

Regrounding in Place: Paths to Native American Truths at the Margins

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Abstract

Margin acts as ground to receive the figure of the text. Margin is initially unreadable, but as suggested by gestalt studies, may be reversed, or regrounded. A humanities course, Native American Architecture and Place, was created for a polytechnic student population, looking to place as an inroad for access to the margins of a better understanding of Native American/First Nations peoples, and to challenge students to recognize the multiple realities of place through a study of Indigenous place from the People's conceptions and into contemporary society. Place is specific, and develops from competing recognitions of, and reciprocities with, a common givenness. This form of construction and recognition gathers locations, landscape, and architectural constructions, across a myriad of scales and is authenticated via collateral oral, ritual, and material culture as a rich, visceral lifeworld. The author's personal and philosophic paths that led to place are discussed as well as pedagogy used within the course, including sessions led by Northern Chumash and Playano Salinan Elders.

Résumé

La marge sert de lieu pour insérer la figure du texte. La marge est à la base illisible, mais comme on l'affirme dans les études de la forme, elle peut être inversée ou recomposée. Un cours de littérature, Native American Architecture and Place (« Architecture et Lieu chez les Premières Nations d'Amérique »), a été créé pour la population étudiante d'une polytechnique. On y considère que le lieu permet de mieux comprendre les peuples autochtones et les Premières Nations, et on y met les étudiants au défi d'identifier les nombreuses réalités du lieu lors d'une étude du lieu autochtone à partir du point de vue des Premières Nations, dans le contexte de la société contemporaine. Le lieu est bien circonscrit et fait concurrence aux points de vue sur les aspects et les réciprocitys de conventions généralisées. Ce mode de construction et d'identification regroupe le lieu, le paysage et les constructions architecturales sur une foule d'échelles. On l'authentifie de façon indirecte par la culture orale, rituelle et matérielle, le considérant comme un monde riche et viscéral. L'article aborde le cheminement personnel et philosophique ayant mené l'auteur vers le lieu, ainsi que la méthode pédagogique du cours, y compris les séances données par des aînés Chumash du Nord et Playano Salinan.

Keywords: place theory, architecture, Indigenous phenomenology, eco-phenomenology, simultaneous realities, multiple realities

Place as Journey

I am always on my way home. There is the breathing landscape, the wind.
Viola Cordova (Moore, Peters, Jojola, & Lacy, 2007, p. ix)

Jicarilla Apache philosopher Viola Cordova was one of the first women to bridge academic and Indigenous worlds. She spoke of the need for “stories of all people to be laid out on the table before one understands how to be fully human” (Moore et al, 2007, p. ix). In doing so, the challenges, complexities, and contradictions of the world are revealed. For her, it began with an initial grounding via Apache understandings of place as journey home, integral within a vivid landscape. Despite a common pre-conceptual givenness of world, each of us is enmeshed in a myriad of overt and hidden networks that expand our situatedness into a physical and virtual immediacy, knitting the global and the local. I am interested that students at my polytechnic university, predominantly members of a culture of majority status and privilege, have an opportunity to be challenged to understand that their world is merely one of many, and that as educated agents they ground their emerging sense of place aware of the contradictions and complexities of the alternate place realities of others who share the same world. I appeal to them to critically examine their own path, as I have tried to do, and critically examine their own ideas of diversity, becoming critical of institutions and valuation mechanisms that create inequity, while respecting sources of difference between peoples. As Zuni researcher Gwyneira Isaac (2007) states:

Scientific knowledge and politics...cannot be compartmentalized or separated if we are to understand cross-cultural approaches to the control of knowledge.... both indigenous knowledge and Western knowledge systems can be interpreted as subjective enterprises with restricted codes.... Academics are...paid...for their role in the transmission of knowledge.... We can better understand these cross-cultural contexts... if Anglo-American and Pueblo approaches to knowledge are not over-simplified into frameworks that serve only to identify reduced categories such as ‘objective Western knowledge’ and ‘subjective Native knowledge’...simplification provides little comprehension of the cultural codes and strategies used by individuals and groups in all societies to advantage or restrict people’s access to knowledges. In addition, if Anglo-American approaches to knowledge are more closely examined, not only from within their own constructs, such as the academy, but also through the eyes and minds of the communities that are actively aware of the critiquing different approaches to knowledge, such as Zuni, we can reach a more realistic and nuanced appreciation of the development of individual and/or collective methods used to navigate complex intercultural environments. (p. 168)

A Personal Journey to the Margin

I grew up in western Pennsylvania, and my mother's father kept a Christmas tree farm on a remnant of our 19th century Scottish immigrant farm in a fold of the Appalachians. He and I spent summers there trimming trees, escaping the heat of the suburbs of Pittsburgh. In doing so we crossed the Monongahela and Youghiogheny rivers, through the Tuscarora tunnel, and into the Allegheny Mountains. As a child, the Native American past was present in the words that I learned to pronounce and spell in complex Anglicanization. Those Indigenous names were situated as place, but in a past. I was also the son of a father who received a small calendar each Christmas from an Indian School in North Dakota. I never asked why that place was one of his benevolences, but it made the disenfranchisement of Native Americans a contemporary issue for me.

In my architectural education, including a seminar in vernacular architecture, the number of references to Native American art, landscapes, or architecture was measureable by few examples: the mystery of the Anasazi and Chaco Canyon, and contemporary Taos Pueblo. Attending the University of Cincinnati, there was no mention of even Serpent Mound or Newark Mounds, hallmarks of the ancient Hopewell cultures within an hour drive of campus. Despite thousands of years of still discernable evidence of place, there was silence. While most of my peers and I would practice architecture in North America, we knew less of our other American heritage than of Europe, past and present.

It would be years, until my partner, the ethnomusicologist, Dr. Ann Davenport Lucas, asked me to be her recording engineer and photographer amidst field research on the songs associated with drumming and the Manatidie ceremony, conducted on behalf of the Apache Tribe of Oklahoma (conventionally known as Kiowa Apache), that the margin would become visceral, and personal. The oppressive heat of prairie summers was silent except for a symphony of insect sounds in the background on several kilometres' worth of recording tape. The blazing sun in the images only hinted at humidity relieved by sweet iced tea offered by Tseele and Chalepah family Elders, while the air was still visible with smoke of the sage blessing they offered upon us. It was a blessing, as it challenged the nature of my thinking on issues of progress, modernism, and place. In the wooden porch of a home on an allotment, with teepee and brush arbor in the side yard, Elder Nathan Tseele revealed more about place to me than anyone since my grandfather in the Pennsylvania mountains. I was fortunate to be able to expand upon this revelation when I left 20 years of active architectural practice for teaching and thinking about architecture. Teaching architecture as a humanities area, along with the polytechnic side, carried with it for me requisite understandings of multiple realities of time and place that the thinking had to unconceal.

I tested ideas among California Polytechnic State University (Cal Poly) colleagues with research interests and affiliations in Native America, especially Dr. Beverly Singer, who, with roots in Diné and Santa Clara Pueblo, offered many

insights. My own fieldwork began in 1998 in Zuni Pueblo and the A:shiwí (as the Zuni refer to themselves). Consulting with the Governor, the A:shiwí A:wán Museum and Heritage Center, and Zuni Heritage and Historic Preservation Office, I thought to commence comparisons of plazas across the Pueblos, drawing temporal comparisons based on sources such as the American Historic American Building Survey drawings from the 1930s, Stanley Stubbs' (1950) *Bird's-Eye View of the Pueblos*, and contemporary satellite surveys. This motivation had its roots in the 1889 *City Planning According to Artistic Principles* by Camillio Sitte (1965), that offered a catalog of plans of medieval city squares, of their nuances and accretions over time, apart from geometric precision. I envisioned digital animations that would become a vernacular catalog, akin to Sitte's instructive collection. Over two summers I interviewed tribal officials throughout the American Southwest about the spatial nature of their communities and spoke to what I wished to do, and what we could accomplish together. I became increasingly concerned that I could never get the digital images to convey the beauty and power of the land, or convey the significance of the plazas and interconnected landscapes as they had meaning to the various Pueblo Peoples I interviewed. Architecture needed the supplemental concept of place to have any significance.

While I had tentative agreements for demonstration projects, I ultimately abandoned that form of research for a different one: trying to understand the mechanics of what appears as place within group and individual consciousness. I re-read phenomenology, particularly Edmund Husserl's work on *epoché* (Moran, 2000) and Martin Heidegger's work on existential phenomenology (Wrathall, 2009). In their varied ways, they asked for one to find what is before our conceptualizations, what is authentic amidst sedimented constructs that revealed yet hid the real, and institutionalized constructs that prohibit alternate realities. I understood I had to move from reading archeology and anthropology, adding ethnographic works and writings from Native American Elders, planners, and ecologists. These trajectories revealed a disconnectedness from what seemed to me to be natural allies approaching place from two differing directions—a more abstract one that looked for particular networks versus static universals, and one based on transgenerational praxis of the Peoples that explained the evolution of the spaces I was encountering.

As an architect, I come to place from a spatial-material point of view, where engagement within the spatial and material aspects of world creates temporality. Place as construct has been debated and documented quite intensively in architectural theory circles since the 1970s, notably in Christian Norberg-Schulz's *Genius Loci: Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture* (1980). Jan Nesper (2008) notes problems with definition of place:

Instead of following a (place based education) narrative that constructs people as unconscious of their immediate environments...assume that all of us think and care about the places we stand, but...have trouble understanding how these places have come to be or might be changed. This is not because we are inattentive to them or

do not have good roots, but because the other places to which they are connected, and in relation to which they are constituted, are...segregated from our everyday concerns, by circuits of communication, representation, and education. The question...is not whether or not we are place-conscious, it is the places of which we are conscious. (p. 487)

Norberg-Schulz, in my opinion, took a decidedly nostalgic look at place, fixing on form versus the ebb and flow of ongoing processes that impact understandings of relations in the world. His position is fraught with retention of stereotypes that are already rampant within Indigenous studies. I looked to sources that exhibited sympathy with tradition but are not static in time.

Place is a term that is natural to design. In architecture, the evolution of sustainability has made it ethically proper, and aesthetically and spatially requisite, to respect ecological processes and engage designs in the land. Cultural knowledge as well as individual experience allow for recognition of particular place. Place is bestowed, an engaged network shaped by culturally filtering the local as well as larger scalar components, sometimes across continents, actually and virtually. I see my role as demonstrating the myriad of ways that place emerges in the traditional and contemporary discourses of Indigenous Peoples of North America.

A Campus Journey to the Margin

Cal Poly is the premier campus within the 26-campus California State University system, tasked as an undergraduate and masters degree granting institution. Cal Poly is noted for the competitive majors for undergraduate admittance, particularly in engineering and design disciplines. We find an underrepresentation of students of colour, especially relative to state demographics, given the state location as juncture of the Pacific Rim and Mexican border. Faculty concluded in 1991 that every student should be exposed to issues of otherness, and in 1994 this was finalized as a United States cultural pluralism requirement for graduation. Native American studies were targeted areas for inclusion. A further campus distinction came with the approval of a Comparative Ethnic Studies Major and Minor in 2007. A department was energized to bring additional faculty, expertise, and expanded opportunities to formalized curriculum in discussion of cultural pluralism.

California is marked by diversity arising from initial colonizing efforts by Spain and Russia, through the time of Mexican independence and rule, the California Republic and boom of the gold rush, immigration of African-Americans during the war efforts, and into the contemporary era of globalization of computers, shipping, and agriculture with immigration from around the world. While noting these historic immigrant phenomena, few students understand that California was already completely settled with places named by

hundreds of Indigenous Peoples, whose descendants remain in the state today, across a landscape layered by subsequent cultural spatial concepts of ownership and rights. The dominant culture emphasis on commodification and a temporal present requires a journey to the margins where alternative voices are heard across thousands of years of dealing with specific lands, and meanings that may still engage and inform today. This is not an attempt to romanticize Indigenous thought, but to outline how for different Indigenous Peoples the land, architecture, and place were variously in flux, contested, established, lost, and, in some cases, regained. Like Viola Cordova, we journey to home and place.

I have offered the course, Native American Architecture and Place, once a year as a writing intensive course with regional field trips and guests since 2005, with approval of Architecture and Ethnic Studies departments, and humanities reviewers in the Academic Senate. The course has been well-received in curricular reviews and by students, and fills during the first days of registration.

Metaphor of Margin

Margin implies a textual focus that ignores that which resides outside of text. Yet, margin acts as ground to receive the figure of the text. Margin represents the unread, the initially unreadable, but, as understood in Gestalt psychology studies, it may be reversed, or regrounded, such that margin and background become the figure. In design, we teach our students to see both figure and ground simultaneously. The novice designer thinks architecture revolves around the object-ness of building, but if buildings are figure, it is the ground of space we fully experience. In space, things are linked by relation and proximity, even the framing of the horizon. Place may also be seen as figure and ground, with a difficulty discerning one's cultural text of place written on the cultural field that represents the realities of another. In looking to place at the margins, Indigenous knowledges of places—as mythical, as historical, as contemporary, as contentious, and impacted by every act of the dominant culture—become another glimpse at the fullness of reality shared.

Composite Metrics versus Lived Experiences

Physical location is easily measured from satellites within a few centimetres of accuracy, and global positioning included in cell phones makes one's position on a map identifiable. Inside data farms, each point on the earth has layer upon layer of objective information at a moment's recall in geographic information systems. As geographer Edward Casey (1997) warns, "In an infinite spatial universe, there is truly no place in space because place itself has been evacuated of its inherent qualities; it has undergone a virtual kenosis of its own content, emptied in...the

Void of Space” (p. 199). We are increasingly enmeshed in a singular descriptive network of measure; commodification is growing where all understandings seem quantifiable. Metrics suggest we live in a physical space with a measurable spatial language. Despite the beneficial aspects of globalization, this totalizing rings false. This modern paradigm is built upon structures that classify and parse every idea and topic into units, testing them as to correctness/incorrectness via formulae and definition. In the material sciences, such as physics and chemistry, this model has proved, in many ways, profitable, and capable of internal and repeatable coherence. But at levels of highest complexity, such as meteorology, climate studies, seismic studies, and material performance such as metal fatigue, these descriptive capabilities are still in formation.

The nature of social sciences, such as sociology and anthropology, is also distanced objectivity. Relative to Native Americans/First Nations, this is revealing, as it has been used to justify the actions of the dominant culture against the Indigenous, with structuring that has led to marginalization, dehumanization, and genocide. Lived experience is a problem for the sciences, and requires a different paradigm. Alternative forms of description, focusing on the first-hand lived experiences of peoples, via folks studies, ethnography, cultural geography, ethnomusicology, among others, have shown that a more complete and sometimes competing description is possible, where the point of attention is a subject and source, versus isolated object from context.

A Path through the Humanities

We have a problem of two separate spiritual paradigms and one dominant culture—make that a dominant culture with an immense appetite for natural resources. (LaDuke, 2005, p. 14)

I proposed the course, Native American Architecture and Place, as a humanities option, based on validity of a hybrid religious/philosophic/spatial/material paradigm. Within the many branches of the humanities, two roots have historically impacted and inhibited, but may yet liberate, the student in the quest for an understanding of Native American/First Nations peoples: religion and philosophy. It is beyond the scope of this paper to develop this pairing beyond the cursory aspects included, but on the one hand, in an increasingly secular society, religion is seen by some as rigid legalisms or mere superstition, philosophy reduced to the pragmatic, and space as measure. On the other hand, I encounter young adults who have emerging interests in social justice, ecology and environmental impact, and openness to comparative spirituality. Each of those threads involves an emerging holistic ethical position toward otherness: of Peoples, and what they understand as the natural world.

Crossing Dualism

(T)here are startling differences between the native religious traditions and Christianity. The most profound...is in the evaluation of the nature of the universe...on the whole it is a pleasant place, it is a real place, and it is a place that demands our involvement, appreciation, and respect. (Deloria, 1999, p. 147)

While it is a gross simplification of the spiritualities of hundreds of Native American/First Nations, one primary contrast with Western religions as well the sciences, is the typical lack of foundational dualism between self and world, or matter and spirit. In the Indigenous philosophies there is a holistic/unitive aspect to world.

The primary strains of Western religion that informed colonization and conquest maintained a form of latent Greek division between sacred and profane, earth and heaven, God(s) and humankind- a split ascribed to flaws in human character. A dual set of worlds, one of unattainable perfection was contrasted with a flawed world of loss. The Western encounter with Indigenous ways created an immediate otherness that is still irreconcilable for many in the dominant culture.

Western religion enabled Western philosophy, which enabled the sciences, and within its analytical proponents, the dichotomy embedded within the decontextualized thesis/isolate/variable/control mode of thinking. In simplistic manifestations, this enables a dualistic form of thinking wrought within the Cartesian mind/body problem. This dominant philosophic position has been challenged over the last century by an evolving rank of Continental philosophers, and more recently by a new emerging thread of Speculative Realists such as Timothy Morton, who link agents, networks, and attractors, enmeshed real and virtual objects (including ideas-as-objects), defying conventional norms and categories. Indeed, Morton and Tammy Lu (2012, p. 9) propose, "We live and act in the aesthetic dimension, along with saltshakers, The Band, and porpoises. This dimension has been called evil by philosophy, for thousands of years. This is mostly because it sticks to you and can't be peeled away." In my education as an architect, I have found a chain of phenomenologies valuable for constructing a path to the margin.

Transcendental Path: Phenomenology Of

Husserl, fascinated with the conceptual logic of mathematics, but also the emerging science of psychology, particularly the empirical work on experience of William James, explored the way thought may be an intention that masks the world about us. He was looking to complement the gaps in understandings caused by scientific method with an alternative set of procedures for description, reducing (in the original Greek term of the word) the encountered world to

a pre-conceptual state. Husserl termed this procedure *epoché*, invoking a return to the things themselves (Moran, 2000). Husserl's phenomenology was anthropomorphic, based on accessing the images of things for the human in pre-consciousness. Husserl's phenomenology suggests individuals and culture(s) construct authentic and inauthentic ideas of things, but that phenomena may exist independent of humans—an existent world before conscious conception.

Existential Path: Specific Embodiment With

Maurice Merleau-Ponty inverted Husserl's pre-theoretical stance outward to the sensuous relation of body-in-the-world: "The originating locality, even in what concerns the things or direction of movement of things, is not identifiable in objective space...it is in filigree across it" (2000, p. 273). Merleau-Ponty looked to a visceral, tacit knowing of world. Situatedness of the body is always a body-in-world, and in many respects inseparable, except via the culturally constructed chasm. This intimate body-with concept was captured in his last work as flesh of the world. Here world as space is not void or empty, but always full of continuous and evolving transactions and phenomena that link body within world.

Criticizing Merleau-Ponty's foundation as generic, Levi Bryant (2012) calls attention to specific embodiment:

A phenomenology-of investigates how we, us humans, encounter other entities. It investigates what entities are for-us, from our human perspective. It is humanist in the sense that it restricts itself to our perspective... it is nonetheless problematic in that it assumes a universality to human experience...this phenomenology tends to gloss over the worlds of...blind people, gendered bodies and how the world is experienced differently by...people from different cultures...all observation is based on a prior distinction that contains a blind spot that is unable to mark what it excludes. (p. 2)

This existential phenomenology, when free to recognize things and linkages, is a hermeneutic manner of reciprocity and interpretation with things. It allows for distance and scale of lands to be fluid, available for appropriation for relation based on the lived world of the participant. This correlates well with interpreters of Indigenous sources such as Keith Basso (1996), and his use of the Apache concept, "Wisdom Sits in Places": that authentic meaning of land is describable through the actions and stories of the peoples themselves in particular places.

Path of Eco-Phenomenology toward Consciousness-in-the-World

Our land, our religion, and our life are one.
Hopi Elder (Martin, 2001, p. ix)

A significant barrier that separates camps within religions, philosophies, and sciences is the location(s) of knowledge. Affect for landscape has long been in

North American thought, from writings of Henry David Thoreau in *Walden* (1854) and John Muir in *The Yosemite* (1912), to the images of Timothy H. O’Sullivan (Jurovics, 2010), Edward Curtis (Gulbrandsen, 2010), and through Ansel Adams (2010), among many. Insights into affect and environmental perception were opened by authors such as Yi-Fu Tuan (1974) in *Topophilia*. Nature is in itself a philosophical construct that requires care in handling. Charles Brown and Ted Toadvine (2003) suggest that phenomenology can be extended into eco-phenomenology, where the anthropocentric aspects of Husserl’s project are compounded by discernable autopoiesis in the otherness of nature. Arne Naess’ “deep ecology” (1973) posits an equality of relationship within a vast network of interdependence of people and places, and the Gaia hypothesis of James Lovelock (1975) looked at the generative, evolutionary, and self-balancing aspects of this network. From these one of the most radical positions is that articulated by David Abram (1990), where the world has a form of sentience; knowledge is not of the world, but from the world and in relation to world:

[F]ollowing the Gaia hypothesis, we can no longer define perception as the intake of disparate information from a mute and random environment... I am entirely circumscribed by this entity, and am...one of its constituent parts...What is important is that we describe it as an exchange, no longer a one-way transfer...but a reciprocal interaction between two living presences...Perhaps the term communion is more precise...more corporeal than intellectual: a sort of sensuous immersion. (p. 78)

At this point a student may speculate that all along, the environmental values evolved within Indigenous societies are differently accurate in their descriptions, and place a form of the gathering of a way of being for each people. Place is simultaneous, radically pragmatic, embodied, and transactional in reciprocity with other forces and entities, and enveloped in corresponding (but not deterministic) aesthetics. The Western concept of consciousness as in the individual is challenged by consciousness in the local, as well as nonlocal, world. Place may transcend time, and understood as a form of consciousness that stays across generations—as lived understandings still present. Place and consciousness are particular within ways of being-in-the-world. Santa Clara Pueblo scholar Rina Swentzell (1992) provides one example of this continuum: “The Pueblo world...is a hallowed place where ‘the breath’ or life energy, flows through both animate and inanimate realms in such a manner that even the house, kiva, and community forms breathe of that breath and are essentially alive” (p. 23).

Place Scholarship from the Margins

If one can accept that the access point for the student enquirer is within an engagement in a visceral world versus abstract argument, and if one assumes the most valid forms of authentically explaining a particular gathering and what

is gathered via a specific network comes from a description from within those gathering, then understanding the margin is best lead by the Peoples themselves. Indigenous scholarship from the margin has allowed access to more voices and depth in considering place than that generated from any singularly objective outsider perspective.

The post-war era brought forward new Indigenous efforts of reclaiming and expanding self-knowledge. There were new attempts at Tribal-based education in the schools, and new programs established in universities. Indigenous place can be seen as an important articulation of this reclaiming self. Santa Clara Pueblo scholar Gregory Cajete (1994) outlined an ecology of Indigenous education in *Look to the Mountain: An Ecology of Indigenous Education*, noting Tribal education should entail spiritual aspects woven within community, ecological and mythic foundations, later terming this functioning a “Natural Democracy” (Cajete, 2000). In his essay “Ensoulement of Nature,” Cajete (1995) further notes:

The Native American identification with Place presents one of the most viable alternative paradigms for practicing the art of relationship to the natural world...the maintenance of its ecological integrity is key to...cultural survival...Connecting with their Place is not a romantic notion . . . rather the quintessential ecological mandate of our times. (p. 56)

These efforts are not segregation from Western thinking, but a more holistic structuring. As Margaret McKeon (2012) notes, the principals of “two-eyed seeing” in environmental education allow the Indigenous as companion with Western science.

The most comprehensive source on the architectural focus of place remains Peter Nabakov and Robert Easton’s (1989) *Native American Architecture*. This work covers traditional Indigenous constructions and settings from Atlantic to Pacific and United States/Mexican border to Arctic. While maintaining a material/tectonic point of view, the authors state “we consider six (modifying factors) paramount: technology, climate, economics, social organization, religion, and history. . . . we are interested as much in how these factors help to interpret an Indian dwelling as in what the dwelling can tell us about Indian life” (p. 16). Here the authors offer a sympathetic view of place, one largely hermeneutic, and drawing from sources internal and external to the peoples. Importantly, Nabakov (2006) shifts focus from architectonic space to larger landscape in the subsequent *Where the Lightning Strikes: The Lives of American Indian Sacred Places*. Here he extends his goals as follows:

This book is not about systems of land tenure or indigenous techniques for management of land and natural resources or environmental laws affecting Indians. I wrote it to establish the pre-Christian origins of religion in North America...(to) give readers the sense of the diversity of American Indian spiritual practices by focusing on beliefs related to different American environments...(and) profound affection...felt toward...this American earth...” (p. xi)

While place was always central in Western understanding of sacred and home, ethereal concepts of place such as shrine and pilgrimage were lost in contact dealings with the colonizing cultures. The history of Indigenous lands is marked by occupation and confiscation by outside coercive political, legal, military, and economic forces. Necessary for recovery of place is gathering and documenting place networks and meanings for land repatriation. In *A Zuni Atlas*, T. J. Ferguson and E. Richard Hart (1990) marked the efforts of the A:shiwí leadership, in conjunction with archeologists under contract to the tribe, to documentation of shrines and pilgrimage routes aimed at reclaiming traditional lands. Twenty-five years later, the efforts to reunite places continues, in the hands of a new generation of Zuni artists depicting origins and sacred sites through storytelling maps, A:shiwí A:wán Ulohnanne: *The Zuni World*, on permanent installation at the Zuni A:shiwí A:wán Museum (Enote & McLaren, 2011).

A parallel movement was the Native American presence moving from the margin through the educational institutions of the dominant society. Among the first of the post-war PhD scholars addressing culture and place was Alfonso Ortiz. Ortiz received his doctoral degree in anthropology from the University of Chicago, but rather than as an outsider researching a removed society, he chose to look within the origins of his Tewa Ohkay Owingeh community, at that time known as San Juan Pueblo. Ortiz' (1972) *The Tewa World: Space, Time and Becoming in a Pueblo Society*, placed many previously disconnected concepts and material culture fragments from archeology and anthropology into a cohesive weaving. This was too transparent for the traditionally religious at San Juan; as a result, while receiving acclaim in the world of academia, Ortiz was ostracized by many at home. While a sociologist, one fascinating aspect of Ortiz' writing was the way he described in detail the ritually and prayerfully connected spatial layering of place for the Tewa villages—connections between the living and dead, seasonal moiety and priestly places integrated as discernable village spaces, and local topography and perimeter mountain shrines. David Saile (1989) produced a series of stunning spatial diagrams that further elaborated these complex relations for laypersons.

Many federally recognized Native American/First Nations Peoples now have internal planning departments and preservation agencies to do their own strategizing for land tenure/repatriation, and maintaining place. Recovery of place is also enabled by tribal-led relations with universities with design and planning programs, such as the University of New Mexico's Indigenous Design and Planning Institute, led by Isleta Pueblo scholar Ted Jojola (2000). Other collaborative efforts have included renovations of Halona Itawana (translation: Middle Ant Hill of the World) planned with the University of Pennsylvania and executed over 1990s to mid 2000s, filling in missing structures around the four traditional ritual dance plazas (Rothschild, 1991). Another example is the Naming and Claiming project for the Tsawwassen First Nation conducted with the University of British Columbia (Bass, 2005). Tamaya/Santa Ana Pueblo published their own geographic and cultural history without compromising

proprietary religious knowledge, maintaining the ceremonial core village while constructing a separate elaborate Rio Grande visitor resort (Bayer, Montoya, & Pueblo of Santa Ana, 1992).

Simultaneous Realities and Place

The course survey of place begins with examples of familiar or romanticized locations or images. Readings and discussion disclose the differing but integral linkage between land and people, the inauguration and naming of what was in the land, cultural ways of being and time, and the inevitable evolution of community following contact with the dominant colonial powers and/or other dislocated Peoples. Students learn of place evolving in time, from particular oral culture origin stories through the present, via researching topics in Indigenous media sources such as Indian Country Today (<http://indiancountrytodaymedianetwork.com/>).

Especially important to the class are the testimonies of regional Elders whose stories continue a 15,000-year oral tradition of place that transcend historic conflicts. Spanish Missionization efforts in California decimated the Northern Chumash with Mission San Luis Obispo de Tolosa, and the inland Salinan People were similarly affected by Mission San Miguel Arcángel. Yet, each group has maintained family lineages in the region and practices their religion with the land. Elders speak on current issues, traditional cultural education and language, contested access to sacred sites, and respect for cultural resources that affect almost every development, building, or infrastructure project in the region. Their stories supplement the basis of claims stated in analytic language buried within environmental impact reports of the various developments. Students learn the efforts of these Elders led to San Luis Obispo County being one of the first local jurisdictions in the United States to adapt the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, in August 2011.

Local field trips reveal layered realities literally on the ground in front of and under the students. The class visits coastal Morro Bay, where standing on the beach, several publically revealed sacred sites may be seen in context. Morro Rock, a 171-meter dormant volcanic plug, rises out of the sea edge. In the Salinan language Morro Rock is Lesamo, where Falcon and Raven, in an epic battle, defeated the terrible two-headed serpent-monster Taliyekatapelta. One cannot climb it because of Peregrine falcon nesting, not because of its status as Salinan shrine. Behind the primary dune sits the 1960's wastewater treatment plant that must be rebuilt, sited there when little concern was given to the Salinan burials in that area. Nearby, the massive 1955 gas-fired power plant sits where the largest ever Chumash Ap (tule grass house), sheltering 20 burials, was unearthed during initial construction. Cerrito Peak, a Chumash site in continuing use, is contested in the courts as a home site. The Chumash have walked these

same local beaches for almost 15,000 years, and the Salinans perhaps more recently before contact. For students led to the margin, the revelation that their surfing beach, and Chumash and Salinan place, are reversible as figure: ground is profound.



(A) Cerrito Peak; (B) Power Plant; (C) Morro Rock/Lesamo; (D) Water Waste Treatment Plant

After several iterations of my class, student research projects look beneath their home towns for their Indigenous origins. They search latent family connections looking for their own origins, and they are keen on alliances with Indigenous thinking on place-based environmental issues. Despite their work, ultimately, I share the goals of Chiricahua Apache scholar Nancy Mithlo on her own teaching toward opening questions:

(With) an Indigenous way of learning you don't tie things up neatly...I would love for something to be handy that I could (say)...“If you meet these definitions, then you'll have Indigenous knowledge down.” But I don't think that's even the goal. I think the messiness, the open-endedness, the search for integrity in yourself personally, the search for integrity in your community, those are things that are evocative... I think maybe Indigenous communities actually have a higher tolerance for not knowing—for being in a space where you live and learn by example, you contribute back in terms of service, and you may not arrive. Arrival may not be the point of all this anyway. (Mithlo & Weatherford, 2010, para. 25)

Notes on Contributor

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