Title
Alluvial Hope: The Transformative Practices of Placemaking at a Montana Tribal College

Author
Bailey, Amanda Jean

Publication Date
2021

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Alluvial Hope:
The Transformative Practices of Placemaking
at a Montana Tribal College

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Anthropology

by

Amanda Jean Bailey

2021

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Alluvial Hope:
The Transformative Practices of Placemaking
at a Montana Tribal College

by

Amanda Jean Bailey
Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology
University of California, Los Angeles, 2021
Professor Paul V. Kroskrity, Committee Co-Chair
Professor Cheryl Mattingly, Committee Co-Chair

This dissertation examines how forms of care for people, lands, and resources are cultivated through interaction in a Natural Resources program at a tribal college. Salish Kootenai College (SKC), run by the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes (CSKT) on the Flathead Reservation in northwestern Montana, is one of the oldest and most successful tribal colleges in the U.S.. Tribal colleges were established during the civil rights era in response to a legacy of education for Native American students that sought to devalue and even eradicate heritage languages and cultural ways of knowing and being. By re-centering Indigenous knowledge systems while addressing community needs, tribal colleges represent complex spaces that both respond to and are shaped by a legacy of Western schooling for Native American students.

Based on 18 months of ethnographic research and focusing on juniors and seniors in the Hydrology and Wildlife and Fisheries departments, I examine the everyday interactional landscape for this group of students, as they attend classes, participate in student clubs and

events, and conduct research in the field. Along with recorded student life histories and photographed linguistic landscapes, this multidimensional study challenges a body of work that focuses on the misappropriation or absence of care in institutions, to instead examine how situated, responsive forms of care at SKC become the foundation for how care for lands is imagined. Using Basso's (1996) concept of placemaking as a lens to consider how students engage with history through imaginative practice, I illustrate how, through stories, local forms of care connect to long-standing cultural understandings of care for lands and communities. This imaginative practice, in turn, cultivates a particular kind of hope, what I call "alluvial hope", that is characterized by movements of collective action, that like the multiple paths of rushing water through time, carve pathways alongside each other that create a richly patterned legacy. In using the metaphor of an alluvial plain to understand hope, I show how the past is considered a resource, that through collective practice, can be recombined with new elements in order to move towards the goal of community well-being. This project also approaches disjuncture not as an end in itself, but as informing how care manifests in everyday educational practice and outlines the contours of the path ahead for these students who will shape how the lands, wildlife, and waters are protected for generations to come.

The dissertation of Amanda Jean Bailey is approved.

Erin Katherine Debenport

Marjorie Harness Goodwin

Norma Mendoza-Denton

Elinor Ochs

Paul V. Kroskrity, Committee Co-Chair

Cheryl Mattingly, Committee Co-Chair

University of California

Los Angeles

2021

To Joan,

my mom,

my biggest supporter,

and constant angel

And to Jean,

my grandma,

whose name and memory

are honored here

Table of Contents

List of Figures

CHAPTER ONE: Introduction

CHAPTER TWO: Disjuncture: Causes, Reponses, and Hope

CHAPTER THREE: Care Moves Through Places: The Transformative Role of Care in Placemaking at SKC

CHAPTER FOUR: Alluvial Hope

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I want to thank all the students, faculty, and staff at SKC for their generosity with their time and their stories, and for all the accommodations they made for me while I did this research. This project owes everything to them. I also want to thank everyone else I met on the Flathead reservation that enhanced my learning outside of the school in various ways.

I also owe so much to my incredible committee -- Norma Mendoza Denton, Erin Debenport, Elinor Ochs, and Candy Goodwin for all your support throughout this project. And I especially want to thank my co-chairs Paul Kroskrity and Cheryl Mattingly for such wonderful insight and patience.

My family gave me so much support during this long process. My Mom encouraged me through this and in everything else in my life, and I am who I am because of her. My Dad and Nancy continued to check in and provide support, as did my brothers. My Grandma also would have been so proud to see her name honored through my work on this project.

I owe a huge debt to Mercedes Douglass, who gave me support, ideas, and feedback throughout the writing of this dissertation. Many of the ideas and insights in this work are directly a result of her brilliant insight. I also want to thank my friends Shana Conner, Shireen Keyl, Carol Lefevre, Sanjog Sahu, Rodrigo Renteria Valencia, Lee Gutowski, Jamie Manser, Keri Miller, Libby Metcalf, Megan Moore, and Molly Bloom who supported me at different points in this journey, and who continued to check in even when I was swamped.

At UCLA, I want to thank Tracy Humbert, Ann Walters, Paul Conner, Jennifer Banawa, Jason Throop, Alessandro Duranti, Linda Garro, and Charles Goodwin, as well all my fellow students -- I learned so much from you all. Also thank you to Kirby Lyda who shared her work

and perspective on Standing Rock as I was thinking through this project at a critical stage. And thank you to the LRC and Ling Anth folks at University of Arizona, especially Perry Gilmore, Leisy Wyman, and Shielah Nicholas, and my fellow students there as well.

I also want to recognize all the generous funders of this project: From UCLA: the Anthropology Department, the Graduate Division, the Bedari Kindness Institute, the Institute of American Cultures, the American Indian Studies department, the Center for Women's Studies, and the Center for Language, Interaction, and Culture. I also want to thank the Sven and Astrid Liljeblad Endowment Fund.

And also for all the love and comfort, Starling and Birdie, and the creatures of The Hill.

VITA

EDUCATION

2012 M.A. University of Arizona, Disability and Psychoeducational Studies, Education of Deaf and Hard of Hearing Specialty

2010 M.A. University of Arizona, Department of Language, Reading and Culture

2008 B.A. Prescott College, Human Development: Language and Culture

HONORS AND AWARDS

2020 Bedari Kindness Institute Summer Fellow, UCLA

2018 Sven and Astrid Liljeblad Endowment Fund

2017 Institute of American Cultures Grant, American Indian Studies, UCLA

2017 Sven and Astrid Liljeblad Endowment Fund

2015 Graduate Research Mentorship Award, UCLA

2015 Graduate Summer Research Mentorship Award, UCLA

2014 Center for Women's Studies Grant, UCLA

PUBLICATIONS AND PRESENTATIONS

2021 "Community Resilience in Two Superfund Towns". Panel presentation. International Institute for Society and Natural Resources Conference.

2017 "Reclaiming Wellness for Landscapes and Communities at a Tribal College in Montana". Presentation. Discourse Lab, UCLA

2016 Bailey, Amanda Jean and Keri Miller. Introduction to theme issue on "Discourses on Death" *Arizona Anthropologist,* Volume 26, 1-4.

2016 “The Reclamation of Memory and Landscapes: Trauma and Healing at a Tribal College” Panel presentation. American Anthropological Association Conference, Minneapolis MN.

2016 “Loss in the Shadows of Birds: Imagination and Healing in Arts Collectives in Oaxaca” Merbear Conference. Presentation. UCLA.

2016 Bailey, Amanda Jean. “Arizona Sycamore”. In Christopher Cokinos and Eric Magrane (eds). *The sonoran desert: a literary field guide*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 1-2.

2015 “’Groups and Groups of Ancestors’: The Relationship Between Reenchantment and Recovery at a Tribal College in Montana” Panel presentation. American Anthropological Association Conference, Denver CO.

2014 “Trauma Stories and Transformation: Situating Turning-Point Narratives by Female Tribal College Students” Discourses on Death: Conceptualizing Grief, Loss, and Transformative Interaction. Conference co-organizer and presenter. University of Arizona.

Chapter 1: Introduction

On February 24, 2021, the Lakota People's Law Project posted side by side images on Facebook of Montana's Republican Senator Steve Daines and the nominee for Secretary of the Interior, Representative Deb Haaland of New Mexico, a member of the Laguna Pueblo tribe. Beneath their images taken during her hearing, there were quotes capturing an exchange between them. Senator Daines was quoted as asking, "You co-sponsored legislation that provided federal protections for the grizzly bears in perpetuity, forever. Why would you sponsor a bill like that?". The quote beneath Haaland's picture captured her reply, which was, "I imagine at the time I was caring about the bears" (Lakota People's Law Project 2021).

This exchange made the rounds on social media for the way it represented two radically different approaches to protecting wildlife as it also encapsulated, in one short exchange, how care, from the perspective of an Indigenous woman emerged in this austere and rather hostile setting, during this hopeful moment in history in which she could represent the first Native American to serve in a presidential cabinet. This notable fact, made even more groundbreaking because this distinction would also be held by a woman, was excitedly and closely watched among Native communities everywhere. But this hopeful development also highlighted how long it had taken for this kind of representation, and how up to this point, Native American voices at this level were absent. She was confirmed on March 15, 2021, a historic moment and one celebrated across Native American communities.

When the image with this exchange popped up in my social media feed, I immediately thought of something one of the instructors in the Wildlife and Fisheries program at Salish Kootenai College (SKC), one of the two programs I focused on for this research project, had said

to me a few years earlier. When I asked her what differentiated approaches between the tribal natural resources departments and other non-tribal departments she had worked with, she replied, "Well, for example, if they are working with grizzly bears, the tribes will do what is best for the bears."

This intersection of care and hope, as it emerges in spaces where it reflects a deeply rooted cultural and ethical stance, while also being forcibly absent in U.S. institutions and agencies, lies at the heart of this project. The hope that comes from a Native American woman leading the Interior Department, which not only manages public lands, endangered species, and natural resources, but also was historically used as a tool of oppression again tribes in the U.S., is as symbolic as it can be potentially transformative. This historic appointment inspires hope at the highest level. But this dissertation will focus on a more localized, though related kind of hope, that is constructed through interaction and collaborative practice in a Natural Resources program at a tribal college in Montana. And just as we can see in Rep. Haaland's response, it is also a story about care.

This ethnographic research project follows the concept of care -- for wildlife, for land, for water and other natural resources, and for each other -- as it responds to a legacy of disjuncture and informs a particular kind of hope that emerges in the everyday interactional landscapes of a tribal college in Montana.

This dissertation is based on findings from 18 months of ethnographic research at Salish Kootenai College, one of the oldest and largest tribal colleges in the U.S. Situated on the Flathead reservation in northwestern Montana and run by the Confederated Salish and Kootenai

Tribes (CSKT), SKC is a highly successful, culturally diverse college that continues to grow. Originally founded in 1977, SKC was originally a branch campus from Flathead Valley Community College under the authority of the CSKT but became self-governing in 1981. According to the Annual Report for the 2017-2018 academic year, when I did the majority of my research, SKC offered 17 bachelor's degrees, 24 associate degrees, 6 certifications of completion and 5 workforce certificates. There were over 800 students enrolled, with 63% of them women. Among the student population, 71% were Indian (this included first and second generation descendants), and 29% non-Indian. Among the Indian students, 27% were from the CSKT tribes, 25% were from other Montana tribes, and 19% percent were from other tribes. Since its founding, the college has conferred 3,698 bachelor's degrees, associate degrees and certificates of completion.

Tribal colleges were first established in the 1960s in response to a legacy of U.S. governmental education that undervalued, and even sought to erase the linguistic, cultural, and spiritual practices that were associated with being Indian. Established as a space to craft new connections to cultures, languages, and land in the face of the disjunctures that came from settler colonialism, tribal colleges remain complex spaces that are both shaped by, and also challenge these earlier institutional practices. As highly successful, yet largely understudied educational centers, tribal colleges represent key sites in a larger shift in focus on how adult members of Native communities seek to redefine and reassert their personal and social identities as culturally competent tribal members in new ways (Nicholas 2014:71).

Focusing on students in the Natural Resources department at SKC, for this ethnographic research project, I originally sought to understand how well-being -- or what it means to be doing well, or even to thrive -- for the self, for natural resources, for lands, and for communities is

shaped by the educational experience. In seeking to understand well-being in this context, I followed sociologist Sarah White in her call to shift "away from what wellbeing *is*, to exploring how accounts of wellbeing are *produced*" (2016:3, emphasis in original). She examined "relational wellbeing", and through her focus on meaning and social practice, her approach "suggests that wellbeing does not 'belong' to individuals at all, but is produced through interaction with others and the context in which wellbeing is experienced" (2016: xii).

I conducted research over three separate visits from 2013-2019, with the bulk of the research occurring over 5 academic quarters from 2017-2019. During that time, I attended classes and everyday activities with a relatively small group of juniors and seniors in the Wildlife and Fisheries and Hydrology concentrations of the Natural Resources department, a cohort for whom engagement with places was central to their studies and future professional lives. The Natural Resources program offered both associate degrees and bachelor's degrees in three departments: Wildlife and Fisheries, Forestry, and Hydrology. SKC is the only tribal college to offer all three specialties and bachelor's degrees in all of them. I decided to focus on only two of the three specialties partly because there was significant overlap in classes between the two (whereas Forestry was a bit more separate), and partly to keep my schedule manageable. I also chose to focus primarily on juniors and seniors again for the manageability factor, but also because they were the most likely to graduate, and they were close to entering their professional fields. This meant that I would be researching future hydrologists, wildlife biologists, environmental lawyers, and others who would be playing a significant role in caring for the lands and communities that depend on them. But this stage of their education also meant that they were in the stage between adapting to college, getting a solid base in their specialties, and moving into

future roles through internships, senior thesis projects, and other experiences that helped them envision what was coming in their post-graduation lives.

I conducted sets of semi-structured interviews with faculty and students (with an emphasis on a group of "focal follows"), and attended daily classes, school events, and fieldwork excursions with the students. In addition to interviews and fieldnotes, I also audio-recorded select classes and had student volunteers wear a GoPro during fieldwork classes and senior thesis project research.

Through the multiple lenses such a diverse set of data can provide, I focused on the following questions: how do understandings of well-being for lands, resources, the self, and communities connect to and inform each other -- for example, how is an understanding of how working to manage or protect a habitat affected by one's perception of what a community needs to be doing well -- and how might these understandings and connections become transformed over time? How do circumstances, institutional structures, and different contexts facilitate or potentially interrupt these connections being made?

SKC was both a unique and a representative space to examine these questions. On one hand, it is unusual among tribal colleges, as there are a large number of tribes represented, as well as non-Native students. Additionally, the Natural Resources program is notable as the only one among tribal colleges that offers all three different specialties as well as bachelor's degrees in all areas. Yet for all the ways that the Natural Resources program, and the college itself, are unusual, it is also a highly relevant and culturally rich environment that, in many ways, reflects the current lifeways of Native American people, reflecting both their "repertoire of identities" (Kroskrity 1993) and the ways that networks may be forged across and beyond tribal lines in multiple ways. The focus on natural resources responded to the ways these sites often lie at the

center of contestation between tribal communities and governmental and corporate interests (Moore et al. 2003, Biolsi 2005, Nesper 2002, Dove 2006, Dowie 2009), but are also at the heart of a larger movement, in which diverse young members of tribal communities have gathered around them in acts of resistance, protection, and care, powerfully demonstrated by the recent indigenous-led protest of an oil pipeline in Standing Rock, South Dakota (Estes 2019).

What I discovered in my analysis of my data was that well-being as a concept, particularly as one that was relational and emergent in interaction, connected to an emergent theme of care. And that the forms care takes are also relational but not always in the ways one might expect. I had expected care for people and lands and community to manifest as frequent discussions debating whether approaches grounded in Indigenous knowledge systems or Western science approaches were most effective. Instead, I found that the presence of "cultural" content was often more about recognition and representation and existed more or less comfortably alongside "Western science" approaches to protecting and managing lands and resources, especially when these methods were employed to address issues important to a tribe, such as environmental contamination or invasive species.

Additionally, the recognition and representation of cultural content was just one piece of a larger mosaic of care, where these efforts went beyond inclusion in a curriculum to students feeling "seen" not just as a member of a cultural group but also as a person with unique history, which manifests as particular struggles and needs. But this also included feeling their achievement was honored in the face of this, and was also facilitated in symbolic, intersubjective, and practical ways. It was this layered care that facilitated connections amongst the members of the SKC community, helped students feel emplaced even when they were far

from home, and opened up space to reimagine themselves in places from which they had felt that they, and others like them, had been excluded or their access to them has been ruptured.

This very situated form of care responds to an often harmful legacy of Native American education which, as in the case with Indian boarding schools, sought to eradicate traditional ways of learning, knowing, and being. As part of a larger settler colonial project, these boarding schools not only sought to erase cultural forms of knowledge, including languages, in the classrooms, but by removing children from their homes, they also interrupted access to culturally-informed caregiving and home-based educational practices.

For this reason, I also discuss what this educational history looked like, and how "culturally responsive schooling" emerged as a response. I also consider how disjuncture, which Meek defines as, "the everyday points of discontinuity and contradiction - between social or linguistic groups, within discourses, practices, or between them, even between indexical orders - that interrupt the flow of action, communication, or thought" (2011:4), are talked about and experienced among students at SKC, and are discussed in chapter 2.

But how does this situated form of care translate to caring for lands and resources? How does this connect to long-standing cultural understandings of care for lands and communities? And how does that help cultivate hope? I found that much of this happened through stories -- retold, worked out collaboratively in educational spaces, and intertwined with practice. In order to provide a framework for how this happens in this context, I draw on Keith Basso's (1996) classic concept of "placemaking". It is precisely this imaginative work that is at the heart of placemaking as Basso conceived it through the context he applied it to, a relatively bounded Western Apache community with robust linguistic and cultural continuance, representing what

can now be viewed as an earlier era for many Native American communities. Even so, his words ring true for the more diverse and mobile community of students at SKC:

> But there is more to making place-worlds than living local history in a localized kind of way. In addition, place-making is a way of constructing history itself, of inventing it, of fashioning novel versions of "what happened here." For every developed place-world manifests itself as a possible state of affairs, and whenever these constructions are accepted by other people as credible and convincing—or plausible and provocative, or arresting and intriguing—they enrich the common stock on which everyone can draw to muse on past events, interpret their significance, and imagine them anew. Building and sharing place-worlds, in other words, is not only a means of reviving former times but also of revising them, a means of exploring not merely how things might have been but also how, just possibly, they might have been different from what others have supposed (Basso 1996:25).

Using Basso's words as a lens through which to consider how forms of collaborative storytelling in the classroom might shape understanding of places and community histories, can help connect what happened here to what needs to happen next. Considering traditional approaches for engaging with land and resources alongside histories that caused these places to be damaged, becomes a form of storytelling, as it also involves and inspires practice. This practice is grounded in care and becomes a starting point for students to imagine how they might develop a toolkit to heal or restore what may have been lost or damaged, both to the lands themselves and to their communities. It was from this starting point that I was able to identify particular forms of care and forms of hope which I will describe in the following pages.

Entering the Field

I first visited SKC in 2012, when I attended a conference held there about developmental education. At the time, I had been working in educational contexts with Indigenous students for about six years but had only been a tribal college instructor for a few semesters. I was an adjunct instructor at Tohono O'odham Community College (TOCC) in Arizona, where I taught a few developmental courses in reading and writing -- courses required for some students in order to help them make up for educational gaps, so they could finally dive into requirements for which they could actually make degree progress. I loved this work, though I had a lot to learn as an instructor at the time, and I often felt like the student in the face of the incredible knowledge of my students. But my passion for tribal colleges and culturally responsive schooling, which I was also learning about in my PhD program at the University of Arizona, was apparent to the administration, I think, and so I was invited to attend the conference, even as a part-time instructor.

Along with three other full-time instructors, I made the trip up to SKC where the stark mountains, cold weather, and silver light had us all a bit out of our element. Seeing such a large and well-developed campus was also quite stunning. TOCC was in the early stages of growth and was still quite small, and my classes were held in trailers. SKC had bachelor's degrees and a huge gym, a theater, and a huge campus, so many degree programs -- I was eager to return and learn more. Soon after, I contacted the director of institutional research, to see if I might do a pilot project there and potentially do my dissertation research there later on.

Figure 1.1: Graduation powwow in the gym

I returned in the Spring of 2013, trying to catch students in the final weeks of their quarter, and conduct some interviews. My focus was rather broad at that point -- I sought to find out more about the tribal educational experience and I used Seidman's (2006) three-interview phenomenological method (which I describe later in this chapter) in order to gain a life history, a method which I ended up also using in my dissertation research. For six weeks, I was gifted with powerful life stories, and I felt a profound responsibility to handle them with care. I attended classes, school events, and graduation parties and a few people I met during that visit remain friends to this day.

Financial and scheduling difficulties made it difficult to return for some time, unfortunately -- I transferred to UCLA, which also was on a quarter system, meaning I would

finish classes right around the same time as SKC, just as they adjourned for the entire summer. I had three years of continuing my education away from SKC, while I continued to revisit the powerful data I had collected during that first visit. While it seemed not ideal at the time, there was a hidden gift in doing this, and one that informed how I wrote this dissertation. I found that at first, the sheer number and emotionally intense nature of some of the trauma narratives that came through in these life stories made it difficult to see beyond them, but with time, I saw more nuanced and subtle stories of hope.

Like most linguistic anthropology students, I had originally imagined that I would focus on heritage language use in order to not only contribute to this vibrant body of work but to be able to hopefully offer insights that the tribes and/or the college might find useful for language revitalization. Indeed, there were some exciting developments happening locally on the Flathead reservation related to language, such as the establishment of a local Salish language PreK-5th grade school called Nkwusm.

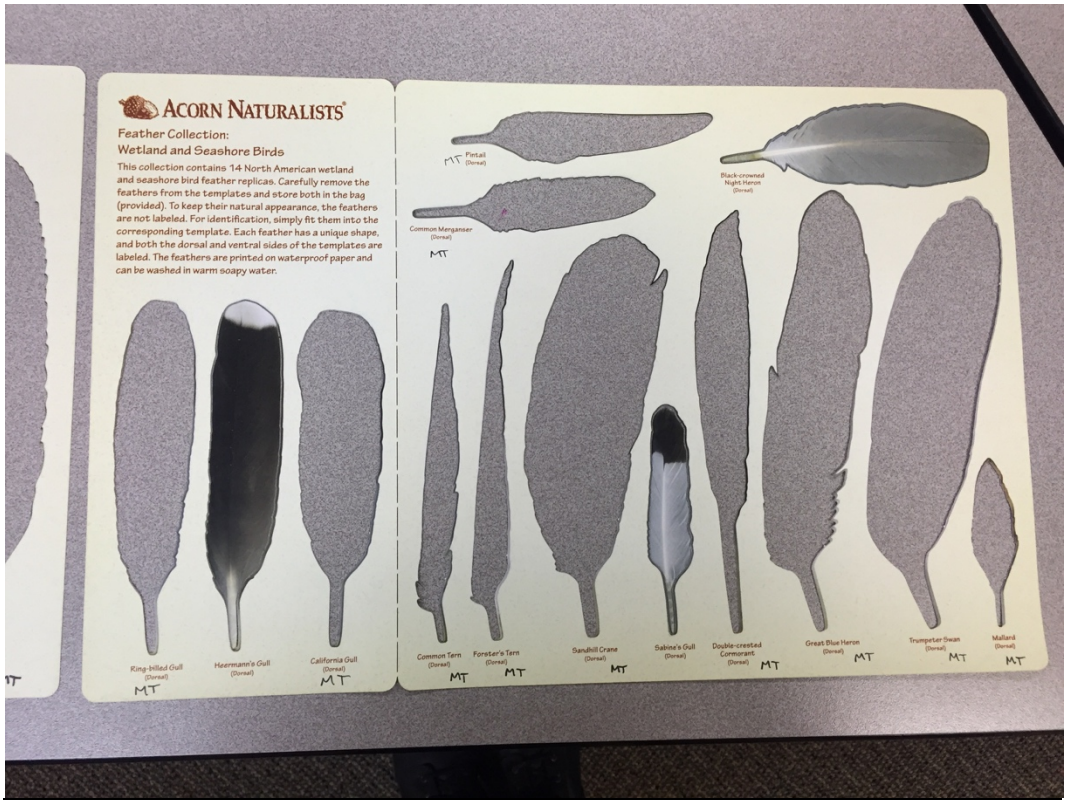
But among the students I spoke with at SKC, I found that while Native languages were cherished and highly valued, the majority of students I spoke with (with the exception of one woman in her 50s) didn't know more than a few phrases or words in their languages. I also found that what was perhaps of more immediate concern for these students were issues around land and natural resources -- and intergenerational trauma was often linked to land theft, mistreatment, and disconnection from these places. At the same time, I noticed a trend in some of the more powerful narratives that emerged in this early data -- often a sense of personal transformation seemed to co-occur with new ways of experiencing places. The example I share from Adrienne in chapter 2 is a good example of this, and I actually returned to her story of seeing a field of flowers for the first time, after passing the field unnoticed her entire life, again and again. This

led me to decide to focus on the Natural Resources program at the college, both for the social justice and political issues surrounding land and resources, but also as a way to examine how place, identity, and education might intersect in ways that could be potentially transformative, as I saw with Adrienne and others.

I planned to return in the Spring of 2016, when I was able to finally make it back and I interviewed several instructors in the Natural Resources department to get a sense of the program, perceptions on student experience, and just to introduce myself before I returned for the primary dissertation research the following year.

Image 1.2: Feathers for identification in wildlife class

Image 1.3: Feather identification chart



And that, of course, is right around when the water protectors gathered at Standing Rock, a movement I was aware of but did not fully grasp the importance of until I was back in Los Angeles that summer, watching it unfold. As it continued to grow in size, attention, and influence, I began to realize that the concerns were for land and resources that I had noticed in my earlier research was more vast and profound than I had realized. These concerns also added a layer to the questions I was formulating for the dissertation research.

And finally in 2017, I was able to move up to the Flathead reservation and begin the research in earnest. After securing IRB approval from SKC and UCLA, I packed my life into a storage unit in North Hollywood and headed north.

I found my early months of research initially a bit awkward. While instructors were welcoming to having me sit in on classes with the students, with the students, I felt a bit like I had walked into a dinner party uninvited. But of course this was the case. Because I was focusing on a small group of juniors and seniors, who had spent 2-3 years or more with each other every day and it was understandably odd to have an outsider show up and start hanging around all the time. Because I was sitting in on a very structured setting, where I didn't want to interrupt the learning process, there also wasn't a lot of time for me to chat with students and get to know them before they scattered off to their other classes.

Two things ended up helping immensely -- interviews and field trips. As I describe in the "joking" section of chapter 3, field trips came with long van rides, a perfect liminal space and time to chat and joke around, which gave me an opportunity to be educated by the students about all the places we passed that they had either grown up in, or had come to know in their years there. These van rides also helped me get to know people enough to feel comfortable asking them to do interviews, which then provided a space to get to know their incredible life stories.

Figure 1.4: Amanda flying a drone in wildlife techniques class

And from there, I worked up the courage to explain my project in front of entire classes to ask permission to audio record them, or in the cases of fieldwork classes, video record with a student volunteer wearing a GoPro. I did not record as many classes as I had originally planned, and I did not even ask about video recording in the classroom. While these data would have added another layer for analysis, my first concern was not interrupting classes by potentially making students nervous with a camera in the room. Methodologically, I followed my own rule -- always be a human first and a researcher second.

In the 18 months I spent at SKC, eventually I got to know some students quite well. I spent some time with students outside of the college setting, and I now consider some of them friends I hope to know for a lifetime. I felt so fortunate to learn their life stories, to get to see them in the midst of the educational journeys, and to continue to see (from a socially distanced viewpoint due to COVID-19, at the time of the writing) how their lives continue to unfold, mostly on social media.

Positionality and limits

By the time I started my main dissertation research in 2017, I had been working in educational settings with Indigenous students for about 11 years. This included working in a residential program at the Arizona State Schools for the Deaf and Blind, where there were a high number of Native American students from all over the state; teaching English for the wonderful SEED program at the University of Arizona, which supported visiting educators from Indigenous communities in Mexico in learning methods to integrate linguistic and cultural knowledge into their classrooms; and teaching at TOCC, as I mentioned. For all that I learned in these roles, I will never fully understand the Indigenous experience and all that comes with it. As a White researcher working in a Native American context, I tried to be sensitive to the harms other White researchers, especially anthropologists, have perpetuated, and to be very conscious about not replicating them.

I also tried to be very careful to keep this research focused on the college and student experience. While I learned a lot about the reservation during my time there, this is not a project about the Flathead reservation nor is it specifically about any of the tribes represented there.

While SKC is, of course, run by the CSKT, and some of the students I focus on are from there, I tried to focus on school culture, and let students' own cultural experiences come through in their own words. In other words, I am not an "expert" in Salish culture, or Kootenai culture, or Blackfeet culture, or that of any other tribe.

I have tried to situate this project in a larger body of work that draws on Indigenous experience and ways of knowing, drawing on this literature to help illuminate my findings. SKC is a multicultural space, but it is also a Native-centered space, and the ways that members of that school community have identified connections between each other's tribes and communities is part of what made this place so special.

But as careful as I try to be, there is always a risk that my own experience as a White woman from Chicago will distort my perspective or understanding in a tribal college in Montana. Any errors in this dissertation are completely my own.

Methods and analysis

This analysis is based on findings from 18 months of ethnographic research at SKC, with the bulk of it conducted over 5 academic quarters among a relatively small group of juniors and seniors in the Wildlife/Fisheries and Hydrology concentrations of the Natural Resources department, a cohort for whom engagement with places was central to their studies and future professional lives. In total, 43 people who agreed to participate in the study.

I conducted sets of semi-structured interviews with faculty and students (with an emphasis on a group of "focal follows"), and attended daily classes, school events, and fieldwork excursions with the students. For some of the students I interviewed, I used a phenomenological

model proposed by Seidman (2006). This consisted of conducting three interviews with each person over time. The first focused on the past -- basically a life history up to the present. The second focused on the present day, with focus on the college experience. And the final interview was about meaning -- what did they hope for the future? What did it mean for them to get a college degree on an individual level? For their family? For their community? In all cases, the questions were framed in relation to their field of study, the natural resources at the heart of it, and the role of educational experience in their lives.

In addition to interviews and fieldnotes, I collected two sets of classroom assignments, including "letters to Scott Pruitt", who was the administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) at the time. I also conducted some archival research over two stretches of time, at the National Archives in Denver, where I focused on reading records from a number of different boarding schools in various states that children from the Flathead reservation had attended. This included documents as bland as orders for more blankets, to heartbreaking letters from parents asking if their children could be sent home for the summer. This research informed how I understood the boarding school experience but did not explicitly find its way into this dissertation, though I plan to use it in future work that stems from this research. I also audio-recorded select classes and had student volunteers wear a GoPro during fieldwork classes and senior thesis project research. Altogether I participated in and observed 13 courses for their duration, recorded 53 interviews and collected over 150 hours of recorded data. While not all of this data made it into the final product (nor would this be possible), I considered all of it in early stages of analysis, before narrowing my focus.

I used NVivo qualitative analysis software to help sort data but, in drawing on the layered approach of ethnographic research, I also looked for patterns and connections related to emergent

themes that would not be identifiable with only a tool such as this. In this pattern-seeking process, I noticed that the ways "care" emerged were sometimes surprising. For example, I found that students would return to moments in their life, like high school, that we had already discussed in previous interviews, in order to add a story about a teacher or someone else who were especially caring. "Oh and I almost forgot…" or a similar formulation would preface such omission-correcting moments, and would become like Marion's map in chapter 3, where she draws a tangled line of a life so far, with the names of people who cared written in between the jumble. I also noticed details beyond interaction, which I also describe in chapter 3, such as instructors keeping their doors open just a crack, even when I knew they were working on a deadline.

In later analysis, I began to see the Basso-inspired forms of "imaginative practice" as also productive of a kind of hope, even if Basso does not make this leap himself. I also saw that this hope, like the forms of care that characterized this work with lands and resources at SKC, was not isolated but rather part of a legacy of different kinds of collective practice that all sought to achieve the common goal of a restored sense of well-being for the communities to which students belonged. By imagining these various movements together (and we can include Standing Rock in this), as existing alongside each other as part of a larger pattern and moving towards the same goal, I was inspired to draw on a term that describes how this might happen in nature – "alluvial", as on an alluvial plain. Therefore, I created the novel term "alluvial hope", which I describe in detail in chapter 4.

The research participants

In this project, there were 11 faculty and 32 students that participated. As I mentioned, all data collected was considered in the analysis, but in the writing of this dissertation, I focus the majority of my analysis on the students. In particular, I focus on a smaller group of students, "focal follows", whom I got to know especially well, in order to craft a more cohesive narrative that allows the reader to see how themes may emerge through their experiences in different moments and contexts. So while this may appear to be a story about a small group of students, it is actually a larger story of student experience that is told through these "characters".

While I did also interview and observe some non-Native students for this project, ultimately, I chose to focus more on the experiences of Native students in order to examine how the particular forms of experience for someone with a self-designated identity as a Native person can inform a tribal college education. I intend for this to contribute more directly to research and considerations within Indigenous education, while I also recognize that non-Native students also make up an important part of the SKC community. I think future work that focuses on non-Native student experience at this college (or another setting where they are educated in a tribally-run educational context) could also make for a fascinating study.

Among the 11 faculty who agreed to be part of this project, 4 of them identified as Native American. The faculty were mostly in their 40s and 50s, though a few were in their 30s and a few were in their 60s. I spent the most time with the instructors in the two specialties I focused on -- Hydrology, and Wildlife and Fisheries -- and got to know a few of them fairly well.

But I spent most of my time with the students and spent a lot more out-of-class time with them as well, at events and club meetings, for example, and sometimes at lunch, or hiking. Most of the students were in their mid to late 20s and early to mid 30s, with a few in their 40s and 50s.

About half of them were from Montana. Most of them were parents, and many of them had familial responsibilities that could both drive their educational goals and detract from them.

All of the participants in this study made space and time for me to learn from them, at a moment when they had full plates, and I am incredibly grateful to each one.

Chapter overview

Chapter 2: Disjuncture: Causes, responses, and hope

In this chapter, I provide historical context in order to understand the role U.S. education for Native Americans has played in creating a legacy of education that, for the most part, has sought to eradicate "Indianness". I describe the Indian boarding school movement, which explicitly sought to divest Native children from all cultural, linguistic, and educational resources in order to assimilate them into mainstream society, without any hope of actually being granted equitable participation in that society. I also discuss movements in education that arose as a challenge to this model, through "culturally responsive schooling". From this groundswell of education that re-centers Indigenous ways of knowing, I briefly describe how tribal colleges became established, with SKC being one of the earliest examples, when it was founded in 1977.

From this starting point of educational history of Native Americans, I consider how this history, and settler colonialism more broadly may manifest through disjuncture in various ways. Barbra Meek describes disjuncture as "the everyday points of discontinuity and contradiction - between social or linguistic groups, within discourses, practices, or between them, even between indexical orders - that interrupt the flow of action, communication, or thought" (2011:4). First, I

consider how types of disjuncture in Native American schooling has been discussed in the linguistic anthropological literature, and I focus on two "discourses of disjuncture": 1) endangerment and extinction; and 2) silence, as well as responses to these themes that further challenge them, such as "revitalization" and "voice".

From there, I describe some ways that disjuncture is experienced among students, including having a sense of a lack of affective education due to the ways intergenerational trauma has manifested in their own families, including through alcoholism. I also discuss a sense of being kept from cultural participation. This then leads into the ways that historical removal from land and practices that are tied to it may manifest as disjuncture, or as being cut off from a "geography of spirit" (Hogan 2020:viii). But I also introduce a narrative that includes a moment between one student and the land itself, introducing the ways hope may manifest in later chapters.

Chapter 3: Care moves through places: The transformative role of care in placemaking at SKC

In this chapter, I revisit Keith Basso's classic work on placemaking in his work, Wisdom Sits in Places. I consider how this concept may be productively put in conversation with "care" and by doing so, we can see how forms of care manifest in the interactional landscapes of SKC. I examine how a situated form of care may be present in the linguistic landscapes of the college, which resonates with the interactional forms of care students described with their instructors and mentors. These forms of care fall into two categories: 1) restorative acts of kindness; and 2) recognition and representation.

I also consider what an absence of care might look like in this context and what this can tell us about how care is understood among students, and in what ways they need it to be responsive. Finally, I describe an unexpected form of care at the college: joking. Through analysis of a joke-filled moment of interaction in the classroom, I consider how we might expand the notion of situated care to consider how it might build connections between individuals and intertribally, becoming care that "moves".

Chapter 4: Alluvial hope

In this chapter, I describe how students already use the tools of placemaking in times of trouble. This introduces how stories can become resources in placemaking and the forms of imaginative practice that happen in the classroom. I present one example of how this might happen, as a group of students playfully imagine how a hunting party of Salish ancestors might have determined when it was safe to cross a river. I then consider how the concepts of practice and time evident in this type of imaginative practice may relate to the concept of hope. After considering how various forms of hope have been discussed in the literature, I propose a model of "alluvial hope" in order to expand how it may be related to collective practice across time, and also may intersect with the concept of placemaking. In order to see how this novel concept may be applied to the context of SKC, I consider how it can help us understand two different ways students see a river, as well as how an instructor envisions possibilities for imaginative practice, even when it seems unlikely to happen.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

In my conclusion, I revisit the three main themes that I address in the preceding chapters – disjuncture, care, and hope – to consider how each one might illuminate facets of the others. I discuss how, for example, experiences of disjuncture call for interactions based in care that respond to these experiences. I also discuss how disjuncture with regards to land might determine a path forward, even if it makes that path rockier. And I also describe how the concept of "alluvial hope" may provide a productive model for Indigenous education, that is not only about hope, but can help produce hope.

Chapter 2: Disjuncture: Causes, responses, and hope

When considering the current landscape of education for Native American students, it is important to attend to the path their communities took to get to this point, and how harmful resonances of a legacy of U.S. schooling may co-exist with exciting forms of programs that re-center the Native experience into educational practice.

In this chapter, I will share just what the legacy of U.S. governmental schooling looked like and how forms of "culturally responsive schooling", including tribal colleges like SKC, have emerged as a powerful response. These are important large movements to keep in mind as I gradually look more closely into the lives and experiences of the Natural Resources students at SKC that are the heart of this project. I also begin to introduce how resonances of these histories manifest in how students approach and manage their educations. In order to fully understand the two main topics I will address in the next two chapters -- care and hope -- it is a necessary step to also consider the forms of disjuncture that emerge in the wake of the settler colonial project of not just schooling, but also land management and local tribal histories.

Along these lines, I will look at themes that have emerged in the face of this legacy, and I will focus on how affective education -- how one learns to deal with problems -- may be one overlooked result. I will also consider ways loss is talked about, where forms of learning are interrupted or denied. Following this, I will consider how disjuncture from land may intertwine in ways that are also felt, while at the same time, deep and profound connections may emerge in the process of building connections through education.

A brief history of American Indian education

The first attempts at higher education for American Indians came as early as 1617, when King James I began designs with the Anglican clergymen, using problematic language from the time, for "the erecting of some churches and schools for ye education of ye children of these [Virginia] Barbarians" (as cited in Wright and Tierney, 1991). After some resistance of the Native people of Virginia, including the rebellion of 1622, plans for an Indian college were scrapped. More, largely unsuccessful attempts would follow throughout the centuries following. Hugh Jones, an 18th-century historian of Virginia, conceded that, at the College of William and Mary:

> hitherto but little good has been done, though abundance of money has been laid out. . . . [An] abundance of them used to die . . . Those of them that have escaped well, and been taught to read and write, have for the most part returned to their home, some with and some without baptism, where they follow their own savage customs and heathenish rites (as cited in Wright and Tierney, 1991:13).

On one hand, this quote allows us to see that students during this time chose to return home "where they follow their own savage customs and heathenish rites" being a racist way of characterizing the fact that they resumed participation in their home cultures. What he describes as "little good has been done" shows that the project of stripping these connections away from students, was thankfully, a failed project. This reference to death is largely about the often fatal results of Native people coming into contact with European diseases to which they had no immunity. Yet there are also references in the historical record to what is sometimes referred to currently as "diseases of despair", including references to "consumption". It's also important to note that loss of life for Native American students in schools was a larger problem -- during the boarding school era, there are also reports of mysterious deaths in a system often plagued by mistreatment and abuse, and graveyards on school grounds still stand, many with the designation

"unknown" on the headstones. While this is not a central point to this paper, it is still important to recognize that the legacy of U.S. education in Native American communities is not only characterized by losses in linguistic and cultural transmission but also, at times, a loss of life. This is a legacy that continues to resonate in collective memory of schooling. However, it is also important to attend to the observation that Jones makes in the above quote, that of a return to customs and rituals (which he calls "heathenish"), also prefacing a theme of resistance and survival -- or what Vizenor (2008) blends in the novel term "survivance" -- that continues to characterize the Native American response to education in the U.S.

Yet there were also Indigenous-led movements in schooling in the historical record. During the mid-19th century, at the time that a dozen Indian students were attending Dartmouth, the Cherokees and the Choctaws organized a system of higher education that had more than 200 schools, and sent numerous graduates to eastern colleges (Wright and Tierney 1991). Yet systems such as these would not survive the ideological shift to vocational training under federal control of education. This focus on allowing American Indian students to receive the same types of education as other students changed with a shift from missionary and religious institutions to those under federal control in the 19th century. With the massive effort, the focus shifted from higher learning to vocational training. Carlisle, which opened in 1879 in Pennsylvania, was the first off-reservation boarding school, though by 1882, 25 more had opened, with a few postsecondary schools among them. However, these reflected the goals of the other boarding schools to train students for agricultural and mechanical labor, as well as domestic work, rather than providing an education comparable to that at non-Indian colleges.

Lomawaima and McCarty describe how this targeted system of federal education fit in with a larger picture of how marginalized populations in the U.S. were maintained in this status:

> For American Indians, African Americans, immigrants and others, schooling has been an engine of standardization, not of parental choice and control, as powerful interests within the dominant society endeavored to fit diverse Americans for their assigned places within established economic and social hierarchies. (2006:37).

So the mission of federal Indian education throughout the boarding school era, with resonances today, was twofold: to "civilize" the Indigenous peoples of the U.S. whose entire body of linguistic and cultural lifeways and practices were deemed "primitive" or "barbaric" and therefore in need of eradication, and also to assimilate generations of children while making sure they remained in a lower status, only to exist in the margins of society. Archuleta et al. state:

> Federal programs to eradicate 'Indianness' sometimes, in some places, and for some people, have been successful --and that is a tragedy. Despite this, and despite other tragic effects of assimilative policies and institutions, Indian people, families, communities, and cultures have survived. That is a miracle. (2000:19).

Yet it is important to note that boarding schools did not provide a uniform experience for all students, and the climate of schools reflected the larger political attitudes towards Native Americans, in any given time and place. So in some instances, children were taken against the will of the parents, abused, and punished harshly for speaking their languages, while during the 1960s and 1970s for example, bilingual readers were produced, and students elected to attend these institutions. Throughout, experiences were mixed and were characterized by a mix of varying levels of regimentation and resistance.

In institutions that made stripping children of their language, culture, and anything that indexed their "Indianness" the primary goal, notions of language socialization that focus on socializing children *into* a given language and culture, are only one piece of the puzzle. As Garcia-Sanchez (2014) explores in her research among Moroccan immigrant children in Spain,

experiences of exclusion and alienation also become an unfortunate interactional achievement. While the close level of analysis she conducts in order to examine how this exclusionary socialization occurs is obviously not possible to do on the boarding schools of the past, Garcia-Sanchez makes an important point about levels of analysis that can perhaps provide a window into what might have occurred in these places. She states research like hers:

> provides important insights for other lines of research that examine the role of language in the sociocultural and political processes through which 'otherness' and exclusion are constructed at macro - social levels. In trying to understand these complex phenomena – exclusion, alienation, and discrimination – the two levels of analysis must be viewed as symbiotic rather than dialectical. (415)

This has implications for current research with Native American classrooms, especially those in with mixed populations. However, I would also argue that the boarding schools that are under discussion here are also critical to study prior to any micro-analysis with Native American children, if one is to understand the roots of how this "otherness" has been intergenerationally shaped.

It is also important to remember that for all the exclusionary processes that may be occurring at the official level, and indeed may reverberate into attitudes between students, it's important not to neglect the influence of peer culture, especially as it helped to create an enduring intertribal network of former boarding school students. As Goodwin and Kyratzis point out, studying peer culture can show "how children, in their naturally occurring peer groups, become agents of their own socialization", and that, "Through their talk, children construct their own ideas of valued behaviors and identities in their peer or kin groups" (2007:280).

Lomawaima provides a historical perspective on what this might have looked like in boarding schools, based on interviews with former boarding school students at Chilocco in

Oklahoma, as she describes the ways students created a school culture that "was influenced but not determined by the bounds of federal control" (1994:xi). Often, as she points out, not only did the federal assimilation goals of stripping children of tribal identity fail in favor of cohesion amongst students, but the ways this emerged was unexpected. So, while it was anticipated that it would be easier to erase tribal identity among younger students, at Chilocco the youngest boys formed gangs according to tribe, and the older children downplayed tribal identity in their peer groups, which also provides some early evidence of an institutionally-shaped pan-Indian identity. She notes: "Through strict regimentation, non-Indian authority mobilized and strengthened Indian resistance, expressed as loyalty to fellow students as well as covert and overt rule-breaking" (xiii).

Another important point that Lomawaima makes is that, "The historical narrative manufactured in the process, laudatory or critical, begins with the federal as the subject and encodes Native American or Indian as its object, mirroring the crusade even as it strives to delineate it" (xi). For this reason, I will now shift my attention to approaches to education that exert some degree of tribal control and seek to incorporate locally meaningful perspectives on education that may contribute to a shift towards success (in itself a concept that may benefit from local interpretations) for Native American students.

Culturally responsive schooling

One general framework that has sought to recenter Indigenous approaches to education is what is often referred to as "culturally responsive schooling" (CRS). While there a large number of definitions for CRS, one of the most respected comes from the Alaska Native Knowledge Network, suggesting that:

> a firm grounding in the heritage language and culture indigenous to a particular tribe is a fundamental prerequisite for the development of culturally healthy students and communities associated with that place, and thus is an essential ingredient for identifying the appropriate qualities and practices associated with culturally-responsive educators, curriculum, and schools. (Alaska Native Knowledge Network, 1998)

In this definition, there is the suggestion that heritage language and culture, rather than being approached as a hindrance to what is deemed necessary to a Western-centric view of success, is actually central to the development of "culturally healthy students and communities". What this may mean for individual communities may differ, though this approach echoes a long tradition in language socialization literature that points out that how children learn in non-Western cultures may not align with the taken-for-granted approaches that pervade developmental models (see Schieffelin 1990, Ochs and Schieffelin 1984). For this discussion, one of the more relevant approaches comes from Rogoff et al. (2014), who contrast "assembly-line instruction" with "intent participation". They note that assembly-line instruction is common in mainstream schools in the U.S., and "is based on transmission of information from experts, outside the context of productive, purposive activity" (176). This approach characterizes how federal education has historically, and often still, may attempt to socialize Native American children in a manner that may align with white, middle-class norms that are contrary to their own cultural frameworks. In contrast to these approaches, intent participation "involves a collaborative, horizontal participation structure with flexible, complementary roles", and they observe that this "participation structure of intent participation can be illustrated by the social organization of indigenous groups of the Americas, which often involves shared multiparty engagements among several group members, with mutual and fluid negotiation of responsibilities and consensus-based decision making" (185).

These differences in approach bear out in studies that illustrate how assembly-line instruction is unsuccessful, for example in the "participant structures" Susan Philips (1983) describes in schools on the Warm Springs. In contrast, examples that incorporate CRS models demonstrate how "intent participation" structures become central, even if they are not referred to using this term. For example, McCarty and Bia (2002) tell the story of Rough Rock demonstration school on the Navajo reservation that chose to reject the practice of maintaining a clear boundary between school and home, by bringing in families and elders into the education process, and allowing for a shift in teaching models that honored practices that were used beyond the school walls.

But beyond the communicative practices that are used in education, CRS also seeks to re-center historically grounded and meaningful knowledge systems -- exactly what the boarding school system sought to erase. One rich area of research in this area pertains to language socialization and communicative competence in relation to heritage language acquisition, use, and attempts at revitalization. Another theme that has emerged in this area is what is often referred to as "Indigenous knowledge systems" (Barnhardt and Kawagley 2005) or especially as it pertains to science, "traditional ecological knowledge", or TEK, which Berkes defines as, "A cumulative body of knowledge, practice, and belief, evolving by adaptive processes and handed down through generations by cultural transmission about the relationships of living beings (including humans) with one another and with their environment (1999:8).

Research has also considered how these knowledges are situated in classrooms, where for example, a traditional whale hunt may elicit differing moral reactions along cultural lines, highlighting the ways that "culturally responsive education from an indigenous perspective is sublimely ecological and place based" (Marker 2007:482). Battiste makes the point, however, to

caution researchers to avoid seeing Indigenous knowledge systems in clear opposition to mainstream systems She notes:

> Indigenous scholars discovered that Indigenous knowledge is far more than the binary opposite of western knowledge. As a concept, Indigenous knowledge benchmarks the limitations of Eurocentric theory—its methodology, evidence, and conclusions—reconceptualizes the resilience and self-reliance of Indigenous peoples, and underscores the importance of their own philosophies, heritages, and educational processes. Indigenous knowledge fills the ethical and knowledge gaps in Eurocentric education, research, and scholarship. By animating the voices and experiences of the cognitive "other" and integrating them into educational processes, it creates a new, balanced centre and a fresh vantage point from which to analyze Eurocentric education and its pedagogies. (2002:5)

The U.S. educational system, through its structures, policies, and assessment models, continue to characterize the educational experience for Native American students, whether they are on or off reservations. These effects are palpable, extending from accreditation of teachers' knowledge and schools themselves, to standardized testing that applies a one-size-fits-all model to measuring knowledge acquisition among children whose own lifeways are not represented. While there is promising work that continues to contribute to literature on culturally-responsive education, and while there is a rich and expanding body of work on Native Americans in Higher Education (Deloria and Wildcat, 2001, Brayboy 2012), there has been little ethnographic research on tribal colleges.

Tribal colleges

Tribal colleges were established beginning in the 1970s, largely in response to a lack of success among Native students who were attending college in mainstream colleges and universities. There are currently 32 federally accredited tribal colleges and universities.

According to enrollment data from 2010, around 9% of American Indian and Alaska Native college students were attending one of these 32 colleges, and they make up 78% of the total enrollment of these institutions. But this number is increasing. During the time period between 2001 and 2006, the number of Native American students enrolled in TCUs increased by 23%. While there is a rich and expanding body of work on Native Americans in Higher Education (Deloria and Wildcat 2001, Brayboy 2012), there has been little ethnographic research on tribal colleges. This is notable, as the number of American Indian/Alaska Native (AI/AN) students enrolled in colleges and universities has more than doubled in the past 30 years, and at the same time the outcomes differ markedly between mainstream universities and tribal colleges, where 86 percent of tribal college students complete their chosen program of study, while fewer than 10 percent of AI/AN students who go directly from reservation high schools to mainstream colleges and universities finish their bachelor's degree (American Indian College Fund, 2017).

Tribal colleges, therefore, offer a hopeful model that may potentially challenge the damaging legacy of American Indian education, by incorporating CRS at the highest level. Yet it is also important to consider the complex ways it is shaped by this legacy, for better and for worse. At times, in assessment, funding, and structure, it remains very close to earlier U.S. government-led models. And interestingly, at some colleges (including SKC), there is also the resonance from an earlier era as members from multiple tribes come together and reside in dorms on campus, mirroring the forms of cultural contact that happened in the boarding school era. Yet there is also a recentralization of local ways of knowing. Considering how these cultural models converge or come into contact provides a rich site for analysis, and one that is presently underexplored. One of these areas of problematic and productive epistemological tension in tribal colleges can be found in science classes. In discussions of climate change, for example, in

one publication available on the American Indian Higher Education Commission (AIHEC) website entitled, "Protecting or Home: Native Leaders, Tribal Colleges, Western Leaders Collaborate", Native American communities are represented as both the most vulnerable victims of climate change, as well as a vital resource to address this large issue. In this example, NASA and Native perspectives are presented as aligning in fascinating ways:

> As noted by Bob Gough and Pat Spears (co-chairs of the first Native Peoples Native Homelands Workshop convened over a decade ago), NASA shares a perspective on the Earth quite similar to that held by many Native peoples. From its unique vantage point in space, NASA is perhaps the only government agency to see the Earth as a unique, complex, and unified living system (AIHEC n.d.:3).

Contexts such as this continue to provide rich sites for researchers to continue to seek out collaborative contexts such as this one in order to get a clearer picture of the ways these differing models and approaches are taken up, challenged, and transformed in interaction.

Dimensions of disjuncture

I just described the history of American Indian education, as well as the response to it, from community-based models to tribal colleges like SKC. As I discussed, boarding schools in particular had a devastating effect on Native communities, not just in education but in everyday life. And while the process of healing from the more harmful effects of these legacies is attempted in multiple contexts, schools often find themselves in the role of attempting to manage the emotional and the practical effects of historical trauma, and SKC is no exception. In the next chapter, I will describe how a layered landscape of care emerges as a response to the affective, practical, and material manifestations of trauma, in forms that are often situated. But in order to contextualize just how and why situated forms of care for members of the college community, as well as for the natural resources and lands they are trying to protect, is so vital to student success,

this chapter will examine the dimensions of disjuncture that are present in the experiences and narratives among SKC students.

In her work on a Kaska language revitalization program in the Yukon, Barabara Meek defines disjuncture as "the everyday points of discontinuity and contradiction - between social or linguistic groups, within discourses, practices, or between them, even between indexical orders - that interrupt the flow of action, communication, or thought" (2011:4). Earlier, Appadurai had also used disjuncture to describe the “new” global cultural economy which he describes as a “complex, overlapping, disjunctive order, which cannot any longer be understood as center-periphery models” (1990:296). While his use of the term has some application for my discussion, especially as it relates to place, which I focus on in the following chapter, the way I use disjuncture is more along the lines of Meek’s description. She focuses primarily on how everyday sociolinguistic phenomena creates these points of discontinuity, thereby being influenced by and also influencing language shift in the context she describes. She shows how larger processes of language shift may be influenced in small ways -- through interactional, ideological, and institutional habits and practices.

I build upon her use of disjuncture to try to encapsulate how ruptures in cultural transmission, that include but also extend beyond heritage language fluency, may be experienced and talked about, sometimes in ways that seem to defy description. To varying degrees, disjuncture among students at SKC seemed to manifest in interrelational, material, affective, and embodied ways. While it makes up only a portion of their experience, it is important to attend to for several reasons. First, on an institutional level, it is important to understand how SKC and other tribally-controlled schools are attempting to re-center CRS into a structure that continues to be molded in the shape of a Western institution, which, as I have described are often the sites of

complicated and often painful histories in Native communities. Also, at the institutional level, those who work at tribal colleges will be tasked with managing these practical and material effects of settler colonialism, for example, in addressing student poverty which may interrupt their ability to pay tuition or afford books, or in developing policy that can respond to a sudden tragedy or otherwise disruptive personal circumstance.

Secondly, understanding how disjuncture is described and experienced by students can also help us understand, for example, why being interrupted during a class presentation is taken as a personal attack, or why seeing flowers in a field signaling a traditional edible plant, can be such a profound experience. These more personal experiences are what I will primarily examine in this work. But considering the historical, and larger social processes that contribute to how disjuncture is understood and managed in everyday ways can be extraordinarily helpful in making connections between how interactions in the classroom can facilitate other moments of connection, and how relationships grounded in care are constructed, both interpersonally and for land itself. But first, I will examine how the concept of disjuncture may correlate with two other themes that emerge in the linguistic anthropology literature: endangerment/extinction and silence.

Discourses of disjuncture: Endangerment/Extinction

As noted in the introduction, central to discussions of culturally responsive schooling in Native American communities is the re-centralization of heritage languages. While not the main focus of this project, the ways that heritage languages were approached through the damaging legacy of U.S. education for Native American populations can help illuminate larger processes of disjuncture. A huge body of work in linguistic anthropology has sought to examine in detail how, by whom, in what contexts, and for which reasons heritages languages are used or forsaken (see,

for example, Hinton and Hale 2008, Hinton 2002, Fishman 1991, Kroskrity 2009, Kroskrity 2012, Zepeda 1999, Wyman 2012, Meek 2010, Debenport 2015, Hornberger 2008, Hill 2002). According to a definition by McCarty et al.:

> Language loss refers to the attrition of specific language skills such as knowledge of grammar and vocabulary or more general "frustration and/or loss of ease with the language"... What is lost, however, is no less than the means by which parents socialize their children. When parents lose the means for socializing and influencing their children. . . families lose the intimacy that comes from shared beliefs and understandings. (2006:32)

This definition points out the important links between language, language socialization, and caregiving, which becomes the heart and the hearth for developing an ethical, culturally-centered self. This point is important to keep in mind as we hear from SKC students' own experiences of disjuncture later in this chapter. It is also an important point to consider alongside the role of schools. When discussing how to implement CRS models into education for Native students, or considering how to design a heritage language course, the role of the home and family, and the interruptions rendered there reverberate in language loss itself, alongside closely connected ruptures in other forms of education. This can be why care becomes such a central part of education, both in the ways it emerges and the ways it is absent, and language is one part of a larger puzzle that tells the stories of how this happened, and how it remains tender.

The rate of language loss is indeed alarming, and media and professional representations have characterized it as such. For example, UNESCO has recently described over half of the world's languages as under threat. But Jane Hill warns that scholars and linguists themselves may contribute to these discourses of endangerment, or even language extinction. She notes:

> Community language workers, speakers, and other members of local groups

> are both participants and overhearers in a global conversation about language endangerment in which the voices of academics and policymakers are especially prominent. How might this global conversation resonate for members of communities that are custodians of endangered languages—communities that are themselves a diverse audience? Do they find it empowering and encouraging, unintelligible and alienating, or something in between? Can they borrow from it to conduct their own advocacy, Or do they prefer to use quite different discourses? (2002:119)

Some work has tried to address some of the concerns that Hill raises, by seeking out the voices of youth in particular, to understand how these discourses as well as the personal experiences of loss might be present. In one powerful example, McCarty et al. cite the words of a young Navajo man who makes links to his reluctance to use his own language to larger sociopolitical histories:

> Jonathan spoke even more poignantly of what he called the "Long Walk syndrome," referring to the Navajos' enforced Long Walk and four-year Incarceration at Fort Sumner, New Mexico, from 1864 to 1868. A holocaust in Navajo history, the Long Walk and Fort Sumner (Hwéeldi) still bring to mind brutal images of genocide at the hands of U.S. military personnel. Recalling these painful images and their lingering effects, Jonathan said: "Like I said, this Long Walk syndrome ….we're afraid to be punished, we're afraid that someone will whip us in the back….You know, you forsake who you are, you give up having to learn Navajo….You're having to give all that up, in order to accommodate the mainstream life." (2014:38)

These critiques and examples raise important discussion in terms of thinking more closely about how language loss is described, linked to other discourses, and experienced by those who are directly affected. In my research at SKC, none of the students who participated had any degree of fluency in their heritage languages, and most were only able to say a few words and phrases, as I mentioned. However, the loss of heritage languages still came up as something that was keenly and painfully felt, and that was linked to other affective resonances of generalized

loss, which we can also see in Jonathon's words above, and which I will explore through the voices of the SKC students in the following pages.

Discourses of disjuncture: Silence

Lomawaima and McCarty note that historically, federal employees used stereotypes of Indians to describe perceived deficiencies in children's emotional capacities (2006). They cite an example from a newspaper interview with Superintendent of Indian Schools, Estelle Reel, who states:

> [The Indian child's] face is without complete development of nerve and muscle which gives character to expressive features; his face seems stolid because it is without free expression, and at the same time his mind remains measurably stolid because of the very absence of mechanism for its own expression.
> (cited in Lomawaima, 1996:14).

In this inaccurate and disparaging example, an ability to express oneself in English is linked to the ability to reason at all, and there is no recognition in this statement that a child's prevention from expressing their thoughts in their own language would lead to such stoicism.

Keith Basso also recognizes myths and stereotypes about silence among Native Americans, especially in popular literature which includes portrayals of supposed characteristics of Indians that includes, "instinctive dignity", "an impoverished language", and a "lack of personal warmth" (1990:80). He also locates communicative uses for silence among Western Apaches as a locally preferred response to uncertainty and unpredictability in social relations. His examples of contexts where this may occur include "meeting strangers", "getting cussed out", and "courting", but one example that is particularly relevant for my discussion relates to a period of silence that follows a child's return from boarding school (and here it's useful to contextualize Basso's research within the time period in which data collection took place, between 1964-

1969). Basso describes the concern parents have that children may have altered expectations and ideas they acquired while spending time in Anglo schools, which may lead to altered perceptions of families back home as ignorant or old-fashioned, and often which can lead to unpredictable behavior. In response, parents may remain silent for a period, which is usually broken by the children, whose recountings are also received silently until the parents can assess how the child has changed.

Basso's discussion is particularly interesting for how it situates silence as a practice that is locally valued in Western Apache culture but also emerges as a consequence of the boarding school era, which shifted socialization from the home to a distant, Anglo-controlled institution. Therefore, children who should be considered the most familiar within a family structure are recast as strangers, and are treated just as "meeting strangers" are in these cases.

As will become evident further in this chapter, in the SKC data, some of the ways silence emerges for students is in the form of knowledge that is not shared, languages that are not spoken, stories that are not told and that they are afraid to ask to be told.

It is important to mention that the anthropological literature also addresses the positive responses to these themes, for example in the forms of "voice", "emergent vitalities" (Perley 2011), and new forms of presence. I will include these themes as they become relevant throughout this analysis, though I am emphasizing the themes that speak to forms of disjuncture for the purposes of this chapter.

And while these themes contribute to a wide range of discussions related to American Indian education, it is interesting to note that their resonances can also be seen at once in a short description by one student at SKC, named Patterson, in his brief recounting of his grandmother's experience in boarding school. He recalls:

> And so she was born in a tipi and was fluent in Salish growing up. But after boarding school, she wouldn't speak the language and she would always tell me to never learn it and just kind of forget about that stuff because she, she said there's no place for an Indian in the white man's world. And so she never wanted me to learn any of that stuff.

This story about his grandmother, then, also become a story about himself, as her own silence – no longer speaking her language – translates into urging silence to protect her grandchildren. Her losses become resonant losses for generations that follow her.

Talking about trauma

In order for the students at SKC to share their experiences with me, in the form of life histories and reflections on their lives and future envisionings, a great deal of trust was required. To aid in this trust building process, I conducted almost all my interviews with students in the Academic and Student Support Services wing of a modern wood building, a place of unlikely warmth and comfort. This building was where students would come to get help for things like arranging for high school transcripts to be sent, or tutoring, but also for things like a bowl from the occasional crockpot of potato soup, or to collect donated groceries from the plastic crates by the door -- loaves of bread, apples, even gallons of milk. Many students have told me that this building has a good feeling, and that may be the reason why some came by for unspecified help when they didn't know who else to approach.

Entering this wing of the building, on the right side is Sue's office, and her door is usually propped open with her window open and letting in a breeze. Sue has a high-level administrative role but her presence goes beyond whatever duties are included in her job title. She recognizes students as they enter the building and will call out to them to invite them to chat about whatever milestone is relevant to each person -- an internship, a return after a disruption,

whether they would be helping with the graduation powwow this year. She also has her finger on the pulse of local happenings, either at the school or in the reservation community, and is quick to enlist students in them: “Have you heard about the Birds and Bears Festival coming up at the gym? Do you want to help serve food? It’s going to be a really cool event, they’re bringing live raptors again!” Often, people find themselves drawn into her office where they sit in the deep, comfortable leather chair across from her, feeling the breeze on their face as they admire the collection of many genres of Native art placed all around her office. Something about Sue’s discourse style evokes a bit of magic and wonder, as she attunes to the most remarkable detail and recounts it with sparkling eyes and amused smile, like when she told me about the proposed addition to the animal bridges, which would go under Highway 93: “It needs to be big enough so the turtles can walk through it together, because they like to socialize, and it needs to be shaped like a hexagon or they won’t go in it!” I myself have spent hours in that chair, enthralled by her tales, and leaving with a sense that I somehow landed in a wondrous place.

I was never sure whether the warm feeling of this wing of the building was a result of Sue’s energy radiating outward or something else, but during my time at SKC, I decided to conduct the majority of the student interviews there. I was able to sign up on a calendar to use the conference room, a small room with a long table and padded leather chairs, that while windowless, was situated in the heart of the cluster of a plain set of offices that nevertheless exuded comfort. Taped onto the door was a flyer for an invitation to a recurring women’s trauma talking circle, and next to the door were words of affirmation and Salish translations for the room number. These affirmations made up small, common parts of a linguistic landscape (I talk more about the linguistic landscapes of the college in Chapter 3) where buildings were peppered with similar messages, often appearing in such unlikely forms as a rock, placed by the doorway in the

computer room down the hall, that was painted black with words in white lettering urging, "Remember why you started" (see image 2.1).

Figure 2.1: Affirmation rock

At the end of the conference room was a screen for presentations, and a mini fridge was tucked in the corner. On the walls were replicas of famous black and white portraits of Native Americans from earlier times, including one of a smiling couple in traditional dress in a summertime field, with their young child beside them. This room became a place where I conducted a three-interview series, loosely based on Seidman's (2006) phenomenological model. Over a period of time, I would first interview students about their past, secondly about their

current lives and realities, including, of course, their lives at SKC, and thirdly, I would talk about what they anticipated for the future, which was at times poignant and emotional as students were often on the brink of graduation. Taken together, these interviews comprised a life history, one that unfolded over time, and helped me to build trust and familiarity with each student. It also became a place to debrief and reflect on things that happened in the classes "we" were taking, senior thesis presentations, and local events. Following these students over the course of nearly a year and a half, I began to feel more like a participant than an observer, sometimes mistaken for a student by those who I did not get a chance to know as well. At one point as I sat in a computer lab during the second academic year with the group of hydrology students I had gotten to know well, one of them joked to me, "so you're a sophomore now?"

And as students recounted their experiences, it was impossible to not be stunned, at times, by the weight of their experiences, marked by tragedy and struggle, the resonant effects of historical trauma. There is a vast amount of literature on historical trauma and resultant issues related to health and wellbeing in indigenous communities. For example, compared with other Americans, the rate of alcoholism is 510% higher, diabetes is 189% higher, vehicle crashes is 229% higher, and suicide is 62% higher. Suicide is also the second leading cause of youth aged 15-24 (National Council of American Indians). These issues affect Native American communities in different ways, influenced by local histories and circumstances, though legacies of historical trauma and settler colonialism are ubiquitous in some form. On the Flathead reservation where SKC is located, the psychiatry professor Theresa Deleane O'Nell, in her 1996 ethnographic study of the reservation, describes a population that overwhelmingly describes themselves as depressed, noting that, "sadness and loss are nested within a rich language of loneliness, which in turn is nested within an ideology of belonging", in which belonging to a

group of ancestors also requires a responsibility to others. Therefore, “Flathead people discipline their hearts to remember the pain and yet to transcend it” (177). Others have asked that we rethink how we engage with the concept of historical trauma. Some critics emphasize that the term suggests that trauma is something that occurred in the past and obscures the ways that Native American communities continue to suffer land dispossession, settler colonial-informed educational practices, enduring negative stereotypes and racism, and the invasion of sacred lands for destructive corporate interests.

Additionally, as Denham suggests, it is problematic that often a pathological or dysphoric response is considered to be a requirement to validate the presence or impact of historical trauma and goes on to suggest that, “Future definitions and discussions regarding the historical trauma complex should consider the potential for alternative and potentially resilient expressions” (2008:411).

Others also point out that it is vitally important, in a discussion on the future of education in Indigenous communities, to describe what educational anthropologists Brayboy and McCarty call the “imperative of hope”, which draws upon Lomawaima and Friere, in which they describe as something that is owed to “‘untold generations’ who have struggled courageously before us and to ‘those who come after’” (2012:1).

With this in mind, I am taking a position that recognizes trauma and considers how continued oppression affects, specifically, those represented at SKC, but also moves beyond that to look very carefully at the ways that hope is invoked, the process of healing begins, and that wellness is actively understood and worked towards. If the cross-generational impacts of Indigenous historical trauma as Hartman and Gone (2016) describe contain “legacies of risk and vulnerability [that] were passed from ancestors to descendants in unremitting fashion until

'healing' interrupts these deleterious processes", what might the goals of healing look like? How, following O'Nell's description of this community's construction of responsibility in the face of depression, do people find ways to "transcend" it? What is the relationship between care for land and for people among students at SKC and how does this inform their educational process? And how does the diverse, mostly young set of students at Salish Kootenai College in the Natural Resources program make sense of the ways healing for people and for landscapes might be intertwined?

While I will start this tale with a close (sometimes painfully so) eye towards what historical trauma might look like in the narrated past experiences of some students, and the ways disjuncture may be felt on an emotional and practical level in varying degrees, I also realize that to get mired in this trauma alone, would be to fall into the trap of what Joel Robbins has also referred to this approach as one that focuses disproportionately on "the suffering subject" (2013). He proposes that anthropologists respond with a focus on "the good", and examine the ways that people conceive of the good, and how their aspirations towards this good help shape their lives as lived. In order to do this, he emphasizes that we must take peoples ideals and values seriously, while we remain "attentive to the way people orientate and act in a world that outstrips the one most concretely present to them" (457). It is also important to point out that the types of particularly heavy, tragic experiences I will introduce first do not characterize the lives of all students that I got to know. But because they were recounted in more than half of the life stories I was fortunate enough to be entrusted with, I feel that I would be remiss in eliminating them entirely from my analysis. And perhaps more importantly, I feel that it is critical to recognize that for these students, who have experienced a greater degree of tragedy, loss, and violence than

any 20-something or 30-something should ever have to, they managed to pursue and complete an extremely challenging degree *anyway*.

To consider some of the more personal ways that disjuncture was experienced for these students, I look at how, through their own reflections, we can see how disjuncture from place, from cultural systems of caregiving, and from traditional forms of education extend from the past into the present. I also show how these disjunctures may be felt in multiple ways, from a sense of not having the emotional resources to deal with problems, to not feeling like they have the resources to navigate college.

Interrupted affective education

One of the recurring ways that students talked about trauma was affective -- the sense that they did not receive the emotional education they needed from their families, in order to know how to deal with adversity, or even everyday challenges that come with learning how to be a college student. We can recall how McCarty et al. described how, when losing a language through harmful processes of schooling, "What is lost, however, is no less than the means by which parents socialize their children" (2006:32).

Taryn, a Wildlife and Fisheries student in her 20s who came from out of state, describes to me how, for both her and her husband, their histories of familial alcoholism and abuse led to a sense of feeling stunted when it came to knowing how to express emotion:

> We both, both struggled, struggled with depression and family trauma and family not doing a whole lot and had family issues. Neither of us were taught like neither one can be affectionate, or how to go to school or how to do things like neither-- or talk. We're learning as we go. So like school has been a problem. We've had problems in our relationships, just cuz we haven't been taught how to do a lot. You know, both of our families struggle, struggle with

> addiction. My mom and my grandma, both of both my grandparents all struggle with alcohol. My grandpa has cirrhosis of the liver. My dad's an alcoholic right now. My mom is an alcoholic, but she's been sober for some years now. My grandma and grandpa, my mom said those who struggled extremely with alcohol. Both alcoholics. My grandma has been sober for so many years now. Grandpa, he still drinks. But it's not like how it used to be when he was younger, when he used to be like really abusive and during every day. But then my husband's family and his both of his parents, you know struggle with alcohol, and then his brothers and sisters struggle with drug addictions and alcohol. So just surrounded, constantly surrounded by people like in both poor families, like with addictions and when you're dealing with anyone with addictions, you have a lot of emotional issues.

In this example, we can see how the effects of boarding schools and their resultant trauma continue to resonate. Removal from the home and families for Native children who attended these schools had the effect of effectively removing them from their own socialization into cultural ways of being though language and practice (Ochs and Schieffilin 1984). And I described, trauma's legacy also can result in high rates of alcohol and substance abuse. When this becomes intergenerational, as we can see in Taryn's example (Grandma, Grandpa, mom, brother) the trauma response interweaves with a body's perceived incapacity to perform in socially acceptable ways. When we consider it this way, we can see that the physical removal from a cultural context and all that implies for learning and nurturing, then places the learning of these skills to a school setting that is specifically designed to devalue those ways of interacting. This highlights how historically and still, disjuncture can be felt at the level of place and through forms of interaction. Additionally, when alcohol becomes a coping response to this harm, that further interrupts one's ability to both provide and model caregiving, things like "learning how to be affectionate" are lost. In this example, Taryn links this history of alcohol abuse in her family to how to function in school as well, saying: "So like school has been a problem." This sense of

“teaching” also crosses into personal lives and she notes: “We've had problems in our relationships, just cuz we haven't been taught how to do a lot.” Through Taryn’s words, we can begin to understand how education in a broader sense reach across the realms of home and school at once. This is an important point because it makes clear that the work of the school then, if it is going to be successful, will end up coming up against the emotional resources that are often considered to be learned in the home, but are also required to complete an intensive program of study. This directly relates to the forms of care at SKC that I address in the next chapter.

Another student, named Cat, expressed something similar. Cat is also in her mid-20s, she is a local student, and she is beautiful, smart, and tough. Like Taryn, her past is complicated, and also is characterized by loss and addiction. She was dating another student at SKC (Patterson), and like Taryn and her husband, they have worked out together how to navigate the emotional landscapes of everyday life, made more complicated while immersed in the project of trying to complete a college degree. She describes her past and present life as “chaos”, telling me:

> And then I just kind of get to where I am now and I feel like the whole gist of it, like if I could say like my life was pretty chaotic growing up and it was hard to deal with. But I think I'm used to chaos and I feel like once I did become stable and now I feel like I switched this chaos for another chaos cause now I'm a mother, I'm dealing with all this stuff, I'm going to school. It's like just cause it seems like I'm stable, it doesn't mean I don't have chaos in my life. We're still-- so I feel like in that way I was like maybe we'll always just have chaos and we were, just kind of have to, it's kinda your choice of how you deal with things. I guess.

Listening to her framing of her current chaos in relation to her past, I respond to her current situation by saying, “It also sounds like productive chaos.” She leans back in her chair, sliding her hands across the table, and reflects:

> Yes, I would say so. I think I have a better understanding of who I am and how to deal with my feelings and how to not project them on other people. So yeah, I definitely had to do a lot of self searching and kind of realizing how to deal with a lot of emotions where my mom didn't really teach me and my sisters didn't really teach me anything about stuff like that. Yeah, Patterson taught me a lot of stuff cause he, I'm sure he told you about going to his, um, that lockdown facility and then talking about all that stuff. Like he's the one that showed me tools of like how to deal with things and stuff like that. Like he helps me in that way.

In this example, Cat references a "lockdown facility" which refers to a time when Patterson himself, struggled with addiction and was sent to a harsh and punitive rehab center, showing yet another way that institutions that purport to provide some sort of function related to care may end up being deeply harmful (Biehl 2005). But Cat also talks about how these emotional teachings, as with Taryn, were not provided in her family due to a legacy of trauma and addiction. Interestingly, also like Taryn, Cat describes how she tries to figure this out with her partner Patterson, who has suffered his own trauma, and where she notes, he developed "tools of like how to deal with things and stuff like that". This resonates with Taryn's experience who also describes learning how to emotionally navigate the world with her husband, who was also denied these teachings himself. It becomes a collaborative project: "we're learning as we go". And we can also view this peer-learning process through the lens of the per culture I discussed earlier, and it resonates with what Goodwin and Kyratzis describe among children: "how children, in their naturally occurring peer groups, become agents of their own socialization" (2007:280). But it also resonates with the peer culture I described among boarding school students I discussed earlier, and it shows how this skill is one that continues to respond to historically-shaped disjunctures, even among adult students in current times.

In all these examples, there is the sense that the potential sources of teaching or trained assistance were lacking -- in Taryn's and Cat's case, the generations before them struggled with

addiction and abusive behaviors, and were incapable of providing stability or emotional warmth as a result. These students were forced to "learn as [they] go", as Taryn put it, and sought relationships with others in similar situations to attempt this process in pairs.

While care will be the focus of the next chapter, it is worth noting how these examples also resonate with Lisa Stevenson's work with the Inuit in Alaska, in which a history of removing tuberculosis patients from their communities, and places, and traditional forms of care, has continued to be felt in the community in terms of how care and trauma become intertwined into a local form that retains connections with past and ancestors but is also highly uncertain. Again, uncertainty, historical reverberations and adaptive forms of socialization and care all may emerge responsively, which we also can see among SKC students.

"I wish I could've gotten it back"

Casey provides an example of a student who grew up somewhat sheltered from the harsher elements of trauma, but also was cut off from the more positive and culturally sustaining (Paris et. al 2017) parts of his own education. Casey is a young man in his 20s from the Flathead reservation. He wore a t-shirt displaying an image of a tree, and drank coffee from a paper cup while he sheepishly looked at the camera and then me, not sure of what to expect.

After chatting about his childhood, which was filled with bike rides with his friends, impromptu boxing matches with schoolmates on a concrete slab in a field, and days spend in the comfort of his grandmother's house while she did beading and listened to him talk about his day, I asked Casey about his involvement in "cultural stuff", and his demeanor shifted a bit. His smiles became a little less sheepish and instead slightly tense, and I could see that this topic brought up some residual anger. "And I dunno, I dunno if it was that or just my parents weren't, didn't push me in that direction. Um, culturally, like they weren't, uh, like encouraging me to go

dance, or join, uh, like a drum group or something," he recalls and shifts in his chair. "Which," he shrugs a bit dejectedly, "yeah." He pauses. "Cause they don't do that stuff?" I offer, and he looks at me with a tight, barely perceptible smile. "Yeah. That's probably why. Yeah, that would make sense." I can see that he recognizes his own resentment in this moment and his expression suggests he may be blowing this out of proportion but I ask, "Did you ever ask them why?" He shifts again in his chair and goes on:

> Uh, no I didn't. And you know, maybe that, I guess that conversation will happen at some point, but I don't, I never asked why. Yeah. I kind of just, I don't necessarily like to talk about what or like how I grew up sometimes just because it, because I feel like I don't know if I, I don't know. I really resent that. I guess that the, the fact that they didn't, um, give me that option or even talk to me about it when I was growing up. Um, so yeah, I guess that's something I try not to be upset about, but wish I could've got back. I don't know.

It was unusual to see Casey upset about really anything, he usually had a peaceful, calm, somewhat shy demeanor, and often expressed hopefulness about the future of the water resources he worked with closely as a hydrology student, and the human processes that would facilitate their protection. But his resentment and feelings of being cut off from his culture by his parents were palpable and also not uncommon.

This example also, in some ways, connects with the theme of "silence" I described in the literature and we also saw with Patterson's grandmother. If silence is more that just not speaking when spoken to, but also extends to no longer speaking a language, advising grandchildren to do the same, or in Casey's example with cultural participation, "they didn't, um, give me that option or even talk to me about it when I was growing up", we can see how an expanded concept of silence might be productively linked to loss. If practice becomes a part of this kind of "silence", then practice, alongside language, may be a way to reclaim what has been lost.

Sheilah Nicholas, in her study on language loss among youth, describes the ways even non-speakers of Hopi still define themselves as participatory members of their community in which they express "being Hopi" by "living Hopi" (2014:70). While there is often an assumption that learning a heritage language becomes a sort of gateway to participation into cultural practices and a more enriched sense of cultural identity, Nicholas shows that Hopi traditional ideology, as it resonates in the learning and participation in cultural activities, allows some youth in her study to feel Hopi. She also shows that this may then lead to a desire to learn the language in order to participate more fully in religious activities.

In Casey's example, he seems to similarly recognize participation as a key to cultural belonging, perhaps even more so than language for his generation. But he explains that this participation was also denied to him, leading to his own resentment and he laments that, "I guess that's something I try not to be upset about, but wish I could've got back". This raises questions for how and where young adults are "getting it back". I would suggest, as I've began to illustrate here, that the tribal college itself becomes the source for this cultural teaching, development of competency that blends cultural practices with methods like science to protect land and communities, and plays a role in the process of identity formation for this generation of students. How this process occurs will be addressed in the next chapters.

Disjuncture from land

Patterson, who I introduced earlier, is a student in his early 30s from the local reservation, who has a tenderness that is clearly visible beneath a thin shell, and a light ease when making jokes and laughing with people he trusts. He is incredibly knowledgeable both about his community and the science of hydrology and will share it in an unassuming way that never asserts his perspective over others. I sometimes worried about Patterson, as he managed an

incredible amount of responsibility and stress, which would take a toll on him emotionally, and at times would make him appear fragile. Of course, in reality, if he were actually fragile, he never would have survived some of the more difficult experiences of his life, which helped me to see his vulnerability as actually a gift, his gentle tenderness a remarkable hold out in a difficult life. Patterson contextualized his own experiences for me in this way:

> Like it's just I think it's why it's so hard for Natives to be successful in today's society is because they're still dealing with this tremendous adversity and trauma and everything in their lives. Like I think Natives in general are still healing from a lot of intergenerational trauma, from federal policies that were designed to terminate us, you know, and we're still healing from that, I feel, as a whole society. And so, you know, I just think compared to others, like I lived in Boise, other places, you know, people are just like blown away by some of my stories. They have never experienced anything like that, my whole life, you know, and it's just made me realize why maybe it's so hard for Natives in general to be successful, because they have to overcome so much. You know, they're dealing with so much outside of their just general, or, you know, going to school and trying to deal with all that and being a normal youth trying to achieve these milestones. While overcoming all this stuff in their background. So I think, you know, in general, that's kind of the enemy in that sense to try to, how to overcome all that and still be successful in today's society.

Patterson experienced more than his fair share of this adversity and trauma himself. He recounts how most of the kids he grew up with are dead or in jail, after short lifetimes filled with abuse, violence, and addiction. He explained to me how he saw this kind of trauma as connected to settler colonial histories on the land itself:

> A lot of times people really don't like Kerr Dam because they feel like it's kind of like a monument to the destruction of culture, language, because that's the time the reservation was getting White settlers. And, you know, things really changed around here. And so, and then a lot of the Indian kids were having to go to boarding school and stuff. And so to me, an irrigation project and all that, you know, there's so much more to it. You know, it did alter the land and it changed the valley, but it also kind of changed the people and the mentality

around here and everything.

The way he describes how the people's spirit in this passage reflects what Linda Hogan refers to as a "geography of spirit", which she describes as:

> An individual and collective tribal soul, originates with the larger geography of nature, of the ecosystem in which we live. For tribal peoples, this has always been a constant. The animal realm, sacred water, and the surrounding world in all its entirety is an equal to our human life. We are only part of it, and such an understanding offers us the bounty and richness of our world, one to be cared for because it is truly the being of the human (2020:viii).

When Patterson mentions Kerr Dam, he is describing an Army Corps of Engineers project from 1938 that was build atop of, and destroyed in the process, a place of sacred waters. When he talks about the irrigation project, he is describing a similar historical project built by the U.S. government to divert and access natural waters away from where they could be used by tribal residents, to instead be accessed by settler ranchers and farmers. When these actions are considered in tandem with the "geography of spirit", it makes sense that both tribal members and waters would be harmed in the process. As he notes, these processes then "changed the people and the mentality around here and everything", which can provide additional insight into disjunctures, trauma, and harms that may perpetuate in coping strategies that manifest as addictions.

Angela Garcia (2010) found similar resonances between land access, use, and practices, which had been taken away, with the damaged spirits of the people, who in her study turned to heroin addiction. She describes the way memory is written in the land among Hispano communities in New Mexico, who also experienced dispossession on a large scale, describing the ways that when the land is suffering, the people will as well, noting, "Memories and

sentiments regarding land loss remain powerful tropes among elders and youth alike, in that locals draw a connection between land loss, poverty, and addiction" (83).

Considering these harms and their manifestations also highlights just how critical of a role Natural Resources students will play in their future professional lives, and we will hear more from them about how they think about this responsibility in Chapter 4. But it is also worth considering how these disjunctures, while not something that can simply be fixed, may sit alongside deep notions of what it means for the "geography of spirit" to be engaged in work that nurtures and protects land. As Melissa Nelson notes:

> [O]ur biological and and psychological space is a communal ground, a commons. As much as human thought and Eurocentric conditioning tries to divide and fragment us, we are ultimately part of an undivided wholeness. With this profound philosophical and ethical understanding, Indigenous Peoples have taken it upon themselves to be the caretakers of the last remaining healthy, sacred, biodiverse places. The bones and blood of our ancestors have become the soil, the soil grows our food, the food nourishes our bodies, and we become one, literally and metaphorically, with our homelands and territories (2008:3).

Conclusion: Disjuncture and hope

With that beautiful passage in mind, I want to consider one more story from an SKC student, this time about finding a moment of profound connection, nurtured by her work at SKC. I met Adrienne, a student in her late 20s, during my first visit to SKC. She grew up on the Flathead reservation, though for a few years she took a bus down to Missoula everyday to attend a primarily white religious high school. After moving away to Portland to attend community college, she returned home to study science education. At the time I interviewed her, she was just about to graduate with her BA and teaching certification.

In the following excerpt, Adrienne was responding to my question about how what she learned at SKC has influenced how she understood her own culture. Initially she talked about

how she saw science from a Native perspective for the first time, and then she related the following story.

You know and I think, I think it's empowering, like
like I was just thinking about this the, um
yesterday when we were driving back, n--
I guess the drive to Missoula, you know and I just
zone out n
Be like uhhh whatever you know like
You know an-- and then
the other day er when we were driving back yesterday
or when we were driving to and driving back
I was just like noticing all of different places that I've learned about
like like an, you know like all the places that were significant to the Salish
and why they were,
like we came up on top of Evaro
and..um...I just did like this research project, er I was telling you about it, n
um...I came across some information that, like the, um
the elders said that they used to pick camas in Evaro
and that's like where I grew up and like I never knew that.
And I was like what? It's like Evaro?
I was thinking where in Evaro did they pick camas cuz it's like it's in the mou--
er like it's in a mountain, you know, like
And I'm like huh.
So I just like had that in my head.
So then we're going to Missoula and I come like
up over the hill
and you get like past the store
and then it's just like, I like looked out
like out my window and then just like
the field at the bottom of the hill and they're just like full of camas
like I could just see like,
and there was a lot of it.
I was like (whispered) oh my gosh,
I was like that's probably where they (laughs) you know
I was like that's so awesome, like
I was like (high pitch) pull over, I wanna take a picture (laughs)
and he was like what? And I was like yeah, look at all the camas
and he was like so? and I was like and so I had to tell him

37 and I was like well that's where they used to pick camas
38 and he was like really? And I was like yeah,
39 so it was all cool, you know.

In this excerpt, perhaps what stands is the sense of excitement that Adrienne shares at making a connection between what she learned recently in college, and her own and her ancestors' past.

She uses a series of exclamations and general assessments of awe in her story including "oh my gosh" (31), "that's so awesome" (33), and even in her coda, saying "so it was all cool, you know" (39), which lends a sense of amazement and wonder at the connection she made between the place and her learning about where her ancestors would pick camas, a root that was traditionally harvested for food but that also produces a bright blue-purple flower. Her emotion is also expressed by use of whispered voice to say, "oh my gosh", which enhances the sense of amazement she felt when the field became transformed from a place she passes everyday to a place once inhabited by Salish people participating in Salish practices.

Her story describes a journey, which now that I have driven over that same hill countless times, is captured in the movement she describes, "over the hill" (24), "past the store" (25), until she takes us the bottom of the hill, "and they're just like full of camas, like I could just see like, and there was a lot of it" (28-30). This initiates and excited exchange with her boyfriend and he agrees to pull over so she can take a picture with her phone.

In this telling, she enhances the moment of the field emerging before her though the "semiotic layering" (Mendoza-Denton and Jannedy 2011) of gesture and intonation, as well as facial expression. In Image 2.2, I show how she opened up her arms as she says "and they're just like full of camas" (28), her hands so wide they went out of the frame of the camera.

Figure 2.2: Full of camas

But she also become affectively bright, wearing a facial expression of surprise, excitement, and wonder as she says (her expression moment is marked with boded text): "I was like that's probably where they (laughs) **you know**" (32) (see Image 3.2).

Figure 2.3: Adrienne laughing

It is as if the world has become re-enchanted. In his discussion of the right ways to approach the seemingly fantastic nature of traditional stories in Kiowa culture, Gus Palmer

advises, “One must enter the narrative as a child would enter an enchanted forest. That is the only way to understand and enjoy these stories” (2003). Bernard C. Perley, another anthropologist that works with his own, in this case Maliseet, community, also describes how “sharing the story is about reenchantment of the landscape” (2012:198) (I will return to topics of re-enchantment in Chapter 4). In this example, the landscape indeed does come alive, but what is especially remarkable about this is that this happened along a common route. She may have passed this field of flowers dozens of times in her life without actually seeing them. It is as if the geography of spirit had been asleep, and woke up suddenly, almost like Dorothy walking out into the full-color landscape of Oz.

I represent these portraits of disjuncture alongside this portrait of a moment of profound connection intentionally. Adrienne told me this story of seeing the field of flowers appearing before her in a place she had passed countless times during my first visit and it continued to stick with me. Was it purely a matter of doing a research project about ancestors collecting camas that allowed her to notice the blue flowers where they had likely been each spring, simply unnoticed? Or were there other, multiple, subtle shifts that occurred in the process of her education that allowed the landscape to roll out before her in a blanket of color?

Figure 2.4: Using the spotting scope

Disjuncture and hope

I want to conclude this chapter with both the stories of disjuncture and this landscape in full color, both kept in mind. In Chapter 4, I will discuss hope, and other moments that mirror this one, in some ways. But the point I want to make here is one that will continue to arise throughout this dissertation -- ruptures and connections, trauma and care, moments of despair and moments of hope, all exist in close relationship to each other and all inform their opposite. I find this to be both a finding in the data and a methodological imperative. Not only did these seemingly at odds concepts seem to be everpresent for the students I met, where one could take a

while to show up and at the same time could appear suddenly, but I found this in my own perspectives as well. I describe this as a methodological imperative based on my own experience and how it has led me to approach research in places with complex histories (are there even places without them?). When I first came to SKC, it was difficult not to be impacted by some of the tougher, more tragic stories people told me about lives that exist in the wake of settler colonialism. At first, I felt unsure how to handle these stories, as I didn't want to perpetuate an emphasis on suffering often perpetuated by anthropologists (Ortner 2016, Robbins 2013). It took time and reflection on my own cultural positionality and considering how that was impacting my own way of seeing to attend to the sometimes more subtle moments of hope. But once I saw them, like camas flowers, there were a lot of them.

Chapter 3: Care Moves Through Places:

The Transformative Role of Care in Placemaking at SKC

During my early fieldwork at Salish Kootenai College (SKC), I met a woman named Marion, an older student who had come from her reservation elsewhere in Montana to get her bachelor's degree in social work, in order to have the credentials to play a more prominent role in helping struggling youth back home. As a part of this set of interviews, I asked everyone to draw a picture on a blank sheet of paper of their life, or their world as it is right now, and then explain it to me. Marion drew for a few minutes and then slid across the table a drawing of a continuous, tangled line, with people's names written at various points on the page. She explained:

> It's always been like this since I can remember. My stepparents to, you know, being out of homes, boarding school. But it always comes back together. And all the people in my life that I've had in there that have been there, that have come about in my life….That seems like what my life's like today, just on this big roller coaster, like the one thing after another, one after another, to overcome.

She went on to point out and describe each person she named on the page to tell me about the connection she had with each of them, or the particular contour of care that earned them their place on this conceptual map, from her children who always listened to her, to a sister who had passed away at three years old, but who Marion continued to talk to because she knew they would have always been there for each other. "But every place I found -- I went to North Dakota and here," she said as she pointed to a collection of written names, "I found friends that were all close. All my friends, we helped each other through a whole lot. And we've all been through, we were all back in the same place each time. We were all in a place-- having nothing, crisis, you

name it. But we'd all stay there for each other. And we shared whatever we had. And that's how we made it through that time."

While Marion does not explicitly frame the relationships that are named and marked in front of her as linked by particular acts of care, it becomes clear to me that that is exactly what earns them a place on this hand drawn map of what is most significant in her life. The hardships she experienced appeared to move over hills and valleys, eventually forming the tangled path her life has taken so far. But it is not the troubles themselves that are worth naming -- it is the people that helped her through them, whether they were bound by shared circumstance, or simply and lovingly present, even if they had passed on decades before. For her, these human-occupied places were made tangible for me on a map, and while seemingly chaotic, were still instrumental in defining the paths before her, including those that she was carefully constructing in her work as a student at SKC, another part of the emergent tale of her own life story.

This drawing is at once a personal identity map of a life as it has unfolded so far, a recognition of the trouble found therein, and a moral commentary of those who have earned a place named for them by their particular act of care, or by simply "being there". It is a map of places Marion has inhabited, the connections she has found in each one, and development of the self on a journey marked by hardship. This particular combination of processes, and the invocation and interactional co-construction that comes from telling the story of one's journey to someone else, may be framed within Keith Basso's classic and enduring concept of placemaking:

> In modern landscapes everywhere, people persist in asking, "What happened here?" The answers they supply, though perhaps distinctly foreign, should not be taken lightly, for what people make of their places is closely connected to what they make of themselves as members of society and inhabitants of the earth, and while the two activities may be separable in principle, they are deeply joined in practice. If place-making is a way of constructing the past,

> a venerable means of doing human history, it is also a way of constructing social traditions and, in the process, personal and social identities. We are, in a sense, the place-worlds we imagine (1996:18).

I found that for Marion, and for the other students who shared their stories with me in the course of my time at SKC, this simple yet central question -- *what happened here?* -- struck me as often characterized by ongoing struggle (sometimes astoundingly so) but also by small yet profound, and even life-changing demonstrations of care. In this chapter, I use Basso's now classic ethnographic work, *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache,* reframed for my purposes as "care moves through places" as a way to examine the forms of placemaking that occur at SKC, infused with and informed by care that is both situated in place and extends outwards, and the restorative identity work of imaginative practice that is central to the concept of placemaking.

The approach that I am taking is meant to be put in direct conversation with Basso's concept of placemaking, while considering the differences his application of the concept highlights between the contexts of the Western Apache community where he did his research and the community that exists at SKC. While the ways placemaking happens is rather different in each setting, the act of placemaking itself is one that arises in both contexts. Basso saw the act of placemaking as one that occurred just about everywhere: "As roundly ubiquitous as it is seemingly unremarkable, place-making is a universal tool of the historical imagination. And in some societies at least, if not in the great majority, it is surely among the most basic tools of all" (17). He elaborates:

> Prevalent though it is, this type of world-building is never entirely simple. On the contrary, a modest body of evidence suggests that place-making involves multiple acts of remembering and imagining which inform each other in complex ways (Casey 1976, 1987). It is clear, however, that

> remembering often provides a basis for imagining. What is remembered about a particular place—including, prominently, verbal and visual accounts of what has transpired there—guides and constrains how it will be imagined by delimiting a field of workable possibilities. These possibilities are then exploited by acts of conjecture and speculation which build upon them and go beyond them to create possibilities of a new and original sort, thus producing a fresh and expanded picture of how things might have been (17).

For his part, Basso applied his theory of placemaking to a Western Apache context in Cibecue, Arizona, demonstrating how the practice of "shooting stories" worked to tie a mere mention of a place name to referencing a story connected to that place, often with a moral lesson or a reprimand connected to it, meant for the recipient. As Basso illustrated in masterful fashion, he showed how saying a name like tsé hadigaiyé yú ágodzaa ("It happened at 'line of white rocks extends upward and out,' at this very place) could efficiently serve a powerful social function. In one example, this name was uttered to a woman named Louise who was criticizing her brother for not seeking healing after encountering a snake skin, a dangerous response which then caused him to become ill. As an older woman mentioned the placename, a story was instantly evoked of a girl who was behaving foolishly and was bitten by a snake there, but was able to recover by following the proper path in the wake of her mistake, by seeking help from a grandmother and a healer. By saying this placename, the older woman was able to evoke sympathy for the brother, turn the topic away from Louise's inappropriate criticism of him, and provide a familiar setting and story for others present to dwell upon, one that wordlessly reset the interactional path of the group.

This example shows how directing a placename at someone or "speaking with names" could have a number of social functions:

> (1) produce a mental image of a particular geographic location; (2) evoke prior texts, such as historical tales and sagas; (3) affirm the value and

> validity of traditional precepts (i.e., ancestral wisdom); (4) display tactful and courteous attention to aspects of both positive and negative face; (5) convey sentiments of charitable concern and personal support; (6) offer practical advice dealing with disturbing personal circumstances (i.e., apply ancestral wisdom); (7) transform distressing thoughts caused by excessive worry into more agreeable ones marked by optimism and hopefulness; (8) heal wounded spirits (Basso 1996:101).

Yet for all the beautiful and powerful ways Basso illustrated how placenames were linked in space and time to narratives that served a number of social functions, he also was examining a community that still had a number of speakers of the Western Apache language, and were relatively isolated and culturally connected to one another. This does not accurately reflect the reality for most Native American people today, including students at SKC, who may not only live increasingly in areas beyond the reservation but also, especially among younger members, have experienced significant language shift and may have only a passive ability to understand their heritage language, or none at all. Among the students I interviewed, who came from multiple tribes though mostly in Montana, none under the age of 50 would claim that they had more than some very basic knowledge of their languages, though many had taken introductory courses in Salish or Kootenai at SKC. For tribally-enrolled members of the Salish, Pend d'Oreille, and Kootenai tribes represented on the Flathead reservation where SKC is located, among the population of just over 8,000, the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes have only 13 fluent Salish speakers and only 12 fluent Kootenai speakers (CSKT 2020), though efforts are being made towards language revitalization.

Basso himself recognized that the ways the Western Apache community he worked with were emplaced on their ancestral land, which was a phenomenon that was shifting rapidly. He noted:

> In this convulsive age of uprooted populations and extensive diasporas, holding onto places—and sensing fully the goodness contained therein—has become increasingly difficult, and in years to come, I expect, it may everywhere be regarded as a privilege and a gift. American Indians, who settled this continent first and were the first to be displaced, understand this already in very pervasive ways. May we all learn from them. And, as Western Apaches say in prayer and regular talk, "may it soon be usefully so" (12).

This increasing uprootedness and often tenuous relationship to places is not unaccounted for. Basso's work on placemaking is part of a much larger body of work in anthropology that treats place (and the related "space") as part of the "spatial turn", which has birthed numerous related terms and theories such as "thirdspace" (Soja 1998), "liminal", "center/margin", and global "flows" (Appadurai 1990). Much of this work has sought to account for the increased mobility and border crossing that has resulted from a more displaced, mobile, and interconnected world. For example, work that examines the experiences of refugees and migrants has called for a closer look at movement and deterritorialization in relation to place (Malkki 1992; Gupta & Ferguson 1997; Appadurai 2006; Rapport and Williksen, 2010; Appadurai and Morley 2011).

Extensive literature on Native American relationships to place also examines both more traditional and also urban patterns of residence. Among the work that examines the more traditional side of the lush and complex ties between storytelling and place is Paul Kroskrity's study of the Arizona Tewa, where a consultant explained to him that within a genre of storytelling, there was "an analogy between telling stories to children and sprouting seeds into seedlings (a Winter kiva practice) — 'it makes them grow right'" (2009:45).

And in an example of work that addresses an increasingly urban and mobile Native American population in the U.S., Nicholas Rosenthal examines how the "Urban Indian" experience in Los Angeles contributes to "larger discussions about mobility and migration,

racialized power structures, and individual and community agency that have helped scholars make sense of a country becoming increasingly urban, multiracial, national, and transnational over the twentieth century" (2014:3).

So why use Basso's original concept of place-making, when other, newer theories may better account for the complexities related to mobility, hybrid identities, and fractured knowledge transmission in the intertribal space of SKC? I would argue that returning to Basso's original concept achieves two goals. First, the theory itself, which examines place-making as a process that treats the past as living and invocable, a resource for constant creative reworking as a way to inform the present and guide a future course -- a process that begins with "what happened here?" -- reflects the kind of work that I saw happening at SKC.

Secondly, while newer work provides useful insights in terms of liminality and border crossing (which I draw upon at other points in the dissertation) by comparing how Basso's theorizing of place-making with the Western Apache -- at a time when his consultants were part of a community that were still emplaced on their ancestral land, fluent in their heritage language, and familiar with the place names and stories they referenced -- and with the community of students with whom I did research at SKC who have experienced various levels of disjuncture, can highlight the common threads and creative adaptations that can be found in how placemaking happens in the two contexts.

It may, in fact, be productive to read criticisms of Basso's work not as a guide to what is lacking in his original concept of placemaking, but as elements to be added to future application of his ideas. For example, Eleanor Nevins (2008), presents a fascinating discussion of place names in the White Mountain Apache community, and examines the media-derived, often humorous names such as "Bengay", "Lonesome Dove", and "Lifesavers". While Basso himself

had dismissed English-inflected names in the area, saying "understandably, the visitor might suppose that the business of naming places is no longer taken seriously by Apaches, that it has fallen by the cultural and linguistic wayside, and accelerated exposure to non-Apache ways" (1996:152), Nevins points out that this community shares a lot in terms of naming traditions with the Western Apache Basso made famous. She notes that a closer look at place naming in English allows her to make a different case:

> I argue that while these English-language names appear to reflect a dramatic departure from the "traditional" Apache names described by Basso, a comparison of the two reveals that they are in fact informed by a common language ideology (Woolard 1998, Kroskrity 2000) concerning indexical contrasts between the Apache and English languages, similar intertextual criteria for what makes a good place name, and similar patterns of use. (2008:192)

Nevins' opening up of space for less linguistically "pure" practices for place naming represents a productive trend that I addressed in the previous chapter, where younger members of Native communities, who may display less fluency in their heritage languages, are still included in research that recognizes them as innovative and participating members of their cultural communities. In work such as this, we are able to appreciate the "repertoire of identities" (Kroskrity 1993) that may be creatively employed in practice.

Bridging notions of disjunctures between land, language, and culture, it is also important to consider how "natural resources" and the discourses around them have been central in processes of both dispossession and reclamation for places like the Flathead reservation where SKC is located and elsewhere. Michael Harkin addresses this dimension through his recognition that, "the semiotic system of places is motivated, not arbitrary" (2000:62). He notes that in Basso's work on placemaking, places became important, in part, because of their resource availability. In contrast, in the case of the Clayoquot Sound, the site Harkin considers in his

discussion, a local, traditional whaling ground is the site of both danger and triumph because of the economic stakes at hand. In his discussion of eco-tourism as one means of protection, where the discourse of resources becomes key to their protections, he notes "The problem, even more than the discourse of tourism, is that when such information is detached from its original context and recontextualized in the powerful discourse of resources, the original quality of place-making is lost" (62).

Harkin's points raise an interesting question, as natural resources have become centralized in movements of protection and contestation at various levels including, quite prominently, in the diverse, intergenerational gathering of many tribal members who positioned themselves as "water protectors" at Standing Rock. This months-long standoff in North Dakota was over an oil pipeline that had the potential to irreparably contaminate water resources for the local Native population (a few of the participants of this project were in attendance as well). Put in conversation with placemaking, we can consider how various actors who are invested in natural resources conceive of them differently. This could be, for example, as a sacred site, as a means to healthy living, as an area for development and economic opportunity, or as a refuge (for tribal communities, for tourists, or for wildlife). This becomes a productive area to consider how these different communities and interests overlap or diverge, and how this is worked out between groups. And just as approaches such as this re-center relations of power in the discussion, they also may help account for contact between people beyond a bounded community. Standing Rock presents a powerful example of this, and one in which issues of power, treaty rights and justice are invoked by something as fundamental as water. On the official website for the movement, a clear goal is presented: "In honor of our future generations, we fight this pipeline to protect our water, our sacred places, and all living beings." With this

statement, we can see how care for places, resources, and community intersect and are fundamental for understanding how past and future generations inform present action. To me, as I began this research, Standing Rock also posed a powerful example for how a natural resource could be the magnetic center to which such a large and diverse gathering of younger members of Native communities gathered in a potentially risky act of resistance and care. And I wondered how the complex notion of care for a resource, and all that it sustains, would emerge in the similarly diverse, but more formal space of the tribal college.

Placemaking and Care

"Care", like "place" is a vast and rather gargantuan term, and one that has been called "shifting and unstable" (Buch 2015:279). Care can contain multiple meanings and be applied to everything from to aging (Buch 2015) to caring for children (Seymour 2004) to drug use and rehabilitation (Garcia 2010, Zigon 2011). The literature on care is enormous and while I will not consider it all here, Mattingly and McKearny (In Press) provide a detailed literature review that traces this topic in depth. In the anthropological literature, what is often examined is often how institutions fail to provide care even when they describe that as their main purpose, as well as the many ways care may be generally absent or actually harmful (Biehl 2005, Briggs 2005, Mol 2008, Buch 2018, Zigon 2011), a topic I address later in this chapter. This project provides another perspective, however, in that it examines how an institution may actually become a site where care is a key part of the interactional landscape found within, and in multiple, layered small ways, may respond to a legacy of failed institutional care.

For this discussion, there are two topics within the literature on care I want to focus on: conceptions of Indigenous perspectives on care, especially as it intersects with care for land, and

how the disjunctures in the transmission of this kind of care may produce other forms of care as a response. Interactionally, care can be performative (Feld 1982, Wilce 2009, Shohet 2018), embodied (Goodwin 2015, Goodwin and Cekaite 2018), and can be evidenced in practice, all of which may be informed by what is considered ethical (Mattingly 2010, Black 2018), or how someone should or could respond in a given situation.

In the Indigenous Studies literature, care is often treated less as a form of labor, or something that can be doled out by those who are privileged to do so, and more as an integral part of how to live an ethical life, one that is deeply connected across forms of life and through time. Often, these forms of care in Indigenous contexts are folded within the category of "well-being" (Weisner et al. 2005). Well-being is constantly constructed through action and relationships, rather than being an end goal or a measurement, and is shaped by acts of generosity, sharing of resources, and reciprocal relationships. For example, we can see how care, manifested as generosity, as an ethical practice is linked to well-being in Robin Kimmerer's work among the Potawatami, where, she notes: "Generosity is simultaneously a moral and material imperative, especially among people who live close to the land and know its waves of plenty and scarcity. Where the well-being of one is linked to the wellbeing of all" (2013:381). In another example, Naomi Adelson illustrates how an engagement with the land in the ability to hunt, eat traditional food, and keep warm is found to be central to the Northern Cree understanding of miyupimaatisiiun or "being alive well" (2000:62).

When considering the ways that caring for land, resources, and communities in this literature are linked to broader notions of well-being or "being alive well", it becomes clear that in Native American communities, care is already an integral part of placemaking. But for both places and practices of care, the stories told about them as part of values and teachings, and

"wisdom" contained therein, while beautifully rendered in the literature, may not be fully accessible to modern community members in terms of traditional transmission, or as embedded in the teachings of everyday and ceremonial practice as they once were. This does not mean these understandings and forms of practice are irreparably lost, but rather that the means of learning about and accessing them, for present-day Native peoples, may happen in spaces like schools.

And just as the broader literature on care often examines institutionalized forms of care, from hospitals to churches, and to a lesser extent, schools, it's important to remind ourselves that these institutions have historically failed Native communities, and in many cases, have left a legacy of intergenerational trauma. As I have described, many of the students I spoke with at SKC attribute many of the pervasive issues in their families and in their communities to these harms, and the ruptures caused by removing Native students from the nurturing contexts of their homes for years and even decades. For the SKC students, this legacy of harm was not at all distant, but reverberating in ways that touched them as well, even if they were one, two or three generations out from the boarding school era. The idea that what may pose as care in institutional settings may actually cause harm is addressed in Lisa Stevenson's work among the Inuit in Alaska, where both in the historical treatment of TB patients and in current-day suicide prevention projects, anonymizing and taking people out of the lands and practices where they were embedded, can stand in contrast to what the local population considers care. In this work, I draw on her definition of care as "the way someone comes to matter and the corresponding ethics of attending to the other who matters" (3). What also resonates in her work and this project is how care and trauma are both related to a settler colonial history and may inform each other. In

this chapter, I will address the ways that care is also historically shaped in the ways it is required, interpreted (including as a lack of care), and produced.

But another point that Stevenson makes is also relevant to this project. She illustrates how care may be present in uncertain ways, for example, in ancestors that may or may not appear as a raven in the yard and may or may not live on through their name, once it has been given to a baby. As I will show in this work, care and the ways it manifests in placemaking, through stories, images, and moments of seeing what has always been there but never noticed, also emerge in ways that at times defy words. We saw this in Adrienne's experience in the field of camas flowers, and we will see this again in the form of tattoos, and ancestral encounters in the field.

And while the U.S. boarding school project is rather unique to the Native American experience (but was also replicated in other countries as well, such as Canada), care has also been described as central to education, such as in Angela Valenzuela's (1999) work among Mexican-American students in a high school in Houston. Through what she calls "the politics of caring", she demonstrates how "Misunderstandings about the meaning of caring thus subtracts resources from youth by impeding the development of authentic caring and by obliging students to participate in a non-neutral, power-evasive position of aesthetic, or superficial caring" (25). Among this also disenfranchised group of students, they are also placed in a context that seeks to eliminate cultural resources, while asking students to care about an educational project that devalues them, resonating in some ways with the harmful erasures perpetuated by American Indian educational projects. But she also shows how care may be "political", not only in the ways its lack of facilitation is built into educational systems, but how a desire for care, among

students and some teachers, is both borne from the lack that is sanctioned in these structures, but also becomes resistant to them.

Along these lines, while disjunctures may help account for the kinds of experiences younger members of Native communities may have, it is also important to recognize how experience is characterized by connection. To recognize the ways these connections are formed even in the most trying of circumstances is to recognize practices of care that persist in the experience of Native American communities, historically and presently. Even in the Indian boarding schools, which have done so much intergenerational harm, individual experiences could be complex, and could be a site for deep and lasting friendships and experiences with peers from other tribes (Lomawaima 1995, Archuleta et al. 2000).

Yet another work that considers care that addresses the ways its complexity can be seen in spaces that are fraught with troubled histories, insufficient institutional responses, and emergent spaces of connection is Angela Garcia's concept of "pastoral care". As Mattingly and McKearny (In Press) astutely point out, in her ethnography in a heroin-addiction clinic in the Espanola Valley in Northern New Mexico, she considers how the site of the clinic, at two points in time, bookending her work, can illustrate how two realities can co-exist in ways that seem incompatible. As they note, Garcia opens her ethnography with a story about walking down to a near-dry riverbed with a patient to find it littered with syringes. In her final chapter, she describes driving back to the site of the clinic, which has shut down for lack of funds, and encounters, like Adrienne in chapter 2, rows of bright yellow flowers. She learned that they are squash blossoms in a garden imagined by the clinic director and tended by the patients, for income and food. In this work, I will also show how these co-existing formulations of land, such as how a river can be both the site of wondrous micro-organisms and also contain a chemical load that includes

narcotics, sits alongside complicated understandings of what care looks like between people, and how care for land can be envisioned and practiced. Throughout, as in Stevenson's work, what is wondrous and tragic intersects with the care/trauma relationship, and also helps shape the path forward.

In a similarly complex manner, what might seem counter-intuitive given the historical role of U.S. education in creating these disjunctures in the first place, some schools have become central in the processes of reconnection to language, culture, and meaningful engagements with landscapes, including tribal colleges. This complex legacy and communities' ongoing relationship to educational institutions in Native communities poses an interesting question as to how a tribally-controlled college might potentially reshape those relationships. Through the lens of placemaking, we are able to see how Natural Resources students are socialized into the very practical work of caring for land, water, and wildlife, through both imaginative and hands-on practice. And in my time at SKC, I found that this work is informed by care not just for these lands and resources but in the everyday interactional landscape of the college, both inside and outside of the classroom.

Therefore, care-informed placemaking, as I observed it at SKC happens in two intersecting forms. The first is centered in the tribal college as its own unique place and is built on a very localized form of connection and trust-building, where recognition and re-emplacement in educational spaces is cherished and necessary, though sometimes very fragile and combustible work. This, then, facilitates the second form, which adds a contour to the care-informed placemaking that becomes part of the educational project, and that offers a modern version of the narrative and imaginative practice of placemaking that Basso describes so beautifully. This second form of placemaking can move beyond the walls of the institution into

the communities where students eventually work, and between communities as well -- in many cases, the connective corridors that are initially forged in the multicultural space of the college.

Care, as Stevenson described, as "the way someone comes to matter and the corresponding ethics of attending to the other who matters" (3), as I use it in the context of SKC, is constructed in relationships at the college, primarily between instructors and students in ways that may be variably informed by, and responsive to trauma and its effects. I consider how the context of the college itself, while informed by Western educational models, is also very much a Native-centered space. And while I will focus primarily on the very situated, or emplaced forms of care in this chapter, I will begin to introduce how this might inform approaches to caring for land and resources, which I will discuss more in the next chapter. Throughout, I hope to show, in this chapter and throughout this work, how concepts that may not seem to easily sit beside each other -- care and trauma, disconnection and engagement, Western and Native approaches to education, tragedy and hope -- may intersect and inform each other. By using Basso's concept of placemaking as a framework in which to understand how care becomes central in putting these pieces together, I show how it can help us understand how Indigenous concepts of care for places and for each other can be re-imagined and illuminated through imaginative practice.

I begin with looking at a rather different form of landscape than the rocky hills and waters of the Western Apache lands, and instead look at the linguistic landscapes that have been built over time within the buildings of the college.

Landscapes of local knowledge, representation, and care

The arrival at SKC is marked, in part by the rare presence of a stoplight on Highway 93, and a walkway arching over the road that bridges the college campus and tribal headquarters on either side. Turning into the campus, there is a large gym and parking lot off to the right, where sports events, the Women's Wellness Fair, and the annual graduation powwow are held, among other events. Nearby is a small theater, and behind that a sprawling and somewhat surprising and little-used golf course, which people often explained to me as a remnant of the Scottish heritage in the area. I would often glance at it and recall how during my first visit, a student who was collecting stream samples alone near there was mauled by a grizzly bear, and nearly lost his life. He didn't thankfully, and would later tell me snippets of what happened, including how the particular scent of a grizzly is enough to send him into an involuntary panic.

Driving down the loop, the old campus, comprised of a collection of small wood buildings close together, is off to the left along with the library. This was an area of campus where I spent little time. Winding past the education building, the student support center and lounge, and the buildings for family housing and a childcare center, where there were often children playing out front, I'd finally reach the parking lot for the art building and math and science building. It was in the math and science building where I spent most of my time. It was officially called "Piel Qlawqn", the Salish name for a prominent local figure, but was more commonly referred to as "the Beaverhead building", after the former name the "Pete Beverhead building" which is still inscribed on a wooden sign out front. Present throughout campus are metal sculptures of significant animals, like an eagle, and one of a seated Indian, praying. The one that lived in front of the Beaverhead building was a sculpture of a buffalo, silently greeting anyone who walked up on the path (see Image 3.1)

Figure 3.1: The Beaverhead building

The space inside the building, especially the labs, offices and classrooms used for hydrology and wildlife and fisheries classes (and some that applied to both specialties, or less commonly the forestry specialty as well) comprised the very localized world of everyday academic life for the students I observed. Just inside the entrance was a lounge area, with plush couches in a circle by the window, often with a student half-napping in the deep cushions. A flag hung over the large window, with what is often used as a pan-Indian symbol for the medicine wheel, with four colors representing the four directions and the related spiritual values. The coffee table and side table were strewn with flyers for various local events and a box of free condoms with a message about practicing safe sex (see Image 3.2).

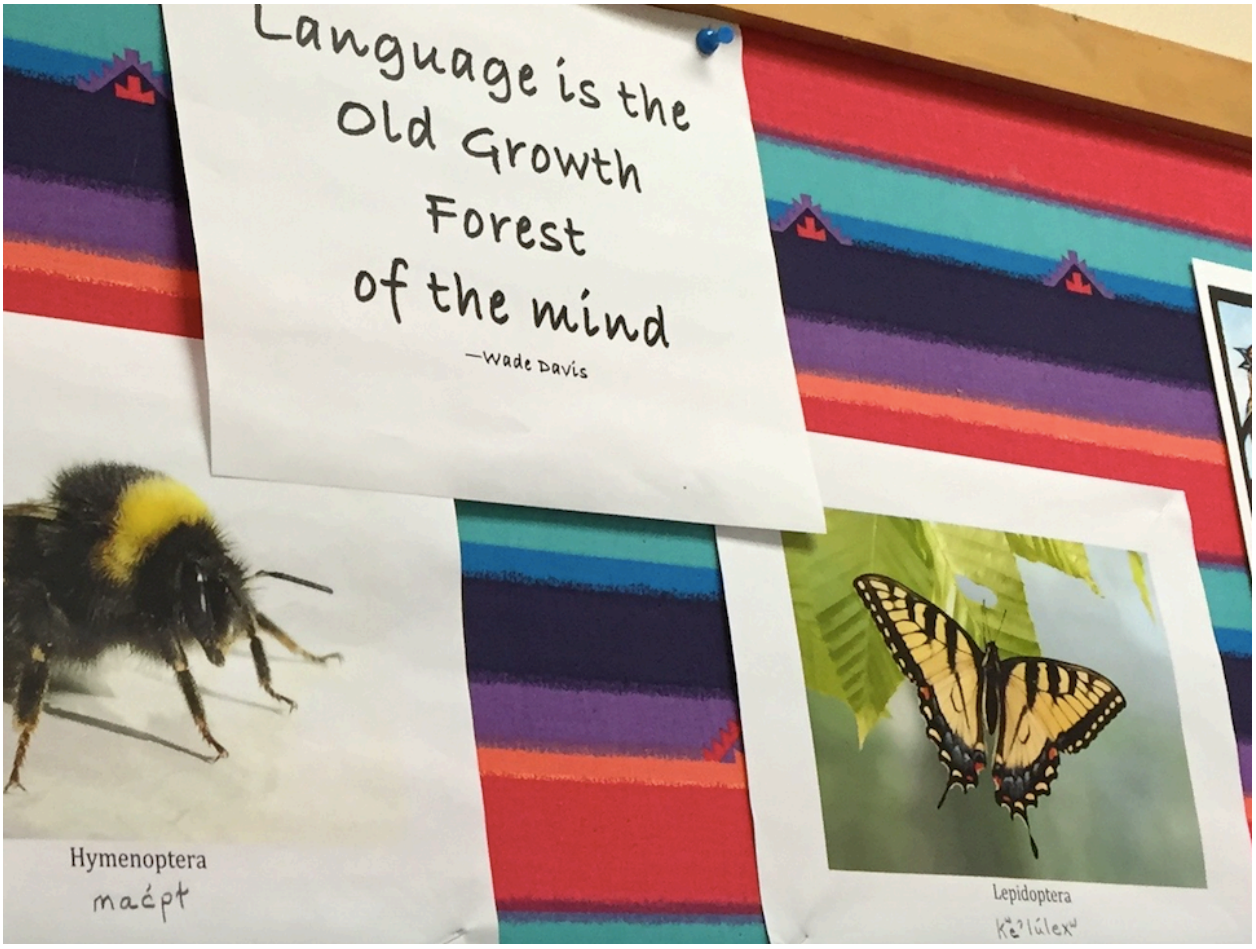
Figure 3.2: Inside the Beaverhead building, couches

Just behind this circle of couches were a couple vending machines, a coffee maker, and two wooden tables where I often saw students intensely focused on laptops, in the final moments of studying for a test. On one wall above this area were propped three metal sculptures of Native dancers, and on the other was the mounted head of a moose (see Image 3.3).

Image 3.3: Inside the Beaverhead building, tables

The offices for the hydrology and wildlife and fisheries faculty were off to the left, many of them stacked with equipment and books, framed photos of family, and the occasional graduation announcement from a student, a dressed up and smiling photo looking out from its place propped on a shelf. Except in rare cases, when faculty were present their doors were propped open, an invitation to anyone to come by and talk. Even when they were in a meeting or finalizing a grant on a tight deadline, I found that they would still keep the door open a crack, just in case someone really needed them. On the bulletin boards outside their offices were tacked up calls for applications for student internships, articles about faculty achievement, and images of insects with their both their Latin and their Salish names printed out and tacked next to them, with a Wade Davis quote at the top of the board that read: “Language is the old growth forest of the mind” (see Image 3.4).

Figure 3.4: Salish words for insects



In the center of the building there was a long hallway with classrooms and computer labs on either side. The walls along this hallway were lined with large conference posters displaying student work, around topics such as huckleberries, water quality, soil testing, and bird habitat, usually blending scientific analysis and cultural significance and perspectives and how this might be applied to community knowledge and approaches to projects such as restoration. This student work illustrates how the mission of SKC is applied to senior thesis projects -- which is, "to provide quality post-secondary educational opportunities and support for Native Americans, locally and from throughout the United States, to achieve their academic and career goals. The

College will perpetuate the cultures of the Selis, Ksanka, and Qlispe' peoples. The College will impact its community through service and research."

SKC was rich with linguistic landscapes in the hallways, classrooms, labs, and offices. The classic Landry and Bourhis definition describes linguistic landscapes as: "The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place-names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration" (1997:25). Shohamy and Gorter (2006) suggest that not only billboards or outdoor movie screens but also a mall or a homeless person in the street is a linguistic landscape "text" that requires analysis, adding, "all those visible 'texts' need to be processed as 'tips of icebergs' to a deeper and more complex meaning which are embedded in histories, cultural relations, politics and humanistic interrelations" (327). They also make a case for use of linguistic landscapes in the educational setting, describing the need for students to notice the layers of meaning in public space.

While most work on linguistic landscapes focuses on the ways multiple languages are used in ideological ways, at SKC, most of the text was in English. There were exceptions, as we can see in Image 3.4, and these usually were in Salish, and had a sort of teaching function, where Salish text was presented alongside either an English translation or an image. While the school has 68 tribes represented, the presence of an Indigenous language, whether it was their own or not, had an important presence.

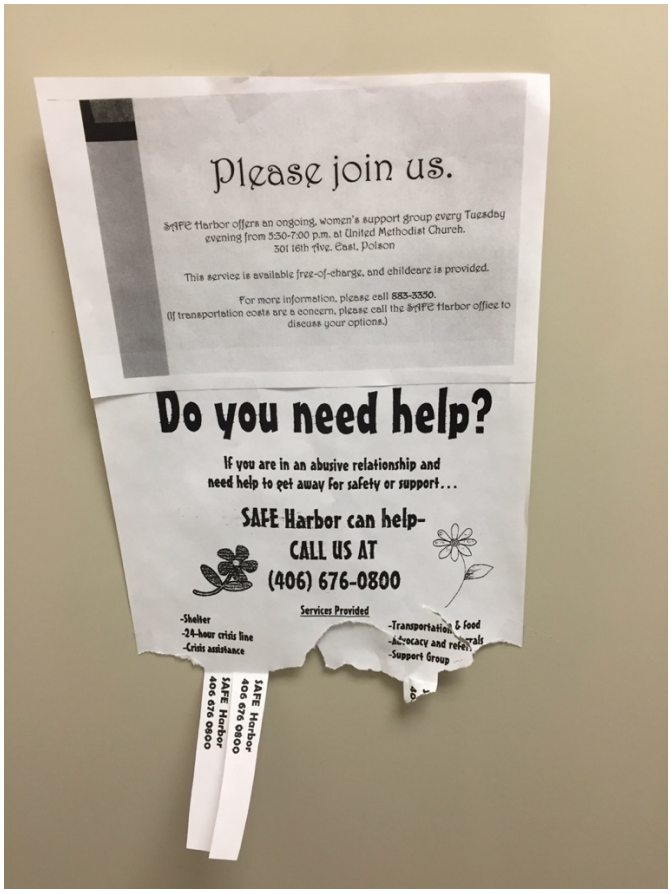
These linguistic landscapes of SKC reflect what comes to feel like a familiar everyday background for the difficult work of completing an educational program, but they should not be taken for granted. Classroom walls were often covered in informational displays like "the swan board" which pinned up parts of taxidermied swans, like the intricate and enormous wing, to be

able to examine closely for structure and feather patterns. Posters from an American Indian College Fund campaign called “Think Indian” were displayed in this building and across campus, with photographs of real tribal college students paired with dreamlike images, and provocative text such as, “To think Indian is to grow radishes on the moon”.

Pinned on the classroom walls were also ubiquitous maps that showed the multi-colored “checkerboard” of various types of land ownership on the Flathead reservation, an image that was also often displayed in local tribal offices, and one that was constantly changing, as the tribes gradually bought back the land that had been sold out from under them as part of the Flathead Allotment Act of 1904, a pixelated and increasingly green mosaic.

These texts and images formed a layered textual and visual feast that was inscribed and decorated with student and faculty achievement, ways of approaching and understanding the natural world, and Native American cultures, languages, creativity, sovereignty, and insight. This becomes notable largely because Native American presence in education has often been erased, and even forbidden, where historically in federal and mission boarding schools (there was one of these Catholic schools locally) punished Indian students for displaying or using any part of their linguistic and cultural heritage in the educational space of schools and dormitories. At SKC, with a closer look, there are also small hints at a response to the trauma that this previous lack of representation and the cruelties that came with it, embedded in the linguistic landscape. For example, taped inside the door of a women’s bathroom stall in the library, I noticed a flyer with pull tabs that offered help for domestic abuse. The first day I saw it, all the tabs were still there, by the next day, only two remained (see Image 3.5).

Figure 3.5: SAFE Harbor flyer



In the Beaverhead building, in one of the classrooms, on the "bark board" there was a flyer oddly attached for a training in suicide prevention, perhaps a leftover from a workshop held in that room (see Image 3.6). It remained there for the entirety of my fieldwork and I never heard it commented upon, and it began to remind me of the copied and pasted message that would occasionally pop up on people's timelines on Facebook, "I want to demonstrate that someone is always listening", with the suicide hotline number just below, that no one ever seemed to comment on, but reemerged nonetheless, recurrently present.

Figure 3.6: Bark board with flyer

These linguistic landscapes also mirrored the kind of interactional work, grounded in recognition and care, that I saw happening at the college. If placemaking is the work of the imagination through the telling and retelling of what happened here, for this generation of Native students it is also about including disjunctures in these tales of what happened and envisioning how to heal or manage them, whether to the land, the water, the plants and animals, or the people themselves. It also means the work in doing this is relational and starts with recognition and navigating the practical effects of these disjunctures. Additionally, in order for the work of placemaking to occur at an educational institution, the story of Native students' relationship to that institution must be retold in a way that not only does no harm, but also addresses past harm.

For the students at SKC, the structured context of the institution of the tribal college shapes the forms that placemaking occurs, as well as how the broader socio-historical conditions

are met in this space, and how they demand a response by those within the campus boundaries. In this way, the tribal college becomes both structured and emergent, representing a particular context that exists within the span of a few years, before students leave or graduate, and move onto something else. Even if they go on to graduate school, the unique nature of the tribal college context will not be replicated, though certain structures will resemble each other. In this way, it is both a highly situated space and one that facilitates movement through it.

So how does the institutional space of a tribal college become fertile ground for the imaginative practices of placemaking? Because transmission to knowledge and cultural history is characterized by disjuncture, the direct path to "wisdom" that Basso described among the Western Apache, in which cultural and moral lessons embedded within specific places on the reservation were accessed not only by going to them but by merely invoking their names, is a form of knowledge-sharing that is largely inaccessible to most younger Native students I met in the course of my research. But the college education they were pursuing was also, quite literally, about attaining knowledge on the path to wisdom. Additionally, engaging with natural places -- woods, rivers, lakeshores -- and the features of life they contained, was also literally the work of the students with whom I conducted research, as they were all in either the Hydrology or the Wildlife and Fisheries departments of the Natural Resources program. And to get to this wisdom, the path needs to be tended with care. I will next describe the salient forms of care I saw at SKC, how they were constructed and talked about, and how they facilitated a student's sense of being emplaced, sometimes restoratively so, while also helping them make forward progress.

Restorative acts of kindness

Within the literature on care is a focus on kindness and empathy. Jamil Zaki (2019) describes "empathy" as containing the subcategories of sharing, thinking about, and caring about others, while "kindness" contains the subcategories of prosociality (helping others), cooperation (mutual aid), and altruism (acts that help recipients at no benefit to helpers). While all these elements in some fashion were reported to me by the SKC students I spoke with, it is worth considering that in the institutional space of SKC, kindness and empathy are shaped, in part by the intersubjective nature of the faculty/staff-student relationships at SKC, in which there was a role-defined dynamic to the kinds of interactions that occurred. So while they may at times be somewhat intimate -- such as a moment of vulnerability by crying to one's advisor -- often they were more formal and formed largely in classroom discourse. This could be based around individual meetings where the topics tended towards steps towards completing a senior thesis project or how to make up past assignments, for example. But for students in the midst of a 4+ year degree program, where most of their time was spent on campus, these relationships were critical to the often transformative process of completing a degree and moving into another phase of life, and the equally transformative nature of envisioning one's status and role in their community. This was primarily a process of developing competence, which straddles the categories of cultural and communicative competence.

Kindness can also be understood as part of an emergent process characterized by the complex concept of empathy, which Throop describes as ranging from "moments of connection to moments of disconnection, from feelings of mutual understanding, attunement, and compassion to feelings of confusion, misalignment, and singularity when confronting the, at times, impenetrability of others' and our own subjective lives" (2010:754). While student

reflections usually focused on moments of connection, or acts of kindness, instructors occasionally shared with me the ways student experience, for as much as they try to respond to it, can be largely unknowable. One instructor reflected on how students who come from elsewhere may be especially vulnerable, and what may contribute to their leaving:

> I think more of the struggles I see are things like shortages of housing that's affordable. Food insecurity, those kind of pieces, financial issues being what ends up being what finally kind of...students who don't stay often, that's why. Or that they have things back home with family that's far away that they have to attend to so often that they can't continue in the community here, more than maybe… that needing to have more of an integration with the community. I'm not sure, though.

In this example, an instructor reflects on the myriad challenges that a student might encounter, and how by "needing to have more of an integration with the community" and not having that by not being local, can end an educational journey for some students. While instructors tended to be a bit less forthcoming with me, it seemed to me that in reflections such as this one, there was a sense that much of the weight of trying to keep these students' needs met was huge, and perhaps often fell on instructors like this one. This was on top of an already full plate. For all the challenges instructors face -- a huge teaching load, constantly needing to apply for and keep up with grants, community commitments, and of course maintaining their own lives and that of their families -- students still often expressed how they felt these instructors were there for them.

Casey, a hydrology student, explained how he saw his relationship with his instructors as one grounded in care, and unique to SKC versus bigger schools. When asked about his experience at SKC, he told me:

> I think it's a little different at a bigger college, this college is a little bit different. I think it's because the faculty doesn't want to see kids, you know, not come to them for help or see them fail with no input. Like they just stopped coming to class and they don't know why. You know, I think a lot of faculty actively seeks to find those kind of answers, whereas like a bigger college would just be like, yeah, it's not our deal. You know, we don't care if they show up or not. And there's nowhere... you're just a number pretty much so, yeah.
>
> I think that's part of the reason I had such a hard time at Montana State. It's because I've felt like, like my advisor even wasn't, he didn't seem approachable, you just kind of seemed like you use there to sign me up for things and kick me out the door. He wasn't there, he wasn't there to get to know me, you know. He was just there to advise. And that's it. So I think it makes a big difference in whether or not someone stays in school or like their interest's piqued or whatever, you know. I think people lose interest a lot. They're not being paid attention to sometimes. Sometimes that makes a big difference.

While on the surface, it may seem to be an obvious fact that students would be more likely to thrive in a smaller college with more personal attention than a large state school, this fact takes on an additional layer with Native students. In many cases, there is more to it than that -- when a Native student does not show up for class, a responsive instructor cares about the cause, and recognizes that there is a level of struggle that is present for Native students that may not be there for other students. While the reason may not be as extreme as, in Taryn's experience which I described in the previous chapter, a response to a close friend committing suicide, this possibility is heightened in this context. Further, showing restorative care, "being paid attention to" is recognizing that meaningful participation in education for Native students is something that has historically been denied to them.

This is a very situated form of care, nurtured in "the bubble" (as one instructor called it) of not just the college, but the very building and program where students formed relationships.

Therefore, restorative acts of kindness can be a step in the process of trust building so that the larger work of connection building can take place. Through these connections, practical measures of support can flow, which is no small matter. Again and again, I listened to how one small act or moment of affirmation can be the turning point for whether or not students continue with their program or drop out, with the cascading pathways that branch out from each path. These small acts are also responsive to disjunctures in practical and transformative ways.

This can be seen in an example from Taryn, a Wildlife and Fisheries student. It was close to the end of the school year and she was appropriately exhausted. Reflecting on what got her through a tough year, she told me about her advisor Ruth. “Like there would be times in her. I'd be in her office like crying because of stuff outside of school. Like, there's just a really great, great group of people in my program anyways, that have helped me, helped a lot.” She elaborates further:

> And then Ruth and Diana, like if there's anything I need or help they will always help me. They'll always find a way. Like I couldn't afford books last quarter and Diana, like when I drove away, let me use her book. So Diana, Ruth has been helpful. Karen, when she was here was helpful and tutors, instructors, they go out of their way to help, even though that's not even what they need to do. I'm sure I wouldn't get that experience, at a lot of colleges. I don't think I would have been successful in a bigger college either just because I didn't I already didn't know what I was doing. I've been struggling to find my way here and it's hard.

In this example, Taryn is referring to the effects of disjuncture and the effects of trauma without referring to it as such. During her time at SKC, she lost two friends to suicide, and fell into a deep depression. She sought counseling services at the college but says they did not help her. Instead, she found a connection with her instructors Ruth and Diana and other people with

non-counseling roles, grounded in a relationship that she saw as characterized by care, and therefore able to foster trust. It was this that let her feel comfortable crying in Ruth's office. There is also a practical response to a legacy of poverty on reservations, in this case manifesting in the inability to afford a book, which Diana remedied by lending Taryn her copy. Less tangible is the ways that a moment of connection like this can address Taryn's sense of unsureness that she is able to navigate the educational system to begin with, as she describes by saying, "I didn't already know what I was doing", that she has been "struggling" and that it is "hard". At SKC, I describe acts of kindness and care as "restorative" for the ways they respond to the effects of historical trauma and disjuncture, and the ways they allow for progress facilitated by a caring relationship or an act of care. Much of this work is done through the student-teacher relationship, which students describe in terms of a stance that is listening and present and grounded in small acts of kindness. It is also notable that what makes these actions recognized as kindness rather than just part of the job of helping students complete their programs can be seen in Taryn's recognition that "they go out of their way to help, even though that's not even what they need to do." This suggests a moral imperative that goes beyond a "could" or "should" response to one that is agentive and suggestive of a relationship that is based in care -- that they *want to*.

Like Casey, Taryn also distinguishes this as unique to the tribal college, and something that would not have happened at a larger school. When Taryn and Casey both expressed how they would not (or did not) do well in larger colleges, I believe they were speaking to more than just the size of the institutions. I believe that they were actually speaking to these situated forms of care, these ways of being seen, that I am describing here. This is in itself, work of the imagination, as Basso described it, a way of retelling stories of places. In these stories, Native experience past and present, is recognized and informs possible futures. This can be when a

student “just stopped coming to class and they don't know why.” As Casey described, an instructor will have enough sensitivity to the ramifications of settler colonialism that rather than, as at other non-tribal colleges, as he says, “they don’t care if you show up or not”. Throughout, these comments of care are made tangible in their opposites, which are often attributed here to bigger, non-tribal colleges. In one place, you are recognized, tended to, queried; in the other your presence is not valued, and when you are not seen, you are easily forgotten.

Restorative acts of kindness therefore achieve practical goals of retention of students, and also contain a moral imperative. It is not in the handbook that an instructor should lend a personal copy of a book or let a student come into their office outside of office hours to cry about their personal lives. And certainly not all instructors or other staff the students encounter regularly do this. But many do, and these small acts weave together with all the other forms of care to not only get many students through their programs in the face of difficult odds, but also facilitate and inform how students perceive themselves, their roles in the communities, and what possible futures are available to them.

Recognition and representation

Closely related to restorative acts of kindness and care is the work of recognition and representation. As I have already introduced, this can be feeling “seen”, as well as having one’s culture and history represented in the classroom, and also includes recognizing a place for students in the future of meaningful cultural participation in ways that extend beyond historical place-based sites of traditional knowledge transmission. As I described, the linguistic landscapes provide one easily overlooked site where Indigenous knowledge, language, achievement, and a recognition of troubles (with a signpost to a response) are represented. Within the interactional

landscape, the troubles/response messages in particular can be seen as at once empathic, and practical and material in that it keeps students enrolled. All of these acts are, in their own way, ways of "seeing" students -- what they are going through, as well as the unique interests and capacities they possess -- which, in their being seen, may also potentially be responded to, as Casey noted in students' interests being piqued.

Among the stories being reimagined in the context of the tribal college is about who belongs in graduate school. Compared with 13.4 percent of White students who earned a graduate degree, only 4.8 of Native American students did so. Through recognition and this work of space-making that I have described, it becomes easier for students at SKC to imagine themselves as potentially valued and present in spaces such as this, where they have been historically absent, work that is also grounded in care. For example, Taryn also told me about the connections she was able to make through SKC and how they helped her imagine that she could go to graduate school:

> And I'm like, I'm thinking about going to grad school. I told my advisor that went with me. See, that's the other thing. I kind of have a lot of mentors now just from networking and different job opportunities and stuff. Have a lot of people that aren't family, that aren't related to me, but I have worked with me in school and like, see that potential. So I have a lot of people that are actually caring for me, and looking out for me. I even told one of them. I'm not good enough. I'm not going to do this, and so they asked me, what have you done? I told them about my internship that I've had and stuff. And they're like, You've done so much like you're only an undergrad and you have all this experience like your transcripts may not have been the best, but you have all these different internships, all these different experiences that you've had. And you've been to so many places and a lot of undergrads don't even have experience. And they're like, what do you what are you afraid about? About grad schools, like not being able to afford it. We find we can find you funding in this different problem, especially for wildlife and fisheries majors. So we can cross that off your list of reasons why not to go.

> So give us your uh-- your next reason. I was like, well, so I don't have good enough grades. And then they're like grades don't matter. I have this GPA when I was going into grad school, you just got to find a mentor that will help you and that's willing to work with you. So like, cross that off your list. What's your next one? We'll cross that off for you too, they're like we're gonna get you to grad school.

In this case, a mentor Taryn found at SKC was able to address Taryn's doubts one by one, as if checking off a list. She was able to relate her own experiences as a Native woman who was able to overcome some of these obstacles herself, presenting a future space that has already been occupied by someone like her, while she reminds Taryn that her experiences, though imperfect, are valuable. In this excerpt, Taryn uses the discursive tool of "voice" to recreate a conversation while simultaneously presenting two points of view -- one that is doubtful that she can pursue grad school (her own) and another that offered a solution or a workaround for each area of doubt (her mentor's). Voicing can be understood by Bahktin's definition as: "Each utterance is filled with the echoes and reverberations of other utterances to which it is related by the communality of the sphere of speech communication" (1986:91). Jane Hill also adds, "The voice system is the field for dialogue and for conflict, where authorial consciousness attempts to dominate and shape the text through its chosen voices" (1995:109). By recounting this conversation to me, Taryn was presenting these contrasting voices, taking opposite stances on whether she could go to grad school or not, as competing versions of possibility. In doing so, it is as if she is speaking both *as* and *to* the part of herself that feels, as she says, that "I'm not good enough." This opposing voice from her mentor asks her to name her accomplishments, name her fears, and then offers recognition for the depth of her experience and practical solutions to each worry. While based in an actual encounter, in the retelling to me, to others, and presumably in her own mind, this encouraging voice that can "see that potential" becomes part of a repertoire of

voices, and notably one that imagines a way forward where it hadn't existed, for Taryn, previously.

The absence of care

Often, when care is discussed in the anthropological literature, it is addressing the ways that care is denied, or absent (Biehl 2005, Briggs 2005, Mol 2008, Buch 2018, Zigon 2011). Another way to consider how recognition and representation play an important role in the space of the tribal college is to consider the opposite, a deliberate lack of a presence, or erasure. In linguistic anthropology, "erasure" may be defined as "the process in which ideology, in simplifying the sociolinguistic field, renders some persons or activities (or sociolinguistic phenomena) invisible" (Irvine and Gal, 2000:404). They note that erasure does not mean that the element that is seen as "problematic" is actually removed but may be unattended to. They elaborate that, "It is probably only when the 'problematic' element is seen as fitting some alternative, threatening picture that the semiotic process involved in erasure might translate into some kind of practical action to remove the threat, if circumstances permit" (404). Historically, of course, the threatening element in U.S. educational institutions where Native students attended was Native American cultures themselves. In a famous quote, Richard Henry Pratt, the founder of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School (1902), referred to the goal of Indian education as "Kill the Indian, save the man".

The process of erasure is still, unfortunately, at the heart of many of the schooling experiences for Native Americans. For example, Ahlers describes how this erasure may be present in schools in California:

This idea that there are no modern Native Californians is reinforced

> by the one book on the native people of California to which fourth graders might be exposed: Ishi, The Last of His Tribe (Kroeber 1973). Native Californians often make dark humored jokes about having been declared "extinct" by one anthropologist or another, especially if they perceive themselves to be listed as such in the well-known Handbook of the Indians of California (Kroeber 1976). Links to this set of discourses allow any use of a Native California language to be an act of defiance in the face of the more general public assumption that not only are there no speakers left of Native Californian languages, but that there are, in fact, no Native Californians left to speak those languages. (2017:46)

Further, Kawagley describes how erasure, and the related process of misrepresentation may reverberate for Native students:

> The messages from the school and the media, and other manifestations of Eurocentric society, present Yupiaq students with an unreal picture of the outside world as well as a distorted view of their own, which leads to a great deal of confusion for students about who they are and where they fit in the world. This loss of Yupiaq identity leads to guilt and shame at being Yupiaq. The resultant feelings of hurt, grief, and pain are locked in the mind to emerge as depression and apathy, which is further reinforced by the fear of failure in school, by ridicule from non-Natives, and by the loss of their spirituality (Kawagley 1999:12).

Misrepresentation also plays a large part in persistent and damaging stereotypes, and is an issue that has been widely covered in scholarly literature on media and mascots, for example (e.g. Taylor 2015). A counter to this, then, is being represented, being seen, both as an individual with struggles and strengths but also as a member of a cultural community, no matter how complex one's sense of being an "authentic" member may be, which I described in the previous chapter. It also stands to reason that if lack of representation or misrepresentation, as Kawagley describes, can lead to guilt and shame, that positive representation may not only have a healing effect, but may also address these feelings of inauthenticity that students expressed to me. It may

also provide a window into why students like Taryn struggle to see themselves as "good enough" in educational spaces.

On an everyday level at SKC, just as small acts of recognition or care can shift the trajectory of an educational journey in a positive way, what is perceived as a lack of care can threaten to interrupt it. In one instance, Cat came in for her interview flustered and upset. She has a toughness that she wears sometimes and that day she was wearing it like a suit of armor.

She told me about an argument she had with an instructor named Barbara who stopped her one minute into her five minute presentation about potentially locating cliff swallow habitat by using GIS tools. Barbara said the particular application of the tool wouldn't work for this particular purpose and continued to push this point, derailing Cat's presentation in a way that she felt like missed the point, leaving her offended and angry. Cat went into Barbara's office to talk to her about this, and she told me about the exchange:

> And then she just kind of was undermining me and she was just kind of acting a way like I was talking about it today, it was just like, I was just offence-- offended by your tone and your body language and the vibe that you gave me. And that's why I just couldn't talk to you. And I was like, I couldn't explain to you. I'm like, you would talk to me like I was stupid.

Cat elaborated by telling me how she went to complain about it to another instructor whose support she felt she could summon:

> And like I went talk to Fred and I was just like basically told him that I don't like how she teaches, I was like she talks down to her students. She made me, she made me question myself. And I told him I was like, this is one of the things I really dislike in people. And I was like, I know I'm a smart person and I do have something that I bring to the table. And it's people like her that make me question like, am I even smart? Like, can I actually do this? And like, so I was like, kind of feeling a way.

Later, Cat told me, she talked to Patterson, another source of support for her. He affirmed her frustration by saying, “Well, it just goes with everything else. You're a Native woman. You're gonna have to deal with this for the rest of the rest of your life.”

I did not see any of the exchanges between Barbara and Cat, including the interruption that started the conflict. Having sat in other classes that Barbara taught, I did see that she had what might be called an “old school” teaching style that she probably was socialized into herself as a non-Native woman from elsewhere. This sometimes included calling out students in front of others for failing to do an assignment or falling behind. But whether she meant her criticism as harshly as Cat felt she did or whether she was just trying to be helpful is not the point here -- what is important to attend to here is how a perceived lack of care, illustrated in this example, tapped into a set of doubts that seemed to reside just below the surface for Cat.

Returning to voice as an analytic tool (I place voiced text in italics in the following examples), we can see that when Cat voices herself, she ranges from questioning herself -- “it’s people like her that make me question like, *am I even smart*? Like *can I actually do this*?” to voicing her anger through her response to Barbara -- “*I was just offence-- offended by your tone and your body language and the vibe that you gave me. And that's why I just couldn't talk to you.* And I was like, *I couldn't explain to you.* I'm like, *you would talk to me like I was stupid*”; to asserting her capacities to Fred -- “And I told him I was like, *this is one of the things I really dislike in people*. And I was like, *I know I'm a smart person and I do have something that I bring to the table*.” Throughout, what Cat is addressing is how her own intelligence and competence are perceived by others and ultimately, to herself. As she tells it, in a moment of feeling like she was treated as “*stupid*” and “undermined”, she immediately sought out supportive people at the college -- Fred, and as she later told me, she also approached another instructor with expertise in

GIS to help her. She also drew upon support in her personal life, when she talked to her partner, Patterson. Cat described how the faculty at SKC provided affirmation that her ideas are a good start and they offer to help her develop them, and she later expressed feeling validated by this. She told me about Fred's response (voiced speech added in italics):

> He was like *yeah you're*, like *you're right*. *This is possible*. It's like *you just were having a hard time explaining it to her*. And he was like, showed me a senior thesis of a previous student of their, like, final presentation. And he's like, *this is what you're doing. That's all you're doing*. And it was just like, *students do this all the time, Cat. So don't think that this isn't right*.

As in the example with Taryn talking to her mentor, Cat voices supportive faculty not just to recount a conversation but to provide a counter not to Barabra's voice in this story but to the way her treatment of her evoked Cat's own doubts about her own competence. Like Taryn, Cat also describes feeling not "good enough", though for her she says that "it's people like her that make me question like, *am I even smart*? Like, *can I actually do this*?". By telling Cat she was right, and shows her an example of ways her idea has been done successfully before, Fred's voice becomes not just an anathema to Cat's doubts but, like Taryn's mentor, becomes a voice that she can invoke in future tellings, and one that charts a path forward.

But what is perhaps the most powerful in this example is the way Cat describes Patterson's response. Voiced through Cat, by saying, "*Well, it just goes with everything else. You're a Native woman. You're gonna have to deal with this for the rest of the rest of your life*", Patterson brings up a legacy of discrimination that was felt perhaps most keenly in the painful history of Indian education, that remains just below the surface and is easily brought forth in a tense interaction like this. For this reason, part of lentic care in the tribal college setting is a recognition and sensitivity to the ways a perceived slight may (sometimes unintentionally) tap

into this legacy of harm in schooling. This form of care is responsive to this history. I am not saying here that Barbara did not care for her students, as I do think she did, but the instructors that I met who most easily presented critique in a manner that was interpreted as based in care -- such as Fred's suggestion to Cat that "you just were having a hard time explaining it to her" -- were those who had a long history of belonging to or working with Native communities, especially locally.

These forms of situated care that I have described are the first level of care that needs to occur in the practice of placemaking. Care is always present in placemaking -- in the tending, perpetual connection building, and returning to the meaningfulness of places. But as Basso points out, to invoke these places in our narrating histories, we are also telling the stories of who we are, and the communities and their practices to which we belong and can participate. We may revisit his words as he says, "If place-making is a way of constructing the past, a venerable means of doing human history, it is also a way of constructing social traditions and, in the process, personal and social identities. We are, in a sense, the place-worlds we imagine" (1996: 18). For the students at SKC, this may emerge in the layers of physical and interactional landscapes where they are present and recognized as individuals and as having ties to their cultures. They are seen as part of the story being told in this place. But being part of the story also means recognizing the story that came before. This means that the legacy of settler colonialism and the trauma and practical hurdles that exist as a result, need to be recognized and responded to if a very situated form of care is to be practiced. It doesn't always happen. And when it does happen, it may not be enough -- it is not uncommon for students to be confronted with a tragedy, such as the death of a family member, that presents responsibilities that loom

larger than the completion of an undergraduate degree. I did not have access to all the stories of the students early in their programs who were lost for these reasons, and others. And in fact, by focusing my research on junior and seniors in their programs, I may have an outsized perspective on the ways care can facilitate progress. In other words, I saw the success stories which, being grounded in these relational forms of care, may come to the students who were most adept at forming these relationships or managing troubles. But even if this is a particularly resilient group, these forms of lentic care are critical to the grand project that is completing a degree in the face of a history and its resonances that threaten to throw a wrench in the process at any point. Therefore, it may be reasonable to surmise that for students without these coping skills, who are just beginning their college educations, care becomes even more critical to the process.

Joking: Care that sits and moves

I will further discuss care that "moves" in the following chapter, but I want to introduce the concept in an example here that also shows the way it may interact with situated care, in the register of joking.

At SKC, I was struck by how often joking infused interaction, quite consistently out of teaching and learning spaces and often inside of them as well. With most of the instructors in the Natural Resources program whose classes I attended frequently, jokes flowed as part of the classroom discourse, and the instructors who were the most humorous seemed to also facilitate the most engagement among students. In my own relationship building process with students, I found that my sitting in on classes unable to fully participate in the learning process could make my presence confusing and awkward at times, where people often didn't know what to make of me. But by going along on field trips, I was able to participate in the more informal joking

routines with students during the long van rides, and this, probably more than anything, helped me build connections with the most people at once. It was also quite fun -- so many of the people I got to know at SKC were truly hilarious, and much of my time at SKC was spent laughing.

Joking may seem unrelated to the concept of care but a brief excursion into the literature on mental health and health care for Native American populations shows it recommended as a way to build relationships and promote a healing environment. For example, Garret et al. describe how using humor in counseling with Native American clients can facilitate trust as a culturally relevant coping mechanism (2005:203). And in a study with Native American nurses, among the themes identified as important in the nurse-client relationship -- which include caring, traditions, respect, connections, holism, trust, and spirituality -- "Humor is readily identifiable as an aspect of caring, respect, connections, and trust" (Struthers and Littlejohn 1999, as cited in Dean 2003:64).

In the educational context of SKC, I found this to be true among students at SKC as well. In talking with Casey, like his above reflection that you wouldn't find advisors who wanted to get to know you at a bigger school, he distinguished the prevalence of joking at SKC as something unique to the tribal college environment.

> Yeah. It's really interesting. You don't, I don't think you get that at most schools, maybe another tribal college. But no, that's not what most universities are all about, I don't think. But they just don't, like it's written into their policy that they can't interact with students in that way, like Barbara would say, it's a big no-no. You can't do that.

I'm not sure whether there are schools where light hearted joking is actually forbidden according to the school policy, or whether this is a more general orientation that has morphed into a mythological book of guidelines, but Casey's impression that it is more prevalent in a

tribal college is one that he says has been backed up by his instructor Barbara. He also speculates that the prevalence of joking in the classroom happens "maybe at another tribal college", seeming to suggest here that he sees the use of humor in interaction is something that is more embedded in Native American social contexts than non-Native contexts.

I told Casey that by sitting in classes while all this joking was going on, "makes for some hilarity" and he responded:

> Yeah, definitely. Yeah, for sure. And you kind of get to know more, like more about that person too, you know, that kind of stuff. Which, which makes them more approachable when you actually have a serious question.

Resonating with the study with Native American nurses I reference above, where humor is linked with caring, respect, connections, and trust, Casey's statement that by joking with instructors: "...you kind of get to know more, like more about that person too, you know, that kind of stuff. Which, which makes them more approachable when you actually have a serious question", suggests that what may seem like a lighthearted interactional moment may actually facilitate a deeper, more trusting relationship. In reverse, this also suggests that if someone in a teaching or advising role comes across as humorless, they may not be approachable, and therefore students may not come to them with a "serious question", which in a college program can have significant consequences in making progress towards a degree. This again points to a form of care, where joking becomes part of getting to know a person and lays the groundwork for future engagement based on trust. This is a very place-based form of care, situated not just in the college campus but in the natural resources program itself and perhaps especially within the Beaverhead building where instructors are a few steps away, with their doors left open, if only a crack. When considering how students beat the odds and graduate, a moment of joking in the

classroom may not seem like an obvious place to look but the data I collected suggests that joking is tied to trust, values, and care.

This can also be seen in a story Taryn told me about her experience doing a summer internship in Indiana where she was the only Native student among a group of White students. As she considered another internship in Hawaii she told me about why she thinks it may suit her better:

> Yeah. My friend that had been in- or had the job a few summers ago, told me that I'll really like it there and that the people are really nice there. I told her I'll have a lot better time in Hawaii since I'm gonna be around other Natives. I was like, every Native gets each other's sense of humor. In Indiana, there wasn't any Natives, so nobody got my sense of humor or nobody would joke with me. I would try and they didn't get it. And so I was like heh heh this sucks. I was really out of my element last summer, with like non-Natives so like this summer, like it doesn't matter what tribe you're in, like you're in, if you're Native like they all have that same sense of humor, same like family-oriented, same, like same way of living, basically.

In this example, Taryn is describing cross-cultural variability that can lead to communication breakdown, which can happen in differences as small as length of pauses or use of overlapping speech or may be bundled up, as in this example in culturally shaped rules and norms in joking routines (Basso 1979). Interestingly, Taryn distinguishes between non-Natives who do not understand her sense of humor and would not joke with her, to "Natives" as a group, as opposed to distinct tribes with a varying set of communication styles. This broader group of Natives share a "sense of humor", the value of being "family-oriented", and the experience of having the "same way of living, basically". There is often discussion about the problems with making "pan-Indian" assertions, which can contribute to the erasure of the uniqueness of and profound differences between individual tribes. But in this example from Taryn, we can see how

the perception of commonality between tribes as "Natives" more generally, can be a way to index connection between them, in this case with a sense of humor as a vehicle. While she is describing how this becomes salient in her inability to joke with a group of White students in another state, it also serves as a connecting thread among students at SKC, where there are 68 tribes represented. In this way, we can see that the connections established by joking can build pathways between students who come from different cultural communities. By sharing a "sense of humor" or ability to understand each other's jokes, different tribes have an accessible route of connection across cultural differences and vast distances. Through laughter, other shared experiences are fortified and interlocked, like an invisible bridge. This may be understood as lotic care, as it can move across time and space, through the ways that joking is linked, in Taryn's words, as values around family and shared experience.

To understand how this manifests in interaction at SKC, I will consider one last example from the classroom. Matty, one of the few Native instructors in the Natural Resources program, taught a hydrology course that combined local cultural history with hydrological tools and scientific methods. In their final presentation, students identified resources and measurement tools to understand how snowmelt becoming runoff, from a culturally significant patch of snow on a mountain, would affect the safety of crossing a river for an imagined group of Salish hunters, based on actual historical information. They formed groups and had the choice of doing their final presentation to either the Tribal Council or one of the two local Culture Committees. The following is an excerpt from one of the classes, broken down numerically into turns at talk.

1	Matty	Now remember it's not a scientific presentation, or not a traditional scientific presentation. But what we do need to establish some sort of

		foundation. What we're there for. So yeah. So maybe let's, I don't know, let's think about that. Let's just get the meat of what we're trying to accomplish. So what is the goal, what are you trying to do? What is the message you want to convey?
2	Kara	Like in a non-scientific term way?
3	Matty	You can say it in a scientific way, but then eventually we'll have to try to reword that.
4	Jonah	Observing your surroundings to better understand of... what's going on around you, as far as the natural fluxes.
5	Matty	In?
6	Jonah	The environment? I mean, I don't know.
7	Matty	That's what we're trying to tell these older folks.
8	Kara	It'll probably just be like, let's just go...
9	Colter	Changes – (hears Casey start to talk) oh, go ahead.
10	Casey	It's the...(room gets silent) just, I don't know.
11	Matty	(Stadium voice) Take a shot, take a shot. (everyone laughs)
12	Colter	I was just gonna say, changes that happen, since the uh, (switches to Old Indian voice) since the Whiteman hh right? (everyone laughs)
13	Matty	He he he he the railways (?) arrived? That's right. He he he yeah, ha ha ha yeah, no I know what you're saying.
14	Colter	Yeah, so. Yeah. Changes like irrigation and just uh, just disturbed drainages, watersheds.

In addition to introducing the content and discourse style of a classroom at SKC, this example provides examples of joking. To consider the two jokes in this transcript, I turn again to Basso. Joking may seem, at first glance, to be unrelated to the concept of placemaking I have

also discussed here, but interestingly, the two most prominent topics in Basso's work with the Western Apache were placemaking and joking -- most notably his work on joking about Whitemen (1979). By analyzing the ways that Whitemen were portrayed in joking scenarios Basso illustrated how parodying what seemed to be the boorish, overly personal interactional style of Whitemen, can highlight the norms of Western Apache interaction and identity.

One of the concepts he developed in his analysis on joking was that of a "primary text" and a "secondary text". The primary text was one that the joker playfully invoked in the joking context. And the secondary text is how the context is taken up as part of the joke. In the above example, there are two jokes: line 11, in which Matty uses a basketball game as the primary text, and line 12, where Colter uses the primary text of an Old Indian telling a story about the Whiteman's wake of destruction. Both of these primary texts are meaningful and understandable to an audience with significant experience in a Native American cultural context. And both examples also use "voice" as a tool to transform these primary texts into secondary ones, which are the jokes.

In the first joke, Matty is responding to Casey, who in line 10, begins to contribute to the discussion but then, as the room grows silent and all attention is on him, his shyness takes over and he freezes up. Casey has talked to me about his shyness before, saying he is trying to overcome it and is getting better but that it still emerges at times. Matty (who recognizes this) tries to lighten the mood while encouraging Casey as he invokes the voice of a collectively cheering crowd, as if at a basketball game, urging a player with the ball to "Take a shot, take a shot!". Everyone in the classroom laughs and Casey is somewhat left off the hook by the distraction but also does not take up Matty's playful urging to contribute and remains silent while Colter responds instead.

While this playful "stadium voice" is one that would also be recognizable outside of a tribal college context, it is particularly meaningful to Matty and Casey, who are both from different towns on the Flathead reservation, who would compete against each other in high school sports. During my time at SKC, a New York Times Magazine piece titled "When There's More to the Story than Basketball" profiled the efforts of the local team in Arlee to affect the suicide epidemic (Streep 2018), and described a video made by the team to raise suicide awareness, which went viral.

Besides being a reminder of the resonances of historical trauma on reservations, this attention highlights the fact that high school basketball, locally and on most reservations is a big deal. There is a form of basketball played that has earned the name "Rez ball" which "typically has a more up-tempo pace than other high school styles. There are few 7-footers, so the teams have adopted a style that revolves more around speed" (Weiner 2020).

While this short moment of joking in the classroom may seem like a small lighthearted moment, which in many ways it was, it also indexed an important cultural resource, at the same time as it was used as a gentle prod to encourage Casey to speak up. This demonstrates how joking can be infused with care that both "sits" and "moves". It is situated care in the way that Matty shows encouragement to Casey, while also taking pressure off him. But it is also care that moves, bridge-building care, in that it indexes a shared "primary text" that is readable by all members of the classroom space, creating a moment of shared connection across cultural contexts.

The second example accomplishes similar aims. In the exchange between Colter and Matty in lines 12-14, Colter also uses voice to index an "Old Indian", uses a deep, almost monotone to say the sentence fragment "since the Whiteman", which is enough to invoke a

traditional elder telling the story of how life changed when settlers arrived. The way Colter uses this voice is at once reverent and teasing -- he is giving credence to this Old Indian's story to make a point, which he further explains a couple lines later as "Changes like irrigation and just uh, just disturbed drainages, watersheds", or, the damage that has been done to Indigenous lands. But he is also drawing on a trope that in another context may be seen as disparaging or mocking. For example, Barbra Meek describes how stereotypes of Native Americans may be used by White people in joking to portray a primitive and inferior Other in order to assert a superior White identity (2013).

But in the tribal college classroom, this voiced character would be interpreted differently. Colter may have even been referencing a local film from 1990 called "The Place of Falling Waters" that is narrated by Roy Bigcrane, who has such a deep and identifiably "Indian" voice. This film was seen by probably every hydrology student at SKC at some point. But it also evokes a larger, media-suffused trope of an Old Indian.

In this context, while voicing this trope enters the realm of transgression that may be in play in a joking context (Black 2012), it is also understood as not intended to be mocking at all, which Matty recognizes and affirms in line 13 by laughing and then saying, "No I know what you're saying." In this context, it is safe to make this joke without it being misunderstood as disparagingly making fun of Old Indians, but instead using it as a playful way to index a shared history of land degradation, resource theft and destruction, and lasting ecological damage to watersheds. This also links situated care, where local understandings are used to further a discussion in class, but also care that moves, where the classroom community is in this case from a variety of places but can still easily access this shared and damaging legacy across contexts. In this way, as Spokane-Coeur d'Alene writer Sherman Alexie described in his book *The Lone*

Ranger and Tonto Fistfight in Heaven, "Humor was an antiseptic that cleaned the deepest of personal wounds" (2003). This case, as in others, I often saw difficult topics being treated playfully, and with humor, and then addressed in terms of practical measures of description, restoration, and a path to healing.

Conclusion

To begin to understand the ways care is present in the landscape of the campus of SKC, one might take a slow and attentive walk through the Beaverhead building. By doing so, you would see Native art on the wall, maps showing the expanding, tribally-managed protected habitat for all forms of life, and a hallway lined with the research and findings from work by former students. You would hear laughter coming from the classrooms and labs and notice the open office doors for faculty, and possibly students peering inside to ask for help. You would see Salish translations for local insects and birds, postings for scholarships and internships, and flyers tucked throughout offering support for healing from trauma or violence.

By listening more closely to the stories and interactions from the students, you would then hear the ways care is often referred to -- how it has been offered, and sometimes denied, and the ways it has been responsive to both individual needs and situations, as well as the legacy of settler colonial harms in education that may manifest in the inability to afford a book, or dealing with a crisis like losing a best friend to suicide. Even small acts are often no small matter -- where a history of disenfranchisement and cultural violence in education is part of the legacy for Native American students. Being overlooked, misrepresented, or mistreated, even in the smallest of ways, can lead a student to give up on higher education. But tribal colleges are more successful in this area than mainstream colleges. Overall, the number of Native American

students enrolled in colleges and universities has more than doubled in the past 30 years, and at the same time the outcomes differ markedly between mainstream universities and tribal colleges. 86 percent of tribal college students complete their chosen program of study, while fewer than 10 percent of Native American students who go directly from reservation high schools to mainstream colleges and universities finish their bachelor's degree (American Indian College Fund 2017).

By focusing this research on juniors and seniors on the way to finishing their bachelor's degrees (all of the students in this study did, in fact, graduate), we can glimpse what might have helped them. In this chapter, I introduced the ways care may have played a role in this journey.

I have focused in this chapter on the ways care may be situated and place-based. Enveloped by linguistic landscapes that celebrate, represent, and respond to Native experience, students described how many of their relationships with instructors also were grounded in a sense of being recognized and responded to -- the sense of being "seen". This did not always happen, and stories where the opposite was perceived as having happened highlighted just how critical this sense of being seen and valued was for students.

In the data I shared above, I examined the use of "voice" in several of the examples as a way to look more closely at some of the forces at work in how students tell the stories of their own educational journeys. By attending to some of the voices that emerge in interaction, we can see that there are some key "characters" in these stories. There is the student who doubts herself, whether she can actually complete her degree, whether she is smart or good enough, and whether she could even go on to grad school. This voice contains echoes of a legacy of American Indian education that devalued students, as well as a continued legacy of racism that reverberates in schools and beyond. In response to this voice, there is a character of a supportive advisor or

mentor who issues words of support, while practicing small acts of kindness. There is also the opposite, an instructor who was perceived to be disparaging, who inspired a “fighting” voice. This is a response that does not accept this assessment even as it raises personal doubt. Whether facilitated or interrupted, these examples illustrate a situated form of care. Through representation and recognition Native students that are re-emplaced in the educational landscape, where their own experience and histories are made visible, a bright pattern in the fabric of their own ancestral legacy.

In my final example from the classroom, I showed how two playfully invoked voices -- that of a stadium crowd and the other of an Old Indian, were invoked in a joking context. In this example and other talk about joking, I showed how using humor can facilitate connection and trust building as it builds connections across lines of shared cultural reference points and histories. While I have focused primarily on situated care, in this last example, I introduced that way moments of connection in interaction may create pathways across distances and cultural backgrounds, showing how care can also move.

I will expand upon the concept of care that extends outwards from interpersonal relationship to land and resources in the following chapter. By examining the ways it plays a role in the educational work of placemaking, I hope to emphasize that placemaking is in fact, an interactional practice, that results in tools that may be portable. Bridging, envisioning, carving space, defending rights across contexts -- these are some of the tools that fill the toolkits of this generation of Native students that will take up important roles going forward. This work begins with the simple act of including Native people in the stories that are being told, in order to imagine strategies to address a challenge, such as accounting for how snowmelt on a mountain

will affect streamflow, This, as Basso noted, is the imaginative work of narrating *what happened here*. And it is precisely this type of collaborative work of reimagining the past and how this can inform present approaches to shape future possibility.

Chapter 4: Alluvial Hope

The Lake County Jail in Polson, the largest town on the Flathead reservation, is hidden away in a windowless space below the courthouse in the heart of downtown. I had been in that building several times before, to register my car and fill out a voter registration form and had always been struck by its quaintness. I was never aware that there was a jail just below. A deep red brick building with an art deco facade and a large, tended lawn surrounding it, it stood as a landmark to the history of the town which had grown from modest lakeside resort town to one that had million dollar homes dotting the lakeshore. Tensions between the struggling and the wealthy, and occasionally between the tribal members and white residents (as well as the often competing political interests between the two governments) at times lent the town a feeling like static electricity in the air. But after a couple rounds of circling the familiar building I found the sunken entrance that led to the jail, where Colter had been taken after a repeated DUI charge.

It seemed unfathomable that someone like Colter could be suddenly locked away with a sentence of a year or more. By most accounts, prior to this mishap, he was thriving. He was in his final year before graduating and making good progress on his senior thesis project, he was involved in high profile political and environmental projects, he was leading school clubs and events, and he had been sober for quite some time. But after a breakup with his girlfriend, he got drunk and was arrested while sleeping in his truck, a final straw in legal frameworks for DUI limits, even though most of his prior ones were in his youth. Without passing judgement on the justness of his conviction, it is worth noting that Native Americans are disproportionately incarcerated at a rate 38% higher than the national average according to the Bureau of Justice Statistics. Therefore, whatever the details of Colter's incarceration were, there is no question that

there is a profound and harmful imbalance in rates of punitive justice for Native Americans in the U.S.

Finally finding the entrance, I walked through the doors into a small room where I handed over everything I was carrying, showed my ID, and signed in. Eventually I was called into a room with a row of booths with telephones and sat down at the one where the officer directed me. Through the thick glass I could see graffiti scratched into the metal door on the other side, including a carved image of a tipi.

Colter was brought out and after finally figuring out the timing of getting a line following a tone, I was able to talk to him amidst a fuzzy and faraway sounding connection. We caught up briefly, and he told me about getting arrested, and the racial divisions and fights inside the prison. And then he lightened up and said he wanted to show me something. Pulling back the fabric of his uniform from his arms and legs (alerting the guard to step closer), he showed me a series of tattoos he had gotten while inside. They were all done by someone he met in there, based on drawings Colter had done from memory. As he pointed to them and named them one by one, I realized they were line drawings of significant, sacred mountains from where he was raised on the Blackfeet reservation. After months in a sometimes violent and always windowless place, he had found a way to inscribe his own body with the contours of the peaks and ranges from home, now inviolably with him, imperfect but clear.

In Chapter 2, I discussed how disjuncture, for this generation of students, may characterize a reality that can shape their path forward. I also emphasized that even as disjuncture shapes the path, it does not cancel hope. In Chapter 3, I described the forms that care takes at the college, how it is responsive to the particular histories, strengths, and struggles

students bring into the educational space, and how this care helps facilitate the imaginative practice that is key to the work of placemaking. This encounter with Colter, to me, emphasizes both of these points. It illustrates that even for the brightest, most well-regarded and engaged students, a major disruption may be just a hair's breadth away. I saw this happen again and again. Colter wasn't the first student to suddenly disappear into the carceral system for a while. Often, disruptions came in other forms -- an untimely death in the family, a near-fatal car crash, or a need to retreat from an abusive relationship, for example -- and this meant that people at different levels would need to step in and help the student through it. This is part of the landscape of care. Staff at the college reached out to Colter while he was in jail; he was granted a medical leave so that he would not receive failing grades for the quarter he didn't finish, and faculty worked with him when he returned to get him back on track. He did, in fact, return to school just days after his release, and he graduated, albeit a year late. His path was altered, and certainly rockier, but not derailed.

But I also tell this story for another reason. I return to this moment again and again in my mind. There was something so beautiful and profound that in perhaps one of the most dark and brutal places he could be, Colter indelibly inscribed the physically distant contours of the peaks and ranges from his cherished home on his skin, so that the places and the stories and connections they contain would always remain intimately close, inscribed on his very being. In this meeting of mountain contours and skin, Basso's words may again be brought to life: "We are, in a sense, the place-worlds we imagine" (1996:18).

In this chapter, I will focus on the stories themselves that are the heart of placemaking. I will examine how narrative can provide a window into the ways components of narrative:

ancestors, places, confronting trouble, in other words, the stuff of placemaking, are used as resources to make sense of experience. I will examine how these places and stories are turned to in times of trouble and carried like a map that can be pulled out and looked to when lost. And they may not always be formed in a complete narrative but may index places and stories in other forms. Colter's tattoos provide a poignant example of this and may be understood through Lisa Stevenson's description of how an image can do what words cannot: "We often don't want the truth in the form of facts or information: often we want it in the form of an image. What we want, perhaps, is the opacity of an image that can match the density of our feelings. We want something to hold us" (2014:13).

Often, rather than complete forms that are recognizable as a narrative, stories may be re-envisioned and reshaped in more subtle ways. In this vein, I will examine how stories may be crafted and intertwined with collaborative practice, or, what Basso called the "building and sharing of place-worlds", which, he notes, "is not only a means of reviving former times but also of revising them, a means of exploring not merely how things might have been but also how, just possibly, they might have been different from what others have supposed" (1996:17).

I will revisit Matty's classroom to examine how this imaginative practice makes use of a diverse set of hydrological and cultural tools, to creatively address a problem, all while collaboratively considering what exactly happened here, and whether they could reshape how these imagined actions proceeded.

This leads me to examine how narrative practice, intertwined with other forms of practice including engagement with land itself, can be understood as collective action as a means of cultivating hope. I consider the ways hope has been theorized and how insights from the context at SKC can add to the conversation. In order to capture the unique forms of hope that I saw

cultivated at SKC, I call this particular form of hope "alluvial hope". This form of hope provides a lens for understanding how the education at SKC can be transformative, how placemaking becomes a tool for re-envisioning and path creation and building inroads and bridges where they didn't exist, while remixing elements into new forms.

It is through this lens that I will consider how the practices of placemaking, and the forms they may take in the educational process at SKC, may enrich and enhance the ways that places are understood, talked about, and committed to, and how these commitments are cut through like a river path that contains a vastness of scale. This scale extends, for example, from the invisible-to-the-eye chemical contents of a river, to the health of a much larger watershed it is a part of, and the life it supports from within and without.

Placemaking in times of trouble

In Chapter 3, I considered how intersubjective relationships grounded in care can respond to difficulty, crisis, and self-doubt in affective and material ways. In the following example, I show how, like Colter, Cat draws upon a component of placemaking beyond place itself, in this case, ancestors, to help her through a moment of difficulty. She describes a summer internship at the University of Montana, in which she was part of a team examining the effects of climate change on marmots. She explains that because of the later schedule of SKC (she was the only SKC student, the rest were mostly master's students from the University of Montana), she ended the summer as the only intern left working with her boss while the other students went back to finish up research projects. Through the following narrative, she told me about a particularly difficult day and how she made it through:

1 And I was kind of like the underdog

because I didn't really have much experience
and I was trying to gain experience and
ah man and those traps are like three pounds each.
And then we would, at first it was only ten.
And then we got over to Whitefish and they were more like
I was holding like a good fifty pounds on me.
And I'm like a pretty small chick and I'm like that's, that's a *lot*, I jokes.
And then we'd be hiking around and I was just uhhh
and then a lot of those uh masters people were finishing their stuff.
So it's like towards the end it wasn't hardly any people that were going.
And I remember my crew boss was really thankful that I was there all summer
because one of those hitches, it was just me and him
and we had to go do like, and there's like eighty traps at every site.
So it's like we had to break it in two, forty traps.
And it was *so steep*. But like I literally I had to go drop off twenty
like on those two lines and then I went the other way hh
with the other twenty and then I got to go start those but
it was *so much*... and it tested me a lot like
in moments like...I was kinda…
I thought I wasn't going to be able to do it or I just
felt like I wanted to give up or just something like that, I...
was just like, please, like so-- something like help me like
I need help. Like I just couldn't help but just think of,
like, moments when I, like, feel like that.
I try to think about, like, you know, my dad and like, hopefully,
you know, like...people would *help* me…
like that have passed on or just like Creator or something like
and it was crazy like I was out there and I was like feeling this way.
And I was like cuz the vegetation was *so big*
and I had like all this 50 pounds, super steep,
and I couldn't find hhh *no* flagging hhh,
and I was just like having such a hard time.
And it was just crazy, like,
Like I could almost like smell sweet grass or something?
Like all of a sudden and I just felt *comfort,* like I felt...
like I wasn't alone, I wasn't alone out there.
And it like, helped me...just push through what I was doing,
because then all of a sudden I was able to like, find my flags
so I was able to just kind of like
breeze through and just s-- just get it done.

42 And I just like...it was a good feeling.
43 I felt like I got help that day, I jokes.

Cat's story is punctuated with a local discourse marker (Schiffrin 1987), "I jokes", which like "just kidding" or "just saying", could potentially signal a joke but also, as in this case, can have a mitigating effect on a heavy topic or a claim that feels more weighty than one may feel authorized to make (Kiesling 2020). This serves to soften, to some extent, a couple moments in her story. First, in line 8, she uses it to mitigate the accurate but also seemingly hyperbolic nature of just how heavy the traps were -- 50 pounds! And then she also uses "I jokes" in the last line (43), to lighten the serious tone of her assessment, perhaps because it sounded almost too perfect of an ending -- "I felt like I got help that day."

But the task in her story was truly immense and the resolution was, indeed, profound. In this example, Cat tells a compelling and cohesive narrative that weaves together doubt, struggle, and resolution in an external and internal world, which reflects Bruner's take how narrative occurs on these two planes: "Narrative…is played out on a dual landscape…a landscape of action on which events unfold. But there is a second landscape, a landscape of consciousness, the inner worlds of the protagonists involved in the action" (1987:20). Cat is, in her own words, "the underdog" in this tale, less experienced than the other students, the only one from the tribal college, and the only Native student. This scientific fieldwork setting also can illuminate what future work in the field, outside of the SKC context, could look like.

Cat told me about feeling harshly judged by the other students working on the project, before generously adding: "But I could just tell some people just don't know -- or know what it's like on a reservation and how our community is and just it's just way different. It's just, I could just tell some people just don't know how to take...take me." In the face of this perceived stigma

(Goffman 1963), Cat expressed doubt in her own abilities (resonating with some of the reflections from some of her fellow students in Chapter 3), a feeling which stemmed from a set of stigmatizing interactions with her peers (Goodwin 1990) but also extended to her own perception of her body's ability to perform in this setting. So not only did she embody the stigma ascribed by other students, which may be described as "corporeal reflexivity" (Ochs 2015:277), she also was left with a more physically demanding set of tasks than the more advanced graduate students had to do.

And so she found herself, the only one left, working alongside her boss to do the work of a team at the end of a season. These circumstances set the stage for a narrative about encountering trouble. Trouble in narrative provides a rich lens for analysis. And the act of reshaping a troubling experience into narrative also can provide a post-hoc sense-making exercise. As Ochs and Capps describe:

> When we are in the midst of troubling experiences, it often isn't clear what actually matters or how things will develop. There is the potential for multiple, even conflicting, interpretive frameworks, to be seen as relevant. Even after the trouble subsides, interpretation may remain ambiguous (see Garro 1998, 2002). Narrative activity can take the form of a 'sense-making process' rather than as a finished product in which loose ends are knit together into a single Storyline. (Ochs & Capps, 2001:15)

Labov (2013) also centered trouble in some of his work on narrative and actually used the provocative question in interviews about whether the interviewee had ever been in danger of death. He did this in order to lead them to become so caught up in the telling of their stories, that a more accurate form of the teller's sociolinguistic forms would emerge (a key interest for Labov). However, he also ended up becoming drawn to the narratives themselves and with his structuring eye, sought to break them down into a pattern, with predictable stages and forms.

Bruner also applies a "loose fitting constraint as we can manage concerning what a story must 'be' to be a story...narrative deals with the vicissitudes of intention" and elaborates:

> And since there are myriad intentions and endless ways for them to run into trouble--or so it would seem--there should be endless kinds of stories. But surprisingly, this seems not to be the case. One view has it that lifelike narratives start with a canonical or "legitimate" steady state, which is breached, resulting in a crisis, which is terminated by a redress, with recurrence of the cycle an open possibility. (1986:16).

Bruner also draws on Burke's ideas of story structure as composed minimally of an Agent, an Action, a Goal, a Setting, an Instrument -- and again, here he adds Trouble (1986:20). In Cat's story, we can see that she is the Agent, the Action is carrying heavy marmot traps in order to set them up per her boss's orders (the Goal), and the Setting is the woods near Whitefish, which are thick with vegetation, and rife with steep slopes -- creating an "uphill battle", so to speak. The instrument is her own body, which she believes may not be up to the task of carrying 50 pounds of traps in this harsh landscape. This becomes the source of the Trouble.

In the previous chapter, I gave examples of how students would often express doubt that they were capable of completing their programs at the college, wondering at times if they were "good enough" or belonged in the hallways of higher education. I also described the ways that care that is situated within the physical and interactional landscapes of SKC can help counter this. This often reflected a sense of feeling seen or recognized and played out in multiple small ways. These moments, while small, helped challenge a legacy of American Indian education that often endorsed the aim of erasing all vestiges of Indian cultures, languages and lifeways, or by warping them in the "official" narratives taught, as in textbooks.

In Cat's story, as mentioned above, she also describes not feeling like she has the capacity to complete the task of setting up traps, saying "But it was so much and it tested me a lot like in moments like I was kind of thought I wasn't going to be able to do it or I just...felt like I wanted to give up or just something like that" (21-22). She is, as she jokingly points out, "a pretty small chick" (8) and this leads to the main Trouble in her story, with a subtext of Trouble that stemmed from being the only Native student working on the project that summer.

Also in the examples I shared in the previous chapter, I looked at how students use voicing (Bakhtin 1986; Hill 1995) as a way to voice their own doubts, challenge others who reinforce these doubts, or voice the encouraging words of mentors and advisors, almost as if they were using these reassuring words as a mantra in unsure moments. In Cat's story, she uses voicing only once, almost like a prayer, saying (voice in italics): "I was just like, *please,* like, *something* like, *help me* like, *I need help*" (22-24). But in this case, Cat was not seeking a response from someone who works at the college; she was quietly calling out to "you know, my dad and like, hopefully, you know, like people would help me like that have passed on or just like Creator or something" (27-28). And they respond. In her story, those that Cat reached out to in a spiritual realm, including her father who died tragically in an accident when she was younger, seem to grant her the relief she asked for.

And what happens next is remarkable. Cat recognizes this by saying, "And it was just crazy" (line 34). The entire tone and setting of her story seems to suddenly shift. The air now smells of sweetgrass (a grass that is collected and used for cleansing and healing purposes), and she feels "comfort", realizes she is "not alone", and this moment becomes a turning point, where she is able to "breeze through and just...get it done" (line 41). In this moment, the world seems to become enchanted (Palmer 2003; Perley 2012). The Trouble is resolved with the help of

ancestors, and she concludes her story with a coda: “And I just like it was a good feeling. I felt like I got help that day”, which, is then punctuated with the very local “I jokes” (43).

Cat’s (and Colter’s) story highlights a couple important points. One is that what are the components, or the stuff of placemaking -- deep connections to place and to ancestors -- can be seen as *resources* that students are already drawing on to navigate times of difficulty. In other words, this work of placemaking is already happening. And the ways this is happening is portable, where they are taken out of their original context and brought to life in another, in a moment of need. These relationships are suffused with a sense of connection and care: Colter’s enduring connections to the mountains of his home, even after he has lived elsewhere for many years, and Cat’s connections to her ancestors, including her father, who passed when she was much younger. In Cat’s case, her message: “please...something...help me...I need help”, also becomes a request for care, and as soon as she sends out this request, it comes to her. Ancestors heard her call and lightened her burden, out in the remote woods of Northwestern Montana.

Like the forms of care I discussed in the previous chapter, forms of placemaking, like we see with Cat or Colter, have a quality that is not static but rather, is characterized by movement. They become resources that are portable and transportable -- places and ancestors can be summoned wherever they are needed. These examples also show how this is something that the students I met were already doing in their lives, beyond the classrooms at SKC. This is important to note because it helps us recognize that the work of placemaking in the context of the educational setting at SKC is building upon the knowledge and experience students bring into the classroom, or what Moll et al. have called “funds of knowledge” (1992). While perhaps less tangible than some of the skills they consider in their work (which include, for example,

childcare, budgeting, planting, appliance repair), this ability to summon the help of ancestors in times of trouble may align with the authors' categories of skills learned at home in the areas of "religion" and "folk medicine" (133). Another way to conceptualize this could be spiritual or familial resources. And these are already part of students' toolkit.

Circling back to Basso, we can also see that the ancestors in Cat's story are performing a similar function as the stories in Basso's work, where in her case two of the social functions achieved could be: "(7) transform distressing thoughts caused by excessive worry into more agreeable ones marked by optimism and hopefulness; (8) heal wounded spirits" (1996:101). These co-occur for her with physical relief and the ability to complete her task of carrying and setting up traps. And the reminder of this resource, for Cat, and the comfort that is available to her, is invocable in the retelling of this story. This illustrates how narrative can act in the world, a point to which I will return. In this next section, I'll look more closely at how this might happen in the context of an SKC classroom.

Stories as resources for imaginative practice and problem solving

In Chapter 3, I gave an example of joking in the classroom, introducing not just a style of classroom discourse, but also the context of the class itself. This course was taught by Matty, one of the few tribal members in the Natural Resources department. The course was rather unique in its approach. He incorporated stories about the cultural significance of a particular patch of snow, and he devoted a large part of one class to telling a story of a young girl in a hunting party being captured by rovers. This was a story told with the lights turned off, the room lit only with images on a PowerPoint of historical groups and meaningful places shown as an accompaniment, and

Matty also incorporated song. He also paused at points in the story to include participatory activities, in one case employing a tool he created for considering how star locations in the sky could be used to determine the month of the year. But in the activities that followed throughout the quarter, he also used mathematical methods including a "wadeability index", USGS data, and other hydrological science tools to approach this puzzle. Basically, he was using whatever resource in the SKC hydrologists toolkit would work to solve this question. The students were engaged, there was a light atmosphere suffused with a humor nurtured among years spent together for this cohort, and I, as an observer, felt incredibly lucky to be there.

Not all classes that I observed in the Natural Resources department were so integrative in their approach to the inclusion of cultural content. And even when it was included, it could be rather sporadic, though in this department, most instructors made some effort to include traditional stories or histories at times. But it seemed to me that when a non-Native instructor would do this, there was often awkward silence from students in response, especially if they were then asked to share their own knowledge on these topics. My sense was that even though several of the students did have some knowledge or involvement with the stories or practices being described, they may not have felt like enough of an expert to discuss it in front of a room full of people. It may have also felt a bit decontextualized or perhaps a bit artificial to discuss these things in this context. Still, in talking with students later, most of them expressed appreciation that the effort was made. What was more likely to spark student engagement was topics addressing current environmental or political issues that were tied to the content at hand -- for example, dam removal, hunting rights, and tribal management approaches to natural resources. Faculty also seemed to have incredible connections in their fields and guest speakers came in often to give detailed perspectives on many of these questions.

But other, more recognizably "traditional" types of cultural education would happen at SKC as well, especially in what people call the "culture classes". These teach things like hide tanning, beadwork, or the Salish or Kootenai language. It is somewhat ironic that while schools have often been the cause of the ruptures in traditional knowledge transmission for many Native people in the U.S., they are often now the sites in which relearning these traditions takes place. But many students in the Natural Resources department had such a heavy load of requirements in their particular specialty that while they generally would take a few, they did not take many of these culture classes.

This often left the filling in of cultural context to the science instructors. This could, at times, be frustrating to instructors who were committed to the mission of the college, which advocates for an education that will "perpetuate the cultures of the Selis, Ksanka, and Qlispe' peoples". One instructor told me: "It's just, it's a Western institution. It just happens to be on a reservation that serves Native students. It has some Native faculty and some Native staff and administrators. But largely the function of this machine is grounded in Western, in Western thought." This echoes the challenges many schools face when attempting to provide Indigenous education while beholden to accreditation issues determined by U.S. government entities, even, for example, in the degree requirements for fluent Native language speakers. But even for parents and students who value linguistic or cultural classes in schools, it can becomes difficult when they are concerned about having the skills and transfer requirements. This, of course, is due to a system that values Western style education over education grounded in Indigenous languages, methods, and values.

In spite of this somewhat piecemeal approach to the integration of traditional culture in the Natural Resources department classes I observed, the students I spoke with said they were

making those connections on their own. As one student told me, “Regardless of the teachers trying to relate it back to traditional ways or values, I do think about that in every class with whatever I'm learning. So yeah, that's definitely...just going to school here has changed my perspective on how to look at things.”

Figure 4.1: Boots in the Natural Resources Lab

But this process was certainly made easier for students in classrooms that explicitly worked cultural content into the topics at hand, rather than separating it out as a supplemental chapter of learning. In Matty’s senior-level hydrology course, students used hydrological methods to solve the puzzle I described -- how could one measure the rate of snowmelt on a large patch of seasonal snow on a local mountain, and the resulting runoff into the river, in order to determine when it would be safe for a pre-contact group of Salish hunters to cross the Clark

Fork River? There was a lot to consider in addressing this question: Is it possible to find historical data on water discharge? Which potential points of crossing would they be looking at? What factors affect how easy it is to cross the river -- would they be wading or crossing with horses or by other means? The students initially worked alone on their final projects but eventually teamed up for a final presentation that upped the stakes significantly -- they would need to present their findings to either the Tribal Council or one of the local Culture Committees.

Here is an example of how this was worked out (numbered by turns at talk):

1	Matty	What are some things we would consider when we thought about how we got across this river? Think hydrologically.
2	Jonah	The depth of the channel and the velocity of the water.
3	Matty	That's a pretty important one right? The depth. What is the depth? (writes on board) We can…what is the velocity. Two very, very important things….If it's over our head, well, that eliminates one way of getting across it, wading. We can't wade across it. Too deep. If it's too swift, again, we cannot wade across it. (clears throat) So remember, what was the goal or what are three ways that these folks in the wayback time could cross the river?....What are three ways—
4	Colter	They could also swim, right, with their horses. I saw they were holding that horse's tail and—
5	Matty	Right, right.
6	Colter	--and carrying their…what do they call those round boats? They make out of buffalo hide?
7	Matty	Bull boat?
8	Colter	Yeah.
9	Matty	Swim or float.

10	Kara	They can also walk, walk across.
11	Matty	Yeah, wade or walk. (writes on board). What ano—what's a third way?
12	Kara	A fallen tree?
13	Matty	Heh heh heh a bridge, yeah, well besides that.
14	Patterson	Pull each other.
15	Kara	He he he he.
16	Matty	Heh heh heh heh.
17	Colter	Jump it on their horse?
18	Patterson	Log.
19	Matty	Heh heh heh heh heh, legitimate.

In this example, as in the previous example from this classroom in Chapter 3, we can see an intermingling of serious problem solving mixed with lighthearted joking. We can also see the ways that Western science methods blend easily with considerations of cultural practice.

In turn 1, Matty asks the class to "think hydrologically", and Jonah responds with characteristics of a river flow that would be mathematically measurable -- depth and velocity. Matty agrees that this is important and writes it on the board. But then Colter, who has experience in crossing rivers with horses (his own funds of knowledge), brings up how swimming with them could be a method of crossing for these hunters. He refers to an image Matty had shown in a PowerPoint of Salish people holding a horse's tail while they carried bull

boats, asking Matty to remind him of the term (4-8). In these first 8 turns at talk, we can already see the forms of knowledge being drawn upon to solve a problem -- mathematical equations for measuring how water moves through a river, learned content from a historical image in a lecture, lived experience in horsemanship, and cultural knowledge of a traditional form of boat crafting and use. The following lines in this example illustrate how imaginative practice becomes playful, as other students chime in with versions of river crossing that are unlikely but amusing to imagine, becoming almost cartoon-like forms of crossing that are serendipitous (look, a fallen tree!) or impossibly easy (jumping it on a horse, forming a human chain, floating across on a log).

And while this may seem like a relatively simple classroom exchange, the imaginative work and forms of knowledge included within it are anything but simple. The integration of forms of knowledge in this example can be correlated with a rich body of work on the ways Native Science (Cajete 2000) or traditional ecological knowledge, or TEK (Berkes 1999, Nelson and Shilling 2018) may sometimes intersect or diverge from Western science ideologies and approaches (see Barnhardt and Kawagley 2005 for examples of key differences). As part of an inspiring body of work that has taken the "ways of knowing" or TEK and structured them into educational practice, the Alaska Native Knowledge Network at the University of Alaska, Fairbanks, for example, has produced some incredible work on incorporating cultural teachings into science and nature lessons, and they provide a guideline for including elders' teachings into their lesson plans (ANKN online). Lipka (1994) also gives a beautiful example of using traditional weaving techniques and fish trap construction to teach math. I want to recognize this literature as I also depart from it in my own analysis. While the classroom examples I provide here can provide insight into these topics (and this would be a fertile site for future work along

these lines), an analysis of these methods in their own right go beyond the purposes of this study.

Figure 4.2: Feather sculpture on SKC campus

But I want to highlight an important point here as well: placemaking in this context is on one level an individual project that helps students develop an approach to knowledge integration for problem-solving, and as a way to envision what is possible not only in their own lives but also in their future professional capacities. But it is in these future capacities, in which they will be in important positions to practice these skills and use these abilities to access multiple resources to address problems, both local and large-scale, that they will be engaging in critical work that will help shape the health and function of lands for generations to come. This moves

these skills outside of the classroom and into their communities, where their work will have profound effects on the land and human and other-than-human life it supports. And the stakes could not be higher. As Melissa Nelson notes:

> As Native American restoration ecologist Dennis Martinez observes, humanity has never faced global ecological collapse before. To get through this keyhole, we're going to need the enduring knowledge of Indigenous science, as well as the best of leading edge Western science. It's high-tech meets high-TEK, and in many cases modern science is affirming what the keen empiricism of First Peoples has long known (2008:2).

But before they officially step into that level of responsibility, the Natural Resources students in Matty's classroom are given the opportunity to try out ways that cultural knowledge and scientific perspectives can be brought together and then translated for an audience of tribal officials and/or elders. Similar to the ways the linguistic landscapes at SKC re-emplace Native experience and achievement in an educational institution, where they have historically been absent (or misrepresented) in other institutions, the playful interactional work of imagining Salish hunters crossing a nearby river re-inserts ancestors into discussions of hydrology. It also brings forth their experience and their challenges. The students are asked to draw on all the tools they have acquired in order to help, in a sense, these hunters cross the river successfully.

Within the vast and powerful literature on Native American verbal art, one theme that emerges is that, along with languages and cultural practices that were subject to misrepresentation and erasure in the history of American Indian education, storytelling has also faced a similar suppression under the settler colonial gaze. Paul Kroskrity points out that biases and misunderstandings of Native American storytelling stems from "discursive ethnocentrism deeply rooted in literacy and associated Western literary conventions" (2012:8). In particular, he identifies two strands of this: the first he describes as: "the ethnocentric valorization of Western

literary conventions as a standard for the evaluation of narrativity rather than the anthropological exploration of alternative models of narrative performance"; the second and, he suggests, more pernicious bias is "the pejorative view of of oral traditions as primitive and inferior to literacy" (8). Yet Kroskrity also describes how in spite of these biases, storytelling is also enduring and used as a source of renewal:

> In the face of dangers from the hegemonic institutions of the dominant society that include heritage language death and erasure of indigenous culture, many Native communities are turning and returning to the power of their own storytelling tradition. They are telling stories in the face of danger (2012:4).

Incorporating these storytelling traditions into the institutional space of a classroom at a tribal college, even if they are reworked and taken out of the more traditional contexts where they had been historically told, challenges the biases that Kroskrity describes. Using these stories as part of "thinking hydrologically", as Matty said, brings this source of renewal into spaces where students are positioned to engage with them. In this context that centers Indigenous experience and knowledge, the stories move out of a space of danger into one that is receptive to the wisdom they can provide. For the students, these stories inform both the present work at hand, and ultimately can inform how they approach future rivers they will encounter, as hydrologists, environmental lawyers, or in other capacities. This work of co-constructing the story has the capacity to act on the world not just in the present but the future, while also drawing on the past. This relationship between time and agency shaped though narrative is addressed by Mattingly, who says:

> Stories are also agentive. They act in and on the world. Stories can have powerful consequences upon how the present is experienced and what future actions seem most reasonable, likely, or appropriate.

> Storytelling "refigures" events into oral and written texts, and these texts -- always performed-- may circulate widely in social communities, influencing further actions. In this patent respect, stories about the past have enormous influence in shaping how the future is envisioned (2014:54).

This notion of how stories act with and upon time is intimately related to concepts of hope, which I will discuss next.

The relationships between hope, practice, and time

In Mattingly's work on hope, she examines how hope is constructed in difficult circumstances among African American parents, mostly mothers, who are bringing in their seriously ill or disabled children for care in what she calls the "border-zones" of hospitals and clinicians' offices (2014). In this context, she describes "hope as an existential problem that takes cultural and structural root as it is shaped by the poverty, racism, and bodily suffering endemic to so many of the families" whose stories she tells (3). But she also makes it clear that while structural and political forces shape the forms that hope can take, it does not "eclipse the struggle of people to create hope in their lives" (218). She uses "narrative phenomenology" as a method to examine the ways that it allows for a "processual and performative picture of human life [that] allows us to see how people draw upon cultural resources in actions directed at trying to get things done, to further their commitments", or as she adds, as they "try to make certain kinds of stories come true and thwart other possible stories" (217). This concept of hope resonates with what I saw happening at SKC in two important ways.

First, the dual focus on the structural and the everyday paint a picture of hope that allows for both the messiness, trauma, and crises that come with being part of a disenfranchised group that has borne an outsized share of political and racial violence, and for the possibility of creating

a hopeful future in the face of these roadblocks. Secondly, her focus on narrative in the process of cultivating hope very much aligns with the daily work I saw happening at the tribal college, as I have described. At the same time, the tribal college, as an institution, is an inherently more hopeful space than the "border-zones" she examines. Holding this up in contrast to more fraught spaces highlights the ways that once they are there, students have access to what I have called a "landscape of care", where, as a tribally-run institution, their cultural identities are (usually) not a barrier to progress. This does not mean that their obstacles are not immense, but the institutional and interactional landscape becomes more fertile ground for cultivating hope, highlighting the importance of representative institutions in communities that may be otherwise under-resourced.

In the ways that hope and time may intersect, Mattingly presents an interesting case where the futures of the families she studies are so highly uncertain and often dire, as in the case for a child who will likely not live much longer. The forms of hope constructed in the present by parents are quite powerful in these cases.

Erin Debenport also examines hope in relation to time, in her work in a Pueblo community in New Mexico, where she examines what she calls the "hopeful nostalgia" of language revitalization movements (2015:105). She draws upon Boym's work who looks at how nostalgia can be "restorative" and may productively draw upon collective memories to inform future actions (2007:13). In the Pueblo context she describes, Debenport notes that "nostalgia not only is about co-present temporalities and the potential for productivity but also concerns the discursive use of experiences of loss" (110).

The emphasis on how discourses of the past can at once be productive and a reminder of losses suffered is also addressed in Jamie Lempert's (2018) concept of "generative hope". In his

work with Aboriginal Australian filmmakers, Lempert describes this form as hope as, “hope with grit, hope that neither avoids the history of colonial dispossession nor has been rendered misanthropic by it” (204). Interestingly, he draws on Grace Dillon’s (2012) collection of Indigenous science fiction and the concept of “Indigenous futurisms” (3), which he notes, “argues that the zenith of colonial damage lies in the past for many Indigenous peoples, even as it continues to manifest itself in the present” (203). By turning to concepts such as this, what is possible is tied to the highly imaginative forms the future may take, which stands in contrast to work like that of Jonathon Lear (2003), in which hope becomes “radical” in the wake of utter cultural devastation.

In all of these examples, hope is not treated as a feeling that appears, nor is it uncomplicated in its relationship to harsh realities and endured losses. Hope instead intertwines with the resonances and effects of structural inequality, in whatever fashion it manifests in past experience and memory, or in present reality. At SKC, as I discussed in Chapter 2, there is a need to allow for both hopeful and painful experiences that emerge in the everyday, which are shaped by a complex blend of a settler colonial legacy, memory and past experience, routine practice, and what seems possible in the future. As these authors describe in various ways, hope can be thought of as a practice in itself or it may be nurtured through practice -- whether that is in language revitalization, or in stories told about practice, or through imagined stories themselves.

These conceptions of hope are useful in thinking about the students at SKC but there are qualities of hope that I saw nurtured there that I have described through the lens of placemaking so far which can be better represented in the visual and conceptual novel concept of “alluvial hope”, which I will describe next.

Alluvial hope

Think of the tattoo and the ancestral visitation during fieldwork as components of placemaking -- places and ancestors. In many ways, they serve a similar purpose to what Basso described -- they provide guidance and have a comforting effect. Both contexts where Cat and Colter drew upon these resources were ones marked by strife, these were times of trouble. Both summoned stories by their very presence. Both were characterized by a deep and enduring relationship grounded in care (care for home, care for family). Both were reminders of a commitment and helped chart the path forward.

When I talk about alluvial hope, I mean for these moments to be understood as components of placemaking. Imagined through the metaphor of an alluvial plain (see Image 4.3), these components -- ancestors, places, as well as other components like identities, stories of a life so far -- are like the alluvium, which is the rocks and silts that make up the plain, settled in loose layers (see Image 4.4 for a mechanism in the SKC Natural Resources lab that separates alluvium into layers to filter water).

Figure 4.3: Alluvial plain, Dante's View, Death Valley (USGS, Public Domain)

Figure 4.4: Alluvium

These individual bits of alluvium combine with that of many others which occupy this plain, scattered and settled, some more than others. Let's imagine that the plain is the community that one occupies, made up of countless components, layered over time, with the shape of the events of flowing water at different points in time but moving towards the same point.

We can think of the paths carved by flowing water as collective practice in a moment in time, the kind that shapes the path for others. Think of moments like the American Indian Movement (AIM) occupying and thereby momentarily reclaiming the island of Alcatraz, think of the gathering of water protectors at Standing Rock. Also think of the establishment of heritage language immersion schools, or the founding of a tribal college. These transformative collective actions each opened up a new pathway for others to follow, and even when that moment passed, the pathway became part of the shape of the land, visible to all in its overall shape and pattern.

But each rush of water that carved each new path did so upon components that already existed, even as it brought in new components, carried in the water. Through the movement, these components became recombined in new ways. Following this metaphor, ancestors, stories over time, places and how one relates to them, already exist in the collective history of a group. If the rush of water is collective action, we can imagine that the tribal college makes up such a movement. As a group, members of the college community are working together towards something. In the case of the Natural Resources program, it is towards management, care and protection of lands and resources. The collective action is made up of all the small moments of interaction, of learning, of failure, of achievement, and the telling and retelling of what happened here, and how it could have been different. Combined, all these moments comprise the imaginative practice of placemaking. And the movement towards this goal actually charts a different path, recombining elements and introducing new ones in the process. This could be, for

example, in restoring drained and degraded wetlands, and using the newer technologies of drones and remote sensing methods to monitor their health. Imagine a flow of water encountering a flowpath now blocked by a collection of large stones, or facilitated by sands blown aside, opening up space. The destination will be the same but the shape of the flowpath will be different.

And what is the destination? As I suggested, within the context of the Natural Resources program, it would be care and protection of lands and resources. But to open it up a bit more, I would suggest that the goal -- or following this metaphor, the body of water that all the streams that flow across the alluvial plain eventually flow into -- is ultimately well-being.

Well-being, of course, is intimately tied to hope and like the imaginative horizon that Crapanzano describes as always located along an even further horizon, just out of reach (2003). In Native communities today, to move towards a state of generalized well-being may also seem especially challenging in the wake of settler colonial and capitalist ills. The sheer number of issues that stem from this, including environmental contamination, poverty, addiction, continued governmental actions like unwanted oil pipelines that could destroy ecosystems and access to drinking water, and more, can seem, at times, insurmountable. At the same time, we can see examples of how moving towards a state of well-being in Indigenous communities is perhaps less about achieving some ultimate state of being perfectly well, but rather in nurturing well-being through practice in everyday, life-sustaining and life-enriching ways. We can consider, for example, Adelson's work with the Cree on *miyupimaatisiiun*, loosely translated to "being alive well" (2000). She explains:

> 'Being alive well' constitutes what one may describe as being healthy; yet it is less determined by bodily function than by practices of daily living and by the balance of human relationships intrinsic to Cree lifestyles. 'Being alive well' means

> one is able to hunt, to pursue traditional activities, to eat the right foods and (not surprisingly, given the harsh northern winters) to keep warm. (15).

Seen through this lens, well-being is more of an orientation than an ultimate goal and it is grounded in the present and immediate future, through practice. When the focus is on practice, which aligns with the imaginative practice I have been discussing in the context of SKC, each action and choice has a way of shaping the future, and possibility exists along the way. While other concepts of hope engage with concepts of time -- for example, how the past informs hope, how hope is intertwined with present practice, and how hope may be produced even when the future seems bleak or uncertain -- alluvial hope, as a visual as well as a conceptual model, incorporates past action and its legacy as existing alongside present action. It also makes use of the metaphor of alluvium, correlated with resources (ancestors, stories, forms of knowledge, heritage languages) to present them as not lost, but perhaps deeply settled underneath other, more presently prominent layers. These may be dug up, remixed through the course of collective action, and recombined with new components. Aligning with Hinton's (2001) concept of "sleeping" rather than "extinct" languages, this is an inherently hopeful approach that does not cater to disparaging discourses.

This model of alluvial hope, like Miyazaki's "method of hope" (2004) is both about hope and may produce hope. In the context of Native American education, I believe this to be vitally important. Alluvial hope, however, like other forms of hope -- blues hope, or generative hope, for example -- is not blindly optimistic. The path any collective action may take can be difficult, rocky, and sometimes destined to fail. The components along the way -- imagine, for example, a language with no living speakers -- may be deeply buried and may take an especially strong current to uncover. But even the past actions, or the past flowpaths, that were not successful

become part of the landscape. They become resources in themselves to examine for why they dried up. They also become, as I mentioned, part of the overall landscape, the stories told across time, the shape of history.

But it also includes and adds to co-temporalities, or how the past informs present action and possible futures, that are included in this and other concepts of hope, in informing how land and resources themselves are perceived and acted upon, and within. To illustrate this idea, I will return to the river, and then to Matty's own imaginative practice.

Two ways of seeing a river

Casey is wearing waders along with Marisol, and they have been standing in a creek with a large piece of filtering cloth attached to two wooden poles, in order to collect silts and whatever is contained inside their fine slippery muds. It's warm and the Mission mountains gleam in the distance, and the field that stretches between them and this group of about 10 students and their instructors is colored in the almost impossibly vibrant green of mid-Spring. This ecology class field trip has a visiting expert in macroinvertebrates and she provides an additional set of expert identifying eyes to any small insect that students are able to find, gently plucked out of the muck with tweezers and put into ice cube trays filled with water. Casey and Marisol joke and laugh their way through the collection process as they awkwardly try to wrangle this filtering tool between them without losing it, or themselves, in the rush of the creek water. After about 20 minutes they figure out the depth and angle to place the cloth, and then how to hold it at just such a tilt that allows extra dirt to wash out while not losing what is collected. Pulling it out of the water, they carry it between the back to the bank, and a group of students gather around to look at the brown mass suspended in the cloth as if resting in a

hammock. Adam peers over Casey's shoulder to get a closer look, and says, "There's nothing there." "What are you talking about?" Casey exclaims, "There's so much here!"

Later, Casey and I are sitting in the conference room in the Student Services building for an interview. We're talking about this ecology class and I recall something his instructor said in the classroom during a presentation about how people from different fields see a river differently, and I ask him how he sees a river. He replies:

> Yeah. So that, I mean that's ever changing too, like from when I first started school to now I don't look at it the same way. I just um have all these other ideas and thoughts about how how the rivers are connected and um how, you know, one change can influence another. Um and I'm definitely getting a lot more of an idea of what the biological side of the rivers looks like? So that's… something that's changing in my mind, like I'm gra— grasping the concept of (inhales) there's all these little tiny little micro organisms in the stream, which is crazy to me. And it's even crazier when you like, just take a scoop out of the water and you look closely at it and it's just like there's *thousands of things in there*. It's like, *what*? I don't know. I don't think a lot of people realize that outside of academics. And like if you're working with it, I guess.

In Chapter 2, I shared the story of Adrienne looking out the window of a car to see a field she had passed a thousand times, suddenly blanketed in purple camas flowers. I described her breathless, animated reaction in the telling of this story to "re-enchantment", where the world becomes newly visible in its connectedness. I also described how the landscape in Cat's story about ancestors visiting her also seemed to become enchanted. In Casey's reflection on how he sees a river, we can also see how what was once invisible suddenly emerges, in a way that is almost wondrous. Looking at the lump of mud and reflecting on it later as well, Casey excitedly expresses, how it's "crazy to me" and "even crazier when you like, just take a scoop out of the water and you look closely at it and it's just like there's "thousands of things in there. It's like, what?" Like Adrienne, and also like Cat in her experience in the field, what is "crazy" is almost

beyond words, it is an opening up of what was perhaps always there but previously invisible, and now suddenly visible. His whispered words: “thousands of things in there” and “what?” point to an almost unfathomable complexity, existing in the most unassuming of places. The mud, for Casey, becomes re-enchanted.

Max Weber (1946) considered modern life to be disenchanted, an existence in which scientific inquiry had replaced an age ruled by superstition and a belief in magic. Scholars from diverse fields, including history, theology, philosophy, and sociology who discuss enchantment, tend to use the term as connected to religion or an earlier age marked by magic. But in this example with Casey, we can see that scientific inquiry itself, rather than creating a sense of disenchantment, is actually doing the opposite. Through the development of “professional vision”, which Goodwin describes as “socially organized ways of seeing and understanding events that are answerable to the distinctive interests of a particular social group”, the life hidden within the mud becomes “highlighted” or stands out in a complex perceptual field (1994:606). His emerging hydrological vision adds to the wonder and richness of the world, as it becomes more deeply understood.

Through the lens of alluvial hope, these moments with Casey can show how, through the movement of collective action, in this case an ecology field trip, the path forward becomes visible through the recombination of tools, strategies, and stories about what is happening here. The landscape itself becomes richly layered and it is seen differently. It is more complex, full of life, and wondrous than previously imagined. And this also informs how to proceed. As a hydrologist, Casey will take all these micro-organisms into account when working with and protecting the river. The river itself, and the life within it are expanded, deepened, and informs how he commits to defending it in the near future.

But, as can see with all forms of hope, what is wonderfully emergent and newly possible also exists alongside what is tragic, difficult, and what reflects the legacies of harmful histories. Around the same time I was talking to Casey, I spoke with Patterson, who was also in the ecology class. I also brought up the discussion about ways to see a river and asked him how he saw a river. He replied:

> There's just so much to it. I think, I don't know my mind just kinda…goes like a hundred different places. I guess for me it's just I always think of the fish, the bugs, the gravel size, I guess what she said it's a conduit for basically gravel and --- I was like yeah, I mean, I guess it's moving sediment, but like it's moving so much more too, its moving plant debris and other stuff downstream and it's got, um, a chemical load in it. I mean, there's just anywhere on the rez you're gonna test the water and you're gonna find a hundred different chemicals in it. And they said, I think there's like a minimum of four narcotics, they're high enough levels that you can test them basically at any water body on the reservation. And I think there's up to over three hundred chemicals, depending on how fine you go, like parts per billion, parts per trillion, you can get up to even over 300 chemicals in basically any water sample.

Like Casey, Patterson develops professional vision that allows him to recognize that what is contained in surface water is much deeper than one would imagine. But in addition to the naturally occurring life that is part of it, Patterson also references the chemical load in the water, which he ties to larger problems of drug use on the reservation. Patterson later tells me how this realization, particularly that there was meth in the water, created a sort of panic among local people. And he also reflects that while rivers are places where spirits would traditionally come talk to people, he thinks this ability of people on the reservation to hear them may be presently lost, saying:

> They probably, you know, if spirits even tried to come talk to them and stuff, I don't think they would even know what to do or even how to listen. And, you know, I just think there's a real disconnection between Native people and the

> land now. I mean, there's definitely some reconnections going on, but I think overall as a whole.

Through the lens of alluvial hope, drug use (especially meth) becomes an introduced element that shapes the makeup of the land itself, in this case harmfully so. This component also, perhaps, prevents other components from coming to the surface. Therefore, because of problems like addiction, people have lost their ability to listen to spirits, even though the spirits are still there. This fact becomes part of hope in that it makes up part of the path that must be taken to move forward. Its existence becomes actionable on the path to well-being, even as it also becomes a particularly fraught part of the path forward. Patterson reflects on how this might play into his own journey:

> So I think, you know, when you get involved in natural resources and things like that, you can start almost reconnecting because then when you manage the land, you have these morals or values that you're trying to uphold and then they go into your management decisions. I guess to better manage them.

In this example, we can see how Patterson both conceptualizes Trouble, and envisions the part he will play in addressing it. He links management or management decisions with a moral imperative, a set of "morals or values that you're trying to uphold" -- values that I would argue are long standing and ever-present, even when they are not being practiced. They are, like the components on the path, at times deeply buried. Through action -- acting upon the river itself and within the community that it flows through and supports -- the path forward is defined. This path may appear to be commonplace, as in the pursuit of a profession, and somewhat under the radar. Hydrologists' work is not often held up as extraordinary. The tribal college that nurtures this practice. And as a path-building site of collective action that moves towards well-being, the college is also, perhaps, not highly visible to those outside of campus or reservation

communities. It's a place for tribal kids to get educated, sure, but consider how ways of seeing a river can affect how that river is managed and protected. Seeing the river, which as Casey points out, is connected to so much else where "one change can influence another" can illustrate how this collective practice can resonate outwards in profound ways.

These ways of looking at a river can be thought of alongside what Nick Estes describes as the qualities of the revered figure of the mole in Lakota song and ceremony. He says:

> Hidden from view to outsiders, this constant tunneling, plotting, planning, harvesting, remembering, and conspiring for freedom -- the collective faith that another world is possible -- is the most important aspect of revolutionary work. It is from everyday life that the collective confidence to change reality grows, giving rise to extraordinary events (2019:19).

While Estes is applying his discussion of the mole to the protests at Standing Rock, as I noted earlier, these pathways of collective action exist alongside each other. Both the collective attempt to protect a river among water protectors in the camps, and the work of future hydrologists at SKC so they may protect a river in their communities exist on the same plain and are oriented on paths headed in the same direction, and those paths are shaped by hope.

The hopeful contours of imaginative practice

I want to shore up my discussion on hope with a return to the concept of imaginative practice. Earlier in this chapter, I described what this kind of practice might look like in the context of Matty's classroom. Here, I want to bring in how Matty, himself, talks about this classroom project and what he imagines it could look like. In this example, he is in a sense, imagining a possible, future imaginative practice:

1 I mean, I could imagine….

I can just, so I have one activity I do in a class, and the students are, aren't, they…
pretty much every year they ask about it: Can we go there?
And I think, yeah, it'd be pretty cool if we could go there.

Amanda: Where?

It's, it's just a location down along the river that, that's down in the Clark Fork.
They think we should go there and survey it
because we have to use, we have to piece together data to um
come up with the cross section and develop this relationship
with the height, weight...height and weight index of a person
to see if it's wadeable or not.
But because I can only show it on a map
because I don't have time to drive there.
It becomes this, it becomes an almost unreal, ungraspable,
it just becomes points on a graph.
So something like that, that's tied into another purpose about,
okay, so we could go there and we could survey that,
that would take a couple hours to survey.
But then what else do you do…
with the rest of the time there.
There's a lot of interesting things there to look at as well.
So if you, if you, if you bill it as a whole theme of uh travel
and the purpose for that travel, well,
our, our ancestors didn't just go from point A to point B, you know, in a tunnel.
There was things on the landscape that they did along each of these stops.
So…there was…places where they stop
and maybe they'd have a quarry to make flint or to make the arrowheads,
or maybe there was a uh particular location there you know
that they uh got a particular food item or along that road there was a…
there was a place that you stopped for spiritual gifts or spiritual powers, um,
I can imagine that not just those things, but other things as well.
I mean, you can imagine the, the type of botany
you could engage a person into learning about
reclaiming the, the knowledge of plants along that way, along that path.
As long as it's situated in the right time,
the timeframe of when those kind of trips would have been taken,
then it really opens up…up a doorway to…to learning
that might might be pretty engaging to students,
it would be engaging to me heh heh you know?

40 And that plus the, all the geology along the way
41 and why, why that area is important for event or a particular event.
42 That's logistically difficult because everybody has families
43 that they need to go home to at night and heh heh heh.
44 So it's I think the idea of a camp that sounds cool,
45 but often not practical.

We peered into Matty's classroom earlier in this chapter where students playfully tried to imagine what it would take for Salish hunters to safely cross the Clark Fork river, during what Matty called "the wayback time". I described how, while this seemed like a simple classroom exercise, it gave students an opportunity to creatively draw from the imaginative toolkit that is the heart of placemaking, where an array of cultural and scientific resources become available to solve a problem. Through the lens of alluvial hope, this may be correlated with the recombination of components in new ways, where collaborative narrative practice constructs the shape of the path they will use to move forward.

Here, we can see how Matty re-envisions what this process would look like, if the constraints of the college structure, as well as people's own lives and familial responsibilities, were taken out of the picture. In this imagining, what is "unreal" and "ungraspable", or just "points on a graph" (14-15), may potentially be fleshed out, made tangible, lush, and alive. Talking about the landscape through a graph leaves room only for an empty space, or possibly a line between points and this, Matty notes, is like a false "tunnel" (24). Instead, he imagines, the question about how to apply a wadeability index in a specific point becomes a destination, where the path along the way is rich with living places that can tell stories about the past. There are quarries that were used to source materials for arrowheads (27), places to gather food (29) and spiritual gifts and powers (30). But Matty also points out that areas of study like botany (32-34) and geology (40) could happen along this journey as well.

He reflects, “As long as it’s situated in the right time, the timeframe of when those kind of trips would have been taken, then it really opens up…up a doorway to…to learning that might, might be pretty engaging to students, it would be engaging to me heh heh you know?” (35-39).

In this moment, we can see how the co-temporalities of hope may converge: by walking on the same trail at the same time of year where ancestors have previously walked, the places and natural elements that they collected, reworked, and learned from, can be accessed across time and can be touched, nourished by, and utilized.

This brings the metaphor of alluvial hope to life, even if only imaginatively so. The idea of a path carved by collective action, brings in elements of the past, which are recombined in the present journey down this path. And it is in this journey that the path itself, that the landscape it cuts through is animated, or re-enchanted you might say, as it is also seen through the lens of each person’s professional vision. The elements of the path itself, as well as the understanding of how it may facilitate, deter, or otherwise inspire engagement, determine how one moves forward. The immediate future and what is required becomes enhanced and more clear through a depth of understanding. And this understanding is precisely the goal of the tribal college.

One other point I want to make is that in this path-carving work, people like Matty may actually be thought of like large stones, significant bits of alluvium that rise as they settle upwards, move a bit faster and more forcefully than other elements in the mix. Each path carved over time will have these leaders, and they, perhaps more than others, determine the shape of this forward movement, facilitating how others move through it.

Conclusion

Cat leans back in her chair and considers my question. I asked her what it means for her to get a college education in terms of her community. She tells me:

> I feel like when I first started school, it was about family. And then when I learned more, now, and I just realized the bigger scale of things and problems and concerns of the world, and just, I realized you kind of gotta think more larger scale and just, you know it's not...I just almost, I almost think it's not even just my community. I just feel like it's just educating myself so I can educate people on these, all these problems.

In this chapter, I considered how the components of placemaking, including stories themselves have been invoked, summoned, recrafted, and playfully co-constructed as a means to deal with Trouble. But Trouble also becomes part of the shape of hope. In Cat's statement above, we can see how she describes how the journey through her educational program at SKC, broadened her perspective on "the bigger scale of things and problems and concerns of the world", as it also opened up the scale of her commitments. She, and students whose words I have shared here, develop a perspective on the land and resources themselves that is both broadened and deepened. A river becomes part of a larger system of a watershed, and the smallest elements are recognized in all their wonder and horror. Incredible populations of micro-organisms exist within a hidden world of silts and muds, which are then part of the rush of water that is permeated with narcotics. The problems become complex and multilayered, and the path forward does as well.

By proposing the concept of alluvial hope, I hope to show the complexity of these layers, that, while present across space and time, are also always being reformed and re-sorted. Failures become visible pathways, components that may be deemed lost, like a language with no speakers, becomes deeply buried in the landscape. But through collective action, like the work of

the students whose stories I have told here, new pathways can determine how one moves towards the common goal of well-being for the community. In this way, placemaking, forms of care, practice, and even imagination become part of this movement. In the Natural Resources program, the land is central to the work that students are doing but it also becomes part of this pathway, both metaphorically and literally.

To tell the story of a tribal college through this metaphor of alluvial hope situates it alongside other stories of education and collective action that becomes part of the larger story of Native American education, resistance, and the work of healing in many forms. I hope that this provides a model that situates struggle in a larger story of hope and situates all hopeful work as part of a landscape of the possible.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

In this dissertation, I traced the everyday experiences of a group of juniors and seniors in a Natural Resources program at a tribal college, and in the process, encountered harrowing and transcendent moments of disjuncture, care, and hope. By following these students from the classroom to the streams, which they stepped into with their waders on and tools in hand, I saw the ways small interactional moments indexed moments of care. These could be lighthearted, as in joking, or profound, as in seeing an entire world open up before them that had previously been there, but hidden. I regularly passed through hallways that were adorned with posters announcing achievement of students just like them, who had made it through and graduated. I listened as they told me about their childhoods: hiking up to mountain lakes, hunting for dinner with their parents, or feeling out of place in a bordertown school. They told me about the strategies they had developed for figuring out all they did not know about how to make it through college, and who had come out of the woodwork to help them when it seemed impossible. I listened to stories of huge loss, broken dominant hands after a fight, survivor's guilt, and exes. I also heard them describe moments when something just clicked when they were hiking through the woods during an internship. I also heard about the moment a field was no longer just a field but a place with 5 types of grasses, or a historic site, or a haunted place, or a place which they would no longer be able to see as just a field, but instead would always imagine the groundwater beneath it.

Some of these stories made it into this dissertation and some didn't. I am the luckiest person to have heard all of them, and for all students who wanted them, I also shared the recordings of interviews and fieldwork of themselves, to revisit and perhaps share with grandchildren one day. Those grandchildren will also be the luckiest people.

I began this dissertation, in chapter 2, with an examination of disjuncture. I considered the unique and often devastating legacy of American Indian education. It would be hard to overstate how much the Indian boarding schools, in particular, continue to be talked about and traced to lasting trauma in Native communities. Especially when classroom discourse turned to cultural topics, they were likely to come up and everyone seemed to have a story that was very present and very real. In chapter 2, I examine how this schooling has been described in the literature, and how it manifests in levels of degradation that extend all the way to the body, such as facial expression or perceived capacity for emotion. I also describe how students talk about their own experiences of disjuncture, sometimes along similar lines, like an interrupted affective education in their own families. In addition, I describe how discourses of disjuncture, as with themes around silence, resonate in present ways, such as feeling like parents are denying cultural participation because they are protecting their children from something. Sometimes these experiences of disjuncture were directly traced to harmful legacies in schooling or settler colonial histories more generally, and sometimes they weren't.

But I also considered, in chapter 2, how connections to land, resources, and meaningful places are talked about in two ways – through experiences of disconnection, theft, and resonant disjuncture, and alternately, in moments of reconnection. These two kinds of experiences can co-exist, a key point throughout this work.

In chapter 3, I considered the concept of care, as it responds to experiences of disjuncture, and re-emplaces students in spaces (like schools) where they have been historically misrepresented or absent. I consider the layers of care at SKC – how it can be found in linguistic landscapes, or in subtle cues that show they are welcomed, or in interactional moments with instructors and mentors. It can also, at times, be perceived as being absent. Using the tool of

"voice", I consider the supportive and doubtful voices students share, as well as ones that need to be challenged. These represent actual people to the students but also serve as a way to retell these competing perspectives to themselves and others.

I examine how the particular forms of care that are present at SKC can have qualities of being situated, as in being represented in a curriculum, or moving, as in finding connections with others from other tribes. I use Basso's (1996) concept of placemaking to consider how the interactional work at the college, grounded in forms of care, may take shape in the telling and retelling of *what happened here*.

This leads me to chapter 4, where I look at how stories themselves become central to the collaborative work of imaginative practice. The stories that students invoke may be tied to places, ancestors, historical practices, and how the disjuncture happened in the first place. Through the lens of narrative analysis, I consider how students are already using stories to manage Trouble, even when the stories are less of a fully formed narrative and instead captured in the form of an image, like a tattoo.

But I also consider how this happens in the space of a classroom, and visit one remarkable class in which the imaginative practice of considering how Salish ancestors knew when it was safe to cross a river provides an opportunity for students to peer thoughtfully into the toolkits they have crafted during their educations. Would they use a mathematical equation? USGS data? Traditional stories? Observation of snowmelt on a nearby mountain? Not only does the complexity of the landscape open up, in layers of natural processes and in layers of engagement over time, but the possibilities of engaging with it also expand and become richer. This leads me to consider how this opening up of the landscape and the ways to engage with it become linked to a particular kind of hope, what I call "alluvial hope". This concept of hope

imagines collective action across time in an overall pattern of efforts towards well-being, in which the Natural Resources program itself plays a part.

In these chapters, I addressed three significant concepts -- disjuncture, care, and hope. It would be tempting to connect these in a linear fashion where one leads to another: students come into the tribal college burdened by experiences of disjuncture, but through processes of care, they were able to find hope. I want to emphasize that this type of simple progression is not what I observed in my time at SKC. The forms of care I describe, both situated, emplaced care, and care that moves as it opens up perspectives on the systems present in the landscape, as well as the multiple histories that resonate there, indeed can cultivate hope. But as I have shown, hope does not cancel disjuncture, but rather disjuncture becomes part of the story, and can itself point a way forward.

Consider the shift in how landscapes were perceived among three of the students I introduced in this project. Adrienne saw a field of purple flowers where she had never thought to look before. Casey saw the wondrous teeming menagerie of tiny insects and other forms of life in a clump of mud taken from a creek bed. Patterson saw 300 hundred chemicals measurable in the surface water on the reservation, including 4 narcotics.

The level of learning that needed to occur to be able to perceive these elements in and upon the landscape, first depended on managing to make it through their education, to establish themselves among the 16% of Native American students that have earned bachelor's degrees. This was facilitated by the ways that a tribal college education can represent their cultures and address what their communities need. But it also is facilitated by the restorative acts of kindness, the ways they would see themselves reflected in linguistic landscapes, and moments of feeling

seen for what they need and who they are. This kind of care can also be experienced in more subtle ways -- a classroom exchange infused with jokes, and an advisor's door left open just a crack.

From within this local landscape of care, students could begin the work of imaginative practice. Through Basso's concept of placemaking, we can understand how stories can be reworked and made present in order to serve a social function. For the students at SKC, these stories can be summoned in times of disjuncture or Trouble in their own lives and can also be collaboratively constructed and woven through practice as part of their education, to understand how places, ancestors, and forms of engagement can open up landscapes and provide a map.

And ultimately, as I have described, this can cultivate alluvial hope. Imagined through the metaphor of an alluvial plain, this form of hope is comprised of moments of collective action that form a pathway that leaves its sinuous shape on the landscape, beside other histories of collective action. In this conceptualization, the plain itself is made up of components that are shared across a community -- stories, ancestors and their legacies, approaches to problem solving -- and with each rush of action, just like water, new elements are introduced and combine these components in new ways. But all pathways are trying to reach the same point: well-being for the community.

Returning to the three new ways of seeing for Adrienne, Casey, and Patterson, we can see the ways the collective action of their learning at SKC recombined forms of knowledge (where on the reservation the ancestors harvested camas, or methods for identifying macroinvertebrates or measuring the chemical load in surface water). This then, shifted perspective on the landscape in an enriched way. Some of this is wondrous, some brings the past alive, some highlights deep-seated issues that emerge from a settler colonial past. What will happen next is not known, but each student has tools to honor and address what lies before them.

The concepts of care and hope can contribute to research on Native American education, while putting these concepts in conversation with each other. Care, for example, as it emerges in the interactional landscapes of SKC, can highlight how care becomes a central concern for a disenfranchised population. By attending to the ways it is valued by students can help us understand how education can be considered responsive. Additionally, putting care in conversation with Basso's concept of placemaking can interrupt the trend to try to account for all the ways place has been destabilized and deterritorialized, and instead brings it back to the central question of *what happened here*, and from that starting point, considering how bridges across places and communities are built carefully. This becomes especially productive when considering how this might be applied to Native American communities, which are often treated as bounded tribal entities in the interest of not erasing key cultural differences through pan-Indian discourses. And while this is important, it is also important to consider the ways that especially young adult members from diverse tribal communities create connections and build alliances, especially when the project at hand is protecting and restoring lands and resources. And these connections, as we have seen here, may also highlight other discourses of care and shared values, as we saw in Taryn's reflection about joking: "with like non-Natives so like this summer, like it doesn't matter what tribe you're in, like you're in, if you're Native like they all have that same sense of humor, same like family-oriented, same, like same way of living, basically."

But there is another important intervention worth emphasizing here. In the interest of focusing on concepts like care and hope, it would be tempting to only address the positives embedded within these concepts. And indeed, by focusing on an institution that re-centers Indigenous knowledge and experience, in the legacy of American Indian education, this is an

incredibly hopeful place. Also, the student themselves, who all graduated, represent success stories. By telling this story, instead of one grounded only in poverty, trauma, and loss, positions this study as a challenge to the tendency towards "dark" anthropology (Ortner 2016) or the "suffering subject" (Robbins 2013). But in doing so, I also want to note that disjuncture also needs to be part of this story. Care is responsive to disjuncture, and hope is cultivated alongside and in response to disjuncture. In this way, this is an intervention into a literature on the absence of care, and literature on trauma, but it also does not ignore these elements.

And as I have described, my discussion on hope can both explain hope and produce it. It builds on work that connects hope to practice and makes the past a present resource for imagining possible futures. But it also recognizes that these futures may be rocky, and losses and failures will happen. These will become part of a larger story, however, one that gathers these paths into a pattern that grows branches that are all reaching towards the light.

After the study

Finally, I want to share what students I have focused on here have done since they graduated from SKC. In these experiences, we can see how hope and disjuncture continue to coexist alongside each other since the time of data collection. The Little Shell Chippewa Cree tribe in Montana was granted long-overdue federal recognition, and a few students I met were able to enroll, granting them tribally-enrolled status and the benefits that come with it.

Among the students I focused on here, all but one went to graduate school or law school. One student experienced the tragic loss of a sibling, another discovered and was treated for cancer. Some were diagnosed with COVID-19 (all have recovered), and some lost loved ones to the disease that, in the state of Montana, had a death rate of 32 percent among Native Americans,

though they only make up 7 percent of the population. But through all this, students also initiated research projects to help their tribes, became involved in language immersion programs, joined community-led projects to teach traditional skills to their children, and participated in collaborative efforts to tackle climate change.

In other words, they are struggling, thriving, and shaping a path forward that can benefit their communities, the lands, wildlife and waters, and thereby will help all of us.

WORKS CITED

Adelson, Naomi
2000 *'Being alive well': health and the politics of Cree well-being*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Ahlers, Jocelyn
2017 "Native California Languages as Semiotic Resources in the Performance of Identity." *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 27 (1): 40-53.

Alaska Native Knowledge Network
University of Alaska, Fairbanks. http://www.ankn.uaf.edu

Alexie, Sherman
2005 *The Lone Ranger and Tonto Fistfight in Heaven*. Grove Press.

American Indian College Fund
2017 https://collegefund.org

American Indian Higher Education Commission
2017 “Protecting Our Home: Native Leaders, Tribal Colleges, Western Sciences Collaborate”. http://aihec.org

Appadurai, Arjun
1990 "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy." *Theory, Culture & Society* 7, (2-3): 295-310.
2006 Fear of Small Numbers: An Essay on the Geography of Anger. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Appadurai, Arjun
2006 *Fear of Small Numbers: An Essay on the Geography of Anger*. Duke University Press.

Appadurai, Arjun & Morley, David
2011 “Decoding diaspora and disjuncture”. *New formations*, 73 (73): 43–55.

Archuleta, Margaret, Brenda J. Child, and K. Tsianina Lomawaima
2004 *Away from home: American Indian boarding school experiences, 1879-2000*. Phoenix, Arizona: Heard Museum.

Bakhtin, M. M., Michael Holquist, Vern McGee, and Caryl Emerson

1986 *Speech genres and other late essays*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Barnhardt, Ray, and Angayuqaq Oscar Kawagley
2005 "Indigenous Knowledge Systems and Alaska Native Ways of Knowing". *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*. 36 (1): 8-23.

Basso, Keith H.
1979 *Portraits of "the Whiteman"; Linguistic Play and Cultural Symbols among the Western Apache.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
1990. *Western Apache language and culture: essays in linguistic anthropology*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
1996 *Wisdom sits in places: landscape and language among the Western Apache*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Battiste, Marie
2002 *Indigenous Knowledge and Pedagogy in First Nations Education: A Literature Review with Recommendations*, National Working Group on Education and the Minister of Indian Affairs, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC), Ottawa, Ontario.

Berkes, Fikret
1999 *Sacred ecology: traditional ecological knowledge and resource management*. Philadelphia, PA: Taylor & Francis.

Biehl, Joao.
2005 *Vita: Life in a Zone of Social Abandonment*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Biolsi, Thomas
2005. "Imagined geographies: Sovereignty, indigenous space, and American Indian struggle". *American Ethnologist*. 32 (2).

Black, Steven P.
2012 "Laughing to Death: Joking as Support amid Stigma for Zulu-speaking South Africans Living with HIV." *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 22, no. 1 (2012): 87-108.
2018 "The Ethics and Aesthetics of Care." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 47, (1): 79-95.

Blackmore, Chloe, and White, Sarah
2016 *Cultures of Wellbeing*. London: Palgrave Macmillan

Blommaert, Jan

2013 *Ethnography, superdiversity and linguistic landscapes: chronicles of complexity*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Brayboy, Bryan McKinley
2012 *Postsecondary education for American Indian and Alaska Natives: higher education for nation building and self-determination*. San Francisco, Calif: Wiley.

Brayboy, Bryan McKinley Jones, and Teresa L. McCarty
2012 "Editors' Introduction Unveiling the Masks We Live By — And Engaging the "Imperative of Hope". *Journal of American Indian Education.* 51 (2): 1-2.

Briggs, Charles L., and Clara Mantini-Briggs
2003 *Stories in the time of cholera: racial profiling during a medical nightmare*. Berkeley, Calif: University of California Press.

Briggs Charles L. and Paja Faudree
2020 "Communicating bodies: new juxtapositions of linguistic and medical anthropology". *Anthropology News,* May 6.

Bruner, Jerome S.
1986 *Actual minds, possible worlds*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
2003 *Making stories: law, literature, life*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.

Buch, Elana D.
2015 "Anthropology of Aging and Care." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 44, no. 1: 277-93.
2018 *Inequalities of Aging: Paradoxes of Independence in American Home Care*. New York: New York University Press.

Cajete, Gregory
2000 *Native science: natural laws of interdependence*. Santa Fe, N.M.: Clear Light Publishers.

Castagno, Angelina E., and Bryan McKinley Jones Brayboy
2008 "Culturally Responsive Schooling for Indigenous youth: A review of the literature". *Review of Educational Research*. 78 (4): 941-993.

Crapanzano, Vincent
2004 *Imaginative Horizons*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Cruikshank, Julie

1998 *The social life of stories: narrative and knowledge in the Yukon Territory*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Dean, Ruth A.
2003 "Native American Humor: Implications for Transcultural Care." *Journal of Transcultural Nursing* 14, (1): 62-65.

Debenport, Erin
2015 *Fixing the books: secrecy, literacy, and perfectibility in indigenous New Mexico*. Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press.

Deloria, Vine, and Daniel R. Wildcat
2001 *Power and place: Indian education in America*. Golden, Colorado: Fulcrum Publishers.

Denham, Aaron R.
2008 "Rethinking Historical Trauma: Narratives of Resilience". *Transcultural Psychiatry*. 45 (3).

Dove, Michael R.
2006 "Indigenous People and Environmental Politics". *Annual Review of Anthropology.* 35: 191.

Dowie, Mark
2009 *Conservation refugees: the hundred-year conflict between global conservation and native peoples*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.

Eckert, Penelope
1989 *Jocks and burnouts: social categories and identity in the high school*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Estes, Nick
2019 *Our History Is the Future : Standing Rock versus the Dakota Access Pipeline, and the Long Tradition of Indigenous Resistance*. LaVergne: Verso.

Feld, Stephen
1982 *Sound and Sentiment: Birds, Weeping, Poetics, and Song in Kaluli Expression*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press

Fishman, Joshua A.

1991 *Reversing language shift: theoretical and empirical foundations of assistance to threatened languages*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Garcia, Angela
2010 *The Pastoral clinic*. 1st ed. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Garcìa Sanchez, Inmaculada Marìa
2014 Language and Muslim Immigrant Childhoods: The Politics of Belonging. Malden MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Garrett, Michael Tlanusta, Garrett, J. T, Torres-Rivera, Edil, Wilbur, Michael, and Roberts-Wilbur, Janice
2005 "Laughing It Up: Native American Humor as Spiritual Tradition." *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development* 33, (4): 194-204.

Garro, Linda
2003 "Narrating Troubling Experiences," *Transcultural Psychiatry* 40:5-44.

Goffman, Erving
1963 *Stigma; Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity.* Spectrum Book. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall.

Gone, Joseph P.
2015. Colonial genocide and historical trauma in Native North America: Complicating contemporary attributions. In A. Woolford, J. Benvenuto, & A. L. Hinton (Eds.) *Colonial genocide and indigenous North America*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Goodwin, Charles
1994 "Professional Vision". *American Anthropologist*. 96 (3): 606-633.

Goodwin, Marjorie
1990 *He-Said-She-Said: Talk as Social Organization Among Black Children.* Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press.
2015 "A care-full look at language, gender, and embodied intimacy". In *Shifting Visions: International Gender and Language Research,* (ed.) A Jule, pp. 27–48. Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge.

Goodwin, Marjorie H. and Asta Cekaite

2018 *Embodied Family Choreography : Practices of Control, Care, and Mundane Creativity*. New York: Routledge.

Goodwin, Marjorie Harness and Amy Kyratzis
2007 "Children Socializing Children: Practices for Negotiating the Social Order Among Peers", *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 40:4, 279-289

Gupta, Akhil and James Ferguson
1997 Culture, Power, Place: Explorations in Critical Anthropology. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Harkin, Michael E.
2000 "Sacred Places, Scarred Spaces". *Wicazo Sa Review.* 15 (1): 49-70.

Hartmann, William E., and Joseph P. Gone
2016 "Psychological-Mindedness and American Indian Historical Trauma: Interviews with Service Providers from a Great Plains Reservation". *American Journal of Community Psychology*. 57 (1/2).

Hill, Jane H.
1995 "The Voices of Don Gabriel: Responsibility and Self in A Modern Mexicano Narrative", in *The Dialogic Emergence of Culture*, ed. by Dennis Tedlock and Bruce Mannheim. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 97-147.
2002 ""Expert Rhetorics" in Advocacy for Endangered Languages: Who is Listening and What do they Hear?" *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*. 12:119-33.

Hinton, Leanne
2002 *How to Keep Your Language Alive*. Berkeley, CA: Heyday Press.

Hinton, Leanne, and Ken Hale
2008 *The Green Book of Language Revitalization in Practice.* Bingley: Emerald.

Hogan, Linda
2020 *The Radiant Life of Animals*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Hornberger, Nancy H.
2008 *Can schools save indigenous languages?: policy and practice on four continents*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Irvine, Judith T. and Susan Gal

2000 ‘Language Ideology and Linguistic Differentiation’, in P.V. Kroskrity (ed.) *Regimes of Language: Ideologies, Polities, and Identities*, pp. 35–84. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.

Kawagley, A. Oscar
1999 “Alaska Native Education: History and adaptation in the new millennium”. *Journal of American Indian Education* 39, (1): 31-51.
2006 *A Yupiaq worldview: a pathway to ecology and spirit*. Long Grove, Ill: Waveland Press.

Kiesling, Scott F.
2020 “Investment in a model of stancetaking: ‘I mean’ and ‘just sayin’. *Language sciences (Oxford)*, 82, pp.Language sciences (Oxford), 2020–11, Vol.82.

Kirmayer LJ, JP Gone, and J Moses
2014 "Rethinking historical trauma". Transcultural Psychiatry. 51 (3): 299-319.

Kroskrity, Paul V.
1993 *Language, History, and Identity : Ethnolinguistic Studies of the Arizona Tewa*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
2009 “Narrative Reproductions: Ideologies of Storytelling, Authoritative Words, and Generic Regimentation in the Village of Tewa”. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 19(1):40-56.
2012 *Telling stories in the face of danger: language renewal in Native American communities*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Kroskrity, Paul V., and Margaret C. Field
2009 *Native American language ideologies: beliefs, practices, and struggles in Indian country*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Labov, William
2013 *The language of life and death: the transformation of experience in oral narrative*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lakota People’s Law Project. Facebook. February 24, 2021. https://m.facebook.com/LakotaPeoplesLawProject/

Landry, Rodrigue, and Richard Y. Bourhis
1997 "Linguistic Landscape and Ethnolinguistic Vitality." *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 16, (1): 23-49.

Lear, Jonathan
2006 *Radical Hope : Ethics in the Face of Cultural Devastation*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Lempert, William
2018 "Generative Hope in the Postapocalyptic Present." *Cultural Anthropology* 33, (2): 202-12.

Lipka, Jerry
1994 "Culturally Negotiated Schooling: Toward a Yup'ik Mathematics." *Journal of American Indian Education* 33, (2): 14.

Lomawaima, K. Tsianina
1994 *They called it prairie light: the story of Chilocco Indian School*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
2000 "Tribal Sovereigns: Reframing Research in American Indian Education". *Harvard Educational Review.* 70 (1): 1-21.

Lomawaima, K. Tsianina, and T. L. McCarty
2006 *To remain an Indian: lessons in democracy from a century of Native American education*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Malkki, Liisa
1995 Refugees and Exile: From 'Refugee Studies' to the National Order of Things. Annual Review in Anthropology, 24:494–523.

Marker, Michael
2006 "After the Makah Whale Hunt." *Urban Education (Beverly Hills, Calif.)* 41, (5): 482-505.

Mattingly, Cheryl
2010 *The paradox of hope: journeys through a clinical borderland*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
2014. *Moral laboratories: family peril and the struggle for a good life*. Oakland, California: University of California Press

Mattingly, Cheryl and Patrick McKearny (In Press)
"The Ethics of Care". In *Cambridge Handbook of the Anthropology of Ethics and Morality*. J. Laidlaw (ed.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McCarty, Theresa L., and Fred Bia

2002 *A place to be Navajo: Rough Rock and the struggle for self-determination in indigenous schooling*. Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

McCarty, Teresa L. Mary Eunice Romero-Little, Larisa Warhol, and Ofelia Zepeda
2014 "Critical Ethnography and Indigenous Language Survival". In Teresa L. McCarty, ed. *Ethnography and Language Policy*, 30-51. NYC: Routledge.

Meek, Barbra A.
2011 *We are our language: An ethnography of language revitalization in a Northern Athabaskan community*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Mendoza-Denton, Norma
2008 *Homegirls: language and cultural practice among Latina youth gangs*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Mendoza-Denton, Norma, and Jannedy, Stefanie
2011 "Semiotic Layering through Gesture and Intonation." *Journal of English Linguistics* 39, (3): 265-99.

Miyazaki, Hirokazu
2004 *The Method of Hope : Anthropology, Philosophy, and Fijian Knowledge*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.

Mol, Annemarie
2008 *The Logic of Care: Health and the Problem of Patient Choice*. London: Routledge.

Moll, Luis C, Amanti, Cathy, Neff, Deborah, and Gonzalez, Norma
1992 "Funds of Knowledge for Teaching: Using a Qualitative Approach to Connect Homes and Classrooms." *Theory into Practice* 31, (2): 132-41.

Moore, Donald S., Jake Kosek, and Anand Pandian
2003 *Race, nature, and the politics of difference*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Nelson, Melissa
2008 *Original Instructions: Indigenous Teachings for a Sustainable Future*. Rochester, Vermont: Bear and Company.

Nelson, Melissa K. and Daniel Shilling
2018 *Traditional Ecological Knowledge : Learning from Indigenous Practices for Environmental Sustainability*. New Directions in Sustainability and Society.

Nevins, M. Eleanor
2008 "“They Live in Lonesome Dove”: Media and Contemporary Western Apache Place-naming Practices." *Language in Society* 37, (2): 191-215.

Ochs, Elinor
2015 "Corporeal reflexivity and autism". *Integrative Psychological & Behavioral Science.* 49 (2): 275-87.

Ochs, Elinor, and Bambi B. Schieffelin
1984 "Language acquisition and socialization: three developmental stories and their implications". *Culture Theory : Essays on Mind, Self, and Emotion.*

Ochs, Elinor and Lisa Capps
2000 *Living Narrative: Creating Lives in Everyday Storytelling.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

O’Nell Theresa DeLeane.
1996 *Disciplined Hearts: History, Identity, and Depression in an American Indian Community.* Berkeley: Univ. Calif. Press

Ortner, Sherry B.
2016 "Dark Anthropology and Its Others." *HAU Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 6, (1) 47-73.

Palmer, Gus
2003 *Telling Stories the Kiowa Way*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Perley, Bernard C.
2011 *Defying Maliseet Language Death Emergent Vitalities of Language, Culture, and Identity in Eastern Canada*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
2012 “Silence Before the Void: Language Extinction, Maliseet Storytelling, and the Semiotics of Survival”. In Paul V. Kroskrity (ed.) *Telling stories in the face of danger: language renewal in Native American communities*, 184-204. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Nicholas, Sheilah
2014 “Being” Hopi by “Living” Hopi: Redefining and Reasserting Cultural and Linguistic Identity: Emergent Hopi Youth Ideologies. In L.T. Wyman, T. McCarty, and S. E. Nicholas, eds., *Indigenous Youth and Multilingualism*, 70-89. New York: Routledge.

Philips, Susan Urmston
1983 *The invisible culture: communication in classroom and community on the Warm Springs Indian Reservation*. New York: Longman.

Rampton, Ben
2006 *Language in late modernity: interaction in an urban school.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rapport, Nigel and Solrun Williksen (eds.)
2010. *Reveries of Home: Nostalgia, Authenticity and the Performance of Place*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars.

Ricouer, Paul. 1981. "Narrative Time." In W.J. T. Mitchell, ed. *On Narrative,* pp. 165-186.

Rogoff, B., Paradise, R., Arauz, R. M., Correa-Chavez, M., & Angelillo, C.
2003 Firsthand Learning through Intent Participation. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 54, 175-203.

Rosaldo, Renato. 1986. "Ilingot hunting as story and experience". In V. Turner and E. Bruner (Eds.) *The Anthropology of Experience*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Rosenthal, Nicolas G.
2014 *Reimagining Indian Country*. First Peoples. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Schieffelin, Bambi B.
1990 *The give and take of everyday life: language socialization of Kaluli children*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schieffelin, Bambi B., and Elinor Ochs
1986 *Language socialization across cultures*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Seidman, Irving
2006 *Interviewing as qualitative research: a guide for researchers in education and the social scienc*es. New York: Teachers College Press.

Shiffrin, Deborah
1987 *Discourse Markers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Shohamy, Elana Goldberg, and D. Gorter

2009 *Linguistic landscape: expanding the scenery*. New York: Routledge.

Shohet, Merav
2018 "Beyond the Clinic? Eluding a Medical Diagnosis of Anorexia through Narrative." *Transcultural Psychiatry* 55, (4): 495-515.

Soja, Edward W.
1998. "Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and other Real-and-Imagined Places". *Capital & Class*, 22(1), pp.137–139.

Stevenson, Lisa
2014 *Life beside itself: imagining care in the Canadian Arctic*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Streep, Abe
2018 "What the Arlee Warriors Were Playing for". *New York Times*. //http:newyorktimes.com/

Throop, C. Jason
2010 "Latitudes of Loss: On the Vicissitudes of Empathy." *American Ethnologist* 37, no. 4: 771-82.

Turner, Victor
1986 "Dewey, Dilthey, and drama: An Essay in the anthropology of experience". In V. Turner and E. Bruner (Eds.) The Anthropology of Experience. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Unites States Geological Survey
2021 "Dante's view/Telescope Peak". Public Domain. //http:usgs.gov/

Valenzuela, Angela
1999 *Subtractive Schooling : U.S.-Mexican Youth and the Politics of Caring*. SUNY Series, Social Context of Education. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Vizenor, Gerald Robert
2008 *Survivance: narratives of Native presence*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Weber, Max, Hans Heinrich Gerth, and C. Wright Mills
1946 From *Max Weber: Essays in sociology*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Weiner, Alex
2020 “When ‘Rez ball’ is on hold”, *Cronkrite News*, In Indian Country Today. //http:indiancountrytoday.com/

Weisner, T. S., Matheson, C. C., Coots, J., & Bernheimer, L. P.
2005 Sustainability of Daily Routines as a Family Outcome. In A. E. Maynard & M. I. Martini (Eds.), *Learning in Cultural Context: Family, Peers, and School*(pp. 41-73). New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers.

Wilce, James Maclynn
2009. *Crying Shame: Metaculture, Modernity, and the Exaggerated Death of Lament*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell

Willis, Paul E..
1977 *Learning to labor: how working class kids get working class jobs.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Wortham, Stanton
2005 *Learning Identity The Joint Emergence of Social Identification and Academic Learning.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wright, Bobby and William G. Tierney
1991 “American Indians in Higher Education: A History of Cultural Conflict”, *Change: The Magazine of Higher Learning*, 23:2, 11-18

Wyman, Leisy Thornton
2014 *Indigenous youth and multilingualism: language identity, ideology, and practice in dynamic cultural worlds*. New York: Routledge.

Zaki, Jamil
2019 *The War for Kindness: Building Empathy in a Fractured World*, The Crown Publishing Group.

Zepeda, Ofelia
1999 "Developing Awareness and Strategies for Tohono O'odham Language Maintenance". *Practicing Anthropology*. 21 (2): 20-22.

Zigon, Jarrett
2011 "A Moral and Ethical Assemblage in Russian Orthodox Drug Rehabilitation." *Ethos* 39, no. 1: 30-50.