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Resilience Through Connection To Place: How Native Peoples Rely on The Land and How the Land Relies On Us

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RESILIENCE THROUGH CONNECTION TO PLACE: HOW NATIVE PEOPLES RELY ON THE LAND AND HOW THE LAND RELIES ON US

By

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Bachelor of Arts, University of Montana, Missoula, MT, 2008

Portfolio

presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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Introduction

The theme of this portfolio is resilience through connection to place. I will present 3 diverse components that triangulate around this theme. The first component is the development of a camp on the Flathead Reservation through my work at the Girls Using Their Strengths! program of the YWCA Missoula. The curriculum aims to help High School girls recognize attachment to place as a personal and community resiliency factor. It also aims to provide education about the history of this place, the three tribes that reside on the reservation, and their connection to the land. The second component is a literature review analyzing the ways various tribal peoples have been interacting with lands in the United States for millennia and how their activities have influenced landscape resiliency. The third component is the closest to my heart. I conducted a family oral history project around my family’s connection to the Flathead Reservation as a place of home, sustenance, spirituality, and connection to others.

Portfolio component 1: GUTS! internship and employment
Spring 2017

I accepted a position as the program coordinator with Girls Using Their Strengths! (GUTS!) after my first semester of graduate school and continued working there for the remainder of my schooling. GUTS! is a leadership and empowerment program for young people who identify with womanhood, based out of the YWCA Missoula. The mission of GUTS! is “to support young women in discovering their strengths, developing their leadership skills, and using their voices to activate positive community change through mentoring, small group discussion, outdoor challenges and community action projects.” There are various components to GUTS! programming, including school-based ‘Action Groups’ in 20 elementary and middle schools, a
Summer Outdoor Adventures program for people ages 9-19, GRIT (Girls Representing in Trades), and high school leadership opportunities.

In this position, I stretched myself and grew more than in any other job. What initially drew me to the position were the Summer Outdoor Adventures programs, as I was interested in nature-based youth education. Throughout my time there, as I learned about the realities of young people and the power of positive youth development programs like GUTS!, my passions have evolved. I still have interests in nature-based education, but I have become drawn to the concept of place-based learning and self-development in general. This fits well with the GUTS! model for asset-building in young people. Place-attachment can be one of the most consistent assets for people but it is often unrecognized as a resource. I will outline some of the tools I created to help people recognize this asset in greater depth below.

**Professional growth**

My major areas of professional growth in this position were gaining a stronger voice, non-profit skills, and advocacy for vulnerable populations.

Prior to this, my work experience had primarily been in the field of conservation and education with governmental or state agencies, which tend to have the militaristic structure of chain of command. So while I have worked on many teams, there was usually a neatly delineated leadership structure. I worked in entry-level positions, a laborer with no substantial say in my work. I felt pretty comfortable following orders; it was easy. I came to work, did what I was told, and then went home. Adjusting to non-profit work was challenging at first. I came to work and wanted to be told exactly what to do. I wanted things to be straight forward, but my boss was always asking for my input and how I would like to change things. By the second year, after learning the ins and outs of my position, I felt comfortable making suggestions for change. My boss showed excellent leadership in this regard. She helped me learn that in a healthy, functional
team, all voices should be heard. People will operate at a much higher level if they feel ownership over their work. I tend to have a pretty quiet voice in public spaces and a louder voice at home. In this position, through working to empower young people to use their voices to advocate for themselves and others, that is just what I accomplished for myself. There is still much work to be done, but I have a louder voice in this period of my life than I did before.

This position is highly dynamic and requires many skills that I did not previously possess. On a concrete level, I got to learn and practice program planning, volunteer recruitment and management, public speaking, grant writing, mentorship, and leadership. I supervised two practicum students in my time at GUTS! As a shy and anxious person, these job tasks challenged me to learn and practice good self-regulation skills. In emotionally challenging work like that of the YWCA, I consider self-regulation skills an essential area of professional development. I have learned some aspects of non-profit management as well, such as fundraising, program development, event planning, and community partnership development.

Below is a list of trainings I had the opportunity to take during my work with the YWCA GUTS! program:

- Advocate training, YWCA Missoula
- Wilderness First Responder certification, AERIE Backcountry Medicine
- Secondary trauma and workplace resiliency, Red Willow Learning Center
- Historical Trauma Conference, Missoula Urban Indian Health Center
- True Colors workshop series, YWCA Missoula and EmpowerMT
- Advanced Leadership training, EmpowerMT
- An Introduction to Child Trauma and Trauma-Informed Systems of Care with an American Indian Perspective, Meagan Rides At The Door, LCPC
- Community Resiliency Model (CRM) Training, Dana Eisenberg, LCSW

As a result of gaining a more critical eye for the injustices of the world and developing a stronger voice to advocate for others and myself, I undertook a project to critically consider the
various programs of GUTS! and whether or not they adequately served Girls of Color and Indigenous girls. This had long been a goal of the program. Program managers recognized that GUTS! is situated under an organization that was historically a white women’s organization, and that our participants are primarily white. I analyzed our participant demographics to see if that was true. In the school-based elementary and middle school programs the GUTS program was doing a good job serving a diverse population, but in the high school program based out of the YWCA, the program was primarily serving white participants. We recognize that female ethnic minorities often face higher rates of discrimination and challenges in our society, and may be in greater need of community support through programs like GUTS!

We can only guess what the barriers to participation might be, but we are working to eliminate some of those barriers in all of our programs. We have developed a training for our group facilitators in leading multicultural groups and examining their implicit bias. We have also been actively recruiting more POC and/or Indigenous group facilitators. Additionally, we are working with the Missoula Urban Indian Health Center to develop programming and recruitment aimed specifically at Native youth. In the Summer Outdoor Adventures program, with only 10 spaces on each camp the summer programs book up relatively quickly. In comparison to families we’ve worked with in the past, there may be many reasons non-white families are not securing spots. They may not see our recruitment materials, may be unfamiliar with our programs, or may not be able to apply as quickly for various reasons. In recognition of this, we instituted a new policy in our summer programs to hold 3 out of the 10 spots on each camp for non-white participants until two weeks before the camp, at which point we will release those spots to people on the waiting list.
I attended a training on ‘Child Trauma and Trauma-Informed Systems of Care with an American Indian Perspective’ from Meagan Rides At The Door, of the National Native Children’s Trauma Center. One major take-away was that organizations or institutions can undergo surface level changes in an attempt to better serve marginalized groups or deep structural changes. An example of surface level adaptations would be to use photos of Native American students in recruitment materials or to hire Native American staff, but to still offer the same programming. If an organization was founded by white people, or a curriculum was developed by white people, deep level structural changes may involve an entire curricular overhaul to effectively meet the needs of groups other than white people. In recognition of this, I worked to build programs and curriculum specifically aimed at Indigenous girls and Girls of Color. One component of that work was to build a summer camp specifically for the Flathead Reservation. Another was piloting a high school talking circle group for Native girls and Girls of Color. As a person of Salish heritage, I take pride in this element of my work with the GUTS! program.

**Personal growth**

The main areas of personal growth I achieved were recognizing the injustices of our world without absorbing them. I learned the importance self-care for personal well-being. As you can see, many of the trainings I took over the last two years have been focused on trauma and trauma-informed care. Over the past two years working at the YWCA, I began to learn the patterns of domestic and sexual violence, as well as the nuances of sexism, racism, homophobia, and other ugly parts of our society. I also took courses in Environmental Studies, undertaking some of the most substantive learning I have done about environmental issues. This was the first time I really allowed myself to recognize the bad parts of the world. I started internalizing the information I was learning, and I began to feel heavy.
In a one-month period, three of the trainings I took at the YWCA were directly about historical trauma or had a session on it. This was unfortunate and very poor planning. No one needs to hear that stuff more than once a month. All of this negative information started to impact me. I was experiencing anxiety at a much higher rate than I normally do and having intrusive thoughts and nightmares. This was a low point for me.

Fortunately, throughout my time at the YWCA, I had also taken many trainings on secondary trauma, resiliency, and wellness. The GUTS! program has a strong emphasis on self-care and self-love. We talk about these things with our participants and model it to them. One excellent side-effect of modelling self-care is that it actually works when you do it. I had semesters where I felt too overrun to do the things I know are good for me, the things that help me maintain my balance. Those were the worst semesters, when I felt the lowest. I learned that in order to be functional and healthy in a challenging field like social service or environmental work, you need to take care of yourself. The work will wear you down if you don’t.

Learning about trauma and feeling the burden of that knowledge inspired me to focus on resiliency in my work with youth and co-workers, as well as in my personal life. As you will read, the components of my graduate portfolio are directly related to resilience.

Products

As I mentioned above, I have an interest in place-based learning and helping young people connect with nature. The GUTS! Summer Outdoor Adventure program actively helps young people connect with nature each summer. These trips bring groups of girls ages 9-19 into the woods for 5-6 day trips. The camps incorporate various outdoor skills and activities, such as kayaking, stand-up paddleboarding, community service projects and backpacking, into our youth empowerment model. Children and teens connect with nature as a by-product of participating in
these camps, but it is not a stated goal or a central theme. I wanted to bring a little more explicit attention to it.

The Environmental Education classes I took at UM inspired me to infuse environmental education objectives into each of our summer camps, including awareness, knowledge, attitudes, skills, and participation. After working a summer at GUTS!, I realized that to achieve our 7 stated goals for positive youth development while completing a community service project and teaching people how to backpack in the course of one week, we would not have time to add a hearty dose of all of the components of Environmental Education. I settled on creating various products that would supplement the existing GUTS! curriculum. Most of the products I present below contribute to participation in and attitudes toward nature, with some natural history-based knowledge. I frame connection to nature as yet another asset for our participants in the suite of assets we are working toward building, as we know nature has a grounding impact on many people.

Here is a list of the products I created. The original documents for the Resiliency Camp are included in the appendix

- **Major project: Resiliency camp on the Flathead Reservation for Native and non-Native teenagers**
  - Curriculum and camp outline
  - Local resources/contact list
  - Recruitment materials
  - Pre and post program surveys
- **In concert with a Montana Master Naturalist certification:**
  - Naturalist activity booklet for the GUTS! Summer Outdoor Adventures (not included- many overlap with the ‘additional activities’ section of the curriculum)
  - Naturalist toolkit (included is a list of the supplies within)
  - Summer youth leader journal
  - Summer participant journal
About the ‘Resiliency camp on the Flathead Reservation’

Development of the camp

The GUTS! program runs 5 Outdoor Adventures each summer, one of which is located on the Flathead Reservation. Generally, this is the advanced Middle School trip, for participants ages 11-13. We camp on Wildhorse Island and near the Flathead River in Moiese. Then we venture into the mountains for a two-night backpacking trip at 3 Lakes Peak. This is all with permission from the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes (CS&KT). One problem I saw with this camp is that the GUTS! program uses Tribal lands for free while not specifically honoring and recognizing that privilege. It seems that participants may not even know that they are on a reservation for this camp. They camp on private land on Wildhorse Island, then on private land near the Flathead River, and then are up in the mountains, alone on Tribal land. The program had not specifically engaged the tribal community for this trip, and I saw that as a missed opportunity for a rich educational experience for all of our participants. I worked to build a place-based camp for the Flathead Reservation.

In my first year of graduate school, I took two Environmental Education classes with Fletcher Brown. I was drawn to the concepts of constructivism, experiential education, and place-based learning. Constructivism is a model for teaching that is student-centered instead of teacher-centered, as in conventional objectivist models. Constructivism is a response to problems with retention in the objectivist method where a teacher imparts information and a student is meant to absorb it. The constructivist alternative posits that learning happens from within each individual, in the context of their own realities, beliefs and experiences of the world (Klein and Merritt, 1994).

The Association for Experiential Education’s definition of experiential education is “Challenge and Experience followed by Reflection leading to Learning and Growth” (2018).
Differently put, it can be understood as “a process through which a learner constructs knowledge, skill, and value from direct experiences” (Joplin, 1981). As an introverted first generation college student from an Indian community, I know that dominant-culture academic settings can be anxiety-inducing. The way I was raised, social competition is very uncomfortable and even rude. Needless to say, academic debate is not my strong suit. Additionally, I never felt like my brain was retaining the information being poured into it in traditional academic environments. I tend to learn by seeing, doing, and reflecting. Experiential education was an appealing concept.

I know that I am not alone in my disenfranchisement with the mainstream education system of our country. Just ask the 37% of American Indian youth that do not graduate from high school (Native Youth Report- White House, 2014). Cornel Pewewardy conducted a literature review in 2002 about research into learning styles of American Indian/Alaska Native students to help educators assess whether they are adequately meeting the needs of unique cultural groups. He noted that although research into American Indian/Alaska Natives learning styles has been critiqued by many and that there can be no “absolute or generic Indian learning style” (p23), patterns do emerge in the literature about the ways Native peoples tend to learn. He reminds us that there will be significant differences within the individual and across groups, but in general, current research shows that American Indians students tend to have field-dependence, are visual learners, are reflective rather than impulsive, respond better to indirect cues than punishment or reward, respect the teachings of the family, elders and the tribe, are tremendously impacted by the teacher and the strategies they employ, and tend to be cooperative rather than competitive.

Field dependence, also known as global processing, refers to how students learn. Field-dependent learners do not distinguish themselves from their environment or surroundings; their thinking is holistic or global. They tend to be right-brain dominant, meaning they are highly
visual or spatial, integrative, relational, intuitive and contextual learners. He cites Nuby, Ehle, and Thrower (2001) in arguing that field-dependence is likely to develop in collective and family-oriented cultures. Pewewardy also makes note of the visual, auditory and kinesthetic perceptual strengths of American Indian learners. Various sensory-based activities will serve these learners well. In my opinion, a person with the trait of field-dependence will learn well in a place-based learning context, and visual learning will be facilitated through experiential education as long as there are opportunities to observe demonstrations of tasks before being expected to perform them. Many activities I created for this camp have a reflective component, as do many of the existing GUTS! activities. Our work generally focuses on team-building and cooperation rather than competition. Both of these are common learning traits of American Indians as indicated by the work of Pewewardy. For the Flathead Resiliency camp, elders and tradition-bearers as well as tribal experts joined us to present to the group. This reflects the importance of teachings of the elders and the tribe for American Indian learners. We do not specifically engage the family through GUTS! programming, though we encourage participants to consider the role their family plays in shaping and supporting them.

Place-based education is an educational philosophy that positions the local landscape as the most valuable learning environment for students. All people have attachment, to varying degrees, to certain places. People will learn more easily and more deeply if the subject matter is relevant to their lives and communities. Additionally, place-based education helps people feel rooted and connected to their own communities through the local history, ecology, art, culture, etc. These feelings of rootedness and connection can more precisely be referred to as sense of place. It has been suggested by various scholars that sense of place is related to self-identity, social group identity, ecological identity, environmental justice and empowerment for urban
youth, sense of community, emotional well-being and physical health, and other pro-social, pro-environmental results (Kudryavtsev et al. 2011). According to Sobel (2004: 6), a place-based educational approach that emphasizes hands-on learning experiences “increases academic achievement, helps students develop stronger ties to their community, enhances students’ appreciation for the natural world, and creates a heightened commitment to serving as active, contributing citizens.” This directly supports the GUTS! mission of helping girls connect with their communities and seeing themselves as citizens with decision-making power and agency.

To develop effective place-based learning experiences, Kudryavtsev et al. (2011) suggest using a combination of experiential and instructional approaches. Direct experience of a place together with indirect means such as instruction (or storytelling, art, etc.) can produce place-bonding. Under this framework, the goal of the environmental educator is to construct activities that will allow participants to have positive, engaging, and frequent interactions with their place. These interactions should also include community and family members, as it has been shown that groups develop sense of place together, especially Tribal groups. Communal engagement can reinforce or deepen bonds among people as well as with the place. This curriculum aims to provide direct, hands-on experiences with place and community on the Flathead Reservation, and also to introduce the concept of place as a personal and community resource.

In agreement with Cajete when he wrote “we learn through our bodies and spirits as much as our minds” (1994:31), I included multiple sensory-based activities in this camp to get people sensing the place. The goal was to get people out of their heads and into their bodies to have a truly experiential education. Memories reside in the senses, as do feelings. Basso writes “Sensing place, men and women become sharply aware of the complex attachments that link them to features of the physical world….Persons thus involved may also dwell on aspects of
themselves, on sides and corners of their own evolving identities” (1996:107). When people actively sense places, they experience the place and reflect concurrently, then they attach meaning to the place based on their reflections. As they re-experience the place at a different moment in time, they will continue to experience the meaning they have attached to that place. Basso considers this a dynamic and reciprocal process. In this way, places are merely reflecting the meaning people put into them. He believes that places give people or communities clarity about themselves. If we can successfully facilitate this process in the young people we work with, they may come to recognize yet another resource to draw on in times of hardship. I aimed to create a camp curriculum that was utilizing a constructivist model, was experiential, and had place-based components.

Next, I wanted to consider whether the mainstream Environmental Education framework works to adequately educate American Indian students alongside their non-Native peers. I took an American Indian Education course through the Native American Studies Department with Dave Beck. In this course I learned about over a century of abuse and neglect of Native American learners at the hands of U.S. government and local education. Education in Indian country has historically been a failing institution (Child, 1998). I wondered whether working within the framework of Environmental Education on a reservation would be applying educational strategies developed for white students to American Indian students, thus perpetuating educational injustices that have been present since the beginning of formal education in America.

Daniel Wildcat writes, “A good place to begin Indian education in America is with the lived experiences of people who have resided in places long enough to know and remember what it means to be Native to a place” (2001: 39). This camp engaged local experts and Tribal leaders
to remind participants what it means to be Native to this place specifically. Cajete is a leading Indigenous scholar of education. He writes that Indian education should come from an Indian cultural perspective, integrating modern education with traditional education. He sees traditional Indian forms of education as the original environmental education, because intimate knowledge of the landscapes people emerged from and respectful relationships to other beings is essential to their survival. Wildcat argues “The challenge of indigenous education is to expand the ability of children to experience the world—the world they are part of as their home, an environment or refuge of happiness (with hard work) and love (with respect). We can and must educate a generation of children who find home in the landscapes and ecologies they inhabit.” (2001:70).

This camp is designed for participants to consider their relationship with nature and to actively engage with nature in community.

The resiliency camp on the Flathead Reservation works to better honor this specific place and the people who live here. The foundational curriculum for this camp will still be the GUTS! empowerment model, but these ideas and activities can be incorporated. Ideally this camp will provide a relevant framework for Native participants as well as help all of our participants develop a broader perspective on the diversity of human experience and the history and lives of the Salish, Kootenai and Pend d’Oreille people of Montana. This is a first draft and will be an evolving process as we develop the camp, meet new people, and gather more resources.

The first rendition of the resiliency camp was for High School students in the summer of 2017. The GUTS! program kept its previously mentioned Middle School camp at Wild Horse Island and added a beginner High School camp on the Flathead Reservation that focused on personal and community resiliency. For girls from the Flathead, this potentially provided an opportunity to connect more deeply with the place and share with other students what they may
know about this place and the people who inhabit it. For participants from off the reservation, this provided a good opportunity to see what life is like on a modern Indian reservation and for them to confront misconceptions and stereotypes they may have. Based on the success of the pilot camp in 2017, this specific camp will continue in 2018. Additionally, the GUTS! program is considering adding place-based components to each of its camps throughout western Montana.

**Goals of the resiliency camp on the Flathead Reservation**

Along with the GUTS! program goals, participants will:

- Understand a basic history of the Flathead Reservation and its peoples
- Participate in a service project with a tribally-affiliated program
- Meet people from the reservation, whether tribal resource experts or students from Nkwusm
- Recognize stereotypes they may have about American Indians and reservation life
- Consider individual and communal sense of place
- Consider individual and communal resiliency factors

**Assessing the camp**

To achieve these goals, I included activities focused on four themes: the history of the reservation, sense of place/ connection to place, resiliency, and community service. Overall this camp was a great success. The 2017 camp was a wonderful week, in which one participant said she got “friendship whiplash” because she had bonded so quickly with others. I will outline our assessment methods as well as successes, challenges, and areas of growth.

We formatively assessed the camp by debriefing activities with participants immediately after leading them, having an evening debrief with all staff each night, and an all-staff trip debrief at the end of the week. Through this process, we recognized that the schedule was a bit
too packed to get through all of the activities and adjusted accordingly, cutting out a few of the activities.

Since this was an addendum to an existing curriculum, I added evaluation questions to the GUTS! summative pre and post program evaluation tools to reflect the unique themes of this specific camp. These questions were: I feel connected to my culture; I consider myself resilient; I feel connected to my community; I feel connected to myself; I feel connected to nature. Participants were asked to select from the choices: most of the time; some of the time; or none of the time. In response to the questions about connection to culture and connection to community, 14% of participants answered with ‘most of the time’ before the camp and 57% said so afterward for both questions. 100% of participants said they felt connected to nature ‘most of the time’ at the end of the camp, whereas 86% answered that way before the camp. There was an increase in participants who consider themselves resilient ‘most of the time,’ and people felt connected to themselves at the same level before and after the camp.

**Activities around the history of the Reservation and the people who live here**

The history lessons in the curriculum were not used. We were able to invite local experts to talk about history and connection to place, so I just followed their lead. Willie Wright, longtime American Indian History teacher from Arlee High School, was asked to present about pre-contact times. We ate lunch together at the Jocko Fish Hatchery and then she talked about life on the reservation, resiliency and struggles. She framed our time here and really made it clear that we were on a reservation and that this is a unique GUTS! trip.
She is highly recommended, as participants and leaders considered her a great storyteller and loved bringing people from other generations into the group. It was great for people to sit still and practice listening. In assessing the camp, suggestions from leaders were to give her a time-frame or to do an activity with her. Because she has extensive knowledge of local plants, people suggested that we take a plant walk together along the trail at the hatchery. If this camp happens in June, we could also meet her in Evaro and talk about camas.

Tony Incashola from the Salish and Pend d’Oreille culture committee presented about post-contact relations on the first day of the 2017 camp as well. He spoke of peace, emphasizing the importance of realizing one’s own cultural heritage to better understand people different from us. He reminded us that we all have a past, that we don’t just arrive here at this present moment. He talked about all the different beings that made the trail that we walked on to get here, and emphasized the value of self-reflection to “realize your trail.” He then spoke about the land and changes he’s seen over the years. Tony is a kind, insightful and warm presenter and is highly recommended. Tony had a wonderful message, which was perfectly packaged for the beginning.
of an outdoor, multicultural group trip, but the timing of his presentation was unfortunate. He
presented at 4pm on the same day that we had another elder speak. Participants really just
wanted to keep swimming and I don’t think they got as much out of his presentation as all of the
adult leaders did. We were enamored.

**Activities around sense of place/ connection to place**

Germaine White, education and conservation specialist for the Confederated Salish and
Kootenai Tribes, presented on the second day. She talked about contemporary tribal efforts at
resource conservation and gave many examples of work that had been done in this area. The
hope was to draw out the tribes’ unique relationship with natural resources and the cultural
values that guide their work to help us think about factors that relate to community resiliency.
Unfortunately, her presentation was also scheduled for 4pm, after the group had been gardening
and travelling all day. The waters of Mission Reservoir called during her presentation and
attention spans were short. Participant feedback was that maybe we could do an interactive
activity around resource conservation instead of a presentation. One idea would be to meet her at
the Fish Hatchery in Arlee to learn about the Tribal bull trout restoration project there, and then
potentially undertake a service project there.

Of the activities I created for this camp, the ‘Special Places’ activity was successful (p 29
of curriculum). This activity engages people’s sensory memories to consider their sense of place.
Participants shared insights such as “knowing a place really well is our way of communication,”
and “these places that have nurtured us, or given us something… we appreciate them to honor
them,” and that places are “almost like an extension of who we are.” I think this activity really
does what it sets out to do, which is to help people recognize the impact of place on our lives as
individuals, families, and communities. People shared stories of their loved ones, their
adventures, and their personal growth.
In response to the activity titled “Listening Maps” (p42 of curriculum), a group of teens created the following poem:

To be
Dancing with
Quiet giants
To the music of feathered imitations
And the sound of distant waves,

To be wet and finding passion
With the open growing earth,
Let crisp water cool your wound-up core
With its ever present roar
And watch the moss grow
North or south
And cover up old wounds-
Sap scabs and fire scars
We will heal here too.

Drop your gaze to living floor,
where fungus swells
And trampled things still grow,
Vivacity in the synchrony of miniature life

Here we fit
And breathe with trees,
Now we are the harmony.
Find this peace between the days,
The space to walk alone.

Poem contributors: Claire Parsons, Wren Parks, Hannah Silva, Emma Blonda, Tabitha Espinoza, Rohanna Erin, Margaret Hoyt, Emily Kaplan

One of my goals when I came up with activities for this camp was to provide various activities that would suit diverse learning styles and offer opportunities for different types of expression. Many of the activities were hands-on and designed to engage students’ senses rather than their intellect. In creating this group poem, it became clear that a few students in particular really enjoyed language, poetry and the power of the written word. Other activities engaged artists, observers, doers, or talkers in the group. I think we successfully balanced the different types of activities throughout the week.

While we did various successful activities around how we relate to place, the theme of connection to place as a resiliency factor did not come through as strongly as I had hoped. Next year, I will work to better introduce activities and draw out explicit connections to the theme of connection to place. One suggestion from a leader was to bring attention to specific places we visit through our conversations about history. Some opportunities for this kind of engagement would be at the Bison Range or Old Agency. This may be a more interesting way to present the history component than general historical presentations.

Resiliency activities
The addition of ‘Morning Resiliency’ activities instead of morning quotes was greatly appreciated by the participants and staff alike. Many people commented on how nice it was to start their day with a calming exercise. The personal resiliency guide activity was a powerful reminder that we all have tools that we already use to keep ourselves in the resilient zone. A goal for next year is to do a better job talking about community resiliency in all of the activities we do
throughout the week. The personal resiliency component came through really strongly, but the community component was not as clear.

**Community service**

On day two, we conducted a service project at the community garden in Old Agency. As outlined in the curriculum, the plan was to listen to an episode of the Threshold podcast about the National Bison Range, work with community gardeners on whatever project they gave us and then talk about food sovereignty and food security with Blakely Brown and Maja Pederson. The service project was a wonderful success; one participant said it was the highlight of her week because it was such a great effort at teamwork and had tangible results. Two local community gardeners met us and worked alongside us all morning. This was a great opportunity for participants to meet with local people and work together. Unfortunately, our speakers had a time conflict and had to cancel unexpectedly. I was not prepared to present on food sovereignty or food security and I had not outlined a discussion in the curriculum. We had a brief conversation over lunch about the importance of food access and how impactful community gardens can be, but this is definitely an area for improvement. I will add an outline for all activities in case a speaker falls through, so we can still cover the basics.
Challenges

As mentioned above, one challenge was engaging with local experts and elders in a way that was meaningful to teenagers. People often suggested more hands-on engagement with the local experts.

One major challenge for this camp was recruitment. Our goal was for at least half of the participants to be from the reservation. We hoped to create a positive multicultural space for group learning. We made recruitment materials aimed at Native youth and met local youth-serving organizations to spread the word. We contacted reservation schools and presented to student groups. A few people from the reservation expressed interest initially, but they did not end up coming on the trip. Most of our participants were from Missoula and one was from France. While we can only speculate about the reasons people did not choose to come, I imagine one major barrier was that people just aren’t familiar with us yet. As an organization, we have not built the relationship significantly for people to have trust in us. This is fair and to be expected. I will continue to work with the Summer Youth program through Tribal Health next summer. We have already talked about a potential overlap of needs and services and brainstormed ways we can work together to provide more support for local young people.

*Camping at Mission Dam for the first two nights of the 2017 camp. Photo courtesy of the YWCA Missoula.*
Areas of growth

Susan Faircloth presents a literature review on contemporary Indian education (2015). She includes a section on ‘promising practices.’ Three that stand out are: building upon the knowledge of the students’ distinct cultural identities, including culturally relevant materials, and actively teaching culture. As a primarily white organization, these things should be approached with caution. While I am not a culture-bearer myself and I would never attempt to teach cultural activities, I think it would be highly valuable to our Native participants if we included some hands-on cultural instruction about the outdoors, about the relationships tribal people have had with the plant and animal communities for millennia. I would like to invite culture-bearers such as Tim Ryan or Palesewe Vanderberg to teach our participants these things.

Additionally, we did not present the history lessons in the curriculum because we were able to secure local experts to do the talking for us. The history lessons I created for the curriculum give context for historical trauma and how colonization still impacts people today. I worry that this discussion may be a little heavy for teenagers. I would like to add some discussion of intergenerational healing and bring the focus more acutely on community resiliency factors of the Salish, Pend d’Oreille and Kootenai tribes.

But, in the absence of explicit anti-colonial rhetoric, Sheelah McLean sees experiential land-based education programs as highly problematic (2013). She conceptualizes the “ongoing erasure of Indigenous peoples and histories from the land” as justifying the white-settler state (p355). She writes that without overt attention to the violence against Indigenous peoples and their removal from wild places, environmental education programs run the risk of perpetuating the myths of wilderness as wild, innocent spaces, up for grabs by white, innocent people. Additionally, the majority of people who participate in environmental education programs are from middle class white families. The environment and wilderness are maintained as white
spaces. This reinforces the need for the GUTS! program to provide culturally relevant programming and to reserve spots on each camp for non-white participants. McLean concludes “Unless the dominant narratives of whiteness are disrupted, outdoor education students are problematically positioned in their quest to occupy and reconnect with wilderness. As educators seek to build integrated social and ecological justice programs, it is essential to frame the curricula by centering an interrogation of the impact of colonialism on Indigenous Peoples and territories in order to create an anti-colonial pedagogy of the environment” (p361). To acknowledge our shared colonial past and to respect the realities of Native people living in Western Montana today, I suggest a place-based component be added to each of the five GUTS! Summer Outdoor Adventure camps in an attempt to “decolonize wilderness.” The place-based component should include a basic discussion of the people who have lived on these lands for millennia and their relationship with the land while participants consider their own relationship to the land.

References:


Portfolio component 2: Literature on Indigenous land management

Fall 2017

Introduction

This literature review will look to the scientific record for studies that examine the role of Indigenous peoples in shaping the landscapes of the United States. I will provide a broad overview of the issues at stake and then provide a few regional case studies invoking the science.

The first case study will analyze the use of fire by numerous tribes in California and its impact to
long-term landscape resilience there. Then I will look to the scientific record to examine the legacy of wild rice management by Ojibwe people in the Great Lakes region.

The literature addressing the impacts of Native Americans on the landscape is deep, broad, and conflicted. As always, the published record reflects the public consciousness of the time period in which it is conceived. This does not exclude the sciences. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, decades of forced allotment and assimilation inevitably impacted local and regional landscapes, but science was apparently silent on the issue. Native American issues were largely invisible to Americans on the whole, as remnants of dangerous and savage stereotypes weighed on people’s minds. With a few exceptions (Maxwell 1910, Hawes 1923, and Bromley 1935 and 1945), early twentieth century scientists minimized the impacts of Native Americans on the lands of North America. By the 1950s, some scientists finally acknowledged their inherent assumptions about the pristine nature of the North American landscape upon the arrival of Europeans. Somewhat ahead of his time, the biologist Gordon Day (1953: 329) criticized his peers, “Many botanists seem to share the popular belief in an unbroken virgin forest and to assume that human interference with natural succession commenced with white settlement. They appear to overlook or dismiss as unlikely the possibility of significant disturbance by the Indian.” Day digs as deep into the colonialist and settler historic record as 1600 to document the impacts of Native Americans on the land, as there were not extensive scientific studies documenting the various impacts nor the breadth of the impacts we acknowledge today.

While Day may have been ahead of his time to recognize Native American impacts to the land, he only compiled evidence from a European knowledge base, ignoring the input and perspectives of Native Americans themselves. Ethnoecology (and ethnosience, ethnobiology,
ethnomedicine, etc.) emerged in the 1950s and anthropology had been interested in Indigenous land uses for some time. Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK) as a concept blossomed in the academic literature in the late 1980s and 1990s. TEK is currently defined as “a cumulative body of knowledge, practice and belief, evolving by adaptive processes and handed down through generations by cultural transmission about the relationship of living beings (including humans) with one another and with their environment” (Berkes 2018: 8).

In response to the widespread acceptance of TEK, co-management, which acknowledges the knowledge and decision-making power of local stakeholders such as tribes, has been implemented in recent years to supplant or replace a centralized and bureaucratic decision-making trend in natural resource management (Houde 2007). As one might expect there has been academic debate and on-the-ground pushback against efforts to grant tribes an equal place at the decision-making table. There are numerous arguments about the testability, reliability, and applicability of TEK to contemporary resource management issues. Science versus TEK debates are not helpful though. Much contemporary literature affirms them as two distinct knowledge and belief systems that are sometimes compatible and sometimes not. A current trend seems to be that of collaborative cross-cultural processes to manage land, acknowledging the roles of Traditional Ecological Knowledge and Western Scientific Knowledge alongside one another (Kimmerer 2000, Berkes 1998, Palssen 1998, Houde 2007, Lake et al. 2017, Bowcutt 2013, Long et al. 2016). They are both valid systems of inquiry and observations (Mason et al. 2012). One does not necessarily have to replace the other.

While I readily recognize TEK as the important and rich source of information regarding Native American land uses and impacts to the land that it is, the remainder of this paper will focus on the body of western scientific literature, which only more recently and only sometimes
includes TEK. Much of the best scientific research I found was multidisciplinary (Crawford et al., 2015, Anderson and Lake 2013, Long et al. 2016, Delcourt and Delcourt 1997, Anderson and Carpenter 1991), drawing on ethnographic records or direct sources of TEK to complete the picture where scientific data was lacking. This reflects the complexity of the question; it is at once a question of ecology and anthropology, with implications for tribal resource managers and non-tribal entities alike.

This has been a brief overview of a broad and contested academic discussion around the topic of Native American stewardship and its impacts to the land. There are numerous books written by social scientists, natural scientists, and historians thoroughly assessing these questions from an interdisciplinary perspective (Cronon 1983, Denevan 1992, Blackburn and Anderson 1993, Russell 1998, Minnis and Elisens 2000, Anderson 2005, Mann 2005). The following case studies will attempt to illuminate complexities and nuance. I will show the historic impact of Native Americans to the land, explain what mechanism existed to limit their ability to steward (if any), and then explore issues of contemporary landscape resiliency in the presence or absence of Native American activity on the land (or management).

**Fire use by Native Americans in California**

The first case study will focus on the issue of fire in California. Due to the sheer size of the state, the number of colleges and universities there, and the contemporary escalation of fire crises in this region, there is a lot of information in the scientific literature about fire in California. There are 187 tribal groups documented in California (courts.ca.gov). Through the use of burning, harvesting and seed dispersal, tribal peoples profoundly impacted the land, particularly oak savannas, coastal prairies, and valley grasslands. Not coincidentally, these three landscape types are the most biologically diverse in California. Tribal and anthropological
sources have identified fire use as one of the most important practices among many tribes in the region (Anderson, 2005).

**Historic use**

While not exhaustive, I’ve identified at least three paleoecological studies interrogating the impacts of tribal groups to the landscape through the use of fire (Klimaszewski-Patterson and Mensing 2016, Anderson and Carpenter 1991, Crawford et al. 2015). Using paleoecological methods to document the human-caused impacts through fire is challenging, so scientists draw on multiple disciplines to identify time periods when the plant community does not match what would be expected under a given climate. Multiple studies found that timeframe to be during the Little Ice Age.

R. Anderson and Carpenter (1991) studied the impacts of protohistoric Sierra Miwok burning on the vegetation in Yosemite Valley during the protohistoric period. Through palynology, they documented a vegetation shift around 650 years ago. Prior to that date, the area was vegetated with a closed conifer forest, primarily consisting of ponderosa pine, white pine, incense cedar and Douglas fir. After that date, the pollen record indicates a shift to more open canopy-type vegetation, such as oaks, sage and other shrubs. At the same time, there is a large charcoal peak and increased sedimentation, indicating that the plant community shift was due to a major disturbance. They ruled out climate changes of the Little Ice Age as the driving factor, because the cold, wet climate of that period would have had the opposite effect on the plant community. If the disturbance was fire, as indicated by the charcoal peak, there is still no way to tell if the fire was human caused or lighting ignited. The archaeological record documents the valley being occupied for at least 3000 years. Around 650-750 years ago, there was a shift from the Tamarack cultural complex, whose subsistence was hunting and gathering primarily to the
Mariposa complex, who lived a more sedentary lifestyle and depended much more heavily upon oak acorns. Ethnographic records from the early contact period also indicate that the Sierra Miwok populations there regularly burned the valley and practiced horticulture, which would be "highly suggestive of vegetation manipulation for increased food resources" (R Anderson and Carpenter 1991: 1).

More recent studies confirm this hypothesis in other parts of mountainous California, using a similar multidisciplinary approach. In the Klamath Mountains during the cool and wet Little Ice Age (late Holocene), evidence shows occupancy by primarily open-forest, shade-intolerant vegetation types, but closed-forest, shade-tolerant types would be expected under the climatic conditions at the time. This indicates anthropogenic management as the likely mechanism for the inverted vegetation scheme. The authors also noted a strong anthropogenic influence on vegetation upon the arrival of Europeans to the area, a decline in tribal use, and fire exclusion (Crawford et al. 2015).

In a very similar study comparing the prevalence of fire-sensitive to fire-adapted species in the Sequoia National Forest using the pollen record, Klimaszewski-Patterson and Mensing noted a parallel trend during the Little Ice Age (2016). They report strong support for a Native American influenced landscape from 750 to 100 cal year BP. They also found strong evidence of European settlement on the plant community around 100 cal yr BP to present. This later period saw widespread fire exclusion policies and other management techniques, resulting in an increase in the unusual combination of fir and oak species, which was previously undocumented in their site-specific cores.

Keeley (2002) confirms that lightning-ignited fires did not occur at a high enough frequency to maintain the mixture of shrubland and grasslands in the central and southern
California coastal ranges, which includes Yosemite Valley and the Sequoia National Forest, but not the Klamath Range. At the frequency which they occur, lightning-induced fires in this area alone would create a shrubland-dominated landscape, which is not the case. Additionally, he cites regional-scale studies documenting that lightning-ignited fires are high in frequency in parts of the southwest but they are very low-frequency in the coastal ranges, and that on a local scale lightning-ignited fires increase with elevation. Both of these patterns are the opposite of the distribution of native peoples before the arrival of Europeans. Thus the plant communities are likely influenced by anthropogenic fires, at least to some extent.

MK Anderson (1993) documents at least ten uses for fire among the Central Sierra Me-Wuk, including reducing plant diseases, opening up underbrush, habitat management, manipulating plant communities for food resources, and more. Not only was fire used by Native Americans in this region to promote the growth of certain plant species (R Anderson and Carpenter 1991), it was also used to promote various fungal species. In a thorough ethnomycology study, Anderson and Lake (2013) report the use and intimate knowledge of at least 26 mushroom species among California tribes. They provide case studies of the Central Sierra Me-Wuk and multiple tribes in the Klamath-Siskiyou Mountains of northern California, both regions that have also been studied through paleoecology. Mushrooms have a wide range of uses for California Tribes, from food and medicine, to dyes or paints, to fire punks or tinder. They document sustainable harvest practices that ensure the long-term survival of mushrooms in the region. People actively disperse spores, use appropriate gathering tools and techniques, take only a portion of the crop (of a certain size), and burn to encourage higher numbers of mushrooms in greater densities and to reduce the duff cover, making it possible for the flowering bodies to emerge. When compared against the ecological knowledge in the literature, the authors
note numerous scientists who confirm the use of fire as positively related to the abundance of and spatial and temporal distribution of certain mushrooms, which positively impact forest health. They write “Indian-set fires could also have positive effects at higher levels of biological organization at the plant community and watershed scales” (2013: 71). The impact of Indigenous fire management to structure natural communities has been well-documented.

A changing landscape: removing fire

The historic record reveals a prohibition of Native American fire use in the region as early as 1793 (Bowcutt 2013). As noted in the paleoecological evidence presented above (Klimaszewski-Patterson and Mensing 2016; Crawford et al. 2015), plant communities in California changed upon settlement by Europeans. Briles at al. (2005) used paleobotanical evidence to supports this as well, showing that coniferous forests and coastal shrub have expanded with fire suppression over the last century.

Impacts to the people and the land

In contemporary times, tribes note a dwindling mushroom stock in the region because of changing land use, fire suppression, pollution, fertilizer use, compacted soils, native and exotic pests and diseases, road building, and increased competition from commercial harvesters (Anderson and Lake 2013). While mushrooms were and are important to many tribes in California, acorns from oak trees have been central to their lives and economies for thousands of years (Bowcutt 2013).

Beginning in the 1990s Sudden Oak Death (SOD) began to sweep the region, killing at least a million oak and tanoak trees in the coastal ranges of California and Oregon. This tree disease is caused by Phytophthora ramorum, an introduced water mold that results in cankers and rapid defoliation in trees, and ultimately in death (California Oak Mortality Task Force
With fire suppression policies, Yosemite National Park has seen oak woodlands crowded by conifers, which results in increased competition for nutrients, light, and water. Under these stressors, oaks are more susceptible to insects and diseases. This has been documented in the case of SOD (Rizzo and Slaughter 2001). In contrast, under a regime of frequent burning by Native populations, there are fewer trees per acre and those trees are larger. Large trees have reduced stress and less competition, resulting in a lower impact from insects and pathogens. According to a Karuk elder “Fire was used for healthier tanoak groves” (Anderson and Lake 2013: 70). Moritz and Odion (2005) showed that in areas burned since the 1950s, the presence of Sudden Oak Death was extremely rare. Lee (2009) contests the results, citing limitations to the current mapping system and difficulties showing causation. He acknowledged that wildfires and prescribed burns reduce the incidence of P. ramorum, but do not completely eliminate it. His primary concern is the increased surface and crown fuels and their impact on fire behavior.

Changes to fire behavior have been documented. Two primary mechanisms are noted: fire suppression and exclusion (resulting in increased fuel loads), and increased anthropogenic ignitions. Other factors, such as climate change and vegetation manipulation may also play a role. Combined, these factors result in higher than normal fire frequencies and more high-intensity fires (Syphard et al. 2007). Recognizing that humans are the primary reason fires start in California, particularly since 1960, Syphard et al. designed a study to uncover the best predictors for fire ignitions and size. They found that human spatial distribution explained most of the variability in the number of fires, while vegetation type explained the area burned. Population density, intermix wildland urban interface (the wildland urban interface (WUI) that has housing interspersed with forest cover vs. housing abutting forest), and distance to WUI explained the most variability in fire frequency. Fires are starting more often in developed areas
while wildlands are burning less often that they have in the past. This phenomenon has obvious impacts to human safety and planning, but it also has potentially “devastating ecological impacts if development continues to grow farther into wildland vegetation” and if fire suppression policies continue in wildlands (2007: 1388). In a strange turn of events, humans have again become the primary reason for fires in this region, but with wildly different results.

**Reinstituting Tribal Knowledge and Practice**

The concept of resilience of ecological systems was originally defined by Holling (1973), but has been modified to reflect the concept of social-ecological systems such as the one described above. Walker et al. define resilience of social-ecological systems as “the capacity of a system to absorb disturbance and reorganize while undergoing change so as to still retain essentially the same function, structure, identity, and feedbacks” (2004: 1). Most Sierra Nevada tribes have been dispossessed of their traditional homelands and are now dependent on public lands for gathering opportunities. But are public lands also dependent on tribal participation in management, with their deep knowledge of the processes and relationships that make these places what they are today? Additionally, Walker et al. recognize adaptability, or “the capacity of actors in the system to influence resilience,” as a determining factor in future trajectories of the social-ecological system (2004: 1).

An increasingly common contemporary management suggestion has been adaptive co-management between tribes and state or federal land managers, to implement strategies that reflect both TEK and Scientific Ecological Knowledge (SEK), preserving ecological and cultural values concurrently. Admittedly, this will require long-term relationship building. There are significant barriers to co-management, the greatest of which is different worldviews and a lack of mutual understanding and respect. There may be a lack of trust on the part of Tribal land
managers due to a history of oppression that will need to be worked out over time. While co-
management remains a valid approach in public lands, many tribes that have their own land base
may be uninterested in helping co-manage other lands outside of their reservations or treaty-
ceded lands. Many are hopeful about the potential of this process though. Lake et al. (2017) have
outlined strategies for building cross-jurisdictional, cross-cultural partnerships that respectfully
engage Native communities and value their input in management decisions.

In a case study on black oak co-management, Long et al. (2016) identified opportunities
for reintroducing fire and thinning to increase good conditions for healthy and productive trees,
and subsequently more acorn gathering opportunities and ecosystem services. They provide four
examples of co-management in action, though each is a somewhat recent partnership. The most
truly collaborative process is that between the North Fork Mono Tribe and the Sierra National
Forest. They are working together to restore several meadows with black oak populations. The
restoration is a multi-stage process of thinning the forest and removing highly flammable
invasive species and other crowded underbrush. During the final stages, the tribe will reinitiate a
regular burning cycle. The two entities will work together to monitor and study the effectiveness
of thinning and burning on increasing acorn productivity and reducing forest pests. The
Greenville Rancheria has worked with the Plumas National Forest to use prescribed burns to
promote black oak and the associated values. The Karuk Tribe and the Klamath Tribe are also
working with National Forest and other federal agencies and non-profits to support the
restoration of black oak, though not to the extent the North Fork Mono have undertaken.

While this case study has focused on the use of fire among California Indians and its
long-term impact to the land, this phenomenon is widespread in many parts of the United States.
There are paleoecological studies documenting widespread pre-Columbian fire use among tribes
in eastern woodlands (Ruffner and Abrams 2002, Delcourt and Delcourt 2004, Abrams and Nowacki 2008, Black et al. 2006, Tulowiecki and Larsen 2015) and in the Southeast (Delcourt and Delcourt, 1997), with similar results as those presented in this case study.

In contemporary times, numerous tribes have robust fire programs (Raish et al. 2005). In the western United States (Stan et al. 2014) tribal fire programs have initiated prescribed burning since at least 1942. Prescribed burning has been used as a management tool more frequently and for a longer time period than on non-tribal lands in the west, making tribal forests and forestry programs a valuable tool for scientifically evaluating the practice long-term. Stan et al. (2014) showed that the surface fire regime under management by the Hualapai Tribe was similar in frequency and synchrony as it was during the historic period. The Blackfeet and the Confederated Salish & Kootenai Tribes in Montana have extensive forestry and fire programs, as do the San Carlos Apache and the Hualapai in Arizona and the Coquille in Oregon. Other tribes, such as Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde and the Confederated Tribes of Siletz Indians in Oregon are beginning conversations to reinitiate their traditional uses of fire. While this paper will not provide specific information about these or other contemporary fire programs, it is worth mentioning that numerous tribes are undertaking efforts to maintain or reestablish their traditional burning practices.

Anishinaabeg (Ojibwe) and manoomin (wild rice)

The Ojibwe people have a connection with wild rice for food, economy, culture and spirituality. This relationship has been well-documented in the historical and anthropological literature, and not as thoroughly in the scientific literature. This case study was more challenging to piece together the components by strictly looking at the scientific record, so I supplemented the story with anthropological, historical and legal sources. Some of the information I draw on is not explicitly about wild rice, but more peripheral. For examples, studies about the impacts of
sedimentation to macrophyte communities, changes to the distribution of waterfowl, and ecosystem services of shallow wetlands in the Great Lakes region. What has been documented is that wild rice range and occurrence in dwindling. The ecological, political and economic regional landscape has changed, leaving Native peoples fewer opportunities to gather this crucial resource.

Ecology of wild rice

Northern wild rice (*Zizania palustris*) is a grain native to North America that is most prevalent across northeastern Minnesota, northern Wisconsin and southern Ontario (though wild rice is endemic to 36 of the United States). It dominates in the shallow edges of gently flowing streams and rivers, and can be found along shallow lakeshores as well. It is sensitive to various factors in the environment, making its distribution spatially and temporally highly variable.

In a comprehensive look at the ecology of wild rice, Meeker (1993) analyzed the Kakagon Sloughs on the southern shores of Lake Superior, which are known to contain particularly robust beds of wild rice. He analyzed the literature to show that water chemistry, disturbance, sedimentation, seasonal fluctuations of water levels, and hydrology are all important factors influencing wild rice abundance. Prime rice growing habitat includes gently moving water that brings sediments the rice plants can then trap for nutrients. Occasional disturbances from events such as ice scouring, wildlife use, and annual water level fluctuations are crucial to long-term survival of wild rice, which acts as a pioneer species when other aquatic and emergent plants are removed from disturbances. The literature is varied on ideal water depth, but the range is from .15m to .9 m, though there is great diversity among the plant in different areas, possibly contributing to this wide range. Meeker cites data from Fannucchi et al. (1983) that shows the ideal substrate is about 18 inches of soft muck. Wild rice also requires a 3-4 month period of
dormancy in near-freezing temperatures, in which the seed cannot dry out. It must fall into the water and sink into the layer of soft sediment until ice melt.

Sierszen et al. (2012) review contemporary ecosystem services of coastal wetlands in the Great Lakes. While this study is not specifically about wild rice, Meeker (1993) noted that wild rice modifies local environments and has a large impact on sedimentation changes, contributing to habitat modifications that are beneficial to various aquatic and terrestrial species in the coastal wetlands. Sierszen et al. (2012) document 30 species of waterfowl, 155 breeding bird species, and 55 reptiles and amphibians that use coastal wetland habitats in this region. Wetland ecosystem services include wildlife habitat and food production, water quality improvement, and plant crops, such as wild rice.

**Traditional use of wild rice**

Stickney (1896) surveyed the historic record, documenting the use of wild rice among Native groups in 1896 and earlier. Stickney reveals the traditional process of harvesting, processing, storing and preparing the rice among regional tribes. Traditional harvest involved two people (traditionally women) canoeing onto the water and using specialized tools to “pole” the boat and to “knock” the rice into the boat. This system was regulated by elders and cultural norms to ensure a regenerating crop each year. The traditional method of harvest allowed knocked seeds to miss the boat and fall into the water, replenishing the crop for the following year. The work of Steeves (1952) focuses on the economy of wild rice and how it has changed over time. He notes that numerous Algonquian groups gathered wild rice at various points in their histories, including the Ojibwe (or Chippewa), the Menomini, the Potawatomi, the Ottawas, the Sauk and Fox, the Maskotin, the Kickapoos, the Hurons, and the Mississagua. Of these tribes, the people who relied most heavily on wild rice were the Ojibwe and the Menomini.
Siouan tribes have also been known to gather and eat wild rice, particularly when they lived as a woodland and prairie group before being pushed west in the late 1600s by the Ojibwe. These early studies vary in time depth of human use of wild rice in the Great Lakes region from 300 to over 1000 years ago. Steeves writes that Algonquian groups were pushed west upon arrival of Europeans and the disease epidemics they brought, but the Ojibwe story is different. According to Winona LaDuke (1999), wild rice pulled them here. Manoomin is a gift from the Creator, who told the Anishinaabeg ancestors that when they found the “food that grows upon water” they would know when to end their journey west. Hence, Ojibwe people have deep connection with this plant.

In a somewhat limited paleoecological study, Nurse et al. (2017) combined pollen and phytolith data, estuary and upland vegetation changes, and historic records of settlement and industrialization to document that Zizania palustris was present in the St. Louis River Estuary continuously since the mid-1700s. They also noted changes in the organization of wild rice stands that appeared to be associated with shifting water levels, which can either increase or decrease wild rice populations depending on whether it increases or decreases the amount of lake bottom that is within the optimal range of depth for wild rice growth (they cite .5 to .95m). Water level changes can occur from various activities in the region, such as dams, dredging, deforestation, wildfire, drought, or floods. Other known threats to wild rice stands in this particular estuary are excessive sediment and nutrient loading.

Boyd et al. (2013) looked at phytolith evidence to analyze when wild rice arrived in a specific lake in Northwestern Ontario and found a much deeper history. While they acknowledge that some archaeologists have argued that the spread of wild rice regionally was concurrent with human distribution and possibly caused by it, their study shows that wild rice occurred at
Whitefish Lake prior to any evidence of human habitation there. They show that wild rice colonized the basin 5,300 BP and noted that starting around 4,000 BP there was a sharp increase in lake productivity. The majority of regional paleoecological studies show that rice is present after 3000 BP, indicating a significant range expansion of the plant due to climate changes during the late Holocene. They draw on the archaeological evidence to show that people were using Whitefish Lake beginning in 300 BC-1700 AD, making an anthropogenic dispersal mechanism impossible. There are historic records of early native peoples packing seeds in mud to transport them to new sites (Stickney, 1896), and oral history documents Native peoples manipulating wild rice production for their use through weeding and trapping of predators (Moodie 1991). While humans may not have been the primary reason for the spread of wild rice regionally, this suggests a possibility for localized dispersal of seeds by Native peoples.

**Modern issues**

When the fur trade arrived in the late 1700s, wild rice became an important trade good, providing valuable resources and trade goods to tribes or bands with access to rice (Steeves 1952). The region saw significant changes as industrialization arrived. By the 1840s, the Great Lakes became major shipping channels, impacting the water in the region and the plants that grow in it, including wild rice. As mentioned previously, there are very specific conditions under which wild rice flourishes, making it sensitive to ecological changes (Meeker 1993).

**Types of landscape degradation**

According to Meeker (1993), the majority of wild-rice mortality occurs during the early stages of growth, when leaves are still submerged, as plants are dislodged from the sediment. Thus they are highly vulnerable to increased turbidity and browsing pressure at this stage. Albert and Minc (2004) outline four main types of landscape degradation that impact coastal wetland
health in the Great Lakes region. Hydrologic flow modifications, largely through damming and diking, has been highly influential in plant community changes. Water quality degradation comes in the form of nutrient enrichment, sediment loading, and chemical pollution. Increased turbidity also negatively impacts wild rice populations by uprooting emerging plants and through limiting light penetration. Invasive species such as carp and zebra mussel have dramatic impacts to turbidity and light penetration, as does increased boat traffic. Another major detriment is ecological structural breakdown. Coastal wetlands are being eliminated on the landscape in favor of agricultural lands or other types of development. Drewes (2008) documented an increase in permit requests in the state of Minnesota from landowners to manually remove wild rice beds from their waterfront properties. Another current concern is mining in the Iron Range of Minnesota and the sulfate entering waterways as a result.

The number of water bodies that contain substantial wild rice beds and the overall harvest numbers have been declining regionally since the 1900s (Drewes 2008). Drewes noted a 32% decline in wild rice distribution, mostly in the highly urbanized southern portion of the range. Pillsbury and McGuire (2009) sampled 60 historic wild rice wetlands that support wild rice in various densities today, measuring chemical and physical factors. They concluded that the greatest loss of wild rice was in wetlands with higher residential development, higher levels of ammonia, and changes to pH and depth.

Wild rice densities also interact with changing wildlife dynamics. Haramis and Kearns (2007) showed that an “overabundance” of resident geese severely limited wild rice growth and production in the marshes of the Patuxent River in Maryland. In this localized example, hunting removal of around 1700 geese and a large-scale fencing and planting program contributed to the return of rice in the Patuxent. In another specific example, Beatty et al. (2017) developed an
individual-based model to analyze how land-use change affects the spring migration stopover duration of dabbling ducks in North America. They found that climate change will alter spatial patterns of rice distribution regionally (likely contracting north) and that land-use changes could increase waterfowl spring migration stopover duration. Shifting habitat availability and increased waterfowl predation will put additional pressure on wild rice stands and further limit Native people’s opportunities for gathering this crucial resource.

**Efforts at domestication**

As documented by Kurath (1957), in the 20th century wild rice again became an important source of income for Ojibwe peoples. Other Americans were getting a taste for wild rice and the export market was growing. By this point Ojibwe people were the primary harvesters and were largely the ones profiting from its sale, and it became a major factor in their economy. Kurath makes note of land use changes and accompanying ecological changes that severely limit many bands’ access to wild rice stands today.

According to Hayes et al. (1989) early 20th century farmers began using mechanical harvesters and broad boats to collect rice in natural stands. This was an overly effective mechanism for collecting seeds; within a few years, wild rice beds began to collapse. In order to protect a sustainable harvest in Minnesota, the state passed a law requiring that natural stands only be harvested in the traditional manner, on small non-motorized boats.

During the second half of the 20th century, the economic potential of wild rice was realized by multiple new entities, including the state of Minnesota (Steeves 1952). Efforts at domestication led to an outburst of research into the genetics of the plant beginning in the 1950s, though the ecology still remained under-studied. Shattering is an adaptive trait in wild rice that allows the ripened seeds to disperse into the water and fall to the substrate to enter dormancy.
This trait makes commercial harvest very difficult. Shatter-resistance is one of the traits that the domestication process aimed to produce, along with disease resistance and synchronized seed maturation. Many tribes protested heartily, with concerns about the threat of cross-pollination with native stocks and the plants’ ability to regenerate naturally. By the 1970s, the state of Minnesota funded research resulting in 3 cultivars, which were paddy grown and commercially available. By 1982, 2 cultivars were released in California. By 1986, over 95% of wild rice was actually paddy grown, mostly in northern California (LaDuke 2011). This proliferation of wild rice availability on the market significantly decreased the price of the grain, with negative impacts to the Native harvesters of wild grown wild rice. All 5 cultivars had patents on them, though the original genetic material was likely collected in the Great Lakes region. Tribes have undertaken extensive legal battles around deceptive labelling practices and genetic engineering. Raster and Hill (2017) analyze the legal question of food sovereignty. The legal issues are beyond the scope of this scientific literature review but worth mention.

**Contemporary ricers**

The Fond du Lac Band of Lake Superior Chippewa (FDL) is one example of a band that is actively managing wild rice. They primarily manage by controlling water levels through ditch maintenance, water control structures and beaver dam maintenance. They also remove competing vegetation and invasive species on their rice lakes (http://stlouisriverestuary.org/).

The journalist Doreen Cubie documents the conservation efforts of the Red Lake Band of Chippewa (2007). Tribal biologists note that their reservation lies on the “prairie-forest transition zone,” making it crucial habitat for diverse wildlife species. In the 1930s, the Army Corps of Engineers impounded two of the local rivers, destroying much of the wild rice habitat on the reservation. Today, the Red Lake Band is restoring some of the historic rice beds as well as
creating a commercial rice farm. The band has created or restored over 15,000 acres of wild rice wetlands. The band manages their rice beds not only for the food and economic resources it provides to the people, but also the web of wildlife and fish species that benefit from wild rice on the land. This is the largest reservation in the Midwest, so conservation efforts here are important for regional conservation efforts.

Multiple parties manage different lakes and have different strategies or policies governing harvest. Some lakes are left unmanaged. Drewes and Silbernagel (2012) researched the contemporary spatial dynamics of wild rice. They created a spatial narrative layout, which included mapping resource availability and use across the region, aerial photographs, ground-level photographs, harvester demographics, harvest data and interviews with harvesters. They discuss the challenges of management due to the many competing interests in wild rice and the multiple jurisdictions that manage it, including various bands of Ojibwe and their reservation lands, the states of Minnesota and Wisconsin, Ontario, and treaty ceded lands that have different regulations controlling them. Tribes have protected rights to gather, hunt and fish in the treaty ceded lands in Minnesota and Wisconsin. Ninety percent of wild rice lakes exist within treaty ceded lands and reservations, but harvesters include non-natives collecting the seed for personal and commercial use. They found that, on average, Native and non-native harvesters were beginning to rice at an older age than they had in the past, and Native ricers are entering at a significantly younger age than non-natives. As the most experienced ricers age, tribal elders express concern for the continuation of a crucial Ojibwe tradition. In discussing the decision-making challenges around management of wild rice, the authors note that there is no formal cross-jurisdictional coordination and see this as an opportunity to establish a regional framework. Drewes and Silbernagel draw on the work of Berkes to suggest a co-management structure that
shares responsibility and power while building trust and encouraging stewardship, a community based approach that relies on the knowledge and experience of local ricers to make sound decisions. This is the model some localized bands (i.e. Sokaogon Mole Lake Band of Chippewa and the Leech Lake Band of Ojibwe) are already using, but Drewes and Silbernagel suggest expanding it to a regional scale.

Other management models have been suggested as well. Kuzivanova and Davidson-Hunt (2017) suggest biocultural design (BD). They provide a case study of this model, which is similar to ecocultural restoration in practice. The authors used BD to work with people from Wabaseemoong Independent Nations in Northwestern Ontario to co-design a *manoomin* harvest camp. They drew on multiple sources of knowledge, practices, and innovation to work toward reestablishing community relationship with *manoomin*, a community-defined goal.

In compiling this case study, it was imperative to draw on literature outside of strictly science. If one wanted to simply tell the story through a scientific lens, there would be many gaps in understanding. More research is needed in wild rice ecology and the ways in which the plant and its associated ecosystems respond to various management practices. First Nations and Indigenous peoples have accumulated deep bodies of knowledge of this plant and how it interacts with other components of its ecosystem, and they have a vested interest in the long-term survival of the plant. This social-ecological system’s resilience is currently being tested. Ojibwe peoples should be respected as primary knowledge bearers and decision makers around regional wild rice management decisions.

**Conclusion**

These case studies provide a deeper look at two specific instances when Native Americans have impacted a specific location or ecosystem, but Native peoples across the United
States have a long history of manipulating the land to provide various benefits to themselves or to other species. While this is becoming more commonly studied in the sciences, there are many unexplored opportunities for research. Wildfire use is probably the most thoroughly documented practice in the scientific literature, but Native people have been influencing other plant and animal species through pruning, planting, weeding, thinning, harvesting, hunting, and natural resource management programs. The long-term impacts of these practices are acknowledged among Native communities and in the fields of the ethno-sciences. Some interesting but limited scientific work has been done in the Pacific NW around camas management (Beckwith 2004; Lepofsky and Lertzman 2008) and there is regional information about plant materials for basketry (Shebitz et al. 2009). In the Northeast, Kimmerer has analyzed the role of Native peoples in perpetuating the sweetgrass plant (2013). Generally, science and ecology have some catching up to do.

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Portfolio Component 3: Oral History Project

Espinoza Family Connection to Place
Compiled by Tabitha Espinoza
Spring 2018

Annie and the Keenans. Photo courtesy Lolita Hendrickson.
List of Contributors:

Fourth generation
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   Charles Hanson (Tima, Brother)
   Carla Hanson
   Charleena Penama
   Jan Espinoza-Garrison
   Donnetta Espinoza Stephan
   Andrea Adams (Ondi)
   Deborah Espinoza- wife of 5th generation

Sixth generation
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   Travis Espinoza
   Tiffany Naugle (Tip)
   Gabe Goeres
   Anita Hershman (AJ, Gummy)
   Tabitha Espinoza (Oggie)
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   Aaron Naugle
Learning my place

‘Looproad’ is narrow, hilly, and winding. Plants spill onto the roadway, taking particular hold during the rainy season. In the less-rainy summer season, you can see where the tall grasses and vines have been sheared by passing cars. I rented a studio in a newer, fancy housing development farthest up the mountain, close to the beginning of what locals called looproad. I didn’t know it as looproad at first. I just knew it as the exotically beautiful forest road with easy access from my house.

I moved to Kauai with my partner to seek adventure. What I found was extreme loneliness. I was lonely for my people of course, but over time I was lonely for cool crisp air, the sight of yellow hillsides, the smell of cows. I only lasted there for about a year and a half. I hated that my body couldn’t tell what time of year it was. To me, every day seemed generally the same: warm and wet. The day length did change some through the year, but nothing dramatic. The winter was much wetter- so wet that my belt molded in the dresser and our entire house smelled of mildew. I remember feeling annoyed and at times outraged that it was this wet.

Coming from Arlee, a small reservation town in Western Montana, where annual rainfall hovers around 14 inches, nearly 6 inches of rain in one storm felt completely absurd to me. The bodies of local people can tell what season it is, guaranteed, but mine was baffled. I did not recognize the markers of time in this foreign land.

At Christmas, we put that cheesy Netflix channel of the fireplace on our TV. Crackling and all, it didn’t work. On the Fourth of July, I insisted we buy the Bud Light cans with American flags on them for our trip to the beach, even though neither of us liked Bud Light. It didn’t work. All I could think about was the Arlee fireman’s breakfast, followed by the most epic parade of horses, four-wheelers, the year’s Miss Salish- Pend’Oreille dressed in ornate clothing sitting on a colorful blanket on the hood of a car, fire trucks, a kid with a sheep on a rope, and
one decorated float. Next we’d go to the Arlee Celebration, our annual 4th of July pow wow, a nearly 120 year-old tradition. Then we’d go to the rodeo just down the road from the pow wow grounds and listen to “I’m proud to be an American” over the crackling loud speakers. We’d top it all off with a camping/canoeing trip up Jocko Canyon with friends and family. I had conflated every Arlee Fourth of July celebration for the past 28 years. What resulted was a mental breakdown of epic proportions next to a Bud Light-filled cooler at one of the most glorious beaches on Kauai. It was a rare bluebird day at Tunnels Beach on the North shore. We had food, water, beer, snorkels, books and the day off work. There really was no reason in the world to be complaining, but it just didn’t stack up to coming home exhausted with black toes from hot dusty pow wow grounds. I missed home.

During my short stay on the island, I took to running like never before. I didn’t have any family or friends, the only person I knew was my partner and in no world ever can one person meet all of another person’s needs. Plus our schedules were almost completely opposite, so we rarely spent time together. I worked two jobs, but this still left me alone for multiple hours per day, usually in the evenings. I stashed my running clothes in the backseat of my 2-door Hyundai Accent, a cheap island car that eventually could only be entered from the passenger side, a fate of many island cars, due to the extreme humidity generally destroying all things metal or cloth. If it was not too humid after work, I would run a backroad or a mountain trail. Through a trial and error process, I honed in on 3 go-to running spots, where there weren’t too many cars, there were beautiful things to look at, and I could get to them before dark.

One of my favorites became looproad. I could leave from home and within a mile be at the dam, which occasionally had splendid views of the distant green Makaleha Mountains to the north. In the evening, rains often drifted around on the landscape. From this vantage, you could
see them race down the mountains and watch them quietly dapple the surface of the reservoir in a wave until they reached you. Sometimes the rain would pass within a few minutes, leaving the air thick and warm. Those nights I would walk home rather than desperately panting the heavy, saturated air. Other times, especially in the wet season, a storm would set in and a downpour would cover the mountain for days, flooding looproad and other places around the island. Just before sunset at the dam, giant flocks of raucous parakeets would descend on the incredibly tall and wide albizia trees (*Falcataria moluccana*) to take up shelter and respite for the night. They would squawk and squabble as they jockeyed for position. After only about ten minutes they would settle in and become nearly silent. I felt enlivened by their presence.

On my runs, if I got lucky, I might catch a glimpse of Mount Wai’ale’ale, the crater in the center of the island. You might have the best chance of getting lucky first thing on a winter morning, when nighttime temperatures were low enough to clear the precipitation and before daytime orographic lifting had covered everything in a veil of clouds. After I saw Wai’ale’ale once, it became a mysterious treat, something obsessively sought after. It had some magnetism or power to it. It felt foreboding and alluring at the same time.

My runs in this landscape became the things that kept me grounded and stable. The land cradled me, protecting me from depression and loneliness. I grew an attachment to the places where I ran. As the rains were letting up, the days getting longer and the road starting to dry up, I was running up looproad at dusk one day and a jacked up pickup truck full of local men came roaring around a corner. I heard them coming fast and pushed myself against the plants at the edge of the shoulder-less road. They saw me at the last minute and yelled something but didn’t slow down, and barely missed me. It scared me. It angered me. In my escalated state, I remember feeling like *they*, with their obnoxious truck, had somehow invaded my sacred running place. I
had been running here at least once a week all winter and I hadn’t seen them before. I felt like it was mine, not theirs. My way of engaging with this place was the right one. As the springtime came, I started seeing more and more trucks heading up looproad on the nights and weekends, so many that I relocated my running routine for fear of being hit by a car. Families would congregate at the botanical garden at the mouth of looproad proper for picnics and to swim the holes. Some of them seemed confused by my presence and others barely acknowledged me. I felt entitled to this place, thinking “I am not just some obnoxious tourist, I live right down the road.” Instead, I took up running the backroads of a rural farming area nearby called Olohena, where some mainlanders, white and Hispanic ranchers, had brought cows and horses and grass. The flowing grasses and the sight and smell of cows reminded me of home. I was cruising along once, admiring the friendly horses by a fence when I heard an unmistakable sound. I screeched to a halt and scoured the landscape for that familiar yellow belly. I heard the song again and was able to locate a Western Meadowlark, perched atop a fencepost nearby. I was awestruck by its presence here in the middle of the Pacific. What was it doing so far from home? This is the state bird of Montana, and my mom’s favorite bird. She hates the long winters of Montana and this bird gives her a springtime glimmer of hope for summer. She thinks she imitates it really well, and never hesitates to give a shrill series of disjointed whistles in response. The meadowlark always makes me think of mom.

As I lived on the island longer and began to have a better understanding of the history of white invasion and racism there, as well as hear some of the local people’s impressions of this phenomenon, I started to rethink my experiences at looproad. After intense winter rains, the road would get potholes big enough to swallow my Hyundai accent. The ruts became deeper and deeper as more people drove it, and the puddles got wider as more people tried to avoid them.
The only way to successfully drive the loop in looproad was to bring your jacked up pickup truck. Maybe some of them had been going there every year for their whole lives. For them, looproad was a place for summer excursions with friends and family. It was their place, and I was doing it wrong.

It wasn’t just at looproad that I got the feeling of being an intruder. I went to a waterfall on the edge of a local neighborhood and the playing teenagers scowled deeply at me. I told my friend Tima that I had gone there. She was surprised that I went there and excitedly told me that was their waterfall and wondered how I had found it. She did not mean to be exclusive. Her family lived in the Kawaihau neighborhood and they went there often. It was the backyard spot for Kawaihau families, and no one else really went there. When we first moved to Kauai we bought “The Ultimate Kauai Guidebook,” on central display at Costco. Locals despise this book. It discloses all their backyard spots to every stranger with money enough to travel. If someone published a book like this about our small reservation and included my beloved backyard ditchbank as a pleasant walking spot, I would be irate. Many people on Kauai do not really travel. Though you can drive from one tip of the road that nearly encircles the island to the other in probably 4 hours, we met lots of people from the southern part of the island who have never been to the north shore, though they’ve lived on the island their entire lives. If you are from Kapaa-side, you stay Kapaa-side, and you know it really well.

In the early 20th century back home, the federal government decided to allot reservation lands to individual Indians in an attempt to break up the communal land-base and assimilate Native peoples into white culture. Soon after, they quickly opened the reservation to white settlers and began selling lands they considered “surplus.” The contemporary legal land-base of the Salish, Pend d’Oreille and Kootenai tribes is a fractured hodge-podge of property ownership,
including tribal lands, non-Native individual fee, state and federal lands. A traditionalist at the turn of the century, Sam Resurrection, devoutly battled the federal government against the allotment of land and the opening of the reservation. He said “it is surprising to see that our Reservation thrown open without our consent and it has brought to us a great grief unto this present date and now moreover, the rights of our men are killed by whites on our hunting grounds…. I know this continent is our strength for all American Indians” (Salish-Pend d’Oreille Culture Committee and Elders Cultural Advisory Council. 2005:17). He spoke bitterly of the betrayal by the federal government. People still lament the loss of land, not only within the reservation but throughout the region of Western Montana, Northern Idaho, Eastern Washington and Northern Wyoming. Because of the influx of outsiders, many people living on the reservation are mixed race, including my family. The culture has evolved into a complex amalgamation of cowboys and Indians, and more recently “hippies” from Missoula, the closest city nearby that just over 100 years ago served as an important Bitterroot gathering place, a place to camp, and a source of Bull Trout, among many other things to the tribal peoples of the area. The land that supported our people alongside our diverse non-human relatives now sports a diverse blend of old brick buildings and shiny new banks, of Subarus and Toyotas. The reservation valley lands support cows and horses on irrigated green pastures that replaced bison and bunchgrasses.

On Kauai, my coworkers lamented the loss of certain beaches to beach resorts or private land purchases. Though everything below high water mark was technically public access, after a resort was erected, locals could no longer access the beaches in front of them because they would have to cross private property to get there. I would sometimes sneak into resorts to swim in their fancy pools by simply walking through the lobby with confidence and getting into the pool.
Other times I would park in resort parking, walk down the private path, and chill on the beach for hours. If I was ever questioned (which only happened once), I would say that yes, I was staying at the nearby Hanalei Bay Resort. I once invited a local friend of mine to come with me. It’s easy, I said. She didn’t give it a second thought and said there was no way she and her partner would get away with it. He was large and brown. Sneaking into pools gave me a rush because I felt I was taking a risk, getting away with something. I was cheating these rich people’s system. But I have pale skin, I move about the world being perceived as white and being treated as a white person does. There was no risk involved. Being Native to a place and growing up learning history from a colonized perspective gave me a sense of empathy for the contemporary plight of Hawaiians and locals on the island.

Over the last 40 years, immense population growth caused housing prices to skyrocket on Kauai. The US Census Bureau’s projections for 2016 indicate that the last 45 years have seen a 245% increase in population on the small island. In 2016, the median household income was $68,224 and the median housing value was $493,800. Locals aren’t buying property. With a median gross rent of $1,279, they are struggling even to rent property. If they can, families cram cousins and aunties and grandmas under one roof. Housing support is limited and homelessness is increasingly becoming an issue that Hawaiians and locals face on Kauai. According to the 2016 Point-In-Time Count, there was a 30% increase in Kauai’s homeless population in a one-year period, and 90% of those young people, veterans, and families are unsheltered. The island of Oahu saw an earlier population boom than Kauai; tourists “discovered” it sooner than they found Kauai. Oahu has a notoriously large population of homeless residents, and many of them are Native Hawaiian. As outsiders flooded the island for adventure, relaxation, debauchery, youthfulness, or whatever they were after, they pushed locals out of their houses and onto the
beaches. Then they complained that they beaches were dirty or scary. One trip advisor reviewer was worried about whether the beaches were still “plagued by the homeless” before she planned her trip. Officials on Oahu responded by rounding up the beach residents and pushing them to further isolated locales, using heavy equipment to move their homes off the beaches, and in 2016 they offered homeless Hawaiians a free one-way ticket to the mainland. The brazen theft of place is ludicrous. If the story of Oahu is any indication of what will happen on Kauai, locals have every right to be hesitant toward outsiders.

Before the Kingdom of Hawaii was invaded and annexed by the United States in 1898, the census of 1890 showed that across all the islands ‘Hawaiian nationals’ made up 53% of the total population. Among the Hawaiian nationals, ‘Aboriginals’ accounted for 45.14% of the total island population. ‘Aliens’ claimed 46.5% (Hawaiiankingdom.org). As of the 2016 census projection, ‘Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islander alone’ make up only 9.1% of the population, while ‘White alone’ accounts for 33.3% and ‘Asian alone’ makes up 31.4%. In just over 100 years the locals are largely outnumbered by newcomers. Aliens just like me. And my loud parakeet friends. And the massive, awe-inspiring but invasive albizia trees that loom over the roadways and forest, outgrowing and overcrowding native species. The meadowlarks and cows from the mainland have changed the ecology and culture of this small island, particularly vulnerable to invasions. Having this realization does not feel good.

After recognizing that I was part of the problem, I couldn’t stay long. As I met people and learned some of their stories, I began to appreciate the deep connection to place locals have. Looproad was comforting to me, but it was home to them. Helping my Hawaiian supervisor care for the recently endangered ālula plant (Brighamia insignis) was a fascinating privilege for me, but it was a duty for her. Wai‘ale’ale was magnetic to me, but is was spiritual to them.
As I began to recognize and conceptualize a Hawaiian sense of place, I also solidified my own. I had profound experiences on Kauai. I got to see a blue whale and her calf close enough that I could see the barnacles on her face with my binoculars. I looked so intently as they slowly glided by that my eyes were streaming water. We walked the Alaka‘i Swamp trail to the Kilohana lookout. We hiked through the misty, drifting air in the world’s highest swamp, marveling at the interesting plants that grow in this unique environment. At times, we could barely see 30 feet in front of us. One of the guys in the trail crew we passed on the way up was an older local man. They stopped and chatted a bit, telling us they had just come from the lookout and got a great view. He left, saying with a smile “maybe you get lucky.” We got lucky. Though I am deeply grateful for the profound experiences I had on Kauai, living there I felt estranged from everything I knew. My body was confused and couldn’t make sense of this new place, and I had a growing feeling of guilt for coming here and buying a guidebook. I had my own place, I did not need to stake a claim on someone else’s.

**Learning about place**

Upon returning home, I decided to attend graduate school. I was developing an intuitive understanding of place attachment, but I wanted to think about it in more depth. Rebecca Solnit says “sense of place is the sixth sense, an internal compass and map made by memory and spatial perception together” (1994). I had come to recognize my own personal sense of place, but what about a communal sense of place? I undertook a family oral history project to look into my family’s conception of place and to analyze the meanings people give places of importance in contemporary times. I wanted to look at how those meanings may have changed over time with the vast cultural changes of the 20th century for tribal peoples in Montana.
Keith Basso analyzes a specific group of people, the Western Apache, and what they make of places. In his writing, landscapes are not merely geographical entities that provide material benefits for people, but they are symbolic as well. According to Basso’s work, places can guide people’s thinking and behavior through their communal symbolism. He writes about places as social constructions, in which “the meanings of landscapes and acts of speech are personalized manifestations of a shared perspective on the human condition” (1996: 73). He writes that place-names do not merely demarcate specific geographical location, but they are imbued with cultural meaning, social expectations for proper behavior and morals, as well as instructions on achieving wisdom. “Apaches view the landscape as a repository of distilled wisdom, a stern but benevolent keeper of tradition, an ever-vigilant ally in the efforts of individuals and whole communities to maintain a set of standards for social living that is uniquely and distinctly their own” (1996: 63). In a family that has not maintained a sense of traditional Salish culture, I wanted to look into the ways people make meaning of their landscape in the absence of explicit cultural instruction. What values and norms have persisted? Are there new family traditions or stories that serve to maintain a traditional value-system?

Basso writes that for an ethnographer, the most revealing mechanism to understand the ways in which people interpret their natural surroundings is through their words, specifically through “ordinary talk.” I wanted to hear the ordinary talk of my family members about their places to decipher meanings they held around various places on the landscape, with specific focus on places within the Flathead Reservation. Though Basso believes ordinary talk is just the beginning of conceptualizing a group’s place meanings, this oral history project will focus on that one element. Relationship to place will also be found in myth, dance, songs, prayer, art,
ritual, and more. While I see the value in a broader analysis of all these facets of place meaning, it is beyond the scope of this project.

Many mainstream psychology researchers define sense of place as a combination of place attachment and place meaning (Kudryavtsev et al. 2011). Place attachment is the bond between people and places. It reflects the degree to which someone connects with or values specific places in their life. Place dependence and place identity are two aspects of place attachment. Place dependence reflects a person’s dependence on a place, how much a place meets the person’s needs. On the other hand, place identity is how much a particular place reflects the person’s identity and definition of the self. Place identity might be emotional, harder for people to explain, or even esoteric.

In an Indigenous context, Vine Deloria Jr. conceptualizes power and place as the key components of Indian forms of knowledge. “Power being the living energy that inhabits and/or composes the universe, and place being the relationship of things to each other” (2001:22). He writes that place, or relationships, always have moral content. Daniel Wildcat adds that traditionally living beings and places are understood as “persons possessing power, not objects” (2001: 13). People and their non-human relatives have a place in the landscape, that place is mutually known and respected, and the relationships are maintained and respected. Place attachments are relevant to many peoples, but Indigenous peoples tend to experience deep communal relationships with place, considering themselves and their cultures part of their place, or context-dependent.

Place meanings are the constructed or felt meanings that individuals, groups, or cultures attach to places. Places do not have meaning on their own. People might share stories about places with their communities, and then places begin to embody a value, a quality, a purpose, or
a history. Meanings vary depending on the perspective of the person or group and they may change over time. Kudryavtsev et al. quote Relph to show that place meanings are not actually a property of the physical settings, objects and activities, but “rather they are a property of human intentions and experiences” (2011: 232). These authors believe that place meanings come from people, and can pass to other people through culture or education.

**Undertaking an oral history project**

I will now outline the process I undertook to conduct this oral history project, including the resources I used to learn about oral history, the methods utilized, adaptations I made to the project as it progressed, and outcomes of the project.

**Resources used:**

To get a basic understanding of what oral history is, I started with “A Practical Guide to Oral History” by the Southern Oral History Program at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. It provides simple guidelines for conducting oral history, what steps needs to be taken and in what order, and gives sample forms. I created my Informed Consent/ Oral History Interview Release Form based on the one in this guide. Additionally, “The Smithsonian Folklife and Oral History Interviewing Guide” provides some rationale behind using oral history as a way to document local or family histories, as well as tangible tips for conducting oral history. The book “Nearby History: Exploring the Past around you” by David Kyvig and Myron Marty was also particularly useful in conducting this project. I used a Zoom H4next Handy Recorder, a digital audio recorder, to record my interviews.

**Methods:**

Oral history with one’s family members does not require Internal Review Board approval, so it is a little simpler to undertake than other forms of research. To start, I analyzed
my academic and personal interests in doing this project to identify my core questions. How does the Espinoza family relate to place? How might that have changed over time? What places are of particular importance to this group and why?

To answer these questions I decided to conduct semi-structured interviews in focus groups. I split people up by their generation in an attempt to decipher generational differences in place attachments and place meanings. I thought having a small group of cousins or siblings might help get conversations and ideas flowing, as people’s memories are sparked by hearing the stories of their peers. The first group interview I conducted was with the oldest generation still living that I know, my great-aunt and great-uncle. I considered this a natural starting point and thought their input would guide the interviews to come. One great-uncle declined to be interviewed for reasons undisclosed. I then progressed through the generations to the youngest ones. At the end of the process, I circled back to my great-auntie, the family matriarch, everyone’s Auntie, to follow up new questions and themes that had emerged since the first interview.

**Oral History Process:**

The first step in my oral history project was to speak with family members about the idea and see if people thought it would be worth undertaking and whether they were interested in participating. This worked to spark enthusiasm and garner support for the project. Next I pitched the idea to individuals and asked them if they wanted to be interviewed. This got people thinking about places of importance prior to their interview, so they came with ideas to share. One logistical obstacle I faced in setting up focus groups was scheduling. Everyone is busy and has different schedules, so it took a lot of coordination to set a time with the larger groups.
Then I rented the Zoom digital audio recorder and familiarized myself with it. I prepared my paperwork and devised interviews questions specific to each group. I prepared some food and bought gifts for the participants. At the beginning of the interview, I thanked participants for coming and gave a brief introduction to this project and why I was doing it. I also gave disclaimers to expect that everyone remembers things differently, as well a reminder that this project was not a fact-finding mission, but more about peoples’ memories and impressions. The Smithsonian Institution writes, “remember that the stories and memories you collect are valuable not necessarily because they represent historical facts, but because they embody human truths- a particular way of looking at the world” (2016:12). This was a helpful reminder for not only me, but also for the interviewees. Many felt uncomfortable and didn’t think they had much to offer by way of history, because they perceived their stories as uninteresting or because their memory was too bad.

During the interview, I generally started by asking people their own memories and stories of places, then I progressed back in time to see what they remember their older relatives doing or talking about having done in certain places, and for their impressions of how the older generations related to places. I allowed for silences, which met with varying success depending on who else was in the room. Based on suggestions from the Southern Oral History Program of UNC, my interview questions started with a broad question, then progressed to specific. This source also suggests clarifying facts and events first, then getting to feelings and values. I followed these guidelines with varying success, depending on the interview. At the end of each interview, I thanked people for coming and asked them if they would want to do it again, potentially in the locations themselves, and I had them sign consent forms.
All of the oral history guidelines I consulted suggested writing field notes immediately after the interview to document initial impressions, observations, themes, and the general dynamics of the conversation. I found this step very challenging. Generally, immediately after the interview I felt swamped with information that I could not yet process. I had a hard time relating what had happened at the interview in a coherent way until at least a few hours to a day later.

Next I saved the interview to my computer and backed it up to a hard drive. Then I listened to the interview and took notes in an audio log, transcribing relevant or rich segments of people’s speech. I then color-coded the audio log for easier retrieval of information. The major themes that came through in the interviews that I color coded were: land/place, history/family dynamics, humor, sentiment, oppression & identity struggles, and follow up. I always wrote thank you notes to show appreciation for participants’ unique input and their time. A few days after taking notes on the interview, I reviewed the notes to look for new themes I hadn’t noticed previously and then edited my questions for the next group according to how the previous questions were received and to reflect new ideas or themes that had emerged. As Kyvig and Marty remind us, “explanations are seldom closer to the target than the questions asked.” (1982: 16).

Adaptations made as the project progressed:

The Smithsonian Institution (2016) reminds interviewers to make a good list of concise questions, but not to be tied to them. In my first interview, I was nervous and found it very challenging to not let my list of questions rule me. In my second interview, I set the goal of not being too attached to my questions, allowing the conversation to flow where it would and looking for meaning in what people talked about. That was the biggest group I interviewed,
having 7 participants, and people were very enthusiastic to participate. It was difficult for me to track the conversation and side conversations, and the group definitely got off course. In this group of my aunties and uncles, it was challenging for me to take hold of the conversation and ask questions rather than letting them be in charge and just listening. In the third and subsequent interviews, I was able to strike more of a balance, asking broad questions to start, listening to the responses with my goals in mind, and asking questions that may help steer the conversation back on-course.

Throughout the process of learning about interviewing focus groups, I started to organize my questions into related chunks and let people know what general topic we would be talking about. I let people know at the beginning that we would start with their lives and memories and progress back through the generations as far as we could get. Having the participants know the overall structure at the beginning helped guide the overall conversations. I would ask a broad question about a theme, then get into specifics for a while. When that series of questions felt done, I would let people know that we were moving on to a new topic. That seemed to help keep the conversation based in themes of land or place, rather than drifting down random rabbit holes. A skill I learned was to ask simple questions, and to not be afraid to follow up when people weren’t getting the gist of my question. When the conversation would veer away from my questions, I had to analyze whether my questions weren’t relevant to the participants or whether they needed more prompting to understand the question. A skill I would like to work on is verbally summarizing what the group has been saying about a specific theme to ensure that I am understanding what they are saying and then moving on to the next series of questions.

In the earlier sessions, participants didn’t seem to have a clear understanding of the purpose of project. I became better at explaining the kinds of themes I was looking into before
the interview and then helping people think about those themes during the interview through better questioning. Early on, some of the participants seemed fixated on facts about the land rather than stories, impressions and feelings, i.e., what buildings were where and the dates of specific events. I’m not sure whether that was a reflection of people’s personalities or the types of questions I was asking, or some combination of both. After the first interview, I worked to better set the tone for the kinds of information I was after by initiating the interview with a reflection activity I created for the Flathead Resiliency camp that I call ‘Special Places.’ This worked to still the group and got them into their sensory-based memories. It prompted positive emotions at the very beginning of the interview and changed the overall tone of the conversations. Another addition I added to the focus groups after the first interview was a concluding question about personal and family resiliency factors. As many people felt strong emotions during the interviews, and some talked about oppression or family trauma, this helped conclude the interviews on a positive note. It got people thinking about what factors contribute their own resiliency and which ones might be shared among the family. Younger people seemed to appreciate this question, and the older generations may not have had as much familiarity with the term ‘resiliency factors.’ I learned to explain it as ‘things that help get you through hard times, whether that is an internal trait or strength, or something external to you, like a connection you have with someone or something outside of yourself.’

While I set out to interview focus groups based on their generation, I quickly learned that due to scheduling conflicts and wide age-gaps within a given generation, this method didn’t necessarily make the most sense. I noticed early on that people in the group talk about what they remember doing with other people present. If there is a group of cousins that span an age range of 30 years, they don’t necessarily have these memories to share and didn’t necessarily
experience the place in similar ways. I conducted an interview with a sibling group, one with a
cousin group, three with mixed generations, one with an entire immediate family and one with a
single individual. Each was unique and brought forth interesting insights for me and the
participants involved.

As I got more confident interviewing and I started to interview younger generations, with
whom I am more comfortable, I began participating in the interview conversations a little more,
sharing my own perspectives and input. I may have been leading the conversations a little, rather
than asking questions and sitting back to hear what people genuinely thought or felt. I recognized
this after listening to an interview with my two close cousins and two close aunties, and worked
to eliminate leading the conversation with my own opinions in subsequent interviews.
If I were to do a project like this again, I would start by interviewing those closest to me first.
This would allow me to learn the ropes of interviewing and get some of my nerves out before
interviewing the people with whom I am less familiar or comfortable. I think starting with my
own immediate family or my cousins would have been a helpful starting process in defining my
goals for the project early on.

**Outcomes:**

This project resulted in the perspectives of 23 members of the Espinoza family being
recording and stored for the family to access in future years. People interviewed spanned a range
of four generations, allowing me to analyze continuity or changes over time. I stored just shy of
15 hours of tape, mostly around the themes of connection to land and to each other. I had the
opportunity to interview people who have lived on the reservation their entire lives, people who
were born here, left and returned, and people who were born here and moved away to spend their
adulthoods elsewhere. There are members of the family who have moved away and do not visit
home and people who did not grow up here but live here now that I would have loved to interview, but did not.

Many people I invited to interview declined to participate. Some declined for logistical reasons, others didn’t respond to my invitations at all, and others explicitly stated that they did not want to participate because they did not feel they were part of the family or because of current tensions within the family. Generally, people who chose to participate in this project have some connection to me personally or to the people with whom they were interviewing. I recognize in pitching a project about connection to place, interviewees may self-select to participate based on their positive place attachments or their positive connections to the family. The voices of people with strong place aversions or those without strong family ties are likely not represented in the final project. Their perspectives may reveal a more complex or conflicted relationship with place than this project relates.

An unforeseen result of this family history process was mending conflicted relationships. The focus group structure allowed people opportunities to talk about things that don’t come up in ordinary conversations, share their perspectives about the past, hear each other’s stories, and connect with one another. This process of sharing and listening allowed people opportunities to learn about each other’s lives in new ways and forgive some past hurts or misunderstandings. Participants reported feeling reconnected with the group they interviewed with and feeling strong attachment to the family and the land after the group conversations. People were able to acknowledge progressing from a place of deep poverty to one of relative resources as a hard-won privilege. In response to my line of questioning about resiliency factors, people got to think about family values that bind us to one another, common family resiliency traits, and about their
unique strengths as individuals. People expressed pride in breaking unhealthy cycles so their children could have healthier lives.

Considering that the Espinoza family has resided on an Indian reservation for 7 generations, it was not surprising to hear how often identity issues and oppression came up when talking about the land. People recognized that this place was once oppressive and traumatic, but can now serve as a source of strength, independence, and vitality for the younger generations. Participants of the younger generations found validation in listening to the stories of identity struggles in the older generations. It gave the young people some context for their own identity battles.

Introduction to the Espinoza family oral history project

This oral history project spanned the course of 3 months and collected the voices of 23 people from 4 generations. The span of time covered in people’s ordinary talk was primarily from the early 1900s to present, though there is mention of the lives of people born in the 1870s. My questions were focused on people’s sense of place and attachment to various places over time, including questions about resource use. I have organized the following essays into themes based on three different places on the land. Many people talked about the Bitterroot in the context of forced removal and feelings of estrangement from a homeland. I present the original Flathead Agency and the St. Ignatius Mission on the Flathead Reservation as symbols of the oppression many people experienced over the years. In that section, I discuss the long-term implications of forced assimilation as well as resiliency factors in the face of it. The third place, with the richest place attachment, was the family land at Stevens Creek. In this place, people became rooted and really feel the familiarity and safety of home again. I will outline the relationships various generations had with each place and how the nature of those relationships
changed over time. I have attempted to give primary voice to the interviewees, rather than external sources. People also talked about the Jocko Canyon, the South Fork primitive area, the ditchbank, the Flathead River, Flathead Lake, and the many homes of Aunties, Uncles and grandparents as places of significance, though this paper does not thoroughly present those places.

The farthest generation back that people talked about was Penama (legal name: Philomene Harris) and Joseph Pokerjim (Salish name: SumNepTemTah), the great-great-great-grandparents to the youngest living generation today. I’ll refer to them as from the 1st generation, because they are the first we talk about in the oral history project. We know the names of some people farther back, but not much else about who they were or how they lived on the land. There will be seven generations of people represented in this oral history project. The names of people being interviewed have been kept anonymous to eliminate confusion and controversy. Participants will be referred to by their generation and their gender. The names of people being talked about will be included if appropriate.

A few disclaimers:

- This project is not meant to represent the general experience of families living on the Flathead Reservation. It is specific to the Espinoza family, descendants of the Pokerjims and Keenans.
- due to the limited number of voices represented here, this will not be a complete picture of the Espinoza family’s connection to place
- people experience things differently
- people remember things differently
- This is not meant to be a comprehensive family history, but rather a collection of recollections

The Bitterroot and Missoula Valleys: estranged from a home
Salish (selíš) and Pend d’Oreille (qlispé) people are two closely related Salishan tribes known to have occupied vast swathes of land including all of western Montana and parts of what are now Canada, Idaho, Washington and Wyoming. In the late 19th century, when Penama and Pokerjim
were born, the main Salish encampments were in locations between the Bitterroot Valley and Three Forks, though they travelled extensively by foot, horse and canoe throughout the region for resources. The main encampments for the Pend d’Oreille were around Flathead Lake but they intimately knew the drainage systems of the Flathead River, the Clark Fork River, and the Pend d’Oreille River into Idaho and Washington as well as travelled to the plains to hunt buffalo and gather plant resources and medicines. According to *The Salish People and the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, “our ways of hunting, of fishing, and of gathering plants were based on a profound relationship with this place, on a detailed and precise knowledge – gained through thousands of years of living in one place- of the land’s short and long cycles of scarcity and abundance” (2005: 21-22).

Based on when they were born and customs they maintained into their later life, we assume Penama and Pokerjim related to their land in the ways their cultures taught, an intimate knowing relationship, one of respect and reciprocity. Though Penama was Pend d’Oreille, she was born in Stevensville in 1873, 18 years after the Hellgate Treaty was signed and 18 years
before the last remaining group of Salish people in the Bitterroot were forcibly relocated to the Flathead Reservation. The year of her birth was the same year that Chief Arlee moved to the Flathead Reservation with a few families and began living near the Jocko Agency near what is now Arlee. Due to the near annihilation of the Buffalo herds and increasingly restricted access to resources, more than 100 more people moved there within a few years. People began farming there soon after. It is unclear when Penama began living on the reservation, but many never heard about her being forced from the Bitterroot with Chief Charlo in 1891. There is a chance she began living in this area prior to forced Salish encampment on the Flathead.

*Salish during forced removal from the Bitterroot, 1891. Donaldsen collection (neg. s4-142689)*

Penama was married three times. Her first marriage to Joseph Pokerjim produced the hundreds of descendants still living on the Flathead Reservation that are now known as the Keenans, the Dumontiers, the Reikenas, the LaRances, the Bacons, and more. The Espinoza family are some of their many descendants.
She spoke Salish, and French when she was playing cards, but no English. Having arrived after the boarding school times, her living grandkids do not speak Salish. Her grandkids remember spending time with her in her older years, but could not verbally communicate with her. Additionally, according to some people from the 4\textsuperscript{th} generation, people didn’t talk about family history in those days. What is written here is based upon the ways she was observed spending her older life and the ways people remember her. In an attempt to understand her earlier life, we have to infer based on historical information what life at that time was like for qlispé people.

*Penama is in buckskin, year unknown. Photo courtesy family collection.*
Joseph Pokerjim was also born in Stevensville, in 1872. He was a traditional Salish man. People remember his granddaughter Annie (3rd generation) saying about her síle’ “He was a good man. He was a good grandpa.” A woman from the fifth generation remembers Annie preparing her for a medicine dance in the 1980s. Annie told her to take it seriously “even though none of these medicine men are the real medicine men, not like the old ones,” referring to those of Pokerjim’s era. He died in 1944 in his granddaughter Annie’s arms at her home at Stevens Creek. She covered his eyes with pennies so his soul would not escape. Not much else was reported about Pokerjim, and we have no photos of him.

For Salish and Pend d’Oreille people, the Bitterroot and Missoula valleys had always been inhabited by known relatives of people, animals, and plants. According to Salish-Pend d’Oreille Culture Committee and Elders Cultural Advisory Council, it was a “cherished homeland” (2005: 66). In Penama’s life, the Bitterroot was transformed into a land occupied by foreigners with their gardens and orchards. In her adulthood Penama, as well as her children and grandchildren, would travel by buckboards in large groups to the Bitterroot to pick apples and other fruits on the commercial farms that had replaced their native plants. A person from the 5th generation talked about Chuck’s (3rd generation) memories of those trips “Chuck also told us one time too about how they used to go to the Bitterroot, after, even years later, they would go down, there was on Charlotte’s Heights, past Hamilton, there was all these, they called them ‘Bohunks.’ And they all raised gardens and had orchards and all that. And that’s, you know like they would make a, well it wasn’t really a pilgrimage, but they would, all of them would get in wagons and go back to the Bitterroot, where they knew these people and where the trees and all of that were.” As some of our cultural plant foods, materials, and medicines are still gathered in the Bitterroot valley today, though in much smaller quantities, we can imagine people in Penama’s day must
have also been collecting native species on their journeys south. It was becoming a mixed subsistence of wage labor and traditional lifeways.

After they moved to the reservation, Penama lived with her family along the banks of Finley Creek. Her daughter, Mary Josetti Pokerjim (2\textsuperscript{nd} generation), and her many grandchildren (3\textsuperscript{rd} generation) were born and raised there, living in “tents.” About the nineteen teens and early twenties, a 4\textsuperscript{th} generation woman said “And then when she (Annie) was a little girl, they lived on Finley creek, and then um like her mother (Mary Josetti) had a little, a real nice little buggy. And when they went to Missoula a couple times a year, they would take this little buggy. And she said this mare was a good trotter and they could make it in a day, but if she didn’t have that mare, they stayed at the bottom of Evaro hill, and camped there.” The bay mare belonged to
Penama, and without it, Annie, Mary Josetti and any other family members present would walk the 16 miles from Finley Creek to O’Keefe Creek and stay the night. If it was springtime they would get mtčwé (Arrowleaf balsamroot) here before they moved on. They would continue the next day to Mullan or Hellgate for supplies and plants such as spéł’ m (bitterroot). They dug bitterroot in the area that is now the Southgate Mall and the Missoula Fairgrounds. It was reported that Penama liked to go to Missoula not only to dig bitterroot on the south side of the river, but also to look for red-haired, green eyed men at Hellgate on the north side of the river. Where once the tribes had fished Bull Trout, my great-great-great grandma now prowled for hottie newcomers with red hair. They also travelled to places around the Jocko Valley. As an old woman, Annie remembered going to Valley Creek as a child and sleeping in a tent in the winter while her dad logged the area.

The tradition of travelling to the Bitterroot to earn wages picking apples and other fruit continued until the 3rd generation. Annie stopped attending both the Ursuline’s school at St. Ignatius and Arlee public schools when she was in the third grade to work for her family and take care of her younger siblings. According to someone from the 5th generation “they were always farming grandma (Annie) out because she was the best berry-picker.” Someone from the 4th generation commented on this, saying that women “were part of the big scenario of everybody doing more than their share.” She met her first love named Edward (Eduardo Najera) in the picking camps when she was a teenager in the 1920s. She spent some time in the Bitterroot, until her mother rounded her up and brought her back to the reservation. That is where she met the hard-working newcomer from Mexico named Pablo Espinoza. Pablo and Annie were married in 1932, she was 20 and he was 32. They lived on the Steven’s allotment on the hill above the original Flathead agency (in the Jocko). Annie’s son talks about it. “If you talk to
women of that era, it was always the same, they end up marrying real old guys that was quite a bit older than they were, and that had that philosophy of ‘you’re just part of the landscape, you’re part of the workforce.’” From that point on, she primarily worked in the Jocko Valley, picking for non-native commercial farmers on the Flathead reservation. According to one of her granddaughters (5th generation), she remained the best berry-picker late into her life, always picking fast and clean. “She could outpick me into her 80s.”

A woman from the 5th generation remembers Annie taking her to Missoula in the 1980s, saying “When I was a kid we’d go to town. You know, she (Annie) loved to go shopping at K-Mart, and she would say ‘this is where we’d dig špē’ƛ’m (bitterroot), right here. And this is where we’d get the mtčwé (arrowleaf balsamroot). The words, the foods, those things were just taken for granted.” She continued “but she would wait. And I mean well into her… she would wait for somebody to bring her some (bitterroot)…It was very important for her to get some every year. And somebody, Denise Incashola or somebody would always bring her some.” When asked whether she continued to dig bitterroot late into her life, people from the 5th generation responded in the negative, saying “it wasn’t that long since the Ursulines” and that “it was not looked at as a positive thing.” Everyone recognized that the 2nd and 3rd generation had come through the boarding school era, and that for them being native was a “liability.” One person talked about a later shift toward cultural renewal, “there was a time that it either wasn’t allowed or they just stopped doing that. And then it was like ‘ok, we still need to keep our culture, we still need to keep that going so we need to start doing that again.” But after that time period, very few people from the Espinoza family ever started digging bitterroot again.
The conversations from the generation after Annie (the 4th generation) revolved around places in what is now the Flathead Reservation, near the town of Arlee. By the 5th generation, it appears many family members have an aversion to the Bitterroot Valley and Missoula, though they get most of their resources from Missoula. For example, one man said “I think what’s nice about living on the reservation, it doesn’t look like the Bitterroot. If it wasn’t a reservation, there would be so much businesses out here.” A woman from this generation spent 30 years living in the Bitterroot, raising her kids with her Cherokee husband there. They moved back to Arlee
recently and she commented “You can definitely tell that there is a difference in the whole community when you come back from living in an area that is basically white… I feel more comfortable because they are like me, you know. And I got along fine, great, I had good friends down in the Bitterroot, but I just feel more comfortable back here.” The cultural differences were remarkable to her. A non-Native spouse that participated in the focus group concurred, “I think there’s a huge difference in how non-tribal culture is compared to tribal because in my family, we have a huge family, but we don’t have this kind of connectivity and I think it’s a cultural connection. And so I think it is more prominent and more common on the reservation and through the tribal culture to stay connected to family. I mean our grandkids are the seventh generation of people here and that’s not something that you see anywhere else.” Many people who had moved away said similar things about not having the sense of community or connection in other places that you do on the reservation. The Bitterroot is now seen as a white space, with white cultural values and norms.

About Missoula, a 5th generation person commented, “Arlee is extremely unique in its demographics and its education, and its proximity to Missoula without actually being in Missoula, you know being city-ish. The mountain provides a real natural barrier. We take from them education and such, which most of us have, but yet it doesn’t bleed over too much.” In comparison to places like Frenchtown, Arlee has the protection of the mountain and the reservation boundary as a barrier to urban sprawl. “The tribe has made distinct, you know, declarations ‘we’re not gonna do that here, we’re doing this differently.’” A good example of ‘doing it differently’ is the reconstruction of Highway 93 that was explicitly designed for animal connectivity and with communities in mind. Other people see Evaro as only partially restricting the growth of Missoula, commenting on the lower taxes on the reservation, which people felt
should impel the tribe to buy land so that it can be protected from further incursions by development. People lament being considered a ‘bedroom community’ to Missoula. Quoting her dad, a woman from the 5th generation said “‘When I was little boy you could look down that valley and see no lights, now that all you see are lights.’” Speaking for herself, she continued “but all those people don’t contribute to this place: their kids don’t go to school here, they don’t go to the store here, or whatever…they probably don’t say they are from Arlee. Realtors do it: ‘20 minutes from Missoula.’”

The 6th and 7th generations did not talk much about Missoula or the Bitterroot. Most people get groceries and other supplies there. Some live in Missoula now, though everyone I talked to still considers Arlee their home, introducing themselves as from Arlee rather than Missoula. People have a deep pride in their home and don’t want to be associated with Missoula. One person from this generation said “When I come into Arlee, I feel like my shoulders relax when I come into the valley.” People may take an occasional trip for recreation into the Bitterroot, but no one reported feeling at home there.

Our family’s relationship with the Bitterroot and Missoula valleys has changed dramatically over the last 150 years. In Penama’s day, it was a beloved homeland, filled with abundant sources of plants and animals for our people’s use. Now, at best people enjoy the amenities and services these towns provide. At worst, people feel like outsiders, estranged in a former home.
Flathead Agency and St. Ignatius Mission: places of conflict and conviction

This oral history project’s stated goal was to analyze one family’s relationship to place over time. As I asked questions about place, people started talking about oppression and identity conflict. There are many things about living on a reservation that make self-love a challenging feat. I couldn’t tell the complete story without including this aspect of people’s changing relationship with the world and their place in it.

Penama was described as a wanderlust, a rebel, and a “hard, hard woman.” She was someone who “faced a lot of true life tragedy.” During her lifetime, she experienced a profound amount of change. Her people began living on the Flathead Reservation, where they were given food rations and had to be permitted by the Indian Agent to leave the reservation, further restricting access to their historic territories and resources. The Indian Agent stayed at the Jocko Agency to oversee law enforcement and distribute goods and commodities. Depending on the agent, or depending on the day, their job could be to advocate for Native peoples with their bosses in Washington or their job could be to keep the Indians in line.

Sketch by Chas Schaft, McKay collection, undated (94-1657 (679-2)). Original caption reads “The Old Flathead agency on Mill Creek, Jocko Valley. Treaty ground with the Flathead Salish by Gen. Garfield, 1871.”

Flathead Indian Agency Jocko, Montana, c. 1884 (MHS H-1271)
In the early years of the reservation, the Indian agent and federal government were pushing hard for farming and grazing to take hold in the Jocko Valley and elsewhere. By 1902, 25,000 acres were reported to be under cultivation by tribal members. There were 25,000 horses, 27,000 cattle and 600 bison owned by tribal members (OPI, 2018). On the 1920 census, Joseph Pokerjim was listed as a farm laborer, as were many Native heads of households.

When the Flathead Allotment Act of 1904 was passed Penama was 31 years old. Her family was assigned allotments on the banks of Finley Creek, where they were reported to have fished every day. Penama lived at her family allotments along Finley Creek until she was elderly. Little more was reported about her life at Finley Creek. She raised Mary Josetti and multiple grandchildren there. In the late 1950s, people from the 4th generation remember her moving to a small cabin across the road from the family allotment at Steven’s Creek and the Pokerjim lands at Finley Creek were eventually sold.

Just six years after allotment began, in 1910, the reservation was officially opened to settlement by white newcomers. The reservation lands that had not been allotted to Salish, Pend

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d’Oreille and Kootenai people were then deemed surplus and made available for homesteaders. This initiated a sea change for the Pokerjim family and their neighbors and friends.

The policies of allotment and opening the reservation to settlement were vehemently opposed by the tribes. According to the book *The Salish People*, from 1910-1934 over 540,000 acres were taken out of Native ownership within the reservation boundaries (2005). Along with allotment and homesteading, in 1908 the land began to be ‘improved’ with irrigation to grow crops and cattle. The Flathead Irrigation Project was initially proposed as a way to help Indians better manage the land they had been living with for millennia, but many Indians who owned land for the first time did not have the money to pay irrigation fees and their lands were taken to repay irrigation debts. Ultimately, the project benefitted non-native farmers and ranchers, giving them a leg-up in the local economy for decades (OPI, 2018). During this period, non-Indians quickly outnumbered Indians and “assumed a dominating social and economic position” (2005:116). Elders consider this being “robbed in broad daylight.” After 1910, “even within the reservation itself, Salish, Pend d’Oreille and Kootenai people felt a profound loss of both the self-sufficiency and the freedom they had once enjoyed” (2005:117). Pete Beaverhead considered the reservation a place where Salish, Pend d’Oreille and Kootenai people were
“gathered up” or “corralled” by the American government. The human, plant and animal communities were changing before Penama and Pokerjim’s eyes.

![Arlee Valley looking south, n.d.. Elrod collection 73-97. Notice the Arrowleaf Balsamroot covering the valley floor.]

While we have no idea how individuals from the past felt about any given place, it is said that Penama was thrown in jail multiple times at the Flathead Agency, at least once for leaving the reservation without permission. Another time, she was thrown in jail for stealing another woman’s husband. People talked about how her granddaughter Annie would walk from her house at Steven’s Creek and feed her food through the bars. A person would have a hard time imagining she had a positive association with the Agency.
Mary Josetti Pokerjim (2nd generation) was born to Penama in 1894. She attended the compulsory school for Native children that had been established at the St. Ignatius Mission. All spoken references to the school were ‘the Ursulines,’ because the school was run by Ursuline nuns. Many references to ‘the Ursulines’ were not necessarily about the school itself, but rather the period of time in which assimilation efforts towards Natives were aggressive. The family shares this colloquialism, understanding the context when someone mentions ‘the Ursulines.’ People associate that place with an era of oppression. Although attendance at the boarding school was mandatory at the time, about Penama it was said “she must have been a rebel because she left her daughter (Mary Josetti) at the Ursulines for a long time.” While that appears to indicate there was something bad about the school, people didn’t directly talk about negative experiences there. “And my grandmother (Mary Josetti) didn’t have anything bad to say about the nuns and the Ursulines. So [neither] did Dorothy Felsman.”

There is much external evidence that the experiences at this school were at times horrifically traumatic, but people did not talk explicitly about this element of our family’s experiences there. The conversation would often shift to a humorous topic or some good element of having attended the boarding school or living near an Indian agency. For example, Mary
Josetti learned English in the boarding school and she became the interpreter for Sam Resurrection, who was one of the most prolific writers to Congress in their day. Someone from the 4th generation said about the letters “He didn’t write them, my grandmother wrote them.”

Around 1910, Mary Josetti married Patrick Keenan, a New York-born son of Irish immigrants, who was 15 years her senior. Not much was said about Pat Keenan, though he was reported to have doted on Mary Josetti, as she was often ill. People regularly mentioned the toughness of the older generations. People agreed that Mary Josetti had a difficult life. She experienced oppression, illness, hardship, and racism. Her life ended early, when she was protecting one of her daughters from an abusive partner. In saving her daughter’s life, she was shot and killed in her own home on Finley Creek. Patrick Keenan roamed the ditchbank with a rifle every day, searching for her murderer. He hid in the woods near the house of Mary Josetti’s daughter Annie for two months, monitoring his wife’s family, who were caring for his son. Her
murder in 1942 never resulted in a sentence, even though the murderer was known, caught, and tried. According to newspaper articles from that time, an FBI agent had a confession, but didn’t properly document it. There was confusion over jurisdiction. Since she was a “breed” and owned land in fee status, she was technically a U.S. citizen and not a ward of the United States. The case was closed for lack of conclusive evidence. Even though there were numerous eye-witnesses, they were women and they were Native. The man was a Canadian Cree, whose only punishment was deportation back to Canada. A woman from the 5th generation who did research on Mary Josetti’s murder said:

“My research on Mary Josetti was the most telling about how those women were viewed. You know. Dirt is… you know, they did not have status. They had no status, so I think it would be hard for us to even get it.” She continued “I don’t think we can appreciate the impact of the tragedies that occurred. When I started to research Mary Josetti’s murder, I wasn’t prepared. Because it’s not emotional to me, I have no emotion tied to it. But as soon as I even looked very far, the people I talked to or interviewed, had carried all that emotional baggage with them. You know, and that I felt we can’t appreciate because we weren’t close enough to it to get the whole emotional impact of it. And I know that was a huge problem. I’m sure the whole move from the Bitterroot was a huge problem for people.” People talked about the many promises of the reservation that were not met, and she picks up “I think when you take place from someone, that’s when you hurt them. I think if you say this is not your place anymore, you don’t get to be here, which you love, this is your place. You get to be here, sorry, you’re gone…. I think it’s discombobulating to your spirit.”
People often describe Mary Josetti and Pat Keenan’s children as wild or mean, even as “having a very dark side,” making the connection that their life circumstances would make a person mean. Their children also attended the Ursuline’s school, where they learned to only speak English in public. Someone from the 5th generation remarked that Annie said the Ursuline nuns were hard, but as long as you were good, they weren’t too bad. She said she was a good girl, so they were not hard on her. Annie was born in 1912 and her first language was Salish. She only attended school until third grade and yet some of her grandchildren didn’t know she was fluent in Salish until she was on her death bed. She must have kept her Salish hidden in certain company. None of her children speak Salish. Annie was the recipient of discrimination from both directions. Her granddaughter remarked “Someone said at grandma’s funeral ‘she sure
could talk even though she had freckles on her butt.’ What does that matter!? Terrible.” When they said talk, they meant speak Salish well and the freckles referred to the fact that she was half Irish.

About Annie’s resilience, a man from the 5th generation comments, “She was tough. She was tough. She had a hard life.” His cousin continues, “Well and the amount of, not just strength and resiliency, but the amount of trauma that she stopped is phenomenal, cause she, she was whipped with rose bushes when she was 18. And so for her not to be abusive or really unkind. She was amazing.” When her mother was murdered, Annie took her young sister in to care for her. Jeannie was 8 years old and showed up with lice. Social services came to inspect their home and ended up leaving the children with Annie. She helped raise her siblings, her nieces and nephews, her own 6 children, 5 foster children, and countless grandchildren and great-grandchildren. Her daughter (4th generation) remarks “and we were lucky, because mom was, she might have been a little mean sometimes, but she wasn’t like that” in reference to the infamous Keenan mean-streak. About this her brother says “Although my parents weren’t warm and fuzzy, but the thing that I really remember most of all, and it stuck with me for all my life is that I knew mom and dad loved me. They never said it. But I knew they loved me and I knew they would be there. And in today’s world, that’s big time lacking. A lot of the problems in this world today wouldn’t be the same if they’da had the love of their parents. The mom and the dad.” After some agreement in the group, he continues “I mean I think it’s huge. It’s, the more I think about it, the older I get, the more I know that was a very important factor.” She was far-sighted, hard-working, and loving.
Many people are able to use humor to ease hard times. A man from the 4th generation sits back in his chair in preparation for his performance. He talks about his short stay at the Ursulines as an eight-year-old when his mom was giving birth to their youngest sibling in 1949, who he apparently did not accept for quite some time.

Dib starts “I just was weened.” (laughs and hoots from the group). Lolita exclaims “that’s probably true!” Dib says “not totally” and picks the story back up, “According to my brother Sarge, I nursed quite a while. But it was quite unusual that the old man, he kept our sister, our older sister home to cook, he took Pat and I to the Ursulines to get our first communion. And we were there for two weeks to get our first communion, while mom was basking in the hospital with you-know-who. It was not a pleasure for me. My first time away from home, it was scary! And this stupid a-hole caught a bull snake down on the crick, turned it loose in the basement. So I didn’t do a number two for two weeks.”
Auntie hoots. Drew says “now that’s history.” Dib responds “It was quite painful.” I turn to Lolita, “and it’s all your fault, Auntie.” Dib closes “and you wonder why there was animosity when she arrived.”

The St. Ignatius Mission also served as a government hospital for Indians. All of the children in the 4th generation were born there. A son in the 4th generation, Carl, died there in 1957 as a young man after a long and painful process that took three years. The family travelled to and from the hospital each time he got sick. Carl’s brother remembers their parents loading him into the back of their truck on his bed to travel to the hospital in Mission because he was too sick to move. He commented “And it was piss poor care. And a lot of stuff he got in the hospital, because of lack of disinfection and using the same needles, over and over and over. It was a government financed hospital, and the care was crap.” At one point he nearly died and they had to transport him to Cushman Indian Hospital on the Puyallup Reservation in Tacoma by
ambulance because it was the nearest hospital for Indians. Annie and Pablo could not travel with him and they waited in anxiety for his return. He came home from Tacoma for a period but ended up dying at the Mission Hospital. It was reported by a 5th generation woman that

“Grandma told Uncle Randy, or somebody, ‘When Carl finally passes that tree is gonna die with him,’ cause it was, he was attached to it, he loved to play in that tree.” He would lay under the giant weeping willow in the yard when he was sick. It died when he died. Annie and Pablo’s hearts were broken when he passed. Her daughter said that she would re-enact or re-experience his death later into her life as if it was yesterday.

The Ursuline school operated until 1972 on the Flathead Reservation (OPI, 2018). Our family attended the public school in Arlee beginning with the 4th generation, but the impacts of forced assimilation are still felt today. When the 4th generation came along, “it wasn’t that long since the Ursulines.” One woman said that her father from the 4th generation had told his children that “the purpose of going to the Ursulines was basically to take the native out of you. And so, we didn’t learn Salish, Salish wasn’t something she shared with us. And Spanish was completely out for grandpa. He wanted us to learn English, because he was a citizen now.” Though they were not marched onto a reservation or forced to attend a Catholic boarding school, their generation was the recipients of harsh and overt racism. Born in the 1930s and 40s, the older people in this generation grew up prior to the civil rights era. Being mixed race, Salish, Mexican and Irish, presented many challenges for this generation and they were often shamed.
When asked about whether the 4th generation ever gathered plant resources, this was the response from someone in the 5th generation:

“It wasn’t cool to be Indian. Mom never wanted to acknowledge that she was Indian, or that I was Indian. She tried very hard for us to not be Indian. She would never let me grow my hair long, she said ‘I will never let you look like a moon-faced Indian.’ Cause she got treated horribly for it, cause she was Indian and Mexican, so I know that she completely was not gonna have that happen to us. So that’s probably why that got completely shut down. Probably not just in our family, but in many families…… so they took all of those things away….. I mean that’s a horrible subliminal message for a little girl to hear as I’m growing up for my whole… thing. Oh man, I can’t be a moon-faced Indian. Hmm. What happens if you’re a moon-faced Indian? You know, I mean, that’s kind of scary if you think about it, as a little person processing it. Even though mom was protecting me. That was her main goal was protecting me from that harm and abuse that she felt.” She continues “But I can’t not be an Indian.” She adds that language change also occurred to protect the children.

Many people in our family have auto-immune diseases, in which their immune systems attack healthy cells in their bodies. One person from the 5th generation theorizes about the onset of those diseases, explaining them as

“an accumulation of the outside degradation that becomes self-hate. Because why else, in my mind, why else would your body turn against itself and do battle? And my mom, amazing, I worship her, but she was a battle her whole life. And she was kind of a really amazing person, but she ended up with all those auto-immune diseases. She had lupus, the complications of which she died from, at a young age really.” She had celiac disease,
fibromyalgia and sjogren's as well. “But she was, I thought of her as this total warrior woman, just toughest…, but she was at battle with everybody.” … “Her entire life was a battle and she internalized that. And I think, personally, that is what precipitated, you know turned on the genes that helped create those auto-immune diseases. And I think it came from the environment, I think it came from, you know like, she told me she was called blanket ass and wagon burner and beaner. So she got it from all sides. And that happened, I believe, at a time when she was really, um, you know, forming her sense of self.”

The individual mentioned above had a lot of anger in her, which has impacted her children in various ways. One person said “Auntie was tiny, but man people feared her.” But people also agreed that she was fun and affectionate. One person said “your mom was so much good to a lot of different people, Ondi and AJ, and everybody else. She treated me really good.” Multiple people remembered how good she smelled and the softness of her sheets. She kept an immaculate garden and a clean house, even though she lived in extreme poverty with an alcoholic husband in a racist world. People talked about how you would never have known she was poor because she took such care of the things around her. Her resilience came in the form of toughness, persistence, and hard work.

People referred to the loss of culture, language, and self-acceptance due to the Ursulines and the broader society in which they lived, and some people attributed negative health
consequences to those forces, such as auto-immune diseases and addiction. People referenced needing escape from your place to save yourself. While some people left, possibly for this reason or others, most have felt the draw of home and have returned. One person from the 5\textsuperscript{th} generation talks about it. “The older I get the more it’s just like so…. pulling. Just so pulling. And I don’t know if you’ve ever been homesick before but it is the worst. The worst. And I keep trying to move away, but I never can stay. Even though most of the time, my family drives me crazy, I never can stay away.”

Some of the people in the 4\textsuperscript{th} generation seem to have internalized the messages and stereotypes about Native people that American society put on them. One person from the 5\textsuperscript{th} generation put it this way “how people see you and how you see yourself aren’t always the same. And lots of times, place puts that on you.” She meant that people judge you based on where you are from or you might judge yourself based on where you are from. The 4\textsuperscript{th} generation seemed to be a turning point toward cowboy culture. Pablo and Annie started getting milking cows in the 1960s. This was an adaptive survival strategy in their era. A person from the 6\textsuperscript{th} generation talked about going to the pow wows as a kid, but more as an observer. “I remember being more tied in with the rodeo culture than like pow-wow culture, and I think that was just like my grandpa’s preference was going to the rodeo instead of the pow wow.” His grandpa sometimes talked negatively about Indian people living off the government or criticized those who still rubbed blood on their faces and thanked the creator while hunting. He seemed to perceive them as so backward, but people noted that he came from a perspective of being treated as a second class citizen, and so he wanted to avoid that. He even told his white wife’s family his name was something other than his own because he knew they would be racist toward him. Instead of Pablo, they called him Joe until he died in 2002.
Someone from the 5th generation talks about the person mentioned above and their strengths at keeping the family together. “For dad, family was always important to him, and so I think that kind-of trickled, not trickled down, but that was our example, even though mom and dad didn’t get along, a lot of the time, family was still important. And so that was what we put into our kids, you know, that family was important. And I think that comes back around to being back here, too” referring to gathering on the family land. Sarge was a natural teacher and loved taking people under his wing. He raised his own son as a partner in life and was the most active grandparent anyone could imagine. His son said about him “My dad was my whole world…. I was with him all the time, just like a brother.” A person from the 6th generation talks about him, “family was always first, no matter what. Like he was there for everything, every track meet, know you, taking his notes and using his own stopwatch. Every school function, everything.” He was a mentor to many nephews, grandsons, and young men at the Job Corps, where he worked. A woman from the 5th generation said about him “Sarge always had a good idea about what makes people healthy.” His brother said “Sarge was the most giving man I’ve ever known. And the thing about him that I admire to this day, that he never had a favorite grandkid. They were all his favorites. And each and every one of you guys thought that he liked you best. And that’s the secret of a good grandparent.” His resilience was in his warmth, humor, positivity, ingenuity, and hard-work.
Not everyone from the 4th generation struggled with identity issues. One of the younger siblings said “I was always really lucky ‘cause I’ve always had Native friends, and I’ve always had suyápi (white) friends. I fit in both places, I didn’t have any… ‘cause I was so close to my mom and my grandma and my dad.” She regrets not learning the language of both of her parents. She adds “we grew up really crazy, because my dad, I can never really recall my dad saying a negative thing about… he was not prejudiced at all. But my mom would be prejudiced against white people, and then she could just turn her head and be prejudiced against Indians. And sometimes I fought a little bit about it, about that. I had a little issue about that. But not too bad.”

The youngest siblings of this generation came of age during the Red Power movement and did not experience conflicts between their various identities to the same extent as the older ones.

As the times changed, people from the 4th, 5th and 6th generations have been better able to embrace their multiple ethnicities. Someone from the 4th generation talked about how the two worlds have been intermeshed for hundreds of years, and a person from the 5th generated added
“and those are strengths, not weaknesses… And you can bring different aspects of each culture. I’ve always been very proud of being Mexican, Indian, and Irish. Very proud of that.” She then added that she didn’t know much about being Mexican, because Papa (Pablo) left so young.

Referring to cultural change, a person from the 5th generation (born in the 1960s) said,

“It was survival.” “When people ask me ‘are you native?’ I go ‘I am the perfect product of assimilation. I am what assimilation was supposed to do.’ But I, at some point, controlled my own education, and my own sense of culture and educated myself as to what culture is. I can’t say I, except for cowboy culture, which I was totally immersed in and didn’t realize it. But the census, now that we can self-declare, that gives people a lot of freedom to say ‘I am this.’ And that’s completely unique also, when people are telling you ‘you’re a dog’ vs. no I am a man, and I chose to be….. (trails off).”

Persistence, creativity, and self-sufficiency were some of the factors a person from the 5th generation identifies as contributing to her resilience in the face of hardship. She says “I think I broke some bad legacy things, for my kids anyways, ‘cause like I’m not close with my brother and sister. They don’t even try to have a relationship with me.” She always wanted that, and “so I think I broke that chain for my kids. So I think I’m pretty resilient.”

Some people from the 6th generation talked about their identity struggles, due to being perceived as solely white by the outside world. They talked about how they don’t look Native, but they feel so connected to this place, all of the family and the community, much more so than any of their other ethnicities. One person from the 6th generation said “My way of interacting with the world is largely because I’ve grown up on the reservation, and I have a Native family, and like, I have super subtle value systems I didn’t even know existed.”

Our family has shown toughness and persistence over the years. People fought through
oppression, racism, identity crises, and addictions to maintain the importance of family, traditions, and living in connection with the land. Multiple generations of struggling to make a better life for their children has made the current generations’ lives a lot easier. A person from the 6th generation comments on this,

“It seems like we’ve come a long way, as like a culture and a community, like moving through those things and having, like, moving to a place where we can feel pride about these things… and it seems like a lot of young people now do actually gain a sense of pride and resiliency through, like, their connection to their culture, and their families, and their place, and it’s just cool to think that, like, there was this time when it was horrible and people didn’t want to connect with that, and didn’t want to identify with that, and now we’ve kind-of gone past that. It’s just really cool to think about that.”

Her Auntie agrees,

“I actually think that your generation, in terms of this family, from my point of observation, which can be totally faulty I get that, but I think your generation is the healthiest so far. I mean emotionally healthy. And certainly physically healthy in doing all sorts of stuff, and I don’t see like the alcoholism that plagued the previous generations. And that fact that you all, many of you have gone out and gotten really well educated. And a very wholesome… from what I see.” She teases, “Course I don’t get to see you in your wild-ass parties, I hear rumors.”

Younger generations recognize, with gratitude, the role of our elders in actively working to build an environment where we can flourish. There are multiple stories of people choosing to quit using alcohol or other drugs because they recognized the impact it was having on the young people in their lives. Young people appreciate the family traditions that have been maintained
and the role those have played in building a support system for all of us.

I have largely painted the Ursulines and the Flathead Agency in a negative light, but as I mentioned above many people had good experiences in these places as well. After the Flathead Agency was relocated, the site of the original agency at the Jocko remained a Catholic church and a cemetery. The original St. Ignatius Mission is no longer the site of a boarding school or a government hospital, but the ornate historic church still holds weekly Sunday mass. These places became sites of spirituality for many people. It was not reported whether previous generations adopted Catholicism as a result of the Missionary activities here, but Annie (3rd generation) “was always strong in the church.” In her obituary it said “Annie loved 4 things- family, nature, candy and the Lord.” Her husband, Pablo, took on a caretaker role for the Jocko church and the cemetery in preparation for the untimely death of their son Carl. He joined the cemetery committee, charted out the new section of the cemetery, and built the altar for the church. Their daughter (4th generation) remembers going to the cemetery every year for what they called “decoration day.” It was Memorial Day and they would pick all of Annie’s peonies and other flowers, put them in cans and decorate all of the graves. “We would have outdoor mass on Memorial Day. We would set up an altar outside and have a great big picnic.” Memorial Day cleaning of graves at the Jocko church remains a family tradition. All of the Keenans and Pokerjims are buried in the old section, by the gnarled apple tree next to the green gate.
People in the 5th generation have happy and/or conflicted memories of going to summertime catechism at the Jocko church as children in the 1960s. The happy memories seem to relate more to playing baseball at recess and the throngs of cousins that would get to ride bikes all around the valley after church let out. As they sit in the home built by the grandparents, a burly man from this group comments, “We must have been in good shape when we were kids, ho,” adding “Man, we spent a lot of hours on those bicycles.” Next to him, his sister explains that they might have walked the 3 miles back home on the county roads too. “It was always great because by the time you got to the corner of Grey Wolf and Mountain Home, the ditch was, you could get a drink right there. Then you could coast all the way home.” Some people from the 4th, 5th and 6th generations still attend the historic Catholic churches at Jocko and St. Ignatius, as well as different churches in Arlee.

Over the 7 generations, there has been a changing relationship with the Flathead Agency and the St. Ignatius Mission. Historically, these locations were places of sustenance and material goods, education, forced assimilation, and spirituality. These institutions were largely oppressive
of Native cultures and paternalistic toward Native peoples in general. Pokerjim (1st generation) and others of his era practiced traditional Salish religion. Men in this area are reported to have participated in traditional medicine dances at Big Knife each winter around the turn of the century and later. As a child Annie (3rd generation) remembers a time when she nearly died. The story was told by someone from the 5th generation, “And so her mom went and got the medicine man at the corner, Culluyah, and he did, um, he did, like, went into his trance and …….. ‘cause his sumeš (power/medicine) was the fawn, the little deer. She was really sick, she had scarlet fever. She says she remembers the smoke coming over her, so I imagine he was smudging her with something and praying over her and then she said this big thing came out of her throat. And I would imagine it was puss, and blood and mucus and whatever from scarlet fever- is just strep throat. It’s just strep bacteria. And so she said she had to spit that all out and she was sick for a long time, but then she got better. But it’s amazing she didn’t develop heart complications or rheumatic fever and die.” A 4th generation person prompts “but she saw the deer.” The original story-teller picks up “yeah she saw his sumeš or something, right? It came and, like, not really, she saw it though. But it came and she lived.” People with the powers of medicine maintained intimate and respectful relationships with the animal and plant communities. Medicine was a spiritual practice. By the next generation, medicine had changed. Generally, they still did not go to the doctor unless they were very sick, they dealt with small stuff at home. When asked about medicines used, a 5th generation person said “Oh Vicks. Everything was Vicks. And husks.” Husks are the roots of a plant gathered in the mountains. Throughout her life, Annie practiced a mix of Salish traditional religion and Catholicism.

In contemporary times, many people in our family and others go to church for their primary spiritual practice. A few combine their Catholic spirituality with a Salish traditional
religion, and others do not practice religion at all. The only references to spirituality from the 6th generation were land-based. One participant, when asked about what resources they get from the land, said “I think it’s more like all the things that I do that make me feel like a person who is healthy and well and connected. It’s like all connected to nature.” They continued, to say that nature provides spirituality, sense of self-worth, connection and peace. People talked about visiting certain places and feeling transformed by them, having profound spiritual awakenings in the places. Others agreed about the spirituality of water. One person talks about a family trip to Twin Lakes in this way, “we get out on the lake, and we’re in the canoe….it’s almost….and this sounds a little wonky I’m sure…but it’s almost like it’s a well of souls. Like you could really, like this depth and this place, you almost feel like you could maybe connect with something beyond us. Maybe that sounds crazy but I don’t know.” Some people from the 5th and 6th generations sense of spirituality is land-based, though it is not as clearly delineated as Pokerjim’s land-based religious practices was at the turn of the century.

**Family allotment at Stevens Creek: A place to be at home**

“You told me I was poor and needed money, but I am not poor. What is valuable to a person is land, the earth, water, trees … and all these belong to us.” - Kootenai Chief Isaac, 1901 (Montana OPI, 2018)

The story of the place-name snťpū (pƛ’m), the place where you come out to a clear area or the base of Evaro hill, also mentions another place. The story is about Coyote and the giant swallowing monster. The place where Coyote cut the monsters’ heart off is said by some to have formed the heart-shaped bare spot on the mountain on the east side of the Jocko Valley. Some
say it is the hill near the old Jocko Agency. This hill would be the area of the Stevens allotment, where our family lives now.

"A band of Flathead Indian ponies" Haynes Photographs, 1884 (MHS H-1340).
In the area of the family land- notice the heart behind.

Google map of the eastern edge of the Jocko Valley, 2018
After being on the reservation for more than 120 years, our family has put its roots down at Stevens Creek. We have made a home of the same piece of land for almost a century; 7 generations of people have slept on the hill above Stevens Creek. We have developed a distinct sense of place here, and embedded in it are feelings of home, family, subsistence and spirituality. The specifics of the relationship with the land and the beings on it have changed, but the essence has remained the same. “Fueled by sentiments of inclusion, belonging, and connectedness to the past, sense of place roots individuals in the social and cultural soils from which they have sprung together, holding them there in the grip of a shared identity, a localized version of selfhood” (Basso, 1996: 146).

In 1908, Mary Sophie Stevens was allotted 80 acres next to her dad Michel Stevens parcel. These lands lie along the eastern edge of the Jocko Valley, where the forested mountains taper to meet the valley grasses. The allotment is just up the hill from the Flathead Agency. Many other families were allotted lands in this area as well. Some of Mary Sophie’s neighbors were Chief Paul Charlo and his family, the Antoine family and the Felix family. Due east of the agency, a 4th generation person commented “there was quite a contingency up in this area.”
Pablo Espinoza came from Mexico. His mother died when he was nine or ten years old and he began travelling alone soon after, headed north. He worked on the railroad and eventually crossed the border in 1910, continuing northward. By at least the 1920s, he had made it to Arlee, MT. His journey as a young man remains a mystery, but someone from the 5th generation remember her uncles or aunties telling her the Jocko Valley reminded Pablo of Mexico. He apparently thought “This looks like my home, this is where I want to be.” So he picked it based on its appearance.” He married Mary Sophie Stevens in 1929 and they lived on the southern edge of her family’s land, taking care of her aging family members. She performed for some type of Wild West show, called Scott and Lane, riding the train to far-off places like New York City. She was married to Pablo for less than a year when she died of Tuberculosis at age 21. Pablo inherited both of the allotments at Stevens Creek (no. 1452 and 1065) when her father, Michel Stevens, died in 1932.
Annie (3rd generation) was pulled back from the Bitterroot by her mother in the late 1920s and married Pablo in 1932. During Annie’s lifetime, 60% of the Indian allotments were transferred to non-Indian ownership in fee status (Montana OPI, 2018). In times of poverty and need, allotments were sold at low cost, including the one Annie was assigned in the 1920s at Skunk Meadows. She sold the 80 acre meadow up Jocko canyon in the 1940s back to the tribe for $364. She never lived at Skunk Meadows; instead she and Pablo built a small cabin above Stevens Creek and lived off this land for the rest of their lives. Sixteen people from 4 generations currently live in the area of the allotted lands.
In their early marriage, Annie was lonely for her home at Finley Creek. A person from the 4th generation talked about how she would walk all the way from the place on Stevens Creek to where her mom, Mary Josetti, lived on Finley Creek, even when she was in the third trimester of pregnancy. She needed so badly to see her home. “Sarge was just little and they would walk all the way to her mom’s house, 5 miles. You know, and her big pregnant, but she was lonesome, just lonesome for her mom.” The storyteller knew that it must have been hot and was sure Annie’s feet were swollen. They would walk there to visit for the day and walk back to Stevens Creek that night. A brother adds, “but see them days, there was
not anybody had a car.” If you wanted to get somewhere, you either walked or rode a horse.

They had a little cabin, with no electricity or plumbing. They would collect water from the small creek nearby and then conserve every drop. Any water used once had a secondary use. For example, if they washed clothes or dishes, they would use the rinse water to mop the floors or their feet. As she sat in her home on the allotted lands, someone from the 4th generation talks about springtime foods, “when mom (Annie) and dad (Pablo) were here, just newly married, she would go down to the Stevens Creek, and all those quaking aspen, she called them ‘quiken ass,’ and she pull the bark off and that layer inside, she would eat. So, sweet and tender. So probably that was like 200 years ago, those were the things they did in the springtime to get nourishment, but that carried that far along. You know. It’s amazing.”

This area was quite spiritual in those days too. With the contingency of families settled here, Big Knife became a site of spirituality. Medicine men would Blue Jay nearby in the winters. Someone from the 4th generation talked about how Annie remembered hearing their singing and dancing on the cold clear nights of January from her home. “It used to be powerful I’m sure.”

In the 1950s, people from the 4th generation remember their great-grandmother Penama moving to a small cabin across the road from their place when she was in her 80s. The cabin is
about 16x20 feet in total and did not have electricity or plumbing. A person from the 4th generation describes the cabin.

“Her place was dark….Grandma was always spooked of having, she would always cover up her windows and she’d cover up her pictures, cause she would think that her mother was looking at her, you know or something. But I always felt really comfortable there. That was my first place that I was comfortable, was going to her house, ‘cause it was always warm. She had this little stove in the corner and she had dry meat hanging up on the, on a little rack, and she might every day have a little potato cooking on the top of her stove. So it was always warm, it was comforting, and I always loved to go there. And my mom (Annie) would send me there to bring grandma back. It was just good.”

Penama would come along to the fields or to get Christmas trees up Jocko when the family went into the Christmas treeing business. She would come along to watch the little ones while the others worked. A 4th generation person describes it, “And so, if we were in a field, she would just spread us out a blanket, and we would just sit there. And grandma would always sit, like, on the blanket with her feet, not curled up or anything, just straight. And we would just play with anything we could find: rocks, leaves, thorns. And just, we did nothing, but just stay on that little blanket.”

People talked about gathering traditional food sources in the immediate area of the family land at least into the 1960s. A 4th generation person talks about how they would gather mtčwé (arrowleaf balsamroot) right in the meadow on the family land.

“And then, right on the very corner (she waves her arm in a southwesterly direction down the hill), it would be just across the road from Haynes’s, there’s a whole bunch of rocks right there above Bobaloo’s. On Dude’s, further over in the meadow. And that, in the spring, is where mom (Annie) would go and get čwé, mtčwé. It’s real rocky and kind of dry there and so that is where she would go every year and pick čwé.”

They talked about getting sxʷe’ne (hawthorn berries) and sxʷósm (foam berries) as well, “but mostly we would pick savice berries,” all of which are still abundant in the area. Penama would process and store the foods for winter.
“She dried everything…but she put everything in canvas bags. So she made all these little, she sewed all these little canvas bags. So then she’d dry them and then she’d put everything, like it was an old apple box, that’s what she, you know, store stuff in. She always had a little bag of dry meat, so she would dry meat and then she would make bacon, and then she would take the dry meat and pound it with a rock, and then she would, it was just like sawdust, and then she would put bacon drippings in there, and my mouth is watering, see, yeah. You would just take little crumbs and (gestures pinching), it was delicious.”

When Penama was elderly Annie would gather whatever she needed for her. Whether she was hungry for something or needed a plant medicine, Annie would know where to get it.

Traditional foods remained important, but the family adapted new subsistence strategies as well. Very soon after marriage Annie and Pablo began having children. They had six children between the years 1932 and 1949. The memories of their children (4th generation) give us a picture of what that time period was like. Annie and Pablo were both known for their work ethic. They both worked as laborers in addition to growing and storing all their own food and supplying themselves with firewood. As mentioned previously, Annie was an excellent berry picker. She picked at farms in the Jocko valley for a wage and picked wild berries, both of which she canned and stored for her family’s use. Pablo worked many jobs over the years, working for the railroad as a laborer and later a translator, at lumber mills, managing a Christmas tree yard in Arlee, and as a stockman. They grew an immense garden and Annie was known for her love of chickens. They planted apple trees, plum trees, rhubarb, currants, and “everything that would grow” in the old garden, the big sunny spot down by the aspens near Steven’s Creek, which they
diverted to grow their food. In the 1950s, they dug out a pond and moved the garden up the hill, closer to their house.


Their cabin was surrounded by a shop, barn, chicken houses, and corrals. The family kept horses, cows, lots of chickens and a few pigs. Each in charge of their own cow, the older children would stage aggressive milking competitions before they skimmed the cream, stored it in the creek nearby, and then sold it to the creamery in Arlee. The skim milk then fed the pigs and the calves, “who weren’t the best looking calves cause they were dairy, and they was raised on skim milk so they always ended up being pot-bellied. See they were always kind-of stunted, a little bit stunted.” Dairy calves were hardly worth anything at the sale barn because lots of people in the area did the same thing. “That was a big thing, raising milking cows.” We were becoming cowboys and Indians.
A 4th generation person comments on their foods, “And we never ate beef when we were growing up, and there was not deer on the land like there is now. I mean, it was, uh, I mean I remember when Carl was sick, he was wanting some meat, and trying to get a deer for him was really difficult.” A brother concurs, “Oh, it’s impossible…. See there was no government assisted programs. Either you killed what you ate or you didn’t eat. And they had nothing. Cause there was a lot of guys that was willing to work, but there was 5 dollars a day jobs, maybe.” Though it was hard to make ends meet, they remark that “Oh, mom was a good provider.” They ate spam, chicken, eggs, hotcakes, rice and beans, and potatoes, and “big fat wieners” as a treat. Annie baked every day, “and she canned. Every berry that was, she canned. My mother was a great provider, and she worked really, really hard.” They talked about the landscape and the plants that surrounded the area. A 4th generation person talks about Annie, “she would gather wood all over this place. And it wasn’t brushy like it is now…. But you could, I mean it was open. There was not the brush like it is now. And it was, like in the spring, oh it was a mass of beautiful wildflowers- yellow bells and blue bells and rooster heads. And mom and I would pick great big huge bouquets of those beautiful flowers in the spring.”
Their home was a log cabin with a small bedroom no bigger than a closet for Annie and Pablo, a kitchen, and a living room with beds all around it. Annie helped raise her siblings, nieces and nephews, as well as multiple foster kids. With 6 children and 2 adults permanently living in the cabin, along with the frequent visitors, conditions were cramped. People from the 4th generation remember adults dropping in on holiday meals and children from all over the valley coming here to play with ice skates on the hill or swim in the pond. “It has always been a real hub.” A person from that generation talks about the social dynamics of that era. “See them days it was a lot of communication by visiting. People would go spend a whole evening, make fudge, if they could afford the sugar, and spend time with each other. It was always back and forth. Those were the days before TV, so everybody visited.”

The 4th generation remembers getting their first couch and getting 3 lightbulbs when they had electricity installed in the 1950s. They were moving on up. One woman from the 4th generation talks about how they kept the place warm. Annie would gather wood all over this place, and “every year she would go downtown and get the biggest boxes she could find, she’d cut ‘em up and then she’d put new cardboard on the inside of our house. And on the outside, it was straw and some kind of mud, and daddy would put in-between the logs, and tar-paper on the roof.” When they got a telephone installed, the telephone-man took his stapler and stapled the cardboard back up. They remember with humor writing people’s phone numbers on the cardboard insulation.
Just as our family and others were getting their feet under them, adjusting to this new life on the reservation, the United States government attempted to sweep our legs out from under us again. The federal Termination Act of 1953 was poised to end tribes’ sovereign status and their ability to negotiate with the government as a political entity. Fortunately, the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes were successful in their fight against termination.

On the hill, life remained as usual. As their children grew, they continued to find ways to make their lives easier. They built a “fancy cellar” for food storage and eventually piped water from the pond up the hill to a sprinkler system. They tried to grow enough strawberries to sell them commercially, but it got to be too much. Pablo and his sons had worked in lumber mills in Seeley Lake and the Blackfoot for years. They wanted to start their own mill in the valley, so they built one on the property. Unfortunately, they could not level the track that the carriage rode on, so they produced highly inaccurate lumber.

When their oldest son, Sarge, came back from the service in 1955 with a wife and baby, they used the mill to build living quarters for them. They cut green wood and used it to expand

the granary, which was in use as a chicken house, to make space for their growing family. A 4th generation woman remembers the wood shrinking as it dried “but it was pretty fancy, it was fancier than our house.” Her brother laughs “it was a dump.” The granary house continued to be improved, eventually it even had a hot-water heater. Sarge’s family lived there off and on until the birth of their third child, Bobaloo. Sarge’s little sister, Chora lived there with her husband Randy for a period as well.

Annie and Pablo built a bigger house on the land in 1966. As the 4th generation started having children of their own, they moved to different plots of land but they maintained a strong relationship with the family land on the hill. A woman from the 4th generation talks about feelings of safety here with her mom. “When I lived over there, where Pat lives, mom was, I don’t know how old, 70-something, 80?, but she would walk us home. So I’d be safe.” Her grand-daughter from the 5th generation describes the scene. Annie, who smoked all the time and was really skinny, would walk her daughter and granddaughter home at night for protection against bears. She carried an old flashlight with big square batteries for the task. “But we were safe, weren’t we….. We thought everything in the world was safe because, oh no grandma was there….. What the hell was she gonna do?” Though she was fast and a good shot, she didn’t use
guns much. She is remembered to have shot skunks, dogs, and “that old snčľé” (coyote) if they were coming for her chickens though.

Elsewhere, the 4th generation continued logging or working in lumber mills, raising cows, growing giant gardens, planting orchards, and loving children. One 5th generation person describes growing up with her mom in the 1960s, “Mom (Chora) always had a huge big garden, and was always just a beautiful garden. Her and ma would can and preserve, and have this great pantry filled with all this stuff they had, you know, done. Peaches, and pears, and string beans and just endless of canned goods.” Everyone grew gardens and shared their resources. Different people grew different things, and everybody knew who was growing what. A 4th generation woman describes it, “the way it worked when you had a big garden or something was everyone shared. It wasn’t a matter of even bartering sometimes, it was a matter of well, you know I have corn, come get corn.” Women remembered travelling to Polson for cherries and then getting to work for 3 days canning them on Annie’s outside stove.

The 4th generation men would hunt deer year round, though they were not as abundant as
they are now. They got firewood nearby or up Jocko to heat their homes. About Sarge, his son said “Dad was always a really good hunter. One shot and the animal would usually fall.” His grandchildren remark on his intimate knowledge of the land “Well and he knew the area like nobody else, I mean he just knew every draw and every trail and every hillside.” People remark on his love of going on fishing trips with the family, “It was so fun fishing with him, ‘cause he would get so excited.” One of his grandsons (6th generation) chimes in with a descriptor “Cutting his sandwich with the same old-timers knife he just gutted a fish with. He’d just wipe it on his pants, and just use that. It was all rusty. He used it for everything.” He used that knife to cut all the worms out of apples for his grandkids and for “his baloney, American cheese, white- bread sandwich.” He was remembered as a performer too. His son described him as having “a sandwich sticking out of his mouth and he’s reeling in fish.”
Like their parents, people from the 4th generation were described as “completely self-sufficient” due to their subsistence relationship with the land. Annie and Pablo raised their children to have the skills of survival, showing them how to grow and preserve various foods. In her older years, Annie also talked a lot about the native plants and what they were used for. Someone from the 5th generation remembers her telling them about Glacier Lilies on a trip to Schley creek, she said “‘you can eat this whole thing all the way up. You dig down to the bulb and you eat the bulb,’ and you know they’re sweet, and they taste really good.” She would make
chokecherry syrup and eat wild onions. She talked about frying skʷlis (kinnikinnick berries) to pop them like popcorn and smoking the dried leaves with tobacco.

A person from the 5th generation comments on learning about the land from Annie,

“Grandma was a really natural teacher. Like very much so. It was kind of that ‘watch me do it, we do it, you do it’ kind of teaching style. And mom (Lolita) does the same thing, everything is a teaching moment. So that she would make bows and arrows out of willows. She would, like, talking about how to do things for when your babies came, or drying meat. I remember being a kid and she dried meat all the time. And it wasn’t a ton, like you didn’t have to have a whole deer or anything. She’d take a package out of the freezer, or if uncle Bob did get a deer, so Bobby would hunt for her quite a bit. He would skin it, bring it in, lay in on the kitchen table, and they’d have that whole deer cut and ready to dry in just a few hours. It was just quick. And she would, like, butterfly cut it, and to watch her do it- she always cut into her palm.”
The chickens played prominently in people’s memories. Annie was remembered as having been quick until her mid-80s, spending most of her time outdoors. A 4th generation person describes the area to the southeast of the where the house sits now. “That little area was very important, that is where she killed the chickens.” She had a woodpile up there and the whole operation laid out. She would build a fire and get water boiling, then kill 5-10 chickens at a time and clean them on site, then store them in her freezer. People remember eating chicken, wash day potatoes and string beans with her every Sunday. Memories of the chickens brought many funny stories through the generations. A man from the 5th generation tells it,

“She always had bantee chickens. And one of her chicken houses, what Paula and Chib and them used to live in, and it was right over there by the corner. Right below that big tree that was there…… She loved her chickens. And she always had a bunch of roosters. Us peewees were wandering around behind and the roosters would, as soon as a new person would come, man they’d just bristle up, here they’d be ready to come to fight.
And come over to us and challenge her, and she’d just grab ‘em by the head like that, one wring like that (gestures with his arm), came the toss. On the way back to the house, she’d pick ‘em up and we’d pluck the damn chickens for supper, or lunch, or whatever.”

Another 5th generation cousin adds, “that was quite the thing when we’d do chickens. We’d be dodging chicken parts ‘cause she would chop their head off and that thing would go flyin,’ and you’re dodging, trying not to have it hit you, blood would be squirting everywhere.”

Someone else chimes in “and I got to play with chicken feet, like she would pull the tendons.”

Everyone talked about the smells of singed feathers. One mentioned that the smell of tripe sends her instantaneously to memories of the basement in the white house. “It stunk so bad. I’d be dehydrated…because she would have so much, that smell would be on her hands. But I couldn’t reach the sink and I didn’t want to ask for a drink of water, ugh.”

A person from the 6th generation remembers going to Grandma-on-the-hill’s (Annie) as a kid in the early 1990s. He said that Grandma-on-the-hill would point out which one she wanted, and grandpa (Sarge) would crouch down low and wait. Then when the one she wanted came close, he’d sweep the legs and grab one at a time. He would come out and chop their heads off. But his hatchet wasn’t sharp and they would be left dangling. When one of the heads came off, grandpa reached over and tucked the chicken head in the top of the boot of a nearby cousin. He was visiting from his home in Missoula and remembers, “I was so grossed out- it was a bloodbath.”
His job was to bring the dead chickens over to Grandma-on-the-hill so she could process them, and he recalls picking them up with two fingers, “touching the least amount of chicken possible.” He remembers her pouring boiling water over them and then he was amazed at how fast she could pluck them.

Though the 5th generation was raised in poverty, hunger was never a problem. As adults, this generation is still largely reliant on the land. One man said, “I totally live off the land, everything, if I don’t make the grass, I don’t make no hay, calves don’t do any good. So everything depends on the water and the grass,” adding “if I ain’t ranching, I’m logging, so I totally live totally off the resources of the reservation, whether it’s wood or grass or cows. That’s what it is, that’s just what it is for me.” His cousin responds, “that’s what makes this reservation so good, I think.” The original storytelling replies “and to be a member,” referencing split families like many of ours are.

Others hunt, fish, gather wood, garden, raise bees or berry pick. One man talks about learning to hunt entirely from watching his dad and practicing alongside him. He said, “We hunted all the time. Just deer and elk, and oh yeah, moose too. Yeah, later in my life, when I hunted with dad, we got a lot of moose. I could get maybe 2 or 3 elk and a moose in the fall, so we could feed our kids.” He talks about the rules of hunting and how “the people you hunt with, you got to trust a lot.” Even when he was a young kid, they would split up and meet later at designated locations. “And he made sure I knew where the spot was, so I would show up. And I
might take a while to show up, but I always showed up. One time, my dad shot a elk and he left me with the elk, and I was like a Freshman or 8th grader. And then he went back and got the truck and came back. And it took, you know, several hours. And I was, my mind was wandering. I was thinking ‘What about if he doesn’t come back? I’ll eat this elk and I’ll have a big long beard when he gets back.’” His dad was teaching him how to navigate the land alone, even as a young person.

Likewise, a female from this generation learned about her own agency from working with Grandma Annie in the berry fields. She explains, “My sense of place contributes to my sense of self and ability. And this is an example of it. So I must have been maybe 4 or 5, I was a little kids, right, and you’d be with Ma, right, and she didn’t babysit, you just followed her around and did whatever she did, right, it’s like babysitting, no. And so, I’ll never forget, I had that little blue bucket that I still have, and she, whenever you picked berries, she gave the kid a bucket. The kids got the bucket, right, and I, this is my memory. So I’m crawling around on my knees in the strawberries, and I’m sure I was smashing strawberries left and right, in my mind I was thinking ‘boy, I bet ma is sure glad I’m here, I’m such a help.’ And I know that I’m sure I wasn’t a help,
right? But so I have a distinct sense that my sense of agency, right, you know that my actions matter in the world and that, and it comes from that (tears up). And helping, you know, like picking eggs, not that I’m gonna babysit you.” She summarizes, “So my sense of self, of who I am as a being, as a person with autonomy and ability and worth... (cries)...happened there.” She looks out the window of Annie and Pablo’s house, past the big pull pine that sits at the top of the hill to where the garden used to sit.

While the land sustained them in physical ways, it sustained them emotionally too. The memories of the 5th generation reveal that they spent great amounts of time up on the hill with Ma (Annie) and Papa (Pablo). One woman comments “This has always been where everybody gathers.....Out on the lawn, everybody visited and re-connected every day.” As one man puts it “This was home base all the time. You know cause Ma was here, Papa was here. I lived for the weekends, to run up here and take care of them..... Whether I’m walking or riding a bike. I’m heading up the hill to spend all my time.” Their childhood memories are speckled with memories of the strawberry patch, the plum tree, the bull pine, the ditchbank above the house, and the hill. One woman comments “I always want these willows to exist,” and her cousin adds “and that big bull pine. I will be heartbroken when that big bull pine finally dies.”
Until Grandma passed, her children would go visit her nearly every day. A person from the 5th generation growing up in the 80s said “Sometimes in the spring, the late spring, I’d get off the bus here and then grandma would be sitting there waiting. And mom would either beat me here or be here right after. And then we’d finish watching ‘Days of Our Lives,’ and you couldn’t, you know you couldn’t talk during ‘Days of Our Lives,’ but I knew the rules, so I was allowed to come in and sit. So I would just get food, you know dig around in the kitchen at grandma’s. And then we would just sit outside under the willows and just b.s. And then at some point Dib and Pat would show up, with a twelver of beer at least. And they would just visit. Like every night all of grandma’s kids stopped back by and visited. So that was really
fun.” Sarge would start nearly every morning with a visit to his mom’s on the hill. According to his sister, “He started his day and he would always sit sideways and he would cock his leg up, and he would visit with mom. And that was awesome, you know, yeah. Or take her for a little ride, she loved that.”

The 6th generation did not spend as much time on the family land in their childhoods as previous generations had, but they remained deeply rooted in the valley and deeply connected with their family. The cousins were raised together. People’s places of connection and home were the ditchbank above the property, Crazy Fish Lake and Sa’ol Sooth Lake in the South Fork primitive area nearby in the Jocko, specific rock piles near where they lived, and grandpa’s house. People also chose farther away places like Glacier National Park, due to frequency of visits in childhood or profound experiences there are adults. Many people remembered the Cottonwood piles near the McClure Rd house as endless exploration and fun. Children built rooms in the gaps between the downed logs, pretended to make meals out of rotting wood, and got in fights. They went on long bike rides to the various sections of the ditchbank, and learned that they were in charge of themselves if someone got too close the sucking end of a culvert or flipped over their handlebars and skinned up their back. Out of sight of parents, they were learning about consequences and to be comfortable in their abilities outdoors.

Growing up in poverty, they not only used the outdoors for all their recreation, but they also relied heavily on wild meat for food. A father from the 5th generation talks about this “Well you kids were raised on wild meat. That’s all that we could afford. We were so poor, we couldn’t afford to buy it, so we lived on wild meat all the time. I used to hunt a lot, just until the last few years. With my cancer, course I have to quit hunting. But now we rely on bison which is really cool, Travis, we get bison, a whole bison and I can give out to the kids around here the extra
bison that we have.” Hunting is still an important part of every year for some people from the 6th generation. People still fish, gather berries and grow and preserve food. Others rely on store-bought foods.

The early 2000s were hard on our family. We lost Chora, a young man from the 6th generation named Rusty, Sarge, and Annie during a 4-year stretch. These were the foundations of our family. Sarge passed in the middle of the night at St. Patrick’s hospital from complications of an open heart surgery. When people went to tell Grandma Annie that it had happened, she informed that she already knew. He had come on his four wheeler and said goodbye to her. The year that he died, the old Doug fir next to the strawberry patch fell over out of the blue. There are two other stories of trees dying with people in this area. When Grandma Annie passed a few years later, people remember doors in her home being shut and then popping ajar. She also visited her daughter one night in her bed to check on her. Her house sat empty for a period after her death. The place on the hill became quiet, and a source of sadness. About grief, a woman from the 4th generation reminds us “and so you have to pray really hard, like if someone passes, sometimes they will take a good friend of theirs with them, so you have to pray really hard to keep everything, so.” Her daughter adds, “and not mourn too hard either, not grieve for them too much, cause you don’t want them to come and take you.” With memories of this always being a warm place, the coldness of the house exacerbated people’s sadness. My brother, sister and I were all in our early years of college and so we moved in there to keep the place warm. I remember feeling strange going to bed the first night in the room she had built with her very hands so many years before. I awoke to her face just above mine. Her image startled me, but it wasn’t scary. She was just there. Nobody questions these experiences. Though it presents itself
much differently than it did in Pokerjim’s days, our family has maintained a spiritual connection to this place.

When our elders died, younger generations inherited pieces of the family’s 100 acres. 5th generation people began parceling up the meadow below Steven’s Creeks and relocating their homes to the family land. It was a hard transition for some. Many people were accustomed to the open space of the meadow, or ranging cattle on that land. One of Annie and Pablo’s daughters has built a new home near where the original cabin was built in the 1930s. Over the years, many family members have also purchased land in the vicinity of Steven’s Creek to be near home. One person from the 6th generation says “well it’s cool to be able to leave from my house and hit all family houses all the way around. The whole way.” Her dad agrees, “It’s really fun for me to drive home after work and I go by Tiffany’s house, and Anola and Aaron John are playing and I honk the horn, and they’re just waving like crazy. Or I go down here and meet Finn coming across the trail. It’s really cool.” The hill has continued to remain a hub, a gathering place for our family.


One of the women from the 5th generation, who relocated to the family land from the Bitterroot in the 2000s, talks about spending her days amidst family again. She loves living in a
place where she can see people again “To me that’s a great feeling, because I’m surrounded….and you know, its home. It really feels like home.” She continues, “That’s the thing about me moving home from, being gone so long, that tie to the land, you know because there are so many memories here….Like in our barn we have a branch, Pat cut it for us, that was cut off and it has one of the machetes that grandpa had, and he must’ve been clearing brush and he stuck it in the middle of a tree, and the tree grew around the machete. So we have that. That was down there where we live, that was in the brush area.” She talks about how she had a really good day recently, where she got to visit with six different family members in one day, just going about her weekend business. Her brother comments “it’s really lucky.” Another person (6th generation) who moved away and came back said “Just coming back here and even just seeing the mountains, and seeing the sunset from up here, it’s just all these familiar things that you take for granted when you grow up here, you know I think it made me appreciate it so much more going away and coming back.” About the east coast, she commented “nothing there ever felt like home.” One of her cousins moved to Hawaii and had no intention of coming back. She said she loved it there, but felt really surprised by how much she missed home and having family around. “Hawaiian families and communities are so similar to the Rez, but then it was like where I didn’t fit in. And then it made it really apparent like how much I missed being a part of that like family community.”

A family gathering on the hill, 1990s. Photo courtesy Paula Espinoza Wofford.
People from the 6th generation talked about the importance of raising their children here. “I think it’s just meaningful that the places that were important to us as kids are also going to be important to our kids, because we are sharing a lot of those same places with them now. You know, going up to the ditchbank is one of their favorite things to do. It’s just cool that there is kind-of that continuity, except for Crazy Fish,” referencing the fact that our generation are not tribal members and can no longer go to the South Fork primitive area, where we spent so much of our childhood. Her tribal member father diverts the controversial topic, “That’s why we just got to go other places now, Schall Flats.” He concludes “I think it’s incredible that the families still get together, like last weekend, and look for buttercups or pick up bones, and still do stuff like that together. And the grandkids are learning all that stuff. They are growing up just like you guys are.” Parents of the 6th generation talked about the importance of family “And our kids raising their kids here, and that continuing. I mean it means so much to us that four of our five kids live right here, in the Jocko Valley, we see them all the time, and they’re here and our grandkids. We’re that daily grandma and grandpa. You know, we’re part of every day of their life. And that’s so important, it is.” People respect that continuity of place and tradition.


The children of the 7th generation, the youngest generation yet living, talked about their relationship with the land and about places of significance for them. They associate Schall Flats and the Jocko with springtime. One girl says “normally every spring we go camping. And we go
to the same spot normally, up the Jocko, and there was this tree laying down on the stump and we call it the see-saw tree, cause it, every time we sit on it, it like bends back and forth. And we made a fire pit there. And every time I bring the same stuffed animal- midnight.” Her cousin likes going hiking at least once, usually up at Schall Flats, “There’s a lot of bones, usually the first buttercups of spring, it’s really big and flat and hilly.” Her brother chimes in “I really like it. There was a big cow body, and I took home the skull and then I took home the backbone.” Their cousin agrees “I like Schall Flats because normally like every single time we at least find one bone. And every time I went up there since I was like 5 or somethings I find a skull.” In the summertime, they like to visit St. Mary’s Lake in the Jocko “cause it’s so beautiful and clean……and we can bring our kayaks…and there’s always the rocks and stuff that we can play on.” The youngest one present talks about building big leaf piles to jump in during the fall and going up in the woods, “like hiking around, and spotting antlers and deer.” His big sister says “I like dragging out the deer.” The little one whispers “you never drug out a deer.” His big sister giggles, and says “yeah, but it seems fun.” They conclude by agreeing that “almost every single week we go up the Jocko.”

People across 5 generations seem to agree that there is something special about this place. We have all been sustained by it physically, emotionally and spiritually. About this Lolita (5th generation) said, “There’s not a woman that I have ever seen that could work harder than she (Annie). And so it’s really special that I have this land from her. And Carla once said, she said ‘you have to be pretty special to live on the hill’ and that was a really wonderful compliment (cries). So that’s kinda what the land is, this little corner of the world is, you know, it’s real important.”

In 1970, Pablo wrote a poem about the family land at Stevens Creek:
The policy of allotment was originally an effort at assimilation by the U.S. government, and it was opposed by the tribes. It was an attempt to break up the tribal communal land base and change the value-system to one of land-ownership instead of a relationship of community and reciprocity with the land. To some extent, that may have been achieved at the landscape scale. But as this particular example reveals, at the family level, allotment may have served to keep a family together on the land for multiple generations, maintaining their sense of attachment to the land and their community values, greatly contributing to their resiliency. The family adapted to this new lifestyle and has found strength in it.

People and Place
This compilation of stories and words has largely been a story of adaptation and change, but what has remained the same? Are there ways of being or value systems that have kept us
strong? Three themes that emerged in this process were that the Espinoza family feels spiritually and materially dependent on the lands of the Reservation, specifically the Jocko Valley, we see nature as teacher, and we have a strong place identity. We value connection, family, nature, respect, hard-work, persistence, and humor.

Daniel Wildcat writes that “Indigenous people represent a culture emergent from a place, and they actively draw on the power of that place, physically and spiritually” (2001: 32). While the Salish people are often reminded that we were forcibly removed from our Bitterroot Valley homeland, the Jocko Valley and a vast region of the inland Northwest plateau were also our homeland. The Flathead Reservation lands have been part of us and we have been part of them for millennia, our memories and the place-names tell us so. The Espinoza family and many others have continued to interact with the land through subsistence and spiritual activities. We might have transitioned from primarily gathering, hunting, and fishing for foods to a mixed subsistence of raising or purchasing foods combined with hunting and gathering seasonal food sources, but the relationship of respect and reciprocity with the natural world remain. People feel gratitude for the gifts of the land.

A second theme was that participants often talked about learning from the land, coming of age on the land, or of nature as teacher. Some people recalled learning about their own agency through picking strawberries or learning to hunt, while others talked about having enough freedom to explore, making choices about their actions and learning from the consequences. Teaching happened by showing and through authentic experiences in nature. People from the 4th, 5th, and 6th generations talked about the limited restrictions when they were growing up, commenting that after chores were done they just needed to stay within the range of a mother’s whistle or a gunshot, depending on the parents, or to “come home if you’re bleeding.” Some
children grew up raising animals and so “life and death is every day. You don’t have to ask certain questions from your parents, because you see it every day…. The neighbors got quite an education as well.” One 6th generation parent commented “I also think that just being out in the outdoors just creates a love of being outside and of nature, and a connection from the time they are really little. To feel a connection with everything, I feel like that is just equally important. To find peace in nature, and to explore, and you know see the first flowers that come up.” As mentioned above, parents also find it really important to show their children the same places they grew up in and to have continuity with place over generations. Nature and place plays a strong role in parenting in our family.

Thirdly, many feel that the place is a core part of who they are as individuals and who we are as a family and a community. As she sat at the table her brother made in her mother’s house at the top of the hill and the base of the heart, one 5th generation person explained her place identity through a story:

“I had an experience a few years back about a lady… Our cook was making bannock and she was making it Cree style, like in a big cake pan type of thing and they bake it in an oven. Well, Grandma made bannock, or scnpe, just like, almost like fat tortillas, or Papa Drew would call it cowboy bread or whatever. She would just put it on a griddle, over a fire or on a stove and fry both sides and that was her scnpe, and it was really good. We still enjoy it, we still make it. And it’s not hard or anything…. And I said ‘I’ve never seen bannock made like that,’ just assuming everybody made bannock like we do, and I wasn’t being judgmental, and I was just making the comment. And this lady, who’s actually from like up north further, she said ‘well, that’s because you’re not from here.’ I was so offended, like she could of... she might as well have taken out a knife and stabbed me.
Because I was so angry. Like, that’s my hill (points), my family lives below the heart. Like she couldn’t have said something more offensive to me.” She concludes, “Like we’re just so grounded in this place.”

Basso describes selfhood and placehood as “completely intertwined” for Indigenous peoples (1996:46). He also writes about landscapes as “eminently portable possessions” that people can maintain deep relationships with regardless of whether they are in contact with them or not (1996:75). I was grateful to interview two people who grew up on the reservation but do not live here anymore. They both commented on how meaningful and important this place is for them. One of them talked about the cultural differences, saying “I didn’t really realize this ‘til I moved away to the extent I do, but, um, like being in a small community there, but also being on a reservation. The values of everyone, the family values, how important family is to everyone there. And the fact that you can like trace to your fifth and sixth cousins, and that everyone is connected, and the family histories. And like, that’s super rare, even in other small communities there’s a lot more, I think, turnover and stuff. So it’s a pretty unique... I feel special to have grown up not only with close family but somewhere where the whole community is connected.” They still see it as their home and part of their identity even though they’ve lived elsewhere for the majority of their adult lives.

Some people who have partnered with non-Natives talked about how their relationship has illuminated key cultural differences. Sometimes, people from mainstream society are expected to choose their own path and find their own place in the world, but for us “it’s place, only.” One person’s relationship revealed to him how connected he was to this place in comparison to his partner, who loves to travel and move often, and whose bones don’t ache for home when she’s gone. Talking about living elsewhere he said “In California, I felt so alone.” In
contrast, he remarks “I do feel a draw to this place and it’s just… like I remember being a little kid and my grandpa picking me up from Missoula and driving me out to the house, and like, you know when you first come around Evaro and you can see the… like your windshield frames Grey Wolf?” He continues “I can remember it so vividly in my mind, it was like a beautiful clear blue sky, where it is like… but the mountains still have a ton of snow on them, you know. And so Grey Wolf still had a ton of snow. It must have been around spring or something and he was like ‘That is a million dollar view. It doesn’t get any better than that, Gabe, like you’re never going to see anything as amazing as this view.’ And that’s, like every time I drive out to get my son, and like we come over the hill, I’ll make a comment to Chelsea like ‘Man, look at that. Isn’t that amazing?’ It is so beautiful, it really is. Just like having that view specifically, like I can’t even really imagine being from…. ” He talked about how you can see Grey Wolf from everywhere everyone lives. From our side of the valley, it is the most prominent peak in the Missions.

![The view of Grey Wolf from the family land. Photo courtesy Tia Espinoza.](image_url)

Many people look at it every day, it is how they start and finish their days. One of his cousins talked about how she’ll exclaim to her children that they have to come look at Grey Wolf, and her daughter will say ‘Mama, you say that every day.’ The man who was originally telling the story later talks about how one of his resiliency factors is “having a guiding star, like a guiding light of Grandpa Sarge.” He talks about the importance of the lessons he learned from
his grandpa: to make people feel valuable, capable and like they have a purpose. Because of Sarge’s example, this person said “I know what I want to be. I know how I want to be remembered. I know what kind of legacy I want to leave behind, so that helps me.” He sees Grey Wolf every time he comes to Arlee. It reminds him of the lessons his grandfather taught him.

People talked about place in association with family, because “your identity is linked with other people.” One person from the 5th generation said “this family has been able to hold onto a sense of self, collective.” Many people expressed gratitude for their cousins and their siblings, talking about tangible benefits like a large safety net, but more often they talked about a shared identity and experience. A 5th generation person came to the conclusion that “Because I could look in the eyes of my cousins and recognize their similar experience, and that we were
kind of travelling down the same path, was a real life saver to me. I don’t know that I would have made it had I not had them.” People don’t believe this place would exist in the same way for them without the people that have always been here. One 5th generation mom talks about trying to move her children to the Midwest at one point. The kids lasted a few months and said “well, we can’t stay here, you’re the only one here. And everyone’s there. And that was cut and dry for them. And so it is people and place I think.”

Connection to place and the people in it are understood as a major resiliency factor for many people. A 5th generation person believes that “knowing that you have a place where you belong is important. Like, really feeling a connection to this area, and knowing that anytime you go out you’re going to see someone you know. Beyond just family, the community of it too. You always have someone you can call if you need something.” A teenager from the 6th generation thought of it like this “I guess if I’m having a hard time, my biggest, like what I remember the most, or what I always have to be like ‘ok, Nads, settle down.’ Like I always have someone I can go to…my mom, or my grandma, or my qéne’, or my brothers, or my papa, or my dad, or…. I mean I can go across the street and be loved and safe. I could go for miles and still be loved and safe. So, it’s good to remember I guess.” Many people recognized this big network of people on the land as something they could count on, talking about feelings of safety and comfort in being surrounded by familiar and relatable places and people.
Deepening my sense of place through oral history

Throughout the spring I conducted this oral history project, I occasionally took runs or walks up on the ditchbank. The ditchbank is a place that will always reside in my heart. The ditchbank doesn’t sound very nice; in fact it sounds harsh or industrial. It is an irrigation canal that diverts water along the base of the mountains, forming the eastern edge of development in the part of the Jocko Valley where I grew up. It might be an irrigation canal, but it is an old one. What I imagine were once rocky exposed banks have become naturalized for the most part. Along its banks, you find all the usual players of a riparian ecosystem: dippers and water skippers, aspen and cottonwoods, horsetails and mosses, beavers and kingfisher. I even saw my first mountain lion there. As a functional canal, there is a road that parallels it. You could drive it but people rarely do, and when they do the creep their vehicles slowly along, looking for game or checking out what the plants are up to that time of year. One particular redneck in my family once had his wife drive their truck, which he had tied a rope to. He held the other end of the rope and used an old boogie board to skim the surface of the ditchbank’s shallow waters while his children squealed in delight from the bed of the truck. This behavior is anomalous. The ditchbank is usually quiet and serene. Family’s take picnics up there, go for walks or bike rides, or float down in inner tubes in July.

There are different sections of the ditchbank that pull from various creeks and sometimes join together, or sometimes just end in the fields below. Some sections flow through ponderosa forests and others through exposed fields of buttercups and bottlebrush. The ditchbank is long. It probably spans 13 miles. My childhood home was on McClure Road. From the McClure road house we would take family walks and bike rides to the ditchbank in evenings or summers. It felt so far away and so entirely ours. We didn’t have many neighbors then so we really never saw anyone up there.
As we grew up, we had incremental territory boundaries. As we passed some unknown marker of maturity we got permission to venture farther and farther from home without supervision. First it was the dried up cottonwoods at the bottom of the field, still within sight and earshot of the house. Then the top of the road, out of sight but within earshot. Then it was the cattle guard on the road that leads to tribal land where the ditchbank was, out of sight and earshot. The cattle guard was an ordinary cattle guard, metal and exposed on a dusty road. But since this was the absolute edge of the boundary circa 3rd grade, we were happy to sit atop the fencing at its edges and hang out as long as we were allowed. After we had achieved a level of confidence or maturity that our parents deemed appropriate, we finally got the grand prize of the ditchbank, unsupervised. The ditchbank was the pinnacle of independence for us. There was no way they could see or hear or know what we did, nor did they necessarily care. The ditchbank had wildlife. There were bears and mountain lions. Our parents trusted that we would take care of each other, and we learned to trust ourselves and one another along the ditchbank.

At first, I mostly went with my siblings, but I remember the first time I went alone. I was probably in early high school and decided to go running in the evening. There is a segment that passes a thick patch of old spruce trees that block out most of the light. There isn’t much understory and I always get a little spooked in this section. I started thinking about wolves and picked up my pace. This is a mean trick to play on yourself. Shortly after this section the roads bends. I ran around the corner and directly into a slim doe. I startled and froze. So did she. We looked at each other for a second and then she bolted. I took a minute to regain composure because I had really been scared. I felt an adrenaline rush. I felt amazed. I felt confident and ran on. Something about being alone in the woods, especially for the first times, has the ability to conjure feelings such as these.
The McClure Road section of the ditchbank ended (or actually began) at a small waterfall on Finley Creek with a bridge over it. And by bridge I mean a single, wet 2x4 propped atop some of the canal’s cement mechanisms. The bridge led to a small path that we weren’t supposed to walk because it passed through some private land. So we always turned back at the waterfall.

When my family moved from the McClure road house to the family land at Steven’s Creek, I spent more time along the section of ditchbank we had always associated with grandpa. I became reconnected with this stretch as well as the one past Charlie’s pond that has spectacular views of Grey Wolf. Once, as an adult, I went back to the McClure road section and crossed the bridge. The path got smaller as the water slowed and widened into a small pond. We stopped when we came upon a cabin with a platform across the ditch that had two chairs on it. With its irises growing on the water and chickadees bouncing overhead, it was beautiful. I couldn’t imagine who had the good fortune to live directly upon the glorious ditchbank.

After living in Hawaii and elsewhere during my twenties, I came home and found a rental house on Schley Creek. The first winter I lived on Schley, my landlord told me that I could access the ditchbank through Gary LeDoux’s property. Naturally, I went exploring. Apparently the cabin with the platform and the chairs is the very next house up the road from where I live now. As I resettle into my true home, I can again walk to my childhood section of the ditchbank within ten minutes. I have rekindled a flame with it. Far from the disorientation I felt in Hawaii, my body recognizes the markers of time here. I don’t have to painstakingly decipher the sights and smells. I know the social norms and feel comfortable in my place here.

This landscape brings me comfort through my own personal history with it. But after conducting this oral history project, I came to recognize that it is not just my own personal connection that bring about these feelings of belonging, it is a long history of connection that has
been passed through the generations. My family began living year-round along the ditchbank in the early 1900s and many of them still live there today. Nearly everyone I interviewed mentioned the ditchbank with feelings of fondness and comfort. One section passes my uncle’s horse stables under the ponderosas. Another goes just above Grandma-on-the-hill’s house, where the turkeys always are and the elk sometimes are. Yet another goes right past Charlie’s pond. I feel a sense of belonging here, and now I can recognize that countless others do too, deepening the bond. The land binds us to one another in a shared history.

When my graduate advisor first suggested that I conduct a family oral history project, I immediately felt intimidated at the thought of it. I spent a year mulling it over, worrying about stirring up bad blood or getting something wrong and offending people. One of my main concerns was trying to highlight the variety of voices and accurately represent people’s different truths in a way that would not be offensive to others. During and after completing the project, I found that participants were just grateful someone was taking an interest in their lives and histories. People relished the opportunity to share stories about places of importance to them. They were open and generous with their time and their words. We are ordinary people who are not heavily represented in the written record, so without oral history, much of our story would be lost. After the project concluded, people commented on how wonderful it was to have documented at least from Penama and Pokerjim’s time onward, because everything before that had been lost. Through this project, we can formally document our long and unique connection with these specific places on the landscape. In many cases, Indigenous connections with various landscapes have been severed due to outside forces, and their stories have been erased from the American mind. Oral history provides an antidote to forgetfulness (or outright erasure) of Indigenous peoples’ place on the land.
This process gave me an appreciation for effective communication, speaking and listening, and for the value of oral history for Indigenous peoples. It also gave me a greater appreciation for the family and the place from which I come. Before undertaking this project, I only knew tidbits of our communal past. In a way, I saw people’s lives only as they had been in my own memory. Although objectively I understood that the land and people must have changed substantially over 7 generations, I think subconsciously I assumed people had always been the same and this place had always been the way I know them to be now. This project really showed me the complexities of individuals, families, and places. It revealed the ways in which incidents, places, relationships, or societal trends can have lasting impacts throughout multiple generations. I feel grateful to have participated in this communal process of communication and glad to have a deeper understanding of where I come from. I feel gratitude every day for the gifts this family and the land have bestowed on me.
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**Photograph Citations:**


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Appendix

GUTS! Summer Outdoor Adventures: Resiliency camp on the Flathead Reservation for Native and non-Native teenagers
  ➢ Curriculum and camp outline
  ➢ Local resources/ contact list
  ➢ Recruitment materials
  ➢ Pre and post program surveys

Other original materials created (not included but available at the YWCA GUTS! program upon request: 1130 W Broadway St. Missoula, MT 59802)
  ➢ Naturalist activity booklet for the GUTS! Summer Outdoor Adventures
  ➢ Naturalist toolkit
  ➢ Summer youth leader journal
  ➢ Summer participant journal
GUTS! Summer Outdoor Adventures

Resiliency camp on the Flathead Reservation

An addendum to the GUTS! curriculum

Developed by Tabitha Espinoza

Spring 2017
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About the GUTS! program:

“The mission of the YWCA GUTS! (Girls Using Their Strengths) program is to support young women in discovering their strengths, developing their leadership skills, and using their voices to activate positive community change through mentoring, small group discussion, outdoor challenges and community action projects.”

GUTS! is a unique, community-based leadership and empowerment program designed by and for young women ages 9-18. Through best practices such as mentoring, small group discussion, outdoor challenges and community action projects, GUTS! provides a safe and supportive environment for girls to build their confidence, develop strong and healthy relationships, practice their leadership skills, explore important issues, laugh, play and have fun. GUTS! believes that by empowering girls, we enrich the entire community.

GUTS! Summer Outdoor Adventures encourages young women to explore their personal values, discover their strengths, connect to the natural world, and cultivate new perspectives through group wilderness exploration. Girls and women mentors come together to explore and learn about themselves and the environment in an outdoor setting. There are five week-long camps throughout western Montana each summer for participants ages 9-19. GUTS! partners with local women farmers, non-profits, and community organizations to provide service learning opportunities to the summer participants.

Goals of the GUTS! program
Participants will:
- Identify strengths
- Improve self-esteem and self-confidence
- Improve body image satisfaction
- Seek mentors
- Develop critical thinking skills
- Use their voice to advocate for themselves and others
- Feel empowered to create positive change in their community
About the Flathead Curriculum Addendum Project

The Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes Department of Fish, Wildlife, Recreation and Conservation has generously granted us access to their lands year after year to run girls leadership camps. This curriculum addendum works to honor this specific place and the people who live here. The foundational curriculum for this camp will still be the GUTS! empowerment model, but these place-based ideas and activities can be incorporated. Ideally this camp will become more relevant to Native participants as well as help all of our participants develop a broader perspective on the diversity of human experience and the history and lives of the Salish, Kootenai and Pend d’Orielle people of Montana. This is a first draft and will be an evolving process as we develop the camp, meet new people, and gather more resources.

The theme for this camp is ‘resiliency through connection to place.’ Connection to place can be a huge asset for our participants, as we know nature has a grounding impact on many people and can be a resiliency factor. This camp curriculum will help participants consider their own resiliency factors as well as the community resiliency factors the Tribal community has. This pilot project aims to engage the Tribal community, whether natural resource experts or student gardeners at the SKC community garden project, to provide a rich learning experience for our participants. This will provide a great opportunity for local participants to connect more deeply with the place, and share what they may know about this place and the people who inhabit it. For participants from off-reservation, this will provide a good opportunity to confront misconceptions and stereotypes, and see what life is like on a modern Indian reservation.

Goals of this curriculum addendum

Along with the GUTS! program goals, participants will:

- Recognize stereotypes they may have about American Indians and reservation life
- Participate in a service project with a tribally-affiliated program
- Understand a basic history of the Flathead Reservation and its peoples
- Meet people from the reservation, whether tribal resource experts or students from Nkwusm
- Consider individual and communal sense of place
- Consider the interconnectedness of all beings
Philosophy:

This program draws heavily on constructivism, acknowledging and building upon students’ existing knowledge, beliefs and skills. The GUTS! Outdoor Adventures provide both an “education for having” and an “education for being,” with an emphasis on the latter. In accordance with our empowerment model, we see the value in a learner-centered approach, cooperative and active learning, diversity among learners, and multi-cultural education and experiences. The activities listed below are meant for High School aged participants but some could be creatively adapted for younger audiences.

Models Used:

With our broad objectives, an interdisciplinary model makes the most sense. We will cover a variety of themes and need to be able to integrate multiple disciplines to heighten awareness and deepen understanding. We will construct experiences through the lens of inquiry learning, employing the learning cycle and cooperative group learning.

Scope:

This place-based curriculum will give participants a better appreciation of the natural and cultural history of the Flathead Reservation. Participants will begin to conceptualize the environment in terms of natural history and human relationships to the land.

Sequence:

Although all activities presented below can stand alone, the following curriculum will most effectively be used in sequential order. This curriculum proceeds from learning about the history of the place to working with locals in a service project; from learning about natural history with local experts to practicing observation and identification techniques in the field; from teamwork and group challenges to culminating in a synthesizing activity on the last day. This curriculum addendum will be supplemental to the pre-existing GUTS! curriculum, activities, and goals. See a sample of lesson distribution on the following page.

Some of the following activities are my original ideas. Others come from the GUTS! curriculum and others from elsewhere. Activities drawn from external sources can be found in Appendix A.

Assessment:

GUTS! Outdoor Adventures program will conduct formative assessment on a continual basis. During each camp, all the trip leaders have a nightly debrief to track our work and participant progress. In these sessions, we address concerns and adjust our methods or activities accordingly. We formatively assess our programs throughout the summer season as well. The GUTS! Program Manager, Program Coordinator, and summer VISTA will meet after each camp to track our progress and make any changes necessary.

Additionally, GUTS! uses an outcome-based summative evaluation, based on the logic model. We utilize pre and post program surveys. At present, the GUTS! program outcomes are all based on personal growth, but to accurately assess this project specifically, I have added questions relating to the goals mentioned above. Pre and post evaluations will be done for each camp, and the data will be compiled and analyzed in the fall. If we see that we are not effectively achieving any one of our outcomes, we will adjust our activities/techniques/programs accordingly before the next summer season.
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Overnight Location:</strong> Mission Falls campground</td>
<td>Mission Falls campground</td>
<td>Finley Lakes</td>
<td>Finley Lakes</td>
<td>Home!</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Activities:</strong></td>
<td>Morning Resiliency, take down camp</td>
<td>Breakfast/ Resiliency</td>
<td>Earth Circle of Life Activity: appreciating the earth</td>
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<tr>
<td>8AM</td>
<td>Breakfast/ Morning Resiliency Practice</td>
<td>breakfast, make lunches</td>
<td>Pack</td>
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<tr>
<td>9AM</td>
<td>Welcome!</td>
<td>Pack bags!</td>
<td>Hike down the mountain. Lunch on the trail</td>
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<tr>
<td>10AM</td>
<td>10:30 Leave YWCA.</td>
<td>drive. Threshold episode 2??</td>
<td>Drive home</td>
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<tr>
<td>11AM</td>
<td>At Fish Hatchery, pre-contact history with Willie</td>
<td>10:30- be at Dixon. Service project with Community Garden</td>
<td>unpack, check in gear, post-surveys parents arrive at 5, put stuff away, return van</td>
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<tr>
<td>12PM</td>
<td>lunch/ playing</td>
<td>hike! Lunch on the trail</td>
<td>Leader debrief</td>
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<td>1PM</td>
<td>drive and set up camp. Tent 101</td>
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<td>Eat. Sleep. Sleep. Sleep.</td>
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<td>2PM</td>
<td>swimming/ free time</td>
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<td>3PM</td>
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<tr>
<td>4PM</td>
<td>Meet Tony Incashola: connection with place</td>
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<td>5PM</td>
<td>CSKT resiliency with Germaine. Sense of place convos</td>
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<tr>
<td>6PM</td>
<td>Dinner prep, dinner and clean up</td>
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<tr>
<td>7PM</td>
<td>split into groups and look through folders</td>
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<tr>
<td>8PM</td>
<td>GUTS! activity 1: Diversity- circles activity</td>
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<tr>
<td>9PM</td>
<td>SKITS</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>10PM</td>
<td>Closing circle: willingness to try and risk</td>
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<tr>
<td>11PM</td>
<td>bedtime/ leader debrief</td>
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Day 1 (Monday, July 24) — Group Vision and Cohesion

7:45 Leaders meet at the YWCA
   Check in—one word/sentence to describe how you’re feeling/ what you need from team
   Hand out leader folders
   Who’s riding with whom
   Divide up pre-departure tasks, prepare for the arrival of campers

9:00 Girls trickle in at YWCA
   Name tags, pass out journals
   Make Moon Bags
   Introduce theme and overview of week.
   Brief overview of day. “Future questions” opportunity
   Name Game!

10:15 Take off (.5 hr drive to Fish Hatchery).

11:00 Talk with Willie Wright about pre-contact history

12:00 Lunch and:
   Group guidelines/Safety Talk/GUTS! rules
   HERLAW
   Youth Leaders: Job explanation and give assignments (Naturalist prep activity for before dinner)

1:00 drive to Mission Dam and Set up camp, tent maintenance 101
   Free time—Swimming, Boats, Relaxing.

4:00 Meet Tony Incashola

5:00 Dinner prep (cooks). Naturalist can choose an activity and a time to lead it.

5:30 dinner and clean up

7:00 (*or earlier) Split into groups and think about GUTS! activities they will lead throughout the week

8:00* GUTS! Activity 1- Diversity: Circles activity. See Appendix A

9:00* Skits!
   ✦ Leave No Trace
   ✦ Animal Safety
   ✦ Going in the woods (peeing, pooping, periods!)
   ✦ HER LAW

10:00* Fire, dessert, and Closing Circle—Hopes for the week

11:00* Bed/ Leader debrief: How is everyone doing? What went well, and what should we work on? Any
   noticings about girls? Group dynamics? Go over plan for tomorrow.
Unit Title: A brief history of the Flathead Reservation
Age: 14-19

Unit Essential Question: In what ways have the Salish, Kootenai and Pend d’Oreille tribes shown resilience in the face of historic and contemporary oppression?

Unit Objectives:
- Participants will know the three tribes of the Flathead Indian Reservation
- Participants will recognize the trauma inherent in our shared history
- Participants will be encouraged to look for examples of resiliency throughout our time on the Flathead Reservation
- Participants will reflect on the version of history that is taught in schools and whether they think it is accurate

Note to the instructor: If possible, history lessons would best be presented by a local expert, whether that is an elder familiar with the history, an educator from one of the schools or a tribal employee. See the appendix for a list of local people or organizations dedicated to the truthful telling of history. If you get someone to come present, make sure to be intentional about introducing the themes and laying out expectations before the speaker arrives so that students will be prepared and respectful and the presenter will know what we are focusing on. Allow them to present from their knowledge base and do not expect them to follow this guide. It is always good to give a small gift. If you cannot arrange a local expert, use this lesson as a guide. Find more information in the appendix, specifically “Montana Indians: Their History and Location,” from the OPI Indian Education for all website. Please read the full chapter on the Flathead Reservation before presenting this lesson so you are prepared to fill in gaps and answer questions students may have.

Materials Needed: the attached photos and maps, “circles” activity sample, download the Threshold Podcast, episodes 2 and 5.

Time Needed: 3 sessions (45 minutes to an hour each) over the first three days of the camp. 3 lessons follow.

*History sources for all three lessons listed on page 78 of Appendix C
Title: **History lesson 1: pre-contact**  
**Age:** 14-19

**Lesson Objectives:**  
- Participants will know the name of this reservation and the three tribes that live here  
- Participants will recognize the long history on the land of the Salish, Pend d’Oreille, and Kootenai people  
- Participants will learn about the multiculturalism of the group  
- Participants will share the own identities  
- Participants will define stereotypes and their impacts

**Materials Needed:** journals, writing utensils, “Circles” activity sample

**Time Needed:** 1 hour

**Lesson 1 Outline:**  
- **Introduction**  
- **Presentation**  
- **Circles of My Multicultural Self activity**

**Note to the instructor:** As mentioned previously, history lessons would best be presented by a local expert, whether that is an elder familiar with the history, an educator from one of the schools or a tribal employee. Willie Wright is scheduled to present on day 1 at 11AM. Introduce her to the group and give her a gift (there are fancy chocolate bars in the cooler for presenters). She was the first female American Indian teacher at Arlee schools and worked to bring accurate historical education to the school throughout her career. She was given a guideline to talk about tribal history with a focus on resiliency. Let her take the lead and follow up with questions at the end. Please read the following information to better prepare yourself with context for her talk and to ask good, relevant questions. If something happens and she cannot come, present from the following lesson.

**Introduction (5 minutes).** Welcome to the Flathead Indian Reservation. We’re really lucky that the Tribes are allowing us to use this amazing land for our camp. We don’t normally include a history lesson in GUTS! camps, but this is a separate nation and we want you all to recognize that the land we are entering is not the same as any other place we camp, and the people are unique as well. The theme for this week is connection to place and resiliency, which we all have in us. These brief history lessons will help us recognize and honor the people specific to this place and talk about their resiliency. What is resiliency? Who knows what reservation we are entering? What is a reservation and how were they formed? What tribes live here? Why do you think there are three tribes here?

**Presentation (15 minutes).** *Feel free to use what you want from this or add to it, but please don’t skip this activity altogether. It is important that people know about the place we are visiting and the people we will be meeting here. I think a good place to do this is in Evaro, near the Flathead Reservation sign. This is meant to be a brief overview.*

This will be a very brief introduction to the people of this land and some history. There is so much more to say, but we will be brief. We’ll have a short bit of history for the first few days of the camp to be sure we are all on the same page. I’m going to read a blurb that the Confederated Salish and Kootenai tribes say about themselves on their website.
“Honoring the Past to Ensure the Future… The Flathead Indian Reservation is home to three tribes, the Bitterroot Salish, Upper Pend d’Oreille, and the Kootenai. “Confederated Salish” refers to both the Salish and Pend d’Oreille tribes. The territories of these three tribes covered all of western Montana and extended into parts of Idaho, British Columbia and Wyoming. The Hellgate Treaty of 1855 established the Flathead Reservation, but over half a million acres passed out of Tribal ownership during land allotment that began in 1904.

The subsistence patterns of our Tribal people developed over generations of observation, experimentation and spiritual interaction with the natural world, creating a body of knowledge about the environment closely tied to seasons, locations and biology. This way of life was suffused with rich oral history and a spiritual tradition in which people respected the animals, plants and other elements of the natural environment. By learning from our Elders and teaching our children, those Tribal ways of life continue to this day.”

[Retrieved May 9, 2017 From http://www.csktribes.org/history-and-culture]

Why do you think I chose to read an introduction in their own words? Who often writes history? What does “Honoring the past to ensure the future” mean to you? When I present some of the local history, imagine this was your history, your family, and your land. If you are Native, this shouldn’t be hard, because you have probably been hearing this version of history for a while now. But most schools use the same history books, and they all tell a skewed version of the story, that is primarily from a white majority perspective, a male perspective, and an affluent perspective. This is the opposite perspective most of us here have, so it is important to reclaim the stories.

A brief Pre-Contact history
It is really cool that we are here in Evaro. These are the aboriginal homelands of the Salish and Pend d’Oreille people. Their stories tell of living in this area since the time of giants. Giants came before, then animal people and then humans. One of the coyote stories is believed to have taken place in this exact valley. There are Coyote stories that relate a pretty accurate description of the last ice age. The archaeological record has finally caught up with what local people have known forever. Sites have been discovered on the South Fork of the Flathead that date back as far as 12,000 to 14,000 years ago, just after the time of the last ice age (MT OPI, 2009).

Tribal stories tell of a break up of one large Salish tribe into many smaller bands that settled in various inland locations. Though the Salish consider the Bitterroot Valley their home, they utilized land covering a very broad area of what is now Idaho, Montana, B.C. and Wyoming. The Pend d’Oreille also spread onto both sides of the continental divide. Their place names are spread over a large range (Salish- Pend d’Oreille Culture Committee et al., 2005).

The Kootenai people have a huge aboriginal territory, spanning the Columbia River Basin, the Northern Rocky Mountains and the Great Plains. They are renowned for their keen environmental knowledge and advanced technology. They created highly effective fish weirs and techniques that were sought after region-wide and engineered specialized watercraft that could navigate some of the most treacherous waterways in the Northwest. The subsisted on seasonal migrations that followed plant and animal production cycles and cultivated plants for trade with other tribes. “Since time immemorial, the Ktunaxa (Kootenai) have coexisted with Mother Earth’s creations in their natural habitat. Kootenai stewardship prescribes the utmost respect and protection for all elements of the natural world. As guardians, Ktunaxa people believe that life has little value without a true appreciation for the environment and a genuine regard for all that is sacred.” (MT OPI, 2009, p 26).
Although official contact with white people was not made until 1805 when the Lewis and Clark expedition came through, people in this region began to feel the impacts of American settlement as early as the 1600s. Foreign diseases preceded contact by a couple of centuries as goods were traded across the country carrying germs. The biggest cause of death during this time period for tribal people was contagious diseases, like smallpox, influenza and measles. Additionally, as eastern tribes were forced westward to make room for an aggressively expanding American populace, tribes in the west began having to compete for resources more than they had before. Along with the advent of horses and guns, intertribal conflict became increasingly deadly. Tribes would still be able to live off the land until the intentional decimation of buffalo in 1883, which we will learn more about later.

Circles of My Multicultural Self Activity. See Appendix A
History lesson 2. Post-contact: United States/ Tribal Relations
Age: 14-19

Lesson Objectives:
Participants will know at least three U.S. policies that impact tribal people
Participants will recognize the racism inherent in U.S. policies toward Native peoples
Participants will critically think about westward expansion and the “Indian Problem”
Participants will consider history from a Native perspective
Participants will think about land ownership and management in the context of self-governance.

Notes to the instructor: Again, a history lesson would best be presented by a local expert, whether that is an elder familiar with the history, an educator from one of the schools or a tribal employee. Tony In-cashola from the Salish and Pend d’Oreille culture committee will meet us at 4 pm at our Mission Dam campsite. Make sure the group is ready when he arrives, and present his gift in front of the group. He will talk about post-contact relations and Salish and Pend d’Oreille connection to place.

If you cannot secure a local expert, present from the following information. There is some heavy information in this lesson. Gage the group and see what information you think is appropriate to share. Think about the ethnic make-up of the group. If it is primarily white students, it may be appropriate to share most of the information below. If it is mostly Native students, they may or may not know this information. Be especially sensitive to the response of Native participants in the group and adjust accordingly. It can be traumatic or triggering to be reminded of the hurtful past. Remind the group throughout the lesson that tomorrow we will focus on resiliency, but it is important to share this information truthfully because much of our mainstream history does not teach it adequately in schools.

Preparation: Read the chapter on the Flathead Reservation in “Montana Indians: Their History and Location,” that is included in the appendix.

Materials Needed: journals, writing utensils. Printed and laminated photos from below.

Time Needed: 1 hour

Lesson 2 outline:
1. Introduction: look at the photos and share impressions
2. Presentation

Introduction (10 minutes). Again, what is resilience? What is trauma?

Pass out copies of the photos below and allow enough time for each student to see them and reflect privately. You can have people answer these questions in the larger group or as a pair and share with a partner. Ask general questions, such as: What are your first thoughts/ impressions when you see these? How do they make you feel? Compare and contrast the two maps from 1784 and 1879. How do you think these graphics might relate to challenges Native Americans experienced in the past and experience today?
Yesterday we learned about the long history of the tribes that live in this area before the advent of white people on the land. Today, we will talk about the rapidly changing landscape after white people arrived in for the first time in 1805, barely more than 200 years ago.

The Lewis and Clark Expedition came through this part of the world in 1805 and only survived their journey because of the help of the tribes they met along the way. One of those tribes was the Bitterroot Salish, who gave them rest, food and horses, and helped them find their way across the mountains near what is now Lolo (MT OPI, 2009). This meeting is commemorated in at Traveler’s Rest State Park if you want to learn more about it. After that first journey to the Pacific, white traffic increased dramatically over the next century. Settlers, fur trappers, and miners came here for a chance at a better life, but there were already people here, living well. This became the United States’ so called “Indian problem.”

The United States came up with various strategies (policies) to deal with their “Indian Problem.” I will tell you about some of the major policies as a general overview.

The Reservation era: The first major period of United States policy toward Indian tribes was that of treaty-making, removal and reservations. The Salish, Pend d’Oreille and Kootenai tribes first met with the Territorial Governor of Washington Territory Isaac Stevens in 1855 to discuss a potential treaty that would supposedly help the people manage their conflicts with other tribes, such as the Blackfeet tribe from the east. The treaty would cede 22 million acres of land to the U.S. government in exchange for protections of hunting, fishing, and gathering rights in the aboriginal territory, a right people still hold today. The remaining territory was just 1.3 million acres. At a time of encroaching people and increasing competition for resources, I imagine these treaty rights to hunting, fishing, and gathering were seen as very important. Tribal leaders reluctantly signed and some people began to move to the Flathead Reservation (then the Jocko Reservation) in the Mission Valley. The Salish leader Plenty Horses (Victor) signed the Hellgate Treaty with the understanding that the treaty provided for a survey of the Bitterroot Valley that would designate Salish land there. Not surprisingly, the survey was never done and instead the U.S. wrote a removal document, which chief Victor’s son, Charlo, refused to sign. By the time the paperwork made it to Washington, the document bore his mark. This was the first major direct injustice by the U.S. government to the Salish people. This shady treaty-making process was not uncommon throughout the region. In the meantime, Catholic missionaries had arrived and set up camp at the St. Mary’s Mission in Montana’s first town site of Stevensville in 1841. White settlers were taking a liking to the gorgeous Bitterroot Valley, with its productive soils and good water. The buffalo and beavers had been hunted nearly to extinction, tensions were high and resources were scarce. Many Kootenai and Pend d’Oreille people moved to the Flathead reservation, and some Salish people chose to move while others resisted removal and remained in their Bitterroot homeland (MT OPI, 2009).

Assimilation: In 1884, a boarding school for Indian children was opened in St. Ignatius near the mission there. Children were removed from their homes and families, and sometimes taken thousands of miles from home to attend boarding schools. They were forced to speak a language that was not their own, barely fed, poorly treated (or not treated at all) when illnesses or injuries arose, and pulled away from their cultures during a crucial time for learning. Many children died of disease, starvation, freezing to death and suicide (Child, 1999).

Boarding schools across the country have a rancid history of physical, emotional, and sexual abuse of Native youth and families. The Ursuline school in St. Ignatius was no exception.

Boarding schools and Catholic missions marked the beginning of assimilationist policies. Who knows what
In 1891 Chief Charlo and the remaining band of Salish were forcibly removed with a military escort to the Flathead (MT OPI, 2010). This made way for white settlement of the Bitterroot and contained Indian people on a small tract of land. Even after they moved to the Reservation, people continued to utilize their seasonal rounds and would not easily assimilate to white ways of settling on a piece of land, plowing it, irrigating it, and farming. Staying put year round doesn’t make much sense in an arid region.

The three tribes had been on the reservation together for just 13 years when they were forced to react to another major change in U.S. policy. While the tribes preferred to live on the land in accordance with tens of thousands of years of learning how to live off this landscape, the federal government wanted them contained. The US Congress passed the Flathead Allotment Act in 1904 (MT OPI, 2009).

Does anyone know what allotment is? Allotment was a highly detrimental assimilationist policy that aimed to break up tribal communalism and force individual ownership on tribes across the country. Land allotments of 80 or 160 acres were made to individuals or families. They then had a legal obligation to “make improvements,” such as plow the soil, irrigate, and plant crops, or they might lose rights to the land. Some people were vehemently resistant to accepting allotted lands because it went against their communal values. After allotting lands to interested tribal members, the remaining land became so-called “surplus” and the reservation was broken up by town sites, the National Bison Range, and most impactfully, opened to homesteading by whites in 1910 (MT OPI, 2009).

According to the 2011-2015 American Community Survey of the U.S. Census Bureau, the present-day Flathead Reservation is home to 28,993 people. There are almost 8,000 tribal members living here, about two thirds of them are enrolled members of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes and the rest are from other Tribal Nations. 2000 of the residents are mixed race, and 18,920 are white. There are many CS&KT tribal members that live off the reservation as well. On the reservation, however, tribal members are outnumbered by white people at a ratio of more than 2:1. Barely more than 25% of the reservation population are enrolled Indians. Why do you think this is? How do you think it affects people who live here today?

Reorganization: The 1930s saw the beginning of what was called “reorganization.” The Indian Reorganization Act stated that Tribal Nations could self-govern, but only if they voted to adopt a constitution that was drafted by the BIA that reflected American-style democracy. About two thirds of all tribes that voted on this chose to adopt an IRA government. The CSKT were the first tribal nation to adopt a Tribal Constitution and Corporate Charter. They did so in 1935. The tribes would again have a major say in managing their own affairs. But this policy shift away from assimilation was short lived. In the 1950s, the U.S. government began terminating tribes as governmental entities. The CSKT and many other tribes strongly opposed termination.

Termination and relocation: Through the 1970s, 61 tribe were terminated nationwide and Native people throughout the country were relocated to urban centers as a means to assimilate them into mainstream society. This, obviously, did not work. But it was highly detrimental to the well-being of individuals and families it afflicted. Many tribes have fought tirelessly to regain their status, and some are still fighting today.
Self-determination: The 1960s was an era of activism—the civil rights movement, the women’s movement and the environmental movements were all in full swing. Native people were highly politically involved during this time as well. In response to the abhorrent termination and relocation era, the American Indian Movement was founded in 1968. They were an activist group whose primary goal was real economic independence for Indian peoples and civil rights. 1968 saw the passing of the Indian Civil Rights Act, which guaranteed that the basic protections in the Bill of Rights would be upheld in Indian Country as they were elsewhere in the United States. Through the hard work of Native leaders, the late 70s saw the passage of the Indian Self-Determination Act, the Indian Religious Freedom Act, and the Indian Child Welfare Act. Before enactment of ICWA, as many as 25-35% of Native children were removed from their homes and placed with non-Native families in off-reservation communities, causing estrangement from their cultures, families, and homes. This act gave tribes legal jurisdiction over adoption proceedings for Native children. The 1970s brought about a turning point toward self-determination, self-governance and tribal sovereignty.

The 1800s and early 1900s were a difficult and dark time in U.S. history. Take time to consider hundreds of years of assaults on your family, your community and your land. How do you think this would impact you personally? Your community? That is what we call Intergenerational trauma or historical trauma. Tomorrow we will talk about people’s resilience in the face of this.

Closing: In recognition that it can be emotionally impactful to hear about abuse, give people an opportunity to debrief how they are feeling. If people don’t want to talk, offer a resiliency exercise from Appendix B.
Tepees set up in what is now Missoula. The oldest artifacts date from around 12,000 years ago with the first-known settlements dating from 3,500 BCE. The region was used by Salish, Kootenai, Pend d'Oreille, Blackfeet, and Shoshone tribes. Image from http://www.umt.edu/aig/

http://www.travelersrest.org/native-american.html
“The site of Travelers’ Rest State Park lies at the hub of an intricate network of trade, travel, and culture developed over thousands of years. The Bitterroot Salish traveled this network of trails to find salmon to the west; buffalo, bull trout, bitterroot and camas to the east; other Salishan speaking people - the Pend d'Oreille and Spokane - to the north; and later, horse country to the south.”
“From 2010-2012 over 70,000 acres has moved from fee status to trust status under a pilot program implemented by Tribal Council direction. This accomplishment would not have occurred without a commitment to Self-Governance and performance.”

CSKT,


Day 2 (Tuesday, July 25) – At Mission Reservoir: Resiliency & Community (team-building)

7:00  Optional polar plunge. Leaders review “Tips for leading an effective service project”: Appendix A

8:00  Wake Up Call.  
     Morning resiliency. See Appendix B

8:15  Breakfast and go over day. This is your chance for “future questions”  
     **Youth Leaders assign jobs. Medicine woman talk about proper nutrition/hydration for next two days

9:00  Make lunches and pack day packs for farming. Sunscreen up!

9:45  Load up: Threshold episode 5 in van.

10:30 Arrive at Dixon community garden to meet Marcy or Virgil. Met with Vicky Haggard

12:00 Blakely Brown and Maja Pederson arrive, talk about food access, food security.  
     Eat lunch during convo

1:30  Drive back to Mission Reservoir

2-4  Swimming, free time, visit lower falls?

4:00  Germaine arrives. Talk about Natural Resources department and tribal resiliency.

5:00  Naturalist leads sense of place activity. Discuss whether place contributes to our resiliency.

5:30  Dinner prep, dinner and clean up

8:00  Sort stuff: Get all group gear back and separate backpacking personal gear into backpack, Everything else in a garbage bag/day pack and into the vans

8:30  ABC’s of backpacking

9:00  Naturalist activity

10:00 Closing Circle: being open to receiving nature’s gifts

11:00 Bed/leader debrief
Title: Lesson 3. Tribal RESILIENCE  
Age: 14-19

Lesson Objectives:
- Participants will learn how the National Bison Range was founded
- Participants will recognize the role of CSKT in bison management
- Participants will view the Bison Range and consider contemporary management issues

Notes to the instructor: During the full day of activities, try to tie everything we do into the theme of community resiliency. The tribes do so much to take care of this place and the creatures in it. Try to highlight this and make the connections explicit for the participants.

Preparation: Download the Threshold Podcast, Season 1, episode 5. Find it at http://www.thresholdpodcast.org/season01-episode05/

Materials Needed: equipment to play a podcast – likely an aux cord for the van, and smartphone or MP3 player.

Time Needed: 1-1.5 hours

Lesson Outline:
1. Introduction
2. Discussion
3. Threshold Podcast

Introduction (10 minutes): Guiding quote: “My scars remind me that I did indeed survive my deepest wounds. That in itself is an accomplishment. And they bring to mind something else, too. They remind me that the damage life has inflicted on me has, in many places, left me stronger and more resilient. What hurt me in the past has actually made me better equipped to face the present.”
— Steve Goodier

This is our last history lesson and it is really more about the impacts of history on contemporary Native peoples. Remember all of the things we learned and what it must be like to endure so much violence and such rapid change. Amazingly, all people here today have deep strengths that have brought them through such hard times. We have all faced various hardships and have survived them. We are survivors.

Dr. Maria Yellow Horse Brave Heart coined the term historical trauma in the 1980s as a way to understand and explain the reasons Native Americans are continuing to experience pain and suffering even in the so-called “Self-determination era.” To define historical trauma and its impacts was the first step toward a healing process. She writes that in recognizing historical trauma, we can move forward by reclaiming traditional cultural
protective factors. We cannot see ourselves as victims and start seeing ourselves as survivors, ultimately transcending our painful history and thriving in our worlds (1998).

*Provide a definition of historical trauma and make sure people understand what it is. Ask, “Do people think it is important to recognize historical trauma and how it impacts us or not?”

When people have not healed from trauma, it can become inter-generational, passed down through the generations. Inter-generational trauma can happen to anyone and is common.

To name our trauma, confront it, and transcend it is to break the cycle. Many of our parents and grandparents, aunts and uncles, or other caretakers have already done the hard work of breaking these cycles. Some of our loved ones have not been able to break the cycles. We all have the strength and capacity within ourselves to transcend our painful communal past. This week we are learning and practicing various “resiliency skills,” but we know that each and every person has built in resiliency they can draw on in hard times. Our goal is to identify them and find ways to remind ourselves of them in hard times.

2. Discussion (10 minutes):
What does resiliency mean to you?

The CS&KT have shown resiliency in many ways. This is reflected in their Vision and Mission statements. (Read them). As a group, brainstorm way in which communities can show resilience.

Can anyone think of things we learned about over the last few days that were examples of CS&KT resilience?

The following page has a list of some specific examples of resiliency among the Salish, Pend d’Oreille and Kootenai people. Share some examples that the group did not come up with and explain them in detail. Make efforts to highlight these areas of resiliency as we come across them throughout the rest of the camp.

3. Activity. Introduce this episode and prompt participants to listen for resiliency factors. This episode details the founding of the National Bison Range and the current controversies over management. Listen to the Threshold podcast, episode 5 while driving. Find it at http://www.thresholdpodcast.org/. Afterward, ask participants for their impressions and discuss the episode in context of historical trauma and resilience. On the drive to Old Agency, make sure to point out the Bison Range to the participants. If there is time, make a stop after the service project in Old Agency.

Vision: The traditional principles and values that served our people in the past are imbedded in the many ways that we serve and invest in our people and communities, in the ways we have regained and restored our homelands and natural resources, in the ways we have built a self-sufficient society and economy, in the ways that we govern our Reservation and represent ourselves to the rest of the world and in the ways we continue to preserve our right to determine our own destiny.

Mission: Our mission is to adopt traditional principles and values into all facets of tribal operations and service. We will invest in our people in a manner that ensures our ability to become a completely self-sufficient society and economy. We will strive to regain ownership and control of all lands within our reservation boundaries. And we will provide sound environmental stewardship to preserve, perpetuate, protect, and enhance natural resources and ecosystems. (http://www.csktribes.org/)
Examples of Resiliency within the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes

**Language preservation:**
- Nkwusm Salish Immersion School
- Salish and Kootenai College

**Cultural preservation:**
- Culture Committees
- culture camps
- Annual River and Lake Honorings
- storytelling
- dances and ceremonies
- prayers and songs
- humor, family, community
- Tribal Cultural Preservation Office

**Cultural values:**
- balance
- reciprocity
- cooperation
- relatedness
- observation
- respect
- listening
- quiet
- humor
- level-headedness
- sustainability
- calm
- good cheer

**Educational Independence:**
- SKC
- Two Eagle River School
- Head Start
- The People’s Center
- SciNation
- Indian Education For All

**Stewardship/ Natural resources:** “The earth is our historian; it is made of our ancestor’s bones. It provides us with nourishment, medicine, and comfort. It is our source of independence; it is our Mother. We do not dominate Her, but harmonize with Her.” - Statement from the Salish Culture committee (pp. 24, MT Indians).

- First Tribe to designate a wilderness area- The Mission Mountain Tribal Wilderness Area.
- Grizzly bear recovery area
- Trumpeter Swan reintroduction
- Wildlife Crossings on Hwy 93
- The National Bison range story
- Wetland restoration plan
- Land ownership: Tribes are aggressively buying back land whenever they can. They have managed to become the majority landowner again on their own reservation. In 2009 they were the majority land owner at 56%.
- Restoration of the Jocko River for Bull Trout habitat

**Economic independence:**
- Timber sales
- revenue from SKQ Dam
- the KwaTuqNuk (“where the water leaves the lake”) resort and casino in Polson
- S&K Holding—an electronics manufacturing firm.
- S&K Gaming- Gray Wolf Peak Casino, Kwa TaqNuk Resort and Casino, S&K Polson Bay Marina, and Big Arm Marina.

Photos from http://www.charkoosta.com/2015/2015_07_02/Women_encouraged_to_learn_tradish_foods.html
Title: Lesson 4: Food Security and Food Sovereignty
Age: 14-19

Lesson Objectives:
- Participants will understand the terms “food security” and “food sovereignty”
- Participants will engage in a service project at the community gardens in Old Agency near Moiese
- Participants will consider how the story of bison on the reservation relates to food sovereignty

Notes to the instructor: Please review “Tips for leading an effective service project”: Appendix A

Preparation: Remind the girls that we are not here to help this community, we are here to provide whatever support they think is useful and to learn about their work as community garden coordinators. Remind the participants to be curious and learn from our community partners.

Materials Needed: Gloves, sunscreen, hats, water, lunch. Virgil Dupuis or Marcy are bringing all of the tools.

Time Needed: 2.5 hours

Lesson Outline:
1. Introduction
2. Service project
3. Discussion with Blakely Brown and Maja

Introduction (10 minutes): Prompt the participants to think about where their food comes from, and ask if people have grown food before. What does it mean to grow your own food?

Service Project (1.5 hours): We will meet Virgil Dupuis or Marcy near the community garden in the center of town. I’m not sure what the project will be specifically, but we will arrive ready to do whatever maintenance they think would be helpful. Ask Virgil and Marcy what their connection with this garden is and any history about the garden they want to share.

Discussion: Blakely Brown and Maja Peterson will meet us at 12. Have lunch stuff set out before then so people can be eating while we listen to them talk about their work. They should be talking about efforts of food security on the reservation and the idea of food sovereignty. Encourage the participants to ask questions, and model asking thought-provoking questions. Debrief with the participants about why food sovereignty is important in Indian country specifically.
Title: CSKT Natural Resource Conservation, Presenter Germaine White, education and conservation specialist for the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes

Age: 14-19

Lesson Objectives:
- Participants will learn about the Natural Resource department of the CSKT
- Participants will learn about conservation efforts the tribes have undertaken
- Participants will consider the tribes have contributed to their resiliency and the resiliency of the land through conservation of natural resources
- Participants will consider the values that exist to put so much effort into conservation work

Notes to the instructor: Please give a small gift to the presenter. Try to tie this conversation into conversations from earlier in the day as well as the threshold podcast. Invite her to stay for the special places activity after her presentation.

Materials Needed: none

Time Needed: 1 hour

Lesson Outline:
1. Introduction
2. Presentation
3. Sense of place conversations

Introduction (3 minutes): Introduce Germaine and the department she works for. Prompt her to talk about the Natural Resource department and share with the participants the ways this department has preserved connections to the land through conservation work.

Presentation: Germaine will come prepared with a presentation of her choosing. I have prompted her with the above introduction and told her about the themes we are working with throughout this camp.

Activity: Special Places. See following page
Activity Name: Special Places

Age: 11-19

Unit Goal: Participants will consider places that have played a formative role in their lives.

Lesson Objectives

Participants will:
- Consider the meaning of places
- Consider their own connection to place
- Practice sharing with and listening to a partner
- Practice not being near an adult in the woods

Materials Needed: Nothing

Time Needed: 30 minutes to 1 hour, depending on conversations. Younger participants may not go as deep or as long, and may not want to be separate from the group for as long a time.

Introduction (10 minutes): Wait until you are at a comfortable break spot to introduce this “sense of place” activity. Ideally, the girls won’t be hungry. Have them sit comfortably and listen. They can close their eyes if they are comfortable. Read the following aloud (take your time with it—allow breaks that seem too long to you, the reader):

Think about a place where you feel totally comfortable……………………………………………. totally relaxed and at ease with your surroundings…………………………What makes this place special?………………………………..
Who do you associate with this place?……………………. Does it have a smell?…… sounds?
…………………….. What does it look like? Try to conjure up the most vivid image of this place in your head……………………………………………………………….. Notice how you feel right now…………………… Notice your body and your mental state…………………..
Ok, come back to now and open your eyes.

Activity (10-15 minutes): Grab a partner, ideally someone you do not know well yet. Adults can participate in the pairings as well. Spread out so people can have privacy and won’t be distracted by other groups. Participants will share their special places with one another. Allow one person to go first. If you are talking, push yourself to share as many details as you can, try to describe the feelings you associate with the place. If you are listening, really try to pay attention and try not to interrupt. Ask questions if you need to but don’t share your story until it is your turn. When the first partner is really done, switch talking and listening roles. When conversations seem to be wrapping up, gather into a group again.

Debrief (10 minutes): Debrief is simple: What was this activity like for people? If people are ok with it, would anyone like to share something about your special place? What are some commonalities about people’s special places? What purpose do these places serve for us? If you are in a time of stress, could you see yourself mentally returning to this place to calm down? Can you go there physically? Thank people for sharing.

Conclusion (5 minutes): We have mostly been talking about special places for an individual or a family. Considering our themes for the week, can anyone think of a way places could be special for a whole group of people, like a culture or a society? How can connection to place play into resiliency?
Title: Nature’s 20 questions

Age: 9-13

Unit Goal: Students will practice making observations of nature and asking questions about them.

Lesson objectives

Students will:

- closely observe an object from nature independently
- measure and draw an object from nature independently
- describe the object in writing and verbally to others
- ask and answer questions about objects from nature

Materials: Journals, a natural space, pencils, hand lenses, rulers

Time needed: 1 hour

Lesson Outline:

1. Discover
2. Share
3. Apply
4. Debrief (5 minutes)

Background: This discovering activity is just to whet students’ appetites for exploration and discovery at the beginning of camp. It doesn’t matter whether or not they have learned “facts,” but rather that they have gotten an opportunity to follow their senses and explore in a wild space. Remind the students not to harm anything from nature. Rules of thumb: 1) If it is breathing, don’t pick it up, just follow it around and observe it. 2) Don’t damage plants in any way, whether by breaking branches off, picking flowers, or digging any parts up. 3) If you can pick things up without resistance, feel free.

**They should be able to make good observations without damaging their objects from nature**

Part One: Discovering (20 minutes)

Pass out the Lesson 2 worksheet. See appendix A. In case you can’t copy worksheets, here are the instructions:

Grab your journals and go wandering by yourself for a few minutes. Find something from nature, and make sure no one else know what your object is. It can be anything you want. Maybe you can find something you have never seen before and have no idea what it is! Draw the object. Try to draw the object to scale and give a measurement or an estimate of its size. Then, label any parts of the object that stand out to you.

Next, use a hand lens to get a closer look. Draw anything noteworthy.

Then, write a detailed description of anything you noticed about the object. What does it look like? Feel like? Does it have a smell? Do it make noise? Does it move? Are their parts that you didn’t notice until you looked through the lens?
Part Two: Share (25 minutes)

Now that you have a clear picture and detailed description of your object, you won’t need it anymore. Leave the object where you found it and return to the group.

If it is a small group, each student gets a turn and the others will ask them “20 questions” to try to figure out what the object is using only yes/no questions. If it is a large group, break into smaller sub-groups and do the same. Do the students collectively know what the object is?

Part Three: Apply (10 minutes)

Find a partner and trade drawings/descriptions. You each have five minutes to find each other’s object or one like it! If you haven’t found them after 5 minutes, show the other person your object and tell them one thing that is unique about it. Work together to try and figure out what your object is and what it does?

Debrief: What did people like or dislike about this activity?

Assessment: Students will have produced a detailed drawing of an object from nature. Instructor will observe the participants describing the object verbally and in writing, as well as asking and answering questions about objects from nature.
Nature’s 20 questions student guide

Grab your journals and go wandering by yourself for a few minutes. Find something from nature, and make sure no one else knows what your object is. It can be anything you want. Maybe you can find something you have never seen before and have no idea what it is!

Draw the object. Try to draw the object to scale and give a measurement or an estimate of its size. Then, label any parts of the object that stand out to you.

Next, use a hand lens to get a closer look. Draw anything note-worthy.

Then, write a detailed description of anything you noticed about the object. What does it look like? Feel like? Does it have a smell? Does it make noise? Does it move? Are there parts that you didn’t notice until you looked through the lens?

Analyze the object. Pick some part of the object that stands out to you for some reason. Try to decide what that part might be for. Do you know what it is called? What name would you give it?
Day 3 (Wednesday, July 26) – Leave Mission Reservoir and hike to Finley Lakes

Practicing Teamwork, Outdoor Leadership

7:00  Wake-up Call
       Morning resiliency – See Appendix B
       Brief overview of day. “Future questions.” Talk about the busy day and the importance of getting good nutrition (water and food) while backpacking
       Take down camp before breakfast but don’t start packing!
       Return any last group gear

8:00  Breakfast & pack lunch
       Group gear piles: divide group gear and divvy up

9:00  Pack bags and clean camp. Savannah and Molly arrive!
       Help girls pack, including group gear

10:00 Hit the road! Threshold episode 2 if group vibe is right.
       ***Find it at http://www.thresholdpodcast.org/season01-episode02/

11:00 Hike! Lunch on the trail

4:00  Set up camp. Skills labs
       Tents
       Bear Hang
       Water Filtration
       Backcountry Cooking/Fire Starting
       Tarp Set up
       Navigation

5:00  Swim if warm enough

6:00  Dinner prep, dinner and clean up

8:00  one-on-ones. Set aside time for staff to check in with each girl individually. Spread girls out in the woods, and encourage them to take a slow-down and some solo time while they wait for staff to come check in.

9:00  GUTS! activity: Strengths and values. Outdoor Me Tree. See Appendix A

10:00 Closing Circle: appreciating our bodies

11:00 Bed/ leader debrief
Day 4 (Thursday, July 27) – Day in the backcountry

*Exploring Trust, Connection Between Nature, Risk and Growth*

8:00  Wake up call. Breakfast.

9:00  Morning resiliency: 5 senses (following page)

9:15  GUTS! Activity: mentors and sheros

10:30 Make lunches

11:00 Swim/ explore. Hike to 2nd lake?

3:00  GUTS! Activity: Body Image

4:00  Solo time. Make personal resiliency guides.

5:00  Dinner prep, dinner and clean up

7:00  Discussion about re-entering the world. i.e. technology

8:00  Fill your cup: Appreciating each other

9:00  Closing circle

10:00 Brush teeth and bear hang

10:30 Bed/ leader debrief
**5 Senses Practice**

**Find a spot where people are away from the main camp area, primarily exposed to natural surroundings, sights, sounds, and smells. Have everyone get into a comfortable seated position and spread out but stay close enough to the leader to hear a normal talking voice.**

Good morning everyone. At GUTS! we do a lot of appreciating each other and ourselves. We should also remember to take time to appreciate the natural world that surrounds and nourishes us. Being into the mountains is a special experience, away from all of the sights and sounds and other distractions of modern life. Our senses get bombarded by flashing screens, beeping machines, the smells of cars and pollution, the taste of chlorine in our water. Here, through the use of our senses, we can experience nature to the fullest.

In this exercise, we will isolate our senses to more fully experience each one individually. If you don’t have access to one of your senses, feel free to continue practicing, choosing a different sense to focus on.

Let’s begin by taking a few deep breaths and relaxing our bodies. As you breathe, let go of the tension in your eyebrows, your jaw, your tongue. Roll your head around a few times and then relax you neck, allowing your head to float upwards. Drop your shoulders and release any tension you might have there, relax your back and arms. Wiggle your fingers, then let your hands and arms go limp. Feel your legs sinking to the ground as you relax your lower half. Wiggle your toes and then let them go limp.

First we will practice listening. Close your eyes, and try to only engage your hearing to sense the world around you. Begin by listening for something close by, maybe bugs or lapping water... Try to hear something farther away... it could be trees creaking...or birds...or anything else you discover...Now try to hear something very, very distant.....Let your ears pick up the wind in the mountains or high above us. Explore something new with your ears. (Allow time).

Keep your eyes gently closed, breathe, and relax.

Next, we will practice the somewhat underappreciated sense of smell. Smell is crucial to our experience of the world. We cannot always recognize the role of smell in triggering or relieving our emotions or memories, but it is always present. In nature, subtle smells abound. We will again isolate this sense and try to pick up something nearby, farther afield, and then something very distant. Feel free to gently cover your ears to eliminate distractions and guide yourself through this time........... (Allow time)......... Isolate one particular smell that you find interesting and take a moment to consider what the source of that smell might taste like. Stick out your tongue and see if you can taste it in the air.

Now you may open your eyes. From where you sit, explore the world with your vision.............. Seek out those curiosities you may have heard or smelled..............Look around and let yourself be fully absorbed by the beautiful sights..................Try to see something you haven’t noticed yet.......Look at the space immediately surrounding your body. Pick out minute details..................Now raise your head and look farther away..................continue to notice new things..........................Lastly, look as far as you can see..................imagine what might be there.............. Feel free again to cover your ears and breathe through your mouth to isolate the sense of sight. (Allow time.)

Lastly, we will engage the sense of touch. Partner with a person near you and take turns. One partner will close their eyes and the other will either find an object from nature to bring to them, or carefully guide them with eyes closed to something they can explore with their hands. Allow each person time to fully explore the object and feel free to explain the sensation to your partner. Then switch.

Thanks for your time and attention. I hope your will keep this awareness with you throughout the day and continue to practice engaging your senses throughout your time in the mountains.
Title: Personal Resiliency guide  
Age: 9-19

Lesson Goal: Participants will take away a resource guide for their own resiliency that they can draw on in hard times.

Lesson Objectives:
- Participants will identify personal resiliency
- Participants will write a list of activities that help them maintain their strength and resilience
- Participants will write a list of people who are important support systems
- Participants will write a list of places that restore/sustain them

Materials Needed: journals, writing utensils, coloring tools

Time Needed: 45 minutes-1 hour

Lesson Outline:
1. Resiliency practice
2. Reflection
3. Journaling
4. Personal debriefs

Resiliency practice of your choice, from Appendix B. This is optional, since you’ve already done it once today.

Reflection. Remind girls that the reason we are sharing these activities with them is because we can’t always control the stressors in our lives, but we can control our body’s reaction to them. We want to give people tools to use in times of stress, or just every day, so that we are prepared to take on life’s challenges. We shared some ideas and examples throughout the week, but we also know that each person has built in resiliency. It is good to identify the unique things that bring you strength so you can draw on them when you need them.

Journaling. Have the girls write the following prompts in their journals, leaving space for their answers. Remind girls that if these prompts are limiting to what they believe provides them strength, they can write about whatever they want to influences their resiliency.

Prompt #1: Think about a time when you were in a tough situation but managing it. Don’t go to the worst situation in your life, just think of something moderately hard or irritating. What were you doing to maintain our stability and mental health? Write a list of the things you were doing, or if you are feeling artsy today, draw them.

Prompt #2: Think of a few people that are really important to you in hard times- people who provide support in whatever way you need it. Represent them some way in your journal.

Prompt #3: Where are the places that when you visit you feel restored?

Prompt #4: What are your internal resources (strengths, personality traits, attitudes, beliefs) that help you in challenging situations?

Provide some free time at the end of the journaling, so if people want to keep journaling or drawing, they can. Make sure to informally check in with people when they start moving around in case anyone needs support. Ask girls to identify one resource from their list and talk more about it. Ask them what it feels like in their body to really think about a given resource. Help them notice what their body was doing while they were talking (point out signs of relaxation, ease, calm, strength, not signs of tension).
Day 5 (Friday, July 28) – Backpacking

Next Steps – Ideas into Action

7:00    Wake up Call. Take down tents and bring group gear to a central location

7:30    Breakfast and go over day, “future questions” opportunity
        Morning Resiliency– Appendix B
        Divide group gear into equal piles

8:00    Earth circle of life activity: Appreciating the Earth. Appendix A

9:00    Pack up camp: all hands on deck, taking turns to pack our stuff

11:00   Make lunches and hit the trail (lunch and nature nugget on the trail)

3:00    drive back

4:00    unpack, check in gear, post-surveys, return meds. Get leader folders. Popsicles!

5:00    Parents arrive. Put stuff away, return vehicles before 6. Order food?

6:00-7:30 Leader debrief
Additional activities

If any of the above-planned activities fall through or fall flat, pull from the following pages of activities. For the most part, they need minimal preparation. Most of these can also be found in the naturalist activities booklet.

- Plant scavenger hunt...............................................................39
- Who came before?..................................................................40
- Riparian criterion.....................................................................41
- Listening maps.......................................................................42-43
- Nature sketching...................................................................44
- Bird watching.........................................................................45

Other ideas for down time:

Name Games:
- Name Delivery
- Name/ Fruit or Vegetable
- Name/ Favorite Animal
- Dance Party

Games:
- Positive Reinforcement
- Telephone Pictionary
- Picture Animal Drawing
- Vegetable Game
- Waa
- Yeeha
- Little Sally Walker
- Cordage
- Cup Game
- Step Dance
- What are you doing?
- In the manner of the adverb
- THE game
- Wilderness card game
Plant scavenger hunt
Age: 9-19

Unit goal: Participants will recognize differences in plant families.

Lesson Objectives:
- Participants will work with others
- Using their field journals, participants will recognize 4 different plant families by name
- Participants will document their findings

Materials Needed: GUTS! field journals, writing utensils

Time Needed:

Lesson Outline:
Introduction
Small group discovery
Debrief

1. Introduce the plant family guide section in the field journal. Show girls where they are in the journal and point out a few key characteristics. As a group, practice identifying a nearby plant to family. Remind the girls that there around 120 plant families in MT and we only have 7 in our book, so not everything we see will be in one of the families we have information on. If it doesn’t seem to fit with the descriptions in our book, move on to something else! Fortunately though, 80% of all 3000 plant species in MT are in only 20 families. So if we can start by learning the seven in our book, we’re almost halfway there!

2. Break into small groups and have them try to find a plant in 4 different families (do six or seven if the group seems into plants). Encourage them to stay together in a small group and work as a team. To document their findings, have them draw a quick sketch of the plant they found and write where it was located. When they get four of the families, yell Eureka! The first team to yell Eureka and show that they have documented all four wins. In the case of a tie, make them find another two families or see if they can ID one of their plants to species (for more advanced girls).

3. Group back up and share experiences with each other. Was it hard or easy to ID to family using this guide? Did you see any plants you’ve never noticed before?
Who came before?

Unit goal: Students will look for clues about the animal world in the form of scat, tracks and sign and practice interpreting the signs.

Lesson Objectives:
- Participants will each find at least three animal signs
- Participants will practice intuitively interpreting animal sign with the group to identify what people already know
- Participants will discuss habitat type
- With a partner or small group, participants will practice using a field guide to identify animal sign

Materials Needed: Track guide, mammal guide

Time Needed: 30-60 minutes

Lesson Outline:
- Introduce topic
- Explore
  - Convene and share observations
- Small group work

Introduction: Talk about how everyone wants to see wildlife, but usually we are in a big group and we are loud. Many animals hear us coming and run or hide out. But if we are careful observers, the world can come alive around us. There may not be wildlife here in this exact moment but we can see that they have been here before we came. If we get good enough, we can even start to recognize different habitats and predict what might be here and what time of day they might be here. Then we can plan our trips accordingly and increase our chances of seeing wildlife.

Explore: Delineate a space for students to individually explore. Give them a time frame and a location to meet back up with the group. Have each student comb the area looking for animal sign (tracks, scats, markings, scents, remains, etc.) and mentally mark what they noticed.

Convene: Group back up and work your way back to the starting point. Have girls point out what they saw and talk about the sightings with the group, drawing out the knowledge among the group. What do people think left the signs that we see as a group? Don’t forget that it is highly likely humans are some of the animals leaving signs in the forest. Share your own knowledge through this process as well!

Small group work: Have each small group choose one sign they find intriguing or interesting. Try to have them choose dissimilar sign so that the limited guidebooks are put to good use. Spend about 5 minutes looking up the track, scat or sign. Report back to the group!
Title: Riparian Criterion

Unit Goal: Students will recognize riparian ecosystems and plants

Lesson Objectives
In a riparian area, participants will:
- define the words riparian, ecosystem, and community
- identify one riparian plant
- share what they learn with other students verbally


Time Needed: 60 minutes

Lesson Outline:
- Introduction (5 minutes)
- Vocabulary (10 minutes)
- Practice identifying plants as a group (10 minutes)
- Explore/ Apply (30 minutes)
- Share (5 minutes)

Background: Riparian zones are ecosystems located along the banks of rivers, streams, creeks, or any other water networks. Usually riparian zones are narrow strips of land that line the borders of a water source. Riparian flora and fauna are often distinctly different from those found in adjacent communities because of the water-rich soils found in the riparian zone. Healthy riparian zones provide a variety of important ecosystem services and they are often important habitats for wildlife. (From Encyclopedia of the Earth, 2016)

**Introduction.** Think about your “me tree” where it was growing. Imagine the surroundings. It is completely independent? What was near it? What do you think are its support systems? Hopefully the discussion will include water, nutrients, and light. If not, guide them toward it. Ask if they think other species can act as a support system too.

**Vocabulary.** After the discussion, formally define these words:
- Riparian: of or relating to wetlands adjacent to rivers and streams
- Ecosystem: a biological community of interacting organisms and their physical environment
- Community: an interacting group of various species in a common location

**Practice observing plants as a group.** From where we sit, let’s point out 10 different species. How do we know they are different species? What various features can we look for? Do they all appear to have the exact same needs? Think about where different species are growing. Are some in the shade, while others are in the sunshine? Are some growing out of other plants? Or maybe growing in the water? Introduce fields and tools.

**Share.** Take a group tour through the riparian, stopping at every students’ tree. That student will teach the others the name of their tree and something interesting they learned about it.

**Assessment:** Students will have learned the name of their “me tree” and know at least one fact about it, as observed by the instructor during the “share” phase of this activity. As a group, they will be able to define riparian, ecosystem, and community.
Listening maps: this would be a great activity for day two at a backpacking camp

Age: 9-19

Unit goal: Tap into our sense of sound and our collective creativity. Connect with nature.

Lesson Objectives:
Participants will practice listening to nature’s sounds
Participants will use descriptive words to write about the sounds and the experience
Participants will work as a team to create a written piece (a poem, song, essay…)

Materials Needed: journals and writing utensils

Time Needed: 30 minutes

Lesson Outline:
1. Individual listening
2. Individual writing
3. Icebreaker
4. Group writing

1. In an outdoor area, have the group find a quiet spot where they can be comfortable and somewhat isolated from other people but not far from the group. This is a listening activity. Encourage people to close their eyes if they feel comfortable and just listen for two minutes. The facilitator can keep track of time and call out when two minutes have passed. People might underestimate how long two minutes lasts or grow uncomfortable with their eyes closed in the woods. Encourage them to push through the discomfort.

2. After two minutes, have the girls write a list of descriptive words or short phrases to depict the sounds they heard in the woods. If they want to do it again, do it again!

3. Group back up and sit in a circle. Do a quick icebreaker to transition from the individual activity to this group activity. Ideas: everyone goes around and makes a sound and motion for how they are feeling today; Everyone imitates a sound they heard in nature; Start a sentence and everyone adds on word; anything you want, just get the group talking and interacting.

4. Remind everyone that they all have creativity inside them. Sometimes writing feels like homework but this is just meant to be a loose and fun process. The end result doesn’t matter, let’s just see what we come up with! Have everyone share a few of their favorite words or phrases from their listening time. Together, come up with a song, story or poem using words from each girl.

*If this activity stagnates, feel free to share a nature poem. Remind the girls that this is just an example to whet our appetites and that our piece doesn’t need to be anything like the example given. We can follow our own creativity in whatever direction it takes us!

Samples of nature poems on next page.
"Nature" is What We See, by Emily Dickinson
"Nature" is what we see—
The Hill—the Afternoon—
Squirrel—Eclipse— the Bumble bee—
Nay—Nature is Heaven—
Nature is what we hear—
The Bobolink—the Sea—
Thunder—the Cricket—
Nay—Nature is Harmony—
Nature is what we know—
Yet have no art to say—
So impotent Our Wisdom is
To her Simplicity.

Nature, by Risha Ahmed (12 yrs)
Look at my hair
Dancing in the air
Look at the trees
Bowing with the breeze
Look at the flowers
Dancing in the showers
Look all and all around
Up in the sky and down on the ground

Trees, by Joyce Kilmer
I think that I shall never see
A poem lovely as a tree.

A tree whose hungry mouth is prest
Against the sweet earth’s flowing breast;

A tree that looks at God all day,
And lifts her leafy arms to pray;

A tree that may in summer wear
A nest of robins in her hair;

Upon whose bosom snow has lain;
Who intimately lives with rain.

Poems are made by fools like me,
But only God can make a tree.

Blackberry Eating, by Galway Kinnell, 1927 - 2014
I love to go out in late September
among the fat, overripe, icy, black blackberries
to eat blackberries for breakfast,
the stalks very prickly, a penalty
they earn for knowing the black art
of blackberry-making; and as I stand among them
lifting the stalks to my mouth, the ripest berries
fall almost unbidden to my tongue,
as words sometimes do, certain peculiar words
like strengths or squinched,
many-lettered, one-syllabled lumps,
which I squeeze, squinch open, and splurge well
in the silent, startled, icy, black language
of blackberry-eating in late September.

From Blossoms, BY LI-YOUNG LEE
From blossoms comes
this brown paper bag of peaches
we bought from the boy
at the bend in the road where we turned toward
signs painted Peaches.

Trees, by Joyce Kilmer
I think that I shall never see
A poem lovely as a tree.

From laden boughs, from hands,
from sweet fellowship in the bins,
comes nectar at the roadside, succulent
peaches we devour, dusty skin and all,
comes the familiar dust of summer, dust we eat.

O, to take what we love inside,
to carry within us an orchard, to eat
not only the skin, but the shade,
not only the sugar, but the days, to hold
the fruit in our hands, adore it, then bite into
the round jubilance of peach.

There are days we live
as if death were nowhere
in the background; from joy
to joy to joy, from wing to wing,
from blossom to blossom to
impossible blossom, to sweet impossible blossom.

Remember, by Joy Harjo, 1951
Remember the sky that you were born under,
know each of the star’s stories.
Remember the moon, know who she is.
Remember the sun’s birth at dawn, that is the
strongest point of time. Remember sundown
and the giving away to night.
Remember your birth, how your mother struggled
to give you form and breath. You are evidence of
her life, and her mother’s, and hers.
Remember your father. He is your life, also.
Remember the earth whose skin you are:
red earth, black earth, yellow earth, white earth
brown earth, we are earth.
Remember the plants, trees, animal life who all have their
tribes, their families, their histories, too. Talk to them,
listen to them. They are alive poems.
Remember the wind. Remember her voice. She knows the
origin of this universe.
Remember you are all people and all people are you.
Remember you are this universe and this universe is you.
Remember all is in motion, is growing, is you.
Remember language comes from this.
Remember the dance language is, that life is.
Remember.
Title: Nature Sketching
Age: any

Materials Needed: journals and writing utensils

Time Needed: 30-60 minutes

Lesson Outline:
1. Guided practice
2. Exploration
3. Sharing

Guided practice/ Introduction: You can get a youth leader or adult who has taken art classes or is familiar with drawing to help with this activity. But remind the group that this is not about getting good at art- it is about seeing nature, paying attention to details, and representing them on paper so we can remember them more accurately and ultimately, become better naturalists.

Do some warm-up drawing activity. First have them hold their pencils or pens loosely and just make shapes on the page, to break the ice. Try to make a good square- don’t erase, just keep going over the same square over and over until you have the lines you want. Do the same with a circle, oval, triangle.

One fun idea are to give people 10, 20, or 30 seconds to quickly sketch you. Have them close their eyes and then strike a pose. They just have to get big lines and overall form. Do this a few times.

Another idea is to have them partner up. Have them spread out a little bit. One partner sits facing the leader and the other sits with their back to the leader. Choose something that everyone can see clearly. The one facing the object will have to give a detailed description to the person who cannot see it without revealing what the object is. The one who can’t see it will draw it as the other talks. She can ask clarifying questions about the form but cannot ask what it is. This is just a fun way to see what people come up with and get the “see-er” to really look thoroughly at an object. Give them about 5 minutes and then switch and pick something else to repeat with the other partner drawing.

Exploration: Break into pairs and go out exploring for an interesting scene or object. Have them look for something that is intriguing, something they don’t quite understand. Give them about 25 minutes to find a scene and each draw it. They can add words or measurements to their nature journals as well! Have them ask questions or hypothesize about the object or scene.

Share: Group back up and give people opportunities to share if they want to. Make sure naturalist kit and guidebooks are available so people can try to answer any questions they came up with.
Bird watching
Age: 9-19

Unit Goal: Students will allow their ears to guide their exploration.

Lesson Objectives
Participants will:
- practice listening to nature and stories
- use their ears to locate at least one bird
- identify at least 3 birds among the group and share
- learn how to use binoculars

Preparation: Print or check out a children’s story about birds. See below.

Materials Needed: bird watching kit from the public library (Binoculars, field guide, small notebook and pencil), a story about nature and birds, bandanas or blindfolds

Time Needed: 1 hour

Lesson Outline:
1. Listen to a short story about birds (5 minutes)
2. Independently practice listening to nature (10 minutes)
3. Introduce binoculars and field guides (5 minutes)
4. Take a walk and listen/look for birds (30 minutes)
5. Share (5 minutes)

Listen to a story about birds of your choosing (5 minutes).
Ideas:
- *Have you heard the nesting bird?* Rita Gray

Independently practice listening to nature (10 minutes). Explain that this next activity will require patience and stillness and ensure them that they can all do it. It involves a blindfold and may feel a little uncomfortable but they are all close enough that they will be safe. Instructors will keep their eyes open and look out for the participants. Try to encourage kids to use the blindfold because it will encourage them not to peek, but if anyone is very uncomfortable with being blindfolded, it is perfectly ok for them to just close their eyes. Have the group spread out so each child is sitting alone but still within eyeground/earshot, put on the blindfolds and just listen to the sounds around you for one minute. After one minute, instructor will whistle a tune that you’ve agreed on (maybe a bird call if you know one) or give some cue that the minute is up. Then they will remove the blindfolds and spend 4 more minutes sitting still and listening. Encourage them to continue using their ears to guide them, although they now have their vision back. Now they can try to figure out what the noises were that they were hearing while blindfolded. Group up and debrief to see what people thought of the activity.

Introduce binoculars and field guides. Briefly show students how to handle binoculars carefully, and how to focus and adjust them to their face. Briefly introduce field guides, and instructors can do a more thorough job helping kids figure them out in the field. This is just meant to be an introduction.

Take a walk and listen/look for birds. Split up into small groups, ensuring that each group will have an adult or youth leader and a bird watching kit. Assign a role to each student. Some roles can be note taker, field guide expert, bird counter, binocular keeper, bird describer, sketch artist, spokesperson, and plenty of spotters. Just make sure everyone has a job. Take slow small group hikes: keep your ears tuned, and your eyes peeled. If you hear something, freeze! And then wait until a bird reveal itself to you by making noise or moving. Try to spot as many birds as possible and try to correctly identify at least one. Keep a list of the birds you identify. Remind the group that if they remain quiet, they will have much better chance of seeing cool things! Extra points is you find an active nest!

Share: Bring the group back together and have the spokesperson share the coolest bird each group saw on their hike and one thing they learned about it through observing. Does anyone remember the sound it made? Did you find yourselves listening better after the activity we did earlier or were you primarily looking with your eyes?
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To transition to this activity, talk about how we all have culture. Culture has many definitions, but we can think of it as the shared knowledge, beliefs, behaviors, social norms, and material traits of any group you belong to, whether that is a racial group, religious group, or a social group such as your family or friends. In this way, in every group setting we are a multicultural group. We each bring a unique combination of values, norms, behaviors, and expectations based on our various cultural groups we inhabit.


**Time:** This activity requires 20-30 minutes.

**Purpose:** The Circles activity engages participants in a process of identifying what they consider to be the most important dimensions of their own identity. Stereotypes are examined as participants share stories about when they were proud to be part of a particular group and when it was especially hurtful to be associated with a particular group.

**Preparation:** Journals, pens, pencils. In their journals, have participants draw four overlapping and interconnected circles. See sample, next page.

**Instructions:**

**First,** initiate a brief conversations about stereotypes to insure that all the girls know what they are. Then, ask participants to write their names in the area near the center, where the four circles overlap. They should then fill in each satellite circle with a dimension of their identity they consider to be among the most important in defining themselves. Give them several examples of dimensions that might fit into the satellite circles: female, athlete, Jewish, sister, educator, Native American, middle class, etc.

**Next,** ask participants to pair up with somebody they do not know very well. Invite them to introduce each other. In their pairs, have participants share two stories with each other. First, they should share stories about when they felt especially proud to be associated with one of the identifiers they selected. Then they should share a story about a time it was particularly painful to be associated with one of the identity dimensions they chose.

The **third** step will be for participants to share a stereotype they have heard about one dimension of their identity that fails to describe them accurately. Ask them to complete the sentence at the bottom of the handout by filling in the blanks: "I am (a/an) ____________ but I am NOT (a/an) ____________." Provide your own example, such as "I am a Christian, but I am NOT a radical right Republican." Instructions for steps 1, 2, and 3 should be given at once. Allow 8-10 minutes for participants to complete all three steps, but remind them with 2 minutes remaining that they must fill in the stereotype sentence.

Probe the group for reactions to each other's stories. Ask whether anyone heard a story she or he would like to share with the group. (Make sure the person who originally told the story has granted permission to share it with the entire group.)

Advise participants that the **last** step will involve individuals circling up and reading their stereotype statement. You can either simply go around the group in some order or have people randomly stand up and read their statements. Make sure that participants are respectful and listening actively for this step, as individuals are making themselves vulnerable by participating. Start by reading your own statement. This part of the activity can be extremely powerful if you introduce it energetically. It may take a few moments to start the flow of sharing; so allow for silent moments.

**Several questions can be used to process this activity:**

How do the dimensions of your identity that you chose as important differ from the dimensions other people use to make judgments about you?

Did anybody hear somebody challenge a stereotype that you once bought into? If so, what?

How did it feel to be able to stand up and challenge your stereotype?

(There is usually some laughter when somebody shares common stereotype such as "I may be Arab, but I am not a terrorist" or "I may be a teacher, but I do have a social life.") I heard several moments of laughter. What was that about?
Where do stereotypes come from?

How can we eliminate them?

It sounds like we have all been victim to stereotyping. How does it feel?

If the space seems truly open and safe, I think it would be valuable to discuss stereotypes about American Indians, since we are on an Indian reservation and because American Indians represent MT’s largest minority group. Be cautious before jumping into this portion of the discussion. Make sure the Native participants are comfortable and are on-board for this activity, as it could potentially be very hurtful. We also don’t want to put anyone on the spot. Make sure you fully de-brief how and why each stereotype given is untrue and how they can be harmful to real people.

Facilitator Notes:
The key to this activity is the process of examining one’s own identity and the stereotypes associated with that identity, then having one's own stereotypes challenged through others' stories and stereotype challenges. Encourage participants to think about the stereotypes they apply to people and to make a conscious effort to think more deeply about them, eventually eliminating them.

As with most activities, it can be especially effective if you participate while you facilitate. If you are willing to share your own experiences, participants are more likely to feel open to share their own.

It is crucial, especially for the final part of the activity when participants are sharing their stereotypes, to allow for silences. People will be hesitant to share initially, but once the ball starts rolling, the activity carries a lot of energy. Allow time at the end for participants to talk more about whatever stereotype they shared.
Step 1:

Step 2:
This was shared by Sandra Ashley, used with permission

Possible extension: I’ve included this diagram as a way to show the interconnectedness of life. Adolescents tend to be self-centered and I think this could be a good visual to get them thinking beyond their own “self.” As the facilitator, you might point out that Mother Earth is in the center, whereas in our drawing we were in the center. Which feels more accurate to students? Prompt them to think about themselves in context of the surrounding world.

**NATIVE AMERICAN PERSPECTIVES**

**WHOLISTIC WAY OF LIFE**

We are part of all that is beneath us, all that is around us, and all that is above us.

*Our past is our present, our present is our tomorrow and our tomorrows are the seven generations, past and present.*
Extension: Participants can fill in the blank space of their page to include all of the other “selves” in their lives and in the world. The next circle out would then be humanity. We are all interconnected and no one has to struggle in isolation. Girls can be as creative and artistic as they want with this. Remind them that they can add to this whenever they want.
Tips for leading an effective service project


Ensure that your project is rooted in the community. Make sure all of the participants understand that service should be done with, not for, the community. The people in the community are the experts of local problems and the solutions to them. Make sure that the community is on-board with your service plans, invested in them, and that all of the participants understand that the people we are working with don’t need saviors, they might just want some extra helping hands. “A good service project is the byproduct of a respectful, mutually beneficial partnership, through which volunteers can learn from people who have first-hand experience with the issue.”

Plan for the skill-level and time your volunteers have. Make sure your goals can be accomplished with the amount of resources you will be providing.

The work you are performing should have real value. Nothing will kill a group’s can-do attitude like busy work. Make sure that the volunteer work you are asking people to donate their time and labor for actually provides a tangible benefit to the community or the organization you are partnering with. The caveat to this is that the community will define what is helpful and what is not. We need to follow their lead and respect their decisions in any solutions they have generated.

Talk about the issue/s you are confronting and the solution you are working toward before the service work begins. Volunteers should know why they are serving. Make sure volunteers understand the context in which they are working and the goals of the project. Orient them to the mission of the organization you are working with and the social, economic and historical context of the issue at hand. Ask questions and allow time for the teens to ask questions of the community partner about the issue and the solutions they are working toward. If we can get teens to critically think about the context of the work, their learning from the experience will increase as will their dedication. They can begin to think about the immediate solutions we will be working toward as well as the systemic causes for the problems.

Reflect. When service is done right, it should provoke critical thinking and questions around inequality and injustice and our role in perpetuating them or confronting them. Provide opportunities for volunteers to reflect on the need for this work, why we are here, and what we accomplished or did not accomplish during the service project. Talk about challenges and successes of the project, and allow them time to process their feelings around the issues. This could be done through group discussion or in a journaling prompt. If you have adequately prepared the participants before the work, debriefing the service work immediately after as well as later in the trip may deepen their learning process.

Encourage participants to continue to serve their communities and think critically about social or environmental issues they see in the world.
Title: Outdoor Me Tree*

Age: 9-18

*This is a pre-existing GUTS! activity that I modified to be done in that outdoors, and extended to include discussion of support system/community*

Unit Goals: Identifying unique strengths, values, and support system, connecting with nature

Lesson Objectives

Participants will:

- identify their own personal strengths (at least 3)
- define values and identify theirs (at least 3)
- try to see themselves reflected in nature
- consider their various support systems

Materials Needed: journals, pencils or pens, lists of GUTSY! strengths and values (see Appendix A)

Preparation: Choose a riparian area with various types of plants and trees

Time Needed: 60 minutes

Lesson Outline:

1. Individual exploration and drawing (10 minutes)
2. Identifying strengths, values, and dreams (25 minutes)
3. Group discussion- support system (20 minutes)

**Exploration and drawing** (10 minutes). Grab your pencil and journal and take a short walk. Choose a tree or plant that represents you in some way. Sketch an outline of the plant in your journal. Let them know that they should try to draw the roots too. Don’t dig up any part of the plant, but look for other cues to what the roots might look like or just take a guess. This is a very basic outline, don’t worry about the details, we need room for words anyway. Show a sample (see Appendix A).

**Identifying strengths, values, and dreams** (25 minutes). Group up and explain the activity. Though there are similarities among all of us, we each possess strengths and values that make us unique. Think about why you chose this specific plant. Your drawing of this plant will represent you. The roots represent your values, the foundation of who you are. The trunk represents your unique strengths, what holds you up. The branches represent your hopes and dreams, and the leaves are your goals. We are going to focus on the values and strengths. Ask the girls if they can think of examples of values and strengths and then provide the lists so everyone can see them. Have them write their own values on the roots, strengths on the trunk, and so on.

**Group discussion** (20 minutes). Next, we will talk about a support system. This plant clearly does not live in isolation. Consider what supports your plant’s life. Share with the group. Now think about your own support system. What kind of support system do you have? Who can you turn to? What activities do you love to do to relax, energize, etc.? What places serve as your support system? What do you need to survive? To thrive? After girls are finished, encourage them to share their drawings with the group.

**Extension:** Encourage the girls to thinks about their hopes, dreams, and goals in their own time. They can add branches and leaves to this tree at any point as they grow and change.

Assessment: Each participant will have drawn a tree and written her own personal strengths, values, and support system on it.
Branches: Goals →

Trunk: Talents →

Roots: Values →
### Big list of GUTS-y strengths:

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<td>Expressive</td>
<td>Artistic</td>
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<td>Doer</td>
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### Big list of GUTS-y values:

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<td>Dreaming</td>
<td>Empathy</td>
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<td>Winning</td>
<td>Wisdom</td>
<td>Wonder</td>
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Earth Circle of Life

**ACTIVITY:** (A) Stand in a circle to represent the Earth and the circles and cycles that are vital to sustain life. State the gifts given by each part of the Earth (sun, water, air, plants, etc.). (B) Thank the Earth for what it gives to us and promise to do something positive as a gift to life on Earth. Hold a ceremonial fire to symbolize the coming together of the gifts in the circle of giving and receiving between the Earth and people.

**GOALS:** Understand what each part of the Earth gives to people and other living things. Appreciate that people can thank the Earth, and that we can give back to it by taking care of it. Understand what we can do in our daily lives to be good stewards of the Earth.

**AGE:** Younger Children and Older Children

**PROCEDURE:** Beforehand: Make up the cards needed for the parts of the Earth for Procedure A, as described under “Materials.”

**PROCEDURE A:** *Gifts from the Earth*. Bring all of the parts of the Earth together into a circle. Each small group of children, or individual child, will have a (some) card(s) with a symbol of a part of the Earth on one side (e.g. plants, water) and a brief statement of what that thing gives to people and other living things on the other side, as described in the “Materials” section. Explain that the circle of children symbolizes the Earth and the circles that keep life going: the nutrient cycle, life and death, and others described in the “Discussion” section of this chapter. Have the “sun” (a child carrying the yellow ball or other sun symbol) enter the center of the circle and tell what it gives to the people and other living things. The ball should be left in the center of the circle.

Now have each part of the Earth come into the center one at a time (that child or those children bearing the cards representing the parts of the Earth). The children will tell what each part of the Earth is and what...
its gifts are to people and other life on Earth. The cards will be put in the center near the sun and left there, and the children will return to the edge of the circle. Each child or group of children representing a part of the Earth will repeat this procedure until all have done so and all of the cards are in the center.

**PROCEDURE B: Gifts to the Earth.** Have each child sit in place in the circle and write down on a piece of paper one or more things she/he promises to do to take care of the Earth—such as to conserve water, use less electricity to save energy, help an endangered species or recycle her/his solid waste instead of throwing it away. Many other ideas are suggested throughout the chapters of this book. Also on this paper, have each child express thanks for the gifts that the Earth gives to her or him by writing something such as a poem, short letter or a short story or by drawing a picture.

Now, one at a time, each child will come into the center of the circle to say what she or he promises to do to take care of the Earth and to share the way that she or he has thanked the Earth on the paper. Then the child will drop the slip of paper into the fire ring and return to the circle. When everyone has done this, burn the index cards and papers containing the gifts both to and from the Earth. Spread the ashes over the ground. These ashes symbolize the children’s and Earth’s gifts to each other, which complete the circle of life, of giving and receiving.

**MATERIALS:** (A) yellow ball or other symbol of the sun; index cards representing parts of the Earth, with a picture on one side and a brief description of what that part gives to people and other living things on the other side. In large groups, some of these parts may be represented by several children. Or, in very small groups, each child may hold several index cards representing parts of the Earth. Here are some descriptions to include on these cards:
- sun—(I/we) give light, heat and energy to make the plants grow. (The sun should be represented by a large yellow ball.)
- plants—(I/we) use the sunlight and make food and oxygen for other living things.
- soil, rocks—(I/we) feed the plants to make them grow (rocks, soil).
- air—(I/we) give breath of life to the living things.
- water—(I/we) quench the thirst and bring life to all plants and animals (rain, clouds, rivers, oceans, lakes, ponds and wetlands).
- seasons—(I/we) — spring, summer, fall and winter — bring change each year; heat and cold, wet and dry, sleep and wakefulness, new life and old.
- animals—(I/we) feed people and each other, help to pollinate flowers and sow plant seeds, and bring movement and sounds to the Earth.
- stars and moon—(I/we) light the night sky, guide the way and (moon) bring the tides.
- people—(I/we) care for the Earth and hold all of the parts of the Earth in our hands.
- stories—(I/we) bring the world to life in your imagination.
- life and death—(I/we), life, bring living things where there were none before. (I/we), death, make room for new life. We, life and death, keep the circle of life and death turning.
- circles—(I/we) keep the life on Earth going and keep everything in a good balance.
(B) Fire ring or container for burning papers in, matches, pencils, one piece of paper for each child on which she/he will promise one or more things she/he will do to care for the Earth and express thanks for the gifts the Earth gives to us; one cardboard backing for each child to support the paper as she or he writes.

**Extending the Experience**
- Design a puppet show depicting the major periods of geologic history. Use a narrator to describe the changes in life conditions on Earth through time. Create dialogue for the plants, animals and humans as they appear in the course of Earth history.
- Rewrite the story of human history and how we have treated the environment through the present time. Focus on how people could have been better Earth stewards.
Write a story for the future of the relationship between people and Earth. How will we treat the Earth? What will happen as a result? Write two contrasting versions of the story: one telling what will happen if we treat the Earth well, and one telling what will happen if we abuse the Earth.

Create personal “Circles of Life” for each of the many resources commonly used, such as water, air, metals, glass, paper and food. Draw one circle for each resource on separate, large index cards and label them. Along each circle, describe or draw the resource, what it gives to people to use and how we can give back by wise stewardship practices, including: recycling resources such as paper, glass, metals and motor oil; conserving water, energy and other resources; and supporting environmental conservation legislation by writing letters to Congressional representatives. On the other side of each index card, keep a journal recording personal progress in following through with the plan of “giving back” to the Earth by completing that Circle of Life.
Sum of the Parts

You have just inherited valuable riverfront property with a new house and a resort on it. On the day you move in, you discover the beach polluted with oil and littered with construction materials and animal waste. Where did all this stuff come from?

▼ Summary

Students demonstrate how everyone contributes to the pollution of a river as it flows through a watershed and recognize that everyone’s “contribution” can be reduced.

Objectives

Students will:
- distinguish between point and non-point source pollution.
- recognize that everyone contributes to and is responsible for a river or lake’s water quality.
- identify Best Management Practices to reduce pollution.

Materials

- Large piece of poster board or newsprint
  (Using blue marker, draw and color a river on poster board, as shown below. Divide the stream in half down the middle and crosswise into sections. Each section should include a bit of river and blank space to allow room for students’ drawings. The number of sections should correspond with the number of students or groups of students working together. Number the sections on one side of the river in sequential order, placing numbers in upper left-hand corners and repeat for the other side. Cut out the sections of stream. For durability, sections can be laminated.)
- Drawing pens and pencils
- Items from students’ desks (e.g., pencil, paper clip, book)

Making Connections

In math class, students add a list of figures to obtain the total or “sum” (of the parts). Most students have attended a large gathering (concert, sporting event) and have been amazed at the amount of garbage left behind. Each person in attendance probably did not leave much on the ground, but with 500, 1,000, or more people doing the same, the total amount was large. Taking a closer look at how students can positively or negatively contribute to water quality helps them appreciate their role in water quality management.

Background

The quality of water in a river (or lake) is, to a large extent, a reflection of land uses and natural factors found in its watershed. If soil near a river or lake naturally erodes, chances are the river has sediment and turbidity problems. If...
the land has stable vegetative cover, erosion is kept in check. When humans settle and develop land, water quality is affected. Breaking sod, cutting forests, building cities, mining, and other land uses make an impact upon water quality.

Everyone bears responsibility for the health of a watershed and the water systems (rivers, lakes, wetlands, etc.) within a drainage basin. Individual actions, both negative and positive, add up. Understanding a river or lake's water quality and quantity involves investigating the condition of the contributing watershed. If the watershed is polluted, the river will likely be polluted.

Watershed investigations are conducted for many reasons. Some investigations monitor changes in river and stream flows over time, to protect fisheries, to regulate floods, or to meet seasonal demands. Other studies determine the best method of protecting a river or lake from pollutants. One aim of a researcher might be to determine which areas of a watershed contribute the highest percentage of contaminants. This information is vital to policymakers and water managers when determining how best to spend money for improvements. For example, most lake improvement projects address problems in the watershed as well as those of the lake. It would prove fruitless to spend thousands (or even millions) of dollars to clean up a lake, if problems in the watershed will only pollute the lake again.

When watershed managers investigate land use practices that might affect the quality of water, they are concerned with two general sources of pollutants: point and non-point.

Point source pollution involves pollutants that are discharged from, and can be traced back to, an identifiable point or source, such as a

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major Sources of NPS Pollution and BMPs</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Source</td>
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<tr>
<td>Roads and Streets</td>
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<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
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<td>Logging</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
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<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residential</td>
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</tbody>
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factory's discharge pipe or a sewage ditch. Non-point source (NPS) pollution occurs when the source of a contaminant is unidentifiable; that is, the pollutant can come from one of many places. Examples of non-point source pollution include runoff from agricultural fields containing fertilizers and pesticides, motor oil filtering from urban areas, and sediments from eroded stream banks.

Surface runoff and ground water can transport both point and nonpoint source pollutants. Since point source pollutants are identifiable, they are easier to monitor.

The protection of surface and ground water resources from NPS pollution presents an enormous challenge because of the widespread and diverse nature of the problem. Land and water managers rely on methods called Best Management Practices, or BMPs, to describe land use measures designed to reduce or eliminate NPS pollution problems. A list of nonpoint source pollution sources and suggested BMPs can be found in the sidebar on the previous page.

**Procedure**

**Warm Up**

Determine student knowledge about watersheds by asking them to name several major North American rivers (e.g., Mississippi, Columbia, Missouri, Hudson, and Rio Grande).

Where do these rivers originate (where are the headwaters) and end? How many states does each cross or touch?

Discuss some of the predominant types of land uses found along one river as it flows through a single state. Do students think these practices could affect the river? What do students think the attitude of downstream state residents might be about the water received from their upstream neighbors?

**The Activity**

1. Inform students that they have just inherited a piece of riverfront property and a million dollars. Have them list ways they could use the land and the money.

2. Pass out "pieces" of property and drawing pens and pencils. Explain that the blue is water and the blank space is land they own. They have one million dollars to develop their land as they wish. They can farm or ranch; build resorts, homes, factories, or parks; plant forests, log, mine—whatever they like.

3. When students have completed their drawings, ask them to look in the upper left-hand corner of their property for a number. Explain that each piece is actually a part of a puzzle. Starting with number one, have students assemble their pieces.

4. Have students describe how they developed their land and how they used water. They should identify any of their actions that polluted or added materials to the waterway. Have students represent each of their contributions to the river with an item from their desks (e.g., book, piece of paper, pen, pencil).

5. Tell students to take their item(s) and line up in the same order as their pieces of river front property. They are going to pass their pollution pieces downstream. Have them announce what kind of pollutant they are holding before they pass it on. The ones will pass their item(s) to the twos, the twos will pass everything to the threes, and so on, until the last students are holding all the items.

**Wrap Up and Action**

After all the items have reached the final students, discuss the activity. How did those students toward the middle or at the end of the river feel? What about their property use plans? Could a student downstream be affected by the actions of a student upstream? Could upstream users...
alter the water quality of those downstream?

Tell students to reclaim their items. Explain that the items easily identifiable as their own simulate point source pollution. Other items (e.g., pencils, paper clips, notebook paper) may be more difficult to claim, because these kinds of pollutants originated from multiple sources. Tell students these represent nonpoint source pollution.

As a follow-up, have each student write one paragraph detailing ways to reduce the amount of pollution he or she contributed. (Share the Major Sources of NPS Pollution and BMPs from Background.) Students can research the regulations governing waterfront property in their communities. If they believe their waterways are poorly treated, they may want to write letters to local government officials supporting environmentally sound land use legislation.

**Assessment**

- express their opinions about individual contributions to total water quality (Wrap Up).
- write a paragraph identifying what they can do to protect water quality (Wrap Up).
- discriminate between point and nonpoint source pollutants (Wrap Up).

Upon completing the activity, for further assessment have students:
- design a community that uses Best Management Practices that allow for minimum contribution of pollutants.

**Extensions**

Instead of a river, have students represent a lake system. One student represents a lake. A group of students encircle the student representing the lake; they are houses around the lake. Other students, standing in lines extending from the lake, can be streams flowing to the lake. Students pass their item(s) downstream and into the lake until all the items are held by the person in the middle who represents the lake.

Have students adapt the activity to represent a river system that includes tributaries flowing into a main channel.

Complete the main activity using real water users within the watershed where students live. Or assign roles (farmers, suburban dwellers, etc.) to students and have them develop their land accordingly. How would they manage their land to protect water resources?

**Resources**


Meet a Tree (modified)

Duration: 40 minutes

Age: 9-19

Ideally you will find an area with diverse tree species. We are going to turn our attention to the trees, but we are going to do so in a different way. Have everyone find a partner and hand out one blindfold to each duo (can use whatever you have available). Explain that one person will be blindfolded and their partner will lead them to a tree in the vicinity. The leader will first (gently!) spin their partner around and then bring them in a circuitous manner to a tree in the vicinity. Lead your partner in a way that is kind and cautious. Try not to talk. Upon arriving, the blindfolded person then has to sense the tree without looking at it. She can feel the tree with her arms, hands and face, she can smell the tree, she can listen for any birds that may be alarming from the tree, and she can taste the tree. Then, when she has a good sense of the tree, her partner leads her back to where they began. She removes her blindfold and then has to find her tree once again. Repeat this process with the other partner.

After everyone has sensed and rediscovered their tree, ask for volunteers to show us their trees. Have everyone gather around the tree and see if anyone knows what kind it is. Then, have the volunteer describe their experience of sensing the tree and then collectively describe its bark and leaf shape. Have another volunteer, who had a different tree, lead us to their tree. Repeat until you have identified and experienced all of the different trees.

Use “Common Trees of the Northwest” booklet or the Plants of the Rocky Mountains book. Try to process the major differences aloud with the group.
Appendix B

Introduction to morning resiliency

I’ve included some options for morning resiliency throughout the week. Feel free to use these or bring anything you know to the group.

The first day of morning resiliency should include a brief conversation with the participants about what resiliency is. Ask them what the word means to them. Talk about how we all have internal resilience, the capacity to bounce back when challenging things happen. Depending on many factors, resilience comes and goes throughout our lives, it is not a personality trait. That means that we have the capacity to develop our resiliency. By acknowledging and practicing resiliency skills when times are ok or good, we can become better prepared to handle life’s stressors and hardships. We will practice various skills throughout this week, but we know that each person has skills they are already utilizing in hard times. Take a moment to have participants consider at least one thing that gives them strength in hard times. We have all survived everything we have come through thus far, so we clearly have resiliency skills. We can work to identify them and strengthen throughout our lives.

As we share various tools throughout the week, encourage participants to notice their bodily sensations after each exercise. Ask questions about the activities after you lead them, and model by describing the ways your body feels. Remind everyone to notice whether a given activity worked for them or not. Various activities will resonate differently with each person. Have participants and leaders focus on the ones they like and that feel good for them, and remind them that it is ok to disregard ones that do not work for them.

The first resiliency activity should be something really basic so girls don’t write it off. Consider doing a stretching circle. Acknowledge that this could be new language and practice for most (if not all) of the girls, putting them outside of their comfort zones. Encourage them to push themselves and try to be open to the activities. I’ve listed the resiliency skills in order of simplicity to full-on meditation practices.
5 finger meditation

Sit in a comfortable position, Close your eyes
(read aloud, allowing 10-30 seconds in between each statement)

Place your thumb on your index finger
As you do this, go back in your mind to a time when your body felt pleasantly exhausted. A time when you
had spent the day in healthy physical pursuits and experienced that happy feeling of being healthily tired and
ready to fall into a long and well-earned sleep. Recall that feeling in your body now. Recall a time in your life
when that was the way you often felt. Let your body experience that feeling through the power of your mind.

Place your thumb on your middle finger
When you feel the touch of your thumb and middle finger, go back to a time in your life when you had suc-
cessfully completed a large goal or project. Try to choose something that took effort on your part and recapture
that powerful feeling of personal accomplishment.

Place your thumb on your ring finger
In your mind, transport yourself to the most beautiful place you have ever been to. Immerse yourself in the sur-
roundings by using all your senses. In your minds’ eye, see the exquisite beauty of nature before you, touch
and feel the textures that surrounded you at that time. Smell any fragrances that were present and hear the
sounds that surrounded you at the time.

Place your thumb on your little finger
As you feel skin on skin, think about the nicest compliment that anyone has said to you. Experience the pleas-
ure you felt in hearing those comforting and reassuring words. Accept the compliment and let it fill your body
with a feeling of joy. By accepting the compliment you are also respecting the person who gave it to you.

Enjoy the feeling.
From the Community Resiliency Model, training materials:

**Grounding Like a Tree**

Imagine what the strongest tree would look and feel like

Stand tall like that tree. Imagine your strong trunk

Now, imagine your roots growing down into the earth from your strong legs and feet

Slowly move your arms like the branches of your tree. Reach as far as you want to reach.

Pay attention to the way your body feels like that strong tree

Wave your arms as the wind blows through the branches of your strong tree.

Bring attention to your feet as the wind blows your arms and notice how your feet are solid on the ground and the roots are holding you just right.

Notice how your whole body feels as you are strong like that tree.
From the Community Resiliency Model, training materials:

**Gestures and spontaneous movement**

Have everyone stand and be comfortable. Talk about the power of our bodies to communicate feelings to our minds. If we hold our bodies certain ways, we can encourage our subconscious thought processes in different ways (i.e. power poses). This activity will likely elicit some giggling, as it can feel awkward. As the leader, just go for it and model confidence.

Instruct the group to think of a gesture of self-soothing—something they do to feel calm. Count aloud backward from three while people are thinking. When you get to one, everyone will reveal their gesture in tandem. Ask the group to notice how their bodies feel while doing this gesture. Are there similarities of gestures in the group?

Continue to do this routine with choices from the following list. Do not ask people to express negative emotions through their body language, this activity is all about strengths!

- Self-calming
- Confidence
- Joyful
- Powerful
- Release
- Protection
- A spiritual gesture you use
- Pride

Afterward, remind the group that these are really simple ways we can begin to change our thinking minds through the power of our bodies. Remind people that they already have these gestures in a suite of resiliency skills, they may just need to remember to use them. Give examples of when these gestures may come in handy, i.e. if you are anxious before public speaking, or if you are having a low day and want out.

Diaphragmatic breathing technique

1. Lie on your back on a flat surface or in bed, with your knees bent and your head supported. You can use a pillow under your knees to support your legs. Place one hand on your upper chest and the other just below your rib cage. This will allow you to feel your diaphragm move as you breathe.

2. Breathe in slowly through your nose so that your stomach moves out against your hand. The hand on your chest should remain as still as possible. Tighten your stomach muscles, letting them fall inward as you exhale through pursed lips (see "Pursed Lip Breathing Technique"). The hand on your upper chest must remain as still as possible.

When you first learn the diaphragmatic breathing technique, it may be easier for you to follow the instructions lying down. As you gain more practice, you can try the diaphragmatic breathing technique while sitting in a chair.

To perform this exercise while sitting in a chair:
1. Sit comfortably, with your knees bent and your shoulders, head and neck relaxed.
2. Breathe in slowly through your nose so that your stomach moves out against your hand. The hand on your chest should remain as still as possible.
3. Place one hand on your upper chest and the other just below your rib cage. This will allow you to feel your diaphragm move as you breathe. Tighten your stomach muscles, letting them fall inward as you exhale through pursed lips (see "Pursed Lip Breathing Technique"). The hand on your upper chest must remain as still as possible.

Note: You may notice an increased effort will be needed to use the diaphragm correctly. At first, you'll probably get tired while doing this exercise. But keep at it, because with continued practice, diaphragmatic breathing will become easy and automatic.

How often should I practice this exercise?
At first, practice this exercise 5-10 minutes about 3-4 times per day. Gradually increase the amount of time you spend doing this exercise, and perhaps even increase the effort of the exercise by placing a book on your abdomen.
Body Scan Meditation

Time needed: 20-45 minutes, three to six days per week for four weeks. Research suggests that people who practice the body scan for longer reap more benefits from this practice.

HOW TO DO IT:
The body scan can be performed while lying down, sitting, or in other postures. The steps below are a guided meditation designed to be done while sitting. You can listen to audio of this three-minute guided meditation, produced by UCLA's Mindful Awareness Research Center (MARC), in the player; if it doesn't play, you can find it here or download it from MARC's website.*

Especially for those new to the body scan, we recommend performing this practice with the audio. However, you can also use the script below for guidance for yourself or for leading this practice for others.

Begin by bringing your attention into your body.

You can close your eyes if that’s comfortable for you.

You can notice your body seated wherever you’re seated, feeling the weight of your body on the chair, on the floor.

Take a few deep breaths.

And as you take a deep breath, bring in more oxygen enlivening the body. And as you exhale, have a sense of relaxing more deeply.

You can notice your feet on the floor, notice the sensations of your feet touching the floor. The weight and pressure, vibration, heat.

You can notice your legs against the chair, pressure, pulsing, heaviness, lightness.

Notice your back against the chair.

Bring your attention into your stomach area. If your stomach is tense or tight, let it soften. Take a breath.

Notice your hands. Are your hands tense or tight. See if you can allow them to soften.

Notice your arms. Feel any sensation in your arms. Let your shoulders be soft.

Notice your neck and throat. Let them be soft. Relax.

Soften your jaw. Let your face and facial muscles be soft.

Then notice your whole body present. Take one more breath.

Be aware of your whole body as best you can. Take a breath. And then when you’re ready, you can open your eyes.
Loving Kindness Meditation

*This one might push girls a bit, so use your judgement based on the group*

Time required: 15 minutes daily

Body Position
Close your eyes. Sit comfortably with your feet flat on the floor and your spine straight. Relax your whole body. Keep your eyes closed throughout the whole visualization and bring your awareness inward. Without straining or concentrating, just relax and gently follow the instructions.

Take a deep breath in. And breathe out.

Receiving Loving-Kindness
Keeping your eyes closed, think of a person close to you who loves you very much. It could be someone from the past or the present; someone still in life or who has passed; it could be a spiritual teacher or guide. Imagine that person standing on your right side, sending you their love. That person is sending you wishes for your safety, for your well-being and happiness. Feel the warm wishes and love coming from that person towards you.

Now bring to mind the same person or another person who cherishes you deeply. Imagine that person standing on your left side, sending you wishes for your wellness, for your health and happiness. Feel the kindness and warmth coming to you from that person.

Now imagine that you are surrounded on all sides by all the people who love you and have loved you. Picture all of your friends and loved ones surrounding you. They are standing sending you wishes for your happiness, well-being, and health. Bask in the warm wishes and love coming from all sides. You are filled, and overflowing with warmth and love.

Sending Loving-Kindness to Loved Ones
Now bring your awareness back to the person standing on your right side. Begin to send the love that you feel back to that person. You and this person are similar. Just like you, this person wishes to be happy. Send all your love and warm wishes to that person.

Repeat the following phrases, silently:

May you live with ease, may you be happy, may you be free from pain.
May you live with ease, may you be happy, may you be free from pain.
May you live with ease, may you be happy, may you be free from pain.

Now focus your awareness on the person standing on your left side. Begin to direct the love within you to that person. Send all your love and warmth to that person. That person and you are alike. Just like you, that person wishes to have a good life.

Repeat the following phrases, silently:

Just as I wish to, may you be safe, may you be healthy, may you live with ease and happiness.
Just as I wish to, may you be safe, may you be healthy, may you live with ease and happiness.
Just as I wish to, may you be safe, may you be healthy, may you live with ease and happiness.

Now picture another person that you love, perhaps a relative or a friend. This person, like you, wishes to have a happy life. Send warm wishes to that person.

********Continued on next page
Repeat the following phrases, silently:
May your life be filled with happiness, health, and well-being.
May your life be filled with happiness, health, and well-being.
May your life be filled with happiness, health, and well-being.

Sending Loving-Kindness to Neutral People
Now think of an acquaintance, someone you don’t know very well and toward whom you do not have any particular feeling. You and this person are alike in your wish to have a good life.
Send all your wishes for well-being to that person, repeating the following phrases, silently:
Just as I wish to, may you also live with ease and happiness.
Just as I wish to, may you also live with ease and happiness.
Just as I wish to, may you also live with ease and happiness.

Now bring to mind another acquaintance toward whom you feel neutral. It could be a neighbor, or a colleague, or someone else that you see around but do not know very well. Like you, this person wishes to experience joy and well-being in his or her life.
Send all your good wishes to that person, repeating the following phrases, silently:
May you be happy, may you be healthy, may you be free from all pain.
May you be happy, may you be healthy, may you be free from all pain.
May you be happy, may you be healthy, may you be free from all pain.

Sending Loving-Kindness to All Living Beings
Now expand your awareness and picture the whole globe in front of you as a little ball.
Send warm wishes to all living beings on the globe, who, like you, want to be happy:
Just as I wish to, may you live with ease, happiness, and good health.
Just as I wish to, may you live with ease, happiness, and good health.
Just as I wish to, may you live with ease, happiness, and good health.

Take a deep breath in. And breathe out. And another deep breath in and let it go. Notice the state of your mind and how you feel after this meditation.

When you’re ready, you may open your eyes.
GUTS! Pre-Program Survey
High School Resiliency camp

Thank you for filling out this confidential survey. Your honest answers help us improve our program. Please ask your facilitators if you have any questions about the evaluation.

Age: _______ Grade: _______ School (optional) __________________________________________________________________________________

Please check the appropriate box.
1. I am currently in a GUTS! program in the: ☐ Fall ☐ Spring ☐ Summer

2. Is this your first GUTS group? ☐ Yes ☐ No

3. I take pride in myself.
   ☐ Most of the time ☐ Some of the time ☐ None of the time

4. I am aware of my strengths and weaknesses and feel comfortable working with my abilities and limitations.
   ☐ Most of the time ☐ Some of the time ☐ None of the time

5. I believe I am a good leader.
   ☐ Most of the time ☐ Some of the time ☐ None of the time

6. I believe my body is strong and capable.
   ☒ Most of the time ☐ Some of the time ☐ None of the time

7. I believe I am a mentor to others.
   ☐ Most of the time ☐ Some of the time ☐ None of the time

8. During conflict and/or difficult times, I stand up for myself.
   ☐ Most of the time ☐ Some of the time ☐ None of the time

9. During conflict and/or difficult times, I stand up for my friends.
   ☒ Most of the time ☐ Some of the time ☐ None of the time

10. During conflict and/or difficult times, I stand up for people I do not know very well.
    ☐ Most of the time ☐ Some of the time ☐ None of the time

11. I believe I have the skills to create positive change in my community.
    ☐ Most of the time ☐ Some of the time ☐ None of the time

12. I am likely to volunteer my time to give back to my community.
    ☐ Most of the time ☐ Some of the time ☐ None of the time

13. I believe I play an important part in my community (i.e. class, school, church, sports).
    ☐ Most of the time ☐ Some of the time ☐ None of the time

14. I think it is important to have friends from other groups and that are different from me.
    ☐ Most of the time ☐ Some of the time ☐ None of the time

15. I understand what sexism and other forms of prejudice look like.
    ☐ Most of the time ☐ Some of the time ☐ None of the time

16. I understand how sexism and other forms of prejudice hurt other people.
    ☐ Most of the time ☐ Some of the time ☐ None of the time

18. Please check the box of the response that fits best with how you feel.
   ☐ I feel satisfied with my body ☐ I would change some things about my body
   ☒ I would change most things about my body

.................continued on following page

Note: This is the standard pre and post survey used by the GUTS! program. I added questions 23-29 on the pre-program survey and questions 27-32 on the post-program survey to measure the success in drawing on place-based and resiliency themes in this particular camp.
Please respond to the following questions.

19. My strengths are ________________________________
   □ I’m not sure what my strengths are yet

20. I believe my strengths will help me ________________________________
    □ I’m not sure yet

21. What I like about my body is: ________________________________
    □ I’m not sure yet

22. Do you feel you have mentors in your life? □ Yes □ No □ Unsure
   If so, who are your mentors? ____________________________________________

23. I feel passionate about changing ________________________________ in my community.
    □ I’m not sure yet

24. I feel connected with my community (family, school, town, or otherwise).
    □ Most of the time □ Some of the time □ None of the time

25. I feel connected with myself.
    □ Most of the time □ Some of the time □ None of the time

26. I feel connected with nature.
    □ Most of the time □ Some of the time □ None of the time

27. I feel connected with my culture.
    □ Most of the time □ Some of the time □ None of the time

28. I consider myself resilient.
    □ Most of the time □ Some of the time □ None of the time

29. What does resilience mean to you? ____________________________________
    □ I’m not sure yet
GUTS! POST-Program Survey  
High School Resiliency camp

Thank you for filling out this confidential survey. Your honest answers help us improve our program. Please ask your facilitators if you have any questions about the evaluation.

Age: ______ Grade: ______ School (optional) ______________________________

Please check the appropriate box.
1. I am currently in a GUTS! program in the:   □ Fall   □ Spring  □ Summer

2. Is this your first GUTS group? □ Yes  □ No

3. I take pride in myself.  
   □ Most of the time   □ Some of the time  □ None of the time

4. I am aware of my strengths and weaknesses and feel comfortable working with my abilities and limitations.  
   □ Most of the time   □ Some of the time  □ None of the time

5. I believe I am a good leader.  
   □ Most of the time   □ Some of the time  □ None of the time

6. I believe my body is strong and capable.  
   ☑ Most of the time   □ Some of the time  □ None of the time

7. I believe I am a mentor to others.  
   □ Most of the time   □ Some of the time  □ None of the time

8. During conflict and/or difficult times, I stand up for myself.  
   ☑ Most of the time  □ Some of the time  □ None of the time

9. During conflict and/or difficult times, I stand up for my friends.  
   ☑ Most of the time   □ Some of the time  □ None of the time

10. During conflict and/or difficult times, I stand up for people I do not know very well.  
    □ Most of the time  □ Some of the time  □ None of the time

11. I believe I have the skills to create positive change in my community.  
    □ Most of the time   □ Some of the time  □ None of the time

12. I am likely to volunteer my time to give back to my community.  
    □ Most of the time  □ Some of the time  □ None of the time

13. I believe I play an important part in my community (i.e. class, school, church, sports).  
    □ Most of the time  □ Some of the time  □ None of the time

14. I think it is important to have friends from other groups and that are different from me.  
    □ Most of the time  □ Some of the time  □ None of the time

15. I understand what sexism and other forms of prejudice look like.  
    □ Most of the time  □ Some of the time  □ None of the time

16. I understand how sexism and other forms of prejudice hurt other people.  
    □ Most of the time  □ Some of the time  □ None of the time

17. I was willing to risk and try new things.  
    □ Most of the time  □ Some of the time  □ None of the time

18. Please check the box of the response that fits best with how you feel.  
   ☑ I feel satisfied with my body  □ I would change some things about my body  
   □ I would change most things about my body

......continued on following page
Please respond to the following questions.

20. My strengths are ____________________________________________________________
   - I’m not sure what my strengths are yet

21. I believe my strengths will help me ____________________________________________
    - I’m not sure yet

22. What I like about my body is: ________________________________________________
    - I’m not sure yet

23. Do you feel you have mentors in your life?                                       
   - Yes    - No    - Unsure
   If so, who are your mentors? __________________________________________________

24. I feel passionate about changing ____________________________________________ in my community.
    - I’m not sure yet

25. What did you like most about GUTS!:

26. What would you change about the GUTS! program?

27. I feel connected with my community (family, school, town, or otherwise).
    - Most of the time    - Some of the time    - None of the time

28. I feel connected with myself.
    - Most of the time    - Some of the time    - None of the time

29. I feel connected with nature.
    - Most of the time    - Some of the time    - None of the time

30. I feel connected with my culture.
    - Most of the time    - Some of the time    - None of the time

31. I consider myself resilient.
    - Most of the time    - Some of the time    - None of the time

32. What does resilience mean to you:
    - I’m not sure yet
Local Resources/Contacts:

Indian Education through the Confederated Salish & Kootenai Tribes:

Germaine White, Information and Education Specialist for the Natural Resources Department, Division of Fish, Wildlife, Recreation and Conservation. germainew@cskt.org

Germaine has developed various materials for adult education as well as to be implemented into classroom settings. In all her materials, culture and natural resources are deeply intertwined.

Fire on the land: Native Peoples and Fire in the Northern Rockies http://www.csktfire.org/main.html
- Lower Flathead River, an interactive multimedia DVD
- Coming Soon: “Living Landscapes” will focus on Climate Change on the reservation. They hope to build a multi-media interactive website and database. They plan to engage college students at Salish and Kootenai college in a data collection and analysis project. There will be an accompanying curriculum and website focused on climate change.
- Animal identification app. It also has soundbites of the words for each animal in Salish and Kootenai. Find it here: http://www.csktfwapps.org/

**All three of the DVD are in the GUTS! office

Whisper Camel-Means, Stephanie Gillan, and Kari Smith, Tribal wildlife biologists, CS&KT

<whisper.means@cskt.org> <stephg@cskt.org> kari.smith@cskt.org

Below is a list of projects, events and resources they are involved with:
- Bird Day. This is annual event for the public, organized by the Wildlife Biology Department that happens in May.
- Pablo elementary had a wildlife club for a while that was funded through their 4-H program. Kari and Stephanie ran these groups. Teachers identified to participate were Sunny Ben, Carrie Swanberg, and Caroline Pardini. This club fizzled out in recent years due to funding losses, but was popular at the time.
- SciNation is a collaboration between the tribes and SpectrUM that bring science tables and discovery areas to pre-existing events, such as the annual Arlee Celebration that draws thousands of people from across the state. They identified Jessie Herbert as a contact person (see below)
- Also in collaboration with SpectrUM, they are in the process building a “Maker Bus,” also known as a Spark Truck. This bus will be fully outfitted with science equipment and cultural materials. It will be a travelling discovery center for the reservation!

Arlee EAGLES, a recently formed group of high school students who are interested in climate change and environmental issues. Renee Dubay contact person, may or may not still be associated with the Talent Search program. I have not yet contacted her. Also given the name Mike Durglo, from the tribal Climate Change Oversight Committee

Bill Swaney, Tribal Education Director. PO Box 278. Pablo, MT 59855. (406) 675-2700 Phone. (406) 275-2814 Fax william.swaney@cskt.org.

Nkwusm Salish School, Arlee (406)726-5050

They have a school garden and may want help with a service project onsite, plus our kids could meet their kids!
Local Resources/ Contacts:

SKC, Pablo 406-275-4800

Potential contacts include:

- Dawn Thomas, Coordinator EHH, Extension Office, dawn_thomas@skc.edu, 406-275-4795
- Summer Youth Garden Program, Melissa LaFontaine and Blakely Brown, got funding from a USDA, NIFA grant— something like Growing Healthy Communities.
- Janene Lichtenberg, SKC, Wildlife & Fisheries Department Head 406-275-4896

Tim Ryan, Ethnotech, LLC, expert in traditional technologies, (406) 212-7809 tryan@ethnotechllc.com

Tammy Elser, curriculum developer

Tribal Council

- Patty Stevens, Horse camp
- Shelly Fyant

Salish– Pend d’Orielle Culture Committee

- Reached out to Tom Smith, no response.

Reservation Ambassadors:

Anna Baldwin, Arlee HS English teacher, and counselor Misty Brien are co-advisors for the student group. They work to “break down stereotypes through building relationships.” They connect with students from other high schools, as far away a Chicago, to build relationships and give students from elsewhere a better understanding of reservations issues and contemporary life here.726-3216, ext 3215

Club Unity, Drug and Alcohol prevention program, Arlee

University of Montana resources:

- Beth Covitt and Jessie Herbert, SpectrUM, SciNation, and SciGirls, Phone: (406) 728-STEM (7836) spectrUM@mso.umt.edu
- Anthony (Tony) Dorame portfolio. I have a copy of this in the GUTS! office. Incorporates Black-foot and Salish nature-based activities
- Lisa Blank, C&I Professor, Indian Education for All, evaluating student learning, girls in stem. 406-243-5304 lisa.blank@umontana.edu
Sources for all history lessons:


Montana Office of Public Instruction. 2009. “Montana Indians: Their History and Location.”


History Lesson Images:


GUTSI Summer Outdoor Adventures

Flathead Resiliency Camp

Recruitment materials

Postcard:

GUTS! OUTDOOR ADVENTURES
SUMMER 2017
HIGH SCHOOL

Flathead Reservation Adventure

July 24th-28th
ages: 14-17

For new & returning GUTS! teens. Come camp, swim, and play in the beautiful Mission valley!
Girls will learn resiliency through our connection to each other, ourselves and this beautiful place we call home. We will connect with tribal experts and complete a youth garden service project. To top it all off, we'll spend two nights backpacking into the wondrous Finley Lakes!

Applications available at ywcaofmissoula.org
or at (406) 543-6691
Applications accepted until camps fill.
Scholarships are available.
What are **YOU** doing this summer?

Explore!

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Discover your unique strengths with

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Summer Outdoor Adventures