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Literacy practices in a First Nations community : women writing culture.

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LITERACY PRACTICES IN A FIRST NATIONS COMMUNITY:
WOMEN WRITING CULTURE

By

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B.Ed., University of Victoria, 1994
M.A., University of Alabama in Huntsville, 2000

A Dissertation
Submitted to the Faculty of the
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Department of English
University of Louisville
Louisville, Kentucky

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A Dissertation Approved on

June 26, 2008

by the following Dissertation Committee

Dissertation Director

DEDICATION
For Grandma Leake

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I must first thank the women who let me into their offices and homes to interview them about the work that they do. In particular, I am grateful to Rosie Cassam and Doreen Patrick. Their generosity with their stories and their time has been my inspiration.

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ABSTRACT

LITERACY PRACTICES IN A FIRST NATIONS COMMUNITY:
WOMEN WRITING CULTURE

Alanna Frost

June 26, 2008

This dissertation examines the literacy practices of a group of First Nations women who live in British Columbia and whose jobs entail the production and dissemination of texts which reflect the local, Carrier, culture. In this qualitative study of eight First Nations women from Western Canada, I investigate the fact that these women produce texts and materials reflective of First Nations culture in an environment with a history of violence against their community and against the very culture about which they write. By outlining the historical, geographic, and material conditions under which my participants produce texts, I demonstrate the complexity of literacy practices conducted amidst the tensions created in the dynamic between the dominant and local cultural collectives and between differing perceptions of local socio-historic and geographic “facts.”

This dissertation is divided into four chapters. Chapter One introduces my participants and offers a necessary discussion of the ethical dilemmas inherent in the representation of Aboriginal populations—those whose historical relationship to research agendas have been fraught with misrepresentation. After reviewing scholarship which

articulates the ethics of representation, particularly that offered by Aboriginal scholars, I discuss my own use of critical ethnography as a means of mitigating those ethical dilemmas. Chapter Two reviews the educational history of the two participants who experienced residential school educations in British Columbia. The educational agendas of residential schools were designed to limit First Nations People's literate abilities; Chapter Two is thus premised on the necessity of understanding my participants' educational history in order to contextualize their contemporary work.

Chapters Three and Four utilize cases studies to explore the specific literacy practices of the participants. Chapter Three argues that the complexity of literacy practices in one participant's composing work extends to an understanding of history as bound to a local, particular physical space. The texts, historical accounts of the Nazko First Nations produced by Doreen Patrick, cannot be separated from her community's physical spaces and further must be understood in the context of their, fiercely contested, understanding of land, ownership, and discovery. Chapter Four concludes this dissertation with an overview of the connection between literacy practices and culture. In this chapter, I argue that literacy practices are directly tied to a dynamic and contested understanding of culture and further (and reciprocally) that cultural practices are not definable without discussions of literacy practices—of those material conditions under which the production of “culture” occurs—those texts, jobs, signs, of culture which profess themselves to be directly related to Carrier culture.

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

“I must be about the business of learning, though in learning I find something about the self rather than the other; yet, since we are all more alike than different, maybe we should know that to learn—really to learn—about others is to learn about selves (725).”

—Victor Villanueva

I drove onto the reservation to pick up Doreen Patrick,¹ the first participant whom I would interview, and the woman whom I spent the most time with while conducting my research. We joked as we drove away from the house filled with Patrick’s sisters, their children and grandchildren, all “having a visit.” We decided that we would have the most peace if we went straight to a quiet restaurant for lunch, a joke because the one commercial building—a combination gas station, laundromat, grocery store, and motel—to be found for 100 miles was far too busy with hunters, fishers, seasonal food gatherers (morel mushrooms at the time) and local community members to afford peace. We opted instead, at Patrick’s suggestion, to go to the school. We drove over the cattle guard and into the parking lot. Beside the new school sits the much smaller “little red school house,” the original Nazko school building, the one that brought my grandparents to the Nazko Valley in 1951. Much like when they arrived, the narrow valley contains the

¹ At their request, I use my participants full names in this dissertation.

Nazko River, the Nazko First Nations² reservation on which 150 of 300 Band members live, and approximately 65 non-native ranchers. The valley's residents still depend on the nearest town, Quesnel, but now an hour's drive away, unlike the three day trip it once was for my grandparents.

Patrick and I spent a few hours in the new school that day. Indeed, most of my encounters with my participants took place at the school over the course of the summer. In such a rural setting, the rules of community spaces are lax. When Patrick and I walked in to begin our first interview, past the foyer with its couches and fireplace and by the kitchen with its ready coffee pot, we were greeted by the principal, who offered to find space for us to talk quietly, right after he herded the students back to class—every room had emptied moments earlier to watch a mother bear and her cubs lumber through the playground. It was in this environment that we began the work of talking and listening and gathering.

I was meeting with Patrick to begin gathering stories and texts from women who, as both employees and volunteers, are responsible for defining, recording and disseminating First Nations (FN) culture in their community. My goal in doing so, and thus the goal of this project, is to answer questions both deeply personal and notably relevant to composition scholarship. As this investigation details, the work of my participants, their composing, occurs in a local environment and a broader nation that has historically and continually challenged their culture, their community, and their lives. As a child growing up in British Columbia, I understood the racism directed towards FN,

² The term most often used in Canada to refer to Aboriginal people and the one Patrick asked me to use to refer to her community is "First Nations." It is my understanding that Aboriginal people in the U.S.A. prefer to be referred to as "Indian" (Harjo and Bird). I am choosing to use these terms to distinguish between Canadian and U.S. Aboriginals, and, when I speak of indigenous people from North America, the term Native North Americans (NNA). Further, when I refer to global peoples—I use the term Aboriginal.

both in a curriculum absent of FN presence and on a racially segregated playground. As an adult and a writing instructor, I investigate the fact that my participants produce texts and materials reflective of FN culture in an environment with a history of violence against their ancestors and against the very culture about which they write. All of these factors underscore the complexity of what they do, a complexity largely invisible in a broader public discussion of the socio-historical crises of FN people—the literacy failures bound to school statistics and low rates of employment and high rates suicide. Their writing occurs in spite of what Scott Lyons calls “cultural violence [...] located at the scene of writing”; Lyons refers not only to NNA residential school experience but more broadly to the invisibility of NNA perspective and voice from academia (449). Thus, this project seeks to understand the interconnections amongst my participants’ composing and their historical, geographic and socio-cultural environments, and, in doing so, further contribute to scholarship that theorizes marginalized writing.

In order to complicate perceptions of FN literacy, I use New Literacy Studies (NLS) to frame this investigation. With an imperative requiring a situated, contextualized understanding of literacy events and practices (Barton, Hamilton, and Ivanic; Brandt; Street), NLS offers a critical lens with which to analyze the material, social, and historical conditions through which specific communities and individuals are socialized and through which they utilize the resources available to them to become literate members of a community. Situating my participants’ work within the “broader social process,” NLS offers a means of challenging NN perception of FN illiteracy,³ specifically because of the complexity of my participants’ texts.

³ My understanding of this public perception is still largely based on personal experience. I consider the province-wide school-district focus on FN and literacy and media coverage that articulates the gap between NN and FN school success, to be indicative of the perception that FN are in literacy crises.

NLS facilitates analysis of conflicts between the expectations of literacy's merits and the realities of its use and thus prepared me to conduct this investigation. I understood that a discussion of a group's literacy entails discussion of the "social institutions and power relations that sustain them," between public perceptions of the commodified power of literacy and personal literacy practices (Barton, Hamilton, and Ivanic 1). I well-understood that historical considerations (residential school experience for example), contemporary considerations (FN people's material conditions), and social considerations (treaty negotiation over land occupied by both FN and NN for example) could be reflected in my participants' literacy practices. What I was not prepared for was the complexity of tensions within those factors which affect the texts my participants produce. I was not prepared to hear that residential schools (representing a formal iteration of literacy) were both reviled and sorely missed—one participant lamenting all she lost by attending, another lamenting all she lost by being kept home. Both women were speaking about literacy. The former was speaking of that literacy pertaining to education in the traditions of her culture, the latter to that literacy pertaining to education in formal English skills.

It is relevant to note the two important terms I use to describe my participants' residential school memories. "Literacy" and "culture" are essential to this investigation and thus reflection of the way I use them is important. Both terms relate as representative of powerful ideologies which have, contemporarily, been critiqued by scholars interested in the relationship of their use in relation to the power structures implicated in their demarcation. These terms relate in their historical use as representative of powerful ideologies which have, contemporarily, been deconstructed. In regards to literacy, I use

the term to refer to a “social practice” as David Barton and Mary Hamilton define it. I study in this dissertation, as Barton and Hamilton do, “what people do with literacy: [...] the social activities, [...] the thoughts and meanings behind the activities, and [...] the texts utilized in such activities (3). I further speak of literacy in multiple ways: as a skill related to the written word that is acquirable and transmittable, as a term that has cultural capital, and as a term which gets used for skills not necessarily related to written texts. Analysis of literacy as a social practice relies on discussing my participants’ “literacy practices.” Literacy practices refer to the ways my participants put literacy to use which, as Barton and Hamilton point out, are “general cultural ways of using [...] language” (6).

In regards to culture, I began this project, two years ago, looking for texts and participant experience that pertained to “cultural preservation.” While gathering data I labeled the writing done by my participants “cultural preservation.” What I have since realized is that my choice of label reflected the rhetoric of the dominant culture’s understanding of my participants’ work. Cultural preservation is not a term my participants ever used to describe what they do when they interview the elders in their community, research local Carrier⁴ customs, and produce texts about the Carrier people. “Cultural preservation” is the term used by the NN Treaty Manager at the Nazko Band office, who, when I began the ground-work for this investigation, spoke to me of the urgent necessity of saving the Carrier language. “Cultural preservation” is further reflected in government publications pertaining to my participants. A recent article

⁴ “Carrier” is the term missionaries first used to describe the numerous, clan-based communities living in Central-British Columbia (BC) during the years of NN explorations (circa 1800). There are presently many Carrier communities in central-BC, each more specifically named by the reservation on which individual residents live. For the most part, I gathered texts from Nazko FN, but I also collected from local libraries works written by Carrier women from Sai’k’uz FN.

published on the B.C. government's website, "The New Relationship—Moving Forward in 2008," describes increased government initiatives for "recognition and reconciliation of First Nations issues" and includes "language and culture preservation" ("The New").

These tensions between perceptions are important to how I speak of culture in this dissertation. It is not my goal here to identify or define markers of Carrier culture in any positivistic sense. Like Kathleen Stewart I want to represent a local example of FN texts without "freezing its moves in a grand totalizing scheme of objectives and gists" (4).

Thus I understand culture to be a dynamic term dependent for its definition on who is doing the defining. As Julie Lindquist describes of "culture's" dynamisms, "[they] must be understood as relational as well as distinctive, as a site of action and reaction" (5). I also, though, wish to respect my participants' use of culture to refer to what, for them, is (relatively) fixed. So I recognize culture's elastic characteristics while I reference the term often as describing a collective of community members who share a common history, geography, and world view.

Further, it is necessary that this investigation offer reflection on and examination of the complexity of connections amongst ideological constructs—literacy, culture, and community. Each term has multiple iterations; each describes tensions that act both upon and within the ways my participants—and I—self-identify, for them as members of the Nazko FN, as Carrier people, for me as graduate-student researcher, expatriate British Columbian, for all of us as Canadian; each identity is multiply indexed by individuals, institutions and collective groups. The way, for example, FN people are discussed as a community by the larger non-native (NN) populations differs vastly from the way my participants speak of their own community. My whole life I have listened to

conversations in the NN community with regards to decades old FN land claims disputes and the need for local FN people—with the highest rates of substance abuse, incarceration, and high school drop outs—to “get it together” and assimilate into white culture. These opinions are harshly proffered, racist, and moot when juxtaposed with FN opinions of the need for land claims settlement in order to achieve the balance they desire between tradition and a healthy community life. If I set out to examine literacy practices, I discovered that, in regards to the Nazko FN, it is also necessary to speak of the tensions that exist between literacy and history, and amongst place and people and culture.

By spending time in the community, I gathered stories from those community members who are publicly invested in the socio-cultural activities of their community. Several of my participants are called “elders”; they hold eminent positions in their community, explained to me as being those not based on age but on the work they do to educate community members in Carrier traditions (Boyd). Based on referrals, all my interviews were with women, with the exception of the NN (non-native) museum curator I interviewed in order to understand the museum’s role in documenting Carrier FN culture, and Patrick’s brother, a former chief. In the Nazko FN community, as is the case with many Bands in British Columbia, female community members are most publicly and officially involved recording and disseminating material about FN culture. Indeed, save the three men who manage the Nazko Band’s logging business, the Band is currently administered by women—including its chief, Delores Alec. I gathered for myself, and for this dissertation, experience with the community that speaks to individual literacy and cultural work of one small group of FN people.

My decision to conduct work with the Nazko FN began at the Band office,⁵ located in Quesnel. During a summer visit home, one year prior to my official data-gathering work, I took the advice of two local professors of FN Studies and stopped by the office to meet one of their former graduate students and current Treaty Administrator. While sitting in her office, I met Patrick, Bernice Cremo and Geneva Irwin. When the women learned that I was the granddaughter of the first schoolteacher in the Nazko Valley, a woman they had known well, and a teacher myself, they began telling me stories of their own educations. Their stories spoke to the power of our school memories. Patrick, for example, having attended a residential school in which her first language (Carrier) was forbidden, still feels uneasy when she writes in English, despite her prolific work, written in English, on Carrier culture and language.

And so I was introduced to the women and the topic I discuss in this dissertation. My work was conducted primarily in one summer in northern British Columbia. Northerners value their summer leisure time after lengthy winters spent indoors. My participants had all recently completed projects. Patrick had been responsible for gathering and translating stories for the multi-media, "Nek' Oh Tse K'Ut/Footprints in Stone" exhibit at the Quesnel Museum. The display is a combination of artifacts, pictures and interactive video/audio clips of elders' stories displayed on a computer screen. On a second computer as well as in a bound book kept open in the entrance to the exhibit are entries Patrick has researched and written about Carrier culture. Rosie Cassam was

⁵ As "tribe" is used in the U.S., "Band" is the term applied by the state (the government of Canada) to groups of FN people, who, during the colonization of British Columbia (circa 1850), were deemed to share socio-cultural features (geographic space, economies, language, social practices). Presently, the Bands of the various FN communities in British Columbia are self-governing and house the administrators and employees of the variety of political, economic, educational, and community affairs of the individual Band, including the Band-elected Chief.

traveling back and forth from Nazko to Quesnel as an elder responsible for approving documents for the language preservation⁶ project that Patrick was, in part, responsible for creating. Leah Hjorth had recently finished her University semester and was preparing for her summer internship at the Band office. Her sister Tanya, the office's Education Coordinator, had monitored her last Nazko student's progress for the closing high school year. Her own children, young enough to still be close to home at the elementary school in Nazko, had one week left of school. Holly Toews and Lori Philips were completing their final reports on a school year spent creating materials to support Aboriginal Education in all manner of classrooms—from K-12 levels and in classes ranging from Math through woodworking.

What the women's voices offered me, and what I explore in this dissertation, are the complex intersections of literacy, education, culture, and community. Not all of the women's stories are explicitly told in this work. I spent the most time with Patrick and Cassam, the women who knew my Grandmother best and who continually encouraged me to "come for a visit." Further, because my participants do so in their work, I rely on texts that have been written about Carrier culture. It is my hope that my participants' interest and professional work to understand, document, and disseminate their cultural heritage, are reflected in my discussion of that work. As demonstrated in Strong Women Stories: Native Vision and Community Survival, prolific numbers of FN women across Canada have taken on the role of post-residential school, cultural recovery. Their jobs and, I would assert, their desire is to perpetuate cultural awareness within their own community and amongst the NN community in the hopes of changing the conditions in

⁶ When speaking of this specific project, which involves entering the vocabulary of the Southern Carrier dialect into a software program, my participants use the term preservation—the only project about which they spoke of "preservation."

which their children currently live, changing their communities' high rates of substance abuse and low rates of high school graduation.

In order to understand the context of FN literacy practices, understanding FN residential school experience is a necessity. In the Nazko Valley, until 1968, FN children were sent away from home for 10 months of the year to be educated at a residential school in Williams Lake. The main agenda for students at residential schools was assimilation into white culture, to the detriment of formal education. Attendance was compulsory. Patrick never visited, nor does she think there existed, a library in the Williams Lake residential school. More insidious than the mandatory attendance and the assimilative agenda was the physical and sexual abuse reported—after most of the schools had been closed—at many Canadian residential schools. Patrick's own school experience remains a frustrating part of her personal history, as she expressed to me during our very first meeting. Because of her story, analysis of productive and successful literacy practices with women who received little formal education became essential to my work.

Yet, not all the women I spoke with attended residential schools—some like Tanya and Leah Hjorth were too young; others, like Cassam, were kept home to care for ailing parents. This fact did not affect the powerful presence of school and education in our discussions. While I was conducting interviews, the Canadian government announced through television and newspaper advertisements that a court settlement had been reached for residential school attendees. Many conversations I heard and took part in centered on the complex decisions survivors had to make regarding compensation. Participants who did not attend residential schools were interested in their friends' and

relatives' decisions and were further dealing with schooling issues of their own. Leah Hjorth studies education in order to return to the reservation and teach. Her sister liaises between high school teachers and reservation parents; she volunteers on a committee whose goal is to convince the school board to extend the number of grades at the school in Nazko, as travelling to town, a 2 hour trip by school bus, contributes to high drop out rates. All my participants have been or are involved in the creation of instructional material that reflects Carrier culture. School, as a physical space and a social ideal, therefore, became the focus for most of my interactions with participants.

Indeed a school's history enabled my relationship with the Nazko community. In 1951 my grandparents, Frances and Bill Leake, moved to the Nazko Valley from their drought-decimated Alberta farm so that my grandma could teach the white settlers' children. The Ministry of Education had promised to build a school in the valley if the white settlers could encourage a teacher to come. The school would be for the white settlers' children only. Nazko First Nations children, specifically, were not permitted to attend the school. It was not until 1968 that FN children were admitted to the school and into my grandmother's classroom. Shortly after that, my grandmother became a student again, as she enrolled in a Carrier language course.

"Canoe" is hand-written in the margin of the textbook titled Chuntezni'ai Bughunek that my mother gave me—a language primer subtitled Southern Carrier Book One. The annotation is one of few examples I have of my grandmother's script. A NN woman engaged with a First Nations' language in the 1970s in British Columbia was remarkable, particularly given her occupation. Historically, educators of FN children were charged with eradicating the children's first language. Although the Nazko children

were enrolling in my grandmother's school, residential schools were still in operation in other parts of the province and across Canada until 1981. The opinions of educators, that a white education for FN children was the means of assimilation, was still the predominant educational philosophy. Still, my grandmother learned Carrier, and stories from family and friends reveal a generous teacher and community member who treated all children with respect. Besides learning Carrier, during her life in the Nazko, she and my grandpa fostered over twenty children.

But my grandmother's generosity depends on an understanding of the position of a community of people who have experienced more than a century of oppression, marginality, and injustice. That my Grandmother was, as one participant offered "so good to the Indians" (Cassam), determines her reputation. In other words, her well respected position, generous as it was, in part is determined by the particular people she worked with. My investigation is similarly dependent on FN people. Here, I speak of working women whose efforts contribute to a body of knowledge that tells of the past and present culture and language of the Carrier people. This body of knowledge is used to educate the public generally and children in school specifically. My Grandmother's relationship with the people who lived in the Nazko community—a community of FN people who live on the Nazko reservation and the white settlers who occupy the Valley—helped to make my research possible. The fact that the women are members of a FN, a community that, like all other FN communities in British Columbia, has experienced the debilitating effects of colonial intervention and the fact that the material reality of their community members' lives is so challenging, are the reasons why their work is remarkable and therefore of use in my own. This fact—that I will benefit from the

information I gleaned from hard working women, women oppressed by my NN culture —must be addressed.

Victor Villanueva's recent complaint of oversight in Cheryl Glenn's presentation of her research with American Indians, a matter of omission in the "unpacking" of terms, speaks loudly to the boundaries and margins of qualitative work. In his review of her book, Unspoken: A Rhetoric of Silence, Villanueva's general criticism is that Glenn, whose book includes a chapter on the stereotype of NNA silence, does not foreground important ethical considerations in her methodological discussion. He is frustrated, for example, by her footnoted, as opposed to foregrounded, explanations of the means by which she obtained permission for the interviews she conducts. Praising Ralph Cintron's ethnographic methods, Villanueva argues for researcher transparency in the "struggle with representation [...] biases and the interpretive screens he must try to see through" (729). For my own example, I began this project looking for Carrier women involved in cultural preservation, but my curiosity, if left un-reflected, itself reflects a position. To posit, for example, that the women I spoke with in the summer of 2007 are determined to preserve "their" culture, is to posit that "theirs" requires preservation and further that their work is interesting because theirs is a culture that requires preservation, and further that mine is one that is static, that requires no intervention, that is the unmarked. My concerns, manifest in consideration of research methods and related to my position of privilege, are a necessary introduction to the remainder of the dissertation.

Considering Methodology

I chose to pursue the topic of this work specifically because of my familial connection to the area and to the educational history of my participants. As I grew up in

the region, I felt comfortable with the geographic area, with the social rhythms of a northern summer, and, most specifically, with the never-ending mosquitoes. Meetings with my participants were carried out in their places of work or at community affairs at which they volunteered. In this regard, I was able to conduct field work while contributing labor. I kept track of children at school events, added cheese to burgers, and washed dishes. I was prepared for the sharing of stories and for the communal teasing and laughter that stems from shared work. What I was not prepared for, was the disjuncture I felt and sensed when I would remember to “get to business” and specifically interview my participants. I sat across from women whom I’d been laughing with moments earlier, gazing at me politely, as I struggled to articulate in non-academic vernacular the reason for my interest in their writing histories and further to explain (as I hoped was the case) that the results of our conversation would, at least, celebrate their accomplishments, would help me, and perhaps, if I figure out how, eventually benefit them.

Positively, these uncomfortable situations reminded me to mind my place. Remind me still to be aware of the “record of misconduct” perpetuated because of the “free-touching of the powerless by the powerful” (Royster “When” 32). Remind me, as I will outline in the remainder of this chapter, of the ethics of representation. Here I discuss scholarship that addresses ethically responsible methods of engagement with Indigenous people and composition scholars’ discussion of responsible, qualitative research methods.

Research involving human subjects, always fraught with questions of power, is particularly troubled when it involves a people whose relationship to research is

historically tense. What Villanueva articulates is the simultaneous necessity and complexity of speaking responsibly about people who have been historically dismissed in scholarship. This is to say, those dismissed as contributors to the intellectual matter of scholarship in ways other than as objects of study. In my work, I heed the warnings of Native American scholars who express their frustration at the imbalance of cultural and monetary capital favoring the researcher that has too often accompanied research on Aboriginal people. Such research is criticized because of social scientists' historically irresponsible treatment of Aboriginal peoples as objects of study. From the egregious practice of craniometry, to research-supported acts of "repatriation, the selling of Indian burial remains and imitations of Indian artifacts, and the publication of sensitive Indian knowledge," Aboriginal communities are leery of investigators' interest in and textual representations of their communities and culture (Fixico 84; Smith).

Because of such a contentious relationship, issues inherently considered problematic in human research are exacerbated in research with Aboriginal people. Contemporary concerns of the power imbalance and the means and methods of representation are certainly more problematic for populations that are historically vulnerable because of the history of positivistic claims about their lives. Contributors to Natives and Academics: Researching and Writing About American Indians are most critical of the lack of Aboriginal voices in research about Aboriginals and offer that ethical research must include historical documents and data as well as Aboriginal interpretation of historical documents. Further, the book's editor, Devon Mihesuah, by directly criticizing the motives of scholars and students who profess to be interested in all things "Indian," demands that researchers question "why" they are interested in

Aboriginal research. Will the researcher's work benefit her? Will it benefit the
Aboriginals with whom she works? In doing so, Mihesuah problematizes the material
conditions under which scholarship is accomplished. She discusses the grant money
researchers have access to, the money that they may earn from publishing, and alludes to
the cultural capital they can accrue by publishing the stories of Aboriginals lives and
cultures and questions the reciprocity in the participants' rewards.

My considerations of participants are further complicated by research
methodologies with their own inherent tensions. I describe my methods as ethnographic
perspective, oral interview, and participant observation, all of which offer the potential of
"allow[ing] for the negotiation of cross-cultural realities between the sensitive
interviewer and the interested co-investigator" (Haig-Brown "Choosing" 97).
Problematically, each descriptor, in title, gestures towards "naturalistic" or authentic
reflections of participants' lives or community settings but in practice requires
subjectivity on the part of the researcher. Despite ethnography's imperative of disclosure
of researcher position, eliminating the problematic of speaking for or about "Others," as I
review below, is complex.

Specific to my choice of analyzing oral interviews is Daphne Patai's argument in
"U.S. Academics and Third World Women: Is Ethical Research Possible?" Patai asserts
that oral interviews with oppressed people can never be completely ethical. Patai
articulates more fully and specifically than Mihesuah the imbalance of power inherent in
the researcher-participant relationship and cautions that the feminist agenda in regards to
research, which seeks to offer (so benevolently) voice to oppressed women, is simply an
imbalance of power which serves the researcher. Related to Celia Haig-Brown's

argument that the researcher risks being in the position of the colonizer, Patai argues that the material of the interview—the tape recording—is the raw material a colonial power wishes to extract. As such Patai wonders if researchers of oppressed people can avoid the role of an oppressor. Her conclusion is that they cannot, as the need to objectify the “Other” in order to create academic discourse makes oppression inevitable. She also touches upon the unfairness of the researcher/participant relationship when oral histories are used, as the oral interview creates a relationship of intimacy that is problematic given the situatedness of the final product (academic discourse) in the public sphere.

The existence in academia of dominant narratives, explained by Edward Bruner in “Ethnography as Narrative,” is a more general reason that representation is so complex. Bruner offers that dominant ontological narratives exist in all cultures. More specifically he analyzes the effect dominant narratives have on ethnographic research. When used by researchers in positions of power, these narratives serve to perpetuate existing power structures. His assertion that “no ethnographer is truly innocent—we all begin with a narrative in our heads which structures our initial observations in the field” (270) is supported by evidence of the ways master narratives shape qualitative research results. Bruner’s specific example, particularly relevant to my work, is that of the narratives used by social scientists to classify Indian experience in the United States, which changed in the 1970s from a narrative of assimilation to one of resistance. With the changing dominant narrative came different stories and artifacts in support of the particular story social scientists were telling.

Mitigation Most Generally

It is the imperative of NLS to conduct research which mitigates the influence of dominant narratives. This is not to say that if Bruner is correct in his discussion of the invisibility of dominance that it is possible to circumvent implicit belief systems. But, as it is the goal of NLS to speak to monolithic understanding of literate behaviors, at the least there is work on the part of the researcher to make known-narratives transparent. Similar to Bruner's argument is Beth Daniell's warning, in "Narratives of Literacy: Connecting Composition to Culture," of the presence of composition's dominant narratives. Daniell's caution is directed toward composition scholarship's embrace of Freire-ian liberatory pedagogy as simply a model substituted for the autonomous model. In order to counter the influence of dominant narratives, Daniell reviews productive composition scholarship, which offers non-dominant or "little narratives"; she explains that, "[w]hile the little narratives of literacy offer valuable insights about the various specific literacy practices and while they may theorize on these practices, they seldom make theoretical statements that claim to be valid for literate persons in general or literate cultures in general" (403). Importantly, Daniell argues that contemporary NLS offers a means of replacing "big narratives" with the "little narratives" that expose the importance of local and contextualized discussions of literacy. It is just such a little narrative which I wish to offer in this investigation.

Most specific to my work are those "little narratives" that address boarding school/residential schooling. Similar to composition's and NLS's turn to a local focus has been scholarship that analyzes NNA boarding school experience (Adams; Miller; Pitcock; Furniss; Katanski; Haig-Brown; Cobb; Mihesuah), as it has been only in the last

two decades that scholars have analyzed NNA positions in regards to that history. Such work challenges the notion that colonial institutions were imposed on passive and “primitive” recipients. Further, only in the last decade has writing produced by boarding school students become the focus of scholarship that examines, as Scott Lyons puts it, the cultural violence “located at the scene of writing” in schools and the means by which NNA have used writing to assert “rhetorical sovereignty” (Lyons 449; Pitcock; Furniss; Katanski). Scholarly analyses of archived and contemporary texts by NNA who attended boarding schools complicate an educational history that most often has positioned them as passive recipients of assimilative boarding school policy. As important as such work is, few scholars have taken into account NNA perspectives on the residential school experience. Further, I have found no scholarship that articulates the literacy practices of contemporary graduates of residential schools.

Thus, my work builds upon that body of scholarship which analyses the literacy practices of NNA and, importantly, contextualizes those practices as they are enacted both within and upon by a NN, dominant culture. Residential schools, the source of education for generations of FN people, had disastrous effects on FN communities. Many of those communities have made enormous strides in the recovery of their traditions, which are not evident in continuing and popular discussions of the legacy of residential schools. In my own use of “little narratives” I offer FN voices and writing in stories that challenge master narratives of FN inability. What I find it important to address further are the problems associated with the methodologies employed—for the most part ethnography—to “get at” the little narratives.

Mitigation More Specifically

Composition scholarship has paid close attention to dilemmas associated with conducting ethnographic research. Recognition of writing as a social act and the concomitant scholarly interest in writing spaces and rhetorics outside of the classroom demanded of composition studies qualitative research which situated a researcher in the field (and further theorized the classroom as a field). Composition researchers, therefore, found resources in the research methods of social science disciplines with longer histories of field work. Methodologies, such as ethnography and case study, offered the potential for nuanced, contextualized and descriptive accounts of communities and individuals but also the understanding of the problems associated with the representation of Others.

Critiques of the history of research in the field admonish early missteps, such as Janet Emig's harsh criticism of her participant teacher whose voice was not included in Emig's work (Mortensen, "Going Public"), or Hull et al.'s negligence in helping to mitigate (rather than capitalize on) their T.A. participant's misunderstanding of her student (Newkirk). More contemporarily, Ellen Cushman has argued (as Patai and Haig-Brown do) that field work can easily mimic the project of the colonizer who extracts resources from her participants, and that bridging the distance between the University and participants in the field necessitates civic engagement ("The Rhetorician"). These narratives of composition's ethnographic methodologies remind researchers of the ethical complexity of qualitative research.

Further, these critiques insistently demand that the researcher make transparent such complexities. For, to return to Bruner's assertion regarding the "innocence" of the researcher, composition scholars concur "that researchers' values permeate and shape

research questions, observations and conclusions, and that there can be no value-neutral research methodology” (Mortensen and Kirsch xxi). Acknowledgement of a researcher’s position in relation to her research site and in relation to her participants has now become standard practice in the discipline. Countering the disparity in privilege and power between an academic—representing the cultural capital of university sanction—and her participants—the “subjects” of research—requires that she be cognizant of ethical responsibilities while planning, conducting and publishing research (Kirsch).

From my own experience, I found that my institution’s demand for a formal review of my research methods was useful as I planned my project. But, although explaining my research to an outside party (local Internal Review Board—IRB) helped me to articulate the goals of my research, the IRB-stamped letter head was not comforting when I faced my participants and explained those goals to them, particularly given the social settings in which I met my participants, like those school picnics and community fundraisers. Productively, the IRB form did act as a constant reminder of my original aim for our relationships; I had to face socially awkward situations when I would, mid-conversation, remember “the form” and ask a participant to “hang on” while I retrieved it from my bag. Such odd glitches in conversation, at minimum, reminded me that, despite my volunteering to wash the picnic dishes, I was, as Kirsch expresses, a lurking voyeur in the community (Ethical).

Further, the IRB form can be doubly problematic. Not only can it seem an imposition when in the field (simultaneously a glitch and a productive reminder), it also offers the researcher a means of performing but not necessarily enacting ethically responsible research. As Newkirk articulates “the form” can act as a “prop” that “helps

to reinforce the impression of the researcher's solicitousness" (4). I, of course, believe my solicitousness was genuine, but, as is Newkirk's concern, perhaps because of the work to complete the IRB, I had not planned for the experience of forming relationships with people for the purpose of "analysis." In other words, I had carefully planned questions to elicit discussions of literacy practices but not the means to silence worries that my extraction of stories from my participants for my own work did not indeed resemble a colonial project (Patai; Royster; Cushman "The Rhetorician"). I met with women who have experienced the intense hardships associated with poverty and substance abuse. I found it difficult, as I reassured participant Cassam that her illiteracy was not a detriment to my research, or as I admired Cremo's stories of her dedication to sobriety, to silence the nagging fears that I was soliciting women's stories for purposes far too unrelated to their needs.

The research protocols of critical ethnography offer a means of confronting such fears. Those protocols that composition scholars advocate propose a means of responsible work with a vision beyond IRB approval, with a vision of civic engagement that benefits both researcher and participant. Critical ethnography suggests the means, as Bruce Horner explains, to right the inevitably upended power dynamic between research and participant. Three of the most important recommendations for what composition scholars call critical ethnography are "collaboration, multi-vocality, and self-reflexivity" (Horner 15). According to Horner, collaboration describes the practice of involving participants in the planning of the research project, in order that both researcher and participant benefit from the research—what Royster refers to as work that is "deliberately reciprocal" (33); multivocality refers to the practice of including participants in the

production of the textual analysis of the research. Finally, self-reflexivity directs the researcher to “constantly question her motives, practices, and interpretations” (Horner 26). These research protocols are utilized to varying degrees by researchers who wish to make their position transparent, particularly in regards to disparities in power and privilege.

But Horner’s apt summary of critical ethnography’s important protocols (collaboration, multi-vocality, self-reflexivity) is written to articulate the continuing adherence, of even such careful considerations, to historically positivistic research. In other words, despite compositionists’ theorization of methods to overcome misrepresentation of participants, unavoidable problems create unavoidable ethical concerns. Indeed, the project of the collection Ethnography Unbound: From Theory Shock to Critical Praxis, in which Horner’s work is found, is to review the difficulties of ethically responsible projects in a postmodern, scholarly world. For Horner, critical ethnography, despite its ability to challenge historical models of the distant and objective researcher, continues to neglect material concerns (“a cultural materialist perspective”) and thus reinscribes distanced and objective research (14).

Notably, self-reflexivity is the most important consideration I adopt for this project. In part, my own material conditions factor into this decision. Collaboration and multivocality seem to me to be extremely productive means of co-representing research participants, but they require time and resources on the part of both researcher and participants that are not always accessible. As Horner points out, for example, collaboration requires that participants “share the academics’ interest in research” and further that no “material barriers” complicate efforts for researcher/participant

collaboration (Critical 18). Geographic, financial, and time constraints all affected my ability to engage my participants in a project that would create a legacy of the kind demanded by a truly collaborative project, one which, according to participatory-action-research advocates Williams and Brydon-Miller, would result in benefits for both my participants and me. For both parties, me with a summer to collect data, my participants with their summers, jobs, volunteer projects, and families, time was clearly a barrier to a truly collaborative project. Most importantly, it must be noted that my participants live on a reservation, the most economically depressed community in Canada, and further, each woman had a personal story of a contentious relationship with an educational institution. Because of these specific research conditions, a proposal by me to engage in a process of research collaboration—specifically because our relationships were so new and time was so short—would have been regarded as another example of institutional intervention from a privileged researcher.

Self-reflexivity, therefore, requires I “constantly question [my] motives, practices, and interpretations” (Horner 26) and further offers a means of addressing my position of privilege. Yet, to offer personal experience is not without its own pitfalls. I do not wish to take on a “narcissistic” (Brandt “The Politics” 45) or “facile” project (Kirsch). But as my own interpretations depend on the experience of being raised in a dominant culture which devalues FN contributions to that culture, I feel reflecting on my own experience to be of value in the assertions I will make in this dissertation. I believe that the balance between adopting and co-opting can be achieved with my revelations of the tensions I saw, felt and articulate between the local peoples, history, social-life, economics and geography.

Therefore throughout this dissertation, guiding my analysis of data is Horner's general description of self-reflexivity, and further, more specific critiques of self-reflexivity offered in Robert Brooke and Charlotte Hogg's "regionalists perspective" and Royster's discussion of a researcher's own self-monitoring as a guest. Royster's comparison recalls her neighbors' invocation for visitors to behave as such with all manner of respect for their hosts. She explains, "when you visit other people's 'home places,' especially when you have not been invited, you simply can not go tramping around the house like you own the place, no matter how smart you are, or how much imagination you can muster, or how much authority and entitlement outside that home you may be privileged to hold" (614). I would further argue for the addition of "worker" to Royster's simple reminder. A "guest-worker" is one who is from away, not quite a part of the community, one with specific requirements and a specific place in the community.

A researcher who considers herself a guest-worker has, in title, a reminder of her position in the community in which she finds herself. Such a consideration, I believe, serves as a guideline for those researchers unable to enact long term, reciprocal relations with a community, and can help mitigate against the researcher Royster critiques, who enacts "free-touching of the powerless by the powerful" (33). When I behaved as a guest-worker while gathering data, I offered the help of physical labor first, before a request for an interview, or as I waited to speak with a participant. As a guest-worker, I spent time working at community events—serving tea to elders, watching their grandchildren perform on stage during Aboriginal Day, and helping out with school affairs. This is not to argue that serving tea is a definitive means of addressing complex and layered ethical

research issues. But considering oneself a guest-worker offers a position in the community which cannot profess itself to be professorial, and, more humbly (and humbling for the researcher) allows community members to position themselves as experts in their own explanations of what actions the researcher should take.

For further guidelines to self-reflexivity, I found useful Brooke and Hogg's discussion of Burkean ethos. In theory, they argue, Burke's complication of Aristotelian ethos, his argument about the mutual identification necessary between the rhetor and her audience, offers a more complex foundation for self-reflexivity. Burke's consideration of "'identification' [as a] foundational act in every rhetorical encounter between disparate peoples" (120), means for Brooke and Hogg that an essential component to self-reflection is reflection pertaining to that connection. Further, as such identification requires change in the researcher, that in "tracing the ways they develop identification" the researcher identifies the ways she engaged with her participants and how those encounters changed her. Burkean self-reflexivity, as explained by Brooke and Hogg, therefore, requires more than textual articulations of a researcher's own ethical position.

In their own practice Brooke and Hogg now self-identity as regionalists. This identity, they argue, allows them to "represent the continuity" between their own ethnographic experience and those whom they study" (120). Unlike my work here, Brooke and Hogg further describe the importance of collaboration. As they explain, the participants receive the benefits of the project and the researcher publishes analysis of the participants' work. But Brooke and Hogg assert that the focus, from a regionalist perspective, does not have to be on the participants. They stress further that data analysis does not have to utilize a lens which scrutinizes, in the traditional sense, research

subjects, but instead focuses on the negotiations of activity between the researcher and the participants, the researcher and the project, the participants and the project, and finally the researcher and her audience.

The importance of a regionalist perspective and the productivity of a discussion of the negotiations between my participants and me, in terms of the “identification” frame that Brooke and Hogg offer, are fundamental to this project. A regionalist perspective relates directly to the purpose of NLS and, therefore, to return to the original articulations of the work in this investigation, demands that I pay attention to the social and material, to the personal, and the public. Brooke and Hogg’s description of Hogg’s own “regionalist” work demonstrates analysis which blends story with theory in order to ground her work in place and “encourage identification among the implied audience, participants, and researcher” (124). I therefore specifically analyze the texts and interviews that I collected in light of my own sense of place, of history, geography and culture.

Considering myself a guest-worker, graduate student, working towards the use of a regionalist’s perspective, offered me the most acceptable means of conducting research and representing my participants. At least, these methods offered one way, as Villanueva requests, to make the “rhetorical enterprise” of research transparent. Using the self-reflexivity inherent in a regionalist’s perspective allows me to consistently work towards exposure of my own dominant narratives and to analyze both the material “data” my participants offered and the tensions that exist between my own FN memory and their explanations of their work.

In Chapter 2 I discuss the literacy practices of my participants. In chapter 3 I offer a discussion of myself—how my own geographical memory conflicts with Patrick's. I compare my own understanding of British Columbia's historic and geographic development to texts that Patrick created for the Museum, texts that counter dominant accounts of that development. Finally, in chapter 4, I analyze from the perspective of cultural rhetorics the complexity of a discussion of culture, texts and cultural preservation. In each, I offer both my experience and interpretation and the comments and work that my participants shared with me.

CHAPTER II

LITTLE NARRATIVES OF LITERACY: THE STORIES OF THREE CARRIER WOMEN

In reference to scholarship which attends to the educational concerns of minorities, Anne Ruggles Gere touches on “the key role of Native-American women in cultural survival” (“Indian Heart” 62). Gere’s goal is to address the work of two female teachers at a Native-American boarding school; she thus responds to Scott Lyons’ exhortations for composition scholars to heed rhetorical success taking place at the “scenes” of writing implicated in the cultural violence directed towards Native North Americans (NNA). For Canadian First Nations (FN), no other “scene” is more fraught than their experiences in residential schools⁷—institutions in which the agenda to assimilate pupils into a culture different from that of their home environment superseded all other educational goals. Because of assimilative agendas, conventional literacy was often neglected in favor of dominant-cultural education. Yet, as Gere points out (and as proves true in both Canada and the U.S.), NNA women resisted institutional assimilation attempts and successfully contributed to cultural preservation. Thus women’s residential schools experiences—these scenes depicting both the display and denial of literacy—offer a compelling space for analysis.

⁷ Residential schools are the Canadian equivalent of the U.S. boarding school—institutions to which First Nations people were sent for the expressed purpose of assimilation into non-Native culture.

Yet, only recently have scholars focused on residential schools as more than evidence of deleterious colonial rule and the end of pre-colonial NNA identity. For example, in both Canada (Fiske, Haig-Brown, Furniss) and the U.S. (Adams, Pitcock, Katanski, Cobb, Mihesuah), NNA perspective has been added to the history of residential schools—a history that most often positions NNA as victims of their residential school educations. These works takes care to articulate not only the egregious nature of residential school assimilation policy but also the methods by which individuals and communities rejected assimilation and maintained cultural integrity. In regards to the Carrier,⁸ scholars articulate how parents protested (Furniss Victims), how students responded (Haig-Brown Resistance), and what contemporary women, political leaders in their communities, have utilized from their residential school educations for their own purposes (Fiske). Such works serve as counternarrative to institutional and popular perceptions of NNA “inevitable” cultural erasure.

It is particularly the counternarrative, what I call “little narrative” to borrow from Beth Daniell, in which I am interested. These little narratives are what emerged from the stories shared by my participants, most specifically in regards to literacy. Studies, like Haig-Brown’s, Furniss’ and Fiske’s, which document FN agency in spite of residential schooling, discuss the intersection of First Nations and colonizers productively. Yet these studies are complicated by current literacy statistics—by institutional assertions about the literacy crises of FN Canadians. As argued by Donna Bulman, “much of public discourse surrounding literacy takes on a crisis tone” (178). In regards to FN, I found this to be the case during my data-gathering summer.

⁸ Haig-Brown and Furniss speak of Carrier people and Secwepemc and Chilcotin First Nations, all of whom reside in the interior of British Columbia.

The “literacy crises” of the Nazko FN children was a palpable presence as I conducted my work. In my Grandmother’s little red school house, now a community center, sits a scrapbook of newspaper clippings that chronicle all mention of “Nazko” in British Columbia newspapers. A clipping from July of 1993 states, “Nazko Band hasn’t had a grad in 20 years...95% drop out” (Quesnel Observer). These statistics have since improved, but conversations about the educational deficiencies of Nazko students are still prevalent. While waiting for a meeting, I sat in the same school house with R.C.M.P (Royal Canadian Mounted Police) officers from Quesnel assigned to the Nazko School as part of a FN public relations campaign. Their job is to get to know the children before they see them in Quesnel—to make sure the kids understand that there are friendly faces “in town.” The officers and I spoke of the racism the children experience, the need for extra care in their transition to a high school that is “away.” As we chatted, formally dressed school board officials from Quesnel marched by the children’s year-ending festivals on their way to meetings about the children’s future. They hoped to mitigate the high drop out rate of the Nazko eighth and ninth grade students—the first years the students travel by school bus, 2 hours one way, to Quesnel—by hiring a teacher to teach eighth and ninth grade at the Nazko school.

The school officials’ visits are indicative of the continuing separation of First Nations from their Euro-Canadian peers. This separation is part of the dominant narrative of FN literacy crises. A few children of area white ranchers attend the school, but the goal in keeping the children in the Nazko until they are older, is to keep the FN students close to the reservation—in hopes that the high school drop out rate will decrease. This separation exemplifies public discussion of literacy that separates FN

literacy from the rest of the population. School systems in British Columbia have separate committees and funding marked for Aboriginal education. Three of the women I interviewed work at the Aboriginal Education Centre. During my interview with Centre principal, Holly Toews, she explained that the Centre's 23 staff members serve a population of nearly two-thousand students to "help close the gap between Aboriginal students and non-Aboriginal students in terms of education." As Lyons articulates of Native education programs, Native children are "a 'problem' in the eyes of some teachers and administrators, and the focus of much attention and discussion by educators, social service workers, [and] parent committees" ("A Captivity Narrative" 92). Indeed, the School District's Annual Report that Toews shared with me offers statistics which indicate, for example, the success of a First Nations "Early Literacy Intervention Project" and the problematic issue of statistics that indicate that First Nations children are more than twice as likely to be labeled as "special education" students (those in need of intervention) (Quesnel).

I do not wish to challenge the work of the instructors and administrators of the Aboriginal Education Centre. Those I met are very dedicated FN women. What I do wish to complicate is the public understanding of the literacy "problems" of First Nations' children. Challenging monolithic understanding of a community's literacy practices is the cornerstone of New Literacy Studies (NLS) (Barton, Hamilton, and Ivanic; Brandt; Street). Specifically because of an imperative for contextualized explanation of literacy events and practices, NLS offers a productive means of discussing my participants' residential school experiences. As Brian Street explains, "research [...] has a task to do in making visible the complexity of local, everyday, community literacy

practices and challenging dominant stereotypes and myopia” (7). By attending closely to the educational stories and practices of Carrier women who demonstrate literacy not in crisis but in action, I wish to complicate public perceptions related to statistics of crises.

For, despite a general emphasis in public discourse of a FN “literacy crisis,” scholarship that articulates Natives’ intersections with residential schools neglects a specific focus on Native literacy practices. Such practices, importantly contextualized at Lyons’ “scene” of writing, expose the multiple ways sponsorship often involves an agenda very different from the “ideal literacy” regarded as the purpose for education. In Deborah Brandt’s discussion of literacy sponsors, she offers that “literacy looms as one of the great engines of profit” (166). Her phrase reminds me more expansively of the looming nature of such an important ideological construct, particularly difficult to forget as I spoke with participants. Indeed, throughout the summer, ideologies I consider inextricably wrapped in individuals’ literacy narratives, writing, reading, training, education, came up in conversations in which we were specifically not speaking of residential school, but where it “loomed” nonetheless. In this chapter, I thus contextualize the little narratives of three FN women against the backdrop of their residential school history. When I then address, in later chapters, what my participants’ contemporary composing processes look like, I do so with an understanding of where they have been in regards to literacy and education.

First Nations Women’s Literacy Stories

It is a complicated project to discuss literacy in connection with residential school experience. The goals of those who administered the schools were far more concerned with cultural annihilation than with traditional literacy training. In Canada, between the

mid-19th to mid-20th century, First Nations children were required to attend residential schools. The stated purpose of these schools was to “civilize” the children by removing them from the influence of their parents and their culture, re-train them to be (in the case of FN women) farmers’ wives, and to turn them into good Christians. As sponsors, the federal government and the missionary denominations with which they worked agreed that FN children would learn to be like Euro-Canadians most expediently if kept away from their parents for most of the year (at least 10 months) and forbidden to speak their first language or engage in those social and economic practices that differed from those of the dominant culture. As it was the goal of these sponsors to train the children to abandon their parents’ seasonal living patterns and become productive Canadian farmers, they were not to be educated beyond a grade eight education. Because their time was spent in performing necessary tasks to keep the school running and to create profit, their literacy training was less than half that of the “regular” school day (Furniss; Haig-Brown).

The legacy of the residential school is one of devastation. Student and parental complaints about the physical and mental abuses the children experienced—which began with the school’s history in the mid-nineteenth century—were not heeded until the 1970s. In coffee shops and at the Nazko elementary school where I spent much of my time, discussions of the legacy of the residential school were prevalent. This prevalence was due to a series of television and newspaper advertisements and correspondence circulating through the community in regards to a legal settlement the Canadian government was offering. Only three of my participants had attended residential schools.

Only two, Doreen Patrick and Rosie Cassam, discussed their educations, and this often indirectly.

Patrick first left home at the age of five, in 1955. She, like all of her peers from Nazko, attended the Williams Lake residential school, in Williams Lake, a town approximately 120 miles from her home. When she had completed her elementary education (in Canada this can be grade seven or eight), she and her classmates were sent north to Prince George, to attend Prince George College—a Catholic high school—and stay in the dorms on that campus. Patrick most often mentioned residential school while telling stories unrelated to formal education. She wanted to tell me about her particular skill of drying moose meat, which she described in detail, then mentioned as an aside that she had had to ask Cassam to teach her how to cut-up the moose because she had lost the ability to do so; this, she mentioned, was because of the residential school attendance. While she described her brother's sobriety walk from the Nazko to Quesnel, her story ended with the comment that "it was all because of the residential school," in reference to the pervasive FN substance abuse he was protesting.

Cassam offers a unique literacy narrative. During my first visit with her, she revealed that, kept home to care for ailing parents, she had never attended residential school. Because I know the schools' terrible histories and because of discussions with other Nazko FN about the settlement issue, conversations framed with quiet voices, lowered heads, and indignation towards the school's very existence, I exclaimed, "Rosie, good for you." Her reply cut short my enthusiasm. She responded quietly, "but I never learned to read or write." Many of our conversations were peppered by her interjections of worry that she was not a good candidate for my research on literacy, as her view of

herself is of an illiterate person. I believe her worries and our discussions of her education underscore the vicissitudes of education that represent residential school stories more generally. Her concern, that she would be better off having gone away to school, means to me that she has a school story to tell here.

It was rare that I was to directly discuss residential schools with any community member who had attended one. Patrick, for example, had difficulty discussing school experience; however, as I think is inevitable with influential facets of lives, our conversations would often be (by Patrick) drawn back to her experience. She expressed to me on several occasions that residential school directly influenced her alcohol abuse (and further the substance abuse problems in her community), and her inability to be an emotionally available parent. General conversations and questions about the meaning of terminology used in the settlement ads came up frequently, but straight forward questions were not welcomed, or, at least, given the social settings we were in, not appropriate. I avoided such questions and simply noted when participants mentioned their school experience. In regards to Patrick and Cassam, I noted enough “mentionings” to indicate that their interests are worth discussing here.

Two texts provide the context necessary to understanding Cassam’s and Patrick’s “mentionings”—Bridget Moran’s Sai’k’uz Ts’eke, Stoney Creek Woman: The Story of Mary John (Sai’k’uz Ts’eke) and Celia Haig-Brown’s Resistance and Renewal. Haig-Brown’s was one of the first accounts of British Columbia residential school life that offered a FN perspective. Her interviews and analysis of students’ experience at the Kamloops residential school reveal the complexity of FN’s interactions with their oppressors and challenge understanding of the FN people as helpless victims of the

system. Her participants are not Carrier people, as Patrick, Cassam, and Mary John are, but their stories are similar, and the Secwepemc people of her study were sent to both the Kamloops school and the Williams Lake residential school that Patrick attended.

Moran's Sai'k'uz Ts'eke offers a comprehensive story of one Carrier woman's life. The detailed nature of Moran's work means that the text is useful for contextualizing Carrier women's lives. Moran's biography of John begins when John is five years old, living much of the year with her family at Saik'uz⁹, and traveling to their family cabin for a winter of gathering furs for trade. Her childhood travels end when she is sent to residential school where she remains, save for summer vacation, until she is fourteen. Moran then chronicles John's marriage at sixteen, the birth of her children, her work to feed them during the Great Depression and her efforts to nurse them through flu epidemics and tuberculosis. Detailed as well is John's life-long work with the women of her community to improve conditions on the reservation in fundamental ways by fighting for running water for homes and for an on-site school for their children. The women's work is facilitated by what begins in the 1940s as the Homemakers Club and becomes in 1978 the Elders Society. In 1988, the work of the Elders Society and John's endeavors at language preservation result in the formation of The Yinka Dene Language Institute.

I rely most heavily on John's biography to both offer discussion of Carrier women's literacy narratives (an analysis which does not exist in current scholarship) and to situate my participants' experiences. John's experiences, comprehensively articulated by her biographer and friend, Bridget Moran, were echoed in my participants' comments. Although the women's lives varied by a generation each—John attended school in the

⁹ I grew up calling Saik'uz "Stony Creek reservation." Many FN prefer their communities be called by their Carrier names—thus Saik'uz.

1920s, Cassam's school age was in the 1940s, and Patrick went away to school in 1955—the schools were not much changed. Importantly, discussing Mary John's biography as a literacy narrative and using it to understand the comments my participants made about residential schools facilitates a clearer picture of both my participants' experience. Furthermore—the literacy practices of the communities of Saik'uz and Nazko are directly historically connected. Mary John's work in founding The Yinka Dene Institute has directly affected Patrick's and Cassam's projects. The Yinka Dene Institute presently, “run[s] a training programme [sic] for language teachers, [...] produces publications, mostly aimed at children and [...] conducts research projects” (The Yinke). Those Nazko women who teach Carrier for the Quesnel school district took their language courses at the Institute, and they rely upon Institute materials when creating curricula. The literacy practices Patrick utilizes for her Museum work, for example, rely directly on Mary John's work.

To utilize the lens of NLS studies I draw on Brandt's notion of “sponsors of literacy” as a productive lens for examining the formal educational experiences of my participants and John. As Brandt offers, sponsors “are any agents, local or distant, concrete or abstract, who enable, support, teach, model, as well as recruit, regulate, suppress, or withhold literacy” (“Sponsors” 166). Sponsorship offers a means to get at the relationship, obviously complex, between an oppressive social system and a group of women who have maintained and promoted their unique cultural identity. Patrick's and John's formal sponsors of literacy are easy to discern; they attended a residential school by coercive government force, for example. What is more complex are the choices they

made in the midst of an historical struggle between a cultural hegemonic force and a cultural heritage.

It is equally important that I utilize literacy theory in a sense broader than Brandt's sponsorship encompasses. Gere presses for acknowledgement of "the extracurriculum as a legitimate and autonomous cultural formation that undertakes its own projects" (Gere, "Kitchen" 87). What I borrow from both scholars is their suspicion of the marriage of literacy to a formal education when lived lives do not reflect such a formal, institutional relationship, or indeed one that is equitable for all citizens. Thus, although I speak of John's story and Patrick's and Cassam's recollections as their residential school narratives, I will address the literacy in other facets of their lives. Both Patrick and John received abusive and repressive formal educations designed to stifle traditional literate practice. To address their literacy as contained only in their formal education risks subscribing to Cassam's fears that her lack of a residential school education equates to illiteracy. Thus I use the term both in the traditional sense—literate practices as those which involve reading and writing—and literacy more broadly defined. Amanda Cobb's work in Listening to Our Grandmothers' Stories, her discussion of the variety of literacies (including, for example, domestic) used by Chickasaw boarding school students, is particularly relevant. To use literacy broadly illuminates and legitimates the multiple social and cultural tools Carrier women utilized while their communities were continually physically and culturally challenged.

Carrier Women and Academic Literacy

What was most difficult for residential school students, their parents and their desires for literacy were the deplorable conditions of the schools. John's educational

narrative offers personal testimony to the abysmal conditions. John remembers that except when she was home for summers, she was hungry for all seven years spent at school; she believes that the “rations [were] more suited to a concentration camp” (39). The children at the Mission school and Lejac are fed poorly, “whipped for speaking their native language, or running away, or stealing food” (39). John’s recollections are supported by Patrick’s comment that, “they tried to beat the language out of us” (Patrick).

During John’s school-life, the labor required to run the school was all done by the children, leaving little time for formal education (Moran 53). John’s complaints of mistreatment further concur with official documentation of Canadian residential schools. It is a matter of historical record that assimilation was the main driving force behind the creation of residential schools. Indeed,

it was hoped Aboriginals could be remade into easily controlled, agriculturally based settlers who believed in a Christian God like their European counterparts. These schools would provide a religious education that would help Aboriginals obtain European values, while teaching them fundamentals about farming and other related industrial trades. (“Aboriginal”)

The policies of the residential school speak to the power of the agenda of a literacy sponsor. Patrick did not speak of work at the school. But as Haig-Brown discusses, in the late 1940s the work the children were forced to do was being replaced by more visible extracurricular activities, designed Haig-Brown speculates, to spark positive public opinion of the residential schools, and I would further speculate, to demonstrate that the assimilative agenda was working. What this meant for Patrick was that she was in a

classroom for longer periods of time than John, and she was part of a bag-pipe troupe with which she travelled across Canada.

The academic literacy John describes in detail and Patrick alludes to is illustrative of the complex and confusing literacy ideology inevitably accompanying oppression. John speaks very little about specific traditional literate practice she learns in school. About the scant time the children spent in a classroom, she offers a positive reflection that the “good things about school” involve her ability with English and her teachers telling her that she “was making excellent progress in reading writing and arithmetic” (48). But much more of the narrative concerns the confusion and despair of the school’s pupils and their parents, who are not privy to the government’s and the Catholic Church’s agenda. Moran describes John’s puzzlement as a child who “wanted to learn” (43) but spent a lot of her time doing chores instead. As Mary John offers, “I like to read; I even liked arithmetic and spelling. Sometimes I found myself wishing that we did more studying.” She comments to a fellow student, “I wish [. . .] that we were learning more things out of books,” offering a devastating testimonial to the Canadian government’s assimilative policies (43). Patrick could not recollect any of the books she read, other than Dick and Jane primers and Nancy Drew mysteries. She further could not remember having ever been in a school library (Patrick).

What John’s story reveals most generally is the ways her education mirrored and yet was violently different from educational agendas for Canada’s Euro-Canadian population. She specifically counters notions of the First Nations population as passive victims of education policies. As John tells it, the parents in her village were aware of the benefits of government and church sponsored education, and frustrated by the means

to their children's literacy. Saik'uz parents were against having to send their children away to school for ten months of the year. John does not detail the full legal ramifications of keeping children out of school, but she does refer to the R.C.M.P. (Royal Canadian Mounted Police) showing up at the off-village hunting grounds every fall to force errant children back to school. Further, she refers to a telegram parents sent "to the government in Ottawa which said that people wanted a school on their own reserve" (37). Each year before the children were sent away to school, the villagers complained to their chief about the school. The village chief in turn complained to the government agent (Indian agent) in charge of their village and to the Catholic priest, Father Coccola, acting principal of the residential school. Father Coccola responded essentially, that if the children stayed with their families, they would not attend school because they would be away all winter at their traditional hunting grounds (53-54).

The telegram sent by Saik'uz parents and their protests to their village elders complicate understanding of a people in need of "civilization" through literacy. Despite parental frustration about educational policies, most of the village children were sent to school. As John relates to Moran, at the age of seven she was told one evening by her parents that the following day she would be going to school. As a child unfamiliar with what school meant, she was surprised by the news, but as she reflects, "[i]t didn't occur to me to ask my mother what this thing called school might be. Native children were raised to accept the statements of their parents and elders and to ask no questions" (35). Thus began for John seven years of formal schooling, which meant spending most of the year living at two different residential schools and spending only the summer months of July and August with her family.

Amanda Cobb discusses the Chickasaw Nations' assertions that "literacy training was crucial to their survival as a nation" (6). Parents in John's village, equally concerned for their children's formal education, were not pleased by the alternate agenda of their children's literacy sponsors. John repeatedly makes clear the parents' unhappiness at the education their children were receiving. She reports on their heartbreak when, after helping to build a bigger school (Lejac), they realize that the conditions (English only, punishment and poor nutrition, little formal schooling, and much work) would remain the same. Further, the parents reveal their own understanding of the detrimental education their children receive:

We miss our children [. . .] they go away for ten months, and when they come back, they have grown so much we hardly know them. They are forgetting their Carrier language. The boys are not learning to hunt and trap and set a net for fish—no, they are learning how to milk a cow and plow a field! They are supposed to go to Lejac to be educated, but they are not in the classrooms. They are in the fields or the barns, and the girls are too much in the sewing room or the kitchen. (Moran 53)

Saik'uz parents make clear their understanding of the cultural loss residential schools entailed.

Such descriptions of parental concern further indicate an understanding of the literate practices their children were being denied above and beyond their warranted and obvious concern for the children's well-being. The government policy and Saik'uz parents' concern cohere with NLS scholar Kirk Branch's argument to heed sites of education which involve a denial of literacy. Branch explains, "The withholding of

literacy education is a clear assertion of power and control, of the notion that for the social good and as a matter of official policy, some forms of literacy education are properly denied to some people” (6). Moran offers evidence that the children themselves understood implications for their culture in their schooling. In opposition to the government’s desire to change First Nations people into farmers, the Saik’uz villagers in Moran’s text maintain their understanding of their cultural differences. The boys at John’s school laugh at the principal who tries to explain to them that he is teaching them to be agricultural workers: “Imagine trying to turn an Indian into a farmer!” (44).

Moran’s portrayal demonstrates the very worst of an oppressive sponsorship program that was resisted by those whom it was intended to control. Despite their limited formal educations, John, Patrick, and Cassam possess sophisticated literacy practices—of the type valued by a different ideology and by their own communities. Patrick, since taking the Carrier language teaching course in 1988 at the Yinke Dene Institute, has taught the Carrier language to elementary and high school children, written textbooks for school use, and recorded and arranged material reflecting Carrier culture for both the Nazko FN Band office and the Quesnel Museum. Cassam, despite being kept home from residential school by her parents to look after her sick grandmother, was determined to continue learning. To learn to write, Cassam went to Carrier language classes on the reservation, excited about seeing the language she has always spoken in written form, and she went to elementary school with her grandchildren, determined to learn to write in English as well. She uses her skills to communicate with those to whom she sells her leatherwork and embroidered moose-hide moccasins and to contribute to the creation of Carrier educational materials.

As Moran describes it, John survives in part because of her self-described obedient and passive nature, and she offers that she recalls her life being “plain sailing” in comparison with other children. John reflects that she “was scared of breaking a rule and being punished for it” and further that she “never used [her] Native language except very privately and in a whisper” (44). Her choices for survival parallel an incident Patrick mentioned to me several times as being crucial to her language work today:

I was very fortunate that I didn't lose [my language]. It was because of the other Carrier speakers that were there. We used to go for long walks on Saturday and Sundays. I mean long walks, and we girls used to stay way behind everybody else in a bunch and we'd be speaking our language. Yeah--that's how I kept my language. (Patrick)

The tactics used by both women are crucial to their abilities to stay connected to their culture.

These tactics are interestingly attributed to the women's gender by anthropologist Jo-Anne Fiske. In “Gender and the Paradox of Residential Education in a Carrier Society,” Fiske analyses the ways Saik'uz women utilized the gendered nature of the colonial agenda, particularly in their residential school education. As argued by Fiske, the gendered regulation of literacy affected Native women differently than it affected men. These differences are a direct reflection of the agenda of their sponsors to graduate citizens who would contribute to an agrarian economy. The curriculum at John's school reflected this philosophy. She describes the hard labor expected of the children in helping to run the school, and to teach them agricultural practices. Thus the boys “spent almost no time in class. Instead, “they cut down trees and pulled up stumps, or else they

were up before daylight feeding the horses and milking the cows” (44). Further, “the girls did less physical labor than the boys,” but as farmers’ wives in training, they “made all the dresses and uniforms worn in the school, and socks and drawers and chemises, and aprons” (45). As a sponsor, the Church focused on domestic divisions reflected in its own structure.

Yet, despite the domestic focus for both sexes, it was the school girls, Fiske argues, who were able to graduate with higher degrees of academic literacy. Based on her ethnographic work, Fiske concludes that women tended to spend more time in school over the course of their childhoods—boys being more often kept (hidden) at home by their parents to ease the burdens of work in a hunting-based economy. This meant that female students were far more likely to receive the grade eight education. Further, Fiske points out that the school girls’ methods of resistance to the priests’ and nuns’ strict discipline were more often to ingratiate themselves to the authority figures rather than to run away or physically fight. They were often thus able to receive the academic literacy they wanted.

In both John’s and Patrick and Cassam’s communities, women have used their academic literacies to work towards the survival of their cultural collective. Both the Saik’uz and the Carrier FN Bands are run by female chiefs. Further, the Nazko First Nations Band office is administered almost entirely by women. When I asked Patrick who most influenced the work that she does, she named Laura Boyd, a woman I was not able to interview but saw socially several times. Boyd was the first of her own community to attend the Yinka Dene Language Institute, and she has written several children’s books in Carrier and designed many Carrier curricula for use in schools.

Cassam also mentioned one of the most important educational moments of her life was when Boyd taught her to write her name in Carrier. These fascinating connections between John's, Patrick's and Cassam's academic concerns underscore the importance of attention to academic literacy which heeds not only educational agendas but community members' own abilities and needs and works towards their literate goals.

Domestic Literacy

Amanda Cobb argues for the importance of the inclusion of "related skills" in discussion of Chickasaw students' literacy. Similar to the agenda of the Canadian government, officials at the Bloomfield Academy Cobb researched thought it essential to acculturate students into the social world view of the dominant culture (13). Cobb therefore identifies the academic along with the social and religious curricula, as designed to "form a comprehensive education program in citizenship" (14). I think Cobb's nuanced examination of literacy, which accounts for ideological constructs, to be important to my discussion of Patrick's, Cassam's and John's literacies. In particular, the domestic and the social literacies Cobb articulates are relevant. The curricula of domestic and social literacies involve, as Cobb defines them, "homemaking" and "social" customs, respectively (14-15). But, Cobb's concern is analysis of what a given, historical administration's focus on a particular strand of literacy—be it academic or domestic—reveals about that particular administration. What such analysis neglects is agency in resisting the agenda of administrators—students' ability to glean from their educations that particular strand most useful to them.¹⁰

¹⁰ Cobb merely "neglects" Native women's agency in her attention to administrative goals. For her work, this is a logical omission and serves to highlight the importance of State objectives for education. She does a very comprehensive analysis of students' experiences in later chapters of her text.

In the case of my participants, I would argue that the literacy curricula of the domestic and the social are important skills they took from a coercive educational agenda to utilize for their own purposes. This agenda began for my participants and John in residential school and has continued into their adult lives—imposed first by educators and then by Indian and Northern Affairs-Canada—still a governing body with power over FN lives. Interestingly, in the cases of John, Patrick and Cassam, the skills they value are a blend of formal education and Carrier traditions learned from their elders. What is historically connected are Patrick and Cassam’s contemporary work to the legacy left by Mary John’s domestic literacy.

Mary John’s story of her involvement with the Indian Homemakers most starkly illustrates Carrier women’s resistance to government sponsored literacy agendas. Part of the Canadian government’s plan for acculturation, the Homemakers defied governmental expectations and, instead, became an organizing force for community activism among the women in her village. According to the Royal Commission report, the original impetus for the formation of the Indian Homemakers Association was assisting Indian women “to acquire sound and approved practices for greater home efficiency” (“The Rise”). Accordingly, in 1942, women of Saik’uz were informed by white teacher “Mrs. Murphy” that the Department of Indian Affairs was sponsoring an organization specifically for women. John and her peers were told that they could apply to their local Indian agent for funding and that the goals of the organization were to “do handicrafts, to exchange ideas on child care and ways in which home life can be improved” (110). Further, the government organized yearly conferences for women to talk about ways to improve

family life for Natives” (111). But, as John asserts, the Homemakers of her village did not remain an organization concerned only with domestic affairs.

The recollections in Saik’uz Ts’eke of the transformation of a women’s organization from homemaking to political affairs are consistent with changes across reservations in Canada. As detailed in the Royal Commission Report, “In the 1960s, most of these groups underwent a transformation from clubs focusing on home economics to clubs involved in public affairs, tackling issues such as housing standards, living conditions, Aboriginal rights and women's rights” (“The Rise”). After spending 35 years in the Homemakers organization, John explains that the women decided to take an interest in political causes: “we discovered [. . .] that we could no longer knit and crochet and quilt and leave the native politics to others” (111). The event that catalyzed the women’s political transformation was the death of a pregnant Saik’uz woman, struck by the truck of a Vanderhoof man, as she walked the 14 km from Vanderhoof to Stoney Creek. When her death was ruled accidental, the Homemakers of Saik’uz contacted other British Columbia chapters of the organization, who sent resources to encourage the coroner to fully investigate the death.

The transformation for the women, as John describes it, is remarkable. Not only do they help to organize the legal investigation, but they are also, with the media attention focused on the trial, able to become a catalyst for change in the poor living conditions on the reservation. As John asserts,

the eyes of the nation were on our village. Here was our chance to talk, and talk we did, about the poverty of our reserve, the lack of opportunity for our people,

the racism that we had to deal with day after day, the stranglehold that the Department of Indian Affairs had over our lives. (117)

The women's work sparked a trend which continues today. A few years after the investigation, the Homemakers organization dissolved into the Elders Society and eventually in the official formation of The Yinka Dene Language Institute. Mary John remained an active member until her death in 2004.

Carrier Sponsorship

John's activist work, spurred by her desire for cultural preservation, can be tied to the Indian Homemakers Association and, further back in her history, to the domestic literacies of residential school. But where Cobb's category, by locating the literate in the domestic, is most productive, is in describing John's own, culture-sponsored emphasis on the importance of domestic training. For John's identity as a woman able to negotiate, indeed to physically survive and eke out a living for her family, was dependent on the "domestic" ability she learned from her own elders and from her formal education.

Although John relates domestic training to the nuns' goals for her, which indeed was part of the assimilation project, there are continual references in her narrative to the importance of her lifelong domestic education as an important part of her aboriginal identity. Part of this identity relates directly to the importance to the Carrier people of their traditional food gathering practices. When John was growing up in the early part of the century, the Carrier were still completely reliant on hunting and fishing traditions for their welfare, not only to feed themselves, but also to trade for market goods. At the outset of the text, as she is describing the seasonal work of the people of her village, John explains the way summers were spent: "[b]erries were picked and fish were caught. The

men, the women, and the children were busy with drying and canning and smoking” (27).

While her mother is preparing hides and preserving fish, John is in charge of looking after the younger children in the family. John repeatedly refers to her role as the childcare-giver and, further, repeatedly stresses the necessity for her peoples’ ability to “dry fish and meat, [. . .] prepare hides, [. . .] trap and set nets and find the places where the berries grew” (70). Such skills become complex in John’s life when, at the age of sixteen, she is married, by her parents’ arrangement, and she must move in with her mother-in-law and contribute to a new home. As childcare is her only domestic experience previous to her marriage, her lack of other skills caused tension in her new family.

What I think is important in my attention to the domestic in John’s life is based on her own clear concern with articulating the importance of the transmission of the animal economy that was so vital to the Carrier people’s survival. She clearly connects with the skills passed from mother to daughter. John offers examples of social acts that require transmission in a way which seems to mirror a more institutional view of literacy—as a complex and dynamic part of a culture and one that requires sponsorship. As John explains further, while excusing her mother-in-law’s ire,

I realize now how useless I must have seemed to her. In Native families it was the women, as much as the men, who made certain that there was plenty of dried meat and fish and berries. Most of the meat and fish were brought home by the men, but after that almost all of the work—the drying, the smoking, the canning—was done by women. (70).

Despite her mother-in-law's predictions, she learns all the skills needed, and much of the text is concerned with the ways she contributes to her family's survival.

The skills John describes were similarly important topics during discussions with Patrick and Cassam. During my very first interview with Patrick, she brought a birch bark basket to show me. Patrick had made the basket at a workshop the day before we met. Because she chose to show me the careful symmetry, dyed porcupine quills flower on top, and spruce root stitching, I knew the basket was important to her. What I later learned, when I saw Patrick's basket in the Quesnel Museum, was that her basket, made using traditional Carrier techniques, was the first made on the reservation in 40 years. At a Band sponsored workshop, Patrick had learned a skill practiced by her grandmother.

Traditions of an animal gathering economy were mentioned often by both Patrick and Cassam. Patrick credits Cassam for her ability to cut up and cure moose meat. She mentioned several times that her "moose jerky" is very popular on the reservation, but also that the reason she could be so deft with the knife required to cut thin strips of meat was because of Cassam's tutelage. As she explained,

It is hard to take the moose apart. I had to learn because I lost all that at residential school. I had Rosie [Cassam] come teach. We had to cut them to strips, salt and hang them up. We had to learn to build a fire under them, old fallen down poplar trees, smoke but no fire. It took me all day long to cut up a hind quarter. Rose did it quickly, so I share my dry meat with them whenever they come to help.

Cassam is one of seven women who Patrick has interviewed thus far for the interactive video on display at the Museum. Cassam's story for the video is a lesson in tanning hide

for use as clothing. Several other women offer their own stories of Carrier traditions and legends. Those stories, reflected in the first of many interviews Patrick has planned, record important traditional economic techniques.

Conclusion

I think it is important to contextualize these women's successes with the economic and social conditions of the people on their respective reservations. Arguing that my participants took what they wished from institutional educations risks subscription to a "bootstraps" argument of the benefits of literacy—and essentially releases institutions with manipulative agendas off the hook. Further, to posit these women have resisted dominant cultural attempts of assimilation against the larger material conditions in which they have lived underscores the degree of that success. For at least sixty years of her life, John worked to simply survive; she buried three of her children when they were young, another as an adult. Patrick blames the alcohol dependency she struggled with for 20 years of her life on her residential school experience. Cassam cares for three of her grandchildren after losing her daughter to an alcohol related illness.

But as Brandt offers, "literacy is not merely an expression of social structure but a dynamic element in it. What people are able to do with their writing or reading in any time and place—as well as what others do to them with writing and reading—contribute to their sense of identity, normality, possibility" (11). The women's descriptions of their literate lives offer an alternative, extracurricular view of aboriginal negotiation of white culture. These women are successful survivors because they are able to effect change for their communities and assert themselves and their marginalized culture. The women's

cultural knowledge and understanding of the importance of Carrier language preservation speaks to their own understanding of the power of literate practice.

CHAPTER III
IMAGINED GEOGRAPHIES

“Creating and managing meanings happens in a variety of texts across a wide field of communicative form and texts not marked traditionally as political are often those that are the most political.” (241)

--Thomas Rosteck

My mum came with me for my first meeting with Doreen Patrick. Trying to set up a meeting over the phone was proving unproductive, and so I told Patrick that I would come and see her in Nazko and we could proceed from there. I asked Mum along for the drive with the ulterior motive of grilling her for historical information and soliciting her help in finding a place to stay. Some of the families who ranched with my grandparents are still in the valley, and I wanted to be reintroduced. I had not been to Nazko since 1982 when we attended a memorial at the schoolhouse for my grandmother—a plaque was being raised in honor of her service to the school.

The drive to the Nazko valley was not as long as I remember as a child. Then, the trip from Quesnel could take nearly four hours, and my brain has retained only the most dramatic events from those long, dusty, trips on roads that had yet to be paved: pulling over so that I, my sister or brother could get sick on the side of the road after a long stretch of curves; looking down the valley from the car to see the poplars' autumn leaves, which in my memory are the largest living unit of sunshine-sparkling-yellow I had ever

seen; abandoning the car at a flooded bend in the road to be rowed across by my grandpa. As we drove the trip which now takes an hour, Mum and I exchanged memories of the Valley, tricky memories, a mix of which, we decided, were both real and imagined. I was a child for most of my visits; I'd imagined the Valley so much bigger than it is. Mum had traveled the road when it was a three day trip; she recalled when the road was first paved, and she couldn't get over *her* remembered journey, which required food stores and blankets—still she packs a car with emergency materials. Many family stories all formed against the backdrop of the winding road that followed the winding Nazko River, the sharp rising V of the hillsides and the never ending trees.

But more real and dramatic changes have been wrought on the valley. The 21st-century scourge of the forest industry, the pine beetle, has flourished here. What pine, which formerly dominated the landscape, had not already been clear cut, is dead or dying. That which remains standing is rust red, a color new to the green vista and indicative of disease. Last year a forest fire, which found healthy fuel in the dead pines, helped to clear out hundreds of acres of forest. So, during my reintroduction to the valley after a twenty-five year absence, there was excitement at the recognition of landmarks—the bend in the road which long ago we'd “driven” in a row boat—mixed with sadness at the valley's loss. Long stretches of hillside have been completely denuded of trees, stretches of a landscaping project gone wrong, because how could there be this much wilderness without a tree on it?

Our shock at the Valley's appearance surely is not unlike many other's experiences of adult returns to childhood homes. The geography shrinks; the landmarks transform; the imagined space, so clear to the mind, undergoes change. Mum questioned

her memory of the direction of the road as we drove through the Nazko reservation. The welcome sign was new, announcing “Dahooja” (a Carrier greeting), the reservation houses all looked the same, yards and homes and stray dogs, all seemingly evidence of much depleted resources. But Mum had imagined that the road went right by the old church, between it and the graveyard. Surely the road had been moved? Our imagined geographic spaces can be difficult to reconcile with a “visual reality.” It is the imagined space that I am interested in here. Spaces I am calling imagined have their basis in geographic features which most likely exist, perhaps can be found on a map, may be explicated topographically or physically touched, but which also are inextricably bound to memory, story, history and, of specific interest to this chapter, to position and power.

Nedra Reynolds uses the term “imagined geographies” to speak of geographic metaphors. Her argument is that metaphors of space offer a rich site for understanding “accepted ways of knowing” (5). Reynold’s project, in Geographies of Writing: Inhabiting Place and Encountering Difference, is to explicate the ways representation and understanding of geography, of space, “contribute to understanding the nature of difference” (54). In regards to “imagined geographies,” she more specifically analyzes the popularity of “frontier” to describe Composition Studies’ progress as a discipline. I wish to borrow “imagined geographies,” to use it, more broadly as a phrase which “illustrate[s] the complex relationship between the social and the spatial” (84). What is important about analysis of imagined geographies is the powerful way their explication lays bare the constructed nature of our understanding of space. Here, I further borrow from Ralph Cintron’s project in the “Mapping and Texting” chapter of Angel’s Town. In this chapter Cintron analyzes the rhetorics of maps and, in doing so, reveals spatially

reflected social hierarchies in a Mid-western Latino community. I am most interested in Cintron's introduction to his research community in which he analyzes local historical and contemporary maps to reveal a historical/geographic trajectory he argues is concerned with "the colonization of open spaces" (24). Both Reynolds' and Cintron's direct attention to the way space is mapped, organized, and articulated, offer productive means of understanding colonial organization of space in British Columbia, as such colonial spaces are organized against FN presence.

Most specific to my discussion in this chapter is Edward Soja's argument regarding the primacy, in social theory, of the "historical imagination" to the neglect of spatial epistemology. Soja's criticism is of the privileging of history, despite modern critical understanding of the social production/construction of both time and geographic space. His argument speaks to a need for a more comprehensive, geographic understanding to be included in historical accounts. Discussing Marshal Berman's work, Soja explains that in the modern condition "there is a special place given to the ways we think about and experience time and space, history and geography, sequence and simultaneity, even locality" (122-23). Thus postmodern theory offers the most productive way to begin to include space in critical social theory. But, Soja's conclusions reiterate that much work is to be done in consideration of the ways that both constructed historical accounts and constructed (or in the case of this chapter "imagined") geographic understanding shape the way communities understand themselves and record their development.

In this chapter, I thus juxtapose both my and Doreen Patrick's understanding of our communities' geography and history. Using my own reflections and Patrick's

Quesnel Museum texts, I work towards an explication of Patrick's literacy practices which demonstrate her use of conflicting historical and geographic accounts of FN and NN land-use in British Columbia. Soja's criticism of the neglect, in social theory, of imagined geography is important to note because, I believe, Patrick's work is an example of a form of historicism which depends on both a historical and geographic understanding.

To begin, I believe it is important to connect imagined geographies to spaces not generally considered imagined at all. In doing so, I wish to underscore differences in FN and NN geographic realities. In regards to the Nazko, ignoring geography would be odd. The Nazko FN people have been concerned with geography for over 10, 000 years. Much of their oral tradition speaks to epistemologies most concerned with understanding the formation, geographic features, and use of the local mountains, valleys, and rivers. Further, I was offered snippets of stories this summer about an historical form of Carrier writing which involved leaving complicated messages on the much traveled trails to let fellow travelers know who was passing by, where productive food gathering sites were, and when travelers would return. Place was a topic dropped in most community conversations I was a part of—teasing about who knew of the best secret place to pick morel mushrooms and what berry patches would soon offer the best yields. Much more seriously, the Nazko FN are involved in treaty negotiations which pertain specifically to the land on which they live. These negotiations over the land I drove on all summer were largely invisible to me; we did not speak of them—personal boundaries in conversation overlapping with physical, contested space. It therefore seems necessary to pay attention

to that which was left out, what was invisible to me in relation to imagined geographies, for the left out and the imagined can speak very loudly to lived experience.

When I began meeting with Patrick last summer, she was taking the summer off from her job at the Quesnel Museum, where she is responsible for the creation of the “Nek’Oh Tsek’ Ut”/“Footprints in Stone” exhibit. In addition to directing the arrangement of artifacts and texts for the exhibit itself, Patrick interviewed elders for the interactive video display in which each elder offers a story about Carrier culture. This work involved transcribing the interviews into both Carrier and English, as the exhibit offers the stories in two languages. Of specific interest to this chapter, Patrick was also solely responsible for the creation of the text which describes Carrier culture for the museum’s website—also available in a binder found at the entrance to the exhibit. Using imagined geographies as a lens, I am most interested in analyzing the strategies that Patrick employed to address the conflicts between FN and Canadian geography as that geography connects to history and culture.

My British Columbia Geography

A text concerned with analysis of the culture in which I was raised is Elizabeth Furniss’ The Burden of History: Colonialism and the Frontier Myth in a Rural Canadian Community. Furniss’ ethnography offers an analysis of relations between dominant NN and the surrounding FN cultures. Furniss is concerned with understanding the discrimination and racism towards FN people that appears in everyday community activities and interactions in seemingly innocuous and naturalized ways. In order to understand this racism, Furniss defines the “frontier cultural complex.” This complex, “consists of a form of historical consciousness—an awareness of history—that is

culturally conditioned and deeply influenced by Canada's colonial heritage" (Furniss 17). Using the frontier cultural complex, Furniss describes the world view which dominates rural B.C. communities and addresses the colonial mindset—the racism and material imbalances which remain the norm in Northern British Columbia. An important index of such racism is Furniss' articulation of the "curious selective invisibility of Aboriginal people in the geographic landscape" (Furniss 6). This invisibility is comprehensively manifest in NN's lack of understanding of Aboriginal history and culture, and, as is Furniss' point, most glaringly in an absence of First Nations communities on British Columbia (B.C.) road maps.

The geographic invisibility Furniss describes is striking. My personal B.C. topographical understanding is composed for the most part of knowledge of Highway 97 (Fig. 1). This road is a vital passage physically, economically and imaginatively for British Columbians. It is the only highway which runs from the South to the North. When you live in the North, through seven months of wintry weather, the way South matters. For me Highway 97 exists as a series of towns, family landmarks and topographical changes. Like a checklist, I can recall the childhood trips, always South, through each of the towns and the in-between "empty" spaces. The real geographic features for me are both human and topographic. Between home (Prince George) and Williams Lake, where we stop for coffee at my Uncle Jay's, we pass Stoner, Hixon, Quesnel—through the Fraser River Valley, a fertile, flat, ranching territory. Then up the plateau, where you can expect a June snowstorm, through 100 Mile House, Clinton and Cache Creek, where there is a Dairy Queen landmark for me and all of my friends (we share a cultural reminiscence: in pre-air conditioned vehicles, attacking ice-cream cones

before they run down our arms as our (always the drivers) fathers get back on the road.

These features, for me, are what B.C. is.



Fig. 1 Map of British Columbia

What I am calling imagined geographies involve that particular notion of my B.C.

This imagined space encompasses the geographic markers which bound my province to

Highway 97 and, further, the spaces that those boundaries leave off—the spaces absent

from my geographic understanding, from my cultural memory. The B.C. of my

childhood consisted largely of the towns along highway 97. While I was home

conducting research for this work, family friends moved to Soda Creek, a community

west of the Fraser River, parallel to *my* Highway 97, which follows the Fraser's eastern

banks. I took the time to visit them and I was amazed by the farms we passed. An entire

community clustered by a well traveled road that I knew nothing about!

Furniss' discussion of the number of reservations—fifteen—surrounding Williams Lake where she conducted her work was equally revelatory for me. I've since studied maps of my own community, surrounding which, I recently learned, are five reservations. Near my Uncle Jay's town (and Furniss's territory), I had known only of the one visible from the highway south of Williams Lake. In my own home town, I had known of none. I grew up in communities with a very visible First Nations presence, and FN cousins of mine spent time with their mother on her reservation in Alberta; yet, I would have said, before I began this work, that the closest reservation to my hometown Prince George was 150 km away, west of town, in Fort St James. I had known of this reservation only because the town houses the Hudson's Bay Company Trading Post Museum, visited by every school child within a 400km radius. Fort St James and Nazko were the only two reservations I had any knowledge of, yet in B.C. there are "more than 1500" reservations (Muckle 4). Further, what I have now learned as an adult is that there is a reservation not 15 km from the house in which I grew up. For 10 years of my childhood, I spent my spare time riding horses through the bush that surrounds my parents' house. I now know I rode within feet of, if not right on, reservation land.

Road Maps

I am not, in this space, trying to speak merely to my own revelations. I am speaking to a geographical reality that ignores FN space. As Furniss mentions, this space is indeed largely invisible in the British Columbian geographic imagination as evidenced by maps. The "American Map" North American road atlas, for example, that sits in my husband's car is comprehensive. It details many of even the smallest communities that surround my home town, all of the small communities, that is, with the exception of

reservations. Not one of these is shown on this map. Yet, both small communities and reservations share the same features as far as I can tell. The human populations are comparable; both have a general store, some nearby recreational lakes. I bought a more specific Atlas for my work this summer: a B.C. Road Atlas to help me travel off the beaten path. I was commuting between Nazko, Prince George and Quesnel, and I wanted to learn about more than the highway 97 I'd been driving all my life. The communities I was working in share the same economy—the lumber industry—and are thus connected by intricate webs of logging roads. On the first two pages of this Atlas are two separate maps of B.C. The first is the key map; here the province has been divided into 71 squares, each square corresponding to a page number where readers can examine an area in detail. The second page is the same map without the squares. Both of these maps are, in my imagination, the B.C. I have described. My home town is there, the largest northern community, its name typed more boldly than the surrounding towns. I can follow with my eyes the routes I have described; Quesnel, Williams Lake and 100 Mile House all share the same font size. On these two maps, FN reservations are not shown.

The atlas I bought, with BC as its subject, is more specific than my husband's; the subsequent pages of the Atlas, corresponding to the key map, do offer some FN locations, but not 1500. The names, further, are not quite right. On the map FN communities are called Band; some are called by English names; some by the First Nations name. Not all the communities are shown. Some smaller Native communities are left off, but all similar sized white communities are shown. These maps narrate the dominant culture's geographic understanding of B.C. They are an important part of the white communities'

cultural imagination—they are white roads—and they speak to economic and cultural dominance.

The Names on Maps

The portion of highway 97 that links Quesnel to Vancouver is officially titled “The Gold Rush Trail.” Five Hundred km north, in Dawson Creek B.C., it becomes the Alaska Highway. The highway relates directly to Furniss’ assertions about the frontier world view of B.C.’s dominant culture. Town names were specific gold rush markers—100 Mile House, 150 Mile House, and many place names were designated after or by the European explorer who “discovered” them—the Fraser River, the town of Quesnel. The names of this highway, this line on a map, connect well to Furniss’ accounting of place names which posit a B.C. that began when the settlers came, a B.C that was raw and unpopulated until NN people made use of the land.

The “frontier history” that permeates BC’s geographic spaces emerges from competing histories told of an east-west trail from Quesnel to the coast. This physical line on a map particularizes the “politics of history” explicated by Furniss and bears particular relevance to Nazko FN. The older story is of the region’s FN people who utilized this trail as a trade route for thousands of years. A different story—more recent—is of a European explorer who in 1793 completed the first NN journey across North America from the Atlantic to Pacific coasts. This trail goes by two names. It is called “The Grease Trail” by the Carrier because their trade history involved exchanges of wild game and berries from the interior for fish oil (called oolichan) from the coast. However, on official maps and websites, the trail is named “The Alexander Mackenzie Heritage Trail” after the man who “discovered” it. The trail, a physical line on a map, represents the

“politics of history” as explained by Furniss (*The Carrier* 200) and has particular relevance to Nazko FN.

In the 1970s, provincial and federal government officials and members of a “national non-profit organization devoted to the preservation of natural areas for public use” began a campaign to officially mark and designate the trail in preparation for the 1993, two-hundred year anniversary of Mackenzie’s discovery (Furniss “*The Carrier*” 219). As Furniss explains, the Trail’s lauded designation as a Heritage trail and the accompanying trail recovery, map making and events, was offensive to the Nazko First Nations as

Band leaders thought that the project not only erased the Carrier history of the trail but also celebrated the colonization of Canada, the taking of Aboriginal lands and resources, and the Carrier peoples’ ultimate subordination to the Canadian state (*The Burden* vii).

Furniss explains Nazko FN sentiment as an example of her argument regarding the political nature of history. She points to the irony that the Nazko FN protests, that the Trail not only was not discovered by Mackenzie but that the proposed route ran directly through land involved in land claims disputes, were addressed by a re-routing of the “official” Trail route away from reserve lands. This re-routing underscores the intersection between history’s indisputable truths and politically expedient accounts, and further demonstrates the ways that geographic features themselves can be political.

Asserting FN Names: Patrick and the Museum Texts

Patrick writes of the trail in the text which accompanies the “Nek’Oh Tsek’ Ut”/“Footprints in Stone” exhibit in the Quesnel Museum. The title she uses is “Grease

Trail,” and it is one entry of her lengthy collection of information on Carrier. The collection contains individual entries, like “Grease Trail,” placed in the binder and on the museum website under three headings: “History,” “Culture and Social,” “Survival.” The factual two-paragraph discussion of the trail’s history is interspersed with pictures of contemporary members of the Carrier community using the trail: several people are on horse back, several ride supply-laden all-terrain vehicles. Patrick’s text explains that it was FN people who guided Alexander Mackenzie to the Pacific Ocean; points out where the trail begins, travels, and ends; describes the trail’s length and the length of time needed to travel the trail on horseback or by foot. The second section of the “Grease Trail” entry is prefaced by a note that it is “as told by Doreen.” Here Patrick offers a paragraph of the local Nazko community’s connection to the Grease Trail. She speaks specifically of one of Mackenzie’s guides and discusses contemporary, community uses of the trail. The last piece of information, by way of citation, is a link to the BC Adventures website that Patrick used for information.

Patrick’s story of the Grease Trail is an interesting mix of recorded history and personal narrative. Her museum text and its reference to geographic space complicate the visible/invisible binary in which I am interested. Patrick’s choices for “The Grease Trail” story counter the invisibility of her community’s use of space, disrupts, as Furniss explains, “[t]he image of early Canada as an empty wilderness heroically conquered by pioneering settlers [which] serves to erase Native people—and the unresolved issue of Aboriginal land title and rights—from historical consciousness” (“The Carrier” 220). As a historian herself, Patrick made choices for the text, and given the NN propensity, as described by Furniss, to erase the Carrier from the Trail’s story, she made choices which

involved both using and manipulating the NN Canadian story. The opening section of her text, which offers the Carrier contributions to the Trail's history, follows closely the text which appears on the B.C. Adventure website. Patrick clearly sifted past the brief introductory acknowledgement that there were "many" First Nations trails to the coast, skipped the discussion of Mackenzie's accomplishments and then utilized the section of the site which nods to Mackenzie taking the advice (and then guidance) of the Carrier people to take the Trail (not the waterways he had intended) to the coast.

There is irony and humor in Patrick's manipulation of the B.C. site's version of the province's history. Patrick is an elder in her community, hired by the Museum as an expert on Carrier culture. To fully explicate that culture, she borrows from the dominant culture's renditions of Carrier history. These "borrowings" work towards a revisionist history of the Carriers' physical presence in the province. Her work interestingly exemplifies assertions used in composition scholarship about the nature of composing. I believe that both New Media scholars' discussion of source use, generally, and Mary Louise Pratt's definition of autoethnography, specifically, are relevant to a discussion of Patrick's text. Indeed, I think both are useful in an understanding of the means by which Patrick is able to write against a dominant culture which has simply ignored Carrier geographic reality.

Patrick cites her sources at the end of each piece of information. Her "Grease Trail" ends with a link to the B.C. Adventure website. But, there are instances in her text of the direct use of phrases from the website which in the context of composition work would be considered plagiarism. Patrick chooses, for example, to offer advice to those interested in hiking the Trail. In her text she uses the advice offered on the Adventure

website. Patrick's text also roughly follows the same organizational pattern as the website—history, trail description, travel advice. New Media scholarship justifies Patrick's decisions to assert her Trail story using the website's material. Jody Shipka, for example, uses the term "re-purposing" to refer to her students' manipulation of a pre-existing (i.e. pre-authored) web site, the design of which they borrow to present their own text (282). Implicit in Shipka's argument regarding pedagogy which allows students to define the "purpose and contexts of the work they produce," is the assertion that re-purposing is a legitimate means of composing (286).

In a more recent article, Stuart Selber and Johndan Johnson-Eilola, using ubiquitous website manipulation as an example, argue much more specifically that composition scholars and instructors must reconsider "plagiarism" given that "re-mix" practices have become culturally and even disciplinarily accepted (although not yet in regards to pedagogy). Selber and Johnson-Eilola use the term "assemblages," which are "texts built primarily and explicitly from existing texts in order to solve a writing or communication problem in a new context" (7). Patrick's work reflects these scholars' assertions that assemblages are "a powerful form of rhetorical invention" (14). Patrick's difficult choices, as she worked to compile a text which reflected her culture and her culture's intersections with a more materially influential culture, are reflected in the text she ultimately created—a mix of Euro-Canadian history and Carrier land use practices.

It is Pratt's use of the term "autoethnographic text" which I find most useful in understanding Patrick's work (Arts 35). Pratt uses the term to refer to texts produced by authors whose culture has been marginalized by a colonial power. Pratt describes autoethnographic texts as, "text[s] in which people undertake to describe themselves in

ways which engage with representations others have made of them” (Arts 35), and she articulates the following criteria in her definition. One, the text is written in “response” to texts which represent a marginalized community but which were written by a colonial power. Two, the text refers to those who utilize the terms (literally) of colonization to represent their own marginalized culture (Arts 35). What this means to Pratt’s definition is that the authors choose to deliberately use the rhetorical strategies and terminology employed by the colonial power as opposed to their own cultural community’s rhetorical strategies—as evident in that community’s “autochthonous” texts.

Pratt’s distinction, between texts produced in a cultural community’s own rhetorical tradition (autochthonous) and autoethnographic texts is important, as Patrick’s work exemplifies. Or at least, I believe Pratt’s distinctions offer a means of understanding the textual choices Patrick makes. The discussion Patrick and I had about her residential school experience led her to a connection with her contemporary writing—specifically her museum work. When she went to school, Patrick explained, “I didn’t know no English. I had to learn that, and I’ve always had a problem with English, even up to today,” and further, “so when I was doing my project at the museum, I was told not to worry about the English. Just what came to my head I just wrote, and that’s how I got all of those exhibits and texts. I did all of the texts.” Her “worry,” as she further offered, with “[...] how I do the English” indicates that, were Patrick to have a choice, she would have been most comfortable expressing Carrier history solely in Carrier (Patrick). Her second choice, how she chose to compose for the museum text, is, I believe, deliberately autoethnographic.

Patrick's deliberate engagement with the terms and forms of representation she knows to be the norm for Euro-Canadian culture—how she does “the English”—is evident throughout her “Grease Trail” piece. She organizes her information in encyclopedic-style entries. Her source, The B.C. Adventure website, is similarly organized but longer, offering several paragraphs in each of its three sections describing the Trail's history, contemporary use, and travel concerns. Comparatively, Patrick offers only three paragraphs for which she plucks website information representing her community's relationship to the Trail. Like the Adventure website, she begins with a “factual” account of the trail's history. Although, by way of introduction, the website does offer that “Before North America was discovered by the Europeans, there was a network of trails that the aboriginal people used for trade,” it then begins several paragraphs which recount European “discoverer” Alexander Mackenzie's accomplishments, merely mentioning that he had FN help towards the end of his cross-Canada journey (BC Adventure). Patrick is much more assertive about FN presence. Her account begins, “The Alexander Grease Trail was used by the First Nations People 6000 years before Alexander Mackenzie discovered it in 1793” (Patrick “Nek'Oh”). After the B.C Adventure website's description of Mackenzie's accomplishments and a description of the trail itself, one learns that, “This important historic trail tells the story of the aboriginal people dating back 6000 years.” Patrick chooses, again, to foreground this information by placing it directly in her introductory paragraph. She states simply, “It tells the story of the aboriginal people” (Patrick “Nek'Oh”).

Not only does she lift historical descriptors from the website, she also contextualizes her specific community's relationship to the Grease Trail. Rather than

foregrounding a description of Mackenzie's accomplishments, Patrick describes the Trail itself: "It is made up of highway, forest roads, wagon roads, river, gravel forest roads, horse trails" (Patrick "Nek'Oh"). These terms are also used as descriptors on the Adventure website, but Patrick has chosen from a long explanation those that most apply to her community's use of the Trail. For example, in its list the Adventure website includes "coastal waters," "alpine trail," and "fjord." Patrick's community presently, for the most part, uses the sections of the trail which are closest to the Nazko Valley. She, therefore, does not use fjord. Patrick also uses the Adventure website's hiking advice, "takes three weeks," "be well prepared and completely self reliant," but, again, she foregrounds this information with information from her own community's knowledge—"it takes about one week on horseback." In addition, where the Adventure website offers that there were "local First Nations people, who guided Mackenzie and his party to the Pacific Ocean," Patrick chooses to name one of the female guides. Kama, whose picture is included in Patrick's text but not on the Adventure website, is directly connected to the Nazko FN—she is "great grandmother to Matilda Boyd (Alec) and Lashaway Alec from Trout Lake" (Patrick). Patrick continues this community connection by describing the "Carrier" use of the trail as an "adventure trail," for "rid[ing] horses, team and wagon to Anahim Lake for gatherings and for the annual rodeo"(Patrick). Patrick concludes her Grease Trail entry with a brief story of her son's part in a trip to the coast, by horseback, on the trail (Patrick "Nek'Oh").

Thus Patrick's autoethnographic Grease Trail text asserts a Carrier socio-geographic presence into a historical narrative which has worked to erase (perhaps more contemporarily gloss over) a Carrier presence in British Columbia. Patrick does include

autochthonous entries in her museum text, Carrier legends recorded by her in Carrier for example, but most relevant to my understanding of the invisibility of FN space in B.C. are her entries which assert Carrier presence. The other entries which work towards this assertion are found in the section of her work titled “Languages.” In the style of an anthropological report, she begins this entry offering “the facts” about the Carrier language, that it is part of “the Northern Athapaskan language family,” that there are five language groups within the family. But again, Patrick also tells the local history of Carrier, as she understands it from her own education at the Yinke Dene Institute; she offers information on local missionary “Father Morice,” who learned Carrier from local FN and recorded the language in written form, and on linguists who have helped preserve it; Patrick here connects the names of places to local culture and comments, more broadly, on the connections between all of the Athapaskan dialects (Patrick “Nek’Oh”).

Most interestingly in this piece, Patrick works to correct the mistakes made by Euro-Canadians who mis-heard Carrier speakers’ explanations of place names, and/or simply changed the spelling/pronunciation to one amenable to the Euro-Canadian ear. Patrick is generous in her criticism. Before a list of corrected names, she offers, “These bands have had their names changed because our non-native friends couldn’t spell and pronounce these name correctly” (Patrick). The list offers the names of places, like “Kluskus,” (the reservation closest to the Nazko) in their Euro-Canadian spelling and then corrects the name, “the correct name is Lhoosk’uz,” with an explanation, “Lhooz— meaning white fish and k’uz-meaning half/side of (Half or side of the white fish is white)” (Patrick “Nek’Oh”).

Patrick's Museum Space

The entries in Patrick's text work as narratives which counter NN understanding of space, of geography, in B.C. The strength of her work stems, in part, from the socio-geographic perceptions that she is countering, from what she faces when she composes against a powerful public story. A component of these perceptions and a further composing challenge for Patrick—one connected to the contested spaces she writes about and from—is the fact that her work is published in a museum. As Furniss notes, the frontier cultural complex includes not only the “geographic landscape” but also more intimate public spaces, like museums, which present themselves as unmitigated examples of local culture. What this means to Furniss and what is the case in the Quesnel museum is that the colonial public story is privileged. What this means for Patrick is that she is publishing her counter narrative in the museum and on its website, in spaces created and maintained as celebrations of the history of a NN province.

According to this celebration, the town's trajectory from “the past” began after Mackenzie's trail trek, was developed by the NN pioneers who settled in the area, and has as its historical defining moment civic support of the 1859 Gold Rush. As evidenced by exhibit placement, particularly if those exhibits are understood as a record of local history, the Quesnel story belongs to the pioneer. Spatially, this historical narrative is evident from the journey the museum visitor takes through the exhibit. Past the small lobby—a cashier counter, a book carrel, some crafts for sale—a visitor begins a zigzag path through a series of themed exhibits. The display begins with artifacts of pioneer life in the form of glass cases of china and other household items that immigrants, mostly British from the labels, brought from the home country. Past these glass cases, one walks

by displays of pioneer commerce: artifacts from a general store, supplies in a law clerk's office. Then come larger displays of Euro-Canadian activity, farm implements from ranching communities, a display of mining tools, and the traps used by the fur traders, alongside some pelts of their prey. Continuing on the zed shaped path offers further evidence of the life those immigrants from Europe lived: a telegraph office, a school room, a barber shop. The first half of the Museum's space and well over two-thirds of its artifacts are concerned with exhibiting the early history of the Euro-Canadian experience in the town of Quesnel. The First Nations exhibit, the assembly of which Doreen had a large role, is found at the back of the Museum at the end of a visitor's journey.

The sequence of exhibits in the Museum represents a reversal of historical time—a choice in whose history takes priority in a community space [and in a community space] associated with historical accuracy—a space charged with keeping history. The placement of the displays reflects the frontier myth about which Furniss writes and reinforces the community of Quesnel's identity as a Gold Rush town with exciting historical beginnings traceable [back] to intrepid pioneers. The museum's website, similarly, marginalizes FN history spatially (Fig. 2). The homepage offers large text, brightly colored "Quick Links" to information on the "Gold Rush Trail," "Barkerville" (a gold rush town), and other (mostly gold rush) information. In smaller print on the opposite side of the homepage, underneath the link to the homepage itself, is a link to Patrick's work, using its English title "Footprints in Stone." A visitor to the site would really have no idea who the "Footprints" information is about. These placements, like the Gold Rush and the coming of the pioneers, displace First Nations communities with their own histories.

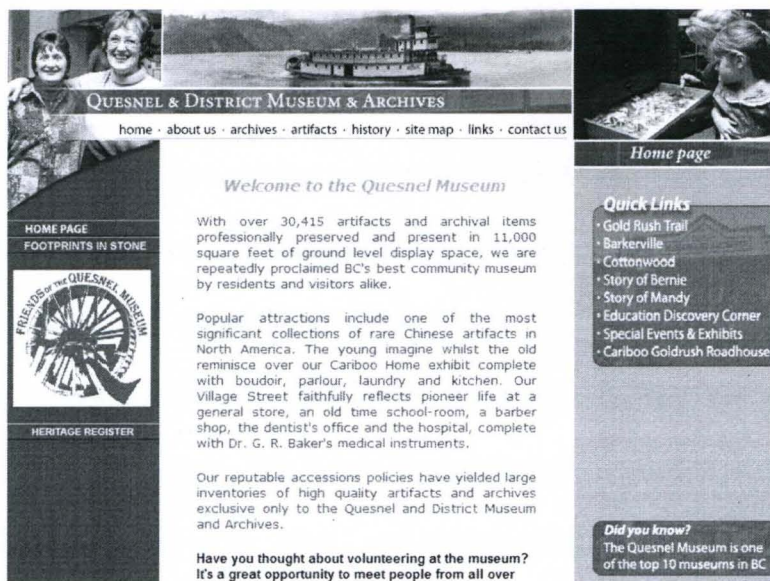


Fig. 2 Quesnel Museum Website

Conclusion

The Grease Trail provides a physical example of a common space contested and rich with meaning, one utilized by two different cultures both physically and metaphorically. The Trail is remote; very few travel its physical space, even as they possess its history. The NN story of the Trail, speaks to Soja's assertion that in the majority of social accounts "an already made geography sets the stage, while the willful making of history dictates the action and defines the storyline" (117). But its necessity as an important marker of the "frontier cultural complex" documented by Furniss, and the fascinating controversy over its designation—how those who believed in Mackenzie's heroism were willing to physically move the Trail to avoid conceding to the FN story—also tells an important story. For me, a more immediate marker of erasure has come from my trying to learn the names Patrick offered in the text. We talked about those names; she tried to teach me Carrier pronunciation as we joked about NN linguistic errors. But still, the names are not yet part of my worldview. I have to tell myself that the "Kluskus"

I know is only that because of a NN misheard “Lhoosk’uz.” But “Lhoosk’uz still looks strange and seems a foreign place.

And Patrick’s texts demand that readers re-examine their understanding of place, of name, of geography. Her work illuminates the ways which FN use of physical space in B.C. has been publically erased, as evidenced for me by FN geographic invisibility. What is further remarkable to me is what Patrick must write against: maps, titles, history books, her own published space. Her texts are significant examples of autoethnographic text—composing from geographic, social, and historic margins. Her work thus takes a stand against much and complex socio-historic cultural institutions. Part of Scott Lyons argument is that such texts as Patricks are useful additions to composition classrooms as material relevant to critical pedagogy. As Lyons does, I recall here Pratt’s discussion of the contact zone of the classroom because Patrick’s work so clearly demonstrates communication that does not “take for granted that the situation is governed by a single set of rules or norms shared by all participants” (Pratt 38). Patrick offers, in her space of contact, in her second language, a text which does the work of demonstrating the multiplicity of community knowledge. Importantly, it is how she does the English.

CHAPTER IV

WOMEN WRITING CARRIER CULTURE

“In order to re-present the ‘space on the side of the road,’ then, we need more than assertions that the local has its own epistemology or that everything is culturally constructed. We need to approach the clash of epistemologies—ours and theirs—and to use that clash to repeatedly re-open a gap in the theory of culture itself so that we can imagine culture as a process constituted in use and therefore likely to be tense, contradictory, dialectical, dialogic, texted, textured, both practical and imaginary, and in-filled with desire” (Kathleen Stewart 5).

“The texts that are analyzed are less unproblematic reflections of culture, or ‘mirrors of the real,’ than they are particular bids at constructing what is ‘real’ and giving it specific meanings” (Rosteck 242).

“All silence has meaning” (Glenn 11).

While I was writing this dissertation, my dad came for a visit. He brought me some pictures he was given recently that had belonged to his father, from my British Granddad’s time as a soldier in India. One of those pictures became my muse. It is of children. I cannot tell and my father did not know if they are Indian or British children.

They are on a playing field being watched from a grandstand; the picture was taken from above and behind the grandstand, so to look at the children one looks through parasol and derby-hat covered adults watching the field. With their bodies lying prostrate on the ground, the children are spelling out the word “Empire.” The word takes up much of the field. It is difficult to not think of this picture while I write of literacy and culture in a community that was so devastatingly affected by the colonial project.

A story I collected while data-gathering has also been difficult to leave alone—difficult to place, perhaps, but also somehow necessary. I was wrapping up an hour long interview with Rosie Cassam. From the outset of our time together, I had abandoned the idea of asking Cassam questions from my list. She would talk about what she wished regardless of where I steered our conversation. During this visit, I had prepared to leave several times. Several times, she had started another conversation. We were talking about the IRB consent form. I had just asked her about the fuzzy quality of the printed form, was it too difficult to make out? “I can’t get my birth certificate,” she responded, and then continued on with a story of frustrating bureaucracy. It is unclear whether her birth was ever registered. As a child, she lived with grandparents who had last names different from her parents, so now she tries all the different names when she enquires. She has made endless trips to various agencies for help, all of which required her to show a birth certificate. She touched upon the endless frustration of trying to negotiate life “in town” without this document, including her inability to apply for a driver’s license (Cassam).

Both these stories are about regulation, control, and boundaries. Because I began this project looking for work called cultural preservation, because “there exists a

relationship between literacy and culture” (Daniell 405), and because I spent time with women marginalized in so many ways by my own, dominant culture, I gathered more than just interviews and the texts produced by my participants and other FN women. I gathered experiences and stories that speak to the complexity of conducting work to create texts about culture, itself a job of marking and boundaries, while existing in an imposing and dominant culture. Work further complicated because the dominant has a history of silencing that which it now wishes to preserve. Work made most difficult as FN women live in a community consistently faced with, as Cassam is, the need to negotiate their world views within the larger culture. What these experiences left me with are questions about how meaningful analysis can occur in such complexity.

To repeat an assertion made in my introduction, my curiosity about my participants’ work and texts is dependent on my position in a culture that asserts itself as static and that, therefore, finds curious (if not nostalgically lamentable or urgently and lamentably in need of saving) those Other, marginalized cultures that must “be preserved” in order that they not be swallowed. For this investigation, I was most interested in the literacy practices required for the work my participants choose to do—literacy practices that occur on the margins of academe’s purview. But as Anna Tsing reminds me in her ethnography of the Meratus people, “raising the question of [...] marginality thus calls attention to the complexity and specificity of cultural intersections” (17). Tsing reminds me that if I choose to speak of “margins,” I am speaking from a place within culture. What I think is thus necessary is an analysis of what *it* is I am looking for, what *it* is I see, and what I think *it* is called in terms of culture and the culture/literacy relationship.

For this investigation, it was not my intent to search for “authentic” markers of culture. As Cintron offers, this dissertation is not about “a group of people and the meanings inside their heads” (12). Nonetheless, multiple notions of culture are connected to the texts my participants produce and to their descriptions of their work. For Patrick, for example, correcting cultural absences and errors is an integral part of what she does. She recently sent me an email describing her latest project:

We are going to do history when Simon Fraser first came down the Fraser but on the First Nation's perspective. He (Simon) probably wouldn't have made it down the Fraser to the coast without the help of the FN people, that goes the same for Alexander McKenzie. We or I am going to ask our elders about the first contact and see if I can get some history and start a curriculum on FN's history written. There is nothing written about our history of Carrier people of this area, and it is about time.

I found that the work of my participants demanded that I reflect on the connections between the texts they produce and FN culture—in its complicated and multiple manifestations.

I refer to culture in the multiple and matrixed ways of contemporary ethnographers. Important is Kathleen Stewart's articulations, and re-articulations of the impossibility of pegging traits to a community's culture. She explains that culture is “a constant beginning again—a search, an argument, an unfinished longing” (6). The culture I feel qualified to speak to in regards to the Carrier community is that displayed in the texts I collected and in the conversations I was a part of. I comment on those behaviors, references and markers which dynamically link the community of FN with

whom I interacted by history, geography or socio-political beliefs. By discussing the culture I saw displayed, I understand better my participants' texts in which they articulate traits of their culture. In a similar move to Cintron's discussion of the "rhetorics of public culture" (10) or Stewart's defining of "performed forms" (27), referring to my observations of culture as performance, as display, means I make no claims to definitive truths about the Carrier. What I most wish to analyze is the complexity of my participants' literacy practices in light of the fact that they continually reflect on, represent, write about, and disseminate information on FN culture.

In my effort to analyze, I make distinctions in this chapter by classifying "Carrier culture work," "Indian culture," and "Carrier culture." "Carrier culture work" is an important label because, although all participants self-identify as FN, they are not all of Carrier heritage. Those women who work for the Nazko Band office are all Carrier, Patrick, Cassam, Laura Boyd, and those women who work for the school district grew up in different B.C., First Nations communities. Holly Toews is Gitxan from the West Coast, Lori Philips is Okanagan from the Central Interior, and Holly Garvin from a mixed background of Red Bluff and Cree. In their present employment, though, it is their job to research, create, administer and disseminate information about local, Carrier, FN culture. Distinguishing "Carrier culture work" helps me to not conflate what my participants *do* with who they *are*. Closer to who my participants *are*, is the distinction of "Carrier culture" which I am arguing is that complex—the geographic, socio-historic and world-view connections—shared by those who self-identity as Carrier. In regards to "Indian culture," I refer to the idea of "the Indian" native studies scholars argue is so essential to dominant cultural identity (King). This Indian is described by Cheryl Glenn as the "Real

Indian,” and further as “the white conception of the Indian (a pan-Indian identity that flattened out the thousands of distinct native societies)” (108). In this investigation, “Indian culture” refers to local NN conceptions of a FN person—how they act, believe, learn, and live. I, for the most part, refer to the romantic concept—of silent and wise FN people who are connected to the environment— although in my community, there are those for whom “Indian culture” always means alcoholic welfare recipient. Still complicated.

More complications arise from the fact that, ironically, in these three clarifying distinctions, I hope to underscore the complexity of speaking of culture. So I try to simplify in order to explain in this chapter how layered and multifaceted the environment is and resources are for those who do Carrier culture work, for those charged with recording a fixed Carrier culture. Because despite my reservations in making claims about Carrier culture, it is still my goal to understand the literacy practices of my participants, and this means understanding the rhetoric of their culture—at least three versions of it. I think, to use an analogy offered by Thomas Rosteck, that to analyze what I gathered in terms of a “mosaic” offers the most productive means of discussing my data. The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to discuss the tensions, within the three versions of culture I offer, involved in recording and disseminating texts about Carrier culture.

FN Women’s Culture Work

What was evident in my observations of central B.C., FN culture work was that much of it occurs because of employment. The women whom I interviewed are all paid to do work which results in the production and dissemination of material about FN

culture. Much of the culture work I observed was conducted while people were at their place of employment, and, importantly, I call it culture work because that is specifically their job. Doreen Patrick is responsible for the FN exhibit for the museum. Laura Boyd, whose job title is “cultural coordinator,” is employed by “the longname” (North Cariboo Aboriginal Family Program Society); it is her responsibility to devise culturally relevant FN activities for children who attend day care at the center and, more broadly, for the larger community of Quesnel during city-wide, multi-cultural events. Lori Philips and Holli Garvin are “culture resource” teachers at the Aboriginal Education Center. Rosie Cassam, who was interviewed by Patrick for the museum stories, also works for the Band office, along with several other elders, as consultants on projects, such as the publication of a language workbook.

My participants’ employment affects the conditions in which much Carrier culture is publically produced. The women’s dependence on funding sources has implications for how and when culture work happens. Patrick’s employment at the museum is contingent on grant money applied for by the museum curator. When I arrived in Quesnel in May 2007, Patrick had finished her job for, what she thought would be, the summer. Because of funding problems she is, just this summer, 2008, returning to her museum job. Holly Toews, principal of the Aboriginal Education Center (AbEd), and AbEd teachers Phillips and Garvin, are employed by the local school district. These funds are far more dependable than grant money, but also more bound to administrative work. Further, all three women’s jobs are informed by the “Quesnel Aboriginal Education Enhancement Agreement,” one of many B.C. school district agreements between individual school districts and local FN’s communities funded by the Ministry of

Education. This affiliation increases the need for accountability. Accountability means, as Toews explained it, “meetings all day, everyday” and, as evidenced by the paperwork she produced for me, many reports (Toews).

The necessity for accountability also directly affects the culture work that gets done because of the educational complex created in order for that work to happen. Toews is responsible for administration. The curricular culture work is done by Philips and Garvin, who are charged with enhancing the district’s “culturally relevant curriculum” (“Quesnel”). As Garvin explained, they do so by helping “teachers integrate Aboriginal content into their curriculum” (Garvin). Depending on the individual classroom teacher’s degree of comfort, this job ranges from offering lesson plan research and development to the teaching of an entire unit of FN material. All three women work from the AbEd Center, a building annexed to Quesnel Secondary School. As well as offices, there are two classrooms and a resource center in the AbEd building. Besides the permanent offices of Toews, Garvin and Philips, 20 other support workers check into the office. The support workers act as teacher’s aids in the classroom, as they are assigned to individuals and groups of FN children who have been designated special needs.

Besides employment vagaries and bureaucratic requirements, this institutionally sponsored production of culture creates internal tensions. I heard several differing perceptions of the culture work, and the need for that work, required of those interested in Carrier culture. For example, in preparation for my research, I spoke with the NN Treaty Manager of the Nazko FN Band. During one conversation, she spoke to me with urgency of the necessity of “saving” the Carrier language, of her own frustrations at funding sources, and, more specifically, at Band employees and Carrier community members’

less than urgent sense of the necessity of action for preservation. The NN Museum curator spoke of tensions and missteps when soliciting the help of the elders to complete the oral history project. His descriptions spoke to differing opinions of what exactly to preserve and how to do it in Carrier-appropriate ways, as he mentioned incidents of miscommunication between museum staff who assumed there would be reciprocal interest in participation and elders who wanted to be paid for their work. Challenging the museum curator's difficulties, the current FN language teacher, a Carrier woman, explained to me in frustration that if more was not done to teach (spread not preserve) the language "it would end up in that museum over there." Her worry spoke to tensions between preservation that freezes or literally "preserves," and retention of culture that works to preserve (collectively remember) a continuing tradition for the community (Powell).

These alternate perceptions create tensions about how this work should take place—tensions exemplified in the experiences of the educators mandated to disseminate cultural information. As AbEd principal, Toews explained to me the AbEd Center exists to "help close the gap between Aboriginal students and non-Aboriginal students in terms of education." As per the local Enhancement Agreement, this "gap-closing" is to be accomplished by providing "strong programs on the culture of local Aboriginal peoples on whose traditional territories the districts are located" (Enhancement). Thus Garvin and Philips are available, as they explained, to teach locally relevant "aboriginal content" in any class. This could mean, potentially, that they teach a FN lesson during a math class. Garvin, for example, excitedly explained her work to add FN content to a science class, a lesson she felt had been challenging to plan and interesting to teach. But the

amount of material they produce is dependent on individual teacher requests. As Toews explained, there is “a lot of variation about how open teachers are to implementing the FN culture, a lot of reticence” (Toews). Interestingly, although the employees of the AbEd center are mandated to enhance FN students’ experience and required to infuse programs with a wide variety of FN content, individual instructors are not reciprocally required to utilize their services. This can be frustrating for those responsible to FN students and for ensuring that those students experience a FN presence in the curriculum. As Toews explained when discussing teacher reluctance, “teachers address things like other countries’ cultures without any reticence, but when it comes to local [cultures, they behave as though they] want somebody else to do it” (Toews).

Further, because of institutional and community mandates, much culture work is done with, what I observed as, urgency. Garvin and Philips discussed the “pickle” created when a teacher requests that they create FN content for courses for which little cultural reference exists—like the science teacher who asked them to enhance his electricity unit (Garvin). For these challenges, Garvin and Philips are forced to comb websites, to utilize information not available locally, and they must be able to do so “on the fly.” Because of the requirements of funding parties, there are also often deadlines. Patrick mentioned to me several times as we met during her summer holiday that “they” were always getting on her to get more done. Besides a deadline to add vocabulary to a language preservation software program, there was Band office work to be done on a language workbook. Patrick joked that she was on strike for the summer, a fact that did not stop other Band office employees from producing the workbook. Despite the desire of Toews and others to produce material reflective of the local FN community—both the

specific Carrier dialect and traditions—deadlines for that production mean texts which draw on websites and historical works that reflect regional, national and pan-Indian identity. These texts involve a collage of content. Garvin’s lesson on electricity presents a FN community from another province, Saskatchewan, that administers a hydro-electric project. The language workbook, produced by the Band office, titled “Neghunek Unzoo” (Our Beautiful Language), includes local Carrier legends, offered in both Carrier and English. An example of the somewhat problematic collage of culture is the inclusion of legends first recorded in the 1890s by Catholic missionary, A.G. Morice. Morice’s recorded legends are controversial within the Carrier community, whose members dispute the veracity of Morice’s expertise on Carrier traditions (Hall).

These tensions speak to belief in the ability and the authority to demark “authentic” culture. The institutions that sponsor Carrier culture production advocate the preservation of authentic traditions and practices. For example, the stated purpose of the Education Enhancement agreement—revitalization of the histories, cultures, governance and languages—depends on a local understanding of Carrier culture, most specifically Carrier culture that can be articulated in replicable texts. It is the understanding of the dominant, NN culture that, as those who speak the language and practice traditions age, the ability to record the authentic fades. Thus there is pressure on the part of those women I interviewed to conduct their Carrier culture work quickly, to “get it all down before it is gone” (Jane)¹¹. This pressure is productive for many reasons: the women I spoke with derive income from the public need for Carrier texts; all students are exposed to far more FN history in their classes (despite teachers’ “reticence”) than I ever

¹¹ I have changed the name of the Nazko FN Band’s Treaty Officer.

experienced during my education. But, this pressure results in text production that reflects the influences that bear on the complexity of Carrier culture work.

Indian Culture

June 21 is Aboriginal Day in Canada. This official celebration is marked, according to the ministry of Indian and Northern Affairs, to recognize “the rich contribution Aboriginal people have made to Canada.” The celebration I attended in Quesnel offered a display of Indian culture as I wish to define it for this investigation. By Indian culture, I refer to the pan-Indian identity which involves “cultural patterns that cut across traditional tribal boundaries to unite people in a wider, regional or national identity” (Lerch 390). This display of Indian culture connects to the Carrier culture work of my participants, as the focus is on the area’s school children. Importantly, the celebration marks the school-year-ending work and was thus very celebratory for multiple reasons.

I was at the park prior to the arrival of the school bus loads of children. Participants were setting up their tents. To me the scene appeared a typical northern B.C. festival in the park. There was to be entertainment, activities for children, fare for purchase, art to examine. This particular festival was devoted to FN culture as, I would argue, it is understood by NN culture. Or at least, there were many examples of symbols ubiquitous to Indian culture. The loudspeaker played the American country music songs which use the words Cherokee, Choctaw and Indian for their romance. The children were offered feathered headdresses as they stepped off buses. Stations dedicated to activities for children—face painting, rock painting, and beadwork—were arranged in a long semi-circle on the lawn. For adults, educational stations were devoted to more

serious affairs plaguing FN people—diabetes and FAS (fetal alcohol syndrome). There were also tents for demonstrations: the Quesnel high school senior art class had completed a unit on FN art. Finally, vendors displayed dream catchers, eagle- and feather-bedecked t-shirts and headbands and the like for purchase.

This display of Indian culture includes those markers specifically suggested by the Indian and Northern Affairs website. Underscoring the dominant culture's desire to peg the Indian culture is a list on the website of "things to do" for a community to celebrate Aboriginal Day. Suggested by the website are "traditional" activities such as a "pow-wow," "activities around traditional lifestyles," or a lacrosse game ("Ideas"). In this way, for the community, as the website prescribes, there is an opportunity to observe and support the culture work done by local FN people. Yet, to risk further essentializing for the sake of description, much of what was on display is part of Indian culture substituting for local Carrier traditions, as those traditions were explained to me. Feathers for children's headdresses, for example, speak much more loudly to Indian culture than to Carrier traditions, which utilized, according to Patrick's museum exhibit, porcupine quills in clothing. But, for my participants, authenticity was not the point of the day. It was a day of fun, a day out of the office and the culmination of the school-year's work—and a day of display—to demonstrate to the NN community and to help FN children connect to peers through Indian culture. For them there was still work to be done—they were there to support the children's learning and understanding of FN culture. But, they did so with play and education.

This interesting mix of Indian culture and play is articulated as a strategy for retaining semblances of cultural identity in the face of a dominant culture that reduces

many diverse FN cultures into a few markers. Thomas King articulates the tragic dilemma of NNA whose public identity is so prescribed—a “made up Indian” who stands for a vastly diverse continent full of cultures (79). The solution to this dilemma is to publically enact the “entertainment” the dominant culture requires for an understanding of FN culture. To use the play and the stereotypes of Indian culture as a means of laughing with and also at the dominant culture, as a means of overcoming the negation of individual identity in favor of “perform[ance] in an Aboriginal minstrel show for White North America” (68). Thus, Philips was busy explaining her art students’ work to visitors and spending time at her own, personal tent, where she was selling her line of NNA themed clothing. The items were simple—T-shirts, pants, and skirts. The art work embossed on the clothes was more complex, ranging from formal skirts with complex Haida animal prints to comedic, NNA plays on commercialized themes. One t-shirt, for example, offered a substitution on the “got milk?” commercials by enquiring “got moose meat?” Garvin spent the day moving from station to station with a moose puppet on her hand. She approached children and adults alike and engaged them in an exchange for which she encouraged, by speaking through the moose, the use of Carrier language. She taught celebrants the word for the Carrier greeting, “dahooja,” the words for big game, like moose, and the Carrier translation of “Oh Canada.”

By combining their mandates to educate with this play, my participants enact what Lyons call rhetorics of tradition. Rhetorics of tradition, as Lyons discusses them, are in flux, caused by generational stresses between the utility of Indian culture for community unity and the recognition that Indian culture conflates the complexity of contemporary NNA reality. Lyons concedes that commonality has utility. As my

participants discussed with me, offering FN children a common identity, demonstrated in, for example, a beadwork art class, regardless of whether or not beadwork is an “authentic” tradition from a student’s particular Band, gives them tools—collective experience—to combat the racism they experience in the school. But, as Lyons describes, recognition by more contemporary generations of NNA that Indian cultural identity furthers essentializing stereotypes has resulted in a rhetoric of tradition marked by self-conscious use of the stereotype, playfully, as a dynamic part of identity. These displays of culture further demonstrate the authority of, for example, Philips and Garvin to determine the aspects of Indian culture to be adopted and rejected. Elizabeth Furniss describes the importance of “playing Indian” to Carrier identity. Like King and Lyons, she argues that these displays represent a degree of control over NN determinations of FN culture. I would argue that Philips and Garvin have learned to deal with the constraints imposed on them by the curricular demands of Carrier cultural production.

Carrier Culture

I end this chapter with snapshots of local displays of Carrier culture. What I call Carrier culture is that constituted or in use by those people whom I met who self-identify as Carrier. These snapshots are important to an understanding of my participants’ work, for they contribute to an understanding of the facet of Carrier culture—its production and rhetorics—over which my participants have an authority, an expertise not mandated to them but inherited, chosen and, like all cultures, influenced by their own socio/historic/geographic scene.

One experience, for me, hinted at an understanding of contemporary Carrier culture. I was working in the kitchen of the Nazko school. I had spent the morning

helping to prepare a hot-dog lunch for school-children taking part in the RCMP-sponsored bike rodeo. Afterwards, I was drying dishes with Teresa, a NN community member whom I often stayed with while in the valley. As we were working, the father of some rodeo participants, Roger Jimmy, the hereditary chief of the neighboring FN community of Kluskus, wandered into the kitchen for a cup of coffee. After pouring himself a cup, he settled down on one of the barstools placed around the kitchen counter. He began a conversation by asking Teresa if she had been mushroom picking yet. It was time, in the valley, to make some money hunting morel mushrooms, and a popular conversation involved exchanging yield information and teasing about any secret knowledge of the most fruitful parts of the valley to collect from.

After Jimmy and Teresa had exchanged information about their harvests, there was a comfortable silence while we worked and he sipped his coffee. Then, Jimmy began to tell a story by explaining that he and his wife, while picking mushrooms the day before, had had an encounter with a grizzly bear. His story went on for over ten minutes. It was a mix of his most recent encounter, previous encounters, a separate meeting with what Jimmy swears to this day was a sasquatch, and a discussion of traditional Carrier respect for the bears—an elaborate daily ritual he offered as practiced by the elders and involving a brief spiritual ceremony of personal bear protection mixed with repetition of more pragmatic precautions (tell bears you are coming, move slowly when in bear territory, look for bear signs). Jimmy is an animated storyteller, so Teresa and I both enjoyed his tales. But importantly, I admit to being further fascinated by the sense that I was experiencing a “cultural” moment. I was talking with an “Indian” person telling me stories of the old-ways. A first impression, except he was not only speaking of old ways.

He and Theresa both shared bear greeting tips. Both had stories about the importance of talking to the bear. A NN and a FN were sharing information on bush culture that is also a facet of Carrier culture.

My experience with Jimmy and Theresa was an important part of my work. For my understanding, it was a moment of cultural authority—of insight into a local belief system. It was an experience in northern B.C. that incorporated history and mutual agreement (on bear culture). It is, importantly, indefinable. Both Theresa and Jimmy demonstrated knowledge of local flora; this knowledge is part of either's culture—both NN and Carrier. But Jimmy, in particular, asserted his information. In part, it seemed, because of his gender—a man telling stories to women doing chores who must listen. Jimmy's story though, also offered insight into his rhetorical power as a story teller, as a person not only immersed in but also an expert on Carrier culture. What Jimmy's (and Theresa's) story represents is cultural authority, not that as indicative of specific replicable markers, but of an authority over specific situations replicable by others who share that belief system. I couldn't help but think his story more important to, or at least sorely missing from that Carrier culture work done by my participants. His absent authority indicates the gaps and silences created by culture production which ignores local stories. Jimmy's stories go unheard in curriculum that is hurriedly lifted from websites. These absences relate to the silence and silencing inherent in all rhetorical exchanges that Cheryl Glenn discusses in Unspoken: A Rhetoric of Silence.

But as Glenn articulates, not all silencing is negative, for “silencing [...] is not the same as erasing” (4). A text found in my grandmother's papers reflects, for me, a silencing that speaks to authority in the local FN community. It is titled Report to Nazko

and Kluskus Bands of Carrier Indians From The Nazko-Kluskus Study Team. This report was prepared by a collaborative team of Nazko/Kluskus FN Band members and anthropologist Michael Kew. It was written to further inform members of the Nazko and Kluskus communities of the issues involved in the British Columbia government's plan to open the valley to logging companies. According to the report, after protests from Nazko and Kluskus Band members, officials placed a moratorium on logging in the valley. In the interim, the two communities were given time to prepare "position statements in respect to the logging proposals and other concerns" (1). Included in the 55 page report are sections on "Native Realities (Carrier)," "Native Concerns," "Non-Native Realities and Areas of Concern," and "Ecological Realities." Each of these sections speaks to its topic with a numbered list of geographic, historic and socio-political "facts," and each is further peppered with quotes (each separated from the list by a text box) from community members expressing individual opinions. This report is rich with information about the Carrier community's historic and contemporary land use practices, historically contextualized socio-political relationships with the NN population, and personal understanding and opinion of both topics. It was distributed August 17, 1974.

Like Jimmy's stories, this report is not taught in schools, nor used in the local production of texts.¹² But I believe it demonstrates an assertion of Carrier culture used to benefit the community. The report draws on language of acknowledgment and compromise for its rhetorical power. In the introduction, the authors pose questions for the community to consider, which account for both immediate Nazko/Kluskus concerns and the means for including the NN community in the decision process. They ask,

¹² This is, at least, as far as I have been able to tell to date.

How can we overcome serious conflicts between resource development and human development in the [Nazko Valley]? How can we create a planning process which will increase the mutual understanding and appreciation between Indian and non-Indian people and lead to new plans which use the best of both heritages? (2)

The subsequent chapters directly address FN and NN concerns. For both groups, the authors discuss what expansion of logging into the valley means economically and socially. Finally, a third section, which addresses “Ecological Realities,” assumes definitive environmental concerns that must unite FN and NN community members. The report authors suggest that, “even if the crucial factors of native title and the preservation of native cultural identity were missing from the present situation, there would still remain legitimate cause for concern that precipitous development, specifically logging roads, would be inappropriate for this area” (32). This use of a “reality” that affects all community members who live in the valley positions the Carrier as environmental stewards with much to offer forestry debates and their NN neighbors concerned about the degradation caused by the forestry industry.

I would argue that the positioning of the local Carrier among the larger community in the report most strongly asserts the agency of the Carrier as investors in the government’s decisions. The report stresses the authority of the Nazko and Kluskus Bands by identifying them as one set of agents among several united against British Columbia’s Ministry of Forests. This aligning of the Nazko and Kluskus with the local ranchers and against the Ministry works to assert such Carrier agency. The Band’s work was successful in asserting Carrier claims to land use and environmental expertise. The

final result of the report and subsequent referendum were changes to the way the ministry conducted business on land claimed by FN, and more specifically, the formation of a Nazko/Kluskus forestry management business (Boyd). With their own forestry management business, the Nazko Kluskus Bands could contribute to a managed forest and determine when and where logging took place. Thus, rather than watch logging trucks haul away the forest, forest that was still under land-claims dispute, the Bands have been able to selectively log that land, preserving that which contributes to a healthy ecosystem.

Conclusion

Scott Lyons asks composition scholars to pay attention to scenes of rhetorical sovereignty. I consider the report produced by the Nazko and Kluskus Bands to be such a text. The report is the “recognition of [...] power” Lyons articulates as necessary to sovereignty. Further, and important to Lyons’ discussion, is that power is not to be “given’ by dominant groups,” but rather claimed, which I argue happens in the rhetoric of the report. Its success is demonstrated in the recognition the Nazko and Kluskus Bands received, with the support of their forestry management company, by the B.C. government. But as former Chief Boyd explained to me, there were still battles for the Bands to fight. For several years after they had formed the company, sawmills in Quesnel refused to buy their lumber. The Quesnel sawmill owners felt as though the Bands had been granted extra attention by the Ministry of Forests. This “punishment” exemplifies the mixed reception of the text. The report is a success for its use of Carrier voice, for its assertion of rhetorical agency and for its use as a tool of Band economic development, but problematic in its attempts at negotiation with the NN community.

Further, the report, despite its rich reflection of the local Carrier people, their articulations of land use, is today invisible. I knew of it only because my Grandmother had a copy.

A different book that my mum gave me perhaps explains the silence of the report. She found it in the piles of books she buys at garage sales. It is titled Indian Tribes of the Northwest. Mum thought it would be useful to my work. Author, Reg Ashwell, is described in the forward as a friend to “venerable natives” (some of whom are named) as well as to NN artist Mildred Valley Thornton, a woman with a close relationship to many coastal FN people, who introduced him to “Indians who subsequently became his friends” (4). Ashwell is further described as a freelance writer. This text is divided into sections according to “The Indian Tribes.” Each section offers a description of individual “tribes,” including geographic location, cultural practices, and connections to surrounding “tribes.” About the Carrier, Ashwell begins by offering, “The Carrier Indians *were* remote kinsmen of the Chilcotin and *lived* directly north of them” (emphasis mine) (64). Indeed, each tribe is described in the past tense as though extinct, as though the practices and places described no longer exist. It was published in 1977, four years after the report, just when the Nazko Carrier, who were very much alive, were getting their logging company going.

What does it mean that both these texts, one privileged with publication the other largely forgotten,¹³ speak to Carrier culture? I think the stories of both texts are representative of the topic of this investigation. The work done by my participants, the literacy they practice, is done, in part, to assert a FN presence in NN institutions like the classroom and the museum. These institutions have historically, and more

¹³ At least, as far as I have ascertained to date. It was not mentioned by my participants as being a text drawn on to research local Carrier culture.

contemporarily, attempted to ignore, if not eradicate, evidence of a FN presence in B.C. The work of my participants exemplifies the rhetorical, political and dynamic nature of culture. I have analyzed these, my participants' experiences, in terms of literacy practices. This analysis is appropriate given the focus of literacy practices on "the general cultural way of utilizing written language which people draw upon in their lives" (Barton and Hamilton 7). What complicates the study of my participants' culturally situated literacy practices is that their culture is so bound to the material being produced—in other words their culturally situated literacy practices require that they demarcate the culture in which, as FN women, they are immersed. This requires of them a balancing of material they draw on for the classroom and the museum. For this balancing, they must choose material from a multiple of FN experiences and histories.

This balancing is not understood by the NN community that mandates FN cultural production.¹⁴ When I began this project I was looking to see what cultural preservation looks like. I wanted to know how those who are preserving went about that work. What I realize now is how powerful the dominant narrative is that required I use that term to label what I saw at the outset of this project. What I realize now is that the cultural work my participants do looks not static but dynamic and multi-faceted, seems not inevitable nor tied to the binaries of "preserve or lose," feels (to repeat Stewart's words) "tense, contradictory, dialectical, dialogic, texted, textured, both practical and imaginary" (5). My participants' challenge is to record and disseminate cultural information, so that it remains dynamic, so that their children can draw from a defined community for their own educational successes.

¹⁴ A topic I plan to explore further.

Further Conclusions and Implications

Conclusions

It was curiosity about my grandmother the teacher that brought me to this project. In taking up the story of women from her community—some of whom were taught by her, some of whom were sent away from home—I begin a story that blends personal history, community and literacy. It is thus fitting to conclude this dissertation stressing the complex intersections of education, culture, literacy. Each of these ideologies are expressed by my participants in both their ideal forms and pragmatic realities. Ideally, my participants want their work, the texts they create, to lead to a better future for FN children. Ideally, the women's literacy practices will increase the children's cultural awareness and pride in community. Pragmatically, the women understand that there is much work to be done and few of them doing it. It is fitting that all the women I interviewed have as their main concern the education of children—that their literacy practices are predominantly centered on the dissemination of their culture for FN children.

Amanda Cobb points to the differing goals for literacy in the historic battles for the outcomes of FN education. Church overseers desired literacy for religious conversion, the governments who funded the schools wished to see FN people educated, minimally, in order to abandon their migratory and bartering economies. FN people, like Rosie Cassam and Doreen Patrick, believe that education means literacy in English, means community success. Cobb's conclusion is that the differing goals can be discussed in terms of the "tensions between what seem to be two opposing poles: assimilation and preservation" (120). My participants, it seems to me, continue to struggle with these

tensions. They must choose, in order to help raise the number of FN children in school, how to help those children understand their communities' culture while they help them value English language literacy (both with the goal of keeping them in school).

Thus in the context of education, this dissertation works to theorize the lives of FN women whose work importantly occurs at the intersections of place, history, and culture, and it offers case studies of the influence of history and geography on my participants' literacy practices. Specifically, the literacy practices of the FN women who contributed to this work involved a complex dynamic between their history, the schools and museum in which they write, the culture within which they live, and, importantly, within which they work to place their own FN community practices. In ways that are, perhaps, invisible in the composing processes of the dominant culture, my participants' literacy practices are inextricably linked to the culture in which they live. In this regard, I believe, they differ from the literacy practices of those writing about culture from NN communities. This is not to say that for both groups, FN and NN, there are not dominant narratives, like that of the pan-Indian identity, which shape their composing process. But for NN contributors to Museum exhibits or NN educators instructing students about the dominant culture, there surely exists a greater degree of latitude in the relationship between their writing and their lives. The FN women whom I interviewed must consistently make claims in their writing that have a direct impact on how their homes, social lives and communities are perceived by the dominant culture. For example, a NN can reference Alexander Mackenzie and his discovery as tacit knowledge within the dominant culture, while Patrick must not only offer her culture's version of that same,

Mackenzie history, but also write in opposition to a dominant historical and physical model.

Implications

This dissertation works to underscore one community of FN women's dynamic and complex literacy practices. The general implications for this work, I believe, involve FN and NN educators who work hard to discern FN epistemologies in order to better offer FN students culturally relevant material. Understanding the literacy practices of those women who create the content for educational material has the potential to enrich educators' and scholars' understanding of the situated, historical and geographic differences in the ways communities disseminate information.

It is my hope further that this material be of use to the women who made it possible. Patrick used officially recorded as well as community sanctioned, FN and NN, historical and geographic accounts of the Grease Trail. Furthermore, Patrick specifically used geography in unique ways, particularly relevant ways given Soja's call for the importance of spatial accounts to complement historic narratives. She and I have not yet talked of the purposeful nature of her choices. But I believe, as Participatory Action Researchers suggest, that dialogue between participant and researcher for which both are open to work that defines and furthers the participant's goals and projects is the most productive. Such "knowledge generation" helps both researcher and participant identify the successful (or unsuccessful) practices that can further their community goals (Williams and Brydon-Miller 249). It is Patrick's desire to continue to educate NN. She explained to me that, "The non-natives of around this town have no idea of what our FN's are called or the 4 bands and their names. It is so sad, they need to be educated." ("some

pictures”). As she shared with me her stories, by sharing with her my description of her successful literacy practices, I believe I should share feedback on what I consider a successful way of disseminating her community’s understanding of B.C. history.

This project began from my desire to better understand both my grandmother and my own community. As her life and my childhood were inextricably linked to the FN community among whom we both have lived, most specifically linked to my participants. I chose to focus solely on FN women. It was my privilege to learn more about my participants. It is my hope that the stories I tell here about their lives at least pay tribute to the work they do. At best, the discussions that they shared add to the intellectual tradition of FN people.

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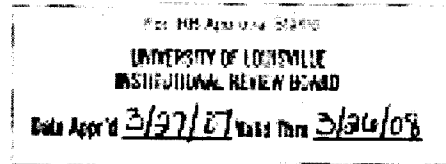
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APPENDIX A

INFORMED PARTICIPANT CONSENT LETTER 2007-8



Subject Informed Consent Document

The Literacy Practices of Nazko Women: Composing Culture in a Carrier Community

IRB assigned number
Investigator

Carol Matingly
Department of English
University of Louisville
Louisville, KY 40292

Study to be conducted in Prince George British Columbia and Quesnel British Columbia
if you have questions, call 200.964.0489

Introduction and Background Information

You are invited to participate in a research study. The study is being conducted by Dr. Carol Matingly of the English Department and doctoral student Alanna Frost of the English Department. The study will take place at Prince George and Quesnel. Approximately 10 subjects will be invited to participate.

Purpose

The purpose of this study is to understand the writing practices of women who are involved in Carrier cultural preservation projects.

Procedures

In this study, you will be asked to answer questions about your writing experiences. Interview sessions will last no longer than one hour. You do not have to answer all the questions, and you may opt out the interview session any time you wish.

Potential Risks

There are no foreseeable risks, although there may be unforeseen risks.

Benefits

The information collected may not benefit you directly. The information learned in this study may be helpful to others.

Compensation

You will not be compensated for your time, inconvenience, or expenses for your participation in this study.

Confidentiality

Total privacy cannot be guaranteed. Your privacy will be protected to the extent permitted by law. If the results from this study are published, your name will not be made public. While unlikely, the following may look at the study records:

The University of Louisville Institutional Review Board
Human Subjects Protection Program Office
Office for Human Research Protections (OHRP)

The data collected will be kept on a password protected computer.

Voluntary Participation

Taking part in this study is voluntary. You may choose not to take part at all. If you decide to be in this study, you may stop taking part at any time. If you decide not to be in this study or if you stop taking part at any time, you will not lose any benefits for which you may qualify.

Research Subject's Rights, Questions, Concerns, and Complaints

If you have any concerns or complaints about the study or the study staff, you have three options:

You may contact the principal investigator, Dr. Carol Mattingly at 502.862.3055.

If you have any questions about your rights as a study subject, questions, concerns or complaints, you may call the Human Subjects Protection Program Office (HSPPPO) (502) 852-5188. You may discuss any questions about your rights as a subject in secret, with a member of the Institutional Review Board (IRB) or the HSPPPO staff. The IRB is an independent committee composed of members of the University community, staff of the institutions, as well as lay members of the community not connected with those institutions. The IRB has reviewed this study.

If you want to speak to a person outside the University, you may call 1-877-852-1167. You will be given the chance to talk about any questions, concerns or complaints in secret. This is a 24-hour hot line answered by people who do not work at the University of Louisville.

The Literacy Practices of Native Women: Composing Culture in a Carrier Community

This paper tells you what will happen during the study if you choose to take part. Your signature means that this study has been discussed with you, that your questions have been answered, and that you will take part in the study. This informed consent document is not a contract. You are not giving up any legal rights by signing this informed consent document. You will be given a signed copy of this paper to keep for your records.

Signature of Subject/Legal Representative _____ Date Signed _____

Signature of Person Explaining the Consent Form
(if other than the Investigator) _____ Date Signed _____

Signature of Investigator _____ Date Signed _____

LIST OF INVESTIGATORS

PHONE NUMBERS

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EDUCATION

Ph.D., Rhetoric and Composition, University of Louisville, August 2008

Dissertation: "Literacy Practices in a First Nations Community: Women Writing Culture" Director: Dr. Carol Mattingly

M.A., English (Literature), University of Alabama in Huntsville, 2000

TESOL Certificate, University of Alabama in Huntsville, 2000

B.Ed., English/Geography, University of Victoria, 1994

PUBLICATIONS

"Encouraging Students' Multiliteracies: One Conversation at a Time," co-authored with Julie Myatt and Steven Smith. Kentucky English Bulletin, Spring 2007

WORKS ACCEPTED

"Multiple Modes of Production in a College Writing Class," co-authored with Julie Myatt and Steven Smith. In *Technology, Assessment, and Change: Teaching Practice in the Writing Classroom*, editors Anne Herrington, Kevin Hodgson, and Charlie Moran

"Assessing the Composition Program On Our Own Terms" co-authored with Sonya Borton and Kate Brown. In *Handbook of Research on Assessment Technologies, Methods, and Applications in Higher Education*, editor Christopher Schreiner.

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

“Active or Passive Narratives?: Questioning the Postmodern Shopping Experience.”
Thomas R. Watson Conference in Rhetoric and Composition. Louisville, Kentucky.
October 6, 2006.

“The Special Topoi as Inventional Strategies: Teaching Thesis Development with
the Special Topoi.” *Conference on College Composition and Communication*.
Chicago, Illinois. March 23, 2006.

“Sharing the Common Knowledge of Literary Scholars: The Effects of Making
Disciplinary Conventions Explicit in Undergraduate Literature Courses.” *NCTE*.
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. November 18, 2005.

“Stories, Transformations: Feminists & the Barbara McClintock Trope” *Fifth
Biennial International Feminism(s) and Rhetoric(s) Conference*. Houghton,
Michigan. October 8, 2005.

HONORS AND AWARDS

Recipient, 2007 M. Celeste Nichols Professional Development Award

Graduate Teaching Assistantship, University of Louisville, August 2004 to present

Graduate Teaching Assistantship, University of Alabama in Huntsville, August
1998 to May 2000

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

University of Louisville, Louisville, Kentucky

Graduate Teaching Assistant, English Department, August 2004 to present

Courses designed and taught:

ENGL 101 Introduction to College Writing

ENGL 102 Intermediate College Writing

ENGL 105 Advanced Composition

Calhoun Community College, Huntsville, Alabama

Part-time Instructor, Fall 2000 to Spring 2004

Courses taught:

ENGL 092, 093 Basic English I and II

ENGL 101, 102 Composition I and II

University of Alabama in Huntsville, Huntsville, Alabama

Graduate Teaching Assistant, Fall 1998 to Spring 2000

Part-time Instructor, Fall 2000 to Spring 2002

Courses taught:

ENG 099 Basic Writing
ENGL 101 Composition I
University Writing Center Consultant (volunteer), Fall 1999 to Spring 2000

WORKSHOPS AND ROUNDTABLES

“Assessing and Responding to Student Writing.” College Colloquia. *NCTE*. Nashville, Tennessee. November 17, 2006.

“Teaching as Community Property: A Conversation Between Faculty and Students.” *Faculty Senate Forum*. University of Louisville. April 12, 2006

ADMINISTRATIVE AND PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Volunteer, The Writing Centers Research Project, University of Louisville, December 2007 to present.

Assistant Writing Center Director, University of Louisville, August 2007 to December 2007

Assistant Director of Composition, University of Louisville, August 2005 to May 2007

Assistant Director of the 2006 Thomas R. Watson Conference in Rhetoric and Composition, University of Louisville, August 2005 to December 2006.

Fall 2006 General Education Assessment Reader, University of Louisville, January 27 2007

AP Language Exam Reader, Daytona Beach, Florida, June 12-20, 2005; June 11-19, 2006; June 10-18, 2008

Developed and currently maintain, Ph.D. graduate-student, Rhetoric and Composition, mentoring program, Fall 2005-present

Graduate Representative, Endowed Chair Search Committee, Fall 2005

English Graduate Organization (EGO) Elected Board Member, University of Louisville, August 2005 to May 2006

Research Assistant to Dr. Joanna Wolfe, Assistant Professor, August 2004 to May 2005

SELECTED GRADUATE COURSES

Language Research

Survey of General Linguistics: Madelaine Youmans, University of Alabama Huntsville
Second Language Acquisition: Madelaine Youmans, University of Alabama Huntsville

Research in the Composing Process: Debra Journet, University of Louisville
Pop Culture and Literacy: Bronwyn Williams, University of Louisville
Perspectives on Literacy: Deborah Brandt, University of Louisville
Narrative Knowledge: Debra Journet, University of Louisville

Pedagogy

Writing Pedagogy: Diana Bell, University of Alabama Huntsville
Teaching College Composition: Bronwyn Williams, University of Louisville
Composition Theory and Practice: Karen Kopelson, University of Louisville

Technology

Human Computer Interaction: Joanna Wolfe, University of Louisville

MEMBERSHIP IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

NCTE – National Council of Teachers of English

CCCC – Conference on College Composition and Communication

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