

THEIR WAY OF LIFE:
A CASE STUDY OF LEADERSHIP AT DENALI RIVER CABINS & KANTISHNA
ROADHOUSE

by
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ABSTRACT

Contemporary Indigenous women's literature illustrates how American Indian women facilitate adaptation from "traditional" communities to diverse urban communities. The objective of this study is to examine how Northern Athabascan women lead in communities which are not exclusive to these Indigenous peoples. The use of Athabascan values such as self-sufficiency, hard work, practice of traditions, caring, sharing, family relations, and respect for elders and others, can be seen as one example of how women lead in non-"traditional" communities. This thesis examines Athabascan women leaders who have worked at two seasonal Native-owned hotels in Alaska as a case study to examine how women lead. By analyzing the women of Doyon Tourism Inc. through the framework of Athabascan values, evidence of cultural continuity can be seen through the sustained use of "traditional" values.

INTRODUCTION

Indian women's power comes from and through home and hearth, our place in the natural world—its ritual center; its continuance of existence, rebirth, and survival—not in reaction to any presumed powerlessness. In returning to the storytelling traditions, we affirm our ancient place with our words and provide in them our continued existence.

—Carolyn Dunn, “The Trick Is Going Home”

Later, in our winter cabin, I wrote the story down. I was impressed with it because it not only taught me a lesson that I could use in my life, but also because it was a story about my people and my past – something about me that I could grasp and call mine.

—Velma Wallis, *Two Old Women*

The work which follows is the result of many stories: stories from yesterday, today and tomorrow; stories about values and leadership; and stories told by two Athabascan women who led at Kantishna Roadhouse (KRH) and Denali River Cabins (DRC) in heart of a Denali National Park and Preserve, during the summer of 2008. The story begins in 1995.

In October of that year, Doyon Limited¹ purchased KRH, a hotel in the heart of Denali National Park and Preserve, amid the breathtaking scenery of snow-peaked mountains, running rivers, and tundra (see Appendix 2 for locations). The hotel consists of cabins, a full restaurant, bar, and gift shop. The visitors at KRH have a unique experience. As KRH is a destination, there are various activities for the customers during their stay, such as sled dog demonstrations, gold panning, educational events, and talks



Figure 1 Kantishna Roadhouse



Figure 2 KRH Cabins

by Native elders. Guests from around the world meet Native peoples, often for the first time, and are shown that Native people in Alaska embrace the same modern conveniences as everyone else. With the purchase of the hotel came an excursion business, the Kantishna Wilderness Trails, offering customers a full day trip into Kantishna with the opportunity to view unfamiliar animals such as moose, caribou and bears.



Figure 3 Kantishna Wilderness Trails

These purchases were made to launch Doyon Ltd. into a new venture, tourism. The board of directors went about the task of finding the perfect candidate to run the tourism division, a person who would nurture the business into a successful organization. By January 1996, the board had decided on Marie Monroe. Twelve years later, Monroe remains the first and only manager of Doyon Tourism Inc.

In May 1999, a second hotel, DRC, was purchased on the edge of the National Park, bringing the business to the size it is today.² DRC hosts both hotel and lodge style accommodations, a restaurant offering guests breakfast and dinner, and a gift shop.



Figure 4 DRC Cabins



Figure 5 DRC Hotel

DRC is similar to other hotels in Denali in that guests use the hotel as a base for a couple of nights while they visit the park and participate in the various activities available in Denali. During the 2008 season, a guest's stay came complete with a mother and baby moose that had wandered into the camp and stayed for a couple of weeks, thus providing customers with authentic Alaska wildlife photographs to take back to family and friends.

To clear up any inaccurate assumptions about the two hotels, DRC and KRH, I will admit to a few of mine. As Doyon Tourism Inc. has a preference for hiring shareholders, I wrongly assumed the staff would consist only of Native Alaskans. I also wrongly assumed that it would be obvious that I was working in a Native owned hotel. Having previously partaken in "cultural nights" in New Zealand and Australia, I presumed that there would be Native décor throughout the hotel, and that traditional attire and objects would be commonplace. In fact, the only time I was aware of the ownership of the hotel was when the guests would question why I was working there if I was not Native Alaskan. My expectations were quickly replaced by reality.

The Staff at KRH and DRC

During the 2008 season there were forty staff positions at KRH, thirty-nine staff positions at DRC, and nine bus drivers working for Kantishna Wilderness Trails. See diagrams below for breakdown of staff.

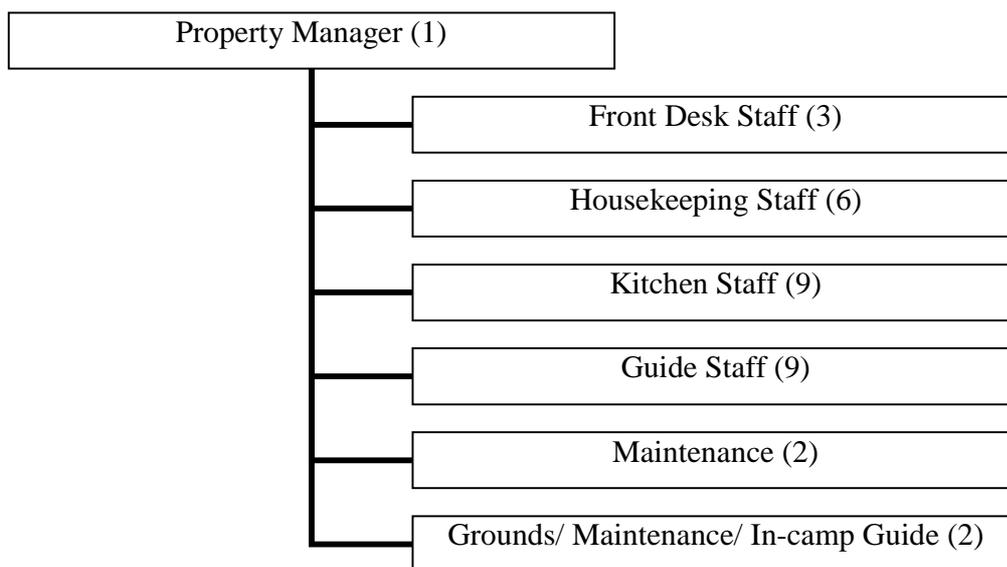


Figure 6 KRH Staff Breakdown

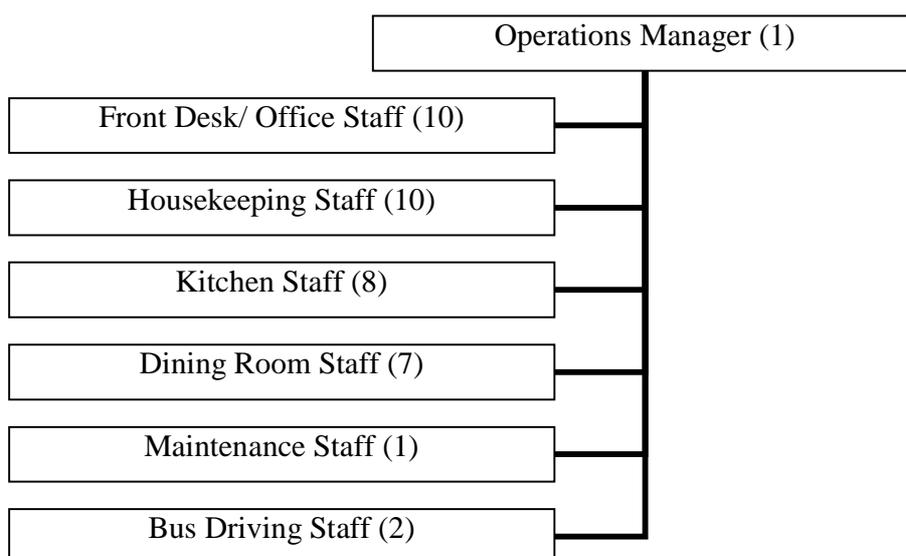


Figure 7 DRC Staff Breakdown

When the two hotels open for the summer, in mid-May for DRC and June for KRH, there is no society already in place. Instead, the community is formed from the people who are employed in the hotels that season. The transient nature of employment there means that every year the makeup of the hotel staff differs. However, Doyon Ltd. shareholders are given preference when it comes to staff hiring each year.³ Over the years, the shareholders at KRH have made up approximately 50% of the workforce, compared to approximately 25% at DRC. As great diversity exists in the workforce, generalizations cannot be made about the employees' backgrounds, families or education. Yet, even with the diversity of the workers, it becomes evident that one is working within a community of Native people, led by women with strong cultural values.

As a staff member during the 2008 summer season, I could not help but notice the strong, positive, happy and healthy attitude of the Athabaskan women as they embraced Athabaskan cultural values in everyday life and in their leadership of this community. As a result of my summer experiences, I had the opportunity to interview two Northern Athabaskan women who worked at DRC and KRH during the summer of 2008, and to ask them about their roles and about leadership values in these communities. These interviews, together with information drawn from published oral traditions, research conducted on puberty observances, and other secondary sources, act as a framework for the analysis in the chapters which follow.

Research Questions

During the research for this thesis, four main questions arose. How does one define Athabascan values, which can vary from person to person within a community? Do Athabascan women subscribe to these values when they are away from their home community--for example, when they are working in Denali over the summer months? How do women lead in non-“traditional” venues? Were Athabascan values in use by the leaders in the community I worked in over the summer? Once these three questions had been answered, I could begin theorizing on the fourth and final research question: Can cultural continuity be found among Athabascan women through their use of traditional values in leadership?

In this thesis, the introduction includes the methodology section. The selection of interviewees, interview process and the framework for analyzing the interviews are all explained in this section. The following section, “What are Athabascan Values,” explores the research question; “Limitations” sets the boundaries for this study. The “Definitions of Terms” section ends the introduction by providing the context in which certain terms are used throughout the paper. Chapter one reviews the literature on American Indian women leaders, both historically and through time to the present day, on women leading in urban communities, and on Athabascan women. All this sets the stage for the women’s stories.

Chapters two and three explore the role of values in the women’s lives: personal values in chapter two and communal values in chapter three. Within these two chapters,

sub-categories are used to illustrate specific values. The personal values chapter is comprised of three sub categories: self-sufficiency and hard work, practice of traditions, and a summary. The communal values chapter is comprised of four sub-categories: caring and sharing, family relations, respect for elders and others, and a summary. By comparing and contrasting the stories of the women interviewed with the work of the well-known Athabascan writer Velma Wallis, the use of Athabascan values in leadership situations is illustrated. This section also demonstrates the necessity for both personal and communal values.

The conclusion draws together the information to answer the four original research questions. One: Athabascan values are defined as personal and vary on a case-to-case, generation-to-generation basis. However, by tracing values through puberty ceremonies, oral stories and present day situations, certain values stand out as defining to Athabascan peoples. These values have also been set down by the Denakkanaaga Elders and Youth conference, which has confirmed their use in contemporary Athabascan societies. Two: Women do use such values when they are away from their home communities - for example, when they are in Denali over the summer months. The information in the personal and communal values chapters will illustrate this. Three: Although only one case study is presented here, the women in the non-“traditional” community I worked at over the summer led by example, acting out their values as they took on caring roles. Four: Cultural continuity can be found among Athabascan women through their use of Athabascan values in leadership when they are away from their “traditional” communities.

Methodology

To begin answering the research questions above, secondary literature on Alaskan Athabascan peoples was consulted to collect a core of information and identify previous research conducted on values. Once this method had been exhausted through inter-library loans and journals, preparations began for the interview stage. A list of suitable questions to ask staff who had worked at DRC and KRH during the summer of 2008 was compiled (see Appendix 3 for the list of questions). Initially, three Athabascan women were chosen as interviewees, because of their leadership over the summer of 2008. The selection criteria was that the women had to have worked at DRC or KRH during the summer of 2008, be over the age of 21, and be identified as Athabascan women. There were no exclusion criteria for the women interviewed in this study. Before the selection process started, the manager of Doyon Tourism Inc. was contacted by e-mail to gain consent to proceed with this study. The University of Arizona Human Subjects Protection Program (HSPP) and the Institutional Review Board (IRB) protocol was also followed at this point.

Two women who had worked for Doyon Tourism, Inc. at DRC in the summer of 2008 had already been identified as possible interviewees for this research study. The third candidate was chosen through contacts and because of her willingness to take part. All the participants had the right to refuse recruitment for this project at any time. Had the participants initially declined the request they would not have been asked again. The

interviews were conducted by a mixture of both e-mail and telephone, with participants given the option on how they would like to answer questions.

Initial e-mail contact was made with the participants when they were asked if they would like to take part. With the first e-mail, a list of questions and an IRB approved human subjects consent form were enclosed for them to look over. They were asked to sign and return the consent form prior to the first interview if they wished to take part. The consent form gave the participants the option of remaining anonymous in the write up of the research. None of the participants requested anonymity. When the interviews were conducted by telephone, notes were handwritten at the time of the conversation. Initially three women were contacted to be interviewed, but only two interviews were completed. While a fourth interviewee could have been sought, no attempts to do so were made as the information gained from the first two interviewees was more than satisfactory.

The two participating interviewees were Marie Monroe and Miranda Todorov. Monroe, in her fifties, is the manager of Doyon Tourism, Inc. Because of her position as the overall leader, Monroe sets the tone for the businesses. As her values filter down into the day-to-day running of the hotels, she was clearly the ideal woman to interview. Todorov, in her twenties, works for the company yearlong as a reservationist. While she is not employed in a leadership position, Todorov has acted as a leader throughout her time at DRC. Because she has been working her way up in businesses since leaving school, Todorov offers the perfect representation of a potential leader of the future and therefore was an ideal woman to interview. Both of these women were happy to be

interviewed, and gave their authorization to use their real names throughout this thesis. Todorov initially answered questions by e-mail, with a follow-up telephone conversation the next day. Monroe was interviewed for approximately one hour by telephone with a follow-up question asked at a later point. The questions asked were broad, and could be answered with as much or as little detail as the interviewee wished. Monroe obviously gave a great deal of thought to the questions and answers before the interview took place. Once the phone interview had taken place, the notes were typed up and sent to Monroe for her approval. On completion of this study, copies will be sent to both the interviewees and to Doyon Tourism, Inc.

For clarity in demonstrating the use of values in leadership at DRC and KRH, the information from the interviews has been organized into two broad categories, personal and communal. These women are part of a community, and as such have communal values, but for the community to function, personal values also have to be adhered to. I chose these categories specifically to help organize the information and provide clarity in the analysis. Different examples have been used for each value, when possible; however, as the values are so interconnected some overlap does occur. The voices and experiences of Monroe and Todorov form the foundation for this study. The interviews have been analyzed through the frame of Athabascan values; this, together with evidence from secondary literature, has been used to support my arguments that these women lead by example by using Athabascan values.

What are Athabascan Values?

Recently I asked Leroy Backwater, a traditional Cherokee elder, what it means to be a good Cherokee, to which he replied, “A good Cherokee is respectful to others, always keeps his word and helps other people.”

—Wilma Mankiller, “Context is Everything”

Backwater, above, could just as easily be referring to Athabascan values. So what are Athabascan values and how they are defined for the purpose of this study?

Athabascan Values refers to the cultural values that have been used by Alaskan Athabascan peoples for generations. At the 1985 Denakkanaaga Elders and Youth Conference, Athabascan elders and youth sat together to determine a list of Athabascan Values. This list has now been published in the form of a poster by Alaska Native Knowledge Network (see Figure 8 for a list of Athabascan cultural values).⁴ While the Denakkanaaga Elders and Youth Conference cannot, of course, determine for all Athabascan peoples which values are important, the list is a formal recognition of traditionally accepted Athabascan values. Examples of such values can be found intertwined throughout literature on the Indigenous peoples of interior Alaska. Athabascan values are evidenced, for example, by puberty seclusion, oral traditions, the behavior of elders, and other aspects of community life.

Self-sufficiency
 Hard work
 Care and provision for the family
 Family relations
 Unity
 Humor
 Honesty
 Fairness
 Love for children
 Sharing
 Caring
 Village cooperation
 Responsibility to village
 Respect for Elders and others
 Respect for knowledge
 Wisdom from life experiences
 Respect for the land
 Respect for nature
 Practice of traditions
 Honoring Ancestors
 Spirituality

Figure 8 Athabascan Values

Although the values were only formally assembled in 1985, research illustrates the importance of these values among Athabascans. Four scholars who conducted interviews with Athabascan women on puberty ceremonies (Cruikshank, 1979; Cruikshank, 1975; Cruikshank, 1998; Libby, 1952; Osgood, 1970; Rooth, 1971) speak directly of the use of Athabascan values in such ceremonies and observances. The values portrayed in the puberty ceremonies are the same as the ones listed above in Figure 8.

What was of interest in Cruikshank's 1979 study was the continuity of values held by the girls. The puberty observances had changed as a result of communities becoming permanent year-round villages and because of the introduction of rigid schooling

systems. Girls, however, still adhered to the traditional values and adapted the seclusion observances to their changing lifestyles; as one of Cruikshank's interviewees explains: "I learned the laws before I start to school. My mother explain things to me" (Cruikshank, 1979: 15). The act of seclusion may have disappeared but the observances have not.

Michael Oleksa's book, *Another Culture/ Another World*, explores the idea that Athabascan culture, and therefore values, are taught to children through the use of "traditional" stories (2005). He elaborates;

Stories from the Distant Time teach each generation the ways in which The People show their respect for the spiritual realities that control all life in the sub-Arctic forests that make up the Athabascan homeland. Trees and mountains, rivers and ice floes all contain spirits that are easily offended. An Athabascan child's education teaches the importance of relating respectfully not only to the human but also to a natural community whose invisible forces dominate the universe. (Oleksa, 2005: 83)

Oleksa illustrates the values of respect for nature and land and explains how values such as these are being passed down from generation to generation. Evidence of this storytelling surfaced in my interview with Todorov, who remembers her grandmother telling her a story similar to *Two Old Women* when she was a child (Todorov, 2009b). Monroe had also read the story. However, stories are not the only method of educating today's Athabascan children in values. Monroe gives examples of how her values are characteristics she learned from her parents (Monroe, 2009a). The common thread found in the interviewees' stories and Velma Wallis's autobiography was that these values had been taught to all of them since they were children.

To effectively give examples of the use of values in the women's leadership, seven values have been chosen which correspond with life at the hotels. These values have then been specifically organized into two categories. Personal values or internal values (such as self-sufficiency, hard work, and practice of traditions) are based on self-respect and self-reward. Communal values or external values (such as caring and sharing, family relations, and respect for elders and others) are based on values that involve external respect and responsibility to the community and outside reward from the community.

Limitations of Study

This is not a comprehensive study of all Athabascan peoples, or even all Athabascan women. As this research relates only to one seasonal community in Alaska, generalizations must be limited and future studies in this area may confirm or contradict my results. The temporary and transient nature of this community makes it a good starting point for this research, as there is no fixed society already in place in the area.⁵ Doyon shareholders from all over Alaska and employees who come from all parts of the world work together in close proximity for a four-month period.⁶ As different nationalities mix, variables are added to the research. This adds to the complication of sorting through the interactions of the interviewees.

Second, this study focuses on Athabascan women's leadership. Two Athabascan women were interviewed who were obvious leaders, to obtain these women's views on the way they lead and to look in-depth at the dominant leaders in these two seasonal communities. The women who were chosen worked during the 2008 season. Consequently, the results are affected by my small pool of interviewees. Had more Athabascan women been interviewed, a greater pool of material would have been available to analyze. Had women from different years of employment been chosen, a different perspective on leadership might have been gained.

Definition of Terms

The word *leader* derives from the idea that a person has developed admiration and a following in a community. In this sense, one does not have to be hired or elected or otherwise chosen to be in a position of leadership in a community. Rather, a person can rise to a leadership position by her actions and/or her dedication to a community. The roots of this definition have been developed from contemporary Indigenous women's literature from the Americas, which points to women leaders emerging from within Native communities through their endurance and commitment to stability.⁷

Historical books written on Alaska tend to be defined by the linguistic distinctions of Athabascan. The term *Athabascan* is used to refer to a large family of language groups of Native peoples located mainly in interior Alaska and northwestern Canada (see Figure 9 below).⁸ Throughout this paper the terms Athabascan, Native Alaskan, and Indigenous peoples of Alaska, will be used interchangeably.

Contemporary Indigenous women's literature highlights the change from "traditional" community structures to, in particular, urban communities for many Indigenous peoples or communities. Throughout this thesis *non-"traditional" communities* refers to communities which are not the person's home community. For instance, both DRC and KRH are seasonal summer hotels. Because of this transient quality, the community living and working at these two hotels each summer changes year after year and the cultural norms and rules are also subject to change.



Figure 9 Native Peoples and Languages of Alaska, revised edition, by Michael E. Krauss. Copyright 1982 Alaska Native Language Center. Used with permission.

It has been assumed that the value of practicing traditions relates to the community that is being spoken about. Throughout this paper, *tradition* therefore refers to an event that has happened on several occasions, for instance, the berry picking which Monroe mentions in chapter three. In the case of DRC and KRH, traditions are formed and carried on by the staff who have stayed for more than one season and by the stability of the permanent staff members. As this research paper focuses on DRC and KRH, the traditions will have been formed by the staff members who have been there the longest.

CHAPTER 1: THE LITERATURE REVIEW

By examining the literature on American Indian women leaders historically and in the present day, women leading in urban communities, and Athabascan women, this review illustrates changes in attitudes toward American Indian women by scholars and present day society. Intentionally or not, these women provide leadership to the larger Indigenous population by writing and by putting forward new ideas and concepts on Indigenous women. It becomes obvious from reading the works which follow that there are strong values in place for these women, values such as respect for knowledge, elders, and nature; responsibility to one's community; spirituality; and honor. What is not evident is the way these values have shaped these women's leadership styles when they are in a non-Indigenous setting. The works which follow collectively illustrate the gaps in research on women's leadership in non-"traditional" communities.

American Indian women leaders historically

As always to see our future, you need only look back to the past.

—Wilma Mankiller, "Context is Everything"

By examining American Indian women throughout history and the way they lead in their communities, parallels can be found between core values held by the women and their leadership philosophies. Unfortunately, once western anthropologists and historians

started recording the lives and actions of American Indian peoples, women were often marginalized or entirely left out of the history books. This makes the task of gathering information concerning American Indian women somewhat problematic. Who knows Pocahontas's political stance? Who remembers Sarah Winnemucca's speeches? What was Sacagawea's role in the Lewis and Clark expedition? Unfortunately, the answer to these and other questions often remain buried underneath widely advertised stereotypical images of American Indian women (Bell, 2004; Kidwell, 1992/2007; Green, 2007; Mihesuah, 2003: 119). The public's perception is further compromised when historical figures such as Pocahontas are fictionalized by Walt Disney fantasies (and others), so that those fictions come to be considered by the general public across the world as true representations of Indigenous women (Gabriel, 2005). However, the stereotypical images of American Indian women are starting to fade now that scholars are bringing more accurate information on Indigenous women to the foreground (Anderson & Lawrence, 2003; Hernández-Avila, 2005; Mankiller, 2004; Mann, 2008; Mihesuah, 2003).

In addition to books which focus on women in specific tribes, such as the Cherokee (Johnston, 2003; Mihesuah, 1993; Purdue, 1998) or Choctaw (Pesantubbee, 2005), thematic books have been written about American Indian women in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries which focus on subjects such as gender and power (Ackerman, 2003, Klein and Ackerman, eds. 1995), women as representatives or mediators (Kidwell, 1992/2007; Shoemaker, 1995), historical roles of women (Green, 1992; Medicine 1975),

biographies and autobiographies (Bataille, 1984; Oaks, 1978; Turner, 1997), and literature (Bruchac, ed. 1991; Kilcup, 1997).

American Indian women's autobiographies and biographies appeared in print from the 1800s onwards (Anderson, 2005; Callahan, 1997; Winnemucca, 1994; Zitkala-Sa, 2003; Qoyawayma, 1992). These autobiographies offer a fundamental historical perspective of the lives of American Indian woman, a historical perspective which has often been misinterpreted in history books. Autobiographical texts, which are occasionally written with assistance, have always been written for specific purposes as illustrated below. These purposes usually include enlightening the reader as to the cultural values held by the author and her peoples.

Sarah Winnemucca's autobiography, *Life Among the Piutes* (1883), is one example of a text which was written specifically for this purpose. Winnemucca in her book illustrates the history of her people, their way of life, and their determination to fight for their land. The book is clearly a political plea for land claims, aimed mainly at white women.⁹ In making her plea, Winnemucca used ethnographic material, such as puberty observances and historical facts, to show the life of a Piute woman in the early 1900s. Winnemucca's quest for public support ends with a direct request to sign her petition, which is printed at the end of the book.

Winnemucca dedicated a whole chapter to social values in an effort to show her people as akin to her readers at a time when American Indians were seen as unequal or lesser than their counterparts (Winnemucca, 1994: 45). By directly addressing education, stating that her people are taught to be well-mannered and polite through the use of

stories, ceremonies and personal instruction, Winnemucca appealed to her readers for their help in returning her people's land. To emphasize her point, on several occasions Winnemucca stated that white children lack the manners and education that her people learn at a young age (Winnemucca, 1994: 51).¹⁰ The successful illustration of values in the text then becomes critical to Winnemucca's goal. The purpose of her autobiography was to explain that her people have a strong identity, culture, and moral values worth fighting for. If the readers felt a connection with the author, they would be more likely to sign the petition and become her supporters. Thus, Winnemucca wrote not just an autobiography but a self-determining text, positioning herself as a leader not just in her society but in the greater society, by illustrating the values that her people adhered to and that are (or should be) shared by her readers.

Autobiographical texts such as Winnemucca's help create a deeper understanding of the resistance and expectations American Indian women faced during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The texts accomplish their goal in two ways, the reader learns specifically through the information contained in the book, and by analyzing the gaps and silences which the author has also included (Jaskoski, 1996; Katanski, 2005). These books become great resources for researchers of American Indian women. They can be used in conjunction with mainstream texts to integrate the voices of American Indian women into a "mainstream" historical narrative.

Throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, massive changes occurred in the structure of American Indian women's lives. While government policies such as allotment physically broke up and altered the land base and allied social

structures of reservation tribes, the American government also implemented policies aimed at destroying tribal heritage and cultural values. The goal and function of these policies was to put an end to tribal culture and language and to re-train American Indians to be laborers and homemakers. Plans were made to build government off-reservation boarding schools, such as Carlisle, in Pennsylvania, which would take the children away from their homelands for years at a time, in an attempt to assimilate them (Adams 1995, Child 1995, Lomawaima 1994, 2006, McCarty 2002, Reyhner and Eder 2004).

Once assimilation was complete, the government's aim was to place children as far away from their tribes as possible. Thus tribal hopes of passing on knowledge to future generations would be destroyed. Once tribal elders died without being able to pass on their knowledge, the government's goal of assimilation would be complete. There are examples of Athabascan women during this assimilation era, choosing to maintain their cultural values (Cruikshank, 1979: 15). Lomawaima's and McCarty's theory of the safety zone (Lomawaima, 2006) can be used to illustrate how girls at boarding schools were allowed to continue using select values, so long as those values did not interfere with the purpose of the school.

Re-Writing History

There is an important Indian woman in virtually every major encounter between Europeans and Indians in the New World... Indian women were the first important mediators of meaning between the cultures of two worlds.

—Clara Sue Kidwell, “Indian Women as Cultural Mediators”

One woman who is re-writing the history books to account for the roles of American Indian women leaders is Virginia Moore Carney (2005). Her book *Eastern Band Cherokee Women: Cultural Persistence in their Letters and Speeches* is a fascinating look into the lives of several generations of women from the Eastern Band of Cherokees. Carney’s research covers the period from the 1700s to the 2000s to demonstrate the strength and determination of women in a rapidly changing society. Concentrating on the strategies used by these women to stay loyal to their traditions and beliefs, Carney interweaves concepts and theories about women and society to support her findings on “hidden” women.

This book strengthens scholarship on the continuity of American Indian women leadership in societies, by showing women in pivotal leadership roles from the 1700s through to the present day and emphasizing these women as preservers of culture. Carney evaluates evidence in the form of the letters and speeches, using examples such as Katteuha, who is little known in today’s society but who corresponded with Benjamin Franklin and was given the title “Beloved Woman” by her tribe. Nanye’hi (Nancy Ward) c.1738-1822, also a “Beloved Woman,” was prominent in the negotiations of the 1785

treaty of Hopewell. Arizona (Zona) Swayney, another of Carney's subjects, attended Hampton Institute and went on to revive the art of basket weaving by teaching it to Cherokee women. By re-integrating these women into history, Carney is paving the way for other scholars to complete in-depth research on women and their leadership styles.

In her article "Indian Women as Cultural Mediators," Clara Sue Kidwell addresses the theory that American Indian women have been acting as cultural mediators between cultures since first contact with whites, thus adding to the discourse on how women lead (2007). Kidwell starts her analysis with the argument that various women throughout time, and in different tribes, had no written voice. Although women were involved in every exchange of culture, goods, and information, they are more often than not forgotten in the history books. Kidwell gives examples of well-known women who played integral parts in negotiations throughout time, women such as Dōna Marina, in Cortez's conquest of the Aztec empire, or Pocahontas, who was a cultural mediator, but as mentioned earlier, is now represented as a princess, one who has become a victim of the Disneyfication of Indigenous women, or Sacagawea from the Lewis and Clark expedition, who was there to help the explorers find their way geographically, but was also useful because she could act as an interpreter and be a sign of peace when they came across Indigenous tribes.¹¹ In summary, Kidwell argues that these women, clearly cultural brokers, were not credited for their accomplishments, but instead were shown as incidental to the historical event, or put on a pedestal because of some idea about the beatification of women, again linking American Indian women to what Rayna Green has

coined the Pocahontas complex (Mihesuah, 2003: 119; Bell, 2004; Kidwell, 2007; Green, 2007).

American Indian women leaders in the present day

When a crestfallen tourist asked, ‘Where are all the Indians?’ I sometimes responded, quite truthfully, ‘They are probably at Wal-Mart.’

—Wilma Mankiller, “Context is Everything”

If you ask a room full of people to name an American Indian woman leader, Wilma Mankiller’s name would most likely come up. As the first woman chief of the Cherokee Nation, Mankiller is well known and respected. Wilma Mankiller spoke in an *American Indian Women Leaders* class at the University of Arizona, sharing with students her thoughts on leadership (Mankiller, 2008). In the conversation, two key points became apparent. First, there are philosophical and policy differences which distinguish Indigenous leaders (both women and men) from both non-Indigenous male leaders and non-Indigenous female leaders. Secondly, there are differences in the issues raised by Indigenous feminism and non-Indigenous feminism. Mankiller suggested that while non-Indigenous women have an interconnected approach to leading in governments (for example linking economy, health and children), contrasting differences characterize the way non-Indigenous men approach leading (for example looking at issues on an individual basis). Mankiller emphasizes the similarities between Indigenous male and female leadership styles, stating that Indigenous leaders put the community first. Elaborating on the second key point, the differences in the issues raised by Indigenous

feminism and non-Indigenous feminism, Mankiller suggests that non-Indigenous women will take an individualistic approach to politics, highlighting issues such as pay, work and abortion, whereas Indigenous women focus more holistically on issues related to the community.

The philosophical and political differences between Native and non-Native leaders can be explained by examining the core values held by individuals. As Mankiller states, “[t]he larger society around us seems to promote the value that material wealth determines one’s worth, that individual achievement is more important than common good, and that kindness can be perceived as weakness. Those values don’t hold much appeal to most traditional-orientated Native people” (Mankiller, 2005: 15). This observation certainly is not a “one hat fits all” rule for all Native peoples, of all ages, in all societies. It is useful, however, in identifying Mankiller’s core values and examining how these values have helped shape her leadership style.

The leadership styles of Wilma Mankiller and other well known American Indian tribal women leaders such LaDonna Harris have been written about (Janda, 2007; Mankiller, 2000; Mankiller, 2004). Janda, *Beloved Women: The political lives of LaDonna Harris and Wilma Mankiller*, explains how both women rose to leadership positions. The book traces their lives through their political contributions and relates their struggles as women. Of particular interest is Harris’s upbringing. Harris grew up in a very loving family who taught her about her Comanche background. Mankiller quotes Harris to explain how one keeps true to one’s values when living in a global world. “LaDonna Harris... said, ‘Whether I was having dinner with the King of Sweden or

another dignitary, I always filtered what was being discussed through my Comanche values. I never felt I lived in two worlds. I am Comanche” (Mankiller, 2005: 14).

Mankiller elaborates by explaining that “tribal people filter the information they receive through their own tribal view of the world, which may vary greatly from the view of non-tribal people” (Mankiller, 2005: 14). Keeping Mankiller’s remarks in mind, one can see how women leaders in non-“traditional” communities can also filter information through their value system.

Women leading in urban communities

What are Native women doing for themselves, their families, their communities and Nations as we recover from the past and work towards a healthier future?
—Kim Anderson & Bonita Lawrence, *Strong Women Stories*

In the twenty-first century, a surge of recent scholarship addresses key issues in today’s American Indian women’s lives, and indirectly illustrates American Indian women’s leadership in societies (Anderson & Lawrence, 2003; Hernández-Avila, 2005; Mankiller, 2004; Mann, 2008; Mihesuah, 2003). This contemporary literature on Indigenous women in the Americas points to a resurgence of women’s leadership roles within Indigenous communities and also in urban areas. There is a resonating feeling of accomplishment throughout this contemporary work, and pride at what has been achieved so far and what will be achieved in the future. Themes such as family, home, stability, wellbeing, and healing lie at the heart of these stories.

In *Strong Women Stories: Native Vision and Community Survival*, Kim Anderson & Bonita Lawrence dedicate seventeen chapters to diverse examples of Indigenous women's lives in today's societies (2003). While some of the chapters are about individual experiences, mixing personal narrative and experience, other authors focus their chapters on community issues. Four chapters in particular highlight some of the ways women are leading in both "traditional" community settings and in urban areas.

In chapter one, "Where the Spirits Live," Gertie Mai Muise highlights the struggles of her Mi'Kmaq community in western Newfoundland. While the community accepts they have problems that need addressing, the resonating theme in this chapter is the women's roles in healing and rebuilding the community (Muise, 2003: 25). Muise states, "[w]e have next to little political representation, yet no major shifts occur without the will of the women" (Muise, 2003: 25). This story is similar to many of the chapters in *Strong Women Stories*, which illustrate how women are leading in their communities by looking after the well-being of the community. Chapter three, "From the Stories That Women Tell," by Carole Leclair and Lynn Nicholson with Métis elder Elize Harthey, tells the story of a Métis women's circle. The founding of this circle illustrates the need for a communal meeting place and support group for Métis women. The circle supports women by encouraging them to share ideas, and by using their shared common culture to bring the women together. By creating and taking part in the circle, these women are leading in contemporary society.

Chapter four, "The Eagle Has Landed" by Sylvia Maracle, highlights how urban Aboriginal women are leading the way in urban Canadian centers. Maracle states

“[w]hen I look at urban organizations, I see a better representation of women than what I see among the chiefs, band councilors and leadership in the political organizations” (Maracle, 2003: 76). This remark illustrates how the centrality of family and community to women’s lives transfers to women’s leadership philosophies in urban centers. In this chapter, Maracle illustrates women asserting their leadership in urban centers. Chapter eleven, “Aboriginal Women’s Action Network” by Fay Blaney, illustrates women’s leadership through the organization of women’s groups. By forming platforms for Aboriginal women to speak, the women who formed the Aboriginal Women’s Action Network are illustrating their responsibility to community in their leadership.

The authors in these chapters highlight issues of concern within their communities or within women’s lives. Yet the resonating message that comes across in the book is one of strength and determination. Instead of dwelling on negative effects, the authors are illustrating how these issues can be addressed, and how women are leading in various community adventures. The goal of the book is to show the strength of the women by demonstrating how “[n]ative women are actively shaping a better world for future generations” (Anderson, 2003; 11). By choosing women to give examples of how they, and other women, are contributing to their communities by illustrating “where our communities are now and where we want them to go” (Anderson, 2003; 11), Anderson and Lawrence are creating a new postcolonial text which illustrates the strength of women in today’s Indigenous societies.

Reading Native American Women (Hernández-Avila, 2005) consists of fourteen individual essays by Native American women. These chapters form a guidebook on how

to study literature, art, and historical texts related to American Indian women. The authors are dedicated to re-defining the way Indigenous women are written about and understood in today's society. In a similar style, *Make a Beautiful Way*, edited by Barbara Alice Mann, is a compilation of four chapters written by individual women on aspects of understanding American Indian women in today's society (2008). Both these texts illustrate how American Indian women in today's society are leading. As texts aimed not only at explaining but educating readers on how to interpret works by Native women, these works form a growing collection of reference material, ideal for scholars to use in classes.

In *Indigenous American Women*, Mihesuah writes a powerful book explaining the complexities of American Indian women's lives (2003). The book is split into three categories. In the first section, Mihesuah explains the issues related to researching and writing about American Indian women. She gives examples of misconceptions commonly held by non-Native readers of Native texts, highlighting some of the common mistakes non-Native writers make, such as failing to gain tribal approval before, during and after research projects (Mihesuah, 2003: 3) and giving "the wrong impression of tribal life" (Mihesuah, 2003: 19). By explaining how interpretations have been skewed in the past, Mihesuah helps readers to identify some key elements in both good and bad scholarship on American Indian women (Mihesuah, 2003; 14-18). In the second section, "Colonialism and Native Women," Mihesuah provides a historical background on women throughout the colonization process. This section is particularly helpful in summarizing the vast amount of historical information that relates to Indigenous women

through an Indigenous lens. In the third and final section, “Activists and Feminists,” Mihesuah shows American Indian women in an assertive light. Covering topics such as AIM¹² and Anna Mae Pictou-Aquash, Mihesuah illustrates the adaptation and survival of Native peoples, as opposed to focusing on their destruction.

Every Day is a Good Day, by Wilma Mankiller, is a compilation of the thoughts and views of nineteen prominent Indigenous women from across the United States (2004). Mankiller organizes the thoughts of these women into seven main chapters, based on broad themes of life such as womanhood and ceremony. The words of the women illustrate their views on the themes. In reading the thoughts of these prestigious women, core values and themes such as community, violence, and healing emerge. As readers begin to understand what these women are trying to achieve through their leadership and how they go about leading within their communities, they can also begin to understand the importance of those themes in contemporary Indigenous women’s lives.

Athabascan women

To many people Athabascan leaders appear to be powerless or dysfunctional. This is true of many of the Athabascan men and women who hold or have held positions of authority. By contrast, Athabascan leadership is a complex structural phenomenon that generalizes power, rather than locating it in a single authority, and functions with merciless efficiency.

—Phyllis Fast, *Northern Athabascan Survival*

Various historical sources give insights into the lives of Indigenous women in Alaska and their roles and/ or duties in society (Langdon, 2002; Libby, 1952; Osgood, 1936; Peter, 2001; Rooth, 1971; Simone, 1982; Vyvyan, MacLaren and LaFramboise, 1998). Little literature has been produced on Athabascan women as leaders in their societies. Possibly, as Fast acknowledges, this is because Athabascan leaders are not seen as central figures. In *Northern Athabascan Survival: Women, Community, and the Future*, Fast focuses on the Native village Fort Yukon (2002). Fast states that there are a “growing number of women in positions of Athabascan leadership [and that as leaders, these women’s roles were] ...primarily one of mediator rather than as an exponent of power or authority” (Fast, 2002; 35). Alaska Native villages, many of which are only accessible by plane in winter and by boat in summer, have remained predominantly Native in population. As Fast illustrates, outsiders are not always welcomed into the community. Hence, to lead in one of the Native villages would be to lead predominantly Athabascan peoples (In contrast, the urban populations of Alaska, in cities such as Fairbanks and Anchorage, are of mixed ethnicity, with no areas that are particularly

Athabascan). While many people choose to live in either the cities or the villages, some people, such as Velma Wallis, share their time between the two.

Athabascan author Velma Wallis, has published two books re-telling traditional legends and an autobiography, *Raising Ourselves*. Wallis has been widely written about, because she has become an authority on Athabascan people through these publications. Her work is particularly useful in this thesis because Wallis perpetuates the values of her people and makes them available to others, both in her community and worldwide. The first of the two legends she published, *Two Old Women*, was told to Wallis by her mother. The story is based on two women, Ch'idzigyaak and Sa' and their journey of survival in harsh Alaskan winter conditions and the realization that these women, who had become complacent about their roles in society, on their return to the community become more valued members of it than they had been before.

Bird Girl and the Man Who Followed the Sun, while also passed down from Wallis's mother is a creative amalgamation of two traditional legends. *Bird Girl* is a story about a woman who does not agree with her society's expectations of her. *The Man who Followed the Sun* is the male version of the same type of story. Consequently, the two main characters leave their respective societies in search of personal satisfaction, only to find that community is essential to survival. Each of Wallis's stories has a particular point to make and would originally have been told as a way to educate listeners to the values of her/ their people.

When reading Velma Wallis' book *Two Old Women*, readers often make connections with the two main characters, Ch'idzigyaak and Sa'. The resonating

message throughout the book is that hard work and self-sufficiency can make the difference between life and death. These two values, which were pivotal to Athabaskan survival, are still used in today's Athabaskan societies, and examples can be seen in Fast's and Wallis's work. The connections the readers make illustrate the effectiveness of this book as a tool from which one can learn. In many Indigenous societies, storytelling is a tool used to educate people. *Two Old Women* teaches age-old cultural values. Processes of storytelling have changed through time, but the values or laws of Northern Athabascans have not.

Wallis's works have been analyzed in several different frameworks (Babb, 1997; Fast, 2002; Ramsey, 1999; Myers, 2006). Genie Babb (1997) looked at *Two Old Women* through the lens of Paula Gunn Allen's 1992 model of analysis of the Kochinnenako tale *Sh-ah-cock* and *Miochin*. Babb illustrates that while non-Native people will read the book "from a romantic conception of the Other," Athabaskan readers will use the book as a means to gain/ or reinforce age-old cultural values (1997: 5). Thus Wallis' work perpetuates the use of traditional cultural values among Native Athabaskan villagers, as well as urban Athabascans in non-traditional communities. These values, to which Northern Athabaskan women leaders subscribe, illustrate the differences between, Native women leaders and their Western counterparts. Contemporary Northern Athabaskan women rely on tried and tested values to lead in both Native villages and urban communities.

Each reader will use his or her own lens (es) to interpret the text, and Athabaskan readers will gain a different view than Western readers. For example, Athabaskan

readers will recognize their core values throughout the text, whereas western readers may just see a story. In his MA thesis, Seth Myers (2006) views Velma Wallis's two books, *Two Old Women* and *Bird Girl and the Man who Followed the Sun*, through a postcolonial lens. Myers explains that Wallis became a postcolonial writer by ignoring the colonization process in her work. If we go back to Babb's theory to analyze Myers' interpretation of *Two Old Women*, we can see that Myers has in fact read the book through a Western lens. Evidence of this can be found in his introduction, in which he explains the plot of *Two Old Women*.¹³ This study uses an Athabascan reading of Velma Wallis's work to find examples of values which are discussed in the chapters which follow.

Ramsey (1999) argues that Wallis has become an ethnographer for her people; by recording *Two Old Women*, Wallis has come to be seen as the leading authority on Athabascan peoples. As Wallis's work is widely read by Athabascan peoples, Wallis is gently nudged into the realm of leader. Fast, when writing about *Two Old Women*, states that "[f]or the Gwich'in trust means knowing that the other knows survival skills and social responsibilities with respect to physical survival [therefore]... *Two Old Women* is a contemporary written statement about the complex ideal of combined trust and interdependency. Mainstream English usually understands each concept in isolation from the other as well as with markedly different views about dependency" (Fast, 2002: 37).

Out of all the above authors, only Fast's comments on the importance of the values Wallis portrays in her work, stating:

Northern Athabascan women, both of the past and in the present, play significant roles in their history, economies, decision making and leadership, and, perhaps more than anything else, shaping methods of social control. In oral histories, Athabascan women factor into oral traditions as strong, solitary women who are capable of surviving on their own in harsh conditions. Women's stories (past or present) are part of the living traditions of Athabascan women and serve as models by which they form self-images. Contemporary Gwich'in novelist Velma Wallis has written two novels based on traditional stories about women, testifying to the present viability of their moral codes in Athabascan life (Fast, 2002: 180).

Perhaps it is not surprising that Fast picks up on the values in Wallis's work, if we use Babb's framework for interpreting the works. She has used Athabascan legends which were commonly told to younger members of society as a tool for teaching values. Wallis has written down these legends as a way of recording them for the younger generations, who seem disinterested in learning about their culture. In writing down these legends, Wallis has become a leader in her society, offering the youth a means of hearing oral traditions and thereby exposing them to key cultural values.

Summary

This literature review has examined some of the resources available on American Indian women and, more specifically, Athabascan women. In looking at the material already written, it becomes apparent that there is a lack of scholarly literature which specifically analyzes the area of cultural continuity while leading in non-traditional communities. Therefore, this thesis research will lay some foundational work toward women's leadership in Indigenous societies and will analyze how women take traditional cultural values with them into the workplace.

CHAPTER 2: PERSONAL VALUES

These tasks kept them so busy they were up from early morning until late at night, and before they know it, the short Arctic summer passed, and fall crept upon them.

—Velma Wallis, *Two Old Women*

Personal values are important in Athabascan culture because they are key to community survival. Historically, Athabascan peoples lived in small nomadic bands. In order for the community to survive the winters, each member would have responsibilities, from trapping to sewing to keeping the fire going. Although communities were highly interdependent, all members also had to be capable of personal survival. As Phyllis Fast states in *Northern Athabascan Survival: Women, Community, and the Future*, “Men, women, and children learn strategies to become independent of each other in case they get stranded where they might have no choice but to do or die” (Fast, 2002: 36). An example of the value of self-sufficiency, and other personal values, can be seen in traditional stories such as *Two Old Women*.

The above passage from *Two Old Women* illustrates how Ch'idzigyaak and Sa' used their values—such as self-sufficiency, hard work, and practice of traditions—to survive the Alaskan winter. The two women had become dependent on the band and as a result of that dependency the community could not function efficiently, so the decision was made to leave the women behind. However, Ch'idzigyaak and Sa' made a conscious decision to become self-sufficient, and hard working and to practice their traditions. These values made the difference between life and death for the women as they spent

their days collecting firewood and foraging for food, including trapping animals and utilizing the furs for clothing and other necessities. This story and others similar to it demonstrate the necessity of values to the community. As mentioned earlier, Todorov remembers her grandmother telling her similar stories as a child (Todorov, 2009b). By repeating the stories, elders re-enforce the urgency of values such as self-sufficiency, hard work, and the practice of traditions, without which the two old women would not have survived.

In contemporary Athabascan societies the threat of starving or freezing has been lessened by modern conveniences. Communities can buy their food from the supermarket, purchase clothes from the mall, and call for help from cell phones if they get separated from the group. Yet values still have a place in today's societies. In writing down this legend and representing these values, Velma Wallis illustrates to her contemporary audience their importance.

In the same way that Wallis shows cultural continuity by portraying values in her contemporary work, the women at DRC and KRH are also showing cultural continuity through their use of Athabascan values as they lead. The two women interviewed demonstrate the importance of such values as they continually rely on values in their everyday lives, examples of which will be given in the sections which follow. As they do so, they demonstrate Athabascan values to all workers, regardless of ethnicity. The women interviewed not only rely on the values of self-sufficiency and hard work, and the practice of traditions in their everyday lives, but such values have been instrumental in these women's leadership at DRC and KRH.

Self-sufficiency and hard work

I wouldn't want someone to look at me and say, "Hey she never went to college and she still has a good job, so I don't have to go to college to get a good job." Yes I have a pretty good job, but it took me a long time to get to this position without a college degree. Although I have no regrets in my decisions, I push as many younger people to go and get a college education.

—Miranda Todorov

Both of the women interviewed have a strong work ethic. They are highly motivated, hard-working, determined, and self-confident. They believe in their own ability and strive to be the best they can be. In short, these women know that hard work and self-sufficiency pay off. These women demonstrate their values to other people, by leading by example. They show others that they achieved their goals by hard work. These women also lead by encouragement, as the above quotation illustrates, encouraging youth to get an education (Todorov, 2009a).

Todorov has worked hard to get to the position she now holds in Doyon Tourism. Instead of going to college for her education, Todorov took the responsibility of educating herself. She says, "I have built the employment skills I now have through companies like Doyon Tourism" (Todorov, 2009a). By taking her education into her own hands, Todorov provides a solid example of self-sufficiency and hard work. She may not have been educated through the standard route of college, but she pursued an education through the work place. She set purposeful goals to build her career and made them a reality through her hard work and determination.

In regard to self education, however, Todorov does not want other people to follow her example. Instead, she actively encourages people to go and get the college

education she never had. By explaining to younger people who are thinking about attending college that she had to work really hard to get to her current position, Todorov reinforces the value of hard work. By encouraging them to go to college however, she is actively leading younger people to work hard in school first, before embarking on their careers. By her example, Todorov reinforces the belief that goals can only be reached by hard work. Further, she demonstrates self-sufficiency; that it is up to the individual to “make it happen.”

Monroe, who has been managing Doyon Tourism Inc. since its establishment, provides another example of the values of hard work and self-sufficiency in a leader. KRH was bought in October 1995, and Monroe was hired shortly after, in January 1996, to run Doyon Tourism, Inc. Her hard work has shaped the success of the company. For her first three seasons, in the heart of Denali National Park and Preserve, with no shops and no cell phone coverage, Monroe lived and worked at KRH to ensure the success of the business (Monroe, 2009a). When Doyon Tourism Inc. purchased DRC in May 1999, just before the start of the summer season, Monroe spent the summer shuttling back and forth between the two hotels, ensuring a smooth transition of ownership for the staff at DRC (Monroe, 2009a). Satisfied that KRH was running to her standards, Monroe based herself out of DRC for the next three to four years to transition that business to meet her company’s goals (Monroe, 2009a).

For six years Monroe dedicated her summer months to her job—in Alaska, the warm, light, summer months are highly valued. When Monroe was happy with the two hotels, she made the decision to hire managers to take over their daily running (Monroe,

2009a). Through her hands-on approach to management, the businesses have continued to thrive. More importantly, the staff has seen the commitment expressed by the manager on a day-to-day basis. Monroe's values of hard work and self-sufficiency have been observed by all those who have worked with her over the years as she has built these transient communities into successful businesses. There is, however, a complication in this example. As a manager of a new company, the expectation would be that she should eat, live and breathe her job. What distinguishes Monroe from other managers are the inherent values taught to Monroe from childhood which guide her work ethic.

Illustrations of the women at the two hotels using values such as self-sufficiency and hard work in their daily lives have already been given. Self-sufficiency and hard work are two key values which have been described as Athabaskan. To answer the research questions (do Athabaskan women use Athabaskan values when they are away from their home community and how do women lead in non-"traditional" societies?) the following discussion will focus on the value of practicing traditions.

Practice of traditions

‘Traditions’ which appear or claim to be old are often quite recent in origin and sometimes invented.

—Eric Hobsbawm, *The Invention of Tradition*

“Tradition” is a sticky word, Hobsbawm argues, because traditional does not mean static. Practice of traditions is considered important in the list of Athabascan values. While this could be categorized as both a personal and communal value, in this instance it has been defined as a personal value because it is up to individuals to carry out “traditions” when away from their “home” community. Most cultures have certain traditions/ rituals/ customs, the combination of which makes cultures unique. Traditions often give continuity to a culture. Even if the traditions evolve over time, they are still recognizable. For example, the Sugpiaq have a tradition that the first red salmon caught every year is given to the widows and elders in the community (Silverman, 2005). What types of traditions are being practiced by the women at DRC and KRH and how do they relate to the way these women lead? As there is no formal definition of “tradition” offered as a footnote in the Athabascan list of values, as mentioned earlier, it is assumed that in this instance the practice of traditions is tied to the elders in one’s community.

This assumption refers to a point made by Shawn Wilson in his book *Gwich’in Native Elders*, in which he said that elders “provide a sense of continuity between the past and the present that can help the community look towards the future” (Wilson, 1996: 34). If Wilson’s observation is to be used as the basis of understanding tradition, then we can see that the elders would be the ones in each community to define what is traditional

by their actions. As each Athabascan community in Alaska is different, an umbrella term allows for a unified statement which permits individuality among villages. In relating this to the women at DRC and KRH, we can see that the community here, although transient, has traditions. These have been given continuity by the permanent staff, in summer-related activities such as berry picking and the sharing of food.

Sharing food is natural for most Native Americans.

—Miranda Todorov

In England there is a tradition of putting the kettle on when someone comes round to visit. A pot of tea is made, or nowadays a cup, and the biscuit tin or some homemade cakes are brought out.¹⁴ This is just one of the traditions used to welcome people into our homes. When I mentioned to Todorov that I noticed she cooked for new employees and shared her food, she explained to me the importance of food. Todorov told me that when a new person arrives at DRC, the last thing she would want them to feel is unwelcome (Todorov, 2009a). She elaborated: “Food is an ice breaker at DRC” (Todorov, 2009a). The act of sharing food is becoming a tradition at DRC and one that the employees quickly pick up. Sharing food is contagious. As the weeks progressed, food would appear in the staff kitchen, happily made by different members of the community. Therefore, the roles of elders from traditional communities, as Shawn Wilson explains, are taken over by the women who lead in this community and the people who have been

there the longest, such as Monroe and Todorov. In this example Todorov has taken on the characteristics of the role of an elder.

Monroe also gave me a similar example of a tradition in her interview. When I asked Monroe to describe one of her favorite memories from the summer, she told me a wonderful story about berry picking (Monroe, 2009a). Berry picking is a traditional task of Athabascan women and one that I had the opportunity to participate in at the end of my time in Denali, once the berries had started ripening. In her story, Monroe told me about a warm sunny day in which a group of four workers had gone to pick berries at a regular patch out by Wonder Lake (Monroe, 2009a).¹⁵ They spread out, each finding their own patch to pick berries and working away at their own pace.

When it came to lunchtime, they all came together to eat their snacks and Monroe produced a surprise picnic of salmon strips, pilot bread and tea (Monroe, 2009a).¹⁶ The other women were taken aback as the lunch was unexpected. Monroe knew that dried fish was “traditional” food to bring along on a day out, along with the pilot bread and tea. We can see evidence of this in Velma Wallis’ book *Two Old Women*. In the book, the women have a store of dry fish ready for the winter. When they first re-unite with the scouts who have been looking for them, they send them back with a package of dried fish. Monroe also recollected that when berry picking with her mother, they used bring sourdough pancakes, spreading peanut butter and jelly on them (Monroe, 2009a). This turned into a family tradition. Berry picking each year with female staff from KRH has turned into one of Monroe’s favorite memories (Monroe, 2009a). It is a high point in the season that Monroe looks forward to, as she bonds with these women, feels close to

nature and gathers berries to use throughout the winter (Monroe, 2009a). In this sense, Monroe has made berry picking with the staff a tradition at KRH.

These examples given by the two interviewees demonstrate the importance they place on the value of practicing traditions. The sharing of food can be taken as a welcoming gesture, used by many cultures to make people feel invited. Bringing traditional Athabascan foods on a picnic would require knowledge and planning. The salmon strips and pilot bread would have to be acquired before the drive to Denali and KRH. Monroe could have chosen to make sourdough pancakes, with peanut butter and jelly, just as her mother did. Instead she chose to provide a “traditional” picnic. In much the same way, Todorov chose to welcome staff by sharing food.

Summary

In the examples given above, the women at DRC and KRH use personal values in their everyday lives; it is evident that these women adhere to such values when away from their home communities. As these women lead by example, they also use such values to lead in this non-“traditional” community. By doing so, the women at DRC and KRH show cultural continuity through their continued use of Athabascan values in their leadership. Further, by using such values every day in their lives, these women at DRC and KRH are demonstrating to all the workers the importance of these values.

CHAPTER 3: COMMUNAL VALUES

The Northern Athabaskan local economy is founded on a principle of sharing everything from food to other material goods with others in social circles that are crafted along traditional meaning codes.

—Phyllis Fast, *Northern Athabaskan Survival*

Communal values are important in Athabaskan culture because they are fundamental to the survival of the community. As I mentioned earlier, Athabaskan peoples lived in small nomadic bands up until the early 1900s (Wallis, 1993: 140). Within each band, each member had a responsibility to contribute. As Phyllis Fast's observation illustrates, Athabaskan communities are based on communal interdependence. Examples of the importance of communal values can be seen in oral stories such as the source material for *Two Old Women*.

Each time the visitors came, they brought the two women gifts of moosemeat or animal furs, which the women accepted gratefully.

—Velma Wallis, *Two Old Women*

The above passage illustrates how Ch'idzigyaak and Sa' used values (such as caring and sharing; family relations; and respect for elders and others) to regain their place in society and consequently ensure the survival of the community. Although the two women had survived one winter alone, their future survival was dependent on their

successful re-integration and acceptance into the band. While separated from the band, the women had sewn “clothing such as mittens, hats, and face coverings” (Wallis, 2004: 91). This act of self-sufficiency proved the women’s worth to the band when they were reunited. While Ch’idzigyaak and Sa’s personal survival skills were crucial for the two women to survive the winter alone, communal values ensured their future survival. As these values are played out in the story, balance is restored so that the story can come to an end. When this story is read through an Athabascan lens, as mentioned earlier, one can see that such values are integral to a functioning community (Babb, 1997: 9).

In contemporary Athabascan societies, community is less essential for personal survival due to modern conveniences. Yet cultural survival is dependent on community members sharing knowledge with one another. Because knowledge must be shared, values continue to have a place in today’s societies. In her autobiography, Velma Wallis demonstrates to her readers the importance of such values, by putting community first and seeking approval from her community before publishing her work (Fast, 2002: 169).

Wallis demonstrates cultural continuity by living by and portraying Athabascan values in her contemporary work. In a similar way, the women at DRC and KRH demonstrate cultural continuity by their everyday use of such values in these transient communities. As staff spend time in these communities, Athabascan values are being shared, therefore continuing to demonstrate the knowledge of Athabascan cultural values to future generations. Specific examples from the interviews illustrate how the women use values of caring and sharing, family relations, and respect for elders and others, in their time at DRC and KRH.

Caring and Sharing

That's what's so great about DRC. At this property because it's so small, we feel more like a family rather than just co-workers. Other hotels with seasonal workers do not have this type of environment.

—Miranda Todorov

As Todorov explains, the atmosphere at DRC and KRH is one of a large family, as opposed to a workplace. What makes the environment of DRC and KRH like a family is leadership by the management. The family atmosphere is achieved through the caring and sharing attitude of the management and workers. Because of the way Monroe has set up the business, no barrier separates the management and the workers, and everyone looks after one another.

On a physical level it is easy to look after other people's needs by cooking, doing dishes, cleaning. However, putting other people's needs before your own on an emotional level is difficult. Just sitting with someone who is going through a hard time, and being there for someone is emotionally draining, especially in today's fast-paced society when personal time is considered a precious commodity. The women interviewed portray and lead with these values in their everyday actions. By caring for the community and sharing with the community, these women lead by example, actively encouraging others to care and share.

Todorov provides the perfect example of this value. Front desk agent is one of those jobs where there are no customers for an hour, and then a bus pulls in and thirty

people arrive.¹⁷ When it is busy, it is very busy. Over the summer, there were various front desk agents who stayed for different amounts of time depending on their prior commitments. When Todorov would come down from the booking office and find new staff manning the front desk, she would make sure those new staff members were okay. If there was a line, she would help out the customers, putting this work before her own. Thus, Todorov added to the family community by caring about the staff and making sure no one was left on his or her own.

As the manager, Monroe also added to the community feeling of DRC and KRH. Monroe had an active role in the majority of hiring that occurred at DRC and KRH over the summer. This included interviewing staff and making sure they were prepared for the adjustment to their new environment. By the time staff arrived at DRC and KRH, most people had either spoken to or met Monroe. As the only manager who was not living on site, it would have been easy for Monroe to detach herself from the hotels. Yet each time she came to visit, Monroe showed care and concern for the workers at the communities.

When I asked Monroe about her least favorite memory from the summer, she shared two stories (Monroe, 2009a). The first story was about a staff member who had suffered a serious medical episode while at work; the second was from a few summers earlier when a guest passed away at one of the hotels (Monroe, 2009a). Both of these events impacted the communities and the people involved. When telling the story about the guest passing, Monroe explained how circumstances led her to sit with the guest's wife (Monroe, 2009a). The woman shared stories with Monroe throughout the day as

transportation arrangements were made (Monroe, 2009a). Although this was her least favorite memory, Monroe said it was a life changing experience (Monroe, 2009a).

The examples given above indicate how Todorov and Monroe use the values of caring and sharing in their work at DRC and KRH at least partly because these women use such values, the two communities take on a family environment. Trust relationships are built, ensuring the continuation of such values over the summer months. As new seasons begin, the management sets the tone for the hotels, giving continuity to employees in the preservation of values.

Family relations

My favorite memory of this summer is camping at the Talkeetna Bluegrass festival with my new summertime buddies and also my little sister.

—Miranda Todorov

In today's Athabascan societies, family structures have changed due to independent living arrangements, developing cities and different employment opportunities in life. Yet working in Denali for the summer does not necessarily equate to leaving one's family for four months. Todorov spent the summer working with her sister and Monroe often had family stay during her long summers at KRH (Monroe, 2009a). But family relations are more than physically spending time with one's family. During the interviews, Todorov and Monroe spoke about the influences their families had on their value systems (Todorov, 2009a; Monroe, 2009a). As both women lead by

example, it is perhaps not surprising that they learned their values from examples given to them by strong influential family members while growing up.

Todorov, in her interview, spoke about her parents, grandparents and cousins, showing that it is not her just nuclear family but her larger extended family that has influenced her life (Todorov, 2009a). She explained how she turned both positive and negative events in her families' history into valuable learning experiences (Todorov, 2009a). Todorov does this in much the same way as Velma Wallis. In her book *Raising Ourselves*, Wallis gives examples of how she took her family problems and made a resolution that led her to a change in her life. There are several chapters in the book in which Wallis turns her life around. The most significant one, which appears in chapter fourteen, is when Wallis decides to go to her father's cabin for the winter and to learn to trap (Wallis, 2002; 158). In doing so, Wallis makes a conscious decision to change her life and her families' lives. It is this act of seclusion that leads to Wallis's mother spending time with her in the cabin, teaching Wallis trapping skills and sharing oral histories about the Gwich'in Athabascan peoples. Thus Wallis's example shows that the Athabascan value system is interconnected and that personal and communal values are not naturally separated in life.

In Monroe's interview, she spoke of how her father was a big influence in her life (Monroe, 2009a). Although Monroe's father is non-Native, he took on Native values. He was a hard working man, honest, kind, fair, and had a strong work ethic (Monroe, 2009a). These are all Athabascan values. In hearing about her father, one can see where Monroe learned her value system. But this does lead to some interesting questions about

how one acquires Athabascan values and what level of examples it would take to learn them. Looking specifically at the DRC and KRH “family,” examples have already been given of staff sharing food. I stated earlier that the act of sharing food has become a tradition at DRC and one that the employees quickly pick up. As the weeks progressed, food would appear in the staff kitchen, happily made by all the different members of the community. In this instance, are the staff taking on Athabascan values, or just returning the gesture of sharing?

Complex questions, such as the extent to which behavior is internalized, have in part been answered by scholars researching behavior in American Indian boarding schools (Adams 1995, Child 1995, Lomawaima 1994, 2006, McCarty 2002, Reyhner and Eder 2004).¹⁸ It can be theorized to some extent that the value systems that Todorov and Monroe gained from their family relations are transferred over the summer months to the employees at DRC and KRH. The “new” family, complete with older and younger members, then start to look after each other, and the values which Todorov and Monroe hold are adopted by the new employees as they mimic the actions of these women. More studies would have to be done before a comprehensive conclusion could be made in regard to the influence of family relations in this and other non-“traditional” communities.

Respect for elders and others

In *Gwich'in Native Elders*, Shawn Wilson grapples with questions such as What is an elder? What more could elders be doing for the community? What can the community do to meet the needs of the elders? To answer these questions, Wilson interviewed several elders as well as others from the Native community of Fort Yukon. He explains;

Elders are the teachers of the community. They teach not only specific knowledge, but the wisdom and culture behind the knowledge. [The elders Wilson interviewed show] that elders are expected to model their teachings in their daily lifestyle. Along with transmitting the culture and heritage of their people in this way, elders are responsible for the maintenance of social values in the community. They provide a sense of continuity between the past and the present that can help the community look towards the future. (Wilson, 1996: 34)

As this passage illustrates, Athabascan values are still adhered to in contemporary Athabascan villages such as Fort Yukon. Evidence of the maintenance of social values in the community is also demonstrated in Fast's book when Velma Wallis seeks out the elders in her village out of respect for their authority as well as to gain validation for her work (Fast, 2002: 169).

The people found themselves seeking out the company of the two women for advice and to learn new things. Now they realized that because the two women had lived so long, surely they knew a lot more than The People had believed.

—Velma Wallis, *Two Old Women*

Respect and responsibility are two values which are central to maintaining cultural continuity in Athabascan culture. As is illustrated in the above passage from *Two Old Women*, once the community learned to respect the elders they started learning from them. As Shawn Wilson illustrates, the role of elders is critical for maintaining continuity to Athabascan societies. In the women from DRC and KRH, we can see the values of respect for elders and others played out in their roles as leaders. As mentioned earlier, Todorov has taken on characteristics of the role of elder. She looks after younger members of the community, and by being a visible leader, sets the tone for the staff. In her third season at DRC, Todorov values any elders who come to work for the season.

In the same way, Monroe, even though she is the manager, respects her employees. For example, Monroe sees herself as a pivot in the company (Monroe, 2009a). Monroe gave me the example of being on the school drill team (Monroe, 2009a). She explained that she has to hold together the various lines of the business and remain connected to Doyon Limited (Monroe, 2009a). She balances her responsibility to her employees and the board of directors, to whom she is responsible (Monroe, 2009a). In doing so, Monroe shows respect for everyone with whom she interacts. One of the ways in which Monroe shows her respect for the knowledge of elders is through the “Elder in Residence program” at KRH.

The Elder in Residence Program at KRH was Monroe's idea (Monroe, 2009b). Over the years, there had been various speakers at KRH. The most popular speakers have been the Native elders, who would come and share their experiences and knowledge with the guests (Monroe, 2009b). In 2005, a budget was established for the program that would allow the elders to receive a stipend and travel costs (Monroe, 2009b). Monroe explains the process:

We invite elders to participate after we've had a referral and done some research. For example, we may learn of someone who is a master snowshoe builder, expert storyteller, or well-known bead worker or basket maker. We find out as much as we can about the person before contacting them to see if they are interested. Naturally, each person is unique and we tailor their visit to suit their personality and comfort level. Some elders prefer to sit in the lobby or on the front porch and quietly visit one-on-one or with small groups of guests while others are quite comfortable standing up in front of 50 guests to give a talk or demonstration. (Monroe, 2009b)

The elders serve as a resource for both guests and the employees (Monroe, 2009b). As Monroe states, "what the elders convey to guests and employees is a calm wisdom and knowledge of life in remote Alaska. They link us to a time when life was truly subsistence and survival of the fittest" (Monroe, 2009b).

Summary

In the above examples, the use of communal values (such as caring and sharing, family relations, and respect for elders and others) have been illustrated by the women leading at DRC and KRH. As the values are interconnected, different examples have been used for each point to clarify the arguments. As was illustrated, these values are not

associated only to Athabaskan peoples, thus raising interesting points on how and when one learns these values and to what extent these values will be learned each year by staff. The uses of communal values in the leadership of the two women have shown how values survive and continue into non-“traditional” communities as well as into present day societies.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In drawing together information from the interviews and analyzing the information in light of various secondary sources on Athabascan values, the research questions have in part been answered. One: Athabascan values are defined as personal and vary on a case-to-case, generation-to-generation basis. However, by tracing values through puberty ceremonies, oral stories, and present day situations, certain values stand out as defining to Athabascan peoples. These values have also been set down by the Denakkanaaga Elders and Youth conference, which gave them a voice in contemporary Athabascan societies. Two: The two women interviewed use the values of self-sufficiency, hard work, practice of traditions, caring, sharing, family relations, and respect for elders and others, when they are away from their home communities. The information in the personal and communal values chapters has illustrated this. Three: Although only one case study has been used, the women interviewed in these non-“traditional” communities over the 2008 summer led by example, expressing values as they took on caring roles. Four: It can be argued that cultural continuity is fostered by Athabascan women through their use of Athabascan values in leadership when they are away from their “traditional” communities.

If, as has been theorized, cultural continuity can be found through women who lead in non-“traditional” society, does the passing on of knowledge to non-Athabascan peoples become a byproduct of this cultural continuity through Athabascan women? This is one of the further research questions that has arisen from this study. In these seasonal

communities, the values held by Native workers influenced the non-Native workers. It would be interesting to research whether, over time non-Native workers internalize these values. As indicated earlier, further research would be needed to understand how Athabascan values are taught to us. The distinction of whether someone has Athabascan values or not is not a difference between Athabascan people and non-Athabascan peoples; instead, as in the case of Monroe and Todorov, the connection appears to be those who have acquired values from observing their caregivers. As elders in “traditional” communities are responsible for passing on culture and therefore values (Wilson, 1996: 34), Monroe and Todorov have become elders in this non-“traditional” community.

NOTES

¹ The Alaskan Native Corporation Doyon Limited, was formed after President Richard Nixon signed the 1971 Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA). ANCSA produced thirteen Native regional corporations in an effort to resolve Native land disputes in Alaska. Whereas in the lower 48 lands were reserved for the Indigenous people, in Alaska regional corporations were established with shares in each of the regional corporations given to Native Alaskans. Doyon is by far the largest of the regional corporations, with 12.5 million acres of land (see Appendix 1 for a map showing Alaska's regional corporations). Doyon Limited runs nine businesses, with Doyon tourism Inc. being the latest addition to the family. Under Doyon Tourism Inc., there are three businesses, Kantishna Roadhouse (KRH), Denali River Cabins (DRC) and Kantishna Wilderness Trails (KWT).

² DRC is situated two hours south of Fairbanks and four hours north of Anchorage

³ Doyon Ltd is the largest of the regional corporations, with a population of 14, 128 according to the United States Census 2000. Doyon shareholders are for the most part the Athabascan Indians from the interior of Alaska.

⁴ The Denakkanaaga Elders and Youth conference is an annual meeting held to bridge the gap between elders and youth. The conference is a forum for discussing issues, sharing stories, and meeting people.

⁵ Denali National Park and Preserve is only open from May to September. As a result the whole seasonal "town" is boarded up and shuts down for the winter months. The nearest year-long town is Healy, which houses employees from some of the bigger hotels.

⁶ There were employees from Australasia, Europe and Eastern Europe in the summer of 2008.

⁷ The literature review section of this paper will look in depth at works about leadership in urban communities.

⁸ Although Athabascan groups have linguistic similarities, there are distinct differences among the eleven Alaskan Athabascan languages (Fast, 2002: 16). As each of these eleven language groups is spoken across villages and bands, more differences are apparent among regional dialects.

⁹ When I read *Life among the Piutes*, it became clear from the choice of topics and the language used that Winnemucca was addressing women. For example, in chapter two, Winnemucca writes: "If women could go into your Congress I think justice would soon be done to the Indians" (Winnemucca, 1994: 53). This would also tie in with the Women's Liberation Movement in American at the time, where women were increasingly supporting social movements in an effort to become more politically active.

¹⁰ Mrs Horace Mann, Winnemucca's editor, also emphasizes Winnemucca's point about the quality of education in Native Peoples and the lack of education in white children by using material from lectures given by Winnemucca (Winnemucca, 1994: 51).

¹¹ Sacagawea's role as a cultural mediator has made her a victim of the romanticization of women, for instance, as Kidwell argues, did she go back to the reservation to die? Or was that a myth started to neatly end the journey she had taken?

¹² AIM stands for the American Indian Movement.

¹³ Myers, in his interpretation of the story, writes; “the seemingly helpless old women manage to survive using skills and determination they didn’t know they had” (Myers, 2006: 1). The women knew they possessed such skills. In Athabaskan culture, not only were women trained in these skills from a young age, but would have been required to teach these skills to younger generations. Myers continues on with his explanation of the story. After the band found the women’s camp he states, they take “advantage of the women’s foodstores” (Myers, 2006: 1). This sentence would indicate that the women were weak, and that the band abused the relationship by taking food. These women were strong and self-sufficient. They had gathered the food for their own use, but decided to share the food with the community, giving explicit conditions that the food not be consumed to fast. This shows the women as being assertive, as opposed to fragile as Myers suggests. Finally, Myers states that the women are “reincorporated, though not without some struggle, and all live happily ever after” (Myers, 2006: 1). Actually, it is the band that is “reincorporated” into the lives of the women when Ch’idzigyaak and Sa’ start to trust the band once again. Myers interpretation, as illustrated above, indicates the diverse values to be gained from readers of different cultures. It becomes evident that Wallis’ use of Athabaskan values reaches her Athabaskan audience; while, as indicated above, the Western reader may simply filter out the values for the sake of the story. Wallis thus incorporates Indigenous Knowledge in her role as a leader by her use of Athabascans values in a modern context.

¹⁴ A biscuit in England is not something had with gravy for breakfast. Biscuits are similar to American cookies. I have never had a homemade biscuit. They are always bought from the store, and can consist of a variety of textures and flavors. They are usually enjoyed with tea in the morning or afternoon as a snack. Hence a biscuit tin, is used to store the biscuits so that they stay fresh throughout the weeks.

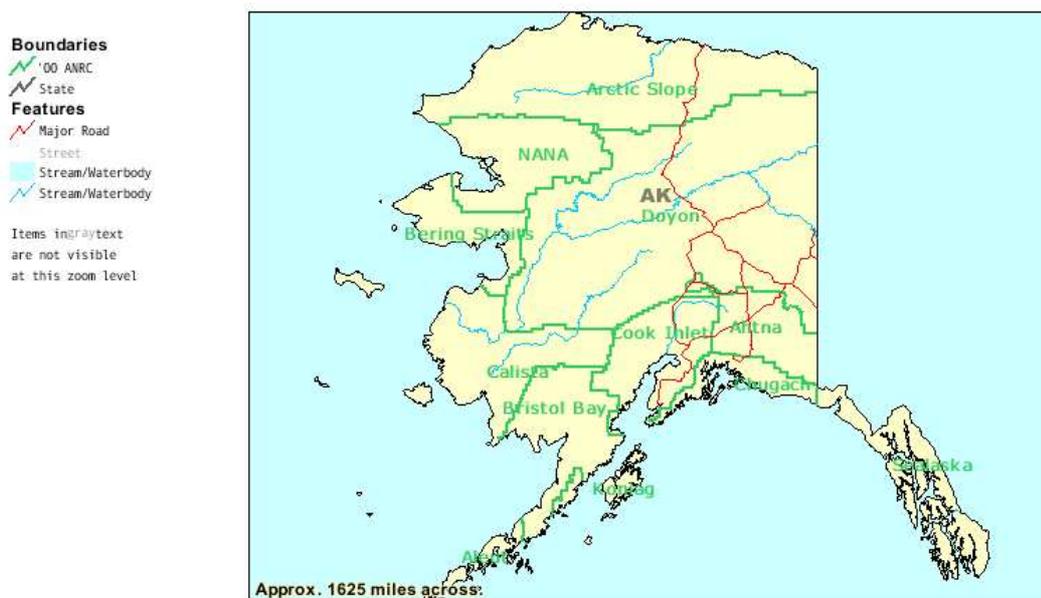
¹⁵ Wonder Lake is a stop on the way to Kantishna, only accessible by tour busses and permit holders.

¹⁶ Pilot bread is a dried cracker which is widely eaten as a snack in Alaska with salmon strips.

¹⁷ The majority of customers arrive by train. There are two trains daily, one from Fairbanks and one from Anchorage. As there is no public transport in Denali, one of the hotels busses collects the customers from the train station and brings them to DRC.

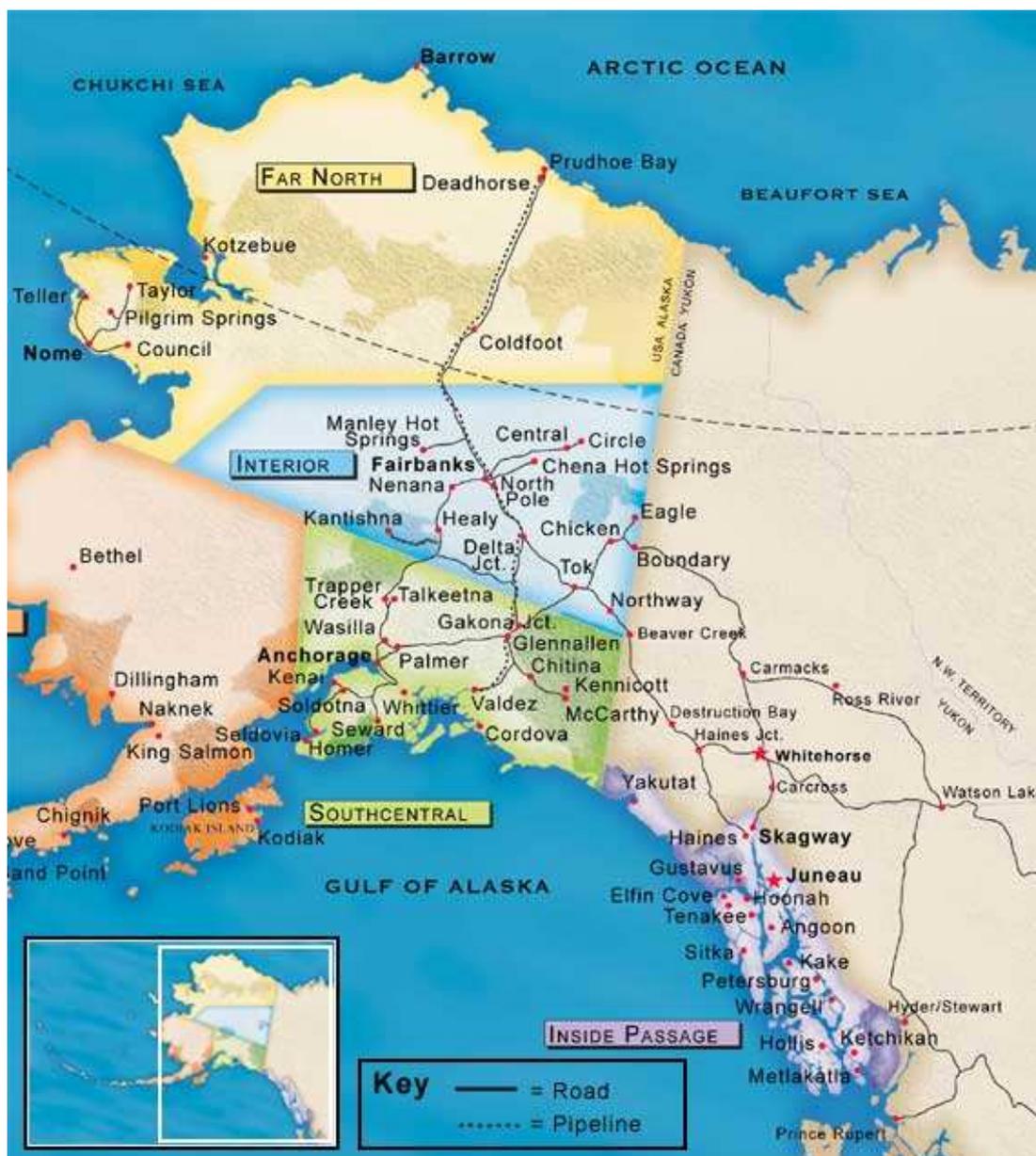
¹⁸ Scholars in this area have observed varying degrees of assimilation and resistance during the time children were away from their families in the boarding schools.

APPENDIX A: ALASKA'S REGIONAL CORPORATIONS



U.S. Bureau of the Census. "Alaska's Regional Corporations" Reference Maps. [http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/ReferenceMapFramesetServlet?_bm=y&-context=rm&-PANEL_ID=rm_result&-ds_name=DEC_2000_SFAIAN&-rm_config=\[b=50\]|en|t=420|zf=0.0|ms=ref_ir_00dec|dw=51.62799738602801|dh=17.348530096146238|dt=gov.census.aff.domain.map.EnglishMapExtent|if=gif|cx=-151.57248875|cy=62.648300000000006|zl=9|pz=9|bo=313:312|bl=354:391|ft=350:349:35:389:388:332:331|fl=403:381:204:380:369:379:368|g=25000US6515&-tree_id=420&-bucket_id=50&-redoLog=false&-errMsg=&-geo_id=25000US6515&-_lang=en](http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/ReferenceMapFramesetServlet?_bm=y&-context=rm&-PANEL_ID=rm_result&-ds_name=DEC_2000_SFAIAN&-rm_config=[b=50]|en|t=420|zf=0.0|ms=ref_ir_00dec|dw=51.62799738602801|dh=17.348530096146238|dt=gov.census.aff.domain.map.EnglishMapExtent|if=gif|cx=-151.57248875|cy=62.648300000000006|zl=9|pz=9|bo=313:312|bl=354:391|ft=350:349:35:389:388:332:331|fl=403:381:204:380:369:379:368|g=25000US6515&-tree_id=420&-bucket_id=50&-redoLog=false&-errMsg=&-geo_id=25000US6515&-_lang=en) [accessed March 8th, 2008].

APPENDIX B: KANTISHNA AND DENALI



Alaska Travel Industry Association. "Highway Map and Mileage Chart." Alaska.
<http://www.travelalaska.com/Transportation/roadmap.aspx> [accessed March 8th, 2008].

APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Monroe

- What was your favorite memory from the summer?
- How would you define your role at Doyon Tourism?
- What do you consider to be the most important aspect of your job at Doyon Tourism?
- How do you help prepare the staff for their time in Denali?
- What was your least favorite memory from the summer?
- When was the first time you thought of yourself as a leader and why?
- Have you any hobbies or interests which you think have helped you in your work?
- Who was influential in your life growing up and why?
- Do you have a leadership philosophy?
- Has your upbringing/ background has had an influence on how you view other people?
- Who's idea was the elders in residence program, how long has it been going and what are the elders asked to talk about or is it up to them?

Todorov

- What was your favorite memory from the summer?
- One of the things I loved about working at Denali was the way everyone looked out for each other. Did you feel that you were part of a community at DRC? What were some of the things that made you feel part of a community?
- What was one of your least favorite memories?
- By the end of the season, were there certain employees that had become leaders at DRC?
- Who or what was influential in your life growing up and why?
- Do you consider yourself to be a role model for the Athabascan women?
- How do you think your upbringing or background has influenced your role in Doyon tourism?
- While I was in Denali I went hiking every day, because I love being outside away from noise and people. What was the most important thing to you while you worked over the summer?
- What do you miss most about working at DRC over the summer?
- Do you consider yourself a leader?
- Was there a difference in the values of the native and non-Native workers?
- What are some of the factors that influence the way you interact with other people?

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