything. Because I've learnt heaps of stuff from my students. Give them a start and a bit of a tool, and I just let them run with it. I'm not going to say to them that there's any right or wrong way to do these things. Because that's how you find the really neat ways of doing things. (Carla)

Similarly, Melissa shared how she puts students at ease by admitting that she's still learning about a library resource, too, saying, "So we're going to discover it together. We're going to go through this adventure together and we'll see what happens." She said she does this knowing that some Native students in college might feel intimidated by librarians, especially white librarians, and they might feel embarrassed about not knowing how to use library resources. This is a feeling she used to have when she was a college student.

Carrie recalled how she enrolled in an American Indian Studies research methods course on her campus and did "every bit of the class, every bit of the homework with the students, work[ed] with the teacher, [saw] how our department teaches research methods, then help[ed] work with [the instructor] when he taught it the next semester." She did this on her own time, demonstrating that "it is so important that you show up" as another form of trust building.

Indigenous identity

Being able to embrace and lean on their identity and cultural background drives the work of some of the participants. The following two examples demonstrate how the Indigenous librarians embrace their identity and incorporate it into their work as educators.

My identity as a Native American woman, that is always what has guided my career, the work I do, why I do this work ... [the reason] I started doing this work is because of not seeing us represented in libraries, museums, archives. (Jennifer)

I like students to get to know who I am as a person, as a Métis woman, because it's often reflected actually in the work that I do. I can't disassociate myself and...my worldviews from my work So when I'm teaching, they get to know my biases, they get to know a bit into my worldviews, but also it starts to build that relationship with one another. (Kayla)

In the first example, the participant's identity has galvanised her career path to make libraries and academia more equitable for future Indigenous students and workers. In the second example, the participant does not attempt to hide her worldview when working with students or be neutral. Her worldview informs her teaching and helps students, particularly Indigenous students, feel comfortable approaching her.

The emotional toll of navigating a mostly-white profession was evident in many of the conversations. In the next two examples, we see evidence of the work and the risk it takes to enter a space authentically.

I don't know why, but as a Māori, to sit in Pākehā spaces, you are always parking a part of yourself at the door when you enter a Pākehā hui. You're not going in there as a whole person. You're kind of shutting down a part of yourself in order to function within

that space, which is not a good thing. It's like, you take me as a whole, or you don't get me at all. (Carla)

As a librarian, as a POC just navigating the system and realizing that this is a profession that has been for the most part mostly white ... Being able to have good grounding to navigate that, having that grounding within yourself and knowing who you are and then navigating that because it can get really tiring. (Melissa)

There is an unspoken expectation to dilute one's cultural identity, and the will to overcome that expectation presents some challenges. Being well-grounded in your cultural identity and refusing to "park part of yourself at the door" helps to navigate these spaces.

Participants also discussed the expectation to be knowledgeable in Indigenous topics, and the isolation that an Indigenous librarian might feel.

Yeah. I don't know. I feel like that's a thing I kind of struggle with not having been raised in a community. So I'm aware of having this super white background and...trying to learn these things as an adult ... I look at myself and be like, "What am I doing here that's different or what could I be doing differently maybe?" I'm very busy going to webinars and reading things and conferences and listening within our Indigenous librarian group. I take every opportunity I can to learn from other Indigenous librarians. (Kajola)

When you're an Indigenous librarian, they just assume that you're an expert on everything I could not go out there and be the liaison for Indigenous engineering, because I know nothing about engineering. But there is that expectation because you're an Indigenous librarian that you should be able to teach it all. (Kayla)

Often as a Māori person when you're working in the library sector, you are lucky if there's more than one of you. You're often quite lonely, you're quite isolated. You don't get the support that you need, you don't get access to professional development that you need through your organizations so you're going to look elsewhere. (Carla)

These examples demonstrate that not all Indigenous librarians come into their work with a strong grounding in Indigenous communities. A single Indigenous librarian cannot teach everything Indigenous and must define the scope of their expertise. Our conversations with the participants revealed the importance of finding Indigenous communities, both for those who were not raised in community as well as for the many Indigenous librarians who experience isolation in the field.

Discussion

Inspired by the definition of "land back" by Longman et al. (2020), where they say, "we want the system that is land to be alive so that it can perpetuate itself, and perpetuate us as an extension of itself," Indigenous information literacy positions librarians in a reciprocal relationship with information, rather than mastery over it. While relationality in Indigenous information literacy can appear as the relationship between librarian and student, or librarian and researcher, an essential relationship is that of librarian and information.

Indigenous librarians have a unique relationship to the information they teach in three ways—their lived experiences, their communal histories, and their worldviews. First, they experience the pathologizing of Indigeneity and the gaps in the literature on Indigenous life; Indigenous librarians actively work against these systems and silences, and through an Indigenous information literacy, engage in the task of creating knowledge to speak back to these silences. Second, because Indigeneity is rooted in community, research is a conversation with their

communal histories made personal. Even as Indigenous librarians gain knowledge of the subject matter of their discipline, they exist both as researcher and researched. And third, the worldviews that Indigenous librarians come from don't necessarily conform to mainstream librarianship's perceptions of information. One example is the boundaries of protocols (First Archivists Circle, 2007; Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander, 2012). Indigenous librarians advocate for restriction of sensitive information because theft by outsiders has plundered our information systems. Indigenous information literacy is concerned with the resurgence of these worldviews; to have outsiders respect our own specific relationships with information is one starting point. A true resurgence, an alive system that perpetuates itself and perpetuates us as an extension of itself, not only articulates these boundaries, but also intervenes in the harms created by mainstream information systems.

The librarians interviewed in this study are Indigenous, but their students may not be. Ultimately, they are providing instruction for Native and non-Native students to help them understand the complexities of Native research, helping them feel comfortable, asking them to be critical of sources and evaluate them in terms of their origin. The librarians are careful about their own identities, knowing that they represent a certain perspective and that their students come from multiple backgrounds. They exhibit multiple ways of caring for people, land, and ways of thinking, similar to Duarte and Belarde-Lewis's (2015) description of what it means to do decolonizing work in libraries and archives. This often means helping students through traumatic research, gain competencies in evaluating information, making decisions about what information to use, and how to go about their research in respectful ways.

The perspectives of the participants demonstrate the diverse experiences of Indigenous librarians. Their perspectives highlight three central needs the library field can be more aware of, which are for Indigenous librarians: 1. to remain connected to their communities and embrace their Indigenous identity, 2. to learn from other Indigenous librarians, and 3. to set boundaries on what they can teach in the realm of Indigenous library services.

For those of us who hold marginalised identities, we may feel pressure to dilute our cultural and racial identities to minimise instances of racism, tokenization, and microaggressions. Others may choose to leverage these identities to seek out community or find a place in academia where they can feel safe and authentically express their culture and expertise. Indigenous identities are further complicated by bureaucracy—whether someone is a tribally enrolled or recognised citizen of their community, or if their Indigenous nation is recognised by a federal, state, or national government. We have different ideas of what it means to be Indigenous—unspoken expectations of where someone grew up, what languages they speak, what they look like, and to what extent they participate in tribal matters and ceremonies. These ideas create great diversity among Indigenous communities while inviting self-doubt among those who are seeking to reconnect with such communities. The term "information literacy" emphasises the written word and colonial knowledge, implying there is an ultimate level of competency that can be achieved. The idea of "information literacy instruction" can create a hierarchy that does not account for those disenfranchised from their Indigenous knowledges. We must be very careful to engage in cultural humility and cultivate learning spaces of care and respect.

Conclusion

As a practice, IL instruction enables librarians to teach others how to navigate the world of information. However, as previously stated, Indigenous information literacy is the ability to use information to create or gain knowledge, while practicing the Indigenous concepts of relationality, reciprocity, and respect. Indigenous librarians who provide IL instruction come from diverse backgrounds, and typically consider information in the context of their roles and responsibilities in upholding relationships, including relationships to their ancestors, tribal nations, and lands. Indigenous librarians who may be disenfranchised from their traditional

knowledges are still accountable to ancestors, future generations, and the knowledges they are reclaiming; and these responsibilities similarly inform their work.

As our interview participants have stated, the work of Indigenous information instructional librarians is more nuanced than simply delivering IL instruction. These librarians serve to position libraries as welcoming spaces where Indigenous knowledge systems, sovereignty, survivance, and joy can all flourish. Their work, grounded in relationality, extends far beyond traditional office hours, and impacts many aspects of student life. However, Indigenous information literacy is not a token diversity effort, nor overwork; and Indigenous people are not experts on all things "Indigenous." Likewise, Indigenous information literacy is not something that can be learned or applied by non-Indigenous practitioners. We can be guided by the works of Anishinabe scholar Loriene Roy (2015) who provides a strong case for how an Indigenous ecology framework can guide LIS professionals through their LIS education, saying, "LIS and indigenous worldviews share the characteristics of change, a responsiveness to social and technical environments, a regard for historical traditions, and an ability to adapt while retaining a cultural branding" (p. 408). Our work confirms that Indigenous teaching and learning practices can inform the work of LIS educators, but Indigenous information literacy is enacted by Indigenous practitioners only.

We are hopeful that our study expands the formal understanding of Indigenous librarians who teach, and their roles and responsibilities. While the Indigenous presence on college and university campuses has increased slightly, the presence of Indigenous ways of knowing in spaces like libraries, special collections, and archives in higher education has been minimal, particularly in regard to IL instruction.

Because this study is limited to the voices of the authors and the seven participants, we encourage Indigenous librarians to write and share their knowledge and experiences as knowledge holders, community connectors, and navigators of the LIS field.

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