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Tribal Lands, Tribal Men, and Tribal Responsibilities:
World Renewal Fathers with Criminal Records and
Their Perceptions of Work and Fatherhood On and Off-Reservation

A dissertation presented
by
Blythe Katelyn George
to
The Committee on Higher Degrees in Social Policy

in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in the subject of
Sociology and Social Policy

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Tribal Lands, Tribal Men, and Tribal Responsibilities:

World Renewal Fathers with Criminal Records and

Their Perceptions of Work and Fatherhood On and Off-Reservation

Abstract

The spatial concentration of inequality is one of the most enduring findings in the social sciences (Sampson 2012, Sharkey 2013, Wilson 1987, 1996), yet these theories do not encompass the experience of rural tribal reservations. Reservations are home to deeply intransigent forms of poverty and unemployment and have been for generations (Calloway 2011, Henson 2008), underscoring the need to expand existing theories of marginalized labor force attachment to include tribal reservations. Comparing the experiences of men who live on and off the Yurok and Hoopa Valley tribal reservations in northwestern California, the author answers the question: how do tribal fathers with criminal records conceive of work and fatherhood?

Using over 130 hours of in-depth interviews with 35 individual cases buttressed by thirty months of participant observation and administrative record review, she finds that this population is distinguished by their "world renewal worldview." This cultural tool-kit (Swidler 1986) fosters a strong labor force attachment, especially for jobs in the natural resource industries that resonate with tribal fathers' conceptions of world renewal masculinity, in particular the expectation to provide for their families through stewardship of the area's natural resources (Buckley 2002, Lara-Cooper & Lara 2019). Their commitment to work is in tension with a post-decline local economy and an extreme frequency of co-occurring substance dependencies and experiences of trauma, particularly on-reservation. Nonetheless, tribal fathers secured work by utilizing their

individual initiative and the generosity of their social networks, thereby exemplifying the process of "survivance" (Vizenor 2008). While fathers differed in employment status, most described active and intense involvement with their families, both with their children and their domestic partners.

With this investigation, the author adds a new lens to studies of concentrated disadvantage by describing how the "reservation" represents both a physical space and a social institution that shapes contemporary inequality. Additionally, she nuances existing theorizations of how structural and cultural forces influence labor force attachment (Holzer 1996, Liebow 1967, Wilson 1996), social networks (Fernandez & Fernandez-Mateo 2006, Portes & Sensenbrenner 1993, Smith 2007, Portes & Manning 1985), and fatherhood (Edin et al. 2019, Edin & Nelson 2013, Roy 2006, Waller 2006) in marginalized communities.

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Acknowledgements

It should not come as a surprise that completing a dissertation is a herculean task, and my dissertation was no different. The reader must reckon with nearly three hundred pages of text documenting the experiences and perceptions of tribal fathers with criminal records hailing from the Humboldt and Del Norte counties of California, and the Yurok and Hoopa Valley tribal reservations in particular. Yet, even this page count does not capture the hours, days and even years that went into the document that follows. From the sheer joy of being in the field to the travails of trying days and the midpoints in between, it was a labor of pure heart that got me to the finish line, an effort I shared with those I am lucky enough to call my family, friends, mentors and colleagues, not to mention the institutions and ultimately my respondents who made this project possible.

I cannot thank my mother Eileen Ragain nor my brothers Taylor George and Drake Horn enough for their unwavering support from Day 1. They were the first people I lectured, the first people to support my voracious love of reading, and the first people who never doubted that this day would come. They held me up each time an obstacle stood in my path, reminding me who we were as proud Yurok people. No matter how I was tested the many times over throughout the course of my PhD, they never let me forget how the trials and tribulations of the "schoolhouse" paled in comparison to the plethora of dire circumstances we and our bloodline had already overcome. To my father Anthony George, I am deeply grateful for your ever-present smile, a smile that has greeted me in good times and bad. Your resilience lives in your ability to make others laugh no matter what or when, and it is a trait I carry with me with great pride. Your struggles in town taught me as much as your lessons at the Forks of Salmon ever did, and it is for men like you that I do this work. My family is and always has been a constant reminder of my

great fortune and sheer privilege to be able to do the work I love, work I hope will make their lives and the lives of those like them better. Living away from my family and my home for the duration of my studies was the single greatest sacrifice of my life thus far, but a necessary one for my work to be possible. I thank them for sharing me with the world, and ask Creator and those who have gone on to continue to keep us safe as my travels bring us near and far. To my friends who became my family away from home, you were my sanity in this crazy life called academia, and never failed to remind me nor tempt me with the importance of a healthy work-life balance. Quite simply, nights in Somerville made days in Cambridge worth it. To my graduate student peers, you are the only ones who really understand what we give up day in and day out for this degree, and I am so happy to have walked this path with each of you. Lastly, to my pets, Sebastian, Elsa and Oscar, without whom this journey would have been substantially worse and entirely unfluffy, I love you and thank you for sharing me with the computer.

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The most poignant part of my dissertation defense was when I reflected on the contributions of the respondents whose words are included in the subsequent dissertation. It is not simply a matter of data collection when I say that without their participation this project would not have been possible. Participation meant so much more than signing a form, or sitting through hours of questions, or being open with a person you barely knew—it meant giving of themselves in some of the most intimate ways possible. It meant sharing hurts that they had carried with them for years in the hope that maybe their children or their grandchildren would not have to endure those same pains. They believed with me that together, we could fight that long fight, we could make something better thrsough this project, and their commitment and willingness to do so was the first step to accomplishing that goal. I am so incredibly grateful for each and every participant for this study—from my 35 focal respondents to the innumerable community members and key informants who shared pieces of themselves so that I, the "observer," could see the whole. They saw in me a learner who had left home and came back with the hope of bringing the lessons she had learned to fruition in the place she had loved no

matter how far she traveled from it. They saw me as a Yurok woman first and foremost, and they believed in the importance of this work in a way that transcended knowledge production—for us, it was a matter of our very vitality as a people. To the Yurok Tribal Court and Justice Center and to Judge Abby Abinanti in particular, your willingness to shepherd me through this process while recognizing my expertise as a social scientist was hands-down one of the most empowering experiences of my life and is one of the reasons I stand taller when I speak on our community in rooms around the world. I am so happy to bring this one home for us and I cannot wait for what we have built together in these pages to be put into practice. Yet, truthfully, so much of the heart that I was able to master for this project was in direct emulation of the care shown by the tribal workers who live every day in service of their tribes and of their tribal citizens. It is in their image that I produce my scholarship and it is for our community that I continue to move this work forward.

Wokhlew' for your consideration.

Chapter 1:
Introduction: The Job Search of Tribal Fathers with Criminal Records

Introduction

Half of all tribal reservations[1] in the United States have unemployment rates above 50% and nearly all have poverty rates of more than 40%, with their incarceration patterns 44% higher than national averages (Akee & Taylor 2014, Henson 2008). Scores of men and women have been removed from their communities by the criminal justice system, and the adverse effects of mass incarceration have been immediate in tribal communities. Despite dealing with these significant and overlapping economic and social inequalities for generations, tribal reservations have thus far been left out of considerations of inequality and place.

The spatial concentration of disadvantage is one of the most enduring findings in sociology (Sampson & Morenoff 2006, Sampson 2012, Sharkey 2013, Wilson 1978, 1987, 1996), yet we have not adapted these theories to include the experience of rural tribal reservations. Reservations are home to some of the most intransigent forms of inequality in the country and have been for generations (Akee & Taylor 2014, Calloway 2011, Henson 2008). As social scientists, we cannot purport to have a comprehensive theory of phenomena like poverty, unemployment, and crime without also incorporating rural variations. I offer the case of tribal fathers with criminal records living on and off-reservation as a lens into this experience. In doing so, I expand existing considerations of how structural and cultural forces shape labor force attachment (Holzer 1996, Liebow 1967, Wilson 1987, 1996, 1999), social networks (Browning et al. 2004, Fernandez & Fernandez-Mateo 2006, Portes & Sensenbrenner 1993, Smith 2007,

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[1] This project focuses on the experience of tribal members living on their tribal reservations, specifically the Hoopa Tribe on the Hoopa Valley Reservation, and the Yurok Tribe on the Yurok Reservation. "Tribal" is used to indicate enrolled members of federally recognized tribes, and one's specific tribal affiliation is disclosed where relevant. "Reservation" and "off-reservation" refer to the residence or location of an individual or event and indicates whether it took place within or outside the reservation's legal boundaries. These categories can include tribal and non-tribal

Portes & Manning 1986), and fatherhood (Connor & White 2006, Edin et al. 2019, Edin & Nelson 2013, Nelson 2004, Roy 2006, Waller 2002) in marginalized communities.

In particular, I find that my respondents shared a "world renewal worldview" which offered them frames and cultural scripts (Harding 2006, 2007, Lamont & Small 2008, Swidler 1986, 2001, Young 2003) that emphasized the primacy of the local landscape and their responsibility as tribal men to provide for their families through stewardship of the area's natural resources (Buckley 2002, Risling Baldy 2018, Lara-Cooper & Lara 2019). This pro-work orientation was in fierce tension with the extreme frequency of co-occurring exposure to adversity and substance dependencies in the sample, which limited the men's ability to translate their strong labor force attachment into full-time employment. Negative credentials like dropping out of high school, having a criminal record, and lacking a driver's license combined with the slack local economy to greatly constrain the number of jobs available to respondents. Even still, by pursuing jobs that highly valued their "country masculine habitus" (Desmond 2008) and their ethos of generativity (Erikson 1950, McAdams 2006, Maruna 2001), respondents found work in natural resources industries like fisheries, forestry, and wildfire firefighting as well as working in drug and alcohol rehabilitation. While those living on vs. off-reservation differed in their ability to secure full-time vs. more seasonal and/or part-time employment, respondents across the board described active and intense involvement with their family units, and depended heavily on their domestic partners and larger social networks to meet the physical and emotional needs of their children.

By articulating long-term unemployment from a rural perspective, I can propose ways to adapt existing employment policies to better meet the needs of job seekers living far from public transportation, affordable housing, and other key supports for finding work, particularly

necessary for individuals doing so post-incarceration (Baer et al. 2006, Visher & Travis 2003, Visher et al. 2004, Harding et al. 2011, Western et al. 2015, Western 2018). Additionally, by learning how tribal members thrive on remote reservations despite their scant resources and high substance abuse rates, I can shed light on how to intervene in the opioid crisis that is devastating so many rural, under-resourced communities around the country (Evans et al. 2018, Hayes 2004, Jonas et al. 2012, Young et al. 2012). In these ways, Indian Country has much to teach the rest of the United States when it comes to successfully intervening in cycles of adversity.

Methods and Orienting Frameworks

In this dissertation, I utilize a qualitative framework with three components: participant observation, administrative record review, and in-depth interviews. I center my analysis on the experiences of 35 focal respondents, each of whom comprises an individual "case," for a total of 35 cases. These individual cases were supplemented by two years of ethnographic observation on the reservations and in the surrounding counties, including a ten-month observation of the Yurok Tribal Court in Klamath, CA. For all ethnographic encounters and non-recorded interactions, I compiled extensive field notes using the template in Appendix C. I buttressed both my observations and my interviews with administrative record review including accessing respondents' criminal histories, and other verification processes such as reading job rejection letters and interviewing the network partners of focal respondents, including their partners, parents, friends, and social workers. Such verification is common in other research on those returning from incarceration and their reintegration into their family and social networks (e.g., Western et al. 2014). Interviews with network partners served as additional sources of

information on my respondents' social connections. By leveraging these different methodological tacks, I provided greater depth and range to the 35 individual cases (Small 2009).

I describe the perceptions of work and fatherhood held by tribal fathers with criminal records looking for work in a rural area post-incarceration by focusing on the Yurok and Hoopa Valley Tribes of northwestern California. The study area, pictured in Map 2 in Chapter 3, includes both tribal reservations and the larger two-county region of Humboldt and Del Norte counties. These coastal counties are some of the most rural in the state, and arguably the nation as they contain some of the largest portions of undeveloped land in the contiguous United States. These areas are home to a diverse yet sparse population, with American Indians representing a sizable minority of the approximately 130,000 people who live on and off-reservation (ACS 2013-2017).

A fundamental characteristic of the study area is the local Indigenous tribes that have called the area home since time immemorial. The Yurok and Hoopa Valley reservations represent a portion of the tribes' ancestral homelands, with neighboring tribes to the south, north and East. The areas' topography and rich natural resources structure each tribe's respective territories, with the Klamath River and its Trinity River tributary serving as the focal points for the Yurok, Hupa and Karuk worldviews. Despite their incredible linguistic diversity (Baker 1981), these tribes share their spiritual orientations as adherents of the "world renewal" belief system, derived from local Indigenous conceptions of spirituality (Buckley 2002, Kroeber 1925, Risling Baldy 2018). Traditionally, area tribes were organized at the village-level, with each of these semi-autonomous units part of a larger region-spanning trade network. Yet in present day, they are each governed by a formal tribal body housed on each reservation (Buckley 2002, Kroeber 1925). Tribes in Humboldt and Del Norte counties were some of the last to be colonized

in the lower-48 states, with permanent white settlement as recent as the 1850s (Madley 2009, Nelson 1978, Norton 1979), compared to the settlement of the East Coast in the 17th century (Calloway 2011). As such, they maintain significant cultural knowledge systems, and this is particularly the case since the cultural revitalizations of the late 1970s and 1980s (Buckley 2002, Risling Baldy 2018, Lara-Cooper & Lara 2019). These knowledge bases include their creation stories, traditional dance ceremonies, hunting and gathering practices, and conceptions of individual and collective responsibility. I go into further detail as to the cultural distinctions of the study area in Chapter 2, as well as an in-depth consideration in Chapter 4 where I introduce the "world renewal worldview" and its contemporary expressions.

I focus on these reservations and their larger two-county region as a means to engage with rural variations of "concentrated disadvantage." This term refers to how inequalities like poverty, unemployment and crime have been shown to cluster spatially, yet these studies have thus far exclusively focused on urban environments (Sampson 2012, Sharkey 2013, Wilson 1978, 1987, 1996). I build my contribution on this theoretical foundation, taking as a fundamental backdrop the role that industry decline and other macro-level forces can take in shaping employment outcomes beyond individual-level characteristics (Holzer 1996, Holzer et al. 2006, Wilson 1996). Going further, I focus on the overlap between attenuated labor force attachment and prisoner reentry. In an era of mass incarceration (Baer et al. 2006, Pettit & Western 2004, Visher & Travis 2003, Western 2007, Western 2018), increasing numbers of job seekers are left looking for work in slack conditions while also saddled with a criminal record and corresponding stigmatization (Pager 2003, 2007, Pager & Western 2005). Authors like Sandra Smith (2007) have shed light on the obstacles to social capital mobilization for low-income minority job seekers, yet my respondents have access to thick social networks (Portes &

Manning 1986, Portes & Sensenbrenner 1993) in comparison to these proximal groups.

Just as I draw on sociological theories of social networks and job-seeking within a context of concentrated disadvantage, I also borrow significantly from Indigenous Studies to administer a research design and analysis that honors the inherent knowledge bases held my respondents as Indigenous men (Anderson & Innes 2015, Lara-Cooper & Lara 2019, Tuhiwai Smith 1999, 2013, Risling Baldy 2018). In doing so, I adopt a "decolonizing praxis" whereby I foreground Indigenous teachings and ways of knowing (Holkup et al. 2004, Risling Baldy 2018, Tuhiwai Smith 1999, Yuan et al. 2015). With this orienting framework, I acknowledge the non-Western worldviews that are distinguishing characteristics of my sample and larger study area (Buckley 2002, Anderson & Innes 2015, Lara-Cooper & Lara 2019, Tuhiwai Smith 1999, 2013, Risling Baldy 2018) as compared those studied elsewhere (Sampson 2012, Sharkey 2013, Wilson 1978, 1987, 1996.).

Key Terminology

Beyond the orienting frameworks that guide this analysis, I introduce several key terms that are reoccurring throughout the dissertation. Chapter 4 rests on the concept of "worldview," an epistemological tool that refers to how an individual conceives of the world, and their perceptions of socially acceptable behavior therein (Geertz 1957, 1973, Young 2003). Building on anthropological (Geertz 1957, 1973) and sociological applications (Harding, Lamont, & Small 2010, Lamont & Small 2008, Swidler 1986, 2001, Young 2003) of the term, I engage the specific worldviews of my respondents, in particular the "world renewal worldview," a distinguishing characteristic of the study population and one derived from local conceptions of Indigenous spirituality (Buckley 2002, Kroeber 1925). Like others, this worldview is comprised

of various frames (Harding, Lamont, & Small 2010, Lamont & Small 2008), strategies of action (Swidler 1986, 2001) and cultural scripts (Harding 2006, 2007) for behavior that shape the range of socially appropriate actions for my respondents as Indigenous fathers. Cultural scripts in particular are tool-kits from which individuals draw meaning and interpret social action (Harding 2006, 2007, Swidler 1986, 2001). For my respondents, they enacted cultural scripts derived from their world renewal worldview in their job-seeking and in their roles as fathers.

I also borrow from the disciplines of psychology and Indigenous studies for this dissertation, with a particular emphasis on "adverse childhood experiences" and "survivance" respectively. In the former case, I draw on the Adverse Childhood Experience Index or "ACEs" as an analytic tool for assessing an individual's exposure to childhood trauma (Anda et al. 2006, Campbell et al. 2016, Dube et al. 2003, Felitti et al. 1998, Liu et al. 2013). This is an important contribution as studies from psychology (Felitti et al. 1998, Liu et al. 2013), neuroscience (Anda et al. 2006), public health (Campbell et al. 2016, Dube et al. 2003) and sociology (McEwan & McEwan 2017) are underscoring the linkages between adverse experiences and "toxic stress" therein as micro-level processes that sustain inequality over time as children are disproportionately exposed to "chaos" in their home lives (McEwan & McEwan 2017, Hedstrom & Ylikoski 2010). Indigenous homes in particular have faced an overexposure to trauma for generations (Duran et al. 1998, Brokenleg 2012) and the ACE index provides a metric with which such adversity can be interpreted from a social perspective. Yet, even with generations of "historical trauma," Indigenous people are still here, and our survival is a direct reflection of our resistance to the process of colonization (Anderson & Innes 2015, Lara-Cooper & Lara 2019, Tuhiwai Smith 1999, 2013, Risling Baldy 2018). These dual processes of survival and resistance were described as "survivance" by Vizenor (2008) and has since been adopted by Indigenous

critical theorists to signify the process by which tribal peoples are and always have been active participants with their social context rather than passive victims of historical circumstance (Lara-Cooper & Lara 2019, Tuhiwai Smith 1999, 2013, Risling Baldy 2018). By including the literature on survivance and adverse childhood experiences, I enhance my sociological interpretation to more accurately reflect the specific characteristics of my study population, tribal fathers with criminal records.

Looking Ahead: A Reader's Roadmap

The dissertation is structured around four substantive chapters preceded by discussion of tribal reservations as the study context and a consideration of the projects' data and methods. In the first substantive chapter, I introduce the world renewal worldview, an essential trait of the respondent pool, and its accompanying frames and strategies of action (Harding, Lamont, & Small 2010, Lamont & Small 2008, Swidler 1986, 2001, Young 2003). These cultural tool-kits ranged from the primacy of the local landscape and the gendered expectations of tribal men as traditional stewards of the area's natural resources to their role as dance makers and primary providers for their family units, or *numi pegerk* (Buckley 2002). I introduce this worldview because despite its ancient origins, my respondents continued to use it in present day to shape their perceptions of individual responsibility; their relationship to the collective, both to their families and their communities; and their conceptions of work. Each of the reservations served as a locus for the world renewal worldview and the social resilience therein (Lamont et al. 2013, Long & Nelson 1999), with their most remote portions like Sregon, Pecwan and Blue Creek holding particularly deep meaning to area residents and off-reservation worldview adherents alike. Beyond the primacy of this worldview, in this chapter I also offer "the body" as a tool for

cultural expression and a focus of cultural analysis. Cultural sociologists emphasize the role of discursive cultural expression (Goffman 1974, Edin et al. 2019, Harding 2006, 2007, 2011, Lamont & Small 2008, Snow & Benford 1992, Swidler 1986, 2001, Young 2003); however, I push for more considerations of *non*-discursive examples, including how they both affirm and expand our existing theorizations of "culture."

While tribal fathers have access to a rich set of non-discursive and discursive cultural scripts that fostered strong labor force attachment, I show in Chapter 5 that their access to the world renewal worldview also overlaps with a high exposure to adversity across the life course and substance dependencies to methamphetamine, opioids/opiates, and alcohol. By detailing the scope of co-occurring experiences of adversity and substance use across my respondent pool, I suggest that substance dependency may be a micro-level process linking childhood adversity to the employment constraints faced by tribal fathers with criminal records (Hedstrom & Ylikoski 2010, McEwan & McEwan 2017). I show how respondents make the connection between these phenomena in their own lives as they seek treatment for their addictions, and in doing so, reclaim their personal agency in abstaining from crime and violence. Going further, I theorize a "reservation effect" whereby individual and family-level adversity and substance dependence are further exacerbated by the high acquaintance density (Weisheit et al. 1996, Weisheit 1996) and concentrated disadvantage (Wilson 1987, 1996, 2009) that characterizes both reservations. Such adversity and its corresponding traumas (Anda et al. 2006, Felitti et al. 1998, Liu et al. 2013) are in significant tension with the primacy of the reservation within the world renewal worldview. By highlighting this tension, I add a new layer to studies of concentrated disadvantage (Sampson 2012, Sampson & Wilson 1995, Sharkey 2013, Wilson 1987, 1996, 1999) by describing how, like "the neighborhood," the "reservation" also represents a physical space *and* a social

institution that shapes employment outcomes, social network structures, and a host of other aspects of daily life in rural areas.

In Chapter 6, I describe how the pro-work orientations of the world renewal worldview and the frequency of co-occurring adversity and substance dependencies come to bear on my respondents' job search outcomes. Beyond looking for work in the context of an industry decline (Wilson 1987, 1996), respondents in the sample were also characterized by high attrition rates, an inability to pass the stringent background checks of local employers, and a lack of driver's licenses. While the criminal records and high school attrition have been the subject of much scholarly attention (Holzer 1996, Holzer et al. 2006, Pager 2003, 2007, Pager & Western 2005), I offer this last purportedly "value-neutral" credential as a further constraint on employment outcomes for my respondents. Even for positions that did not require driving, employers appeared to use the lack of a driver's license as a way to thin the stack of potential job applicants. This was particularly the case for tribal employers who were governed by externally-imposed reporting requirements in hiring. On-reservation, the limitations posed by the lack of a driver's license were especially onerous in an area nearly devoid of public transportation. I encourage further research into how employers use this characteristic as a screening mechanism in other labor markets, with an emphasis on rural areas where personal vehicles are the primary mode of transportation (American Community Survey 2017, Arcury et al. 2006, Moseley 1979).

Even with these constraints, nearly every respondent was either working or seeking work at the time of their interview. My respondents' strong labor force attachment was a reflection of their tenacity in the job search process, where they relied heavily on their individual initiative and country masculine habitus (Desmond 2008) to secure work as entrepreneurs and in the natural resource industries of forestry, wildfire firefighting and fisheries. Additionally, they

leveraged their experiences as recovering addicts to assume positions as “professional exes” (Maruna 2001) within the local recovery and drug treatment infrastructure. By securing formal employment, respondents exemplified a process of survivance (Allen 2011, Ramirez & Hammack 2014, Vizenor 2008) as they met their obligations to provide for their families despite significant obstacles to the contrary. With this application, I expand the use of this term from its origins in Indigenous Studies to the field of Sociology, and in this way foreground the resilience and dynamism of tribal fathers with criminal records.

In spite of such perseverance, the high rate of employment across the sample obscures the men’s varying access to full-time, full-year stable employment, with 39% of respondents currently underemployed in temporary, seasonal, or otherwise part-time positions. Men living off-reservation were particularly likely to be working under-the-table or in other suboptimal jobs, yet they gravitated towards these kinds of employers for their leniency with regards to background checks as well as their prioritization of manual know-how and physical strength over criminal histories. In both the case of off and on-reservation respondents, they eschewed asking for help in their job seeking, instead preferring to secure work through their own efforts. Despite their “preferred individualism,” they still benefitted from a “generosity of position” in that respondents and their peers engaged in a process whereby men helped those their junior find work, like “baby cousins” and sons. In turn, they benefited from similar generosities from their fathers, uncles, and other older male network partners who were already employed in the industries in which they desired to work. With this chapter, I suggest that job referrals are not atomistic, one-time exchanges of information confined to the interaction between job-holders and job-seekers. Rather, they take place within a context of pre-existing social structures and cultural scripts that dictate which patterns of referrals are more or less likely than others.

In the final substantive chapter, I illustrate how my respondents highly prioritized their roles as fathers, and maintained an active presence in meeting the day-to-day physical and emotional needs of their children. The sample was characterized by a high frequency of long-term monogamous relationships (46%) and large families (≥ 4 children), and to a lesser degree multiple partner fertility (37% of respondents). In this context, respondents expanded their version of "the package deal" (Townsend 2002) to include their children from previous unions, with most fathers with multiple child-bearing partners sharing at least part-time physical custody of their children year-round. This was the case even after the formation of new cohabiting relationships and subsequent births. Going further, it was through the lens of a two-parent household with themselves as the primary breadwinner that respondents conceptualized their family unit, a cultural script derived from the world renewal worldview and buttressed by larger social expectations of "father-as-provider" (Pepin & Cotter 2017, Pedulla & Thébaud 2015, Riggs 1997). To honor this responsibility, respondents leaned heavily on their domestic partners and social networks to care for their children while they pursued full-time work. While their social networks freely exchanged resources like childcare and housing, they affirmed the social expectations of men as providers by stigmatizing the borrowing of cash or other resources that would supplant a father's contribution to his family. With these findings, I affirm representations of low-income men as involved and caring fathers (Connor & White 2006, Edin et al. 2019, Edin & Nelson 2013, Roy 2006, Way & Stauber 1996, Waller 2002). In doing so, I offer the experiences of tribal fathers with criminal records as a subset of fathers who prioritize their roles as providers even as social and cultural trends decouple such expectations from more hands-on responsibilities (Edin & Nelson 2013, Harding 2011, Hochschild & Machung 1989, Roy 2006, Waller 2002). I contend that even for those residing within the context of a larger, diverse

culture, members of highly cohesive social groups will circumscribe their adoption of cultural scripts to include specific frames over others. With this non-Western case, I push back on the paradigm of "technical efficiency" to include strategies of action (Swidler 1986, 2001) that emphasize responsibility to the collective over individual optimization (Lara-Cooper & Lara 2019, Tuhiwai Smith 1999, 2013, Waters 2015, Weber 1922).

Over the course of the dissertation, I suggest a theorization of the reservation as a space where the sacred and the profane live side-by-side (Durkheim 1915). Places like Hoopa, Klamath, and downriver are sites of deep spiritual significance, with the landscape recognized as an interactive component in the lives of my respondents and their families. Yet, the reservations also served as collection points for the victimization of each generation of world renewal adherents—from the genocide of the Gold Rush (Calloway 2011, Madley 2009) to the slavery and boarding schools that followed (Lomawaima 2004, Norton 1979). Such historical trauma is set within the context of mass incarceration of black and brown bodies in present era (Beran 2005, Sakala 2014, Western 2007), exacerbated further by the physical and mental scourge of substance dependence. As a result, "the reservation" is where negative outcomes have clustered over time, notwithstanding the deep meaning attributed to the space by its residents. For my respondents, inequality sat as a backdrop to their spirituality, a spirituality that lives on-reservation.

This paradoxical concentration of both promise and peril, both sacredness and profane (Durkheim 1915) was an ever-present concern for respondents and their families— in order to live in their ancestral territories and practice their world renewal ceremonies, they had to navigate the disadvantages that shaped these ancient spaces in contemporary era. This tension between the primacy of the reservation to the world renewal worldview and its role in structuring

rural inequality is a compelling contribution to theory and policy alike. The vast majority of inequality research would suggest that those living in a context marked by daily adversity should opt to move somewhere where that is no longer the case (Chetty et al. 2015, Goering & Feins 2003, Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn 2003, Ludwig et al. 2013). Yet, for tribal fathers with criminal records and their families more generally, living on the reservation is a point of deep meaning. Residing in these areas despite their disadvantage affirms their roles as the original inhabitants and traditional stewards of their sacred landscapes. For these reasons, we must focus on those policy interventions that would be most effective in-place rather than those that would seek to further dispossess tribal peoples of their aboriginal lands. Ultimately, the reservation and its surrounding areas are fundamental parts of modern Indigenous conceptions of the world. As scholars and policy makers, it is our responsibility to theorize and implement pathways to resilience on and off-reservation for the fathers and families who call these areas home.

Chapter 2:
Tribal Reservations: A Discussion

In this chapter, I offer the case of tribal reservations as a window into the overlapping processes of inequality, adversity, and resilience. Over the course of the dissertation, I compare the experiences of tribal fathers with criminal records who live on the Yurok and Hoopa Valley reservations to those who live off-reservation in the surrounding two-county area to contextualize their perceptions of work and fatherhood. To orient this comparison, I introduce the fundamental theoretical considerations that I have incorporated into my research design and analysis that are based on proximal work in Indigenous Studies (Brokenleg 2012, Buckley 2002, Duran et al. 1998, Anderson & Innes 2018, Lara-Cooper & Lara 2019, Risling Baldy 2018, Tuhiwai Smith 1999, 2013). I continue with an outline of the cultural distinctions of the study area followed by a discussion of why “the reservation” holds theoretical relevance for inequality scholars (Sandefur 1996). Using the experiences of my respondents, I describe how they came to live either on or off-reservation. I conclude the chapter with a description of the different resources that fathers had access to by virtue of their residential location, resources that have substantive implications throughout the dissertation.

Fundamental Considerations for an Indigenous Case

In each chapter, I leverage previous sociological literatures on the intersection of inequality and place (Anderson 2000, Edin & Nelson 2013, Massey & Denton 1993, Sampson 2012, Sharkey 2013, Smith 2007, Venkatesh 2006, Wilson 1987, 1996, Young 3003) to interpret the case of tribal fathers with criminal records and their perceptions of work and fatherhood. In doing so, I also acknowledge the unique and distinct characteristics of conducting research with

tribal respondents on rural reservations. I do not seek to provide an exhaustive review of the field of Indigenous Studies nor its underpinning orientations, but I will outline for the reader the fundamental considerations that they must keep in mind as they review the evidence proffered by this Indigenous case. These include the incorporation of a research design that refutes the centuries-long tradition of knowledge extraction thrust onto tribal communities since their colonization (Anderson & Innes 2015, Risling Baldy 2018, Tuhiwai Smith 1999, 2013), including recognition of Indigenous peoples as partners in the research process, not merely objects of study (Holkup et al. 2004, Yuan et al. 2015). Furthermore, informed research must also accommodate the historical and present day adversities that afflict contemporary Indigenous communities while also acknowledging that regardless of these circumstances, tribal peoples are still here and maintain their cultures despite at-times constant assaults on their ways of living (Calloway 2011, Lomawaima 2004, Madley 2009, Norton 1979, Philp 1999, Wilkinson & Biggs 1977).

As a first order concern, I orient my contribution within the framework of "decolonizing praxis." This line of inquiry holds up Indigenous knowledge bases to stand alongside Western conceptions that have historically been projected *on* to these communities, rather than built *with* them (Anderson & Innes 2015, Risling Baldy 2018, Tuhiwai Smith 1999, 2013). By adopting this lens, I am positioning my work in contrast to previous research paradigms of "settler colonialism." Settler colonialism describes the phenomenon whereby the state and individual social actors alike have sought to sever the relationship between Indigenous peoples and the lands they have traditionally stewarded for millennia in order to take these lands for themselves (Risling Baldy 2018, Tuhiwai Smith 1999, 2013). One of the vehicles through which settler colonialism manifests is "salvage ethnography," whereby tribal peoples are painted as static in

time. Their pre-invasion culture is idealized, with academics more concerned with describing a "pristine" state rather than accurately depicting a living, breathing culture that changes over time and varies internally across adherents (Risling Baldy 2018). As the discipline of Anthropology grew, scholars extracted knowledge from tribal communities while at the same time privileging the opinions of "experts" external to the culture they were studying over those of their Indigenous informants (Buckley 2002, Anderson & Innes 2015, Risling-Baldy 2018). Even in present day, as tribes work to reclaim their narratives, these external voices are still evaluated as more accurate sources on a given tribe's culture (Buckley 2002, Risling-Baldy 2018, Tuhiwai Smith 1999, 2013). By taking these assessments of past work as sage criticism, I reject fixed portrayals of "a culture" in favor of depicting my respondents as active participants in the dynamic process of multigenerational cultural transmission.

In order to do so, I build my contribution on Buckley's (2002) *Standing Ground: Yurok Indian Spirituality, 1850-1990*, a direct response to previous anthropological accounts. The Yurok have long held the attention of institutions like the University of California-Berkeley, where the anthropologist A. L. Kroeber would travel the six hours north to live amongst the local Indigenous peoples for years at a time. With the help of the Yurok informant and my great-great-uncle Robert Spott, Kroeber went to great lengths to catalog the Yurok culture and its place within the larger "world renewal cult[2]" (Kroeber 1925, 1978, Spott & Kroeber 1942). As detailed as his observations were, Kroeber failed to appreciate the fundamental importance of local spirituality to Indigenous social structures, understandings of individuality, and a host of other institutions (Buckley 2002, Risling Baldy 2018). Instead, Kroeber focused his lens on portraying the "dying" pre-contact culture of the Yurok and other California Indigenous peoples (Kroeber

[2] This term and Kroeber's larger contributions are described in further detail in the section "Background: Worldviews and the 'World Renewal Cult'" in Chapter 4.

1925). While his meticulous notes have served as an important historical resource for the Yurok and surrounding tribes (Lara-Cooper & Lara 2019, Risling Baldy 2018), Buckley (2002) took it upon himself to rectify the absence of local Indigenous spirituality within the anthropological record.

With *Standing Ground*, Buckley (2002) traces the revitalization of local Indigenous dance ceremonies to offer an in-depth account of the world renewal culture as a dynamic force shaping Yurok, Hupa, Karuk conceptions of the world. Buckley writes that his "story begins where Kroeber's left off, in 1850. It ends in 1990, the last time I saw the feathers dance at Pecwan" (2002: 30). In many ways, my work picks up where Buckley's (2002) ended— for those who came of age in the late 20th and early 21st centuries, they had done so within a richly revitalized cultural context. Despite this resource, they have also experienced the decline of the natural resources industries and now face the realities of climate change and its effects on their local environment (Abatzoglou et al. 2014, Sundaresan 2015).

In addition to their experiences of anthropological exploitation, tribal communities are also distinguished by their legacy of historical trauma. Duran et al. (1998) coin the term "soul wound" to refer to the traumas that cannot heal in one generation, and persist through to the next. This is a cumulative process over time and concentrated in communities marked by continued adversity. Such wounds can be gaping, if invisible to the untrained eye (Duran et al. 1998). The authors are careful to note that while this soul wound is also known more recently as intergenerational trauma, historical trauma, PTSD, etc., all of these are academic names for something that has long been acknowledged (i.e. for centuries) in Native communities (Duran et al. 1998, Brokenleg 2012). Even for those who did not perish from genocide and slavery, the trauma of these events and others, like boarding schools and termination, all accumulate over

time, leaving the survivors with guilt and unresolved mourning (Duran et al. 1998). Such traumas can actually be expressed at the epigenetic level over time (Pember 2015, Zannas & West 2014), with recent DNA testing confirming what tribal communities have long known: that the higher rates of alcoholism, drug dependencies, violence, and chronic health conditions like diabetes and heart disease that plague tribal families actually represent examples of present day problems that have their basis in past generations (Duran et al. 1998, Brokenleg 2012, Lara-Cooper & Lara 2019, Pember 2015, Zannas & West 2014).

Beyond their historical trauma, American Indians also live in communities marked by a high exposure to “adverse childhood experiences” (Felitti et al. 1998) and other forms of “toxic stress” (McEwan & McEwan 2017) that can adversely impact their cognitive outcomes and increase their chance of drug and alcohol dependencies (Anda et al. 2006, Campbell et al. 2016, Dube et al. 2003, Liu et al. 2013). Since contact, reservation residents have experienced wave after wave of substance epidemics: first, alcohol as a tool of colonization (Duran et al. 1998); then methamphetamine from rural drug manufacturers (Kiedrowski & Selya 2019, Weisheit & White 2009); and now, as in other rural areas, they are experiencing high rates of opioid and opiate dependency (Bauer 2003, Ellis et al. 2018, Grant 2007, Singh et al. 2019, Warner & Leukefeld 2001). While I detail these conditions and their co-occurring outcomes in the lives of my respondents in Chapters 5 & 6, it is for the explicit purpose of underscoring the adversities they have to overcome to secure work and provide for their families.

By describing the scope of adversity in the lives of my respondents, I highlight the uncomfortable truth that without trauma, there can be no resilience. The latter is not a trait, but rather a dynamic process dependent on contextual factors (Brokenleg 2012, Skousen uk, Weaver & White 1997). According to Brokenleg (2012: 9), resilience is the “the capacity for adapting

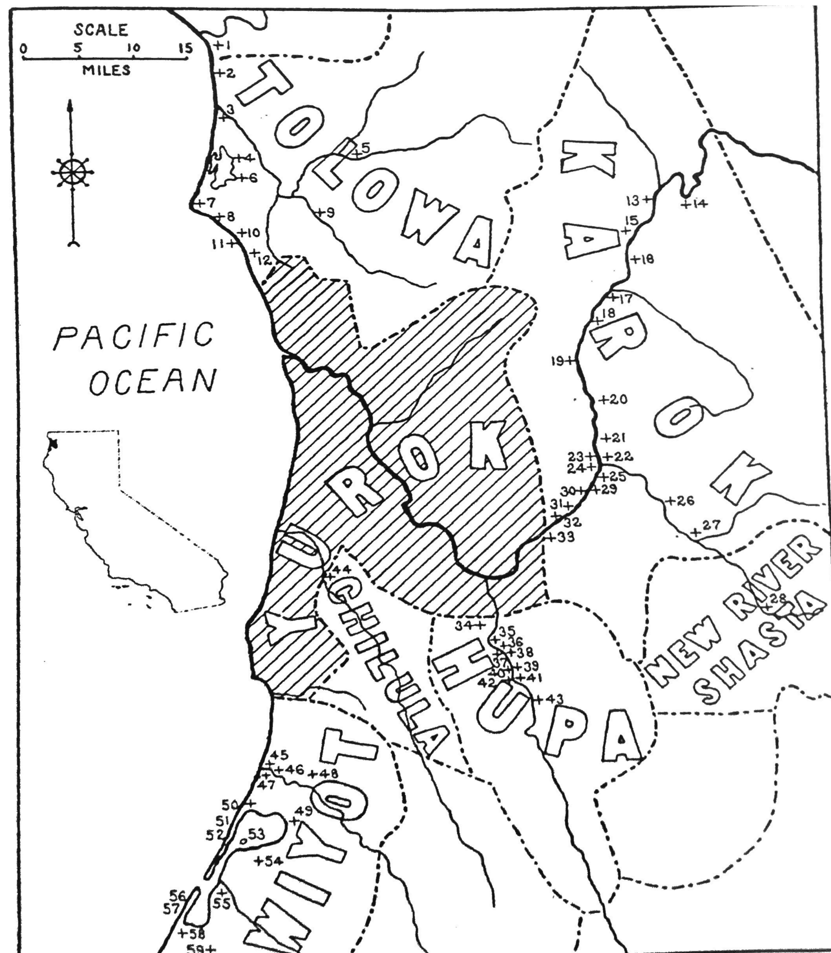
successful[ly] and functioning competently, despite experiencing chronic stress or adversity following exposure to prolonged or severe trauma." With each attack on their way of life, the need for resilience in Native communities has surfaced time and time again (Ross 1996). Vizenor (2008) described this process as equal measures survival and resistance, a phenomenon he dubbed "survivance." In the same vein, scholars such as Brokenleg (2012) have advocated the need for "resiliency science" to help academics and policy makers alike better understand trauma and its responses. The study of resilience has not been reserved to Indigenous Studies. Lamont and coauthors (2013) argued that social resilience comes from the scripts and repertoires that individuals have access to that foster social inclusion despite overwhelming structural forces otherwise. Over the course of the following chapters, I describe how the world renewal worldview provides comparable meaning-making strategies for tribal fathers as they look for work and provide for their families post-incarceration.

Cultural Distinctions of the Study Area

For the purpose of this analysis, the defining characteristic of the study area is the local Indigenous tribes that have called the area home since time immemorial. The Yurok and Hoopa Valley reservations represent a portion of the tribes' ancestral homelands (see Map 1.), with the neighboring Wiyot to the south, Tolowa to the north and Karuk to the East. The Klamath River runs through the Yurok Reservation, where it meets the Trinity River at Weitchpec. At this confluence of the two rivers, three riverbanks are formed. This area is one of the most linguistically diverse in the world, with three of the great language families[3] of the continent

[3] The Yurok speak a language within the Algonquian language family, whereas the Hupa speak an Athabaskan dialect and the Karuk one of Hokan (Kroeber 1925). Algonquian languages are common in Canada and along the eastern seaboard; Athabaskans found in Alaska and in the four corners region of the US; and, Hokan languages exclusively found in eastern and southern California and northern Mexico. Scholars can only speculate on how these

meeting where the Trinity River joins the Klamath (Baker 1981). The Yurok territory spans from Weitchpec downriver to Requa, where the Klamath River meets the ocean. The Hoopa Valley reservation is located inland from the coast, connecting to the Yurok reservation at Weitchpec, itself forming a 12-by-12 mile square around the town site of Hoopa. Both areas are rich in timber, with Douglas Fir stands marking the higher elevation forests of the Hupa[4] and the Coastal Redwood belt delineating Yurok territory (Kroeber 1978).



Map 1. Ancestral Territories of Area Tribes.
Reproduced From Kroeber, A. L. 1978. *Yurok Myths*. University of California Press. Original by T.T. Waterman, 1920. *Yurok Geography*.

Despite the great linguistic diversity of the area, local tribes shared a vast majority of their traditional practices and beliefs. Pre-invasion[5] life was

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languages came to be spoken in such close proximity to one another. Nonetheless, those living in central locations like Weitchpec were trilingual in languages as diverse as English is to Mandarin is to German, for example.

[4] The Hoopa Valley Tribe is the formal body of the Hupa people, with the former spelling used to refer to the tribal government, facilities, etc. and the latter to refer to the language, culture, and traditional practices of the original inhabitants of Hoopa Valley.

[5] "Pre-invasion" refers to the time before the discovery of gold in 1849. Local tribes maintained centuries-long trading relationships with ships hailing from places like Portugal, Italy and other seafaring nations, yet these dealings were restricted to the coastline and never produced any significant settlement in the region. After the discovery of gold to the south of the study area, however, the entire state was overrun with would-be prospectors.

structured at the village level, with multi-generational families living within "plank houses," the traditional dwellings of local inhabitants. These homes were constructed ten to twelve feet into the ground, with the pit surrounded by walls and a roof made of redwood planks. Women and young children lived in these houses, with men and adolescent boys sleeping in sweat lodges. In this way, tribal mothers were primarily responsible for child-rearing in the early years, with fathers and uncles assuming a larger role once children reached adolescence (Kroeber 1925, 1978). In the towns of Klamath and Hoopa, traditional lifestyles were prevalent not that long ago, with white contact taking place as recently as 1849 with the Gold Rush (Madley 2009). In 2001, when the Yurok Tribe began active language revitalization efforts, there were tribal elders who grew up in the plank houses of their ancestors.

Unlike the Tolowa, who moved seasonally for game and gathering, the Yurok and Hoopa villages remained in place along the riverbanks and coastal areas. The traditional diet consisted of sea staples like salmon, mussel, whale, and lamprey; game meat like elk and deer; and the wide use of acorns, berries, and a variety of mushrooms. Men were responsible for providing salmon[6] and game, and Yurok men in particular were heralded for their manufacture and use of redwood canoes for fishing and portage on the Klamath River and open ocean. Women and children harvested and prepared acorns and other gathered materials for consumption, with each individual's responsibilities tied to the season and the village's needs at that time (Baker 1981, Buckley 2002, Kroeber 1925, Risling Baldy 2018).

Area tribes shared their role as stewards of the local forests and rivers, practicing several

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The Gold Rush of 1849 would leave a bloody legacy in its wake—in a mad dash for gold, land and whatever else miners required for settlement, historians estimate that as many as two out of three California Indians were killed in the two years following the discovery of gold, with the entire state population reaching a nadir of just 15,000 at the turn of the 20th century (Lehman 1998, Madley 2009).

[6] The Klamath River was once the third richest salmon run in the contiguous United States, but deteriorating river conditions and dam construction have greatly reduced historic levels.

"world renewal" ceremonies like the White Deerskin and Jump Dances. These biannual ceremonies have occurred in the same dance pits along the Klamath River and in the high country above it since time immemorial, and include the use of traditional regalia, songs and dances passed down by family through the generations. Similar to daily life, ceremonial tasks are assigned on the basis of gender, with women serving as traditional healers, both physical and spiritual, and men as dance makers and regalia holders (Buckley 2002, Kroeber 1925, Risling Baldy 2018). In Chapter 4, I consider in-depth these ceremonies and their place in the lives of tribal fathers with criminal records.

For the purpose of this investigation, the Yurok and Hoopa Valley tribal reservations are considered as linked entities. They are bound together by the River,[7] the land, and legislative circumstance, and their histories were intertwined long before the area was settled in the 19th century. Although they have distinct languages and their own town sites, I treat them as a combined unit set within the larger two-county context. This grouping is warranted given that the demographic and social conditions on both reservations are comparable, although Hoopa and the "downriver" portions of the Yurok reservation like Weitchpec and Pecwan tend to have more extreme disadvantage across a number of indicators. Significant differences include the presence of a Tribal Court and Justice Center for the Yurok Tribe, and the Ki'Maw Medical Center on the Hoopa Reservation, which provides out-patient drug rehabilitation treatment and general practice for Indian Health Service-eligible clients.

[7] The "River" is capitalized here to refer to the personhood of the Klamath River, a designation formalized by the Yurok Tribe in 2019 (NPR 2019). In the interest of specificity, the word "river" is only capitalized throughout this dissertation when used in reference to the Klamath River. At the time of this writing, the Klamath River is the only River known to have been granted the same legal status as an individual (NPR 2019).

Why "The Reservation?"

The "reservation" is a deceptively simple concept, and my analysis is only a first step in considering this space as a social institution. In the most straightforward terms, a "reservation" refers to tracts of land held "in trust" for federally recognized tribes. "In trust" refers to the fact that the federal government maintains legal title and jurisdiction over the land, with the associated tribe responsible for local governance. As "domestic dependent nations," tribal governments are analogous to their federal counterparts, and administer a variety of services for their enrolled citizens and non-enrolled reservation residents alike (Andress & Falkowski 1980, Babcock 2005, Calloway 2011, Henson 2008, McNeil 2008).

Most reservations are located far from urban areas, and in the case of removal, they are parcels of land set aside for tribes relocated to the area, as seen in Oklahoma, the Dakotas, and Montana. These areas were usually distinguished by subpar physical conditions as compared to neighboring areas, further compounding their remote nature (Calloway 2011, Purdue 2012, Spence 1999, Young 1958). Yet, for some tribes, reservations are located within their ancestral homelands, as is the case with the study area. In this way, although the Yurok and Hoopa Valley reservations comprise only a portion of the original territories of the Yurok, Hupa and Karuk peoples, they exist within the context of these tribes' most sacred landscapes, a distinction that makes their location particularly meaningful (Buckley 2002, Risling Baldy 2018).

While anyone can live on a reservation, the tribe that governs a specific reservation has legal jurisdiction over the land and occupants therein. As such, the tribe maintains sovereignty over the land and can define its legal use for all inhabitants (Skibine 1995, 2008, Wakeling 2001). Most reservations are a mix of both tribal and non-tribal residents as result of decades of land disenfranchisement (Henson 2008, Purdue 2012, Young 1958). In particular, despite

reserving these areas for tribal residents in earlier legislation, the federal Allotment Act of 1887 parceled up tribal reservations into 25-acre tracts, one assigned to each male-headed household. Once every tribal member was allotted, the rest of reservation lands were made available to private purchase and homesteading (Otis 2014, Lavelle 1999). This process explains why most reservations are today a patchwork of family lands, trust land, and private landowners. The Yurok and Hoopa families received their allotments at the turn of the 20th century, with much of the leftover land purchased by logging companies.

Few physical boundaries exist to demarcate reservations, with most characterized by a rich flow of people and resources to and from their surrounding areas (Snipp 1992). Despite such social and physical permeability, there are significant legal boundaries that define the space. In most states, the federal government supersedes local jurisdiction to maintain civil and criminal authority over tribal lands (Henson 2008, Reno 1995, Skibine 1995, 2008, Wakeling 2001). Yet, in states like California, the federal government has ceded this jurisdiction to state and county governments as a result of Public Law 280. This means that state laws apply on-reservation in PL 280 states in ways they might not in non-PL 280 states (Goldberg 1975, Goldberg-Ambrose 1998, Goldberg & Champagne 2006, Jiménez & Song 1998). In the latter case, the federal government is responsible for investigating, trying, and convicting offenders, whereas in California, this is the responsibility of county, and increasingly tribal, courts (Clarkson & Dekorte 2010, Reinikainen 2012). California is also distinguished by the added nuance of tribal "rancherias" as a unit of self-governance in Indian Country. A uniquely California jurisdiction, rancherias are tribal bodies formed by the descendants of those tribes that were so nearly decimated by genocide and disease that no discernible tribal entity remained. Instead, families of survivors formed new communities in shared ancestral lands. These communities have been

federally recognized as equivalent to tribal nations as a direct reflection of the particularly genocidal history of California settlement (Henson 2009, Madley 2009).

By focusing on tribal reservations, I offer sociologists an additional lens through which to study many of the social phenomena we study elsewhere. These areas are vastly under-theorized within the sociological canon, and this is to the detriment of the discipline. I train my analysis on the role of the reservation in the reproduction of inequality, yet these areas also offer a window into a variety of social processes within a culturally and physically distinct environment. In this analysis, I use tribal reservations as a "hook" into rural poverty, a context that has garnered significantly less academic attention than more urban examples (Lichter & Brown 2011, Lichter & Johnson 2007). This is in some ways a reflection of the reduced visibility of rural areas to urban-based academic institutions (Sandefur 1996), a factor further exacerbated by their population-sparse and remote nature (Weisheit 1993, Weisheit et al. 1994, Weisheit & Wells 1996). Over the course of this dissertation, I show how the reservation represents a spatial unit that concentrates inequality in rural areas just as neighborhoods have been shown to in cities (Sampson 2012, Sharkey 2013, Wilson 1987, 1996). In particular, I draw from studies of urban inequality to interpret the "concentrated disadvantage" that plagues most tribal reservations (Henson 2008, Wilson 1987).

"Concentrated disadvantage" refers to a paradigm in poverty research introduced by Wilson's *The Truly Disadvantaged* (1987), a study of black neighborhoods on the South Side of Chicago. Wilson (1987) linked the area's high levels of unemployment and poverty (each over 30%), and increasing crime and incarceration to the decline of the local manufacturing industry and resulting spatial mismatch as jobs moved from the inner-city to the growing suburban areas. As blue-collar factory jobs evaporated, displaced workers struggled to find suitable alternatives,

and their job loss spanned into months and years. As their labor force attachment weakened, many opted out of the job search just as others left the area in search of work elsewhere. These dual processes of attenuating labor force attachment and out-migration of working and middle-class families left those who remained with few models of formal employment in their own families or in the larger neighborhood. Such social isolation further constrained the efforts of job seekers to find work in the slack local labor market as their network partners became decreasingly detached from the world of work (Wilson 1987, 1996).

This landmark piece combined with the subsequent *When Work Disappears* (Wilson 1996) spawned decades of work on the role of place in concentrating outcomes (Anderson 2000, Massey & Denton 1993, Sampson 2012, Sharkey 2013, Venkatesh 2006). It is within this rich theoretical tradition of concentrated disadvantage that I position my contribution, specifically the case of rural tribal reservations. Some might push back on my application of theories derived from the urban inner-city to a rural area, but I am not the first to advocate for such an extension. Sandefur (1989), a sociologist, posited that tribal reservations comprised some of the oldest examples of the "underclass" in contemporary era, and this comparison is no less valid in present day. Tribal reservations around the country are marked by unemployment rates over 80% (Henson 2008), and the Yurok and Hoopa Valley reservations in particular are relevant cases for the study of rural joblessness, particularly following the decline of the local logging industry since the 1980s (Slack & Jensen 2004, State of Industry 2007, BLS 1968, BLS 2005, Mellor 1985, Silvestri 1995). The industry experienced mill closures (Pulp and Paperworkers Research Council 2003), increasing environmental regulation (Carroll et al. 1999), and technological advancements that drastically reduced the necessary labor force (Stier 1980). The reservation towns of Hoopa & Klamath were both acutely affected by this industry collapse and the loss of

these well-paying, albeit dangerous jobs meant that tribal men could no longer rely on logging employment to provide for their families, as they had for generations (Newell et al. 1986, Lewis 2016). Despite their parallels to other areas left in the wake of industry decline, tribal reservations have thus far been excluded from considerations of long-term unemployment and its consequences. I seek to remedy this gap with my contribution, using the job search experience of tribal fathers with criminal records as a lens into the phenomenon of joblessness on rural tribal reservations marked by concentrated disadvantage.

Such an application has been lacking for several reasons. As Sandefur (1989) pointed out, the media, a majority of higher learning institutions, and the bulk of the American population lives in urban areas. Rural areas and reservations in particular are peripheral to academics and non-academics alike, and their omission from sociological theory is a reflection of this physical and social distance (Sandefur 1989). Yet, even as sociologists and other social scientists have not engaged with reservations as places of study, the opposite has been true for the field of Anthropology. In fact, more critical scholars contend that the discipline's main tenets were derived from the knowledge bases of Indigenous communities, yet few anthropologists honored their contributions nor acknowledged tribal peoples as partners in the research process (Risling Baldy 2018, Tuhiwai Smith 1999, 2013). As such, tribal governments and their citizens have every reason to be wary of researchers who might fall in the tradition of the "anthros," and may eschew participating in Western institution-based research for fear of further exploitation (Buckley 2002, Risling Baldy 2018, Tuhiwai Smith 1999, 2013). As I describe over the course of the dissertation, I leveraged my status as a co-ethnic Yurok woman to get past some of the barriers posed to researchers in studying reservations. Even as I did so, this came with the obligation to make sure that the local tribal bodies were active partners in knowledge production,

and under the condition that I return the fruits of our labors in the form of tangible findings. With this ethos, I affirm the unique characteristics of "the reservation" while incorporating it into the larger sociological canon.

Living On- vs. Off-Reservation as a Residential Process

Living on-reservation is both the combination of one's parents' and grandparent's residential decisions, but also very much an individual's own choices once they've reached adulthood. For those who grew up on-reservation and who stay despite the ever-present option to pursue more opportunities and amenities "in town," there is a special recognition for that sacrifice that directly translates to social prestige, a prestige that accumulates over generations. This prestige parallels the status associated with being a "dance family," with both dance participation and reservation residence serving as expressions of the "world renewal worldview," a cultural orientation described in-depth in Chapter 4. Respondents featured throughout the dissertation took great pride in this worldview and their lineage more generally. For those on the reservation, their high self-esteem was derived from their status as original inhabitants of the world renewal landscape.

For men like Orion, 34, living in Hoopa was so important because it was where he had grown up, where his family lived, and where he participated in his world renewal ceremonies. Orion came from a long line of world renewal dancers before him:

> My Grandpa was a big part of it. My Grandpa was as singer, he was very cultural, he ran the museum over here. He was actually a substance abuse counselor too. So he was their heavy singer, one of the bigger guns I guess you would call it. He used to be I guess the elder who would sing for them heavy every dance, every Hoopa round. So I'm named after him, my grampa's dad was Orion, he was Orion, my dad's Orion, and I'm Orion. And my boy's name's Orion … [when] my grandma and grampa married, both were from dance families and kind of like strengthened... I mean I'm sure there was love involved but I think it was to strengthen the culture and dance families.

Living on the reservation facilitated his participation in ceremony by placing Orion in direct proximity to ceremonial spaces, a process that I detail further in Chapter 4. As shown in Chapter 6, living on-reservation also provided him with the opportunity to work in drug rehabilitation where Orion relished the opportunity to share his dance teachings with peers and youth alike. In Chapter 5, I describe the difficulty of maintaining sobriety on-reservation, underscoring the depth of Orion's commitment to living there despite such constraints.

For others, seeking drug and alcohol treatment was a major factor in the decision to move away from the reservation, even if only temporarily. Isaac, 42, grew up downriver in Pecwan, and he had never known his family without dances. Over the course of treatment, he realized how the isolation of living off-grid in the most remote portions of the reservation was a trigger for his alcoholism. His family made constant preparations for the biannual Jump Dance they hosted, but Isaac had stepped from such duties for the time being:

> My family, we do the jump dance. There's always some regalia around, and my dad's always talking about the jump dance, and preparing for the jump dance. And so there's a lot of culture and tradition in our area at the house. But that's one thing that I think I had run from, you know? I think being kind of born and raised in that kind of environment, where things were kind of strict--like the jump dance is a pretty strict dance, there's a lot of dos and don'ts... And I think I ran from it quite a bit. And I even got into a period where I had pushed away religion….I don't know, I just wanted to run from it…

At the time of his interview, Isaac had moved out of the two-county area to live in a residential treatment facility in central California. A year into his recovery, the summer's dances were fast approaching and Isaac was contemplating returning home for ceremonies. Over the course of our discussion, it was clear that Isaac was torn—on one hand, he felt the obligation to help his father with his endless preparations, but on the other, the isolated nature of living downriver coupled with the strict expectations that came with facilitating the dance were both triggers for Isaac's alcoholism. When the Jump Dance came, he decided against making the trek back home. Nonetheless, his young daughters attended with their aunts, his sisters, and their cousins for it was still a family affair.

Unlike Isaac, Carter, 32, was returning to the reservation after five years living out of the area after college. He had made the decision to move back as his daughter reached school age. Having spent his childhood living on the reservation but also outside of the area as his family moved for his dad's job as a tribal lawyer, Carter felt that reservation residence represented a major dividing line for tribal citizens. As such, he decided to raise his daughter in Hoopa so that she wouldn't face the same ridicule that he had experienced growing up. With his well-positioned family, Carter was not without an extensive network in the Valley. Yet, he was quick to point out that if one had grown up off-reservation, "they'll never let you forget it." To avoid such stigma for his daughter, Carter decided to return to Hoopa.

Compared to those living on-reservation, those off-reservation have more access to contemporary amenities and the larger trappings of society. In this context, one might expect ties to the reservation or worldview therein to be weak or nonexistent. Yet, as shown by Xavier, 29, and Elijah, 40, in Chapter 4, both men were introduced to dance ceremonies and other traditional knowledge through their fathers and grandfathers. As adults now themselves, they continued to seek out the dances, now passing these same lessons onto their children. Elijah in particular wanted to maintain the reputation his family had gained off-reservation through hard work in school and on the basketball court. In addition to these efforts, they traveled to nearly every dance on the local reservations and even attended out-of-the-area regional powwows. With his own hands, Elijah had beaded each of his children's regalia. Between their matching colors and their father's eyes, the family's resemblance was uncanny.[8]

Elijah lived off-reservation as a reflection of his family's residential decisions. His grandfather or *peechowos* had lived on-reservation in Klamath for most of his life, but moved to town after the 1964 Christmas Flood wiped away the town's once-vibrant main boulevard

[8] Observational field note, 10.15.18, McKinleyville, CA.

(Fisher et al. 1965), and the resulting poverty worsened with the influx of methamphetamine to the area (Lucia 1965, Weisheit & White 2009). Elijah's *peechowos* was worried his children would be exposed to drug use and moved them to town. This move to town mirrored the move of many tribal families in the late 1980s and 1990s as plummeting employment rates coupled with rising crime pushed them to reconsider living on-reservation.

Before this exodus, tribal members and their worldview were subjected to several stressors that shaped knowledge transmission across generations. First, the genocide brought on by the discovery of gold in 1849 drastically reduced the physical number of world renewal adherents, and these deaths were exacerbated by the direct attack on tribal lands by legislature and white settlers alike (Buckley 2002, Risling-Baldy 2018, Nelson 1978, Norton 1979, Madley 2009). The indentured slavery and the boarding school era also constrained the worldview, with those taken away referred to as the "shorthair" or "missing generation." "Shorthair" refers how they kept their hair short like they were expected to by Western society, rather than long as had traditionally been expected, cut only in times of mourning (Buckley 2002). In the lives of my respondents, the short-haired generation came up frequently as parents and grandparents, described as individuals who knew the language and knew of our dance traditions, but who at times had even been beaten for using them, and were ultimately forced to stop because of these experiences of abuse. Many were reticent to pass on such knowledge to their children for fear of similar treatment, and it wasn't until the late 1970s that the world renewal worldview saw a shift as "the children of the short-haired generation [came] home to claim their own ancient world" (Buckley 2002: 59).

Raymond, 29, was raised by his grandmother, a member of the short-haired generation. Before she passed, she lived near the Smith River Rancheria as a Tolowa tribal member, and this

is where Raymond stayed until moving in with his wife, Retta, when he was in his early 20s. At the time of his interview, Raymond, Retta, and their two shared children had moved south of Smith River to Crescent City, an approximately five-mile stretch of the California coastline that juts out into the Pacific Ocean just south of the Oregon border. This city is the northernmost jurisdiction in the state, although its population and that of the surrounding county are only a quarter of that of Humboldt County to the south. Like Eureka, the population clusters around the county seat in Crescent City, with approximately 6,000 people living within the city itself. Located 20 miles north of the reservation, Crescent City is the "town" that most Klamath residents mean when they saying "going to town." As described in Chapter 4, local amenities are situated around the city's harbor, as well as around HWY 101, which bisects the city north to south. Pelican Bay State Prison is located approximately ten miles north of the city, and serves as a major local employer.

Raymond didn't particularly like Crescent City, but living in subsidized tribal housing in town made the most sense as he and Retta worked to regain custody of his two eldest children. As described in Chapter 7, their long-term goal was to move downriver with Retta's family in Weitchpec. Although Retta was born and raised on-reservation, Raymond had always lived "in town" except for the time he spent with cousins during childhood summers and later as an adult living with Retta's family. When asked if he danced in traditional ceremonies, Raymond explained

> Yeah - I've never - I've danced in the pit when I was a kid, when I was six. Didn't really - I don't know no songs or nothing. No one - like, my grandma, she - I don't know. She's, like, an old-timer, so it was kind of, like, frowned upon back in the day, you know what I mean? So, like, the Tolowa Nation, their language is coming back. They've got books and stuff.

While Raymond had danced as a child, he was introduced hesitantly by his grandmother, who had grown up during a time of intense stigma and persecution. Part of making her way in town

was leaving those traditions behind on-reservation, yet she maintained the generational transmission of knowledge within her family when it came time to raise Raymond. Both of his parents had been claimed by the most recent attacks on the world renewal worldview, incarceration and addiction, and Raymond's first memories were of being abandoned by his father. Now, instead of dancing, he honored his expectations as a world renewal man by being a devoted father (Chapter 7), and by providing for his family with strenuous outdoor labor, work that took a great toll on his body after sustaining significant injuries in a grievous car accident at age 19 (Chapter 6). Like Raymond, respondents on and off-reservation varied in their expressions of the world renewal worldview, with the choices of men in both locations a direct reflection of their family histories.

Fathers & Their Resources by Location

Social networks have been shown to be a major source of resilience for low-income families, as mothers and fathers alike pool their resources with those of their kin and their children's kin to make ends meet and bolster the social network against the ebbs and flows of life on the economic periphery (Stack 1974, Edin & Lein 1997). For tribal communities in particular, social networks and the "family" are regarded as sources of internal resilience, whereby individual perseverance is intimately tied to the well-being of the collective (Ramirez & Hammack 2014). Stack (1974) described networks that governed life in "The Flats" as "extensive… strategies for survival in a community of severe economic deprivation," and those living on-reservation face similar inequalities as Stack's families, only they are doing so fifty years later in a rural setting.

Generally speaking, tribal fathers with criminal records on and off-reservation had access to rich resources and thick social networks to lean on in meeting their obligations as fathers. In most cases, my respondents described multiple people on whom they could call in the case of an emergency, or for help meeting day-to-day needs, and they reciprocated such assistance with their network partners on a regular basis. The degree to which they participated in their social networks was a stark departure from other men with criminal histories observed in urban areas (Harding et al. 2011, Liebow 1967, Western et al. 2015). On-reservation, my respondents usually had access to more resources as their families were living nearby or even on the same plot of land, and this physical proximity facilitated help with childcare and the exchange of resources, etc. Housing was a major shared resource, with half of those on-reservation sharing housing with family compared to one out of three off-reservation. With the exception of shared housing, many fathers were averse to asking for help unless in dire straits, instead preferring to be a "central point" in their networks rather than accessing its resources (Freeman 1978). Off-reservation, my respondents largely "kept to themselves," and restricted their social networks to their immediate kin. While the exchange of resources was still rich between network partners, it was taking place within a much more bounded network.

Shared Housing

Multi-generational homes and family plots were common on-reservation, with the phenomenon of "doubling up" (Pilkauskas et al. 2014) a frequent and even at times preferred housing arrangement. Grandparents could help provide childcare for their grandchildren while their adult children tended to the monetary needs of the household. In this way, families pooled

their resources to make ends meet much like those observed by Carol Stack (1974) in The Flats or by Edin & Lein's (1997) in *Making Ends Mee*t.

Caleb, 34, shared an expansive property with their extended family, including brothers, mothers, cousins and grandparents. In the case of family trust land,[9] residents do not have to pay for rent nor annual state property taxes, and are free to build on the property as long as the homes are occupied by related tribal members. Often, residents purchased modular homes through the tribe to live on such land. These homes are brought in on a semi-truck and assembled on the property. Being land rich, on-reservation tribal families with allotted land only have to come up with a down payment to secure a structure for their family home. When Caleb was away, his wife Heather and their children usually stayed with family, and it was only in the last two years that they had moved into their own manufactured home. With his own two hands, Caleb rebuilt its floors and dug a trench a hundred feet long and five feet deep so that those unit could be connected to the water system. Even though it was only as a wide as a single-length mobile home, it was much more room than they had had when he was away, although the kids were usually still within arm's length:

> That's how [my wife] likes it, she likes [the kids] being close. But that's also because there were times when I was away that she lived with family, and they only had a room, or even half a room to themselves, and she had to keep the kids close.

When their children were young, Caleb and Heather had lived with his grandmother down the road from their current property, although this house was now where his mother and younger brother stayed with the latter's children. The family members shared upkeep for the property,

[9] Both reservations are a checkerboard of tribal land, private land and "trust land," each with its own path to ownership (or not). In the case of trust land, or even private lands adjacent to such areas, great lengths must be taken to first identify property lines, and then establish how the property transfer could impinge on lands held "in trust" for the tribe by the federal government. These areas cannot be sold, and the onus is on private landowners to establish this before buying or selling property (Henson 2008). Unlike trust land, family land is land owned by a family either privately or as a family allotment, shared in trust with the tribe, which limits residence on and ownership of the land to family members.

although Caleb gruffly critiqued "I wish they'd do more, I swear I'm the only one who does shit around here." As the eldest, it was ultimately Caleb's responsibility to see to the needs of the property and his family members, including elder care for his aging mother, but this was a relatively small price to pay compared to what he would have to if he rented a home for his family instead.

Like Caleb, Isaac, 42, had also benefitted from living with family, a decision he made after becoming a first-time father at 34. In his bachelorhood, he would cycle between living in Pecwan with his mother and father in his childhood home to staying out on the coast with cousins, depending on the fishing season. After his wife got pregnant, the then-boyfriend and girlfriend moved in with his parents and were married soon after. For Isaac, who had always struggled with the isolation of living downriver, living with his parents was a matter of sheer opportunity costs coupled with the chance to raise his children in an idyllic landscape:

> And then - well, then she got pregnant and we decided to move home because I figured I would have a little more support at home, at my mom's house, than I would alone. So that's exactly why we moved home. She had gotten pregnant just after a few months of being together, and, you know, I knew that I needed the support from my family back home on the river. And, you know, and living down at Pecwan on the reservation is a beautiful place to raise kids, right? You know, it's pretty safe, you know, you get a huge yard, you know? The cost of living is not that much, I can say that at Pecwan. You know, I never had to pay rent, you don't have to pay electricity, you know, food is there. You know, mom always has the fridge. And so that's why we moved up there.

With his growing family and only his two parents sharing their sizable family property, there was plenty of room for Isaac and his daughters, a fact that Isaac shared was still the case even after he had moved away:

> See, because my mom and dad, they would love for me to move back home, right? They're, like, "Isaac, there's a property right here. You need to build a house, be right there." And I'm, like, "Oh yeah, mom, dad, sounds cool," right? No, I don't want to live off my mom and dad. But they have this whole idea…

For many respondents, multi-generational homes like Isaac's helped share the burden of childcare, and offset the costs associated with sustaining multiple households by instead pooling resources together (Stack 1970). Yet, some families with more modest means found themselves

at times on the border of "doubling up" (Pilkauskas et al. 2014) in crowded, subpar living arrangements. In times of duress, some on-reservation even lived on the river bar when unable to find housing otherwise.

As frequent as house sharing was on-reservation, this is not to say that those off-reservation did not also share housing resources. The key difference however is that most families rented off-reservation, and did not have access to the same family land bases that respondents did on-reservation. While they may have gained in amenities and general access to the rest of the county by living in town, the associated cost was usually a rent payment. That's why respondents like Raymond, 29, and Retta, 34, had their mind on moving back the reservation as soon as they could find a trailer to move into on her father's plot in Weitchpec, or why Elijah, 40, contemplated whether his family should make a go of it on-reservation whenever times were lean in town.

Yet, others like Antony, 37, had grown up off-reservation and planned on living in town for the foreseeable future, for better or worse. Both he and his wife were in recovery and enrolled in courses at the local community college, and while this provided enough to pay for food and utilities, they did not have enough to pay rent in the off-reservation housing market. Instead, they had been living with Antony's mother who owned a large house in central Crescent City. With only one child between them, Antony and his family should have had enough space to co-exist, but his mother's and sister's methamphetamine use was a constant thorn in he and his wife's side, a blatant reminder of their own addictions to the substance. Antony had insisted that the substance use remain outside of the home for the sake of their recovery and his daughter's health, but his family refused to comply and tensions erupted into a violent fight one night:

> My sister comes over and they get fucking all high and dingy for days. And that's how me and my sister got in a fight was - you know? You know, it's hard for me to stay clean. I spent my whole life doing meth, you know?... You know, but my mom, she knows that it's hard for me to stay clean, so she just stays on her

> side of the house.…So I'm - you know, I sit in the front - you know, now my mom just stays in the back of the house and she does her thing…
>
> When my sister's house burned down, my sister started coming around real heavy. And then my brother's ex-old lady started coming around. And they were all just like, getting all fucking loaded and tearing the house apart, and acting like - you know, they were just going to be high in front of me and my wife. And mom was backing them up. My mom has this habit--she gets too high - she gets too fucking high. And then whoever she's hanging around, they're all buddies and she doesn't really think about what's really going on. And they were all fucking buddies and I - I don't put up with shit like that.
>
> So you know? I made some choices that I guess I shouldn't have made. You know, I slapped my sister around. It just all come at me too fast, you know, it was just too fast. You know, I just asked them about something - like, they were tearing up the house and my wife asked me to ask them about it. And I asked him and he acted like it was a joke. So I just left and started getting frustrated. I was sitting here playing my videogame and all of a sudden my mom comes bursting in my door, she's screaming at me, telling me to look at a phone. I'm trying to look at this phone. She takes it back from me, she marches out, she's screaming. I'm trying to figure out what's wrong so I can go fix it. And they're all fucking, they're all screaming at me. And I just - my sister, she said something that just made me snap. Because she abused me a lot when I was a kid. When I was a kid my sister abused the shit out of me. You know, she'd beat me up, beat me like a man. Because I'm the baby--she was, like, 24 and I was, like, you know, 6 or something like that. She's, like, 20 years older than me.… But anyways, my sister said something that was just - it just made me snap. She says, "You're always taking her side over us." And I just snapped. I grabbed her by the throat and just, like - "All you ever fucking done all your life was kick me while I was down."

Even as Antony's emotions boiled over, he and his family still had to live in his mother's house, and the fight left them "on the outs" for over a month, each resigned to their respective sides of the house. As much as one's family could be a source of stable housing, for those with fractious relationships with family or who were in recovery, living with relatives can be a trigger for poor mental health, or in Antony's case, his violent impulsivity that stemmed from an abusive childhood and decades of subsequent meth use. Antony and his wife were contemplating a move to the Oregon to live with her family on a reservation there, but that would be a monumental effort in itself, so in the meantime they and their three-year old daughter were left to their side of the house.

Size and Scope of Social Network Exchange

Across the board, my respondents were well connected and did not want for people they could go to in times of need. Where study participants did differ, however, was in the scope and

size of their social networks, as well as their place within them. Off-reservation, only half of tribal fathers described social network partners outside of their immediate kin, and those that did indicated how these social ties, like cousins, aunties and grandparents, largely clustered back on the reservation rather than with them in town. By that same token, those on-reservation described large proximal social networks, with as many as 86% of those in Klamath, Hoopa and downriver describing numerous people outside of immediate kin like parents and siblings on whom they could count in times of duress. Even as much as my respondents detailed expansive networks, they were often reticent to utilize these resources, an aversion akin to their job-seeking strategies covered in the previous chapter, whereby they preferred seeking work and meeting their families' needs through their individual initiative and work ethic. Similarly, in their social networks, respondents preferred the position of "central point" (Freeman 1978), whereby they were the ones supporting their network partners rather than the other way around. Like network size, the ability to be a central point was also more frequent on-reservation, with one in three tribal fathers identifying as such, compared to only one solitary off-reservation respondent. The increased likelihood of being a central point on the reservation was just as much a reflection of my respondents' individual standings as it was of their social networks' structure.

From Klamath, Mason, 35, had come a long way from the depths of methamphetamine addiction following the loss of his third child. While he hailed from one of the largest families on-reservation, he made it clear that not asking for help unnecessarily was one of the ways he preserved his dignity when he was in active addiction:

> I'm the kind of guy that doesn't like to ask. I mean I will if I have to, I'll wait to the last second, like "hey…" But other than, I'm not the kind of person that asks for help in those kind of things, I've never been that kind of a person to umm even like in my addictive days, I didn't, I wasn't that guy that would ask for anything, you know, I never have been that guy. Unless it really comes down to me like "I'm going to need $1000 tomorrow if I don't get $500 today," [big laugh]

As averse as Mason was to asking for help, he did not hesitate to give it when called upon himself. Similar to the "generosity of position" described in Chapter 6,[10] Mason exemplified this orientation in his commitment to helping his social network partners, occupying the role of a "central point" rather than as a network user. When I asked him who came to him for help, he said without any hesitation:

> Everybody. My brothers, they all know, I let them know, I let my brother know anytime he needs any help, you come to me, I'll give it to you. You know I just do it just to help, I mean shit, the bums on the street know when I'm coming. Can't go through San Francisco without giving $50, $60 bucks away [big laugh].

As Mason worked to make sure he could support this network partners when they needed it, he was enacting the role of *numi pegerk* by stepping up to provide for not only his immediate family, but his larger social network. I describe this frame in greater detail in Chapter 4, but briefly, *numi pegerk* rests on the expectation of men as providers for their families and communities, a perception that continues to be the metric by which world renewal masculinity is assessed. By assuming this responsibility in the lives of his loved ones, Mason was fulfilling a traditional expectation of tribal men as individually responsible for the collective. He made it clear that such support was typically more unidirectional than reciprocal, and that he was not helping people with an intent of indebting them to him at a later date:

> No I'm always, I'm not the kind of guy that can ask, but I'm always that guy that will do whatever it takes to help… I had two cars in the driveway, and I didn't really drive one of them. You know, my partner's like "hey give me a ride…?" "Take my car, bring it back whenever you're done." He went to Hoopa to go see his woman or went somewhere, I didn't really care. You know that's just who I am…

This ethos to selflessly give help while at the same time eschewing having to ask for it themselves was a distinguishing characteristic of those men who saw themselves as central figures in their social networks. Samson, 60, was Mason's uncle, and he shared a similar

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[10] This concept refers to the process by which my respondents would aid their younger cousins and siblings in finding work but were reticent to ask for help themselves. Instead, uncles, grandfathers, and other male kin would reciprocate the generosity they had offered younger man by looking out for them on the job market. For more examples of this phenomenon, please see subsection "Entrepreneurial Options and Natural Resource Employment On-Reservation" in Chapter 6.

orientation as Mason when it came to asking for help vs. giving it. Even in times of emergency, Samson would not ask for help. When I pressed him on this subject, he locked eyes with me and said "my truck's been broke for two months, I walk to work everyday." He is not without people to ask; in fact his father had been a business owner for much of his life. Rather, he flat out refused to do so. To put it simply, Samson replied "If I can't get it on my own, I don't need it."

This orientation of *numi pegerk* was less obvious off-reservation, where my respondents were typically peripheral to the labor market and barely scraping by as a family unit, let alone in a position to lead their larger social network. One notable exception was Elijah, 40, who held himself to a standard of fatherhood and providing passed down to him from his *peechowos*, or grandfather. As the eldest cousin, he saw it has his role to be a resource to his younger cousins and siblings:

> I've got a lot of pride also like I think I mighta borrowed a coupled hundred bucks from my Auntie before,… but then she had hardship in her life too, so I try not to be that kind of nephew that you know. And now that I'm kind of the like the oldest on [his grandfather's] side,… So know I have that role and so then I've got all these other, my cousins that kind of look up to me.

Elijah did not boast about his role in his social network—rather, he felt it was a matter of responsibility, and he stepped up to the role with little hesitation. While Elijah was wary of calling himself a leader, few other words come to mind when he described the bar to which he held his choices:

> As far as like, you know they've all got things they do in life to try and make it, you know, to take of the family and stuff. But I just try to be that person where they can kind of not look up to but just like, kind of a role model. In how I raise my family, taking the kids to school, staying away from drugs and alcohol. You know, just be like that kinda like you know not like a pillar, but just that person where they're like "Well cousin [Elijah]'s doing it, well why can't I do it?" or something, you know.

Elijah was a deeply dedicated father and husband, and he held himself to a standard that was unflinching at times. Even with such intense effort, Elijah conceded "but you know, it's hard because sometimes it's like, like I said, you know, we barely get by." Living off-reservation,

Elijah had few resources beyond the ones he provided for his family, and this was not lost on him:

> We considered [moving to the reservation] but like you know it took us awhile to get established in [Humboldt County] where people kind of look at us like they see us as a Native family and not like a threat, but just like we take away a kid's starting position in basketball, or things like that. There's conflict there and it's all about families and stuff, and now it's like they kinda know, we don't blend in but it's kinda like we're just there.

It was important to Elijah to maintain his family's hard-won position as a traditional native family living off-reservation. As the father, this was his responsibility, Elijah was relentless in meeting it:

> My main thing is my kids, I want to be there for my kids, I don't want to be like giving up, like some of my family members and stuff, go that route. It's easy to take a bottle and do drugs, that's easy. That's also a weakness, you know? And I like to think that I'm not the strongest person mentally, physically, but spiritually strong, I'm up there and that comes from like I said, some of the elders, the dance leaders and stuff and you know, always, my Grampa and stuff that kind of instilled that in me….Stuff I think about everyday, the first thing when I wake up or the last thing when I go to sleep. Or when I do like drink sometimes, uhhh the way alcohol works, whatever you feel inside, it escalates. If you're happy or sad or angry, you know, and I know sometimes I just drink too much and I get all like mad and angry. But also like do a lot of prayer and beading that takes things away, and running, exercising, that takes things away. Make things right. Yeah I mean there's been a few times when I've felt like I was going to lose it but it's like my main priority is my kids, and I can't be like that. I'm too old to be acting like that.

Elijah was exemplary in how he conceived of his responsibility to his family, and he derived such an understanding from his world renewal worldview, an orientation that expected him to provide for his family, and to lead his social network when he was able.

As much as my respondents detested asking for help, some were in a circumstance were they had no choice but to lean on their social network. Xavier, 29, was living with his parents on the coast as he awaited sentencing for a violent crime the year before. He was a father of four expecting another with his current partner, and he shared custody of his first set with his "baby mama." Xavier had struggled with meth addiction for several years, and was in a time of sobriety when we interviewed. He had regained visitation rights to his children, but only because his parents were willing to host the children every other weekend as Xavier had no place to do so himself. He made it clear that he didn't ask his parents for much beyond a place to stay for he

and his children. For anything else, Xavier said he would "hustle it up on my own, because I already burned all the damn bridges…I already utilized all that, and I don't want to use it up too much." He was referring the largesse of his parents, who had picked him up from the county jail more times than anyone cared to admit. Even still, Xavier was grateful when he said "no matter what, they never turned their back on me. Even when I had those chains on, they were there at the courthouse waiting." His parents went above and beyond for Xavier despite his pending cases, and this was particularly true for their role as grandparents: "they're a fricking big help…Yeah, it's so cool when - you know what I mean, it's just, like, you know, they - the kids, you know, they - their grandparents are so down for them, you know?"

Quite simply, Xavier would not be in a position to see his eldest children before he left for prison if it were not for his parents. His drug addiction and violent temper were no secret, and he would not be able to host them nor spend his last time with his children for potentially years if his parents did not vouch for him and his sober status when under their roof. Xavier's parents were relatively well off compared to other tribal families, and they did not bat an eye when it came to meeting the needs of their grandchildren, Xavier's missteps notwithstanding. Xavier himself was struggling with where his choices had gotten him in life, at this point facing several years away. He realized that his inability to get sober and stay sober was keeping the lessons he had been taught by passed on elders from his children and larger social network:

> So that right there tells me, you know what, got to start reminding everything that I was taught, teach them, because I'm not only just a father, I'm an uncle, you know what I mean, I'm - you know, I'm basically the uncle to the kids who are not even my nieces and nephews. You know, all the kids who say, "Hey Uncle," you know? Fucking a thousand nieces and nephews, you know what I mean? And, you know, I'm not just that, you know, I'm better than that, you know?

Xavier spoke with such fervor that one could not help but believe his commitment to turning over a new leaf. He had ample social resources in order to do so, and there is nothing more that his family wanted for him but sobriety. Yet, his past with meth was a long one, and ultimately it

would be his personal choices that kept him clean, irrespective of the rich and receptive resources that Xavier had at his disposal.

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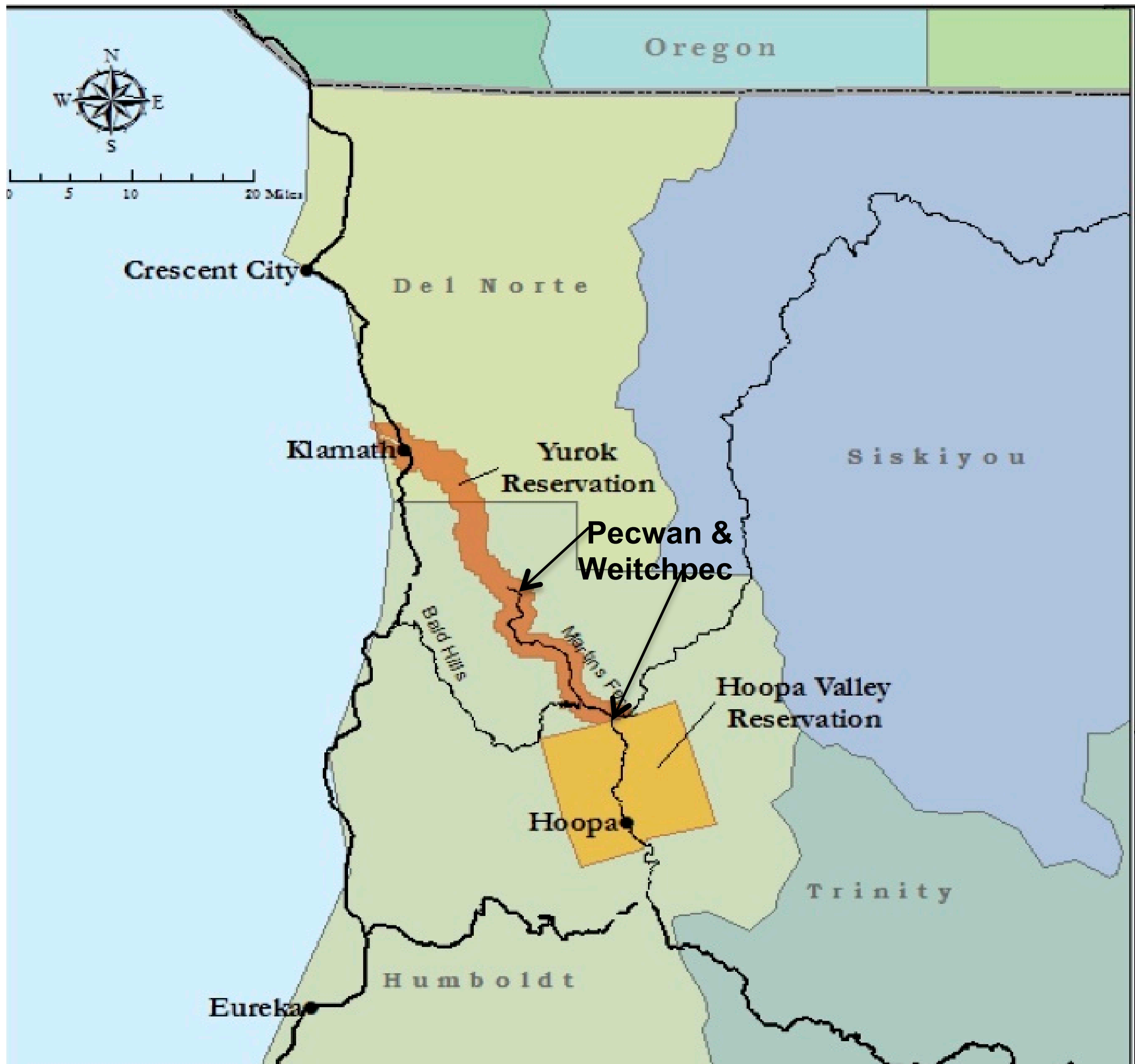
Across the sample, tribal fathers had access to large social networks that were characterized by immediate and extended kin. Those living on-reservation were especially well-placed in their social networks, preferring to be “central points” through which resources flowed to their social networks, and were generally averse to leaning on their social networks if they could avoid it. The exchange of resources in their social networks affirmed these expectations, as social network partners freely offered in-kind resources with tribal fathers that supported their responsibilities as breadwinners, like housing and childcare. Yet when it came to borrowing money or other resources, a real Yurok/Hupa/Karuk man or *numi pegerk* did not ask for help, he was the person that others asked. I describe this ethos of giving rather than receiving help as it relates to work and fatherhood in greater detail in Chapters 4, 6 and 7. For those living off-reservation, my respondents were less likely to be centrally placed within their social networks, and had fewer social partners beyond immediate kin compared to their on-reservation counterparts. Even still, the men and their families depended heavily on sharing housing with their extended kin as a way of reducing their household’s living expenses. This was especially true on-reservation where men had access to housing on their family’s land. Ultimately, my respondents described leaning on their social networks to meet their responsibilities as fathers, with men both on and off-reservation having access to a thick exchange of resources, including housing and childcare.

Despite such resources, Chapter 5 details in-depth how tribal fathers also experienced frequent childhood trauma and adult substance dependencies, and this was particularly the case

on-reservation. Just as men who lived on the reservation had closer proximity and greater access to deeply meaningful world renewal ceremonies, they were also more likely to live in homes plagued by substance use, domestic violence, and loss. These juxtaposing forces were particularly relevant for the employability of my respondents, and I wrestle with this tension over the course of Chapters 4, 5, and 6. Yet, even as I compare the experiences of those who live on reservation to those who do not, I caution the reader to draw too many hard lines between respondents hailing from different locations. For the most part, respondents paralleled one another in their commitment to world renewal spirituality, strong work ethics, and involved fatherhood. These commonalities bound them together as tribal men irrespective of their residential location.

Chapter 3:
Data & Methods



Map 2. The Yurok & Hoopa Valley Tribal Reservations

Study Area

By focusing on the Yurok and Hoopa Valley tribal reservations and their surrounding counties as my study area, I document the employment processes of tribal fathers with criminal records looking for work in a rural area post-incarceration. Map 2 shows the study area, home to the Yurok and Hoopa Valley Tribes, whose reservations are surrounded by Humboldt and Del Norte counties of northwestern California. These coastal counties are some of the most rural in

the state and are colloquially known as the "Lost Coast."[11] According to the 2009-2013 American Community Survey (ACS), both reservations are home to significant American Indian (AI) populations, at over 15% in both areas (17% in Klamath, 49% in Hoopa). The more isolated parts of the Yurok reservation like Weitchpec and Pecwan are near 100% American Indian, and these areas only recently gained partial access to basic amenities like electricity and internet service (Kligman 2013).

Traditional studies of concentrated disadvantage focus on the "cumulative adversity" experienced by those living in neighborhoods marked by high poverty, unemployment and crime (Manduca & Sampson 2019, Sampson 2017, Sampson & Wilson 1995). Klamath, the primary town site of the Yurok reservation, has a male unemployment rate of 26% and an AI individual poverty rate of 20% (ACS 2010-2014). Hoopa, located in the middle of the Hoopa Valley reservation, has a male unemployment rate of 22% and a poverty rate of 34% (ACS 2010-2014). Off-reservation adversity is also high, with both Eureka and Crescent City having poverty rates over 20%, and unemployment rates twice the national average (2013-2017 ACS). Unemployment rates do not capture those who have opted out of the labor force and no longer look for formal employment, nor do they capture the seasonal nature of the study area's labor markets, with unemployment reaching nearly 80% in the winter months (Slack & Jenson 2004, Walters 2014). These rates are compared to a national unemployment rate of 5% and a poverty rate of 13% (2013-2017 ACS).

Crime is also high at the county and reservation-levels. All categories of crime, including violent and property, are higher on both reservations than in the surrounding two counties (CJSC 2015), and drug crimes are the most frequent offense in both areas (DN County Jail Inmate

[11] The Lost Coast is an approximately 50-mile stretch of coastline in northern California that is the longest undeveloped stretch of coast left in the contiguous United States.

Search 2017). According to the Ki'Maw Medical Center in Hoopa, in 2015, over half of those seeking treatment for drug addiction were Native American men and 39% had been arrested at least once, with 21% citing four or more arrests.

Previous to my dissertation, it was unknown how many or how frequently Yurok tribal members were incarcerated. There is no centralized way to answer these questions, which requires simultaneous processes of downloading county jail records on a rolling basis, name-by-name data entry, and access to tribal enrollment lists to verify membership. Over the course of a year, I combed daily jail records and partnered with the Yurok Tribal Court to identify Yurok tribal members who were incarcerated in local jurisdictions from these records. Constructing a working list of verified Yurok tribal members who had previously been incarcerated was a necessary precondition to recruiting them to participate in the dissertation interviews. No such list existed previous to my study, which represents the pilot model for the multi-county, multi-tribe *Far North Tribal Offender Database*.

With my efforts, I have made significant inroads to document the breadth and frequency of incarceration for the Yurok tribal community. Through a year-long identification process, I identified 138 tribal members who were incarcerated in local jails in 2017. This pool of 138 grew to 173 after adding those in prison, not including tribal members under community supervision and those police interactions that do not result in a booking. I found that tribal members are incarcerated at a rate four times the national average, with jail much more common than prison for the average Yurok, at eleven times the national rate. The most common offenses for tribal members were supervision violations (typically stemming from noncompliance with release conditions) and domestic violence. Approximately 65% of these identified were male, with a median age of 38. With an adult tribal population of approximately 4,500, Yurok tribal members

who had been to jail or prison in the last year comprised 4% of all adult tribal members, compared to the less than 1% of all Americans who were incarcerated in 2015 (Kaeble & Glaze 2016).

Methods

In this dissertation, I adopt a qualitative framework built on three methodological components: participant observation, administrative record review, and in-depth interviews. I center my analysis on the experiences of my focal respondents, each of which comprises an individual "case," for a total of 35 cases. Before recruitment of individual participants, I spent over a year living off-reservation in the study area, and worked with the Yurok Tribal Court on-reservation to identify the scope of my population of study, tribal fathers with criminal records. This period began in fall of 2016, with participant observation extending through recruitment and the interview data collection period, ending in fall 2018. In total, my ethnographic observations span 30 months and comprise over 1,000 hours of exposure to my field sites.[12]

My participant observation was centered on ethnographic observation at the local courthouses, both county and tribal; seasonal dance ceremonies; and ethnographic field notes compiled following every focal respondent interview. I conducted an extended, in-depth ten-month long participant observation at the Yurok Tribal Court to help recruit respondents and make myself visible to community members and institutional staff alike. I also observed traditional dance ceremonies from June through September 2018, attending a dance nearly every weekend for most of July and August. Attending a dance ceremony required camping in my car overnight near a remote dance pit, and in the case of brush dances, my observations exclusively

[12] This hour count is based on a tally of total hours spent observing field sites combined with the hours spent with respondents over the course of interview completion.

took place from sunset to sunrise. Through these observations, I established rapport with potential respondents well before interviewing them by becoming part of the "scenery" at both the tribal courthouse and traditional dance ceremonies (Goffman 1989, Comfort 2008). Although I never completely "blended in," the familiarity with the area and population gained through these observations allowed me to deploy my pseudo-insider position for recruitment purposes (Baca Zinn 1979, Goffman 1989).[13]

After each observation and interview session, I transcribed field notes on all non-recorded interactions, visual cues and other environmental factors not included in the recorded audio. I supplemented these field notes by reviewing administrative records as possible, including accessing respondent criminal records. Pulling a respondent's criminal record helped verify details shared within their individual narrative.[14] I also enriched focal respondent narratives with interviews[15] with their partners, parents, friends, and social workers.[16] This type of verification is common in other research on those returning from incarceration, work that

[13] I am a tribal member and every interview started with introducing myself and my reasons for conducting the project. Even still, my presence on-reservation was new at the beginning of the observation period, and as such, I occupied a liminal space as a both an insider and an outsider. I was an insider by virtue of being Yurok and having grown up in the study area, but was also an outsider as a result of growing up off-reservation and later assuming the role of a researcher, particularly one affiliated with a place like Harvard. By underscoring our shared affiliations while distancing myself from my institutional ones, I cultivated buy-in and mitigated the concerns of potentially wary respondents.

[14] Criminal records are publicly available in hard copy at both county court houses and searchable by name. To help build rapport and keep my data collection process as transparent as possible, I obtained respondent consent before accessing their record.

[15] It wasn't possible to interview the network partners of all respondents, and in some cases, would not have been prudent to do so. I only met with those to whom respondents personally introduced me like partners, cousins (who would often be their referrals), and personal friends. This would often happen during the meal that preceded the interview; during the course of scheduling (several men scheduled entirely through their partners); or after their interviews were done and we happened to see each other again out in the community, like at a dance ceremony or festival. One respondent even brought his referral to the interview, to whom I had to carefully explain that another appointment would be necessary for his friend. As you can see, these interactions were often unplanned, but served as enriching data on the social connections held by the respondents.

[16] Comparable data points for each respondent can be ideal, but was more important to learn about the focal respondents' lives through the people they identified as having the most information about their circumstances. As such, I conducted these supplemental interviews as my rapport with the focal respondent grew and they introduced me to their social networks, rather than a "one-size-fits-all" interview approach.

seeks to understand their process of employment and other forms of reintegration into their family and social networks (e.g., Western et al. 2014). Interviews with network partners served as additional sources of information on the focal respondent's social connections, thereby enriching the texture and detail I collected on their daily lives. Supplementing my qualitative data in this way helped triangulate the information shared in interviews and provided greater depth and range to the 35 individual cases (Small 2009).[17]

Observational field notes were drafted for any substantive encounter in the field or with the Tribal Court. This included all phone calls, visits to the reservation, court observations and respondent interviews. Using a template (see Appendix C), I drafted field notes for each observation, with basic details outlined within the first twelve hours after an encounter and full field notes transcribed in the subsequent week.[18] I compiled my field notes using a combination of handwritten notes, transcribed audio recordings taped immediately after interview and/or observation sessions, and from memory in the event I was unable to record an interaction. Dated field notes begin in December 2016, although preliminary observations from June through November 2016 were fundamental in early-stage drafting and project design.

My participant observation was formulated with an expectation of ultimately completing in-depth interviews with eligible participants, specifically tribal fathers with criminal records. Yet, previous to my dissertation, no such list nor database existed to identify potential

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[17] This triangulation was included in the consent form reviewed with each respondent, with the specific point that no person would be contacted without their consent, and that they would have to make the connection themselves, such as having the person contact me rather than me contact them. Part of the IRB conditions were to protect the fact that a respondent had participated just as highly as any other information they shared during the course of the study. As such, respondents had to divulge to their network partner their participation and connection to myself as the researcher themselves before I could speak with them. Most network partner interactions were brief (less than 15 minutes), but for those who helped schedule an interview or wanted to talk longer, they also completed a consent form for the study and received a one-time cash incentive of $20 for their time.

[18] A note on process: I recorded my audio notes as soon as possible after an interview, and typed up any handwritten notes taken during any given observation into the described template, doing so as soon as I could after an encounter, typically within the next twelve hours. In the subsequent week, I would transcribe my audio notes into this template and complete any remaining summative observations over the course of this transcription.

respondents. As described in the *Study Area* section, I had to identify eligible participants over the course of a year, whereby I compared tribal enrollment and county jail records to identify and track tribal members incarcerated in local and state jurisdictions. After establishing a baseline population, I could begin recruitment for my focal respondents. Although time-intensive, this process combined with the afore-mentioned review of administrative records provided me an opportunity to become deeply familiar with the contextual factors that shaped the individual narratives of my focal respondents.

For the interview component of my research design, I utilized in-depth, semi-structured interviews, with the respondent's experiences and our growing rapport[19] setting the pace of our first sessions together. On average, I conducted two interviews with each focal respondent to complete a multi-module, twelve-part interview guide (Appendix B), for a total of 69 interviews across the 35 individual cases.[20] Questions focused on the process of finding work for a tribal father, the constraints placed on their job search by their criminal record, and the resources they mobilize to meet their day-to-day needs in the absence of formal employment.

I constructed the interview guide to include categories on work history, the job search process, providing in the absence of formal employment, material and personal hardship, residential location, and criminal history. The primary motivation for this design—the questions asked, the order in which I asked them, and my plan to break the interview into several sessions rather than getting through it all at one time—came from the deep familiarity I gained from studying this population in the past, from my preliminary ethnographic observations, and from

[19] I mentioned my tribal and academic affiliations at intake and again at the first interview, but stressed my (feigned) naïveté on the specifics of reservation living conditions. This helped put respondents at ease and built rapport, without encouraging them to provide less detail (Baca Zinn 1979).

[20] Most respondents completed the interview guide in two sessions, with a handful of men doing so over the course of three interviews, or one long session (up to four hours). For more details, see *Recruitment Process*.

my own affiliation as a Yurok tribal member. To better structure my data to engage with preexisting sociological literature on unemployment, job search, prison and jail reentry, and poverty, I borrowed some questions from studies of low-income job seekers (e.g., Smith 2007) and prisoner reentry (Western, Braga, & Kohl 2014, Western et al. 2015).

After the first interview with each respondent, I coded for emerging themes, identified unanswered questions, and constructed a respondent-specific interview guide for use in their subsequent interview sessions, in line with other inductive qualitative techniques (Glaser & Strauss 1967, Corbin & Strauss 1990, Charmaz 1995). Building rapport over several interviews provided the nuance that a one-time interview could not, and I timed interviews around respondent lives, rather than a rigid pre-specified timeline. For example, if a respondent moved or started a new job, it was better to time the interviews around these milestones than a more arbitrary timeline. This type of process is particularly important given the fraught history of qualitative research among Native Americans and modern-day strategies to overcome this history (e.g., Strong 2005). Although much of the debate over qualitative research on North American Indigenous people is occurring in Anthropology and Indigenous Studies rather than Sociology (Risling Baldy 2018, Ramirez & Hammack 2014, Vizenor 2008), the fact remains that there are additional barriers to gaining trust and rapport with research subjects in Indian Country that my research design was developed to overcome.

I used these interviews to detail the process of finding work for a tribal father, outlining the possible constraints placed on their job search by their criminal record and the resources they mobilize to accommodate any limitations on a day-to-day basis. Interviews provide powerful insight into the meaning-making processes of job seekers, and I supplemented their perceptions with verification as possible. For example, I reviewed rejection letters, interviewed romantic

partners, and even met their children in several instances. In addition, I used local news articles[21] and social media to verify different components of the respondent's narrative.[22] Such verification was time-intensive but helped confirm what respondents shared during their interviews, thereby providing a more complete account of the experience of tribal fathers looking for work.

In addition to these individual verification strategies, each case provided an opportunity to refine the associations I was identifying over the course of my concurrent inductive analysis. As my respondent pool grew and I began to reach saturation across a variety of thematic content areas, I was able to refine the interview guide with each subsequent respondent and adjust my sampling strategy to ensure that my cases captured as much theoretical range as possible. By adopting this "case study logic," I prioritized my ability to speak to the mechanisms that manifested in my respondents' job search process in a deep and rigorous manner, rather than holding my analysis to the ill-fitting metrics of representativeness or generalizability (Small 2009).

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[21] Like criminal records, news articles are a matter of public record and served as a source of verification on the information shared by respondents. In addition to searching for their names in county records, I searched for them in local newspaper databases. The latter search was often a matter of confirming what the respondents themselves had already shared—several indicated various exploits that had wound up on "Lost Coast," the nickname of the local online news source, *Lost Coast Outpost*. This news outlet began with a focus on crime reporting locally and has an extensive archive of crimes committed in the county over the last decade. Searching their database along with those of local newspapers provided information ranging from different high-profile crimes committed by men in the sample, as well as data on road slides, wildfires, road hazards, and other key data points on the context of Humboldt and Del Norte counties themselves.

[22] I went to great lengths to respect the privacy of respondents during the research process. I used Facebook to recruit participants who were randomly selected from the list, and it was up to them to reply if they were interested in participating. I also used this platform for scheduling with referrals after making first contact in person or by phone. To respect their confidentiality, I did not "friend" respondents during recruitment and restricted correspondence to the social media's messaging capacities. Even still, several respondents opted to stay in touch by sending me a friend request after completing their interviews. A handful more even used the photos therein as verification during the interviews themselves, showing pictures of children, participation in dances, etc. I have not included any data observed on social media in my findings. Instead, this online connection served as a secondary source of verification. For example, if a respondent had told me about upcoming milestones like graduating from drug treatment, reunifying with their children, etc., their updates on Facebook could confirm these events as time went on. Given the small nature of the local community, we typically already had several mutual friends in common, sometimes over twenty or more, despite never having met before the study.

Population of Study: Tribal Fathers with Criminal Records

I focused my analysis on tribal fathers with criminal records for several reasons. Criminal records served as a proxy for characteristics like unskilled backgrounds, potential substance use problems, and a high exposure to violence and trauma. I add the distinction of "father" given the frequency of fatherhood in my preliminary fieldwork on tribal crime patterns, coupled with the notion that men still attached to their family's household may feel more motivated to secure formal employment than fatherless men. Going further, low-income fathers and their ability to provide for their families have long been subjects of study for social scientists, dating back to the 1960s with investigations of family formation patterns in inner-city neighborhoods (Liebow 1967, Moynihan 1965). A majority of these studies have painted low-income minority fathers as absent from the day-to-day lives of their children, with their peripheral attachment to their family units a direct reflection of their marginalized status in the urban economy (Anderson 2000, Liebow 1967, Moynihan 1965, Patterson 1998). Yet, more recent portrayals have underscored the continued presence of low-income fathers in their children's lives despite constraints like multiple partner fertility and stagnant employment prospects (Edin & Nelson 2013, Krampe 2003, Nelson 2004, Roy 2006, Waller 2002). With my sample, I provide an additional example of such fathers while expanding existing considerations of fatherhood in low-income communities to include the case of tribal men.

As detailed in Chapter 2, I also focused on residential location as an explicit point of theoretical variation for the sample, comparing the experience of tribal men living on the reservation to those who live off-reservation as they all look for work following incarceration. "On-reservation" and "off-reservation" refer to the residence or location of an individual or event and indicates whether it took place within or outside the reservations' legal boundaries. Over the

course of the dissertation, I compare and contrast the experiences of men living in both locations, with an emphasis on variations in their perceptions of responsibility, work, and fatherhood.

Recruitment Process

Table 1. Respondents by Location: On vs. Off-Reservation

On-reservation:	**22**	***Off-reservation:***	**13**
Klamath	7	Crescent City	6
Hoopa	7	Eureka/McKinleyville	7
Weitchpec/Downriver	8		
		Total N	**35**

To recruit men living on and off-reservation, I adopted a two-part strategy, based on dual processes of location-based theoretical sampling, and random and referral-based recruitment. I recruited three groups of respondents: off-reservation, on-reservation and "downriver." The first two groups build on the point of variation for the study, and the third category, Downriver, includes respondents who live off grid in the most remote portions of the reservation. Downriver respondents live on-reservation, and are counted within the "on-reservation" sub-category in all relevant tables. Off-reservation respondents were recruited from nearby coastal cities[23] of Eureka

[23] The term "city" is used loosely here in that while both Eureka and Crescent City are technically cities by virtue of their government and other local infrastructures, they are far from "urban" spaces as classically defined (Dubois [1899] 1996, Park & Burgess 1925, Shaw 1929). Rather, they have been deemed "urban clusters": places with between 2,500 and 50,000 people (US Census, 2010, Vlahov & Galea 2002). The study area contains three "urban clusters," including both cities, yet between 50-75% of the population live *outside* of these cities, and less than 100 people reside per square mile in the counties overall. Humboldt and Del Norte counties and their more rural neighbors of Trinity and Siskiyou counties are all classified as "nonmetropolitan areas," and none are adjacent to metropolitan areas as typologized by the U.S. Census Bureau and the Department of Agriculture. "Clusters" in amenities and social services is an apt description for the cities of Eureka and Crescent City, but to extend the notion of "urban" in any absolute sense to these places would be inaccurate. Those recruited from coastal cities had access to spatially concentrated services in a way that parallels the centralization of amenities in urban areas, but the overall comparative lack of institutional and individual-level resources is much more equivalent to areas traditionally designated as "rural" (Hart et al. 2005, Weisheit 1996, Burton et al. 2013, Vlahov & Galea 2002). For this reason, I contend that men both on and off-reservation shared the experience of living and searching for work in a fundamentally rural place.

and McKinleyville in Humboldt County and Crescent City in Del Norte, as shown in Table 1. On-reservation respondents came from the Yurok reservation located in Klamath at that mouth of the Klamath River and from the Hoopa Valley reservation located to the east of Eureka. Downriver respondents hailed from the remote communities of Weitchpec, Pecwan, Sregon and Tulley Creek. These communities are located along the Klamath River and at the junction of the Yurok and Hoopa Valley reservations and comprise the most remote areas on the reservation, and arguably the entire two-county region.

As described above, comparing the experiences of men living on vs. off-reservation is the primary point of variation for the sample. Those who live in the reservation town-sites of Klamath and Hoopa have access to most basic amenities, although significantly less than those living in the coastal cities of Eureka and Crescent City. Respondents who live downriver, or upriver depending on who you ask,[24] live in remote areas of the county in homes that often function off-grid when it comes to electricity, water and other household utilities. The über-rural nature of living in downriver areas is even less studied than the larger reservations, in part because of their near-inaccessible nature. In Chapter 4, I describe how these areas serve as the most concentrated version of reservation life in a variety of ways. I actively recruited men who lived in these areas despite the significantly more intensive recruitment process, one impeded by a lack of cellular device service as described below. The need for this focused recruitment became abundantly clear as my interviews progressed and the centrality of the downriver experience came to light. To be sensitive to these emerging findings, I refined my sampling strategy to maximize range across my individual cases, in keeping with Small's (2009: 25,

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[24] Downriver/upriver are relational terms that refer to locations along the river, but whose meanings differ based on a variety of factors. For example, for someone who grew up in coastal Requa, anything on the river above the mouth is "upriver;" but for many who live on-reservation inland, "downriver" refers to any portion of the reservation from Weitchpec *downriver* as the current flows. This relational concept is described further in *Chapter 4: Tribal Lands & A Tribal Lens: The World Renewal Worldview*.

emphasis added) recommendation to prioritize theoretical variation "when asking *how or why* questions about processes unknown."

Beyond location, I recruited potential respondents in two ways. First, I used a random number generator to identify potential respondents from a list of all previously incarcerated tribal members, the *Far North Tribal Offender Database*, after categorizing those included by location and fatherhood status. I used social media[25] to recruit these randomly-selected men for the study. After completing their interview cycle, each was asked to identify an eligible participant living in the same area. I supplemented referrals and random recruitment with men identified as eligible participants by the two tribal partners, the Yurok Justice Center in Klamath and Ki:maw' Behavioral Health Services in Hoopa.[26] Using this "random + referral-based" recruitment strategy, I was able to secure a total pool of 35 focal participants for my case analysis.[27] As recognition for their time, all respondents received a cash incentive for their participation.[28]

[25] Respondents who cycled in and out of jail often changed phone numbers frequently. Conversely, they maintained the same social media accounts across multiple devices, and often checked these accounts immediately upon release. As a result, social media was a more effective recruitment tool than respondent cell phone numbers. To contact them for the study, I would search for their name on Facebook and if they appeared to have an active Facebook account, I would message them regarding the study. From there, the onus was on them to reply.

[26] I partnered with the Yurok Justice Center in Klamath and Eureka, Ki:maw' Behavioral Health Services in Hoopa, and the Del Norte Workforce Center in Crescent City for recruitment, and used their facilities to conduct interviews in private rooms.

[27] Through the database, 102 tribal men were identified as incarcerated in local jails and/or state prison in 2017. Approximately 66% of these men were fathers. Based on conservative database estimates, this pool of 102 includes half of all incarcerated Yuroks, with a projected population size of 205, and up to 500 after including those from the neighboring Hoopa and Karuk tribes. If roughly two thirds of these men are fathers, the population of study comprises 330 individuals. At 35 men, my respondent pool represents 11% of the estimated total number of Yurok, Hoopa, and Karuk tribal fathers with criminal records.

[28] Respondents received $110 for participating in the study. They earned $10 for completing their intake materials, as well as $100 to be split up over the course of their interview sessions. A majority of men completed the interview in two parts, earning $60 during Part One, and $50 to complete the interview guide during Part 2. Most respondents spent at least four hours being voice-recorded, as well as several more over the course of scheduling and dining together. At six hours per respondent on average, this is an hourly rate of $18.30 to honor their time and thank them for their contribution to the project.

Table 2. Respondents by Recruitment: Random vs. Referral

Recruited at Random From Database:	14 (40%)	Recruited By Referral:	21 (60%)
On-reservation:	6 (43%)	*On-reservation*:	16 (76%)
Off-reservation:	8 (57%)	*Off-reservation*:	5 (24%)

As shown in Table 2, 40% of respondents were recruited at random, with the remaining 60% of the sample recruited via referral. Over the course of recruitment, it became clear that referrals mitigated the potential discomfort of study participation. For example, of the 13 men who declined to participate, a majority were randomly identified.[29] Without some kind of connection to myself as the researcher, there was no need to read the recruitment message, or even reply after reading it. Indeed, this is where stigma was most present over the course of the study—some men just did not appreciate having been identified through the database, and would not participate no matter how large the incentive. As one participant astutely observed: "you can't put a price on someone's shame." There are several in the sample who were similarly wary of participating, but having a friend who had done so before them or to learn of the opportunity through their social network dramatically increased the chance that they would participate.[30] The effectiveness of referral-based recruitment with vulnerable populations is not news (Edin & Lein 1997, Western et al. 2014), but was particularly the case for on-reservation respondents, 69% of who were recruited by referral.

[29] Nearly every randomly selected participant had a Facebook profile, although a handful of these accounts did not appear active as indicated by a lack of response or recent posted material. Of those men recruited via social media, approximately two out of three agreed to participate, and each completed their full interview cycle. For those recruited via a direct referral, I had a 100% recruitment rate. The variation between random and referral recruitment is not unexpected (Small 2009) and mirrors the participation rates observed in other studies of low-income populations (Edin & Lein 1997, Western et al. 2014).

[30] Similar to network partners, part of protecting respondent confidentiality meant that interviewees couldn't provide me with the contact details of potential respondents. Instead, they had to choose to share their participation to the potential referral themselves, and then provide my contact information so they could contact me directly. While this additional step may have added time to the recruitment process overall, it respected the confidentiality of all respondents, both potential and those who had already consented into the study.

In terms of recruitment rate and study retention, I recruited 48 men to participate in the study and completed consent materials with 35 respondents from this pool, for a 73% recruitment rate. Reasons for not participating after being recruited varied. Three men specifically declined to participate, and one man, the supervisor of a local casino's security team, was simply too busy as he was working 90-hour workweeks for much of the study period. Two men fell off the map—I had them recruited, and ready to schedule an interview, but they stopped replying to messages. In each case, we had exchanged up to 10-15 messages before they became nonresponsive. Six men never replied to the recruitment message, either as a result of never reading the message or not responding after they did. After recruiting them to the study, one respondent wasn't eligible upon intake—a young father, he was actually 16 instead of his social media-listed age of 19. Finally, one man nearly consented into the study, but a relapse compromised his ability to do so. I was in touch with him for over a week, exchanging at least ten messages, and had confirmed a time for Part 1 when he left treatment. Of the 35 respondents who consented into the study, I completed the interview guide with each of them, for a study retention rate of 100%.

On average, recruiting a respondent to the study was the first step in a month-long process to schedule and complete their two in-depth interviews. Although the total recorded audio time per respondent was 3-4 hours, this does not include the half hour reviewing consent materials at intake,[31] nor the numerous messages required to secure their participation and

[31] Consenting into the study could take at least a half hour for several reasons. First, the consent form itself was a lengthy document describing numerous protections in place to preserve respondent confidentiality. In addition, it was vital to me that all respondents understood every part of the consent form. Given the frequency of illiteracy or near-illiteracy across the sample, going through the document page-by-page, paragraph-by-paragraph, together was the only way to ensure informed consent. Finally, although the men were familiar with intake processes more generally, most had never participated in an interview and often had questions as to the study design, my personal reasons for conducting it, and its anticipated final contributions. After going over the forms and answering these questions, a half hour had typically passed. This process would usually be completed over the course of a shared meal and before the recording device was returned on.

schedule an interview. As shown in Table 3, it took an average of fifteen messages per respondent exchanged over the course of four weeks to complete the interview guide with a respondent, with an average of at least 2 reschedules over the course of that month. These averages do not include a handful of outliers that were particularly arduous to schedule and subsequently retain, such as an off-reservation respondent that required over 40 messages to schedule two interviews over the course of five months, nor the downriver participant who required *eleven* reschedules from the time of first contact to interview completion. In both cases, work was the reason for scheduling difficulty, but that was not the only reason to reschedule.

Table 3. Average Number of Messages Exchanged, Reschedules Made, & Time to Completion for Respondent Pool

	Messages Exchanged Over Course of Recruitment	***No. of Reschedules***	***Time from First Contact to Completion (in weeks)***
Total Sample	**15**	**2**	**5**
On-Reservation	13	1	4
Off-Reservation	19	2	5

Reasons for rescheduling ranged from alarming custody news to family graduations to funerals, as well as simply not wanting too, or waiting until the end of the month when the incentive money might be more helpful. Yet, some respondents kept their appointment even in extreme circumstances—one respondent came fresh from a domestic dispute; others came while in treatment, after drug court, and in the months leading up to their sentencing. They fit their interviews around job interviews, in between work shifts, and even after hours in the few minutes they had to themselves each week.

Beyond the personal schedules of the respondent pool, interview rescheduling was also shaped by the study area itself. Interview recruitment began in early 2018, and at one point early

on, I had to traverse a snow-covered mountain pass at 7:30am to make a 9am interview in Crescent City. Spring interviews were marked by a Highway 101 bridge closure after a semi-truck collided with a sedan on the only road between Eureka and Crescent City. The summer months did not bring a reprieve, when inland temperatures neared 100° and wildfires closed the only road between Hoopa and Weitchpec. With that road closure, a 20-minute drive became 45-minutes on a nearby road that required 4-wheel drive, or a three-hour commute to drive around the road closure via another mountain pass. At the end of the research period, I found myself back in the rain, with the first storm of the season drenching my last day in the field. As I drove home from my final tribal court observation, the road was covered with up to 3" of rain in stretches, and my car was at constant risk of hydroplaning.

In addition to the weather and road conditions, the study area was also marked by an extreme lack of cellular communication, especially on reservation. For respondents living in Klamath and Weitchpec, I had little to no cellular service when traveling to meet with them, and this was almost a step back in time. After a certain point on the highway, I was unable to communicate with respondents and would just hope that I would see them at our pre-arranged location. While cellular service varies by carrier, there are entire mountains, and communities therein, without any kind of cell reception for miles around, having only recently gained electricity in some locations. A significant number of respondents sought out these places to live, and interviewing them required overcoming these "place-based" constraints on the recruitment process.

These constraints, and the larger process of rescheduling, are key components of the recruitment process as they structured my time as the researcher on any given day in the field,

and ultimately contributed to the final sample count. In this study, I completed 69 interviews[32] with 35 respondents over the course of eight months, and nearly every respondent required multiple messages and reschedules over the course of their participation. Between recorded interview time (average of four hours), time spent recruiting a respondent (two hours for fifteen social media messages), and travel time to and from the interview (two hours round trip), each respondent resulted in approximately eight hours of field time, for a total amount of 280 field hours, not inclusive of my additional observational time in the field. At times, I had to doggedly pursue a respondent to complete their participation, but my efforts resulted in a 100% retention rate. This is a feat for any study (Western et al. 2014), yet the sensitive content of the interview questions and "study-averse" orientation of most respondents makes this particularly noteworthy.

Recruitment was not always a matter of social media messages or constant rescheduling. In fact, I shared a meal with every respondent who participated in person,[33] and "breaking bread" together was a fundamental part of building rapport with participants. Even before the questions started, sharing a meal together allowed me to cultivate buy-in from a respondent as well as bring their guard down as we simply ate. Most men started the interview with their arms crossed, hands clasped, and a variety of other physical ways to make space between themselves and myself as the interviewer. Eating meant that at some point they would have to use their hands, and as the interview began, gave them something to focus on as we progressed through the modules. As the tribal probation officer noted, by being a good host to the respondents, I was in equal measures honoring the tribal custom of generosity, and affirming their basic humanity. Regardless of what I did or did not have in common with respondents to help build rapport,

[32] 23 respondents, or 66%, completed the interview guide in two parts, while 11% completed the interview in three parts, and 23% completed the interview in one long interview session (at times over 4 hours).

[33] This is with the exception of three respondents who completed their interviews by phone.

“everyone gets thirsty,” so building on that basic need established a foundation for the respondent’s participation. In fact, sharing a meal together was the most effective way to cement a respondent’s participation, even more so than the $110 interview incentive.

Finally, I also built rapport using my own body language, like mirroring a calm demeanor and lowered voice for respondents, especially during sensitive questions; reaching for a drink of water when a respondent had gone several questions without doing so themselves; and changing the way I held my posture as a respondent’s mood shifted. I modulated my voice tone depending on question and response, and was careful to modify a line of questioning if a respondent became particularly uncomfortable.

I had to be particularly attuned to body language for several reasons. First, it was a way to moderate a respondent’s comfort level over the course of an interview, from superficial intake questions to more sensitive personal inquiries. Particularly in the latter case, I had to watch body language for my own personal safety. As I was advised by tribal partners as recruitment began, “no one knows when [post-traumatic stress disorder] will kick in,” and given the sensitive nature of several interview modules, I was advised to always be aware of my exits,[34] and to monitor any behavioral changes on the part of a respondent. For example, if a respondent were to move a table unexpectedly, even flip it in a moment of duress, I had to be ready to get clear of the table, rather than prevent them from moving it in the first place. These measures may seem extreme, but a number of the respondents had been convicted of violent crimes and the majority disclosed a history of mental health issues, including PTSD or anger, making these considerations ever present throughout the study. At no time did a respondent make me feel unsafe, but I chose to

[34] Private interview rooms in public facilities were made available to me by my tribal partners to ensure my safety over the course of interviews.

structure our interactions with the utmost care and attention to detail to ensure their emotional safety during their research participation.

A note on the perception of myself as the researcher by respondents: I grew up in the study area and am a member of the Yurok Tribe. As such, it was important to me from the first days of this project that I design a study that met the needs of my community by producing research that was culturally sensitive to the traditional values of our village culture while providing concrete next steps for theory and policy alike. This commitment was a necessary precondition to securing access to the study population through the Tribal Court, and together, we prioritized transparency in the research process from beginning to end. Each new respondent provided a chance to reaffirm this commitment, and most even demanded it—before they were willing to participate, they needed to know who I was and why I was doing the project that I was doing. This is not to say that I was not met with skepticism. Some respondents said they thought I was a Facebook scam, a "catfish' (someone trying to trick them into thinking I was someone that I wasn't), or even a federal investigator. Yet the more the respondents learned about who I was and who my family is, the reasons for my project were made clear. Even with my light skin and "big words," they knew I was a Yurok woman from Humboldt. In fact, once their guard came down, they often expressed sheer admiration that someone from *our* part of the world had made it that far—"*Harvard?!?*" they would exclaim. With this affiliation, I could have easily been seen as "the other," and at times I was. But for the most part, despite all of the differences I had with the men in my sample, we were all united by the fact that we came from the River and together we were building something that would help families like our own. Within that interview space, sacred things were created, and I am deeply grateful to each respondent who helped make that happen.

Respondent Sample Characteristics

Table 4. Descriptive Sample Statistics

	Substance Use?	*Dropout or GED?*	*DUI/License Loss?*	*Prison?*	*Monogamous relationship?*	*Long-Term Relationship?*	*Employed?*	*Minor Children?*
Total Sample	**91%**	**43%**	**60%**	**34%**	**57%**	**46%**	**83%**	**89%**
On-Reservation	100%	41%	55%	32%	45%	41%	86%	86%
Off-Reservation	77%	46%	69%	38%	77%	54%	69%	92%

Table 4 provides descriptive sample statistics and Chapters 5, 6, and 7 substantively expand on these categorized outcomes. Briefly, I describe the distinguishing characteristics of the respondent pool. Nearly every respondent had dealt with a substance use problem at some point in their lives, with 91% of the sample identifying as being in recovery. This was even higher on-reservation than off, at 100% compared to 77% off-reservation. DUIs and subsequent driver's license loss was also a frequent experience, with 60% of respondents having lost their license at some point, up to 69% of off-reservation respondents. One out of three respondents had been to prison, and approximately half of the sample dropped out of high school and/or completed a GED.

Given that all the men were tribal fathers, it is not surprising that 80% of the sample were in a monogamous relationship, with 46% of the men in a long-term relationship (more than five years) with the mother of their children. Although some men had older children, 89% of all respondents had minor children. Finally, 83% of the sample was employed at the time of their interview. Digging deeper into this number, it is important to point out that this category includes both full-time workers and those who are "underemployed" as a result of seasonal, part-time or

temporary positions (Slack & Jenson 2004).[35] In fact, only 60% of all respondents were employed full-time and full-year (FT/FY), with 39% of the sample working seasonally, part-time or in a temporary capacity.

Table 5. Respondents by Age: On vs. Off-Reservation

	Total	On-Reservation	Off-Reservation
Age 18-30	7	2	5
Age 30-45	18	12	6
Age 45-60	10	8	2

There was also significant age variation within the respondent pool. As shown in Table 5, 28 of the 35 respondents were age 30 or older, and this was a direct reflection of the difficulty in recruiting respondents younger than age 30. On one hand, the average paternal age at conception in the United States is 30 years old (Khandwala et al. 2017), so the sample is not hindered by its age distribution. On the other, it is important to note how fathers younger than 30 were particularly reticent to participate, and this nonresponse was not exclusive to my study. Recruitment discussions with key informants in the local tribal infrastructure indicated that men ages 18-30 were the missing demographic at many tribal ceremonies and community meetings, particularly on-reservation, and this was supported by my own observations at the summer dances. These men were the still present in the community, but they were conspicuously absent from their social networks in key ways. While I speculate on the root of their absence in *Chapter 5: Tribal Men: Adversity, Substance Dependency & the "Reservation Effect,"* it was nonetheless reflected in study recruitment.

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[35] Slack & Jenson (2004: 33) use the 1974 Labor Utilization Framework to construct a measure of underemployment by combining the categories of sub-employed, unemployed, involuntarily part-time employed, and low-income workers.

Sample Considerations

As described above in *Recruitment Process*, securing and retaining the participation of all 35 focal respondents was no small feat. A sample of this size allowed me to tailor the interview guides to the personal specifics of any one respondent while maintaining analytic validity across the narratives collected. Beyond the time it took to recruit a respondent, I typically spent four hours with a respondent over the course of two interview sessions. The preliminary exchanges required to set up an appointment, the persistence needed for inevitable rescheduling and the concentrated, focused hours spent together during the interviews should contextualize considerations of the overall sample size. Sample sizes for qualitative research can vary widely (Dworkin 2012, Mason 2010, Sandelowski 1995, Small 2009); in the context of this study, the richness of the information respondents shared about their personal lives, coupled with the "hiddenness" of the population and the challenges to obtaining their study participation yielded high-quality data from a sample of men who are drastically underrepresented in research to date. Going further, my respondents' narratives are buttressed by my participant observation, my administrative record review, and my verification, each component providing key context to the richness of my collected interview data.

It is also important to note that the challenges of data collection did not end at recruitment. To say that most respondents were not "talkers" is an understatement, but not for lack of opportunities to do so. In fact, as men who cycled in and out of the local jail, court, and social services' offices, they were more than familiar with the invasive questions of an intake form, of a virtual stranger asking about intimate details of their lives. In those cases, answers could mean access to benefits, but I held no such sway over the respondents. Instead, I had to convince them to talk to me because they wanted to, not because they had to.

To do this, I had to cultivate buy-in[36] and get past a participant's "wall" in a number of ways. The trope of the silent Indian is not without some basis, particularly when dealing with an institution, signing forms, and especially when a recording device is turned on. By virtue of completing the consent materials, the respondents were made immediately aware of the institutional component of the study, with Harvard University having cache even in far off Weitchpec. This could set the men on edge, and this was particularly the case when I turned on the recorder. Often, it would seem as if the first hour of an interview was simply a waiting game, talking with a respondent until their answers changed from curt "yes/no's" to more expansive ones. After voicing this point, that I often felt like I spent the first hour just staring at respondents, waiting for them to talk, my tribal partners indicated that this feeling was not far off, and it stemmed from the interactions the men had in previous institutions, like at a welfare office or when meeting with their public defender.

According to the tribal probation officer, fifty minutes is the standard billing hour for most county offices, and the services therein, such that any kind of "social work" hour is spent at fifty minutes plus ten minutes for notes. So men who have a criminal record, who have been on public assistance, etc. are well-versed with a 50-minute block of time spent with a stranger for the purpose of intake. After this hour, they were in effectively unchartered territory, and it was often after this point when respondents really started to open up.

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[36] The importance of buy-in was enormous, and I was made aware of this before I began my interviews—that as universal learners, many tribal people needed to know "why" something was useful before they would set themselves to learning it or participating in it. After connecting with them on what the project would mean for their community, you could feel them open up, see it in body language, almost as if a switch had been flipped. In one hand, it was a sigh of relief—that being selected to speak wasn't something to get them in trouble, and in fact, could be a place to say things that could otherwise merit stigma or repercussions. They respected the role of myself as the researcher in protecting their anonymity, girded by the promise that if they could be candid about their adversity, I would protect their identity and only share the parts of their stories that our community needed to heal. Overwhelmingly, respondents had a profound appreciation for the study's contribution, and once this point was reached, I just had to start the recorder and get ready.

Even with their experience with local social workers, they have never really sat down with anyone for such an extended interview period, let alone covering such sensitive material. I was always conscious of managing a respondent's emotional stamina as our audio count rose, but it was usually after the one-hour mark where they hit their stride. And when that happened, they had stories to tell. They didn't just answer questions—they started at the beginning. If I asked what they did for a living, they could very well begin by describing the five years leading up to their current position, why they changed jobs perhaps, and what it meant for them. Often, in one fell swoop, they would answer that question and then several others from later in the interview guide. It was truly striking to have a man who an hour before had sat in stoic silence, opening up enough to make his lunch order and sign his consent form, telling a story that lasted for five to ten uninterrupted audio minutes. In most cases, once they got going, it was up to me as the interviewer to just keep up.

Spending that much time together, up to four hours in some cases, provided a space to think about circumstances in ways that they may not have before; to talk through how they think about their lives and what that means for their families. The interview may only be a moment in time for them, but they live in a world where time can stand still. It can take forever for most things to happen in a rural area, so that moment in time can speak to a lot, especially when these are men who have never been asked these kinds of questions before. As most interviews were conducted in two parts, it could sometimes take a moment to regain our momentum, but I took the time to tailor each Part 2 to the specifics of any one respondent, updating the interview guide to reflect questions we hadn't yet covered, or identify areas of further inquiry in those that we had. I would share this brief recap with respondents, and in doing so, I would further cement rapport as they realized I had listened to them the first time, that they were truly heard. With that

made clear, they would open up even more. By taking the time to do this for each respondent, I was able to gain great analytical insight and obtain extremely rich data across a total of 35 cases.

Qualitative Data Analysis

I used a modified grounded theory approach[37] for theoretical sampling and data coding and analysis, using my preliminary ethnographic observations to design the initial interview guide. I deployed a "constant comparative method" for analyzing my qualitative data and refining my sample over the course of the project (Glaser & Strauss 1967, Corbin & Strauss 1990, Charmaz 1995, Small 2009). After completing a respondent's first interview, I coded for the following basic thematic categories: resources in the job search process; constraints in the job search process; strategies to provide in the absence of formal employment; and residential location (on/off-reservation). This initial coding served to update each respondent's interview guide to reflect their progress through the modules.[38] In addition, this iterative process allowed me to identify emergent themes for refining my theoretical sampling (Small 2009), like prioritizing Downriver recruitment.

For each interview, I completed a topic memo[39] using a 10-pt data "hit list" to verify narrative completeness across ten categories. As shown in Appendix D, these data points prioritized making ends meet, social networks, traditional practices and experiences of hardship and adversity. I combined these topic groups with the basic thematic categories to code project

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[37] I adopted a grounded theory model for my interview coding, theoretical sampling and data analysis, yet this is a modified use in that I have significant expertise on the study area as well as theories of unemployment and prisoner reentry.

[38] Multiple interviews with each respondent was the preferred method, but in the event that I was only able to secure one interview with a respondent, I designed a qualitative memo template to ensure completeness across ten key substantive areas spanning the interview guide. At different points over the course of an interview, I used these areas to verify my data completeness for each respondent in real-time as we progressed through the interview modules.

[39] This topic memo was in addition to each interview's observational field notes.

data for the job search process for tribal fathers living on and off-reservation. As coding progressed, I also used memos to track themes that emerged over the course of data analysis. These themes were used for both interview data and collected observational field notes, although the latter were also coded for body language, recruitment details, and environment, like weather and road conditions.

In addition to coding for the job search process and its variations on and off-reservation, I coded for the process of resiliency in the lives of tribal men, using the "Ethnic, Culture, Religion/Spirituality" (ECR) scale, an index that compares sources of strength and adversity to measure resilience (Long & Nelson 1999). The ECR identifies four major sources of resilience in Native communities: the context, the mental, the physical, and the cultural/spiritual. Each category includes a variety of strategies and resources that can serve as both stimuli and response to building resilience (Long & Nelson 1999). I adopted these groupings as thematic categories during the coding analysis, although doing so required adapting this index to reflect the experiences of the respondent pool. As described in later chapters, I identified four sources of resiliency in the lives of tribal fathers: ceremony, personal agency, domestic partnerships, and social network expectations.

I used MAXQDA coding software to analyze project files, generating issue-based and cross-case "formative data"[40] on the process of finding work for tribal fathers with criminal records (Weiss 1994, Harding et al. 2011). The substantive chapters of the dissertation describe these findings, including the worldview that my respondents ascribe to, specifically the world renewal worldview, and its centralization on-reservation (Chapter 4); the overlap between the reservation and experiences of adversity and substance dependency (Chapter 5); the details of

[40]Formative data as in theory-*generating*, not theory-testing nor causally-focused (Comfort 2016).

their job search as a process of survivance (Chapter 6); and the scope of their roles and responsibilities as fathers and partners (Chapter 7).

By using a modified grounded theory model, I had several junctures throughout data collection to internally verify the coherence of the growing narrative and modify subsequent data collection to ensure I reached "saturation" on all relevant aspects of the job search process and how it varied by residential location (Glaser & Strauss 1967, Corbin & Strauss 1990, Charmaz 1995, Small 2009). I neared saturation at approximately thirty cases, but continued through to a total number of 35 to both honor the remaining referrals of my focal respondents and key informants, and to ensure that "the very last case examined… provide[d] very little new or surprising information" (Small 2009: 25). Beyond internal saturation, I also dialogued my findings with community input from my tribal partners to "[verify] the completeness, coherence, comprehensiveness, and thoroughness of [my] interpretation" (Murphy, Curtiss, & Gerdes 2004: 165). This secondary verification enhanced my findings, making sure that I had interpreted respondents' words accurately (Edin & Lein 1997).

I do not endeavor to make a causal argument about the role of residential location in the job search process. Instead, using these 35 cases drawn from the two reservations and their surrounding areas, I provide an in-depth description of the job search process of those looking for work after an industry decline with the additional constraint of a criminal record, a process that has not yet been studied for tribal job seekers on rural reservations.

Chapter 4.
Tribal Lands & a Tribal Lens: The World Renewal Worldview

> I had to make regalia, I know how to do all of that. I know how to speak the language, prayers mostly, but...And all the villages, it was like I grew up on the river. But now as soon as I take myself out of the element - and it's, like, the sad thing about it is there we go again. There's me being that again, say, oh yeah, "I did that because my heart was broke." You know, I did that because I was codependent, and I was selfish, you know what I mean? And I didn't know how to treat a lady. And so she did what she did, you know what I mean? She left me because I didn't know how to, you know, communicate or do - or especially take my time, be a man. I was childish. So I thought I could have everything and it didn't work out that way. And so she left me, and she left the rez, came out to town, and I started hanging out here. Been four or five y- like, five years since I've been on the river.
>
> Like five - I've been eeling here and there, you know, at the beach, but to be on the river, how I used to be, how I used to live, and not have a care in the world [small laugh]... Be free, loving - just cruising up the river and, you know, feeling that nice freaking air coming down through mountains, and the trees, and watching your boat just cut through the freaking - cut through that glass part right there just before a riffle, you know what I mean? Or coming down a riffle, you know, it's all flat and smooth, and then you just roll [makes sounds like an engine accelerating], you know? And everybody pulling up by your gillnet right there, and you know there's a sturgeon, or a salmon, or checking that and having that right there, pheewwww [blows air through lips], ain't no feeling like it, it's like heaven. "Yeah! All right!" you know? [pumps his fist] Or even just stripping it up and putting it in the smokehouse. And you felt like you won, you felt like, I mean for me, that's what it is, you feel like you did something right there. And we kind of forget that because we go off and do our bullshit right now, as we are right now, as an addict, you know, whatever I am.
>
> My kids are losing that. They're losing that because when I grew up, I was right there in the boat, right there with my dad, right there and I fucking had so much fun. And I was, like, fishing, you know? And I want my kids to have that and I, we all forget about it, being selfish, you know?... I want my kids to live like that, to have that. So, like I said, it goes back to getting it sooner, you know, figuring out sooner instead of later. Because you know, I'm 27 and they're still young, you know what I mean, pretty much babies. I need to get my shit together, start working, get my boat, throw my kids in that boat and let's go fishing on the river. Or let's go hunting. Let's go gathering. Let's go to tournaments and play ball like I grew up doing, right there, just fun stuff. Right now it's, like – now, right now I'm waiting to get sentenced, you know what I mean [sighs], you know, because of the stupidity I did.
>
> And so it's, like… Now I get to…[voice trails off]. You know, I had a lot of opportunities growing up to be who I wanted to be. But I let, I let myself go, I let – I worried about myself, my feelings before anything else. Thought that I had to *need* it, you know, whatever *it* was. [sighs]
>
> - Xavier, 29

Xavier was a 29-year old father of four, with a fifth on the way, and his boyish stature and Raiders-themed sports apparel gave him a youthful demeanor, one that juxtaposed strongly with the deep sense of responsibility with which he carried himself, and the sense of foreboding that haunted his plans for the future. In the span of minutes, he ran a gamut of emotions, first frowning with shame as he described the end of his relationship with his children's mother, to grinning broadly as he closed his eyes and remembered the river air on his face, punctuated with

a trill of excitement as he mimed holding a fresh caught salmon in his hands. The pride Xavier felt filling his smokehouse was rare these days as he described his upcoming sentencing after a violent crime the previous year, shoulders and brows fallen as he thought about the time he would soon spend away from his family. At 29, he had spent most of his adult life in various stages of addiction, alternatively living with family in town and with cousins on-reservation as his sobriety shaped his housing status. He had already spent time in prison and many stints in the Humboldt County Jail, and I interviewed him the summer before he went away for his second prison term.

His incarceration and even his addiction to methamphetamine were not without some context, especially given his status as a low-skill job seeker who had dropped out of high school. While he had earned his GED in prison, he preferred working outdoors because such work came naturally to him. His dyslexia was less apparent when he was setting chokers in the forest or fishing on the River, and his father knew that early on. Xavier had always struggled in school and with making friends beyond cousins, fighting anyone who ridiculed his inability to read. Knowing this, his father encouraged him to learn from tribal elders as a young boy:

> He knew that I was different, you know, being with disabilities, learning disabilities. And I couldn't, like, read or write, but then again I could read the river and which way it's flowing. I'd know how the fish are coming up through the channel.

With time, Xavier's elders taught him how to harvest fish, make regalia, pray in Yurok, gather seaweed and other foodstuffs, and a multitude of other skills associated with the local Indigenous culture.

Growing up off-reservation in Arcata, Xavier sought the reservation out time and time again, first with his father on the River, and then later on as an adult, when he would evade the police and live on the run off-grid in the mountains above Klamath. For him, the reservation was where he was in his element, where his demons did not follow, or at least where he could cleanse

himself of them if they did. Xavier's tie to the reservation, how he conceived of the world around it, and even how he understood himself were intimately tied to the land and to the River, and mediated by his "world renewal worldview." This worldview is derived from the tribal lands he grew up on, and was passed down to him through the teachings of his family and the elders that mentored him as a boy. He desperately wanted to pass on these lessons to his own children. But his addiction to methamphetamine and ensuing prison time had thus far constrained Xavier from doing so, and facing at least five years away, they would continue to for the foreseeable future.

What is striking about Xavier was that he was not alone in being stuck between his sense of responsibility as a Yurok man and his experiences of adversity—both county jails and state prisons house significant minorities of Yurok, Hupa, and Karuk offenders who are at once deeply traditional, but also very much products of the criminal justice system. Based on his criminal activities and substance dependence, one might expect Xavier and men like him to be peripherally attached to their social networks, neither mobilizing the resources therein nor contributing to them in any great degree (Western et al. 2015, Harding et al. 2011). One might imagine them as absent or part-time fathers (Edin & Kefalas 2005, Edin & Nelson 2013, Visher et al. 2013), whose scant involvement with their children was a direct reflection of the fact that they were weakly-if-at-all attached to the formal labor force (Anderson 2000, Sampson & Wilson 1995, Liebow 1967, Venkatesh 2008, Wilson 1996). Yet, as I show in this chapter, Xavier and other adherents to the world renewal worldview have access to a set of frames, scripts, and social expectations that in many ways should benefit them in the labor market. But, as I demonstrate in later chapters, the strengths derived from their worldview are in fierce tension with the slack labor markets in which they find themselves and with their own personal

struggles, like substance use and violence (Anderson 2000, Bourgois 1995, Sampson 1987, Sampson & Wilson 1995, Weisheit & White 2009).

Introduction: The Worldview of a Tribal Father

Tribal fathers with criminal records possess several qualities that have traditionally served as areas of inquiry in other communities studied by social scientists. From their status as low-skill job seekers (Smith 2007) to the frequency by which high unemployment is associated with social isolation in their communities (Wilson 1987, 1996), to their experiences of stigma in the job search process as a result of their criminal histories (Pager 2003, 2007), my respondents share significant commonalities with their urban counterparts observed in areas like Chicago's South Side (Wilson 1996, Edin & Nelson 2013, Young 2003, Vanketesh 2008), Washington, D.C. (Liebow 1967), Philadelphia (Anderson 2000), and Boston (Sampson & Laub 2005, Laub & Sampson 1993, Western et al. 2015). Despite these similarities, tribal fathers with criminal records are distinguished by a fundamental way: their expression of a "world renewal" worldview, a cultural orientation that shapes how they conceive of and frame their individual responsibilities and social obligations.

In essence, the world renewal worldview is a set of frames and associated strategies of action (Swidler 1986) that provide a template for behavior for tribal fathers with criminal records, a template that draws on traditional expectations of gender roles derived from local Indigenous spirituality and the responsibilities therein. This worldview matters because it should be an asset to my respondents and their job search as it fosters a strong affinity for outdoor manual labor, explicit conceptions of personal responsibility, and thick social bonds, all of which are assets to the job search process in low-skill manual labor markets (Desmond 2008, Holzer

1987, Newman 2000, Smith 2007, Wilson 1996). In Table 6, I introduce the orienting frames of the world renewal worldview. These include recognition of the local landscape as sentient, an emphasis on maintaining balance and "living in a good way," individual sacrifice through fasting and meeting community responsibilities, and aspiring to become a *numi pegerk* or "real man." These frames are associated with strategies of action ranging from energy and food sovereignty, natural resource employment, ceremonial dancing and singing, maintaining sobriety, and a variety of other cultural scripts. Over the course of this chapter, I structure the substantive sections around the frames and corresponding strategies of action included in this table.

Table 6. World Renewal Worldview: Frames & Corresponding Strategies of Action

Frame	Strategy
Land As Sentient	Energy & Food Sovereignty Natural Resource Employment
Maintaining Balance	Ceremonial Dancing & Singing
Living "In A Good Way"	Sobriety from Substances
Individual Sacrifice for the Collective	Prayer & Fasting
Men as *Numi Pegerk*	Work Ethic & Individual Initiative Father as Provider, Mother as Caretaker

I assert that the worldview is most accessible on-reservation, where men from all locations must go to seek out sacred spaces and ceremonies to access its more physical manifestations. Unlike other tribes, the Yurok, Hupa and Karuk were never removed from their ancestral homelands. The present-day reservation boundaries and surrounding national forests

encompass many of the sacred landscapes associated with the world renewal worldview, and adherents living on and off-reservation alike make constant pilgrimages to and from these spaces. I problematize these migrations in the next chapter by showing how beyond their spiritual importance, both reservations are also characterized by significant and long-standing inequalities such that those men who are the most exposed to the worldview are also much more likely to have experienced trauma and adversity. Traumatic experiences and the spatial concentration of adversity are associated with a high frequency of substance dependency and other behaviors that are not seen as conducive to formal employment (Anda et al. 2004, Anderson 2000, Felitti et al. 1998, Pager et al. 2009, Holzer et al. 2006, Uggen & Manza 2004, Wilson 1996). In their job search process, my respondents found themselves navigating this tension between their pro-work worldview and the constraints of their lived experiences, and this was particularly the case on-reservation.

In this chapter, I introduce this worldview, and describe its historical roots and contemporary expressions in the lives of Indigenous men from tribes located in northwestern California, tribes that historically ascribed to this belief system. The physical characteristics and locations of various tribal lands on reservation correspond with significant aspects of the worldview, spanning from Klamath on the coast inland to the Hoopa Valley and down the Klamath River to the communities of Weitchpec and Sregon. By engaging with the experiences of my respondents, I will demonstrate how they express this worldview on a day-to-day basis through a variety of social actions, including acknowledging that the land they live on is sentient and working *with* the land to maintain resource sovereignty; participating in traditional religious ceremonies as dancers and singers; fasting and prayer in sacred spaces on reservation; and the generational transmission of male responsibility. With this contribution, I demonstrate the use of

"worldview" and "strategies of action" as epistemological tools for individual meaning-making, (Young 2003, Geertz 1957, Lamont & Small 2008, Swidler 1992, Goffman 1974) and join them with existing work on northwestern Indigenous spirituality and resilience (Kroeber 1925, Buckley 2002, Risling-Baldy 2018, Lara-Cooper & Lara 2019). In doing so, I make the world renewal worldview tangible to the reader, and relevant to the job search process of tribal fathers with criminal records.

Background: Worldviews and the "World Renewal Cult"

The concept of worldview originated in the anthropological tradition of cultural analysis with the work of Clifford Geertz (1957, 1973) who used the term to describe the fundamental orientations to which a given culture ascribes. Specifically, Geertz (1957: 623) defines "worldview [as] their picture of the way things in sheer actuality are, their concept of nature, of self, of society. It contains their most comprehensive ideas of order." A worldview is shared social product that members of a group build together, interpreting individual and social meanings from their daily lives through the frames derived from their worldview (Geertz 1957, 1973, Young 2003). Frames are "how individuals cognitively perceive the world around them" (Lamont & Small 2008: 80), and serve as a lens through which people interpret reality (Snow & Benford 1992, Fisher 1997, Goffman 1974).

In his study of marginalized black men living in neighborhoods marked by significant adversity in Chicago, Young (2003) adopts the "worldview" as a tool through which he "explores how the men *frame* their understandings of mobility processes in American life" (2003: xvi, emphasis his). It is important to appreciate that worldviews are not monolithic, and that individual variation therein is key, and it is on this variation that Young (2003) focuses his

analysis. In particular, Young emphasizes the differences between his respondents' frames, "connect[ing] these differences back to particular patterns of individual life history or social experience" (2003: xvii).

Young's analysis of the "minds of marginalized black men" is a key departure from previous literature in that he focuses on worldviews as opposed to values and norms, the latter of which have taken up the lion's share of urban poverty theorizations (Lamont & Small 2008, Harding, Lamont, & Small 2010, Swidler 1986). According to Lamont & Small (2008: 81), "the norms-and-values perspective posit[s] a cause-and-effect relationship between values and behaviors." Worldviews are different in that they seek to evaluate and articulate the meaning that individuals attribute to past and present actions through a sense of "how it all works" (Young 2003). Digging into how individuals connect meaning to their social actions through frames is a fundamental area of cultural inquiry and a useful tool for understanding and intervening at the level of individual behavior (Lamont & Small 2008). In particular, I focus on Swidler's (1992) explication of culture as a "tool-kit" from which individuals derive the necessary symbols, frames, and other tools to interpret meaning and establish their "strategies of action." In this theorization of culture, it does not serve a causal force but rather a contextual one (Swidler 1992).[41]

Young (2003), Swidler (1992), and others build their contributions on the "canon" of cultural analysis of black men, positing their own methodologies as an answer to previous work on such topics. While I adopt a similar tact, I am doing so within a comparable dearth of theorization. In comparison to the extreme focus placed on black men by studies of

[41] In this analysis, I restrict my lens to discursive and non-discursive components of the world renewal worldview, and do not attempt to track the unconscious cultural transmissions that also contribute to individual behaviors (Rowlands 1993, Pérusse et al. 1994).

marginalization, no such attention has been paid to tribal men. I seek to remedy this oversight by incorporating Native Americans into considerations of contemporary inequality.

While tribal men have not merited much scholarly attention in Sociology, some argue they have been comparably pathologized by anthropologists. In fact, more critical scholars of Anthropology assert throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, the discipline's basic tenets have been steeped in the extraction of knowledge by anthropologists from tribal communities for their own personal gain with little regard as the actual knowledge holders of such information (Clifford 1989, Buckley 2002, Risling-Baldy 2018). Some tribes have even distanced themselves from the research process for fear of further exploitation at the hands of academics (Holkup et al 2004, Yuan et al. 2015). In recent decades, there has been a resurgence of interest in these communities, but this time through the lens of Indigenous scholars who seek to push back and correct existing theorizations of Indigenous communities.

To accomplish such scholarship, Indigenous academics and their non-Indigenous allies have adopted the framework of "community-based participatory research" whereby tribal communities are viewed as active partners in the research design and data collection processes, rather than as passive study areas (Holkup et al. 2004, Yuan et al. 2015). This is a stark departure from the majority of work conducted on the Yurok, Hupa, Karuk and other world renewal "cults" to-date. In the early 20th century, anthropologist A. L. Kroeber coined this term after spending decades studying the Native peoples of the California, with bulk of his fieldwork spent with the Yurok in the northwest to whom he ascribed this designation. In his still-cited near-thousand page tome, *The Handbook of the Indians of California*, Kroeber (1925) devotes a tenth of his work to the Yurok and adjacent Hupa peoples, detailing every aspect of their daily lives, seasonal rituals and spiritual orientations, which he described as the "world renewal cult"

(Kroeber 1925). Kroeber designated world renewal adherents like the Yurok, Hupa, and Karuk as "anarchic" and "cults" because he saw them as devoid of a coherent social structure. According to Buckley's (2002) *Standing Ground: Yurok Indian Spirituality, 1850-1990*, this assessment could not be further from the truth.

Buckley (2002: 12) contends that "Yuroks generally resent the way they have been depicted in the literature of anthropology, and—whether he deserves it or not—they focus their bitterness at Kroeber." Most Yurok readers "tend to feel that their traditional spirituality has not been appreciated" (Buckley 2002: 13) by "anthros" like Kroeber and Pliny Earle Goaddard (Goddard 1903) who lived with the Hupa in the 19th century. These previous accounts are seen as lacking because "the first thing that an elderly Yurok or Hupa Indian wants to impress on an outsider is that for old-time Indians, everything used to be religion" (Buckley 2002: 13), but the profundity of the local Indigenous spirituality was lost on outside observers. To ameliorate this gap, Buckley (2002) offered an account of the world renewal culture that allowed for a living, breathing depiction of the Yurok-Hupa-Karuk world rather than those like Kroeber's that painted it as monolithic, unchanging and only observable in pre-contact expressions.

Buckley drew on the teachings of his Yurok informants to demonstrate the local Indigenous populations derived their "world renewal" orientation from their spirituality, emphasizing its differences from "religion" as understood through institutions like Christianity or the Catholic Church. Spirituality in a world renewal sense was all-encompassing and took the form of individual prayer and social ceremonial observances, so much so that one elder explains "'we are the praying people, that's who we are. In the old days, everything we do is pray'" (Buckley 2002: 13). Praying, or the private communing of an individual with spiritual teachings

is designated as “spirituality,” whereby the individual derives significance from “socially shared meanings” (Buckley 2002: 13).

Authors like Kroeber failed to appreciate that Yurok and other local Indigenous social structures “flowed from a collective spirituality” (Buckley 2002: 15), with individuals serving as the fundamental units of organization. This failure drove his faulty interpretations of Yurok society and individual responsibility, and like Buckley (2002), I seek to correct such representations with my own contribution. By drawing on Buckley’s (2002) conception of northwestern Indigenous spirituality, I outline the “world renewal worldview” and show how tribal fathers derive from this orientation a specific set of frames for interpreting their individual responsibilities and social obligations.

An important caveat to the worldview concept, and the tool-kits therein (Harding 2011, Swidler 1986, 2001), is the fact that individuals have access to multiple worldviews by virtue of their place in society. For example, in Young’s analysis, his respondents were embedded within the larger mainstream worldview of the American Dream while also adopting “outlooks and behaviors that facilitated community-specific security and stability” (Young 2003: 57). This adoption was a direct reflection of the high rates of violence that they lived with on a daily basis, with their outlooks a response to their everyday environment (Young 2003). Building on this theoretical tradition, I articulate a worldview that is derived from local Indigenous spirituality. The essential traits of this worldview span generations yet have also adapted to reflect the post-invasion inequalities, like incarceration and drug addiction, that shape contemporary reservation life. In order to do so, I draw on the case of tribal fathers with criminal records and their job search.

Similar to Young's participants, my respondents also have access to competing worldviews by virtue of their status as American Indian men in the 21st century. Anderson & Innes (2015) present an edited volume on "Indigenous masculinities" in modern era, with an emphasis on "decolonizing praxis." Still a nascent field, Indigenous masculinities takes critical race theory as a fundamental orientation, a line of academic inquiry which asserts that colonization is an ongoing process that manifests in a variety of ways (Tuhiwai Smith 1999, 2013, Risling-Baldy 2018, Anderson & Innes 2015). For Native peoples, colonization has and remains intimately linked to Indigenous lands, with Hokowhitu asserting:

> Many Indigenous theorists have unquestioningly defined 'critical theory' as that which lifts the colonizer's veil of power. Here, the colonial social world is determined by a conflict for power especially in relation to Marxian historical materialism and to the Hegelian master/slave dialectic (Hokowhitu in Anderson & Innes 2015: 82).

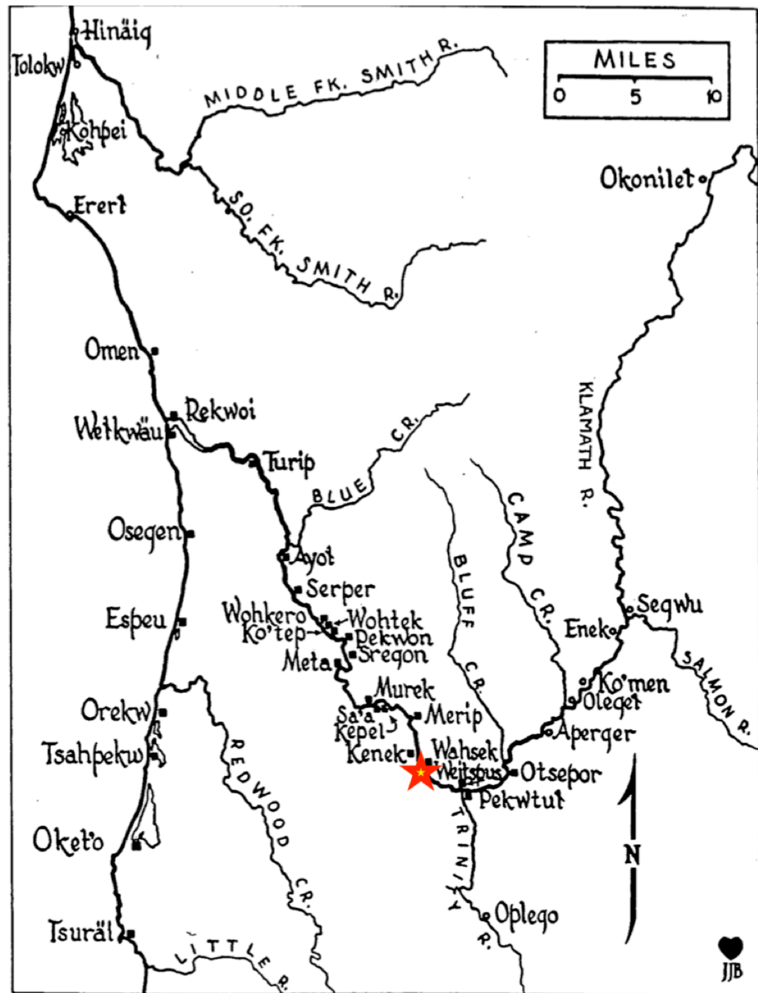
With this theoretical insight as a backdrop, Anderson & Innes (2015) illustrate the various ways that Indigenous masculinities are expressed in contemporary society. The authors and their contributors show that tribal men have access to mainstream, "hegemonic" conceptions of masculinity (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005, Glotzer 2003, Riggs 1997, Townsend 2002), yet their individual gender expressions draw significantly from their respective cultures' worldviews and the expectations therein, with an emphasis on their role as providers (Anderson & Innes 2015).

Despite this compelling contribution, Anderson & Innes (2015) do not engage how Indigenous worldviews manifest in the world of work, a gap that I fill with my analysis of tribal fathers with criminal records and their efforts to secure formal employment. I argue that as Indigenous men, while tribal fathers have access to expressions of mainstream masculinity, their interpretations of reality are most informed by the frames derived from their world renewal worldview. With this chapter, I outline these frames and corresponding strategies of action,

thereby demonstrating how tribal fathers express their world renewal worldview on and off-reservation.

Land As Sentient: Sovereignty & Balance

The physical landscape of the reservation serves as the heart of the world renewal worldview. As one travels downriver to the off-grid communities of Weitchpec, Sregon and Pecwan, it becomes part of the air itself. Most consider "downriver"[42] to begin at the small town of Weitchpec. With a population of 150, Weitchpec rests near the junction of the Trinity and Klamath Rivers, and has historically served as the central node connecting the more remote downriver areas of Sregon and Pecwan to Hoopa to the south, and with Orleans in Karuk country to the north. Weitchpec sits above the old village site of *Weitpus*, shown in Map 3, and this



Map 3. Ancestral Yurok Villages
Reproduced From Kroeber, A. L. 1978. *Yurok Myths*. University of California Press.
Original by T.T. Waterman, 1920. *Yurok Geography*, maps 1 and 2.

[42] Respondents identified as being from "downriver" when they lived at the river's mouth in Klamath, but also when they hailed from Pecwan, Sregon, and Weitchpec as each were "downriver" in reference to the flow of the river. "Downriver" and "upriver" were relational terms rather than fixed points that structured the world renewal worldview (Desmond 2014). North/south, east/west may be on fixed points on a compass; but terms like upriver/downriver, on-reservation/in-town, off-grid/coastal were all implicit references to their opposite, with shaping their definition in relation to the other.

village holds primacy in the world renewal worldview both traditionally and in present day as it sits at the meeting of two rivers. To drive to Weitchpec on HWY 96, one must traverse an area known as "the Bluffs.[43]" This serpentine five-mile stretch of HWY 96[44] follows the Trinity River and connects the two reservation towns. From Weitchpec you can travel along HWY 169 to reach the nearby community of Tulley Creek and the Martin's Ferry Bridge. The area is marked by a conspicuous lack of electricity and many properties depend on generator power and stream water for household needs.

Those who live downriver in the on-reservation communities of Sregon and Pecwan are particularly independent from mainstream amenities. Both villages[45] are far from the coast, nearly a two and half hour drive from Eureka via HWY 299, or almost three hours from Crescent City via Bald Hills Road. To the outside observer, the über-rural nature of these areas may make them seem peripheral to the rest of two-county region. But for adherents to the tribal renewal worldview, these areas represent the center of the world (Kroeber 1978, Spott & Kroeber 1942, Risling-Baldy 2018, Lara-Cooper & Lara 2019). Both are approximately 20 miles from Weitchpec via HWY 169, which at times is only one lane-wide as it follows the Klamath River downstream. The proximity to the river brings more lush landscapes—visually more green than

[43] During the observation period, Weitchpec and this section of HWY 96 was directly impacted by a historic wildfire on Mill Creek Mountain. In August of 2018, this vital 12-mile stretch connecting Weitchpec to Hoopa and the larger Humboldt county region was closed for a week as wildfire raged over the Bluffs, consuming nearly 4,000 acres of forest lands in the process.

[44] "The Bigfoot Highway" is the official name of Highway 96, a scenic route that goes from State Route-299 to I-5 via the Klamath National Forest. One is on-reservation for much of HWY 96, passing through Hoopa (Hupa territory) onto Weitchpec (Yurok) to Orleans and Happy Camp (Karuk). The highway has earned this moniker because of the many sightings of the mythical creature on its bluffs.

[45] Villages are different from towns in that they are traditional sites that never became towns or cities as a result of their hard-to-reach nature. In spite of this, these areas are still identifiable by their dance pits, land plots, and graveyards that are clustered based on family affiliation in contemporary era. Pre-invasion, there were roughly thirty Yurok villages between *Rekwoi* at the mouth, and *Weitpus* at the meeting of the Klamath and Trinity Rivers (Buckley 2002, Kroeber 1925). Based on radiocarbon dating of the remaining structures and dance pits, these villages have been occupied dating as far back as 900 A.D. (Keeling 1992).

upriver areas even in the summer heat, the hillsides marked by an abundance of oak trees and blackberry vines. The physical landscape takes primacy on this part of the reservation, yet society can be found in the occasional street signs that point to gravel roads that lead off HWY 169. Signs like "Notchko" and "Morek" indicate areas where old villages once sat, although today they are increasingly markers of family land and private property rather than historical sites.

In this part of the world, the landscape itself is seen as alive and interactive with humans, with the latter seen as dependent on the environment to sustain themselves, and therefore responsible to the land, and animals therein, for stewardship and sustainable resource management (Buckley 2002, Risling-Baldy 2018, Spott & Kroeber 1942, Lara-Cooper & Lara 2019). Listed in Table 6, this concept of "land as sentient" is a key component of the world renewal worldview (Buckley 2002), and is most apparent in the downriver portions of the reservation because here, the physical features of the landscape shape day-to-day life well beyond the trappings of modern society. The remoteness of the space has even been forcibly preserved at times, in large part to protect its purity for the purpose of ceremony. In the late 1980s, the Yuroks and other local tribes banded together in the Supreme Court case *Lyng v. Northwest Indian Cemetery Protective Association* to prevent the construction of logging roads in the surrounding forests, for fear they would negatively impact nearby sacred sites by producing auditory and other environmental pollution (Falk 1989, Buckley 2002, Lara-Cooper & Lara 2019). In this way, the tribes upheld their responsibility to steward the local environment, an obligation bestowed on them by sacred teachings (Spott & Kroeber 1942, Buckley 2002,

Risling-Baldy 2018). Since that case,[46] few efforts have been made to modernize the area, arguably even stymied despite the potential increase in amenities, less trips to town, etc., that such changes could bring.

Living in this part of the world requires nothing short of intense effort. Between the natural disasters, rough terrain and hard-to-reach nature that defines this part of the world, those who choose to live there are consciously making the decision to do so, and in some ways, do so for the lessons and trials it offers them. Neil, a man in his early 50s, had grown up downriver, at the "end of the road" in Pecwan. He now lived on the coast, but remembers vividly how downriver, the world renewal worldview was the default orientation in a number of ways:

> Some of those ceremonies are - a lot of people call them "world renewal" ceremonies. And so, you know, having evolved with the natural world, if you will, you know, you have this really close connection, this almost familial relationship with everything. And so a lot of these ceremonies are - you know, like, there would be - way back whenever there would be folks that, you know, they'd notice something different, you know? And it didn't take much to be able to notice something different happening with an animal, or plants, or the weather, this or that. And so a dance would help to keep things in balance, you know? And so, yeah, I mean, it's just - I probably don't have to tell you how important it is to our culture for these dances, just because we're an integral part of... You know, in contrast to some other cultures who view humans as this dominant species above animals and plants and whatever, we more look at - we're kind of the same, you know? Matter fact, a lot of Native cultures will talk about - a lot of their stories are how different animals taught them different things--gathering food, taking a mate, all this stuff, you know? And so that's how it is with Yuroks, too.

Neil describes how the world renewal dance ceremonies are intimately tied with the land, and that it was the responsibility of humans to hold these dances to restore the balance in their natural world when they noticed differences in the local environment. This "renewal" of the physical world is what participants enact through ceremonies like the Jump Dance, and doing so affirms their commonality with the land and animals they draw resources and lessons from. Men in particular held the responsibility to steward the local environment as they were traditionally expected to work with the landscape to provide for their families and villages (Buckley 2002).

[46] Although the Court ruled that the road did not infringe on the tribes' religious freedoms, Congress voted to protect the area through legislation, thereby preventing the construction of the contested road (Falk 1989, Buckley 2002, Lara-Cooper & Lara 2019).

This includes men like Johnny—having grown up in Tulley Creek, Johnny was not bothered by the lack of electricity. He lived in a generator-powered modular home on family land with his partner and their three children, although he kept a room for his eldest son, 18. Johnny was almost 40, but his large dimples and clean lifestyle gave him a boyish demeanor. The hard work that came with living in a place as a remote as Weitchpec did not seem to weigh on him. Instead he described how sustaining his family on his own was something he valued long-term:

> That's just life. Someday, you would hope to not need to [go to town] as much. But if the power goes out, you have what you need for awhile. In town, they are all broke down [without power], but if we're doing it right, like how I was taught, my family, we'd be okay for at least a week, hopefully longer."

For Johnny, his world renewal worldview was most evident in his preference for living off the land to provide for his family compared to traditional dances. He came from a dance family, but had never felt called to dance as some of the other respondents. For Johnny, he would rather provide firewood and salmon for the dances than join the pit himself. When pressed on why this is, Johnny underscored the need to be "in a good way" mentally or risk endangering the power of the ceremony, finally admitting "I just don't want to do things wrong, you know?"

Instead of dancing, Johnny sought out the physical environment for his spirituality. Working in Fisheries had him on the river most days, but his connection to the land was born out of a childhood spent working on his Grandma's property in Blue Creek. As much as Johnny loved the area, he provided one caveat: "it's a dangerous place but it's also paradise… it can be. It could take you like that [snaps fingers] it don't care." Here, Johnny refers to the land as a sentient and sacred geography—not malicious nor benevolent, simply the landscape in which life and death play out. In the world renewal worldview, the land is a vehicle through which individuals can access their spirituality. In this way, the reservation is an all-encompassing space akin to the Vatican, with sacred sites throughout serving as approximate equivalents to cathedrals

and chapels of various import. Johnny encapsulated this spiritual orientation when he gestured to the river, exclaiming "That's my church, right there. Those days when it's all just like, I dunno, I just need that time to, to think? I go down there, watch the river, watch the animals, watch the osprey…. Just being there gets my head right." I had interviewed Johnny just above the river at Weitchpec, where the tribal offices overlook the bridge. It was a fitting location given his connection to the river, with its rushing water a backdrop to our conversations. The River was the source of his livelihood, yet beyond that, it was also his "paradise," where he could go in times of duress and pray to the landscape. Living in Tulley Creek gave him the proximity he needed to do so, and living off-grid simply came with the territory.

Further downriver, respondents like Henry took great pride in the previous generations' ability to sustain themselves from the landscape, and they seek to prioritize these skills in present day. Originally from the village of Kah-Tep, now Johnsons, Henry's answers came easy, his ebullient laughter and ready smile a welcome departure from some of the more tight-lipped respondents. His graying temples were the only evidence of his 50-year old age, but with a nine-year old son and in his last year of his Bachelor's, he seemed like man several years his junior. While he now lived in Hoopa, Henry's admiration for living downriver was palpable in the way his shoulders straightened and his eyes sparkled when he described growing up in Kah-Tep. His Yurok lineage went back to the village for generations, and Henry enthusiastically regaled me with stories of how his dad had won over his mother-in-law, Henry's maternal grandmother, by building her a house and bringing her a dairy cow, among other things, after breaking up his mother's arranged marriage.[47]

[47] Bride dowries were a rite of passage for world renewal men (Buckley 2002), and to have one only a generation before was evidence of living in another time, colloquially known as "Indian Time" (Buckley 2002, Kroeber 1925).

Hailing from a Northeastern tribe, Henry's dad had moved to the area after World War II to begin a self-sufficient cattle ranch on the steep bluffs of Pecwan. Though it was hard work, Henry strove to emulate his father's lessons as he raised his own son:

> Growing his food, canning his food, catching his food, preserving his food, ummm all these expenses that were saved allowed us to travel and do all these different things that I can't find the resources to do with my son today. I've become too dependent on the store for stuff and when it's actually healthier for you to know where it was grown and what was grown, what pesticides, what dirt... So, I admire what they were doing, it seemed like a struggle at the time but bringing that back is very important....To actually know what went on [with your food], because they didn't trust food that was coming in, "commods[48],"they didn't trust it. They knew what went into this food they were preparing and canning and preserving, that it all came from the land, it came from here. And it was better [small laugh]."

What Henry was describing in contemporary terms is the concept of "food sovereignty," a concept that has gained traction in recent years for describing the right and ability of a group or locality to produce food in a manner that is "ecologically, socially, economically and culturally appropriate to [a people's] unique circumstances" (Windfuhr & Jenson 2005: 12). Pre-contact, tribal villages were part of an elaborate trade network that spanned the Pacific Northwest, but ultimately each was sovereign in meeting its own internal food needs. After the influx of white settlers to the region and subsequent attacks on local tribes through genocide and assimilation, a large majority of tribal descendants lost the ability to independently provide for their families from the land, but families such as Henry's actively maintained these practices in areas like Kah-Tep, Pecwan, and Sregon.

Food sovereignty is an underlying condition for the world renewal worldview as food is the nexus of the individual's relationship and responsibility to the land (Grey & Patel 2015). In the world renewal worldview, salmon, deer, acorns, and other traditional staples were provided to humans by the land for survival in exchange for their stewardship of the area's physical

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[48] "Commods" refer to "commodities," a USDA program that provides various foodstuffs to reservation residents on a monthly basis. The standard issue food packet includes the iconic "government cheese," similar in texture to Velveeta, which is the same cheese described by the rapper Jay-Z in his song *F.U.T.W.* This product is only found in high-poverty neighborhoods and on-reservation and has been linked to obesity (Correll 2010), so perhaps Henry's parents had a reason to be suspicious.

landscape through resource management and ceremony (Buckley 2002, Risling-Baldy 2018). This concept differs from the frame of "self-sufficiency" associated with the American Dream in that the latter typically refers to an individual mandate that is most often associated with the *right* to meet one's needs on their own and without public aid (Lamont 1992, 1995, Hochschild 1996). Conversely, food sovereignty in the world renewal sense implies a degree of balance, interdependency, and *responsibility* between individuals and across households in a village though communal gathering, food preservation, and bartering. This cultural expectation pushes men in particular to provide for their households through subsistence, framing male responsibility as intimately bound to the landscape. In contemporary era, meeting this expectation is increasingly difficult to do, but no less valued by my respondents. This is particularly the case on-reservation and downriver, where individuals highly revered and actively cultivated this expression of the world renewal worldview.

Dancers & Singers: Tribal Fathers as Participants in On-Reservation Ceremonies

I return to Xavier, who at 29 was facing a second prison term for a weapons-related violent crime. His recent jail time and past meth use had left with a somewhat wary energy. He answered questions quickly and rarely let his guard down, eyes lingering on the recorder with any admissions of past fault. His emotions changed frequently, alternatively beaming with pride in his traditional knowledge to wide-eyed dread as he thought of having to go away again. At only 5'5", his self-described "bully" nature made up for the issues he knew his short stature would bring him in a prison setting, and by the way the irises of his eyes darkened when Xavier described his first time away, I knew he meant it when he said he would do "whatever" it took to get back home, violence included.

When we interviewed, Xavier was in the midst of attending traditional dance ceremonies during his last summer at home for the foreseeable future. Like a majority of tribal members, Xavier's family lived off-reservation in the Yurok Tribe's "South District," in the town of Arcata. As such, he had to travel inland to the reservation in Hoopa to attend the weekly dances, where he stayed with his current partner during the week to save traveling the hour to town if he could help it. When the dances were over or he and "his woman" were fighting, Xavier would head to the coast for his parents' house:

> I stay with my parents, that's it. And then it's - after that there ain't nowhere to go, I mean, except for running the streets, you know what I mean? Because I don't like to stay in one place at a time; I feel like I'm trapped.

He chafed at having to live with his parents, but as his prison time loomed, he was living with them to say clean from methamphetamine, his drug of choice[49] and previous revenue stream as a dealer. Sobriety is a precondition of participating in the summer's ceremonies (Buckley 2002, Keeling 1992), and doing so the last summer home was particularly meaningful to him:

> You know, lately for me it's been, you know - it's been pretty bad, you know, with, you know, my drug use and in and out of jail and, you know, prison and everything. And so this year - I mean, this is the first time I've been able to dance clean and sober and right-minded. But, yeah, I'm getting ready to do this, you know what I mean? Term in prison, which it sucks, but, you know, right now I'm just - I'm about to leave with - you know what I mean, leave with "hey, you know, I'm doing - you know, I'm showing you guys this is me, this is the real me, you know?" And I'll be getting in there, you know, and... at the last couple dances,… I was just [pauses] free, you know? And I won't be for the next four years…
>
> I get to leave, you know what I mean, remembering, hey, you know what, I got to…dance hard, you know, and give it my all, you know, up here. And so when I get back, you know— and I am going to get back, you know what I mean, clean and sober… it just sucks to think like this could be my last [season of dances], you know what I mean? So, yeah, it is special because it's, like, getting ready to be put away again in frickin' dog cages and...[voice trails off]

Xavier would soon be leaving the reservation for some time, so he couldn't help but imbue this summer's dances with extra meaning. He was proud to be sober enough to participate as being "in a good way" was a precondition of doing so. Going further, he felt dancing this last summer was not only a public declaration of his sobriety, but a sincere showcase of his "real" nature to

[49] "Drug of choice" is a term borrowed from Addiction Studies that refers to the substance(s) with which an individual has had the most chronic and deleterious use pattern(s) (Bechara 2005, Brewer & Potenza 2008).

his community. As much as his dancing was an individual act with great personal meaning, it was one he hoped would be socially interpreted as an indication of his wellness despite his looming sentence. With this in mind, Xavier sang every chance he could that summer, each brush dance marked by his winding, smoky falsetto.

Individual acts interpreted through socially-shared meanings are key parts of any worldview, and the world renewal worldview is no different, with dances taking special prominence as a communal form of spiritual observance. The local area tribes, the Yurok, the Hupa and the Karuk, all come together to practice religious ceremonies like the White Deerskin and Jump Dances. These annual dances are believed to restore the balance of power between life and death in the physical world, ensuring that the world, and the land and resources therein, would be "renewed" again for use in the coming years. These tribes also practice healing ceremonies such as the brush dance, held for a sick child or ailing adult (Buckley 2002, Kroeber 1925, Risling-Baldy 2018, Spott & Kroeber 1942). These ceremonies have occurred each summer in the same dance pits[50] along the Klamath River and in the high country above it since time immemorial. In many ways, dancing and singing in these traditional ceremonies are the most clear representations of world renewal spirituality.

Just as in daily life, ceremonial tasks were traditionally assigned on the basis of gender, with men responsible for dance making, singing, and holding regalia (Buckley 2002, Kroeber 1925). Spirituality in the world renewal worldview meant both the acquisition of sacred regalia but also singing in ceremonial spaces. While much of the meaning was lost on anthropologists like Kroeber, even he recognized "that this is music with its 'plaintiveness' and 'emotions' is the

[50] Observational field note, 6.21-23.18, Sumeg Village, CA; observational field note, 7.7-8.18, Hoopa, CA; observational field note, 7.14-15.18, Sregon, CA; observational field note, 7.28.18, Weitchpec, CA; observational field note, 7.29.18, Chap-ekw, CA; observational field note, 9.2.18, Weitchpec, CA; observational field note, 9.18.18, Pecwan, CA.

means by which the regalia owners and dancers expressed some of their profoundest feelings" (Buckley 2002: 15). The men sing as they hold regalia like willow brush, otter pelt quivers, obsidian blades and eagle heads. Observers are cautioned not to look into their eyes[51] for when they are singing and dancing, the participants are also praying and occupying a liminal space between this world and the world of "the spirituals," who are described as "always dancing" (Buckley 2002).

In present day, my respondents derived great meaning and even pride from being tribal singers, a role bestowed upon them by their family members who passed down family songs from preceding generations. Brannon was one such man, hailing from Klamath, the primary town site of the Yurok Tribe. Brannon had grown up on the reservation but moved north to Crescent City to get sober from alcohol and meth. He wore a black button up with his long black hair slicked back to the interview, later sharing that the outfit was for his cousin's funeral only a couple months before. Despite the health of his shiny nails and sleek hair, at 40, his face was marked by the heavy lids of 24 years of alcoholism, nose and cheeks scarred from fighting, and missing his front teeth, something that he went to great lengths to hide when he spoke. His eyes were bright though, as if seeing for the first time in a long time. They shone even brighter when he spoke of his children, two adult sons and second set of four with his current partner. The only time he smiled without hesitation was when he described the elder sons' achievements as local brush dancers.

Having attended several dances before meeting Brannon,[52] I didn't realize that two of the most exciting dancers, young men whom I had seen "jump center[53]" with commanding stage

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[51] Observational field note, 10.5.18, Klamath, CA.

[52] Observational field note, 7.7-8.18, Hoopa, CA; observational field note, 7.14-15.18, Sregon, CA; observational field note, 7.28.18, Weitchpec, CA.

presence and intense vive, men who sang with voices that rang out crisply over the undulating baritone chants of forty or more other dancers, were none other than his eldest sons, Remo and Kirk. When I made the connection, Brannon's face split into a big smile, and he proudly recounted

> They have my songs. I can say I taught them that. Brush dance songs, jump dance, card games, I've got songs for all of that…They're always asking me to sing, I think I might get back out there this summer but it depends.

Despite such pride, it had been some time since Brannon had watched his sons dance firsthand or even danced himself. He had struggled with alcohol since he was a teenager, but in recent years it was meth that kept him away from sacred spaces, where his presence could not only endanger the ceremony but also risk bad fortune coming upon his family.

This belief in conducting one's self "in a good way" is more than superstition. As shown in Table 6, this phrase is a frame through which individuals understand their responsibilities—in this case, the need to live a sober life. Derived from the world renewal worldview, this frame draws on the traditional value of walking through the world with good intentions and a clear mind (Buckley 2002, Risling-Baldy 2018). Brannon had been "in a bad way" as a result of his active addictions in recent years, with his lack of sobriety comprising his ability to participate in traditional ceremonies. Even still, he honored this expectation by staying away from the dances until he could be there in the right way. This individual responsibility to protect the sacred space of the dance was affirmed through social stigma under the belief that participating when one should not would lead to family misfortune.

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[53] "Jumping center" is when two dancers separate themselves from the ring of singers to gesture towards the fire and mimic fighting off the spirit that the dance is believed to ward off. Men of all ages take turns jumping center, but "young bucks" aged 18-30 were particularly vibrant dancers, the best marked by their capacity to call out over the chorus of forty or more singers, and still be heard crisply by the audience despite the volume, all while dancing vigorously within inches of a blazing fire.

In spite of his recent absence, Brannon identified as a singer from a young age, a responsibility handed down to him by his grandfather:

> Growing up, I was always put into like a predicament where my Grandpa, he'd take me to school and have me sing in front of the whole school, and he'd tell me what that was about. He'd say "when someone asks you to sing, you sing, you sing with all your heart, don't ever be ashamed of what you are.

As they participated in brush dance demonstrations for the local schools, Brannon describes how pride was instilled in himself and his songs early on by his grandfather. He passed these songs onto his sons when it came time, very cognizant of his role in the generational transmission of such knowledge:

> My favorite uncle was "Uncle Buck," that was my cousin's dad….He would sing me his songs and stuff. And he'd always ask me to sing, to teach his kids, his boys how to sing, and I would ask "how come you can't teach 'em?" And he'd always say "you know because I'm not going to be around here forever." I didn't understand at first. But then one day came. He came and sang his last song to us and he walked out that door.

Brannon is vague when describing what happened to Uncle Buck, but after his passing, one thing was clear: it would be Brannon's responsibility to teach his cousins their father's songs. Brannon was particularly well-positioned to do so—having lived with his grandparents, he had been learning traditional songs through their public presentations and private observances from a young age, and his sons now sang these songs in the dance pit.

Brannon's proximity to the dances growing up and his sons' participation in them in present day were a reflection of their family ties to the reservation, where residing for generations allowed them direct access to ceremonial dances. Both he and his sons had grown up in Klamath, a small community that sits alongside HWY 101 just before the mouth of the Klamath River. In total, just under 800 people call Klamath home (US Census 2010), but this small town houses most of the Yurok tribal facilities including its main tribal buildings, the tribal courthouse and police station, and a tribally-owned casino and hotel. The Yurok reservation extends 44 miles from the mouth of the river at Requa onto Klamath and then upriver to

Weitchpec, encompassing one mile on either side of river. The world renewal worldview centers around this stretch of the Klamath River, particularly for Yurok adherents (Kroeber 1925, Buckley 2002), and this area is distinguished by its dense redwoods forests that taper as one moves to warmer inland climates. Klamath is surrounded by "temperate rain forests," known for their high levels of humidity and biodiversity, including blue herons, white egrets, osprey, bald eagles, bears and coyotes.[54] Winter months are marked by high rainfall on the coast and snow in the high country, with roads prone to hydroplaning and black ice.

To reach Klamath, one must drive via HWY 101 from the south approximately one hour from Eureka, and a half hour from Crescent City to the north. The town lies just north of the Del Norte County line, although a majority of the Yurok reservation falls within Humboldt's jurisdiction. The drive is punctuated by several elk herds that have roamed the area for generations, showing no concern as they routinely stop traffic on HWY 101 during their daily migrations. The lack of grocery stores in Klamath leaves residents dependent on traveling HWY 101 in either direction for purchases like fresh meat, other groceries, pet food and basic household needs.

Respondents like Mason have made their peace with the distance, asserting that the drive to town is "just a part of life." When pressed on this, Mason explained "I can't ever move too far from the river." Like Brannon, Mason had grown up on-reservation, but he was descended from a "dance family" from Waukell, a village located across the river from Klamath. The 35-year old father of five carried himself with an air of dignity, shoulders broad for his height, hair long down his back and a profile nothing short of regal. On-reservation, dances are especially associated with local prestige, and being part of a "dance family" meant that one's family had

[54] Like Hoopa's Bigfoot Highway, Hunter Creek in Klamath features prominently in reported Sasquatch sightings in the region.

hosted at least ten dance ceremonies, and maintains the regalia necessary to do so. Given their biannual nature, this translates to a 20+ years commitment, a commitment that is a deeply meaningful to the men and their families. Mason's earliest memories are of dancing, explaining

> My family is the, so the jump dance up there in Pecwan, my family is kind of the ones that like run that. And they have for a long time, so I've always since I was, since I could walk I guess umm I've participated in that jump dance. So you know, I've been involved in that jump dance for a long time. I've danced uhh brush dance a few times and mainly I'm a high dance person is what I usually try to like to say, is uh you know jump dance I've been born in, I've done it since I was a baby, so you know, and I know everything there is to know about jump dance. And you know brush dance is something I teach my kids, they're very involved in brush dance and the jump dance and uhhh so yea my kids are, they get both sides of it right, both sides of the family. So [their mom's] side is very involved in the brush dance, and my side's very involved in the jump dance. So at the end of the day, my kids are very involved in both so that's good.

Mason's family on-reservation was expansive, even more so counting his wife's family, and he was raising his children to value dancing just as he'd been taught. They participated in these ceremonies as a family, and took great pride in coming from one of the major dance families in the area. Despite being born into such a well-placed dance family, Mason describes one summer when he was not picked to dance:

> I can remember at a young age I was, I don't know how old I was. Me and my partner we danced every dance, *every dance* [his emphasis] and the last dance is the long one, the last dance is where all the camps come in, they go in the pit together, they do all that. So that one dance, it's the one I really wanted to dance and I danced all of them and then it came down to that dance and umm they wouldn't let me dance, they wouldn't let him dance, they said they wanted all the bigger guys in there cuz we were little guys. And I remember to this day that hurt my feelings so bad. You know? So for awhile there I'm like "I'm not dancing again!" You know, and umm I was a kid but that that hurt my feelings so bad, I was a little kid that couldn't dance that last dance, and I was up there since the beginning, and they were getting these guys that had just showed up that day to dance. And uhhh I danced every dance until that day and that was…. It's something I'll never forget, right, that was when I was a little baby kid and I can remember it to this day, like that's how much the jump dance is inside of me, I'll never forget that day. [pause then laughs] So no one ever had to make me do it, it was something that I always wanted to do and umm it's umm something I highly believe in so.

This memory of not being asked to dance and the subsequent resentment still furrowed Mason's brow, and served as his example of how much the dances meant to him, ceremonies he was "born" into, to use his words. Through his mother, he was a direct descendent of one of the tribe's 20th century matriarchs, a woman whose lineage comprised one of the biggest families on the reservation. She had been one of the driving forces in the dance revitalizations of the late

1980s, and as her great-grandchild, he had grown up dancing in the ceremonies she helped organize (Buckley 2002). As much as dancing is a matter of personal choice, Mason framed it as a responsibility, one bestowed on him by his family and one that he was proud to pass on to his own children.

Prayer & Fasting: Individual Sacrifice for the Whole

The high valuation of dance participation is also evident on-reservation in Hoopa, where the worldview reflects the similarities and differences of the nearby Hupa adherents. While the Yurok are a river people, orienting action around the Klamath, it is the valley that structures life in Hoopa, a twelve by twelve-mile square located approximately 30 miles inland from the coastal city of Eureka. The Hupa territory spans the entire valley and surrounding mountains, and unlike other reservations in the Midwest and Plains areas, the reservation boundaries encapsulate the "heart" of Hupa country. Surrounded by Six Rivers National Forest, the area is marked by rich timber stands on all sides. The forests are more varied than those that surround Klamath, with the evergreen landscape of fir and spruce peppered with a variety of oaks, maple, and madrone.[55] Hoopa comes alive in the summer months as crops ripen. By June, temperatures are in the mid-80s, and by July, there is a 40-degree temperature difference from standing in front of the gas station in Hoopa (100° F) to one on the coast in Eureka (60° F).

The Trinity River bisects "the square" from north to south, and Highway 96 follows the river through the reservation. At any time of year, the road is sprinkled with pedestrians walking from one end of the reservation to the other, hoping a relative might stop to give them a ride on the way, as they walk from their homes and back to the reservation's only gas station. Across the

[55] As the largest forested reservation in the state, the Hoopa Tribe manages nearly 100,000 acres of forestland (Hoopa Tribal Forestry, Date UK).

highway from the Hoopa Fire Department sit both the elementary and high schools, with newly-constructed gyms and school buildings replacing the mold-ridden condemned facilities of only a couple years before. A majority of tribal facilities are behind the schools, reclaiming old BIA offices for tribal departments like Social Services and Education in current day. A stone's throw from the school's gymnasium sits the Hoopa Graveyard, encircled by a chain link fence. The landscape of headstones is dotted by the plethora of fabric flowers and small tokens that decorate the graves. The proximity of the two means that there were students who had attended a funeral at the cemetery one day, only to go to school across the road from the burial site the next.

Like Klamath, living in Hoopa serves as a point of deep meaning for reservation residents. Pre-contact and today, Hoopa is regarded as *Na:tini-xw*, "where the trails lead back," the traditional name for the village that served as the center of the Hupa territory, with the Hupa themselves referring to themselves as *Na:tinixwe* or "the people of the valley" (Risling-Baldy 2018). Caleb, a 34-year old father of six, describes himself as "born and raised" in Hoopa, having only spent time away from the valley when he was incarcerated. For Caleb, life extends outwards from Hoopa Valley, not the other way around. He was a descendent of Madildin village, whose centuries-old structures stand just across the river from the firehouse, and where his family hosts a brush dance every summer. Caleb grew up learning to love his dark skin from his grandmother, who described them both as some of the "last dark-skinners" and instilled a point of pride in him for his status as a full-blood.

Beyond a love for Hoopa, Caleb's grandma also impressed upon him the importance of spirituality, and of prayer. His nervous titter peppered nearly every interview response, but his voice would take a serious anytime he described ceremony, and of what attending world renewal

dances meant to him. Caleb describes the last time he went to the Jump Dance as particularly impactful:

> Check this out, I was paralyzed....Not this time but the time before that, was when I was paralyzed and the dances were happening and my Grandma told me whatever happens, however you present yourself, whatever you do at those dances, you're gonna have it for until the next dances. So I couldn't walk, but I got on my crutches, made myself stand up over there, and I started walking again [voice breaks]. I believe in that stuff, and it works. What my Gram told me, I believe in a lot of that stuff. I think it's just, to thrive, you need to believe in it."

Caleb had been sober for the last two years, but had spent much of his adult life alternatively using alcohol and meth, ultimately becoming addicted to heroin during his last prison term. Over the course of his numerous addictions, his body developed an extreme potassium deficiency that had resulted in him being paralyzed below the waist twice in his life. To this day, Caleb says “my mom, my sister, anyone when they come by, they bring me a bunch of bananas,” for fear that his potassium levels will dip too low again. Since his prayer uttered at the last Jump Dance, Caleb had regained the ability to walk and has been stable health-wise ever since. In his mind, believing in the power of prayer and in the Jump Dance were prerequisites to his ability to thrive.

Participants believed that one’s conduct at this world renewal ceremony will set the tone for their next two years, for better or worse. Even children are cautioned to carry themselves with dignity, mothers and grandmothers shushing them as they played in camp while their fathers danced farther up the hill, chided to “be respectful” when the men’s songs filled the air.[56] These individual sacrifices—hushed voices, a moratorium on bickering, even an expectation of positive internal thoughts—are all seen as buttressing the prayers of the Jump Dancers. It was in this context that Caleb made his prayer and four years later, he still got emotional when he described the power of that moment.

Like Caleb, Elijah also believed in the power of ceremonial prayers. Elijah was a soft-spoken man, face remarkably unlined for a man of 40 and a father of six, even more so for a man

[56] Observational field note, 9.18.18, Pecwan, CA.

who slept only four hours a day by his count. “You get used to it,” he said as he rubbed his eyes over breakfast. He’d been working graveyard for a decade and slept while his four teenagers were in school during the day. Cheekbones high, Elijah claimed a full-blood status, with ancestry from three local tribes and one from Oregon. He and his children were avid participants in both traditional dance ceremonies and the regional powwow circuit, and he was proud to share that both of his daughters were highly sought after as local dancers known for their purity and spiritual practices, including fasting.

Fasting purifies, with individuals abstaining from food and at times even water over the course of a week or more. Such asceticism was based on the world renewal frame of individual sacrifice for the collective, and fasting helped dancers of both genders cleanse themselves before participating in communal ceremonies. Beyond fasting, men also practiced “sweats” where they underwent extreme heat within special structures to purge their bodies of the energy of taking life by fishing or hunting for their families. Through sweat, tears, and prayer, the men strengthened their prayers and prepared themselves for the enduring nature of the ten-day Jump Dance ceremony (Buckley 2002, Risling-Baldy 2018). According to Elijah, this strength was derived from the fasting itself:

> I think it’s more like a spiritual thing, like you do that kind of stuff and it’s like nothing can stop you. You’re a stronger person, even though people think it’s weak because they fast and stuff, but no. It’s more intense, gives more balance... that’s what fasting does, it makes you appreciate things that way you don’t take advantage. When you do, your mind is on food but then also that’s why you fast, because you’re giving up something for prayer, to make your medicine stronger. That’s exactly what it means.

By abstaining from meeting their basic needs through the social action of fasting, my respondents were expressing the frame of sacrifice, and in doing so, enhancing the power of their prayers. According to Elijah, this is not to say they do not miss food, water etc., but that the discomfort of this sacrifice aids in the power of their prayers. As “praying people” (Buckley 2002: 13), Elijah and his family ascribed to the world renewal belief that power is conscious.

Through fasting and the personal sacrifice therein, they acknowledge their role in maintaining the balance between life and death, and in doing so, can tap into this power for strengthening their prayers, both private and in ceremony. Like living "in a good way," fasting is a form of individual action that has a social meaning in the world renewal worldview. Prayer and fasting are interpreted through the lens of sacrifice, but necessary sacrifice as individuals hold themselves accountable at a fundamental level for the good of their community. As I show in this section and the next, the individual's responsibility to the community is a reoccurring and essential theme of the world renewal worldview.

Responsibility & Fatherhood: Generational Transmission of Work Ethic

Beyond participating in ceremony, Yurok conceptions of manhood rested on the ability to provide: for themselves, for their children, and for their village. The term "numi pegerk" was the term assigned to "real men," who were defined as "independent [men] who others can depend on" (Buckley 2002: 50). *Numi pegerk* referred to men who had the material wealth necessary to sustain "great houses," which meant the support of their wife, or wives, and all the children born from these unions.[57] Men derived material wealth by working with the physical environment to procure meat sources, firewood, canoes and home-building supplies.[58] *Numi pegerks* had the material wealth to accrue sacred wealth such as dance regalia—if they were able to accomplish both forms of wealth acquisition, they were known as *numi pegerk*, with *numi* translating to

[57] Gender-based expectations like *numi pegerk* were part of a larger understanding of the division of labor between the sexes, with men tasked with providing meat sources, protection, and spiritual teachings, and women in charge of day-to-day activities, household resources and the rearing of prepubescent children (Buckley 2002, Kroeber 1925). In this chapter, I focus explicitly on a discussion of the world renewal worldview as experienced by my respondents who were tribal men, yet more discussion on the interplay between gender expectations can be found in Chapter 7: *Tribal Responsibilities: Fatherhood, Relationships, and Social Resources*.

[58] Traditional plank houses and canoes are handmade from redwood logs by tribal men to this day.

"very" or "a lot," and *pegerk* the Yurok word for man. Going further, Buckley (2002: 169) explains

> The Yurok language distinguishes between people who are "just rich," *syałew*, and those whose wealth reflects a spiritual ascendancy, who are *numi pegerk*. It was the latter who once made up the various levels of… organization and regulation. This is why we cannot separate individual spirituality and social organization in aboriginal northwestern California: they do not form separate "compartments."

In some ways, this connection between wealth acquisition and spirituality mirrors the asceticism and individual mandate to build wealth that are hallmarks of the Protestant Ethic (Weber 1958, Hochschild 1996). Yet, over time, the "right" to acquire wealth has been separated from its religious underpinnings and reframed as a secular pursuit that's worthy in and of itself (Cohen et al. 2005, Rawls 1971). By contrast, as Buckley (2002) points out, a man could not earn the designation of *numi pegerk* without honoring their dual responsibilities of providing for their families *and* participating in world renewal ceremonies. In its explicit prioritization of men providing for their families, this ethos of *numi pegerk* should be a great benefit to the job search of tribal fathers with criminal records. Yet, as I show in later chapters, this orientation does not translate to formal work within the context of a slack labor market.

Tight labor markets, strong labor force attachment, and fathers who were the sole breadwinners for their families are very much a part of my respondents' recent memories. These memories inform their own conceptions of masculinity despite entering drastically different labor markets than previous generations. Even with these constraints, tribal men still interpret providing as the paramount expectation placed on tribal men. Respondents make it clear that they see themselves as providers just as their fathers who came before them, and work features prominently in their narratives both past and present.

Several respondents credited their fathers and other male role models for passing down their strong work ethics.[59] For men whose fathers worked during times of high employment, the term "workaholic" is a frequent descriptor. Clarence, 60, from Klamath, thinks back on his father:

> He was a workaholic, but when you're going through it, you know, your dad's your hero…ordinarily he didn't get home until midnight to 2:00 in the morning. And then he would be gone by 4:30, 5:00 in the morning to go to work. So he was - a couple hours of sleep, he's gone. And I didn't know it was [my] step-mom that was keeping him there, because he didn't really want to be at home either. But he couldn't raise his kid and do work, too…so by the time I was 12 years-old I was already working for him. And then by the time I was 12 and half, I was wanting to be at the gas station from 7:00 in the morning until midnight, too, to not be at home. A lot of times she didn't let me go do that, because dad wanted me to be in school doing, you know, this and that, and he didn't want me to fall into that way of life, so to say. He wanted it [to be] better [for me].

Clarence was currently raising his 11-year old son as a single father, a stark departure from his own childhood. He had grown up in Crescent City and was the bastard son of a German logger and a Yurok woman, conceived on "one of his [drinking] benders" in Klamath. His father would spend most of his time working outside of the home as a mechanic to provide for Clarence and his three brothers, and by age 12, Clarence was ditching school to join his dad on the job, learning engine repair and construction along the way.

Gabriel was just a couple years younger than Clarence, and had grown up on-reservation in Hoopa. The 57-year old father of two and grandfather of three was settling into his role as a patriarch after decades of substance use left him estranged from his family. While guilty for not being there, Gabriel struggled to distinguish his absence from his father's:

> My dad was always working, my whole life he always working. So when it came time for me to be a father, it was too easy to step away because I didn't know anything different. I knew he took care of us but we didn't spend time together. Instead, my parents stepped up and raised my sons, so their grandfather, my dad, is basically their dad. I was using most of their lives; it's only in the last five or six years that we have a relationship. So basically what my dad did to me for work, not being around, I did to my sons for drugs.

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[59] A more in-depth consideration of how my respondents framed their work ethic through the world renewal worldview can be found in the section "Entrepreneurial Options and Natural Resource Employment On-Reservation" in Chapter 6.

In the last decade, Gabriel has gotten sober and completely turned his life around after completing an out-of-area treatment program and gaining credentials in the culinary arts and entrepreneurialism. He had found success as a self-employed chef, and while he finally felt as if he was thriving after decades of floundering, Gabriel's sons still remembered him as an absent father. Gabriel felt the same way about his own father, but unlike his father who had been absent because he was working full-time, Gabriel was absent as he battled with addiction. While this tradeoff between formal employment and substance dependency was all too common for men like Gabriel and Clarence who came of age after peak reservation employment in the 1960s, their unemployment was still measured against a backdrop of generations of labor force attachment.

Samson, 60, and Charles, 51, were brothers from Klamath who remembered how their father was a great provider who "worked like a dog" to care for his family of ten. But such a large responsibility also meant he was absent from the home while he worked from "dark to dark." For better or worse, both brothers described learning more from their maternal uncles than their father on how to be a man when they were growing up. As he aged into the labor force, however, Samson would bond with his father at his shop over work. In one such instance, Samson described talking with his father about how little time they spent together when he was younger because he was always working. His dad's response: "'You don't know what it feels like when you go to get your kids a popsicle and you have to put it back because you don't have enough to get them all one. You don't know.'" Having grown up in the Depression, Samson's father craved work like some would later crave drugs, and his labor was seen with a specific purpose: providing for a family of ten. In his 80s now, Samson and Charles's father was still a business owner, and the patriarch of over 100 grandchildren and great-grandchildren. He had

taught every son and nearly every grandson his vocations of carpentry and automotive repair, skills they all leaned on heavily in their own job searches.[60]

This workaholic quality hearkens back to a time of near full employment on the reservation, when vibrant logging and fishing industries allowed men with little formal education to support large families year-round. In many ways, the workforce expectations of these natural resource industries dove-tailed into the traditional expectations and physical skillsets associated with tribal fathers as *numi pegerk*. Additionally, the external mainstream institutions of full-time work, marriage and fatherhood, known as the "package deal" (Glotzer 2003, Riggs 1997, Townsend 2002) reinforced the internal cultural scripts that emphasized the role of men as primary breadwinners for their households. As such, men who came from world renewal backgrounds fit into high-paying, albeit dangerous occupations like timber felling and commercial fishing like salmon into a smokehouse.[61] Yet, even with such a strong labor force attachment fostered across generations, respondents who entered the labor force in the 1980s and 1990s increasingly found themselves unable to fulfill the expectation to provide through formal work. At this same time, illicit opportunities in marijuana farming and drug dealing found their niche in communities wracked by industry decline and high substance use rates (Hostler 2012a, 2012b, Reed Forthcoming).

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[60] Observational field note, 2.28.18, Crescent City, CA; observational field note, 10.2.18, Klamath, CA.

[61] In Chapter 6, I go into greater detail about my respondents' preference for natural resource employment. Briefly, jobs in forestry, wildfire firefighting and fisheries built on the country masculine habitus of tribal fathers by virtue of their rural upbringing (Desmond 2008). They sought out such work because it resonated with this skillset and affirmed their traditional roles as stewards of the local environment. Like the Mohawk "skywalkers" who built towering skyscrapers in the 20th century, men in my sample were uniquely suited for work in highly dangerous occupations by virtue of their cultural backgrounds and the bodily knowledge therein (Weitzman 2010).

Worldview As An Essential Trait

Irrespective of former generations' labor market success or present-day aspirations, it is a reality that the institution with which my respondents had the most contact was the local county criminal justice system. Significant work remains to be done to equip the local jurisdictions to meet the needs of their over-represented tribal prisoners, men who are distinguished just as much by their historical circumstance as by their present-day worldviews. In a recent interview with California state newspaper Capitol Weekly, Judge Abby Abinanti, the Chief Judge of the Yurok Tribal Court, described the primary differences between mainstream conceptions of justice compared to those of the Yurok and other world renewal peoples:

> "It's just a different value system that underpins this particular culture. I can't imagine me just running up to somebody and saying, "I have a right to da da da." It just isn't how you act. And with the concentration on this, "It's my right to do this, my right to stay silent, my right to this." I'm like, "OK, I get it. I understand the concept." But, you have a responsibility, you need to meet your responsibility, how are you going to do that?"

"Judge Abby" as she is affectionately known touched on a key component of the worldview when she described how the frame of "rights" does not resonate with tribal members. She and the Yurok Tribal Court are leading the nation in establishing joint jurisdiction[62] courts with the local counties of Humboldt and Del Norte to dually preside over cases involving tribal members. According to the Judge, one of the first steps in this process was to reframe conceptions of justice and individual responsibility to better resonate with the "village mentality" that shaped world renewal communities pre-contact. She explained:

> Our shared Yurok community is organized in a traditional village manner, both historically and today, where the values of the collective support the needs of the individual, who in turn is responsible to the community (Project Description, October 2017)

[62] As a reminder, California is a Public Law 280 state whereby the federal government has turned over legal jurisdiction on tribal lands to state and county governments. With joint jurisdiction efforts, county courthouses are sharing those cases involving enrolled members of local tribes with their respective tribal courts. Under this arrangement, tribal and county judges sit alongside one another to hear and rule on cases together.

In the world renewal mindset, the ability to meeting one's needs was not framed as a *right* to acquire resources; instead, it was a *responsibility* to these resources—to the land, to the River, to your family, and to your village—and this is a fundamentally different orientation from that of mainstream society. Despite efforts otherwise,[63] this worldview has persisted through to present day in the form of the various social frames and individual strategies of actions listed in Table 6, representing a way of life that predates the inequalities that now shape the world renewal landscape.

In this chapter, I explained how the world renewal worldview is derived from local Indigenous spirituality, which itself is rooted in the local physical environment. In the most remote areas of the reservation, the world renewal worldview is expressed through the emphasis on energy and food sovereignty. For example, in Sregon and Tulley Creek, living off generator power was not just the norm, it was a preference for residents, with the abilities to fish, hunt, and grow their own food seen as a privilege more than a chore. This emphasis on independence from mainstream amenities is a place-specific expression of the world renewal worldview. This practice is derived from the traditional expectation placed on tribal peoples to steward the local environment through ceremony and resource management. According to Buckley (2002), men in particular were expected to work *with* the land to meet their families' needs, rather than simply extracting resources from the landscape. In this way, the men framed the land as sentient and accepted their personal responsibility maintain the balance of power between life and death by adopting sustainable subsistence practices.

[63] First, the genocide brought on by the discovery of gold in 1849 drastically reduced the physical number of world renewal adherents, and these deaths were exacerbated by the direct attack on tribal lands by legislature and white settlers alike. The indentured slavery and the boarding school era also constrained the worldview, with those taken away referred to as the "shorthair" or "missing generation." This generation is described in greater detail in section "Living On vs. Off-Reservation as a Residential Process" in Chapter 2.

In addition to energy and food sovereignty, ceremonial dances served as the most tangible representation of the world renewal worldview in present day. Men on-reservation were especially likely to participate, often as a reflection of their family histories and the fact that nearly every dance pit is located on-reservation.[64] Several of the participants featured in this chapter—Brannon and Mason in Klamath, Caleb in Hoopa, and Johnny and Henry downriver—came from families that had been dancers and regalia holders for generations. While their own adoption of ceremony varied by personal affinity and current sobriety status, they each took great pride in their ancestral lineage. In each case, the men were descended from the original inhabitants of the world renewal landscape, with family names featured on original land allotments[65] from the turn of the 20th century. By virtue of never being removed from their ancestral homelands, world renewal adherents have the unique privilege of living within their sacred landscapes. In present era, the reservation epitomizes the physical and spatial incarnation of this worldview, and for this reason, represents a place of deep meaning for tribal fathers residing in all locations.

For those who lived off-reservation, one might expect expressions of the worldview to be attenuated or even non-existent. Yet, as shown by Xavier, 29, and Elijah, 40, both men were introduced to the world renewal worldview through their fathers and grandfathers. They continued to seek out traditional ceremonies into adulthood and passed on these spiritual lessons to their children. Both men would make the hour-plus trip from the coast to the reservation and back several times over the course of any one dance weekend. The effort expended was well worth it, however, as participating in ceremony affirmed the men's responsibility as dance

[64] The only off-reservation dance pit is at the reconstructed Yurok village of "Sumeg" in Patrick's Point State Park north of Trinidad.
[65] As explained in Chapter 2, Yurok and Hoopa families received their allotments in the late 1800s and early 1900s. As such, these respondents could trace their lineage back over a hundred years or more.

makers. In addition, for those who had previously been "in a bad way" as a result of drug addiction or incarceration, dancing and singing could be interpreted as a form of social redemption. Personal conduct outside of ceremony was also framed through the lens of "in a good way," with an expectation of mental clarity and good intention. Living in a good way is part of the ethos of individual responsibility that permeates the world renewal worldview.

Beyond dancing, the world renewal worldview is also distinguishable across other practices like prayer and fasting (Buckley 2002, Risling-Baldy 2018). Respondents' prayers at ceremony and in private are individual expressions of a socially-shared meaning system, and for men like Caleb who believed a Jump Dance prayer healed his paralysis, they were the stuff of miracles. Superstition notwithstanding, praying and fasting represented forms of personal sacrifice that my respondents highly valued, and that they believed strengthened and affirmed their ability to thrive. The asceticism of fasting was a less common daily practice, but it was an expectation for every dance ceremony, one placed on dance observers as well. In this way, the frame of personal sacrifice was reified through communal practice, and affirms the reoccurring and essential theme of individual responsibility to the collective.

Finally, the world renewal worldview is evident in the strong labor force attachment that the men learned from their fathers and other male kin. The expectation that tribal men who become fathers will provide for their families' basic needs is as old as the worldview itself, and it does not preclude those with criminal histories. In fact, men who struggle to find employment in present day are particularly vexed because tight labor markets are well within recent memory. They described their own fathers as sole breadwinners who were borderline "workaholics," and who, despite their occasional absence from home life, satisfied the communal expectation of being a *numi pegerk*. *Numi pegerk* are those men who supported their large families through

subsistence, accrued material and sacred wealth, and in doing so, accepted their responsibility as spiritual leaders in the multi-generational process of knowledge transmission. This expectation was quite fitting and attainable even for men without a high school degree during peak industry on-reservation in the 1960s and 1970s, with jobs in logging and fishing resonating deeply with the expectation of tribal men to steward the local environment. These worldview-specific expectations were buttressed by mainstream norms that emphasized men as the primary breadwinners of their family unites (Glotzer 2003, Riggs 1997, Townsend 2002). In Chapters 6 & 7, I probe how the prioritization of a reciprocal relationship between tribal men and the physical environment and the frame of "father-as-provider" continue to inform their perceptions of work and fatherhood. In this chapter, however, I showed how respondents framed work through the strong labor force attachment of previous generations.

Even as I have described the breadth of ways my respondents expressed their world renewal worldview, no such orientation is not a monolith, but instead a toolkit from which adherents draw meaning and interpret their available strategies of action (Young 2003, Lamont & Small 2008, Swidler 1986). Worldviews matter because they are the window through which an individual interprets their social context (Geertz 1973)—the good, the bad, how to act, how not to act: all of this is interpreted though one's worldview. Understanding the worldview of tribal fathers with criminal records is a necessary precondition of interpreting their employment and other social outcomes, particularly if we seek to intervene in these conditions. For my respondents, their world renewal worldview framed how they conceived of their individual responsibilities; their relationship to the collective, both to their families and their communities; and their conception of work. It is the metric by which they assessed their social standing and how they understood the behaviors that could increase or diminish it. Unlike other conceptions

of interpretive schema, I offer the world renewal worldview as a set of orientations that can also be expressed non-discursively. Going further, I posit bodily knowledge as a form of cultural expression, and challenge future theorists to consider how "the body" itself serves as a vehicle for the transmission of culture and the frames therein. I show in Chapters 6 & 7 how the frames that my respondents derived from their worldview also informed their job search process and structured their social obligations as fathers. In this chapter, I have established the world renewal worldview as an essential trait of my respondent pool.

By interpreting the world renewal orientation as a worldview, I am building on Young's (2003) conception of worldviews as sets of frames through which individuals evaluate and interpret their social world. While these frames inform one's strategies for action, an individual's behaviors are also shaped by their lived circumstances above and beyond the belief systems to which they ascribe. Like Young (2003), I showed how tribal fathers interpreted individual responsibility, personal sacrifice, and work ethic as reflections of their worldview. Each of these frames represents a set of labor market orientations that should translate to labor market success. Yet as my argument unfolds, I will demonstrate how my respondents are stymied in translating these pro-work "tool-kits" into employment by a variety of forces beyond their control.

My concept of worldview within the context of adversity hearkens back to another theorization of life in similar areas. Anderson (2000) introduced the concept of the "code of the street" to describe "the set of informal but commonly understood rules that govern interpersonal behavior in public when… other formal means of settling conflicts are absent" (Duck 2015: 5). Like Anderson (2000) and Young (2003), I have also outlined a system of frames and practices that shape interpersonal interactions in a marginalized context, but I assert that this belief system predates the contemporary inequalities that now shape life on-reservation. While I do not speak

to change over time in the scope of this contribution, I highlight how the world renewal tool-kit continues to be a lens through which tribal fathers with criminal records interpreted their reality in the 21st century.

Beyond the importance of the world renewal worldview to the job search process, I offer this orientation as something that merits analysis because of the deep meaning that adherents attribute to it in their own lives. It was through many interviews and observations that the worldview became clear to me. While it may have been new to my conception of reality, on-reservation, it is as old as the land itself. Those who ascribe to this belief system and adopt its practices are doing so within a generations-long process that affirms the worldview as an essential component of their identity as world renewal peoples. According to Smith (2012: 77), doing so is a two-fold process:

> Claiming essential characteristics is as much strategic as anything else, because it has been about claiming human rights and indigenous rights. But the essence of a person is also discussed in relation to indigenous concepts of spirituality…. the significance of place, of land, of landscape, of other things in the universe, in defining the very essence of a people.

The world renewal worldview matters because it matters to my respondents. For many, conceiving of the world through this tribal lens is as much a deep point of pride as it is a tool for making sense of the world.

In the next chapter, I dig deeper into the characteristics that mark reservation life beyond expressions of the world renewal worldview. In particular, I describe the extreme frequency of adverse experiences for individuals across the life course, adversities that are set within a backdrop of substance dependency and chronic poverty. Despite the great meaning and strength my respondents derived from their spiritual orientation, I show how this worldview is no panacea for the significant adversity that affects their lives on a daily basis. Ultimately, the world renewal worldview comes from a time before the reservation and its internal inequalities existed. Over the remaining chapters, I continue to unpack how present-day circumstances interact with this

Indigenous worldview to shape the job search process of tribal fathers as they seek work post-incarceration.

Chapter 5:
Tribal Men: Adversity, Substance Dependency & the "Reservation Effect"

Introduction

"That's my boy right there, we was running that place. Me, him, and then everybody else. More than a hundred guys in there, and us two 'Skins on top!" Xavier's eyes gleamed as he described how he knew Roman, a man a decade his senior but someone whom he claimed as a dear friend. The two had not met through family nor through the dance pit[66]—instead, they had connected while incarcerated in the Humboldt County Jail, and affirmed their friendship through several more stints together. They had shared sober times and not-so-sober times together, Xavier looking up to Roman as an older brother-of-sorts, Roman a reluctant but purposeful role model. On the day of Xavier's interview, he walked by the restaurant window, the men seeing each other for the first time in months. Xavier pulled Roman in and we shared our lunches with him as he shared a sheepish "thank you" and savored the meal. The measured pace at which he ate did not communicate how it had been his first meal in days, something he shared with me a week later during his own interview. He was about forty pounds shy of "fighting weight" after months of methamphetamine use and outdoor living. He would walk over mountains to make it home to see his kids in Orleans from the coast, but his problems with addiction and a tumultuous relationship with his children's mother left him wondering where his life was going: "I'm meant for something better, I know it. I have so much knowledge, so many teachings, but I'm stuck."

Roman and respondents like him straddled two worlds: one marked by their world renewal worldview, a tool-kit from which they took great pride and drew deep meaning; and the world of drug addiction, where a high rate of substance abuse tracked their over-exposure to adverse experiences as children and through adulthood. For Roman, his inability to find a job

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[66] Xavier featured prominently in the preceding chapter, "Tribal Lands & A Tribal Lens: The World Renewal Worldview."

and provide for his family was not simply a matter of economic constraint or the personal desire to do so. It was rather a reflection of legitimate constraints on his mental and physical health in the form of drug dependency and trauma. This chapter focuses on those men who were still seeking work despite battling addiction. By detailing the scope of their co-occurring experiences of adversity and substance use, I offer substance dependency as a micro-level process linking childhood adversity to the employment constraints faced by tribal fathers with criminal records (Hedstrom & Ylikoski 2010, McEwan & McEwan 2017). Going further, I posit that working through trauma and affirming personal agency through drug treatment was a precondition to entering the labor force, a thus far understudied aspect of the job search process (Siegal et al. 1996, Zarkin et al. 2002).

Trauma as a Constraint: Adverse Childhood Experience (ACE)

Respondents reported a substantial exposure to trauma, specifically "adverse childhood experiences" or ACE. In a landmark study, Felitti and colleagues (1998) proposed an index for the measure of adversity experienced during childhood based on the assumption that such exposure could be associated with outcomes later in life. These adverse experiences included substance use in the home, sexual, psychological and physical abuse, mental illness in the household, witnessing domestic violence and the incarceration of a family member (Felitti et al. 1998). In a survey administered to over 9,000 participants, Felitti and coauthors (1998) found that nearly half the sample had never experienced an ACE (ACE Score = 0), whereas 6% of the survey population had experienced 4 or more ACEs in their childhood, with substance use and sexual abuse the most frequent categories. Critically, ACE scores are compounding and cumulative. For example, Felitti et al. found that people "who had experienced four or more

categories of childhood exposure, compared to those who had experienced none, had 4 to 12-fold increased health risks for alcoholism, drug abuse, depression, and suicide attempt" (1998: 245). Others have reached similar conclusions about the compounding effects of ACEs, with study after study affirming the finding that a high ACE score is associated with poor outcomes regardless of age, race or gender (Anda et al. 2006, Campbell et al. 2016, Dube et al. 2003, Hardt & Rutter 2004, Liu et al. 2013).

The ACE Index[67] is a countable way of estimating how experiences in childhood can have physiological and neurological implications well into adulthood (Anda et al. 2006). Traumatic incidents experienced in childhood can even affect brain development (Anda et al. 2006, Kassel 2010, Felitti et al. 1998). Despite this contribution, the study of ACE has largely been reserved to psychology and neuroscience, but increasingly scholars in sociology and other disciplines are recognizing how ACE analysis can help in understanding micro-level processes that reproduce inequality over time (Collins 2000, Daly et al. 1998, McEwan & McEwan 2017, Schafer et al. 2011, Schilling et al. 2008).

A high ACE score is associated with a myriad of negative outcomes that can, among other things, present significant obstacles during the job search process. High ACE scores have been associated with mental health conditions like substance dependency (Felitti et al. 1998, Anda et al. 2006, Campbell et al. 2016, Dube et al. 2003, Liu et al. 2013), post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), depression, and violence (Anda et al. 2006, Chapman et al. 2004, Campbell et al. 2016). Institutions like employment and marriage do not modulate those associations for men

[67] Some have critiqued the original survey as not representative as a result of its predominately white, middle-class sample, and have applied the ACE index to more diverse populations, finding that as many as 10-13% of the population have been exposed to 4 or more ACE (Campbell et al. 2016, Dube et al. 2003, Liu et al. 2013). Others still have pushed back on the use of retrospective reporting as the primary assessment measure, but studies based on individuals whose past experiences of child abuse were well-documented indicate that respondents are actually more likely to *under*-estimate the adversity they experienced, meaning that ACEs may be even more frequent in the general population than present estimates indicate (Anda et al. 2006, Hardt & Rutter 2004, Felitti et al. 1998).

as much as they do for women (Liu et al. 2013). Beyond the personal toll that these mental health issues can take (Bremner et al. 2003, Anda et al. 2006), they are also not conducive to employment in that they may constrain one's ability to gain and maintain work (Lépine & Briley 2011, Lerner et al. 2004).[68]

The adversity indicated by one's ACE score can also impact employment by lowering cognitive abilities in the school-aged years, which could result in low academic performance and eventual attrition, thereby reducing credentials for the labor force (Liu et al. 2013, Campbell et al. 2016, Anda et al. 2006). In this way, ACEs constrain individual outcomes well beyond childhood (Campbell et al. 2016). Finally, a significant majority of those currently incarcerated have been shown to have high ACE scores (Messina & Grella 2006, Messina et al. 2007). This is so consistently the case that it is difficult to find someone who is incarcerated that does not have an ACE score greater than zero (Anda et al. 2004, Baglivio et al. 2014, Bellis et al. 2013, Wolff & Shi 2012).

Characteristics of Substance Dependence

To speak to the connections between adversity and employment (Chapter 6), I focus on the mediating role of substance dependence. Recreational drug and alcohol use are not exclusive to any one population and are as old as civilization itself (Kassel 2010). Substance *dependence* refers to the shift between recreational use and habitual use, the latter marked by a biological dependence to a substance insofar as withdrawal symptoms present in its absence (Kassel 2010,

[68] According to Lerner et al. (2004: 1372), "in the U.S., depression costs an estimated $44 to $55 billion annually in lost productivity."

Weisheit & White 2009, Compton et al. 2014). Past a certain "tipping point,"[69] dependency is sustained by the chemical underpinnings at a neurological level (Bechara 2005, McCarthy et al. 2010, de Wit & Phan 2010). In this sample, nearly every respondent with a history of substance use indicated being chemically dependent at some point, with several identifying as being in active recovery (vs. active addiction) for less than a year.

Substance dependence and unemployment have generated some scholarly attention, but many studies underscore the endogeneity concerns between the two processes. In particular, it is analytically very difficult to draw causal arrows in either direction, with most authors concluding that even without causal certainty, the two processes go together (Dooley et al. 1996, 1992, Compton et al. 2014, Henkel 2011, MacDonald & Pudney 2000). Even still, through a meta-analysis of twenty years of research on unemployment and substance abuse, Henkel (2011) concludes that drug and alcohol dependence is particularly associated with the inability to secure formal employment. MacDonald & Pudney (2000) find that substance dependence does not have a tangible effect on wages, but rather reduces the likelihood that an individual will be employed in the first place, and this is particularly true for men.

In this chapter, I will describe the scope of substance abuse for tribal fathers with criminal records. Approximately 90% of those interviewed reported having a substance dependency of some kind, 44% of whom had been in recovery for less than a year. The high rate of substance dependence was the case both on and off-reservation, and in keeping with previous studies of those navigating the process of prisoner reentry (Maruna 2001). Previous research has shown that a majority of those who have been incarcerated multiple times report being addicted

[69] Most theories of substance use differ on the reasons behind first use and why use can increase. They are in agreement, however, that past a certain threshold, an individual becomes physically dependent to a substance. From that point, abstaining from further use requires addressing both these biological and mental components (McCarthy et al. 2010, de Wit & Phan 2010).

to a substance at some point in their lives, so much so that chronic criminal activity and addiction are frequently co-occurring (Fazel et al. 2006, Rounds-Bryant & Baker 2007, Zamble & Quinsey 1997).

My sample was distinguished by a high frequency of methamphetamine[70] as their drug of choice (63% self-reported). To a lesser degree, respondents also reported heroin and opioid dependencies (19%) as well as alcoholism (19%). 44% of respondents had co-occurring substance dependencies, a majority (70%) of whom described concurrent methamphetamine and alcohol use. Methamphetamine use is heavily regional, and like opioids, the preference for this substance is skewed towards rural areas (Bauer 2003, Ellis et al. 2018, Grant 2007, Singh et al. 2019, Warner & Leukefeld 2001, Weisheit & White 2009). All of the states with the highest meth usage rates are west of the Mississippi, and according to Weisheit & White (2009: 16), "one population, most of whose citizens live in rural areas, has been critically hard-hit by methamphetamine": tribal communities. The small size of the American Indian population in most localities limits the availability of more recent data,[71] yet previous research has shown that some of the most frequent users of methamphetamine are American Indians and Alaskan Natives, with a rate between two and seven times that of other racial groups (Kiedrowski & Selya 2019, Weisheit & White 2009).

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[70] Methamphetamine or "meth" is a "central nervous system stimulant" like cocaine and crack cocaine, and produces elevated moods, appetite suppression, alertness and relaxed bronchial muscles (Weisheit & White 2009). Early on, amphetamine was marketed as a "wonder-drug" without any addictive potential, and its "instantly pleasurable" effects were touted by doctors and the military alike for producing "the feeling of increased efficiency, perseverance, endurance, and overall competence" (Weisheit & White 2009: 47). It was not until the 1950s when the public became aware of the drug's more addictive capacities. In large doses and with prolonged use, methamphetamine causes negative behaviors such as psychosis (in some cases permanent); compulsive repetitive behaviors, like plucking at one's flesh or disassembling electronics, called "tweaking"; and heat stroke, which can lead to organ failure. Heavy users are marked by a chronic gnashing of their teeth, a unconscious mannerism that can persist long after they stop using and leaves their teeth sharpened in places (Ellinwood & Kilbey 1975, Brecht & Mayrhauser 2002, Weisheit & White 2009).

[71] More recent data points on meth use amongst Native Americans would be ideal, but few studies include Americans Indian populations as a subset of their sample. As such, I have included the most recent data available.

The prevalence of opioid[72] and opiate dependence on the reservation is not surprising in light of the growing trends in substance dependency in rural areas. Opioid dependency is on the rise nationally, yet rural areas were some of the first places where individuals recreationally used prescription opioid pain pills that had originally been prescribed for chronic pain (Evans et al. 2018, Hayes 2004, Jonas et al. 2012, Young et al. 2012). Pharmaceutical companies tried a variety of extended release pills and other formula variations intent on preventing misuse of the pills by smoking or intravenous use (Okie 2010, Cicero & Ellis 2015, Sessler et al. 2014). The addictive potential of opioids like OxyContin and Vicodin was woefully underestimated in the early years of these prescriptions. The Yurok Tribe, the State of Massachusetts and many other stakeholders are currently suing the manufacturers of these drugs under the assertion that they either did not understand the potential detriment of their product, and if they did, they nonetheless heavily lobbied doctors to prescribe the substances despite their highly addictive nature (Houston 2018). In communities where clinics stopped prescribing opioids and the local supply dwindled, many users turned to heroin in the absence of their drug of choice (Compton et al. 2018, Evans et al. 2018, Mars et al. 2014). Heroin is often times more readily accessible and less expensive than its pharmaceutical counterparts (Evans et al. 2018, Mars et al. 2014). On the reservation, respondents described opioid use as peaking in the mid-2000s. In their own use patterns and at the community-level, respondents directly linked the surge of opiate use on-reservation and in the larger two-county region to this transition from opioids to heroin.

In addition to their substance dependency patterns, respondents also reported a high frequency of initiation into drug use during adolescence, with 83% trying their drug of choice

[72] Opiates and opioids represent two distinct but connected groups of drugs. Opiates like heroin and morphine are derived from the opium poppy plant, and serve as strong pain relievers. Opioids are simulated pain relievers, largely proprietary, that mimic the effects of opiates, and include Oxycontin, Dilaudid and Vicodin (Evans et al. 2018, Mars et al. 2014). I reference these substances throughout the paper, often together as they have very similar results for pain management, although I distinguish between the two as theoretically and descriptively relevant.

before age 16. Adolescent drug use is associated with a host of negative outcomes, including higher rates of substance use across the life course and a higher chance of dependency, as well as decreased occupational attainment, academic achievement, and social relationships (Kassel 2010, Duck 2015, Dube et al. 2003). Adolescence describes a time from ages 13-25 when "significant physical, psychological, and social changes" are associated with an increase in "risk-raking behaviors" like substance use (Kassel 2010: 109-110). For a majority of my respondents, the age of first use of substances like meth was 12 years old, with the age even younger in more remote communities like Weitchpec and Orleans.

Adolescence is a time associated with risky behavior, and experimenting with mind-altering substances is not alarming unless it is a symptom of a something beyond teenage curiosities, like exposure to adverse childhood experiences (ACEs). Dube et al. (2003) found that 15% of all adolescents who had first used drugs before age 14 and 13% of those who identified as substance dependent had experienced ≥ 4 ACEs. Going further, the riskiest drug behaviors such as intravenously injecting drugs were particularly associated with a high rate of childhood trauma, with two-thirds of IV drug use "attributable to the types of abusive or traumatic childhood experiences" like ACEs (Dube et al. 2003: 568). These authors argue that exposure to trauma can cause "feelings of helplessness, chaos, and impermanence" that entice adolescents to engage in substance use as a means to "escape or dissociate from the immediate emotional pain, anxiety, and anger that likely accompany such experiences" (568). For those who grow up in chaotic households, their recreational drug use can be a symptom of their trauma just as much as adolescent curiosity.

Beyond their individual outcomes, men who lived in Hoopa, Klamath, and in the more remote areas of the reservation downriver experienced adversity within a context of concentrated

disadvantage at the community level. Drawing on theoretical conceptions of social isolation and concentration effects (Wilson 1987, Sampson & Wilson 1995, Sampson 2012, Sharkey 2013), I argue that those who experienced adversity on-reservation are doing so within a context that further exacerbates their traumas. This is a result of the fact that those living on the reservation reside in a location where negative outcomes like poverty and unemployment have clustered spatially for generations (Henson 2008). In the small, tight-knit social networks that characterize both reservations, individuals are tied to the adversity and tragedy than can afflict their networks partners. In the context of high acquaintance density (Weisheit et al. 1996, Weisheit 1996) and a paucity of mental health providers (Burton et al. 2013), those living in these über-rural areas are left with few options for coping with the resulting loss and grief beyond substance use. This "reservation effect" whereby inequality concentrates on-reservation juxtaposes strongly with the primacy of the space within the world renewal worldview introduced in Chapter 4. While the reservation represents a source of meaning for world renewal adherents, it also serves as the nexus by which residents are exposed to adverse experiences across the life course. In some cases, violence and trauma on reservation overlap significantly with the most sacred places to the worldview. This paradoxical concentration of both promise and peril, both sacredness and profane (Durkheim 1915) creates a constant tension for respondents and their families—if they want to live in their ancestral territory and practice their world renewal ceremonies, they must navigate the disadvantages that shape it in contemporary era.

This project demonstrates how micro-level processes, such as addiction and trauma, can impact an individual's ability to honor their social responsibilities above and beyond contextual factors. In the case of tribal fathers with criminal backgrounds, substance dependencies may mask the presence of co-occurring conditions like post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and

depression stemming from childhood experiences of trauma, as well as continued loss and grief over the life course. In Section 2 of this chapter, I show that while respondents from all locations reported habitually using substances, for those living on the reservation, their drug use and their adversity existed within the context of dense social networks where frequent loss manifested alongside community-wide substance dependencies. I ground this observation within larger understandings of place and inequality because the concentration of negative outcomes on the reservation mirrors the conditions of concentrated disadvantage observed in urban neighborhoods (Wilson 1987, 1996, 2009, Sharkey 2013, Sampson 2012). Such concentration juxtaposes strongly with the centrality of the reservation as a point of meaning-making and spirituality within the world renewal worldview. Ultimately, in order to live on their ancestral lands, reservation residents must accommodate an extreme exposure to adversity and trauma.

For men in my sample, their co-occurring adversities and addictions were parts of a larger, multi-faceted experience of unemployment. My focus on the role of adversity and its resulting trauma as a micro-process for reproducing disadvantage is well-supported—in the *Annual Review of Sociology*, McEwan & McEwan (2017) leveraged theories and evidence from sociology, neuroscience, psychology and the study of epigenetics to underscore the need to consider biological processes and their role in contributing to social inequalities. These authors linked "toxic stress" and "chaos" to the intransigent nature of intergenerational poverty and they tasked future researchers with updating their models to incorporate how differential exposure to these stressors may manifest across the life course (McEwan & McEwan 2017). My contribution answers this call to action by describing the scope of adversity and substance dependency for my sample, and in the next chapter, showing how these experiences interact with their labor force participation. With this contribution, I suggest that substance dependency may represent a

pathway through which adversity contributes to unemployment (Hedstrom & Ylikoski 2010, McEwan & McEwan 2017).

Addiction & Adversity As Co-Occurring Conditions

Recall Roman—at 36, he was a father of four, and his two eldest sons were men in their own right. Roman joked "I started young." He was a muscular man with long braids, handsome with a face usually furrowed in a scowl. Despite recent hard times, he took great pride in his family and their lineage:

> I got like the best of both, of all of them, the Yuroks and the Karuks. I got family from the old Staircase, I've got rights to that. I've got family up Ka'tim'îin, I've got family from up Ameekyáaraam, you know, that's a jump dance, you know what I mean, we're dance holders. I come from a village there where like really between me and one other cousin, we're the only ones that can keep that village alive, the one village we have that's a part of that Ameekyáaraam dance.

Growing up upriver in isolated Orleans, Roman's first drug experiences with drugs came early, drinking and smoking marijuana with friends and cousins. He had his first son when he was 16 and while he and his ex-girlfriend welcomed a second son, their relationship didn't last long. Roman ceded much of the boys' day-to-day care to their mother and his mother, who cared for the boys on his behalf just as she would later do with his younger children when he went to treatment.

Whenever any mention of his mother comes up, Roman speaks with an intensity marked by equal parts admiration and loyalty, but also sadness and anger. His parents split when he was young. Before his mother met his stepfather, Roman and his older brother witnessed years of violent behavior from various suitors:

> My mom showed me love every day, she showed me emotion, she's always have times when she kinda got drunk but she'd apologize and tell me she wished she could have did more. But I watched her bust your ass every day, she worked her ass off and she earned like a lot of what she has. She came from an abusive, like her first marriage was really, really abusive. Like I've watched a lot of bad things happen and my first memories are of BAD things [emphasis his]. When I was four years old, I remember that, I remember seeing her get beat into a closet with a coat hanger and locked in there for days…

When he described seeing his mother beaten into a closet, Roman eyes burned and he wiped away angry tears, shaking his head as he lamented his mother's victimization. Such abuse was not restricted to his mother, however. Her boyfriends also physically abused the boys. One man poured salt and pepper into their eyes:

> I woke up once, me and my brother, with our eyes swelled shut because of salt and pepper poured in our eyes while we were sleeping. We had woke up early and we made cereal and didn't put up the cereal box. And our mom didn't know that that's what happened, she thought we'd had an allergic reaction and stuff. But we were so scared of this man that we didn't know how to tell her because we didn't want to see her get beat again. Because she always stuck up for us, like no matter what. So... [long pause] she was really, she's a great woman.

Despite these traumas, Roman, his brother Titus and their mom clung to one another fiercely, and once she met his stepfather, things seemed to fall into place.

As time went on, both brothers became fathers in their own right, with Titus becoming a hotshot firefighter and Roman, the younger of the two, still struggling to find his way from odd jobs to formal employment. Roman looked up to his older brother Titus, the one male constant throughout all the abusive boyfriends and their father's absence. Later as adults, Titus would be the first to step up to the task of providing for his children, doing so through the hard and dangerous work of wildfire firefighting. For this, Roman idolized him: "Now *he's* the hardest working man I've ever met in my life [emphasis his], my stepdad is like number two but my brother, the hardest working man. Good guy, good guy... he was my idol." Even though he was formally employed, Titus still recreationally used prescription pills and drank with his brother in the off-season. Yet when his long-time partner gave birth to a stillborn child, he entered a downward spiral, using pills to soothe his pain.

Tears streamed down Roman's face as he spoke about Titus. "We lost my brother in 2000

to the opioids, an accidental overdose of OxyContins." Wracked with survivor's guilt,[73] both Roman and his mother began binge drinking, and she started to abuse her prescription pain pills, originally prescribed for her degenerative back condition. Nearly two decades later, lingering depression still lines their faces:

> My mom, she was like I said, a great woman. And all my friends, people who know her, always looked up to her and thought she was awesome, everyone thought she was awesome, she was an awesome woman, fun, caring, loving, and a 'badass,' is what my friends would call her, the toughest woman they ever known, she didn't take no shit from nobody, you know what I mean. And she's a mama bear, big mama bear….When we lost my brother, I lost my mom. That was about the time when her back was going out, all those years of hard work, what is it, that degenerative back disease, so her discs were going out and they started giving her morphine. Between that and losing my brother[voice trails off].. it worked, she could work her ass off all day at work still, come home in pain and just take what they said. And next thing you know, she'd be [mimes being passed out]."

No parent should have to bury their child. On the reservation, and especially downriver, such tragedies are commonplace. For Roman and his mother, Titus' passing amplified the trauma they had already experienced and would trigger their addictions for years after.

Roman was in treatment for methamphetamine and alcohol when we interviewed, his second attempt to get sober since becoming a father again in his thirties. His mother was taking care of his youngest son, 2, and daughter, 5, while he and his partner, Sarah, were in rehab in separate facilities. Roman's mother had already been their primary caretaker for some time after the children were removed from their parents' custody following a CPS investigation. The family had been living in a motel in Eureka. Frequent domestic violence between Roman and Sarah fueled by their respective drug habits led those in neighboring rooms to call the police on their disputes. After several such calls, CPS reopened an investigation into Sarah, who had previously lost custody of her firstborn because of her heroin use. Before her grandchildren could be removed formally, Roman's mother volunteered to care for them. Sobriety was a precondition to regaining custody, so Roman entered treatment in Eureka:

[73] Survivor's guilt is a symptom of PTSD where an individual feels guilty for having survived an event when a loved one did not. Beyond the grief associated with their loss, they may also engage in self-destructive behaviors in an effort to assuage this guilt (Hendon & Haas 1991, Kubany 1994, Wilson et al. 2006).

> I tell people I've been up three times, I've built a home three different times for me and my children and my significant other, and I've lost three times, I've lost it all. And this time has been the hardest it's ever been to get back up on my feet.

Roman pointed to methamphetamine as the difference between this time and all the others, and he is not alone in giving it so much weight. Meth use is a contributing factor to chronic domestic violence (Sheridan et al. 2006, Sommers & Baskin 2006, Weisheit & White 2009). This may result from its long-lasting effects, whereby large doses can last for days. Between these and the drug's subsequent withdrawal symptoms, methamphetamine's volatility is brought within close proximity to family life as users return to their homes while under the influence. For using partners, the drug's effects can be like a powder keg for domestic violence, and Roman's family was no different. Now, in treatment, Roman was left struggling to regain his sense of self along with his sobriety:

> Our goal was to get our kids back first. Or... our goal is to get ourselves back, find myself again like cuz when we got together, I was actually at the best point in my life, I was happy... I know a lot of stuff, I know what to do and what not to do, and what I need to be doing, what needs to be done to succeed...[long pause] so basically yeah, I'd like to be that person again....

Roman wanted to regain custody of his children and reunite with their mother Sarah, but saw he saw his sobriety as the precursor to his ability to do either. Even still, his methamphetamine addiction was only a component of the adversity that had been a part of his life well before his present struggles. Despite such obstacles, Roman realized that reclaiming his agency and sense of self-worth were necessary first steps to his ability to be a healthy partner and father.

The case of Roman encompasses several of the thematic trends that characterized the respondent pool. First, this is evidenced in how he describes a childhood punctuated by painful experiences, with the violent mistreatment of his mother serving as the backdrop to his earliest memories. Secondly, his interactions with substances started young and were shared with his family and friends, both in times of celebration and tragedy alike. Roman had experienced loss after loss in his life, and was left navigating the aftermath in the form of grief and co-occurring

substance addiction. These adversities were irrespective of his role as a provider and as a father, and Roman honored these responsibilities as well as he could in spite of them. As the following subsections show, Roman was not alone in his experiences of trauma nor in his substance dependency. The frequency of both in the life histories of tribal fathers with criminal records necessitates in-depth consideration as these conditions are co-occurring adversities that shape their well-being and meaning-making processes above and beyond structural factors.

Accounts of Adverse Experiences

The sheer volume of adversities that respondents detailed merits a greater discussion than any one section or even chapter can accommodate. As Duck (2015: 96) explained, "my purpose is not just to document hardship." Instead, my task is to describe the scope of adversity in the lives of my respondents insofar as it shapes their social roles and obligations, such as providing for their families and other paternal responsibilities.

Roman was almost 40 by the time he addressed the toll his brother's untimely passing had taken in his life. At twenty years his junior, Ezra, 20, was just beginning to deal with the grief associated with the loss of his younger brother, Mateo. When we interviewed, Ezra was in outpatient treatment in Crescent City for alcoholism as part of his probation conditions. Since adolescence, he had been charged with multiple violent offenses, and every violent crime on his record had been perpetuated while under the influence of alcohol. Ezra had almost beaten a man to death at least twice in his life, and he described praying for the last one after learning the man might die:

> I was - never liked being home alone, so I always had parties, like, all the time. And then I get very violent when I get drunk, and I've almost killed a couple people now. I almost killed Ricky Adams from beating him up, because... I never met the guy one day in my life, and he run - he just got out of prison, runs inside my house, started screaming for some chick. And I was, like, "What the fuck?" And I tried to go tell him whatever, but my cousin… she went outside to go take control of the situation, next thing you know … my

> cousin is bloody on the ground. I run out there and I just socked him in the side of the head, and I just took it to a - shouldn't tooken it to that extent, but I beat him up so bad that he wasn't moving. So I called the ambulance for him. And then he got flown out to Redding for head trauma. And it's just crazy, like, a lot of the things. Like all my scars on my hands are all from teeth, besides for this one….Like, this chick that knew him… she messaged me, said, "What are you going to - what's going to - what are you going to get charged with if he dies? Because right now it looks like he's going to - he's not going to make it." And I was, like, "What? What are you talking about?" And I didn't know he was - got flown out. And I started tripping out, cried, prayed a lot. And he ended up making it, but his brain wouldn't quit swelling, and they said he wasn't going to make it.

The encounter that Ezra described was just one of many in his life—having grown up the eldest of seven, he was the man of the house from early on, and would watch the family home when his mother's drug use took her outside their residence, or worse yet, when she brought it home. Even with their hard upbringing, the family was close and took pride in their ability to "scrap" and defend one another while making their way in Klamath. This all came to a grinding halt when Ezra was 15:

> I hated staying at that trap house, so I eventually ended up getting a girlfriend right there in town, my baby-mama. I ended up staying at her house [in the Klamath housing development]. And I was laying there watching a movie one day, just chilling, and they're, like, "Your brother's here." He's, like, "Hey, you want to go down to (Mickey's)'s with me?" And I was, like, "No - no." I'm watching a movie, chilling - baby-mama, just chilling. "I don't feel like going nowhere right now. Is that all right?" "Cool. I'll just talk to you later." I was, like, "All right, love you." He's all, "I love you, too," and then he walked out. He walked to the trailer park [a street over] and, like, 30, 40 minutes go by, and I hear, like, 15 people at my door. "Your brother got shot. Your brother got shot. Get down here." And I was, like, "What the fuck?" I'm thinking he got shot, like, in the stomach or the leg, something not, like, hella bad. And I run down there - I got my brass knuckles and some mace. I figured you'd mace somebody and knuckle them one time and it would be over.
>
> I ran down to the trailer park and there was, like, a couple cop cars there. Hella, like, everyone in the trailer park was right there. And my brother was behind this trailer and he was shot in the head. And I tried to go hold him or whatever, and the cops pulled me off at gunpoint, saying I was tampering with something, evidence. And I'm, like, "That's my little brother," and I tried to hold him and when I tried to hold him he was, like, you could see his brains on his sweater and stuff, and it was, like, really fuckin' gore-ish. Just you could see it all, and it was fucked-up. And he was still alive, and I kept trying to go over there and they pulled me off… everyone's crying, flipping out.

Ezra held his baby brother in his arms for the last time before being dragged off at gunpoint. His family followed the boy, Mateo, to the hospital and then out of the area as they tried to stabilize him. His siblings, mother and aunt shared a tiny hotel room across the street from a children's hospital in the Bay Area for several days before doctors declared Mateo brain dead. After

another brother was released from juvenile detention, the family convened to say goodbye to Mateo:

> So we sat there waiting for them to get my little brother up there where - they were basically just keeping him alive on a machine until my little brother Lance got up there so we could all say good-bye…. I know little kids shouldn't drink or whatnot, but me and my little brother Maddox and Lance and Kayden, my little sister, we all took a little cap for Mateo. And me and my sister Olivia - my older sister Olivia - and my sister Olivia cleaned off his head and did his hair and stuff all nice, like, cleaned off the blood and brain and whatnot so - for the funeral. But me and my sister Olivia got all hella drunk out there in the Suburban across the street from the Oakland Children's Hospital, because I didn't know what to do because I'm kind of crying a lot. And it was just really sad. And then my brother Lance got there and we said our good-byes, played some music for him. And they shut off the machine and - yeah, it was crazy.

“Crazy” was the word that most often came to Ezra’s lips when describing his life. After his brother’s shooting, they left Klamath to avoid the resulting family tensions. Another large on-reservation family shot Mateo. Too many suspects and too little DNA landed the case on the back burner at the county district attorney’s office. Ezra, his mother, his grandmother and the remaining siblings moved in with his aunt, but he spent most days alone as his mother’s addiction to methamphetamine worsened after burying her child. His siblings scattered to live with friends and cousins, numbing their pain with their own drugs of choice. For Ezra, he drank and partied in part to escape the grief of losing his youngest brother and the lack of investigation and accountability. It was at this house where Ezra would almost take a man’s life with his bare hands.

Men, perhaps including Ezra, express traumatic spectrum disorders through risky behaviors, a lack of emotional regulation, impulsivity, and violence (Anda et al. 2006, Liu et al. 2013). Beyond the tragic loss of his baby brother Mateo, Ezra described experiencing every category of adverse childhood experiences as defined by Felitti and colleagues (1998) except sexual abuse. As a reminder, the effects of such experiences are cumulative, and significant exposure to such adversity is associated with a host of negative outcomes including low

academic achievement, substance dependency, intravenous drug use, and other risky and/or criminal behaviors (Anda et al. 2006, Campbell et al. 2016, Dube et al. 2003, Liu et al. 2013).

One cannot understand Ezra's criminal history or his dependence on alcohol without attention to his trauma. Even before Mateo's murder, he had experienced chaos in his household, from his mother's intravenous drug use and his father's incarceration, to their frequent homelessness when Ezra and his siblings would live in a tent by the river when unable to find housing with family. According to McEwan and McEwan (2017), these are precisely the experiences that cause toxic stress on a biological level, stress that can inhibit Ezra's cognitive functions and social outcomes well into adulthood. At the very least, addressing basic needs like emotional regulation and improving his mental health more generally were first order concerns to any job he may seek or any other obligations he might hold as a father (Sadri & Clarke 2011, Hagerty 2014, Maslow 1943, 1987, McLeod 2018). The legacy of his violent history was not lost on Ezra as he looked for work while in treatment. Moving to town had opened up new job opportunities, but in most cases, his reputation preceded him:

> Just because of all the dumb shit I've done. I would fucking drink and hang out with hella people. But I beat up a lot of people, too. Like, when I get drunk I would always, like, fight somebody. And I was just notorious for doing dumb shit. And, like, everyone's known for doing certain things. Like, Antony's known for just being a crazy fucker that probably will just fuck you up with a weapon or something. Chuck, same thing. And I guess I'm known for just doing stupid shit like fighting around or - I don't know. Like, the main people that you've, like, interviewed, or are going to interview, are all, like, known for what, like, violence, or in the system, or - everyone's known for just doing certain things. And I guess I'm just...[pause] known for just being a violent person. [sighs]

Ezra's voice was hushed with resignation as he reflected on his past behaviors. He felt a connection with fellow respondents like Antony, 37, and Chuck, 45, who had also committed violent crimes and who would have to deal with the consequences for years to come. Now in

recovery, they comprised one another's sober network, but their shared backgrounds of trauma and adversity left their abstinence from crime tenuous at best.[74]

The most consistently experienced ACEs are substance use in the home (26%) and sexual abuse (22%), whereas seeing one's mother treated violently (13%) and having a family member in prison (4%) are relatively less frequent (Anda et al. 2006, Campbell et al. 2016, Dube et al. 2003, Felitti et al. 1998). Despite these national trends, these latter categories were alarmingly common in my sample as evidenced by the frequency and severity of the domestic violence the men described growing up. Brannon, 40, was a father of six described in Chapter 4, a man who had grown up in Klamath but was living in Crescent City at the time of his interview in an attempt to get sober. He had been an alcoholic since his teen years, and explained that his drinking was the demise of his first child-bearing relationship: "It was on me, my drinking, my whatever. My sons' mother couldn't have done more, she did everything right." Now, in his early 40s, his current relationship was at risk as his alcoholism dovetailed with methamphetamine binges to keep him away from the family home for days, even weeks at a time. When we conducted our interviews, he had just shy of three months of sobriety under his belt, and each day brought increasing clarity to his frame of mind going forward:

> I'm not here to think I'm better than anybody. If the things I talk about are deep, it's because I had to pack them around as a burden all my life. I never talked about my feelings, I never talked about the stuff I talk about now because I used it as a crutch, as an excuse to do the things I was doing in my addictions. I gotta talk about these things to get them off my chest and get them out, that way I don't have to pack them around no more. It helps me with my sobriety.

As he worked his sober program, Brannon was faced with the task of facing the grief he carried with him, grief borne from a childhood of physical abuse at the hands of his father:

> I kinda disowned him, disliked my dad. For all the things he's done to me. He embarrassed me all my life, he spit in my face. He beat on my mom in front of me, he beat me...[in treatment], my counselor sat in front of me and they were like talking, and he's all "Well if this was your dad, what would you say to him?" So I

[74] In the months after their interviews, each would be arrested for violating their probation.

> started like coming out with it, and it got worse and worse, worse and worse, I almost started to like over-react, you know?... had me in tears, you know?

His father was an alcoholic and while he "never laid a hand on my sister," he would beat Brannon to no end: "with a club, an ax handle, his hands, whatever he could get." He was often beaten when defending his mom from his dad's anger. At one point, Brannon describes being "beaten so bad I couldn't get up."

With this abuse at home, his grandparents' house became his refuge. As described in Chapter 4, he relished in his grandfather's dance teachings and together they facilitated world renewal dance demonstrations at local schools. Yet, domestic violence existed in this cherished household as well. One day, when he was only 7 years old, he saw his grandfather hold a gun to his grandmother's head, at which point she locked eyes with Brannon and said

> "Look at your grandson" and he like looks over at me and she's all "if you're gonna do this, man, don't do this shit in front of him, take me to the bedroom and do it. Don't fucking do this shit in front of your grandkid." And he put the gun down. But after that, all my respect for him kind of went out the door for him, you know? Like I lost a lot of love and respect for him.

Even when faced with a loaded gun, "she was tough as nails," Brannon smirked, but that moment was forever imprinted on his mind.

For Brannon, he had to get sober before he could find work; but as he got sober, he found that he also had to contend with the underlying experiences of trauma that had been guised by the alcohol for so long. At times, he could do nothing but wipe away the tears as he recounted his traumas but also the violence he had brought upon others in his misguided attempts to drink the pain away. As a teen, Brannon had been drinking with his siblings and cousins when a chance encounter with a stranger turned violent:

> I about killed this guy when I was in about 16. Me and my sister and my brother went and got drunk and it was right there by Crivelli's and there were these white people who kept trying to fight us. Well my sister started fighting them and I kinda made sure she wasn't going to get jumped and then uhh it got out of hand. The guy got a hold of uhh uhh an ax handle and started hitting my sister with it and I uhhh stomped him out to where it was bad, you know? He was bleeding out of his eyes, mouth, ears and nose. And I didn't understand it, I just kept going you know and then my sister and brother stopped me. But he broke my arm with the ax handle, you know, I was only 16 [voice trails off]

After the fight, the man was left in a vegetative state, and Brannon has carried this guilt with him for a lifetime:

> It made him a vegetable, you know? I fucked him up. Before [treatment], I'd always brag about it, like it was something to brag about. Now I think about it and it's like 'you fucked up someone's life for the rest of their life, you know?' … I don't think that's a fucking thing to brag about or to talk about…It's the worst kind of hurt to feel you know, I feel for that guy, you know? I never meant to do that...

Brannon's face gleamed with tears as he described the incident and its fallout. Even as he described grievous traumas in his own life that dramatically increased the chance of such behavior, he took sole accountability for his past violence and increasingly so as he worked his recovery program. Nonetheless Brannon's experience of childhood abuse and extreme domestic violence set the stage for his impulsive and reckless behaviors later on in life. Alcoholism is particularly associated with experiences of trauma and PTSD (Anda et al. 2006), and for Native peoples, the addiction has been described as a coping strategy in the context of multigenerational traumas (Ramirez & Hammack 2014, Yellow Horse Brave Heart 2003).

Experiences like Ezra and Brannon's are associated with a plethora of negative health and social outcomes, of which substance dependency and violence are two noteworthy examples and ones experienced across the board for my respondents. In this sample, 69% of the men reported seeing their mother treated violently, and 64% had a member of their household in prison at some point during their childhood.[75] This is in stark contrast to the 18% and 8% of the general population who reported such experiences respectively (Liu et al. 2013). In addition, 37% of the men described being physically abused or "beaten" in their childhood, compared to the 16% found by Liu and colleagues (2013). This is not to say that respondents did not also

[75] In many ways, the latter statistic is the reflection of the large extended kin networks that often shared the same household such that uncles and cousins for example were included in a list of close family members who had gone to prison during their childhood. In some cases, mothers had been incarcerated but most respondents described male family members like fathers, uncles, older brothers and cousins who had "gone away."

describe more frequents forms[76] of adversity, with substance use particularly high—71% of respondents witnessed substance use in their childhood home, and most said blood relations initiated them into substance use.

By describing my respondents' exposure to adverse childhood experiences, I demonstrate how they came of age in homes marked by chaos and trauma (McEwan & McEwan 2017), and how these are memories they carry with them to present day. Such adversity provides important context for their reported substance dependencies and their criminal histories more generally. The old adage "hurt people hurt people" comes to mind as the men describe their past violence, yet men like Ezra, 20, and Brannon, 40, take accountability for the choices they have made. Even still, Western (2015, 2018) found that a significant percentage of those who were incarcerated for violence had been victims of violence as children, and as this section shows, this was certainly the case for my respondents as well.

Substance Dependence As a Condition

For a majority of respondents, early experiences of adversity were frequently co-occurring with self-reported substance dependencies. Beyond the immediate effects of these substances, my respondents were also limited in their job search insofar as their addictions were associated with criminal convictions, attrition, and other negative labor market credentials. Before expounding on these labor market implications in the next chapter, this section provides context for the scope of drug addiction in the sample. With 90% of the sample reporting experiences of drug and/or alcohol addictions, these findings suggest that substance dependency

[76] Only 3 men, or 9% of the sample, shared stories of past sexual abuse, but national averages estimate that approximately 1 in 6 men are sexually abused as children (Dube et al. 2005, Briere & Eliot 2003). It is possible that while some of these experiences were not shared with me, my sample likely shares similar rates of sexual abuse as the larger population, although both statistics suffer from underreporting given the sensitive nature of such traumas.

may represent a link between the chaos experienced by my respondents in childhood and their unemployment and incarceration later in life.

As much as my respondents reported drug and alcohol addictions, they also identified as being in active recovery, with 56% of those interviewed indicating that they had not used their drug of choice in over a year.[77] In most cases, respondents had sought drug rehabilitation treatment for their substance dependencies, and through this process, made their own connections between their traumas and their life choices. Orion, 34, grew up in Hoopa and had been sober for six years at the time of his interview. With the exception of his eldest, none of his children knew their father as an active substance user. Orion had grown up the son of two parents who were themselves addicts. His father had cycled in and out of prison during his childhood, and his mother would spend her welfare check on alcohol and drugs rather than food for Orion and his brother. Even still, his mom was always present in his life, and "she always showed me love, always told me she loved me." Now a drug and alcohol counselor in his own right, Orion pointed to his father's absence as a source of pain for him for many years:

> I created a belief within myself that my dad was bad, and that he was a horrible person and that he was ummm I just had nothing but bad thoughts about him. Hence the baggage that weighed on me, and once I carried that, it made me I guess in denial? I was in denial about the actual impact it would be if all that wasn't true. Meaning if it wasn't true, I wouldn't long for a connection with a father, if it wasn't true, I wouldn't be in the position I was in. So on the surface, it was more "fuck him, I'm better off without him." But on the inside, every time I'd see somebody with their dad, it hurt. Or every time I seen a show where there was a caring dad that showed compassion and empathy for their children or interest, or a connection or anything of that that I so longed for, that it hurt me. Even more so reinforced the idea that he wasn't good for me, because the hurt. But in all actuality, after coming to terms with it and figuring that part out down the road, it is the part that is missing and it is part of the reason why I made choices the way I made them.

The pain of his father's absence left Orion angry and resentful of healthy father-son relationships, an anger that was provoked time and again as he observed the fathers of his peers

[77] These descriptive statistics are based on self-reporting. "Sober" was defined as abstaining from one's drug of choice, although some men identified as "clean and sober" which meant they abstained from all substances. For example, someone whose drug of choice was methamphetamine might identify as sober if they no longer used meth but still drink alcohol. By comparison, someone who is "clean and sober" would not use meth nor drink alcohol.

and even portrayals in movies and television. To soothe these feelings, Orion started using drugs and alcohol recreationally in adolescence. Unfortunately for Orion, he came of age in the early 2000s, right as Oxycontin use peaked on-reservation. He started with prescription pain pills, but after the local clinic stopped prescribing Oxycontin for fear of misuse, Orion began using heroin intravenously. By that point, he was biologically dependent on the substance, and used daily to avoid the symptoms of withdrawal. In this way, he maintained his opiate habit for years, even as he started a family with his wife Leslie, 32, and helped raise their children together. It was not until he was arrested for drug distribution while in possession of a firearm that Leslie gave him an ultimatum: get clean, or she was leaving him and taking the kids with her. This was a rock bottom for Orion because "she had held me down through so much, forgave so much. But that time, she was done. She drew that line in the sand and I knew I had to change or I would lose my family."

Orion moved to the coast for drug treatment. Even as he mentally rationalized how he had made the right choice in doing so, Orion recalled how hard kicking his addiction to opioids and opiates was on a physiological level:

> The physical withdrawal from heroin is no joke—your bowels don't work right, you're hot and cold, umm your mind is killing you, meaning that you don't, you can't fathom the right idea even if you wanted to. It's always "you need it, you need it, you need it" that keeps playing over in your head and there's nothing you won't do to get it. And then because you've been on it so long, you can't even muster any strength to do anything.…I remember the first time I went to rehab and I withdrew in rehab, I was in Eureka. The second day I was there, I had to go to court. They didn't drive me, they made me walk. I about died…. It was horrible, I barely could make it up a flight of stairs because of withdrawal.

Orion was a large, well-proportioned man who took pride in his stamina and physical prowess, but he still shuddered when he described how physically draining detoxing from heroin had been for him. Opiates and opioids are so addicting that one can become physically dependent after only a short time of habitual use, and from then on, the body craves them on a biological level that supersedes one's higher cognitive capacities like the desire to get clean (Kassel 2010,

Kolodny et al. 2015, Panksepp 2010). Many of those who are addicted to opiates and opioids never make it past withdrawal because of how intense it is (Kassel 2010, Sinha 2007, Childress et al. 1984). Lucas, 30, echoed Orion's description: "it was the hardest thing I ever did, withdrawing from heroin. I felt like I was dying, and I never want to feel that way again." Lucas had grown up in Hoopa with Orion and had also become addicted to Oxycontin as a teen, during the drug's surge in popularity and before its highly addictive effects came to light (Houston 2018). Each man had gotten clean since, but both pointed to withdrawal as the make-or-break point on their path to recovery.

Raymond, 29, was a father of five who has used substances like methamphetamine in adolescence and early adulthood, but did not identify as being in recovery. Instead, he understood addiction through the lens of family. His own father was addicted to heroin and had spent Raymond's life in and out of prison, and his mother was an alcoholic who had given Raymond up to her mother when he was a toddler. Each of his brothers had cycled through the criminal justice system for drug and violence-related charges, and Raymond had his own criminal history with multiple DUIs. These same siblings introduced him to meth at a young age:

> I mean, I've tried them…I've done drugs. I was 11 years-old when my brother and his friend showed it to me, when they were in high school. So I was only a kid, you know what I mean? Of course I'm going to follow those guys, my older brother. And I did that too long, I mean, until I met [my wife] really. I wasn't, like, out there on it… like, I did it because my friends did it. I'd stay awake for two nights, I'd feel weird,… But after a while, you know, it's almost like a habit.

For Raymond, trying drugs for the first time was a social activity shared with siblings and cousins, and this is was particularly the case for meth use. According to Weisheit & White (2009), most adolescents are initiated into using the drug within a social context. Across the respondent pool, an individual's strong ties to kin could just as likely be sources of support as they could be potentially damaging by exposing the men to drug use at such young ages. With

few entertainment or afterschool options on-reservation for teens and young adults, Mason, 35, from Klamath attributed such early use patterns as equal parts curiosity and access:

> It's just something that happens in Klamath. Your parents, uncles, aunts, always shooing you out, telling you to go play [outside] but all the adults are in this one room. Finally, one day you just got to see what's in that room, maybe you even take a little bit of what you find there, show it to your friends, you take it. Just so you finally know what they were doing in that room.

Irrespective of adolescent curiosities and the experimentation that goes with it, Mason and Raymond acknowledged the role of blood relations in their initiation into substance use. Perhaps this connection is not surprising given the frequency of parental substance dependence for the sample (71%). Yet, the degree to which family ties were also substance using ties cannot be understated.

Several men, like Antony, 37, and Clarence, 60, indicated that it was their mothers who had first initiated them into substance use. Antony exclaimed "I spent my whole life doing meth, you know? I did my first line, smoked my first bowls with my mom and my brother." Clarence, who was raised by his father and stepmother, was 12 years old when his birth mother sought him out to introduce him to his maternal siblings. After their first encounter, she became a regular fixture in his life, yet potentially at a detriment:

> But then time goes by and 12 was when I met her…she came to my step-mom and my dad's house…and took me for a ride with her friend and this other girl. And they had two half-gallons - a case of beer, and a bag of weed. And that's how I got started doing that kind of shit..she didn't…didn't give a shit about me…Because really, who's going to get their kids fucking loaded drunk and high all on the same goddamn trip, right? Who's going to do that? Who's going to do that? Can't handle it yourself, who's going to do that to somebody else? So she's kind of like a black widow, right?

Clarence described his mother as a black widow because she came into his life and directly introduced him to substances. Yet in the same breath, just as he critiqued her negative influence on his life, Clarence qualified her actions with the trauma that he knew she had experienced in her own life:

> But that's part of the history, too, you know? …maybe… that was the best she could do. Because I learned things as life went on, too, you know? She had to put up with the boarding [school] days. She had to put up with the days, don't speak your native tongue or you'll get it beat out and get your tongue cut out of your

> throat. And you were treated like you were nothing. You were raped, and you were - your body wasn't nothing to be sacred, and, you know, all that stuff. And she just kind of passed that on because she got treated like that. So, you know, shit happens and everybody has it…But, yeah, that's when I met her. Then I started drinking and getting in trouble, because that's the road that follows.

Clarence became a first-time father late in life, welcoming a son at age 49. Now at 60, he spent nearly every waking hour catering to the needs of "Little Clarence," from waking up before sunrise to prepare him a hot breakfast, to shuttling him from Klamath to Crescent City for school each day, to coaching him on the football field and on the wrestling mat. On one hand, he could appreciate his mother's misguided attempts to form a relationship with her adolescent son through substances, but on the other, he could not fathom harming his son in that way. For Clarence, "the road that follow[ed]" his mother's actions would include alcoholism, addiction to methamphetamine, and repeated prison terms for violent crimes. Even still, he had great compassion for the traumatic experiences that his mom had lived through, experiences that may well have shaped her ability to parent him. In the absence of alternatives, Clarence and his mother found themselves both coping with their respective exposure to toxic stressors *and* bonding with one another through substance use.

In this two-part section, I demonstrated the scope and breadth of adversity and substance dependence as described by my respondents. Their addictions and their exposure to trauma were frequently co-occurring. Substance use began in adolescence as experimentation and even at times as a family activity, but soon became habitual for men who had experienced significant toxic stress as a result of chaos in their family households (McEwan & McEwan 2017). In the absence of mental health services or other coping strategies, respondents sought out substances to distract themselves from the adversities of everyday life. Through treatment, they connected their childhood victimization to their adult choices, and in doing so, reclaimed their agency through abstinence. The process of sobriety is the subject of future analyses, but in this section I

have shown how frequently substance dependencies and traumatic histories are pre-existing conditions in the lives of tribal fathers. As the next section shows, this was particularly the case on the reservation.

ACE Within the Context of Reservation Disadvantage

Negative community outcomes and exposure to adversity are co-occurring on the reservation, particularly downriver.[78] Tragedy marred most intensely some of the places closely associated with the world renewal worldview, including Klamath, Hoopa, and more remote areas like Weitchpec. These areas are had significantly worse social outcomes, including higher poverty and unemployment rates, than the off-reservation cities. For example, as shown above in Table 7, Hoopa has a poverty rate that is double Eureka's, and three times that of the nation. The unemployment rate on both reservations is three times higher than the national average for 2017, and this is most likely an underestimate of those marginally attached to the labor force, including the underemployed, those who work seasonally, or individuals no longer seeking work (Jones & Riddell 2019, Slack & Jensen 2004, Flinn & Heckman 1983).

Going further, families reside on both reservations that are descended from the survivors of genocide, slavery (Madley 2009, Nelson 1978, Norton 1979), and the boarding school era (Lomawaima 2004). For better or worse, the reservation serves as the collection point for historical trauma (Brokenleg 2012, Duran et al 1998, Lara-Cooper & Lara 2019, Ramirez & Hammack 2014). In light of these characteristics and the literature on concentration effects (Wilson 1987, 1996, 2009, Sharkey 2013, Sampson 2012), I contend that reservation residents

[78] As a reminder, downriver respondents came from the remote communities of Weitchpec, Pecwan, Sregon and Blue Creek. These communities are located along the Klamath River and at the junction of the Yurok and Hoopa Valley reservations and comprise the most remote and sacred parts of the reservation (Buckley 2002, Lara-Cooper & Lara 2019).

live within a context of intergenerational inequality (McEwan & McEwan 2017, Sharkey 2008, Wilson 2009). I assert that this environment coupled with the reservations' high acquaintance density (Weisheit et al. 1996, Weisheit 1996) and bounded social networks (Portes & Manning 1986, Portes & Sensenbrenner 1993) exacerbate the individual and family-level adversities reported by my respondents.

In Table 7, I index community-level statistics with reported exposure to adverse childhood experiences (ACE), comparing on vs. off-reservation respondents.[79] Nearly half of those living on the reservation described at least four or more adverse childhood experiences over the course of their interviews. Exposure to four or more experiences during childhood and/or adolescence is associated with lower academic achievement (Liu et al. 2013) and an increased likelihood of illicit substance use and drug dependency (Anda et al. 2006, Campbell et al. 2016, Dube et al. 2003, Felitti et al. 1998).

Table 7. Adverse Childhood Experience Scores Indexed with Community Statistics

	Percent of Sample With ACE Score ≥ 4	**Individual Poverty Rate**		**Unemployment Rate**	
On-Reservation	**45%**	Klamath*:	**35%**	Klamath:	**15%**
		Hoopa:	**46%**	Hoopa:	**14%**
Off-Reservation	**28%**	Eureka:	**23%**	Eureka:	**9%**
		Crescent City:	**31%**	Crescent City:	**9%**
		United States:	**13%**	United States:	**5%**

*Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2013-2017 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates

[79] See Appendix E. for the Adverse Childhood Experience Index Survey as designed by Felitti et al. (1998). Using this survey, I assessed each respondent's ACE score based on the information they shared with me during their interviews. Ninety-four percent of the sample described at least one ACE during their childhood.

Substance use was prevalent on both reservations and had been for generations. In earlier decades, the substance of choice was alcohol (especially for people working in the logging industry). More recently, the substances were methamphetamine and pain pills—but they were always there. According to men like Neil, 51, and Danny, 36, both of whom grew up downriver in Pecwan and Weitchpec respectively, people routinely worked full-time while using substances. Neil came of age in the twilight of the logging industry and remembers dropping out to join the labor force with his peers:

> I mean, you're kind of torn. Like, there's this - yeah, you kind of live in these two different [worlds]... Well, when I was growing up it was, like, you worked hard and you played hard. And being young and resilient, I was able to - we took pride in being able to drink half the night and show up at work and bust our ass, and then just start drinking again. It was all - you know? And of course it led to other things. But, yeah, I mean, there was pride in that…

This ethos of "work hard, play hard" was something Danny also observed, going to great lengths to normalize what some might see as deviant behavior:

> Well, I grew up - my parents used. My mom and dad used drugs. Not going to lie. They - drugs is all over up there. But they - a functioning addict, you could say….Marijuana [too]... I mean, everybody smokes weed [LAUGHTER]…that goes without saying. So, yeah, so I kind of seen it. And I grew up around it…

In both cases, the men described how the fact that "there was nothing else to do" left households living off-grid to their own devices. While substance use exists off-reservation, Mason, 35, in Klamath echoed how drugs have a special allure given the lack of other options:

> So what people don't realize is that if you live in Crescent City and it's on a rainy day and you feel like doing something, you got options. Down here you don't. If it's raining, it's raining. You can go out and play in the rain, or you can sit in the house and hopefully it's not sitting there watching a whole bunch a people get drunk or do drugs or those kinds of things. Cuz once you're in the house, you're in the house. And it's just a matter of time before it grabs you and takes you down that long dark road.

In Mason's mind, it was his responsibility as a community leader to offer reservation youth viable alternatives to drug and alcohol use, and he structured his role on the tribal council around this goal. Mason knew that he could not prevent all substance use, but he did feel that he could intervene in the community-level factors that contributed to it by supporting youth activities, like sports and cultural workshops.

In addition to adversity and substance dependency, suicide also clustered on-reservation, and it was particularly devastating in communities with such small populations. In Weitchpec in 2016, the Yurok Tribe declared a state of emergency on that part of the reservation after six people took their lives in a matter of months (Mozingo 2017). This rash of suicides comprised 4% of the small town's 150-person population[80] and most of the victims were blood relatives. In all of these instances, first responders were hours away, and family members—parents, siblings, partners— were left holding what remained of their loved ones.

At only 15, Alexander, 29, watched his brother kill himself. Hailing from Weitchpec, his family prided themselves on their physical abilities, with Alexander's family members even competed in the Olympics for their boxing prowess. Despite their accomplishments, the family's demons, such as Alexander's father's alcoholism, were well known. Drinking binges often ended with him beating his wife and his three sons. By age 12, Alexander had moved out of his father's house to live with his older brother Frank. Even at such a young age, he was already experimenting with meth and alcohol as a way to escape the abuse of his home life. But as he looked up to his brother more than his father, living with him and his budding family was going to be a new start for them all. "Frank, he always made sure I got to school everyday. He'd kick my ass if I didn't," Alexander explained, amused because for the first time in his life the chastising was not necessary.

When not at school or work, Frank, Alexander, and their other brother Reese spent much of their time together. Their last day at the river bar started off like many others. Unsurprisingly, given the hot summer sun and the hours of drinking, the brothers got into a heated argument. But nothing memorable stands out to Alexander except what happened next:

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[80] Six people lost to suicide may seem like a small number, but in respect to such a small population, 4% is a significant percentage. By comparison, 4% of the population in cities like Chicago or San Francisco would be tens of thousands of people. In all three instances, a loss of life on this scale is nothing short of epidemic.

> My brother Reese was leaving, Frank was really upset and I was yelling at Reese to come back, to quit pretty much. We were all drunk, belligerent and I look over and Frank put a gun, a 16-gauge in his mouth and I watched him pull the trigger and shoot himself. I ran over and grabbed him, and when I grabbed him, his head, my fingers, they kind of went into the back of his head. And his neck was broke from the impact. He had blood coming out of his eyes, just a little bit, like blood tears. He had blood around his mouth, his teeth were chipped, the bushes were sprayed with his blood. It was a hell of an experience. Something I wouldn't ever put on…[voice breaks, finding words to describe it, sighing] nobody should ever go through that, ever.

Alexander was left sitting on the river bar where he grew up, in the same spot where his brothers had spent the day together, where they would have been walking home from if it were not for Frank picking up the gun.

Alexander's life changed. He dropped out of high school and dove deeper into drugs than ever before, experimenting with meth and heroin before facing a prison term after a robbery attempt gone wrong. In light of his addictions and other life circumstances, the court offered him the option to attend drug treatment instead of going to prison. Two years into his recovery at the time of his interview, he still showed signs of the trauma he experienced:

> I've learned in my life how to be cold. How to be hard-shelled. I haven't cried in I don't even know how long. I don't shed tears for anything, couldn't cry at my dad's funeral. I cried when my brother died, I cried when I lost my kids but after that, [but] the drugs completely took any and all of that away. Then I just became more and more numb, numb, numb. To this day, I'm still looking for those feelings.

During treatment, Alexander had been diagnosed with PTSD. At the time of his interview, he was still finding ways to express his emotions constructively after years of coping with them through substance use.

Incidents like Alexander's brother's suicide are tragically common across Indian Country. According to the Centers for Disease Control & Prevention, suicide is one of the leading causes of American Indian men ages 17-24, and their risk of suicide continues to outpace nearly every other group over the life course (Leavitt et al. 2018, Lester 1999, Strickland et al. 2006). AI/AN men experience multiple health disparities, including high death rates from both chronic and accidental causes (Adakai et al. 2018, Rouse 2015, Indian Health Service 2010). They are two times more likely than the non-American Indian population to die from homicide

(Rouse 2015). Such losses are set within communities where one out of three people live in poverty, a rate three times the national average (Rouse 2015, Henson 2008).[81] Beyond these community characteristics, the social networks on-reservation were dense and overlapping, with most residents related to one another through blood or marriage. In areas with such high acquaintance density like rural reservations, where "everyone knows everyone," suicide reverberates haphazardly through social networks. In the small, largely kin-based networks found downriver, these effects can be especially severe. Less than ten years after Frank's suicide, his widow would take her own life after years of addiction—she had been dating a new partner, and after a brief domestic dispute, the man took his life outside of their family's trailer. She picked up the gun and placed it to her head, taking her own life before her brother-in-law could open the door to see what happened (Mozingo 2017).[82] She left behind the three children she shared with Frank, and Alexander's family was once again left facing the grief and trauma resulting from the suicide of family member.

While adverse experiences clustered on-reservation, living off the reservation was by no-means an assurance against adversity. Men who grew up off-reservation also described grievous abuses. To say that Antony, a 37-year–old father of two, was angry would be like saying a fire is hot. He held his jaw firmly and gritted his way through most responses. Early on, I wondered if I had done something to anger him, but as he shared his story I saw that he was angry about the circumstances he described. Whispers of sexual abuse were ever present on and off-reservation,

[81] While these rates are already very high, it is likely that they do not capture the significant regional variation that characterizes the American Indian population in the United States.

[82] This description of Frank's widow's suicide is drawn from the *Los Angeles Times* in-depth account of the Yurok Tribe's declaration of a state of emergency for suicide in 2016. This double-suicide and the larger epidemic were still topics of discussion when I conducted my fieldwork, and this sequence of events was affirmed in my private correspondence with key informants.

but few respondents spoke candidly about it. For Antony, childhood sexual assault framed his anger and violence:

> My parents split up when I was young, and when I was 12, I met my dad. My mom actually sold me to him for 500 bucks. And I don't know--just all I ever known how to do was get in trouble, get locked up, you know? Being locked up a lot, I got sent to my first foster home by my mother [at age 9]. She called the cops and had me sent to a foster home. And, you know, I was raped in that foster home. And then, you know, from there, just the trouble started in my life. Like, I was mad and resentful…but I learned early getting locked up that, you know, people only respect violence, you know? They only respect violence. If you sucker-punch a dude, sock him in the mouth, and hurt him, he might beat you up but he won't do that every day, you know?...I'm kind of a violent person, but I don't mean to be. It's just that when all the shit starts flying crazy it seems like violence is the only thing people understand, you know?

When he said "from there, the trouble started in my life," Antony, concretely linked his childhood adversities to his subsequent violence and later substance dependence. Sexual abuse in particular is very damaging to a child yet it is the most frequently reported ACE (Black et al. 2011, Blanchard-Dallaire & Hébert 2014, Felitti et al. 1998). Between foster care and his incarceration, Antony's response to victimization was to become so violent that he could fend off anyone else who might try to victimize him. After this tactic nearly landed him in prison after an attempted murder charge, Antony welcomed the chance to attend drug court instead of incarceration. Antony enrolled in courses to become a drug and alcohol counselor, and as he took classes in psychology and addiction studies, he formulated his own theory on the overlap between adversity and survival in Indigenous families:

> So we've actively been drinking and using drugs - well, actively been drinking for centuries upon centuries upon centuries, right? So we're passing these genes down to our children. And these substances, our genes are perceived as survival methods. So I don't know--that's just a theory of mine. I had this theory that because we pass down genes from what it takes to survive, the fact that we are all drinking all the time, most of us, and using, you know, whatever, that our genes are, like, passing it on like it's a survival in our genome.

As Antony learned more about the epigenetics of trauma in his courses, he surmised that the same genetic pathways that allowed previous generations to survive atrocities were potentially the same mechanisms by which their resulting substance dependencies could also persist. While science is still catching up to these connections, Antony is not alone when he links together

adversity and survival through genetics—researchers are increasingly uncovering how the dynamic process of resilience manifests at a biological level (Elliott et al. 2010, Zannas & West 2014) as "perfectly normal people respond to an abnormal history" (Brokenleg 2012: 10).

Like Antony, Chuck, 45, grew up off-reservation and claimed Eureka as his hometown. He had lived in Humboldt County his whole life with the exception of his prison time, and moved to Crescent City one day after getting out of prison the most recent time in order to start over. While in prison, Chuck had promised a new love interest that he would come back to Crescent City after his parole violation. Having met her in recovery just before he went away, Chuck wanted to make good on that promise. Their romance was ultimately short-lived, but it produced a child. At 42, Chuck became a father for the first time and the two remained close co-parents.

Chuck struggled to draw on his own childhood for parenting lessons. He had no memories before age 9. Both of his parents were substance users. His father maintained white-collar work as a pharmacy technician. While the job helped him provide for Chuck and his sister, it also provided his father regular access to opiates, which he mixed with alcohol to self-medicate for a chronic back condition. Chuck's father would ultimately be arrested in a sting operation and would serve several years in prison for stealing pain pills. When it came to his mother, Chuck remembered her fondly but did not see her often as child. She was a heroin addict and a prostitute. He explained how her situation gave him empathy for other sex workers and heroin addicts:

> While my dad was in prison my mom - that's when, you know, she was working down on the streets downtown. You know, and I'd go see her - when I was in town I'd go down there and see her.… I had a paper route, and when it came in that my mom had been arrested for prostitution, it affected me so badly that I just ditched the whole load when she [voice trails off]... I didn't care what my mom did. I still loved her and stuff. So what if people knew this this or knew that, you know? Kids would tease me, whatever--I'd just beat them up…you know, I was my mom's baby boy, and I loved her, and that never changed or stopped. I never felt no shame or embarrassment…she did what she did. That's probably why now I

> understand the plight of a prostitute that's hooked on heroin or everything else. You know, I've hung out with a lot of them and I understand their life.

Unlike his white middle class peers, Chuck's mother was a prostitute and his father had been imprisoned for drug theft. He was frequently singled out and bullied for their actions, with Chuck was more inclined to respond to such taunts with fists instead of retorts. Like Antony, Chuck and his sister would wind up in foster care. Chuck was in juvenile detention by his early teens and sent to the CYA by age 16. He was released on the night of his 18th birthday, only to have the subsequent celebratory drinking binge land him back in the facility two days later.

Chuck and Antony demonstrate how men living off-reservation also experienced extreme adversity, but such traumas were in the context of individual or family-level circumstance, not echoed at a community-level like the adversities of their reservation peers. Simply as a matter of population density, living in town meant that respondents had access to larger social networks that were less afflicted by adversities like suicide and substance dependence. In fact, their family's chaos stood in such stark contrast to other households that those off-reservation were more likely to be placed in foster care. While such placements exposed them to a host of other concerns (Clausen & Litrownik 1998, Newton et al. 2000), it did succeed in removing them from the toxic stress of their home lives.

Conversely, for those on the reservation, respondents lived in homes that were marked by frequent violence and trauma. The stagnant, even tragic conditions that shaped their communities exacerbated these individual adversities as the tragedy of any one household reverberated through many others by virtue of their thick and overlapping social ties. The connections of my respondents to one another demonstrate this acquaintance density—Mason, 35, was the nephew of Samson, 60, and Charles, 51, which meant that when Mason's uncle died saving him from drowning in the river, Samson and Charles also lost their younger brother. Ezra, 20, had known

Mason, Samson and Charles from growing up in Klamath, and sadly it was their family members implicated in his brother's murder. Downriver, the death of Roman's brother Titus would be a turning point not only for Roman but also for his son Tyler, 18, who remembered it as the moment his father and grandmother "went and fell off the wagon." When Tyler passed away tragically hardly one month after his interview, Roman was understandably shattered and Johnny, 36, was left stunned describing the death of his "baby cousin" at his own interview two weeks later. These examples abound in the sample, where the men's proximity to one another extrapolated the effects of their individual traumas to the level of the network.

The frequency of such loss on-reservation was not lost on my respondents. When I asked whether they thought living on the reservation was any more dangerous than in town, few proffered a short answer. Instead, they listed the traumatic occurrences that they and their loved ones had experienced. Johnny, 36, described seeing his uncle shot in the back downriver at close range when he was only 10:

> R: Well yeah, you grow up here you see a lot you know like my age, I was like 10 or something like that and I seen a person get shot, like real close. You know, it was pretty intense.
> I: Like a neighbor?
> R: Nah, like an uncle [nervous laugh]. That was the first time I ever knew what paralyzed meant you know what I mean? I just remember we were looking down and seen a little bit of blood coming out the back.

Caleb, 34, had also witnessed a shooting firsthand when his uncle was shot in the head following a drive-by shooting on his grandmother's trailer. Like Johnny, he laughed nervously as he recounted the ordeal:

> He got shot in the head, right on top. I remember there was blood shooting everywhere and he came stumbling in, it was on the door frame, the hallway, everything. We were telling him he had to go to the hospital and he ran away and hid from us cuz he was on probation. We had to go out and find him, follow the blood trail.

Miraculously both uncles survived, yet such examples of gun violence were frequently offered as common albeit unfortunate hazards of life on the reservation. Neil, 51, felt that such violence was set within a context of historical lawlessness in areas like Hoopa, Klamath and downriver:

> It's just crazy, crazy, crazy times growing up down there, especially the fact that…when I was a kid how it was down in Hoopa was there really wasn't a law presence. So there wasn't a police presence. The police - the law never showed up downriver where I grew up. It was like it just - if you saw a cop car it'd be, like, "What the hell's going on?" like, somebody - usually somebody - there was a murder, somebody died something that serious. Otherwise never ever, ever saw... And the stories were in Hoopa - I mean, you know, people did whatever they want - everyone's, you know, partying and drinking on the... You know, and the cops would just [MAKES NOISE] - just go through town and not look, not stop, not anything. And so it was a crazy time. And when I was 17, 18, 19, you know, pretty much everyone still carried guns around. And when we and her used to go to Hoopa to party all weekend with our friends and just hang out at the bar - which there isn't even a bar there anymore because too many people got shot…

Over time, police presence has increased in Hoopa and Klamath, but most agreed that the long response times and potential for violence often necessitated a more hands-on solution, including the need to defend one's self physically. This ethos extended to family matters, with men like Ezra, 20, and Antony, 37, opting to move away from the reservation rather than maintain the hyper-vigilance that living in Klamath required. When I asked Antony if this aversion to the reservation extended to attending the summer's ceremonial dances, he was adamant in his response:

> I want to, but I've done a lot of crazy things. I've done - physically harmed a lot of people and their family members through the lifestyle I chose to live. So I kind of shy away from going to dances and things. Because if somebody tries to hurt me I'm not just going to give up my life like it's nothing. Because, you know, people can think what they want, but, you know, sometimes it's da- an Indian community is dangerous sometimes. Not at all times, not with everybody, but with some people, you know? So I don't go because, you know, I am sorry for the things that I've done. I do want to make amends. But what do you do? You know, with us Indians, if you hurt my family I'm not letting shit go. I'm going to get you. And so I'm trying to change my life, and I live in a lot of fear for my wife and my daughter because - you know?…it's too late to take back all the things I had done in the learning process, you know what I mean? So today I'm just - I don't go to Klamath.

Antony was two years sober, but had lived most of his adult life previous to that period cycling between Crescent City and Klamath as a meth dealer. Although he had turned over a new leaf, he still feared retribution against his wife, Cleo, and three-year old daughter Ella for his past violence. For their safety, they avoided the reservation and its bounded, kin-heavy social networks. Instead, Antony and Cleo were raising Ella to participate in her tribe's dance ceremonies, based in Oregon. Antony and men like him had far too many negative on-reservation experiences to draw on to live there, irrespective of the deep meaning they attributed

to the space as part of their world renewal worldview. In this way, inequality and violence sat as contemporary backdrops to the ancient spirituality that lived on-reservation.

Conclusion

American Indian men like Roman and others suffer traumatic experiences across the life course and have done so for generations, yet we have not recognized this in theory nor policy (Rouse 2015, Duran et al 1998). For many of my respondents, this was particularly true, with their chronic substance use associated with childhoods characterized by traumatic experiences, chaos, and "toxic stress" (McEwan & McEwan 2017). Reflecting on the Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACE) Index as a tool for theorizing adversity, I described the significant breadth and scope of adversity reported by respondents. In doing so, I illustrate how tribal fathers interpret their trauma as a condition shaping their relationship with substances like drugs and alcohol. Contrary to adolescent use, adult habitual use was most often associated with substantial childhood trauma, and confronting such pain was a necessary first step to gaining and maintaining employment. Even for those respondents who did not describe experiences of childhood adversity, the trauma of their peers and the historical trauma of their families and the larger tribal community (Brokenleg 2012, Duran et al 1998, Lara-Cooper & Lara 2019, Ramirez & Hammack 2014) served as the context for their own substance dependencies and unemployment more generally.

This adversity stands in stark contrast with the rich frames and sources of meaning that respondents had access to by virtue of their world renewal worldview, particularly those on-reservation. As shown in the previous chapter, the men framed their identities through the lens of responsibility to the collective and personal sacrifice. These orientations should foster a strong

labor force attachment as the men's social standing hinged on the ability to provide. Yet, my findings suggest that the extreme frequency of trauma reported by respondents limited their capacity for formal employment via the pathway of substance dependency (Hedstrom &Ylikoski 2010). Often times, they had to reckon with their childhood traumas and adult violence through drug treatment, and in doing so, reclaim their agency through abstinence. As the next chapter will show, finding work continues to be a orienting process for tribal fathers with criminal records, but in order to do so, they must not only get sober but also overcome the negative labor market credentials, such as the lack of a high school diploma or a driver's license, associated with their substance use. Respondents highly valued their ability to provide, but their capacity to do so was in significant tension with their experiences of addiction and adversity.

On-reservation, the tension between my respondents' pro-work worldview and their exposure to adversity was especially relevant. Individual adversities were set within environments of disadvantage as both reservations were characterized by intergenerational poverty and high unemployment and crime. Traumatic experiences like gun-related domestic violence and suicide reverberated loudly in the small, kin-based networks found on-reservation. In areas characterized by high acquaintance density, the fallout from tragedy was never ending—some families, like Roman's, were in a perpetual state of grief as they lost one family member after another. In the absence of mental health services, coping from these traumas manifested most frequently through using substances like alcohol, opioids/opiates and methamphetamine.

Off-reservation, men also experienced adversity, yet they were more likely to be removed from chaotic households and placed in foster care. Their traumatic experiences were usually restricted to the family unit, like paternal substance use or physical abuse. Additionally, by living in town, respondents had access to larger, less-dense social networks that helped diffuse the

effects of adversity at the community-level. Yet this diffusion also meant they were singled out for what some might call deviant behaviors in their family households. Even still, men like Antony, 37, and Ezra, 20, relished the anonymity that came with living off-reservation, sometimes a matter of personal safety as much as personal preference.

I posit that for those experiencing adversity on-reservation, they do so within a context of a "reservation effect," whereby the negative implications of individual adversity are amplified by the structural inequalities shaping the day-to-day lives of residents. This contribution is in line with existing theories of social isolation such that those who are poor are typically better off across a variety of social indicators if they live in mixed income or middle-class neighborhoods compared to their peers who live in high-poverty neighborhoods (Wilson 1987, Sampson & Wilson 1995, Sampson 2012, Sharkey 2013). This is because the concentration of poverty limits the resources of residents and of their social network partners, and also reduces their proximity to the modeling of positive behaviors. I described how respondents lived in childhood homes where domestic violence and substance use were frequent, and that these adversities were shared across households on-reservation. This lack of positive modeling was exacerbated by the increasing dependence on the illicit economy as marijuana farming and drug dealing replaced formal employment on-reservation (Hostler 2012a, 2012b, Reed Forthcoming). In these ways, the reservation parallels those inner-city neighborhoods as a place where concentrated disadvantage has been shown to cluster (Anderson 2000, Sampson 2012, Sharkey 2013, Wilson 1987, 2009). This spatialization of inequality is inherently in tension with the deep spirituality that lives within the world renewal landscape (Buckley 2002, Risling Baldy 2019). This tension was evident in how rarely the men described the reservation as a negative place unless I pressed them, instead focusing on its centrality to their worldview.

With this chapter, I advocate for better incorporating theories of adverse childhood experiences (ACEs) into sociological conceptions of place and disadvantage for several reasons. First, early exposure to traumatic experiences has been shown to limit employment by constraining cognitive development and thereby limiting academic achievement (Liu et al. 2013, Anda et al. 2006, Campbell et al. 2016, Dube et al. 2003, Felitti et al. 1998). By incorporating ACEs into the study of inequality, we can better interpret how micro-level processes like substance use and mental health can sustain disadvantage beyond the effects of more macro and meso-level forces like economic decline and unemployment. Going further, ACEs represent a tool to study the overlap between social and epidemiological circumstance. Interdisciplinary efforts to empirically assess differences in outcomes by race, gender, and class increasingly advocate for those methods that push back on the unnecessary dichotomy between health and social outcomes, and the ACE represents one such measure (Anda et al. 2006, Bremner et al. 2003, Caspi et al. 2003, Dimaggio 1997).

What if adverse childhood experiences have always been at play within studies of inequality, but we did not have the tools to interpret it? For example, in Liebow's (1967) landmark study of streetcorner men, he talks about how the men's alcoholism and other vices attenuated their labor force attachment. As an extension of this process, they also struggled to fulfill their obligations as fathers, and more often than not, had troublesome and/or nonexistent relationships with their own fathers. Tally, Liebow's titular informant, described his father as generally absent, but at his worst, abusive, with Tally struggling to remember his father through anything other than the lens of a "terrible beating" (1967: 64). Tally and streetcorner men like him had fathers who were "perhaps best remembered with a switch or belt in [their] hand." Liebow (1967) connects this lack of paternal affiliation to the men's peripheral status in the labor

market, a cumulative process as generation after generation were similarly marginalized by macroeconomic shifts. In the absence of alternative expressions of masculinity, Liebow describes men who

> "strike out at [partners] or the children with his fists, perhaps to lay hollow claim to being man of the house in the one way left open to him, or perhaps simply to inflict pain on this woman who bears witness to his failure as a husband and father and therefore as a man." (Liebow: 1967: 138)

In 1967, adverse childhood experiences were not yet conceptualized nor were the implications of exposing children to negative behaviors like physical abuse, substance use, and domestic violence at pivotal times in their development. The consequences of household chaos and toxic stress therein provide an additional lens through which to interpret Liebow's (1967) description of how his respondents' repeat these same negative behaviors in their own lives, much to their economic and social detriment. I do not seek to discount Liebow's interpretations. Rather, by applying the concept of ACEs to Liebow's study and those like it, one could reinterpret joblessness as a reflection of both labor market inequalities *and* traumatic experiences. Given the likely prevalence of ACEs in neighborhoods marked by concentrated disadvantage, I argue that such an application is long overdue.

Using the case of rural tribal reservations, I suggest that substance dependency may be an understudied pathway to interpret how seemingly unrelated incidents in childhood can have large, persistent and cumulative effects on adult outcomes many years later. In many ways, those who study substances and their addictive capacities could be said to be doing so within academic "silos" similar to those of the social sciences because there is little communication between scholars of different addictive substances (Shaw & Frost 2015, Kassel 2010). Studying these processes on-reservation could overcome these unnecessary divisions by providing a unique context in which social inequalities, mental health conditions, and alcohol, methamphetamine, opiate and opioid dependencies coalesce, for better or worse. Focusing on a community where

these constraints are co-occurring could help scholars and policymakers alike better understand how individuals navigate these conditions on a day-to-day basis (Henkel 2011). The reservations are now several generations into a "drug surge," and disentangling the conditions under which this has occurred will help contextualize the high use methamphetamine and heroin patterns observed in Native American communities (Weisheit & White 2009). This information could be vital to addressing the rising patterns of opioid use in rural communities across the nation (Compton et al. 2018, Evans et al. 2018, Mars et al. 2014) by identifying how and when policy interventions would be most efficacious.

In this chapter, I described adverse childhood experiences, substance use and unemployment as frequently co-occurring for tribal fathers with criminal records, especially for those living on the reservation. I drew upon the life histories of my respondents to suggest how their exposure to trauma at a young age manifests as substance use and violence later on in their lives. Based on my analysis, I assert that while substance dependency and violence are not always the result of trauma, for those with experiences of adversity, recognizing the place of such adverse childhood experiences, loss, and grief in their personal narrative is a necessary precondition to criminal desistance. In the next chapter, I explain how respondents navigate this process with regards to formal employment, including surmounting negative labor market credentials like the stigma of their criminal histories, their high incidence of dropping out, and the frequency of driver's license loss. These supply-side constraints are in significant tension with the pro-work orientations fostered by the world renewal introduced in Chapter 4. In Chapter 6, I show how these positive and negative labor market characteristics come to bear on their job search processes on and off-reservation.

Chapter 6:
Securing Work as a Process of Survivance

Introduction

Unemployment and labor force attachment in areas marked by industry decline, and the ensuing poverty, joblessness and crime have garnered much scholarly attention (Wilson 1987, 1996, Anderson 2000, Newman 2000, Liebow 1967, Waquant & Wilson 1989). I draw on these theories to interpret the employment outcomes of tribal fathers with criminal records. While they share several labor market constraints as those looking for work under slack conditions in urban areas (Wilson 1987, 1996, Smith 2007, Newman 2000, Anderson 2000), tribal fathers differ in their access to the world renewal worldview as well as the physical resources of the reservation, like land, salmon and lumber. Respondents were also part of thick social networks, particularly on-reservation. These respective sample characteristics highlight a novel question: do the job search outcomes of tribal fathers with criminal records mirror the experience of those in similarly bounded groups, like immigrant enclaves (Portes & Sensenbrenner 1993, Aldrich & Zimmer 1986, Portes & Manning 1986), or do job seekers adopt strategies more frequently observed in areas with comparable levels of disadvantage (Wilson 1996, Smith 2007, Duck 2015)?

By focusing on this theoretical puzzle, I shed light on the process of finding work for tribal fathers with criminal records, specifically how the tension between their pro-work orientations and the accompanying exposure to adversity that goes with living on tribal lands comes to bear on the men's job search outcomes. In particular, the adversity experienced by respondents translated to negative labor market credentials in the form of dropping out, accruing a criminal record and driver's license loss. Despite these constraints, tribal fathers with criminal records were able to find work by drawing on their world renewal worldview, their individual

initiative and their thick social networks. This was particularly the case off-reservation where personal referrals were especially necessary for securing formal employment, although underemployment was still a frequent occurrence. Entrepreneurial enterprises like independent contracting and generative work in recovery now stand alongside forestry and other natural resource employment on-reservation. Both on and off-reservation, navigating the slack local labor markets to secure work represented a process of survivance on the part of tribal fathers with criminal records (Vizenor 2008).

As observed by Smith (2007), my respondents were explicit in their preference for individualism in their job search, yet they utilized their position as job-holders to help their younger family members and friends find work, and they benefited from similar generosities from those their senior. Those working in forestry, wildfire firefighting and fisheries deployed their individual knowhow coupled with personal referrals to leverage their highly necessary skillsets around the onerous entry requirements in these at-times dangerous industries. This combination of receptive employers and personal initiative mirrored the experience of minority job seekers as observed elsewhere (Fernandez & Fernandez-Mateo 2006), and problematizes the portrayal of job referrals as reducible to atomized, point-in-time exchanges of information between job-seekers and job-holders (Granovetter 1973, Burt 1992). I show how the exchange of job availability information takes place within a context of pre-existing social structures and cultural scripts that dictate which patterns of referrals are most likely over others. With this contribution, I extend previous studies of minority job seekers in novel ways.

Unemployment & Job-Seeking As Thus Far Theorized

Reservations present an opportunity to study inequality through the lens of resilience. According to Vizenor (2008), Indigenous communities and the individuals therein have persisted

despite constant attacks on their culture and even their bodies, enacting what he calls a process of "survivance." This concept "combines the terms resistance and survival to …assert that, for Native people, survival has required resistance" (Vizenor 2008: 1). By emphasizing their continued existence despite state-sponsored actions otherwise, survivance focuses one's line of inquiry on the resilience[83] of Indigenous individuals and communities rather than unduly elevating the adversities they face on a daily basis (Ross 1996, Vizenor 2008). In this chapter, I assert that those tribal fathers with criminal records who are able to overcome significant obstacles to secure formal employment are enacting a process of survivance, and that in order to do so, they draw upon their world renewal worldview, and the strong labor force orientations and social ties therein.

On the reservation, unemployment, poverty and crime go together. In other low-income neighborhoods, such cumulative disadvantage has been shown to be durable and persistent across generations, and this is also the case on reservation (Sampson & Morenoff 2006, Sampson & Laub 1997, Sharkey 2013, Wilson 1996). Urban job seekers who live in these areas have garnered much scholarly attention as they look for work while navigating numerous inequalities, with discrimination, criminal stigma, and slack labor markets conspiring to greatly limit the number of jobs available to them (Holzer et al. 2006, Pager 2003, 2007, Pager et al. 2009, Wilson 1996, Liebow 1967). These valuable inquiries into the process of finding work have thus far been limited to the urban core, and it is unclear the degree to which reservation job seekers are comparably disadvantaged by the at-times bleak conditions on-reservation (Henson 2008, Akee & Taylor 2014). In this chapter, I combine the literature on depleted urban job markets

[83] Resilience refers to a communal process rather than an individual trait (Ramirez & Hammack 2014, Masten 2007, Luthar & Zelazo 2003). Resilienc*y* describes the latter, whereas resilience is more "interactive and contextual" (Ramirez & Hammack 2014: 114) and refers to the ability of "dynamic systems to withstand or recover from significant disturbances" (Masten 2007: 921).

with that on immigrant enclaves to engage the following puzzle: while my respondents shared the constraints of similarly disadvantaged urban job seekers (Wilson 1996, Newman 2000, Holzer 1996) and adopted job seeking strategies utilized by native-born blacks (Smith 2005, 2007, Holzer et al. 2006), their job search differed in that they drew on resources that closely paralleled those found in immigrant enclaves (Aldrich & Zimmer 1986, Portes & Sensenbrenner 1993, Portes & Manning 1986).

On one hand, reservation job seekers experience the process of securing work similarly as those in communities marked by high social isolation and extreme poverty. In Chicago's South Side, Wilson (1987, 1996, 1999) showed how the collapse of the manufacturing industry left entire neighborhoods with few employment options and attenuated labor force attachment over time as residents experienced long-term unemployment. Out-migration of working families from the inner city and residential segregation further exacerbated the social isolation of these neighborhoods such that work as an institution no longer structured day-to-day life in these areas, to the detriment of social control and institutional capacity (Massey & Denton 1993, Sampson & Morenoff 2006, Wilson 1987, 1996, Anderson 2000). In addition, joblessness was associated with crime and drug use, such that unemployed men were much more likely to have criminal records than those who were employed (Wilson 1996, Western et al. 2001, Liebow 1967, Harding et al. 2001).

Beyond the limits imposed by slack inner-city labor markets and decreasing labor force attachment, Pager (2003, 2007) found that those looking for work after accruing a criminal record faced discrimination in the hiring process. Such discrimination is set within the context of the mass incarceration of black and brown bodies since the 1990s. More people are incarcerated in the United States than in any other developed nation, and this social problem acutely affects

communities of color (Pettit & Western 2004, Western 2007). Western (2007) found that for those black men who had not graduated high school, nearly 60% of them would be in prison at some point by their mid-30s. This was so frequently the case that going to prison was becoming a more common experience than going to college for significant portions of the population (Western 2007). This connection between high school attrition and incarceration in prison is called the "school-to-prison pipeline" (Christle et al. 2005, Kim et al. 2010, Wald & Losen 2003). Academics and activists alike decry this pathway, but few acknowledge the stops it makes in Indian Country. American Indian men and women are overrepresented in 17 state correctional systems (Sakala 2014), with Beran (2005) asserting that they comprise the most "overrepresented" group incarcerated today. In spite of the prevalence of mass incarceration for tribal populations, the rural reservations they call home are virtually nonexistent in considerations of the contemporary criminal justice landscape and its implications for employment outcomes.

The consequences of mass incarceration will continue to unfold for potentially generations to come, yet they also bear heavily on the real-time job prospects of the formerly incarcerated. Those who drop out of high school already have a higher likelihood of unemployment (Holzer et al. 2006, Holzer 1996, 1991), but the added burden of a criminal record has been shown to further constrain the job opportunities of those who living and looking for work in low-income communities (Pager 2003, 2007, Pager et al. 2009, Pager & Western 2005). For those living in post-decline job markets, they were no longer simply seeking work, but seeking work while also saddled with the highly stigmatized status of an "ex-offender" (Pager 2003, 2007, Pager et al. 2009, Pager & Western 2005, Western 2007, Western et al. 2015, Western 2018, Wildeman & Muller 2012). The inability to secure formal employment has been

shown to contribute to re-offending (Baer et al. 2006, Brazzell & La Vigne 2009, Harding et al. 2011, Laub & Sampson 1993, Hirschi 1969, Sampson & Laub 2005, Travis 2000, Visher et al. 2004, 2010), leaving many of those previously incarcerated caught in a negative feedback loop between criminal stigma and recidivism (Baer et al. 2006, Travis 2000, Travis & Visher 2003, Harding et al. 2011).

In an era of mass incarceration, minority job seekers in particular have been stigmatized by employers irrespective of offender status. Smith (2007) speaks to the plight of black job seekers in *Lone Pursuit*, whereby she documents how "pervasive distrust" and "defensive individualism" limited the flow of information between job-seekers and job-holders. According to Smith (2007), job-holders withheld job information from their job-seeking counterparts despite their employer's preference for word-of-mouth referrals in the hiring process (Fernandez & Fernandez-Mateo 2006). In a context of high inequality, such withholding left black low-income job-seekers severely limited in their ability to mobilize their social ties and activate their social capital to secure formal employment, thereby further restricting their job search process above and beyond structural constraints (Burt 1997, Granovetter 1973, Lin, Ensel & Vaughn 1981, Smith 2005, 2007). Stack (1970) found that low-income black communities were not devoid of thick social integration, but the rich flow of resources she observed in the 1960s stood in stark contrast to the constraints placed on the flow of job information by the lack of social control in present day (Smith 2007, Wilson 1996, 1999).

Respondents in this dissertation shared several characteristics with urban job seekers who have criminal records (Pager 2003, 2007, Pager et al. 2009, Pager & Western 2005), despite divergent local circumstances. Many respondents had not finished high school (74%). The communities where they lived are marked by high crime, poverty (over 30%) and unemployment

(14-15%). Both reservations and the larger two-county area were trying to recover economically after the decline of the timber and commercial fishing industries (Carroll et al. 1999, Pulp and Paperworkers Research Council 2003, Slack & Jensen 2004, State of Industry 2007, Stier 1980). The loss of logging and fishing jobs was particularly impactful to tribal job seekers given their spiritual resonance in offering men the chance to provide through outdoor manual labor in keeping with their traditional gender expectations (Buckley 2002, Kroeber 1925, Newell et al. 1986, Lewis 2016).

In many ways, the social and economic outcomes observed on-reservation mirror those found in inner-city neighborhoods marked by cumulative adversity (Henson 2008, Sampson 2017). Yet, their social networks and job-seeking behaviors therein are more akin to those observed in communities marked by high levels of social organization, social control, and collective efficacy (Browning et al. 2004, Portes & Sensenbrenner 1993). Smith (2007) focused on how the relationships between job-holders and job-seekers stymied employment, whereas Fernandez & Fernandez-Mateo (2006) argue that these interactions are colored by expectations on the flow of job information, employer receptivity to job referrals, and having job-holders who were actually in positions to broker job placement. Fernandez & Fernandez-Mateo (2006) find that immigrants and other ethnic minorities were more likely to be employed in industries receptive to job referrals as compared to their black job-seeking counterparts. Portes & Manning (1986) focus on immigrant enclaves as a counter-example of how those relegated to the economic periphery have responded. The authors find that such communities have supplemented low wage work with non-monetary investments by employers and established an institutional completeness that rivals that of their surrounding areas. According to Portes & Manning (1986), American Indians also represent a group of “unmeltable ethnics” in contemporary American

society, with reservations serving as a comparable unit of analysis given their spatial distinctiveness à la immigrant enclaves. Despite this shared classification, it is unclear how this population navigates the job search process, a puzzle I seek to engage with this contribution.

Inner-city neighborhoods and immigrant enclaves provide fruitful theories through which to understand the job-seeking behaviors of tribal fathers with criminal records. Through the case of the reservation, I expand theories of cumulative disadvantage from their urban genesis to include rural variations. In particular, I demonstrate how macro-level structural forces like industry decline interact with thick and efficacious social ties informed by the pro-work world renewal worldview[84] to shape employment outcomes on and off-reservation. While tribal reservations present a unique case in which to study the concentration of unemployment, poverty, and crime, they also offer the reader another example of how these negative social outcomes cluster spatially, although rural areas have far fewer institutional resources to address them (Burton et al. 2013, Weisheit 1996, Weisheit et al. 1994).

Labor Market Constraints: Industry Decline & Employer Screening

As shown in the previous chapter, substance dependencies are frequently co-occurring with adverse experiences (Felitti et al. 1998, Anda et al. 2004), and this is an important health matter in and of itself. Yet exposure to trauma and substance use also have significant implications for the employment of tribal fathers insofar as they are associated with negative job market credentials. These include the lack of a high school diploma, the inability to pass a background check or drug test, and driver's license loss following DUI or an inability to pay court fines. Across the sample, these "supply-side" obstacles (Holzer et al. 2006, Holzer 1996)

[84] This worldview is described in great detail in Chapter 4: *Tribal Lands & A Tribal Lens: The World Renewal Worldview*. Briefly, this worldview is derived from local Indigenous spirituality and informs how respondents frame individual responsibility, their relationship to the collective, and their expectation to provide.

were common constraints faced by tribal fathers with criminal records as they looked for formal employment. These characteristics also interacted with specific aspects of the local context, both economic and spatial, in ways that further limited the job search of my respondents, including the recent industry declines in timber and fisheries, stringent background checks by area employers, and the need for personal transportation given the expansive nature of the study area.

Table 8. Background Characteristics of Sample

	Substance Dependent?	Dropped Out?	Went Back For a GED?*	Had a DUI Or Lost License?	Gone to Prison?
Total Sample N=35	**91%**	**74%**	**40%**	**60%**	**46%**
On-Rez N=22	100%	73%	31%	55%	45%
Off-Rez N=13	77%	77%	56%	69%	46%

*Of those who dropped out, this percentage got GEDs: 29% of whole sample, 40% of those who dropped out

Before I delve into individual examples, I describe the scope and frequency of negative labor market credentials across the sample. As shown in Table 8, three in four respondents did not graduate from high school, a high dropout rate even for a tribal population (Henson 2008, Rouse 2015), but not surprising given the association between dropping out and incarceration (Western et al. 2001). Of these men, less than half completed a GED after dropping out, although of those who had, several continued on to secondary degrees at the local university and community colleges. As stated previously, 91% of the sample identified as being substance dependent at some point in their lives, and this was every respondent who lived on reservation. Driver's license loss was prevalent in the sample, with 60% of the men having lost their license at some point after being charged with driving under the influence (DUI) or having their license

suspended after failing to pay court fines. Finally, approximately half of the men had served time in prison,[85] and all had spent significant time in the local jails, with one man declaring he had spent seven of the last ten years in the Humboldt County Jail. I recruited men with criminal histories, so their incarceration is expected. That the men were more likely to have spent time in their local jails vs. out-of-area prisons was a reflection of California state prison reform.[86]

In spite of the frequency of these negative labor market credentials, nearly every respondent[87] was either looking for work or currently employed. This was a reflection of the high prioritization of work ethic in the world renewal worldview and its resulting impact on labor force attachment. Before describing this ethos and its implications for work, I first detail the scope of my respondents' labor market obstacles and how these characteristics interacted with the local context to produce divergent employment experiences.

For men like Neil, 51, and Xavier, 29, both were high school dropouts, yet they faced drastically different labor markets when they came of age as a result of the decline of the local natural resources industries in the late 1980s and early 1990s (Sherman 2009, Carroll et al. 1999). Neil came of age in the pre-decline economy. He was in his early 50s and a father of five,

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[85] 46% of the sample had spent time in prison during an era where jail incarceration is more likely and this is reflective of the kinds of crimes my respondents were convicted of compared to the state population-at-large. While drug offenses and other nonviolent misdemeanors like petty theft were common across the sample, so too were violent crimes including assault and battery, assault with a deadly weapon, domestic violence, and battery on peace officers. In addition, several of the men had been convicted of gun charges after being found in possession of firearms while in commission of a crime, a charge that nearly always results in a prison term (Duck 2015, Loftin & McDowall 1981). Prison as experienced by my respondents merits a separate discussion, but of those who had "gone away," several identified as members or former members of the two major American Indian gangs in CA state prisons: Red Power (RP) and Indigenous Power (IP).

[86] In recent years, California voters adopted several measures sponsored by the California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation to address prison overcrowding, with those who would have gone to prison in previous years instead serving their time in local jails. This has included through deferring low-level non-violent sentences, such as drug crimes, to jails in local jurisdictions as well as expanding the use of supervised release conditions where men serve shorter sentences than they would have in prison, but upon release must satisfy stringent release conditions or risk returning to the jail under "flash incarceration" (CDCR 2011, 2016).

[87] Two respondents had started to collect disability insurance in the year before their interview, and only one of these men had a minor child to support. In his case, he supplemented his income with subsistence fishing and elk hunting.

the youngest of whom was only 3 years. With two children under 10 years old, Neil imagined himself working full-time for the foreseeable future. He worked for a local tribe in Fisheries management, with a focus on the vastly understudied lamprey eel population, a staple of local Indigenous diets. Neil had secured the job after completing his college degree at the age of 47, a second chance-of-sorts after nearly 30 years of addiction punctuated by a prison term for a gun charge. His current sobriety was a far cry from his adolescence and early adulthood, where he explains “growing up on the rez, especially down there at that time, things were crazier, like, maybe 20 or 30 years prior. But this was still in the crazy era.”

Neil dropped out in his junior year of high school after his parents withdrew him—he had been taking the bus into Hoopa to drink with friends during the day rather than go to class, and his parents had had enough: “So I dropped out by them taking me and saying, ‘You ain't going to ride to Hoopa every day just to party all day.’” He entered the workforce soon after he dropped out of tenth grade, and according to Neil, “I had a lot of fun for a lot of years, you know, that there weren't a lot of problems associated with my drinking.” Going further, Neil explained

> So I grew up where - you know, growing up down there [in Pecwan] is - another aspect of it is the work ethic. So you work hard and you play hard, you know? And you take pride in being able to... Like, I took pride in being able to party all night and then go to work at 6:00 in the morning the next morning. It was, like, that was a prideful thing, you know? And, like, my friends, it was - a lot of them, a lot of competition.

Neil was a high school dropout and by age 19 was drinking heavily, smoking marijuana and using methamphetamine, but as he tells it, he still clocked in everyday. He worked various positions in construction, brushing and timber depending on the season, and celebrated payday each week by taking his girlfriend into Hoopa to spend the weekend partying with their friends:

> Me and her, it was great. It was a great relationship. We got along fine. We would sit around and talk. And we - downriver, it was just the two of us…We'd get off work, we'd grab some weed, and some money, and some guns, put them in the car, and head to Hoopa for the weekend, you know? And we would party at Club Hoopa, and then we'd go to one of her cousins' house. And if I ever got tired, or anyone got tired, you could pass out in his back bedroom or whatever. Well, almost everyone did drugs, methamphetamine. She didn't. She hated it. She had a very big problem with it. Well, I had done plenty - you know, that was kind of a way of life at that time down there. … we'd leave on Friday and go back Monday, sometimes not until the end of the day. Sometimes I would leave Monday morning and go to work, and then come back to

> get her, because she was still partying. She didn't do speed or anything that'd keep you awake, but she would not sleep for two or three days on end, drinking the whole time, where everyone else, yeah, they were up for two or three days partying. But we were doing methamphetamine.

Neil had been sober for the 14 years before our interview, but his heyday on-reservation still brought a twinkle to his eye. As a man of 51, he recalled a time in Hoopa in the 1970s and 1980s when drug use and lawlessness were frequent, shootouts common at the local watering hole, and he himself always ready to corral his trigger-happy girlfriend. Yet even these activities were bookends to full-time employment during the workweek, set to the rhythm of clocking back in on Monday.

For Neil and other men of his generation, intense partying was not necessarily counter to working full-time. Most of the men on his work crew were the same men he would drink and use with off-shift. This contradiction is a direct reflection of the economic conditions on reservation during this time. Neil was working during the zenith of the local natural resource industries, with high-value redwood and fir exports totaling over $500 million from the region annually (McIver et al. 2012). Even with such prosperity in recent memory, the entire area was on the eve of industry- and life-changing legislation like the listing of the Northern Spotted Owl as a endangered species, a legislative decision that decimated the local timber industry (Sherman 2009, Carroll et al. 1999). Neil entered the workforce during a time of peak industry, and jobs that did not require a high school diploma were plentiful and had been for generations. Loggers in particular were known for maintaining full-time employment while engaging in significant drinking and recreational drug use (Sherman 2009, Poikolainen & Vuori 1985, Wilk 2007), but such use was set within the context of a tight labor market and strong labor force attachment. So much so that men like Neil would spend the night drinking with their crew instead of sleeping, chiding their peers into a competition of who could work the hardest the next day after partying the most the night before.

Xavier, 29, from Chapter 4 is no stranger to such manly competitions, but his mischief and meth use were taking place in a drastically different economy than his predecessors. Like Neil, Xavier had dropped out of high school in the tenth grade. As described in Chapter 4, he had always struggled fit in at school because of his learning disabilities. Unlike Neil, Xavier came of age in 2007, and his labor market experience was taking place post-industry decline. These comparisons were not lost on Xavier—having spent his adolescence studying with elders, he was frequently in a position to hear about the heyday he had missed, a heyday well within recent memory:

> Klamath used to be the most - it used to be like a city, like Eureka. Yeah, it used to have a--what do you call it--a Woolworth's right there. And they had - they used to have a--what do you call it--up there, a movie theater, a bowling alley, a dance hall. I mean, they had it all, you know?

Xavier had spent his youth hearing about Klamath's glory during the peak timber years from tribal elders, something that juxtaposed with the present-day poverty that marked the area. In his own life, Xavier felt as if he was living in another era, one marked by substance dependence rather than employment.

When Xavier entered the labor force, he wanted to work outside with his hands where his dyslexia was not relevant to the job at hand. He was able to secure one of the few remaining positions as choker setter, a dangerous position whereby men set logs with "chokers," a foot-long hook attached to steel cables, so that the logs can be hoisted from the mountainside up to the landing for loading onto a truck. Xavier was a perfect fit for such work, where his sturdy and petite frame could set chokers and get out of the way quickly to avoid injury. As much as he enjoyed the work, Xavier had only worked a handful of seasons. His time as a logger was deeply meaningful to him, so he clung to his designation when asked his occupation. Even still, Xavier acknowledged that he was now living in a different time:

> And I respect that…looking up to those [old] timers that I was raised with, you know what I mean?… those people right there, I give it up to them…they tried, and tried, and tried. Because, I mean, as we grew up, we grew up in different eras, you know? I grew up in the era of this fucking new drug shit, and it's fucking killing us.

As part of this new era, Xavier himself had been in active addiction for months before his interview, and it had been years since he worked on the mountain. Instead, he had been making a living "slinging" meth as a dealer in Hoopa when we met. He was adamant that he was no longer using nor selling, but still spent most days outside of his parents' home, running the streets of Arcata looking for his next "come-up." Between his addiction and lack of a high school diploma, Xavier was hard pressed to find a job at all, let alone one that would provide the same earnings or meaning that logging had for men in the generations before him.

Both Neil and Xavier were high school dropouts who had used methamphetamine from a young age, but the implications of their substance use were starkly different. For Neil, methamphetamine was a way to compensate for the lack of sleep so that he could drink during his off-the-clock hours but maintain full-time work in physically demanding outdoor industries like construction and brushing. Such jobs were plentiful even for those without a high school diploma, and as such, his substance use and his drinking were confined to the rhythms of a time clock. Neil described an ethos of "work hard, play hard" that permeates descriptions of the reservation in its logging heyday.

Conversely, Xavier had been steeped in these stories of Klamath's prosperity when he studied with tribal elders in place of going to school. When he dropped out and found himself looking for work post-decline in the era of "new drug shit," meth was no longer a work supplement but a livelihood in itself, one that was associated with chronic use on the part of dealers. The contradictory nature of the substance has been studied elsewhere, with Weisheit & White (2009: 79) describing meth as a "two-faced" drug that in small, infrequent doses can be

performance-enhancing, yet in large habitual doses "can ravage the body and warp the mind." Both Xavier and Neil progressed to large doses over the course of their addiction, but Neil was able to maintain employment because there were jobs available to him, even with his lack of a diploma and substance dependency. Xavier had a divergent experience as a direct reflection of his coming of age post-industry decline. He floundered in a labor market that had few options for men without diplomas and/or dealing with active addiction.

Beyond the industry declines that shaped the local economy, respondents also underscored the role of expansive background checks in barring them from employment even after abstaining from criminal activities, and in some cases, having their records expunged. Background checks and drug tests were common practice by most area employers, yet both the Hoopa Valley and Yurok Tribes, the largest employers on-reservation, were particularly known for their inflexible standards. In Hoopa, men like Orion bemoaned his tribe's background check policy, called "Title 30a." This policy left him ineligible to realize his dreams of working with tribal youth as a peer advisor despite his six years clean and the significant effort and cost he had expended to expunge his record. The 34-year old father of five had been addicted to opioids since his teens, but sought treatment after his wife of ten years threatened to leave him and take the kids with her. Prior to her ultimatum, he had been charged with possession with intent to distribute, and was carrying a gun at the time. Unlike most respondents, Orion was able to afford an attorney and avoided prison time by negotiating the felonies down to misdemeanors. Even still, he was left with significant probation requirements to satisfy, but completing them rang hollow for him in a way:

> In the meantime [of working at the gas station to pay bills], I was finishing up felony probation. After I finished, it was kind of, umm like bittersweet I guess you would call it. Because it's an achievement to finish felony probation in the area we live in, cuz a lot of people don't, statistics show like a lot of people can't finish, they end up reoffending. But the thing about it was that it was completed, yet they didn't recognize it with the tribe, meaning that if you stack so many misdemeanors. It's still considered [that] it

> falls under Title 30a which means that you can't really get a job that pertains to working with kids or anything. It kind of puts you in a category where that does follow you. Stigma kind like weighs you down and doesn't like give you opportunity. So that was the hardship of it all—even though achieving it by finishing felony probation.

Orion had not used in six years and now worked in recovery, rejoicing in building a sober network for like-minded "pards" in the Valley. As a world renewal singer and dancer, he took great pride in teaching youth traditional dance protocols and would be working with them full-time were it not for Title 30a. Orion even ran for public office, but again, Title 30a rendered him ineligible despite his growing standing in the community. With so many positive changes in the last six years, Orion could not help but still feel "weighed down" by the stigma associated with his criminal record, a stigma codified through policies like Title 30a.

In all fairness, the tribe had adopted this policy for several reasons. First, a majority of tribal funds are federally-based, and as such, the resources are overseen by strict reporting requirements that extend to hiring. While the tribe has some discretion in the scope of the background checks and corresponding hiring restrictions, they chose to adopt the most stringent of options. This move was not unmotivated however, as their worst fears came true in 2013—an individual who had been convicted of a sex crime was found to be working directly with children for an extended period of time before their status as a sex offender came to light. To prevent such occurrences going forward, the tribe adopted a draconian and expansive hiring policy that subjected all prospective employees to a rigorous background check. Under Title 30a, nearly any kind of criminal record beyond a single low-level misdemeanor could render one ineligible for work with children, and at worst ineligible for any kind of work at all with the tribe. In section 8.1, under the "minimum standards of character" clause, the ordinance reads

> None of the individuals appointed to positions… have been found guilty of or entered a plea of [no contest]… to, any felonious offense, or any of two or more misdemeanor offenses, under Federal, State or Tribal law involving crimes of violence; sexual assault, molestation, exploitation, contact or prostitution; crimes against persons; or offenses committed against children.

In one fell swoop, Title 30a enacted an expansive and deleterious definition of "character" that rendered large swathes of the tribal populations ineligible for work with their own tribe. In this way, the Hoopa Valley has codified criminal stigma into its hiring procedures, a decision that was experienced as a direct constraint to their employment outcomes according to my respondents.

In addition to the stigma associated with one's criminal record, my respondents also frequently lost their driver's licenses, either as a result of a driving under the influence (DUI) charge or the inability to pay court fees and fines.[88] A majority of the sample had lost their license at one point or another, and this was a significant impediment to finding and maintaining formal employment in a variety of ways. As a first order concern, not having a driver's license was interpreted as a red flag by tribal and non-tribal employers alike, and like background checks, it was a criterion used to rule individuals out of the applicant pool. Similar to the Hoopa Valley Tribe's Title 30a, the Yurok Tribe has its own such policy, called a "driving record check." Although a majority of positions with the tribe do not require driving, every person hired to work for the Yurok Tribe must undergo a driving background check. The tribe has access to a fleet of GSA government-provided vehicles, and nearly every employee must be able to drive the vehicles in the event of an emergency.[89] In order to do so, they have to be eligible for the tribal insurance coverage, which hinges on not only having a license, but one in good standing.

[88] After a DUI charge, those who are convicted must pay a fine up to $10,000, and enroll in Humboldt Alcohol Recovery Treatment (HART) classes, which include mandatory attendance in a two-hour long session each week for twelve to eighteen months straight. HART enrollees must also pay for their course attendance each week, ranging from $30-40 depending on specifics of an offender's DUI history (first-time vs. repeat offender). One's license is suspended until successful completion of their HART assignment, and this can be an insurmountable task for some. On-reservation, it is not unheard of for an individual to go decades without a license, even at the risk of accruing further penalties as a result of driving on a suspended license.

[89] As an example of this expansive driver's policy: in 2010, I interned with the Yurok Tribe for one month through NCIDC. I took the tribal carpool from McKinleyville to Klamath to do so. Before I could ride in the carpool, I had to pass a driving background check in the event of an emergency that required me to drive. For context, I was not in a paid position with the tribe nor was I ever called upon to drive, but I would not have been able to take the car pool if I hadn't passed.

Through this hiring protocol, many are unnecessarily barred from tribal employment because they cannot pass the driving record check, a majority of the respondent pool included.

Isaac, 42, had been without a license for several years as a result of multiple DUIs. While he was in the process of earning his license back, doing so would have to come after getting a job and continuing to work his recovery program. In the meantime, Isaac rode a bike to and from his job interviews and recovery meetings after moving out of the area for treatment. Isaac got a job not long after his first interview. When he reflected on what was different about working in the city compared to with his family in remote Pecwan, he could not underscore enough how much not having a license had affected him:

> I'm not a felon. I don't have any felonies. But I know not having a driver's license has kept me from getting a job with the Yurok Tribe, I know that. That's probably the exact reason why I'm not living up on the reservation right now….I always say you have to have a driver's license to be Indian [shared laughter]. You do though, don't you? I mean, you do. You have to have a driver license to be able to go to all the Indian ceremonies. Otherwise you just have to walk to your local church [laughs because there are few churches on-reservation].

For Isaac, not having a license was not only a job impediment but also a limitation to his very identity and spiritual expression. Now, as he lives in a large city, this burden is not as heavy with the help of public transportation:

> And that's the thing - that's, like, the second reason why I'm in here in Springfield is because of the public transportation. Yeah, they have a light rail system and they have a pretty phenomenal bus system, too. You can get almost anywhere you need to go on the bus system….

In the absence of a driver's license, Isaac would have gladly used public transportation when he was working on the reservation, yet no such option existed for him. When Isaac lived in Pecwan, he and his three daughters lived at least two hours from the city of Eureka, in an area nearly devoid of public transportation. This lack of bus service is a direct reflection of the scant, bounded nature of public transportation in rural areas (Moseley 1979, Arcury et al. 2006). The absence of public transportation in the study area is reflected in fact that less than 1% of commuters in the study area used public transportation, compared to 5% of American commuters

nationally (American Community Survey 2017). Despite the costs of maintaining a vehicle, [90] the sheer size of the reservations and larger two-county region demanded personal transportation. With commute times ranging from a half hour to over an hour and half to off-reservation cities, losing one's driver's license, and the significant monetary and time costs associated with regaining it, can be particularly vexing. This is compounded by the fact that area employers stigmatized job applicants who did not have driver's licenses, imputing negative associations onto an arguably "value neutral" credential, as compared to criminal records and/or a history of substance use.

In my sample, tribal fathers with criminal records who were also high school dropouts and who did not have a driver's license were frequently in a position to still have to provide for their families despite these significant and cumulative constraints on their ability to do so. These supply-side limits are set within a post-decline economy whereby the few job openings that yield far more applicants than any one employer could hope to accommodate. The extreme lack of public transportation in the area, and the expansive (and arguably unnecessarily stringent) background checks used by employers further constrained one's ability to find formal employment. Even still, I show in the next section how my respondents were able to secure work despite these many obstacles.

Employment Patterns Across the Sample

In this section, I introduce the employment patterns that characterize the sample, specifically the frequency of working in recovery; the preference for entrepreneurial work and

[90] For example, in the case of a 30-minute commute, if a car gets 25 miles per gallon on average, this is a cost of $5 in fuel each way, for a total of $10 per day. This is a cost of $50 per week, up to $200 per month, not including personal travel. This is up to $2,400 per year in a household's budget. In addition, having a personal vehicle comes with monthly insurance fees, annual registration, and basic car maintenance like oil changes, windshield wipers, tires, and brakes, and large-scale repairs.

natural resource employment on-reservation; and the labor market as experienced from the periphery by tribal fathers off-reservation. Generative work in drug and alcohol rehabilitation and entrepreneurial aspirations are increasingly resonant options for men in recovery. These employment options can be more accommodating of those with a criminal history, and also build on the traditional expectation of male responsibility to the collective as derived from their world renewal worldview. Work in natural resources is highly prized, but men on and off-reservation struggle to secure such work in a full-time capacity without the help of a personal referral or otherwise receptive employer. In each case, respondents depended heavily on their individual initiative and manual know-how to secure and maintain employment.

Generative Work As a Growing Industry

Generative work represents one of the primary industries that tribal fathers with criminal records pursue post-incarceration. Generativity refers to one's efforts to build opportunities for the future (Edin et al. 2019, Erikson 1950, McAdams 2006, Maruna 2001), and this commitment to the well-being of future generations is a hallmark of many Indigenous worldviews (Ramirez & Hammack 2014), including world renewal (Buckley 2002, Risling-Blady 2018, Lara-Cooper & Lara 2019). Ramirez & Hammack (2014: 127) identify generativity as one of the key sources of Indigenous resiliency as it allows individuals to "achieve a sense of meaning, purpose, integrity, and coherence in their lives." Maruna (2001) shows how work in recovery provides the perfect fit for those looking to change their circumstance and abstain from crime as it provides them with an alternative narrative of redemption as they assume the role of "professional exes." This work is rewarding as it affirms the men's sobriety, and in doing so, promotes their desistance from crime (Maruna 2001). Work in particular is "probably the oldest idea in the reform of

criminal offenders" (Maruna 2001: 12), and in a world that almost exclusively reserves demeaning work for those with a criminal background, finding work that both resonates with an individual's sense of self-worth and is socially valued can make the difference between desistance and reoffending.

Across the sample, work in recovery was the most common occupation, especially for those living on-reservation. Of the 35 respondents, 23% had worked in recovery at some point, with 17% currently employed by a treatment program at the time of their interview. Noah, 44, Liam, 33, Orion, 34, Eddie, 47, and Carson, 43, all worked in recovery in Hoopa, each crediting the others for keeping them strong as they walked the Red Road together. Jack, 58, helped lead recovery sweats in Eureka after spending decades in prison doing the same. In Crescent City, Antony, 37, was in the process of becoming a drug and alcohol counselor when we interviewed, and as part of this, he sang and lead sweats weekly with Brannon, 40, and served as Jaxon's, 36, sober coach.

In many ways, the men came to sobriety like links in a chain, with one "pard" getting on the Red Road, and over time, his friends and family following his example.[91] Orion, 34, from earlier in the chapter felt called to work in recovery soon after he began his own journey to sobriety, and this was a direct reflection of his social network. Orion explained:

> Noah and Liam are my cousins. Yeah so, Noah's the one who helped me with the six months of after care and helped me through that whole process of getting a better foundation for my recovery. And then Liam was at JRC when I went, helped inspire me for those two weeks. And then also when I came back, [I had] the job with [rock pit], [and] every one of them was in my ear about being a counselor because they could see the benefits of me working in that field.

In Orion's case, his cousins Noah and Liam had already been in recovery for several years. Having known him from growing up and even using together, they saw in him a skillset that would be conducive to working in recovery. Orion's cousins leveraged their positions as his

[91] The Red Road an Indigenous drug treatment model, a hybrid of Lakota spiritual practices with the curriculum of the 12-Step Alcoholic Anonymous/Narcotics Anonymous Program (Gone 2011).

counselors to help him find more fulfilling work than breaking his back at the rock pit and later stocking shelves at the gas station. With their support, Orion would go on to earn an Associate's Degree in Addiction Studies from the local college and was now one state test away from becoming a Certified Drug and Alcohol Counselor.

Orion found work in recovery rewarding for several reasons. As stated previously, he had spent much of his adolescence and early adulthood in active addiction, but his commitment to dance teachings and generativity were lessons he had carried with him since childhood. Once he was sober enough to do so, Orion recommitted himself to his culture, and saw his path in life as one of service:

> I think that's why I do what I do. Because being selfless and being of service I guess you could say, and that service is to look at somebody other than myself and also to inspire…Being from here, I'm very proud to be from here. I'm very, um I think respected in this community meaning that it kind of reinforces the idea that what I've chose to do and the path I've actually traveled was worth it. It was worth it because now I get to come back and show anybody and everybody that wants to be inspired or wants to share in recovery or wants to know how to do what I'm doing, I'm like a walking example on how to do so and I'm always available to give insight, to help see from different eyes, a different perception.

As a "professional ex," Orion embraced work in recovery as it allowed him a chance to turn his life of addiction and childhood of adversity into an occupational skillset. As an abstaining former offender, Orion is not alone in his preference for this kind of work—nationally, approximately three out of four counselors who work in drug treatment are themselves former substance users (Maruna 2001). Orion has the added incentive of doing such work in the very valley where he had grown up, and he felt that living through the trauma he had experienced left him uniquely suited to be a counselor:

> From growing up in a family with addiction, and then becoming addicted myself, and then also thinking that's the only way to live ummm. So I guess its environmental influence, peers, all that kind of stuff that plays into why I guess people in our area choose the way they choose. And umm I don't think I would even have done any of it if it wasn't for that. But I mean, I wouldn't change it for the world because it's been a long journey but the harder, I guess the better. I mean not in most cases, most people would rather never experience it, but I think that's what makes me more effective as a counselor in my position. Being able to help individuals with the same struggles that I went through. Ummm makes me more effective, makes me more empathetic. Passionate about what I do.

In Orion's mind, the only thing that separated himself and those in active addiction was his choice to live his life differently, a choice that was much easier said than done in light of the inequalities that shaped life in Hoopa Valley. By emphasizing the role of agency in this way, Orion draws on his worldview to outline clear expectations for individual responsibility. As someone who had walked the path of an addict before, Orion was using his recovery to serve a generative function for those navigating their choices between using and abstaining from substances. Six years into recovery, Orion's passion for generative work was obvious, and had helped him to reframe his past experiences of adversity through a lens of resilience rather than victimhood, thereby enacting a process of survivance (Vizenor 2008).

As passionate as Orion was about his work, he was also cognizant of the strain that working in recovery came with; a strain hallmarked by the nonlinear path most follow to recovery. For many, the expression "one step forward, two steps back" characterizes the process of finding sobriety, where individuals oscillate between abstinence and relapse as they work towards living without substances. In rural areas, drug and alcohol counselors, police officers, judges, probation officers and other criminal justice professionals are tasked with handling the cases of the same individuals many times over the years, and this does not come without an emotional labor cost. In Orion's words,

> Earlier today I spoke about the job being consuming in a lot of ways and it's worth it to me, to wait for the things that happen within individuals' lives, the things you're exposed to when you're helping individuals with that kind of problem that they have with addiction. There are times when it kind of breaks you in the sense of doing all the stuff you can do to get someone there, to treatment or have them make a breakthrough and then they're in denial and they're getting impulsive, they quit, don't show up, turn away treatment the moment they're supposed to go. All those kinds of things that weigh you down, but within all of that there's little small things, small moments that happen that make it all meaningful, all worthwhile. It's kind of like with kids. Children, sure, they're a handful, they're intense at times. But, the moment they grab your hand and you tell them you love them, and they say they love you; or they come in out the door when you've been gone for awhile and say "he's home!" That's kind of the same thing I can kind of correlate with what happens in treatment and addiction. Sure, you wait a long time for those moments to happen, but when they do, it makes it all worthwhile.

Moments along the journey to sobriety could be as rewarding as they were crushing, and in many ways this was for the same reason—Orion and men like him in generative work were usually helping those they had known for a lifetime, individuals they may have even used with in their own addictions. Now, as sober people, they were in a position to shepherd their peers to recovery, but remained wholeheartedly cognizant of the limits of their profession. In a community rife with drug access compounded by trauma, sometimes the only difference between those who coped with substances and those who did not was making the choice to abstain no matter what, tragedy included. Generative work in recovery could facilitate this process but never replace it, and Orion found solace in the small victories that he shared with his clients along the way.

Like Orion, Carson was previously a client seeking drug treatment in Hoopa Valley who now worked in recovery. Carson, 43, had been clean and sober for the eight years previous to his interview. Adamant that he had only used from a place of partying and having fun, Carson exemplified the positivist approach to addiction that underscores the pleasure-seeking allure of substance use (Kassel 2010, Weisheit & White 2009). Even still, Carson realized how his proximity to drugs and alcohol from a young age left him in the grips of addiction early on. Raised by his maternal grandparents after his father moved away and his mother struggled with own addictions, Carson was only fourteen when he caught his first charge for an assault with a deadly weapon. Carson was incarcerated in the California Youth Authority from ages 14-18, and in prison until he was 25. For the next twelve years, he would cycle in and out of prison, jail, and the reservation:

> I knew from my own personal experience about being in and out of prison for years, I knew the cycle that I was in. You know, I'd get out - I'd do some time, I'd get out for so long. Just a matter of time before I started using again. Next thing I'm committing crimes, back on the run, and then I'm back in San Quentin, you know? It's like a cycle, in and out, doing violations. …my addiction was one of my main problems. So

> to overcome that, before I could take any other steps forward to acquire anything else, I had to take care of my addiction. And like I said, I took that first step with that.

Over the course of 23 years, Carson estimated he had spent up to fifteen years inside some kind of penal institution. Yet, to say he was productive when he was home would be putting it mildly—he was a father of nine, with his eldest sons in their early 20s, and his youngest two only just grade school age.

In 2008, Carson was anticipating his return from prison and subsequent reunion with his partner, Alexa, and their three daughters. Yet, just before his release, tragedy struck when Alexa died in a car accident. Her family took in his daughters, and in order to regain custody, Carson had to get sober, find work, and secure housing for his family. To do so, he signed up for the same intensive outpatient treatment program that Orion did, and was soon referred to Hoopa-Yurok Vocational Rehabilitation Program or "Voc-Rehab."

Originally intended to help displaced and unskilled workers find employment through offering vocational and other supportive programming, Vocational Rehab's are federally funded through the Rehabilitation Service Administration under the U.S. Department of Education.[92] In more recent years, however, Voc-Rehab departments have been increasingly been responsible for helping former prisoners reenter the workforce. Often times, these individuals are saddled with unique obstacles relating to their criminal history as well as their sobriety, and Carson was no different:

> They put you on… to set goals, whether it's work, or education, or vocational training, and you work towards those goals. And you help remove any barriers that - you eliminate any barriers that maybe can help you get there. Mine was extensive. I had a lot of work.

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[92] According to the U.S. Department of Education's website, the Rehabilitation Service Administration (RSA) was formed by as part of The Workforce and Innovation and Opportunity Act (WIOA). Its mandate is "to strengthen and improve the nation's public workforce development system and help Americans with significant barriers to employment" (US Dept. of Educ. 2019). Eligibility for services focuses on those job seekers with disabilities, including chemical dependency.

With the help of Voc-Rehab's wraparound, man-to-man peer mentoring, Carson was able to regain custody of his daughters, and as time went on, soon all eleven kids were living with him full-time. His in-laws eventually came back around once they realized Carson was trying to make his life changes permanent:

> From there, you know, once certain people see that you're making that change and you want to move forward, man, they just start - and they, you know, start pointing you in the right direction, and that's when, you know, all the opportunities start coming up. And they see - certain people see that you're making the effort. And things just go hand-in-hand--one thing leads to another.

Voc-Rehab would also help Carson secure a position as a janitor for the office and neighboring community college campus. After a couple months of cleaning up after students and sharing his story with college administrators, a college counselor convinced Carson that if he could come to work each day, going back to school was well within his means. While his status as a ninth-grade dropout gave him some pause, Carson took the leap and earned his GED. Soon after, he would go onto to complete an AA in Addiction Studies. He chose the program after spending several years scheduling his days around work at Voc Rehab and the recovery meetings and weekly sweats associated with his outpatient therapy. Growing closer to recovery professionals like Noah and Orion led Carson to a similar realization:

> I want to be a drug counselor, you know? I graduated from the AOD and I was, like, man, I could do that, man. And, you know, part of that is giving back, you know? And how can I do that, you know? So then I started talking with my advisor and he was saying [there was]…the addiction study courses. So I started doing those, and I ended up getting my certificate from over there, my certificate, and my AA. And it's kind of changed my course.

Like his peers, Carson found deep resonance in generative work, and felt that he could become a "powerful counselor" if he set his mind to it. Like Orion, Carson felt that his experience living on the run and "in the bag[93]" made him better able to lead his peers and even his sons on their path to recovery. Yet, no matter his proximity to the experience of addiction nor to the addict themselves, Carson sighed:

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[93] "In the bag" is a slang term for those who are habitual users of methamphetamine.

> That's the worst part is, you know what I mean, you've got to wait around for somebody to be ready. Now they're ready and it's, like, jeez, you've got to watch him stumble, watch him fall, you know, watch him make bad moves.

Both Orion, Carson, and the other men who worked in recovery walked this tension between the meaning they derived from their roles in the sober community, and their respect for the autonomy of individuals in their choice to seek drug treatment. In much the same way that social networks could facilitate drug use, so too can they foster the bonds that individuals can lean on when getting sober. On-reservation, generative work has emerged as a viable option for those who are unable to secure other employment due to their records. Going further, it affirms their decision to abstain from crime and fostered the resilience necessary to continue choosing abstinence every day despite pressures and temptations otherwise (Maruna 2001).

Entrepreneurial Options and Natural Resource Employment On-Reservation

Entrepreneurial work and natural resource employment also represent meaningful employment options for tribal fathers looking for work on-reservation, and my respondents secured such work through a variety of strategies. As much as the men benefitted from the generosity of their social networks throughout the job search process, they prided themselves on having the individual initiative and strong work ethics necessary for finding work. They were aided in their job search by their physical acumen and technical knowhow, and gravitated towards the industries of forestry, wildfire firefighting and fisheries where these skillsets were highly valued.

Keehl, 34, was a particularly compelling example of entrepreneurism. Standing over 6', Keehl was nearly as broad-chested as he was tall, yet he had an easy smile and bright mischievous eyes, especially when telling a joke or marveling at his good fortune. Once facing a life sentence as a result of a third strike, six years later, Keehl was now one of the most

successful men living on the reservation, and to hear him tell it, he was far from done. On any given day, Keehl could be found overseeing his crew of landscapers as they cleared brush for adjacent property owners in the Glen; instructing a group of Yurok youth on how to carve a redwood canoe with a chainsaw; or cruising his river bar in preparation for his "someday" tourist destination where he will offer a place to camp and to ride ATVs right along the river's edge. Keehl was also expanding his work in redwood lumber salvage to include the construction of "personal-sized" sweatlodges for installation in backyards. Next to his sawmill sat his prototype, a structure of redwood planks, each over six feet long covering a hole in the ground approximately 3' deep: "we can knock one out in ahhhh 8, maybe 9 hours," he bragged.

Keehl vastly preferred being his own boss, and found his niche in lumber production and other forest-based services, building a redwood enterprise as he did so. Early on in his recovery, Keehl was able to parlay his sober connections to secure a job with the local jet boat tours, yet he chafed at having someone to answer to. Keehl had always struggled with authority, from his schoolboy days where his defiance got him expelled from most of the schools in the area to his time incarcerated in San Quentin. His temper got the best of him one day when his supervisor made a disrespectful remark, and Keehl was fired. Keehl remembers that position as a turning point for himself and his family:

> It worked out, I'm a good worker and I work pretty good. And then uhh, me and my boss got in an argument and uhh I had a lot of anger problems so uhhh I went to run at him and uhh he got me fired. And then, that's probably the best thing that happened because I got fired from there and… started fish buying.

To Keehl's understanding, he was the first tribal buyer to transport salmon from the river in Klamath down to the high-paying coastal markets of the Bay Area. Doing so can fetch a premium in the thousands of dollars, but requires significant investment in terms of refrigeration and portage. After his firing, Keehl and his uncles pooled their resources to cover these costs, and the resulting payout allowed him to purchase his family's property: "From there, that's how I

bought all my land and everything, my CAT. And then from there I just built houses and stuff like that, put campgrounds in and bought more land."

When Keehl was not fishing, he structured his time seasonally, spending fall through spring salvaging redwood logs from along the river.[94] Each mammoth log could bring in thousands if one has the know-how and ability to drag a titan out of the river, transport it downriver, and then saw it into car-length planks from the river bank. Keehl boasted "I have the smoothest planks around, everyone, all my buyers, they all say I got the best wood." In between his millwork, Keehl took on landscaping and other small-scale construction contracts from those on the reservation, but increasingly off-reservation as news of his prowess has spread. Both these contracts and his logging resources prepared him for the annual financial responsibility of commercial fish buying in August. Between his logging and his fishing, Keehl's family was in a drastically different position than they had been only six years previous, and this good fortune was not lost on Keehl:

> Everything I do, everything I do since I got off drugs and got right in my life, everything that I look at, everything that I touch, everything, I got everything going on…I think the Great Spirit guides me. I probably died like six or seven times and I've always come back, and I think the Great Spirit guides me. Just the way I do what I do, ummm I feel I'm the best at it, that I'm the only one who could really do it. Or gots the will to do it…Uhh just I don't know, I ain't got no other way to make a living, that's the only thing I got, you know? That's what I do. I can move any tree, I don't care what size it is, where it's at, where it's sitting, I'll make it float.

On one hand, Keehl's description of his successes could be described as braggadocio, but on the other, it is clear the degree to which he linked his economic prosperity with his sobriety and his spiritual motivations. Keehl's empire was an outlier for its sheer scope and his ability to build so much since getting sober, yet the kind of work he pursued and the pride he took in his physical ability to do it were an expression of his worldview as a Yurok man. His preference for being his

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[94] Felled redwood logs line the banks of the Klamath River and its riverbed, natural refuse from the decades of logging in the region and each season's winter conditions and corresponding slides. The wood does not become water logged but rather cures with time, and such lumber is highly prized for home and furniture construction.

own boss and using the resources of the reservation to sustain his prosperity was directly reflective of the traditional expectations placed on world renewal men to be self-sufficient providers, an ethos that continues to guide tribal fathers in contemporary era as they work to provide for their families.

William, 44, from Tulley Creek shared this same ethos of self-sufficiency and entrepreneurial spirit. Both men earned their living on the Klamath River, but unlike Keehl, who learned how to repair cars, saw logs and fish salmon from his father, William's father had been murdered when he was only eight years old. He had grown up off-reservation with his mother's family, but once he came of age, William made his way back to the River. Through trial, error and only a rowboat to his name, William worked his way to becoming one of the best fishermen at the mouth in Requa:

> My cousin sent me down, "go down there and here ya go, man, you're out. Go down and fish" [laughter]. Didn't really teach me how to fish, a little bit, upriver a little bit but not too much. I got more of my experience by falling on my face. Making every mistake known to man…but you know, I've perfected the craft, my own way, you know?... I never had no motor, always rowing it, rowing it. They were all like "He's a sav, man, you know he goes out there, sets his own net, man, his own shit, man, he's doing it out there." You know?...

Initially met with suspicion, William explained how once the local tribal fisherman saw the time and effort he expended in his tiny rowboat, he won their respect. Over time, he cultivated his technique and marketed his fresh caught salmon under the moniker "Requa Fresh." According to William,

> It's more than a name, it's a way of life. It's how you believe, how you take care of the fish, your community, and how you take care of your elders. It's all tied into "Requa Fresh." Man, and quality, and so you create a better quality for your community and your people. Because if there's a part of your community and your peoples that's not doing good, than I'm not doing good.

In one fell swoop, William showed how he interpreted his well-being and ability to provide as tied to that of his community and to the salmon they steward, and in doing so, he exemplified the expectation of collective responsibility, a hallmark of the world renewal worldview. In this way,

commercial fishing was both a matter of making ends meet, but also honoring his traditional role as a tribal father.

As much as William took great pride in the quality of his product and the fact that he was entirely self-sufficient, he was "in a bad way" at the time of his interview. He had been on the Red Road for twenty years, but relapse had been a frequent occurrence for him, and William had spent the months previous to his interview in active addiction, binge drinking and using methamphetamine intravenously on his family's property downriver. He was a father of four, and his family had been asking him to go to treatment for sometime. A recent possession charge left him facing rehab or jail time. While in treatment, he was not actively seeking work, but he had spent the last several years supporting himself though a combination of commercial fishing earnings, brushing and selling firewood. He explained "there's always money in the wood pile" when I asked how he supported himself day-to-day, and going further, William explained that he had been taught "if you're not working, your job is to be finding work!" He described how getting his sobriety was the first step to doing just that—William was hoping to parlay his property's surplus of invasive plant species into biodegradable fertilizer supplements for the local marijuana farming industry and thereby "turn that curse into a market." His proximity to off-grid growers and property's resources of soil and plant matter meant that doing so was a potentially viable enterprise, but it hinged on getting sober:

> Everybody's onboard, I just have to do my part now. That's where, that's why I'm here and on my path, you know, getting back into you know abstinence you know from the poisons, the drugs and everything else that's been uhh plaguing my life… So I can come with a healthy, strong mind. Cuz the values are there…just need to enhance those values, strengthen those values. Through abstinence and getting back to the men's group that's upriver. It's gonna be awesome.

Like Keehl, William's self-employment was not only a matter of preference—his addiction and frequent relapse limited the scope of employers that would even consider him for a job. Living downriver, William was restricted to a job pool that was primarily tribal

employment, and his criminal history coupled with his lack of a license made getting past their stringent background checks virtually impossible. Being self-employed negated these obstacles, and allowed both William and Keehl to capitalize on their significant physical abilities and vocational expertise despite their lack of a high school diploma, their criminal histories, and their substance dependencies. Their access to on-reservation natural resources allowed them to provide for themselves and their families in way that affirmed their individual responsibility to the collective as world renewal men, and honored the natural resource-based skillset that went with it.

Several of my respondents also found job success in natural resource industries like fisheries, wildfire firefighting and forestry. Although these jobs require background checks if they are part of the tribe or Forest Service, men like Johnny, 36, Danny, 36, and Konnor, 37, were able to demonstrate how their hands-on skillset, their work ethic, and their credentials outweighed their criminal history. Johnny credited the summers spent with his grandmother in Blue Creek as planting the seeds for his work ethic:

> You know who taught me a lot was my Grandma in my younger years. Cuz you know she run this strict thing where you'd get up, make our beds, eat our breakfast and then boom go out to the garden. We'd be in the garden clear to noon then we'd go take a break, go swimming or whatever, eat lunch, take a nap, come back and in the evening go back into the garden and work some more, you know [laughter]. So Gramma built the structure there already you know, in a way, hard work, you know.…there ain't no half-assing around, you know…. we kind of hated it then but I look back, I'm glad I did it because it built you know, built me in a way.

Johnny was not far off in his estimation that his childhood spent working on his Grandma's property shaped how he conceived of work and the tasks therein. Desmond (2008) describes the "country masculine habitus" that men from rural areas acquire by virtue of the tasks they must perform as part of their day-to-day lives growing up with scant amenities. Collecting firewood, clearing brush, mending fences, running water lines and subsistence fishing all require bodily knowledge and muscle memory that takes years to acquire, and these skills are incredibly

valuable in industries like wildfire firefighting and logging (Desmond 2008, Sherman 2009). In this way, Johnny was building his resume well before he entered the labor force, and he maintained these credentials everyday as part of living off the grid downriver in Tulley Creek.

Beyond his country masculine habitus and his work ethic, Johnny prided himself on being a self-motivated job seeker:

> I definitely had a lot of people looking out for me, but a lot of the things I do, like you said, be there and just do it yourself, you know, be on it. When I was in the fire world, it was run strict, boom, be there on time, like boom boom boom, you know, everything. Fisheries was a little different, but you know it's cool, but you know before I was just a stinking robot or something you know [big laugh]. Pretty much in my mind frame, on time, fucking dressed properly, fucking you know, yeah everything's ready to go… [that's] the way I was trained.

Johnny described himself as a very independent job seeker, and despite hailing from one of the biggest families on the reservation, he had yet to parlay that into employment. Instead, Johnny preferred to let his skillset as a hotshot[95] firefighter and fisheries professional speak for themselves.

It is important to note, however, that as much as Johnny eschewed asking for help for himself, he had no qualms in offering it to his younger cousins. When his "baby cousin" Tyler became a father at 18 just as Johnny had two decades before, Johnny went out of his way to recruit his cousin for firefighting:

> You know and I tried to, I mean all the times, "better get up there, Tyler, they're hiring right now for jobs, get up there and get your paperwork." And I was always, he wanted to do fire. And I was like you know, because I did fire for quite a few years, you know what I mean….I was like man you guys, I'll help you guys through it, I'll get you guys through it. Don't worry about Pack Test, we'll get it done, you know what I mean, I'll tell you what to do. And umm almost had him there, you know? But he's young, you know?

Given their own reluctance to ask for help themselves, it was impressive the frequency by which the respondents described going out of their way to aid a younger sibling or cousin find work. This "generosity of position" stands as a counter to the defensive individualism and pervasive distrust observed by Smith (2007), and runs parallel to the high referral rates observed between

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[95] Hotshot crews carry special prestige for their incredibly dangerous vocation. They are called into fight wildfires in extreme conditions exclusively, and travel across the nation doing so during fire season (Desmond 2008).

co-ethnics in urban factories (Portes & Sensenbrenner 1993, Fernandez & Fernandez-Mateo 2006), and the reciprocal relationships between employers and employees in immigrant enclaves (Portes & Manning 1986).

On one hand, respondents like Johnny highly prized their ability to get by on their own and support their families unaided, thereby exemplifying the ethos of *numi pegerk* described in Chapter 4.[96] This individualistic orientation is reminiscent of more wary job seekers insofar as they stated an explicit preference to find work through their own initiative rather than mobilizing their social connections (Smith 2007). Yet, the traditional expectation of male generosity informs a process by which men help those junior to them to look for work, like sons, "baby cousins," and little brothers with little prompting, and in turn benefit from similar generosities from those their senior, like fathers, uncles and grandfathers. Well-placed female kin working in the tribal government also facilitated the transmission of job knowledge, yet the heavily gendered nature of the men's preferred occupations in fire, fisheries, and forestry meant that male jobholders were more frequently in the position to broker job information than their female family members. Going further, the few jobs still available in natural resources industries rely heavily on word-of-mouth referrals (Galenianos 2014, Desmond 2008). Given the danger of some of these positions, men were only hired in the event that another could vouch for them personally.

Konnor, 37, is one such individual. The father of five had a lucrative job with the tribal Roads department, and even with each winter spent on seasonal unemployment because of the rainstorms, he had saved enough in the last five years to purchase a home for his family in

[96] *Numi pegerk* refers to the expectation of tribal men to assume their status as "real men," who were defined as "independent [men] who others can depend on" (Buckley 2002: 50), and who independently provide for their families' needs and honor their ceremonial responsibilities. Chapter 4 includes a more thorough discussion of this term in the section "Responsibility & Fatherhood: Generational Transmission of Work Ethic."

Crescent City. His relative prosperity was all the more impressive for the fact that, a decade before, he had spent four years in prison after a car accident in which his best friend was killed and Konnor was the driver. Konnor had an otherwise clean record but this past tragedy would be an automatic red flag on any job application of his for the foreseeable future. I asked him whether he anticipated this constraint and Konnor explained:

> Inside they had this class about how to handle our conviction when we got out and they said to write "Yes but will explain." So I write that I've been convicted of a felony and I ask for the chance to tell them more. And I do, I tell them what happened. It is what it is. But that's the only thing on my record and I have to live with that everyday, knowing what I did, no matter what job I get or who knows what.

In Konnor's case, he had gotten through the strenuous background check associated with working for the Tribe by having his direct supervisor personally shepherd his application through the process. According to Konnor,

> We'd worked this job together, I was the heavy equipment operator for this contractor and we got this job done, just banged it out. And he thought I was a hard worker and not a lot of people have that [credential], me being a heavy equipment operator, not a lot of tribal members do that. So yeah, he hired me and he vouched for me, so I got the job from there. That was about two, three seasons ago.

Konnor had secured his position through a combination of individual initiative and social connections, but ultimately it was his credentials and country masculine habitus that made him an attractive hire irrespective of his criminal history. His supervisor and fellow employees had a legitimate reason for this ranking as Konnor described a day on the job that almost turned fatal:

> Almost took my head off once, this log. I didn't see it coming and it did all of a sudden. At the last minute I ducked down but shit man... I mean it was my fault though, I wasn't paying attention and you got to on the landing, you can't stop for a second because it could happen that quick [snaps fingers]"

While Konnor worked in the Roads department, in some ways this was a misnomer as to his daily tasks. As a heavy equipment operator for the tribe, Konnor was helping to reclaim forested areas from the logging roads of the bygone industry, where roads were laced between mountains and streams without any consideration as to salmon migration patterns, polluting and hazardous run-off, or seismic activity. Any given day during the work season is a combination of excavation, small-scale logging and brush clearing, and such work is facilitated by heavy

equipment like cranes and dump trucks, large machinery that requires a specific credential like Konnor's to operate. Even with his technical skillset and his familiarity with the mountains above Klamath that came from summers spent on the River with his paternal family, Konnor still almost lost his head after a momentary lapse in attention. For these reasons, men hired to such crews are frequently hand-picked by their supervisors and/or have someone already working in the department who can attest to their relevant acumen. This is because of the significant danger entailed by such work, and to have someone on your crew whose skills you could not attest to could be a fatal error depending on the circumstances. While my respondents may have had criminal records, their ability to keep their fellow workers safe was paramount, and regardless of their past, their social network partners could attest to their job readiness. In this way, finding a job in natural resource industries on-reservation was a combination of individual prowess, receptive employers and social capital mobilization.

Employment Off-Reservation: Experiences from the Periphery

As much as my respondents experienced legitimate obstacles to navigating the labor market, 77% of the sample was employed at the time of their interview. Yet, as shown in Table 9, digging deeper into this number shows how a significant portion of those who were employed were in part-time, temporary and/or seasonal positions, such that 39% of the respondent pool were underemployed and still seeking full-time, full-year employment.[97] This was particularly the case off-reservation where over half of my respondents identified as underemployed, a direct reflection of their position in the economic periphery of the coastal job markets. Men like Keehl anticipated labor market stigma as "an Indian in white city," and he was not alone in limiting the

[97] Underemployment includes those who are "sub-employed," unemployed, involuntarily part-time employed, and otherwise low-income workers seeking full-time employment and corresponding benefits, but who are instead relegated to part-time and/or temporary positions (Slack & Jenson 2004).

scope of the work he considered to those options he felt would not hold his race nor his criminal history against him. While Keehl had opted for self-employment on reservation, others off-reservation described clustering in industries where their criminal records were not as stigmatized or where their employers were at least more understanding of them. This included under-the-table work in construction and at the docks. Like the reservation, men living in town found themselves working for a local tribe only insofar as they were able to pass the background check, or more typically, have someone personally vouch for them.

Table 9. Employment Status By Location

	Portion of Sample Who Are "Employed"*	*Portion of Sample Employed Full-Time*	*Portion of the Sample in Part-Time or Temp. Seasonal Positions*	*Portion of Sample "Unemployed & Seeking Work"*	*Portion of Sample Unemployed & Not Seeking Work*	*Portion of Sample Who Are Underemployed***
Total Sample Total N= 35	**77%**	60%	17%	11%	11%	39%
On-Reservation N=22	***82%***	*64%*	*18%*	*9%*	*9%*	*30%*
Off-Reservation N=13	**69%**	54%	15%	15%	15%	55%

*includes both full-time and part-time/temporary/seasonal positions **does not include those who were not seeking employment

Source: Blythe George (2019) *Includes both full-time/full-year and part-time/temporary/seasonal positions. **Does not include those who were not seeking employment

In the off-reservation cities of Eureka and Crescent City, major employment industries included the service economy for retail and at local casinos, white-collar positions with the local schools, county government and/or tribal services, and more seasonal options like commercial fishing, forestry products, and construction for roads, homes, and roofing (ACS 2017). Unlike the growing service sector and stable white collar work, more manual industries have slackened in recent years and even in the best of times, were highly seasonal with expected time off every year (Slack & Jensen 2004, Stier 1980, Carroll et al. 1999, Sherman 2009). Construction represents a contradictory employment option for tribal fathers with criminal records. While respondents typically possessed the physical strength and basic knowhow for such work,

applicants for high-paying jobs in road construction must pass a stringent background check administered by each of the large local firms or for the California Department of Transportation (Caltrans). In contrast, working for a small business home construction crew as roofer or paver was cited as a frequent occupation for my respondents for the specific lack of a background check, and even subsidized nature of such work for local employers (Harris & Keller 2005).

Chuck, 45, in Crescent City was one such respondent. Chuck was a father of two young children, and he was in the process of gaining 50/50 custody of both after getting sober in the year before his interview. He had recently been granted weekend overnight visits with his four-year daughter, and he planned his daily and weekly work and recovery schedules around his supervised visitation schedule with his infant son. Chuck had become a father late in life and his formal work history was the same age as his eldest child. Previous to his daughter's birth, Chuck had cycled in and out of prison, jail and life in Eureka since his adolescence. He came of age in CYA and would spend the next two decades alternatively living in Eureka and supporting himself as a meth dealer and serving time between parole violations and new possession charges. For this reason, his resume was scant for formal jobs but his physical strength and the skills gained in vocational training in prison left Chuck well-suited for under-the-table work in construction if he could find a receptive employer. After moving to Crescent City for a fresh start, Chuck met one such contractor at an NA meeting. He too was in recovery and offered Chuck work as a seasonal laborer:

> Because, I mean, I was working with a guy doing construction, but because he's on probation his contractor's license is suspended. So, I mean, he could still - I could get work you know, with - as long as, like, the owner is okay; they get certain permits and he could still do work. You know, he just works under somebody else's license. So he's been having some work, but, like, we had a job that we were supposed to go down to Eureka for, for 10 days, but rain was in the forecast so we couldn't really go down, you know?

Chuck was grateful for the work, but between his employer's liminal permit status and the work's seasonal nature, he was left waiting for work more often than he liked:

> But waiting on him, you know, I end up being the starving homeless guy, you know, waiting for work. But I've been trying to stay loyal to him and stay with him, because, I mean, he has helped me out a lot, you know? Even when I was - back when I was still kind of using here and there, you know, he kept me on, you know? So I've been showing my loyalty to him because he's been getting - he's been going through a lot of guys, because different things will come and they'll work hard for a couple days or a week, and then they sluff off, and then - you know? Or they'll get a job that pays a little bit more, and then they just cut out, you know, sometimes right in the middle of a job. And so, you know, and he's appreciated that loyalty.

To Chuck, his employer's willingness to take a chance hiring an ex-felon who struggled with substance use was something he wanted to repay with loyalty, and he showed his loyalty by not pursuing more stable work. Yet, despite his best intentions, Chuck's loyalty frequently left him scrambling to meet his basic needs like food and rent expenses.

Chuck reconciled this deficit by seeking alternative employment during the off-season, including working at the docks for a fish packer at night, and during the day in food prep at a regional pizza chain. Chuck learned of the former opportunity at his weekly probation check-in:

> I just talked to a guy over there at probation that works down there, and he said he's been working... Basically the people that are really motivated and moving around and working their butts off, they've been getting called in. But a lot of people there are just kind of, like, lazy and slow-dragging. They cut them loose. But I ain't got nothing to worry about that because when I do work, I work hard and stuff, and I stay busy. You'll never see me just kind of standing around. If I don't know what I'm supposed to be doing, if I don't have anything to do, I'll ask, you know, "Is there anything I could be doing?" It's just I don't like just standing around.

Like his on-reservation counterparts, Chuck took great pride in his work ethic and individual initiative. He felt that even with his criminal background, his "strong shoulders" and tenacity made him a great hire, and Chuck made it clear how much he relished the chance to work hard:

> You know, and what I like about (inaudible) - because I am kind of fast-paced and I like to stay moving if I have a job. I hate a job where I'm standing around a lot and just kind of, like, you know, waiting for - to have something to do. If I know that - what needs to be done, if I see something that needs to be done, you know, if I'm, like - if I don't have a little bit of time in between doing whatever I'm at - whatever station I'm at, and I see something else, I'll jump in there and... I like to stay busy; I like to stay moving. Because once I slow down, (inaudible) I start getting tired and my back starts hurting. So I like to stay moving until the shift's over.

Chuck had a chronic back condition that he inherited from his father, a condition that would ultimately take his ability to work in the manual fashion in which he preferred. Between this preference and his skillset, Chuck was further limited by his diagnosed mental health conditions

including post-traumatic stress disorder and a resulting violent impulsivity. For this reason, he gravitated towards strenuous manual jobs over more people-oriented work in the service sector. In either case, Chuck's preference in type of work only mattered insofar as he was able to find a receptive employer.

The tension between respondent job preference and employer discretion accounts for a portion of the underemployment experienced by the off-reservation sub-sample, as does those men who sought full-time work yet found themselves having to accept part-time and/or temporary positions instead. Raymond, 29, and Brannon, 40, were cousins living in Crescent City, and they had the unique circumstance of not only sharing their last name, but also their job. Both men had secured a position with a local brushing crew, yet the temporary nature of the positions meant the men cycled through the job whether they wanted to or not.

The short-term nature of these positions was not an accident. The Northern California Indian Development Council (NCIDC) was a local pan-tribal non-profit organization that offered temporary work crew employment to adult tribal members, specifically regional brushing crews that partnered with the US Parks departments in both counties to complete upkeep and trail maintenance on the areas' many hiking paths and parks. Many respondents had worked on such a crew at some point in their lives, often times as a first job in their youth or as a spring board to more secure work post-incarceration. Such positions were offered on a temporary contract basis, and after each crew had reached their allotted wages for a given time period, they were dissolved (usually after 2-3 months). This was in spite of the fact that brushing work was a constant need in the rural area, and an occupation that most men would have gladly done year-round if given the opportunity.

Raymond, 29, and Brannon, 40, were two such men. Raymond had worked on the spring crew, Brannon on the summer. Brannon learned of the opportunity from his cousin after getting out of jail, serendipitously doing so just as they were forming the summer crew. Both indicated that they would have continued in the position if it were not for its temporary nature, and this was particularly compelling for Raymond given the extensive physical injuries that made such work a daily toll for him.

> [After] my wreck, I knew I couldn't just do any job. Like, the whole - like, right now I'm suffering with my whole injuries. Like, this thing, like, it hurts. I'm walking these trails and I'm acting like I'm not hurting. And it's, like, keeping my family in mind, you know? It's, like, without me doing this we're not going to have a lot. We're not going to be able to really make it up here.

Eight years before his interview, Raymond almost died after getting hit by a car while crossing HWY 101 in Smith River. Raymond was hit with such force that he went through the car's windshield and landed in the floorboards of its back seat. He lived despite several punctured organs, a skull fracture and numerous other injuries, but was left with a body that felt much older than it should at only 29. Even still, he and his family had moved to town in Crescent City after an apartment in tribal housing opened up, and while the unit is subsidized, Raymond felt a constant pressure to pay for the expenses associated with living off-reservation:

> Like, a person has to have at least about $1000 or more a month to live up here, like, realistically, without having to suffer and sacrifice your food sometimes, or whatever the thing is, you know? And it's, like, we're making that, so I feel like we're all right right now. But, like, without this job we weren't. We were stressed out. We were literally, like, stressed out. What are we going to do? How are we going to make it?

Raymond's job was incredibly demanding for a man with his injuries, but he would have continued to clock in no matter his physical discomfort if it were not for the temporary nature of his position. When his crew's contract ran its course, Raymond was left looking for work again just three months later. Without work, he struggled to pay his family's rent and they moved in with his father-in-law in Weitchpec not long after. Long-term, both Raymond and his wife Retta had seen themselves raising their children on-reservation, but their return was expedited by

Raymond's inability to find stable full-time work off-reservation. To Raymond's credit, it was not for lack of trying nor work ethic on his end, but rather the sheer lack of such work.

Given the scarcity of full-time employment, those men who were able to secure such positions were typically only able to do so through the process of direct referrals whereby a family member or friend would personally vouch for their job readiness, trustworthiness, work ethic, etc. This reliance on job referrals makes sense in light of the industry preferences for word-of-mouth recruitment (Desmond 2008, Fernandez & Fernandez-Mateo 2006, Galenianos 2014) coupled with my respondents' ability to mobilize their thick social ties to find work (Portes & Manning 1986, Portes & Sensenbrenner 1993, Smith 2007). Konnor, 37, above described how he had used his social networks to overcome the stigma associated with his criminal record, and Byron, 26, had also secured his off-reservation job in his tribe's maintenance department through similar channels. He had been working in his position for one year at the time of his interview, and the job served as a marker of his sober time, as did his newborn daughter, the last of six children that Byron shared with his partner of ten years.

Byron worked six days a week, and had aspirations of wastewater management to better provide for his family in a long-term, stable industry. Yet only years before, he had been running large quantities of methamphetamine and cocaine locally, and served significant time in the jail as a result: "I'd say I spent at least seven of the last ten years in the Humboldt County Jail." Byron and his partner had gotten sober together, the first step in regaining custody of their children. Beyond sobriety, they were also expected to secure housing for their family and Byron was compelled to find a formal job for the first time in years. His father was a respected tribal elder who recognized the couple's efforts to get sober and he utilized his network to find his son a job:

> My dad, he asked his friend in Maintenance if there was any work, kind of explained my situation and what I needed, and what we'd been through. He didn't have to but he called me up and said they had work if I was game for anything, and I said I was.

Byron started out with basic tasks like cleaning tribal offices and completing tribal housing repairs, but as time went on, his supervisor recognized his initiative and gave Byron additional responsibilities. Every weekend, he and his coworker shared the vital responsibility of checking the Rancheria's[98] water supply and oxygenation levels, the primary source of water for the community's 400 residents and nearby casino & hotel. As much as Byron felt affirmed by his supervisor's increasing trust in his dependability, he could not help chafe at the juxtaposition between his increased workload but decreased pay off compared to past illicit work:

> "It's extremely hard. I mean, at least for myself…once you've done something for so long in your life… I don't want to say accomplished because I'm not trying to glorify it. But also once you've sustained and obtained so much money [gestures high with his hand]…doing one thing and it always leads you to a cell or death. If you're lucky and you just get a cell, you do your time and come home. And then you get a minimum wage job? It's just, every day is hard. When you know, "well I could just do this…" and make 20X what you make in two months here in one phone call? Most anybody's going to be like "duh, I'm gonna make that phone call." Because you're not thinking about the consequences in that moment, just thinking about what you gotta take care of."

With a family of six, Byron struggled under the heavy burden to provide for his large family living in town, especially when he remembered how much he made as a dealer. Yet, going back to "the lifestyle" would endanger his newly reunified family, and he leaned into his expectations as a provider to remind himself of why he was working gainfully: "This is it, there's no going back to that. My wife and I, we been through too much to get to here only to go back. And my kids don't deserve that, they deserve me around and that's where I'm gonna be." Beyond his responsibility to his family, Byron's commitment to working formally was also reinforced by the expectations of his supervisor and his father. Both men had vouched for Byron to help him find work, and their affiliation provided a mechanism to hold him accountable to his work, to his

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[98] Rancherias were introduced in Chapter 2—they comprise a federally-recognized, yet uniquely Californian form of governance akin tribes.

sobriety, and to his family obligations. In this way, his social network partners directly facilitated the prosperity of Byron and his young family by affirming his growing labor force attachment.

In key ways, the job search outcomes of tribal fathers who lived off-reservation mirrored the experience of those on reservation. Men gravitated towards work that prioritized physical prowess and individual initiative, and eschewed those that sought soft skills and screened for them with extensive background checks. Unlike the reservation, men living in town did not have access to the physical resources or family property to support self-employment, nor proximity to the few jobs in natural resources that remained. Instead, they clustered in proximal industries of construction and commercial fishing, and often times found themselves in temporary, part-time, or otherwise suboptimal positions despite their preference for full-time employment. For those who were able to secure full-time employment, they typically did so through the help of friends or family who personally facilitated their job search through direct referrals. Although off-reservation respondents shared a preference for individual initiative when finding work with their on-reservation counterparts, they also mobilized their social ties to secure positions they would have otherwise been unable to by virtue of their criminal backgrounds.

Conclusion

> But you know life's a struggle and I'm going through it all, like what I'm going through right now. If life was just you get clean and then everything's good, and then that's it, well then what's life all about? You gotta have struggles, you gotta have everything. You gotta get burnt, you gotta get all this stuff to live life, you know what I mean. You might not like it all the time but it's gonna happen and you gotta deal with it. And it's how you deal with it that makes you who you are.
>
> - Keehl, 34

When I asked Keehl what was unique about his journey given his relative prosperity compared to his peers and even his own standing only a few short years previous, he was careful to remind me that even *his* prosperity was tenuous. He and his partner had been sober for six years, but a recent accident had left him burned on significant portions of his body, and they

were still commuting regularly for doctor visits in the Bay Area from Klamath Glen. He was grateful for his sobriety and his family's stability, but he knew his injuries would set him back until at least the summer, and it was more than his wounds that itched to return to work. In the first test of his sobriety since gaining it, only time would tell if Keehl stayed on the Red Road. Even still, his journey thus far was marked by his ability to draw on his beliefs and his skillsets as a world renewal man to get sober and provide for his family as a redwood and salmon entrepreneur.

Keehl and men like him on-reservation gravitated towards natural resource industries like forestry, fire, and fisheries where their county masculine habitus and bodily knowledge were highly valued irrespective of their criminal background. They preferred such work as it affirmed them as world renewal men, but also negated the limits imposed by their lack of high school degrees, their criminal records, and their lack of a driver's licenses. These supply-side constraints coupled with the expansive background checks of the major employers in the region, including each of the local tribes, to further limit the job options of my respondents.

Compared to criminal stigma, the effect of driver's license loss on employment is a relatively novel finding in that it shows how even credentials that are "value-neutral" on their face can also shape labor-market trajectories. For example, a criminal record (Pager 2003, 2007, Pager et al. 2009) or a bad credit report seem clearly "negative" (Kiviat 2019, Phillips & Schein 2015) and a college degree or professional license seem clearly "positive " (Holzer 1996, Marshall et al. 2003). This is less straightforward in the case of driver's licenses, and with this chapter, I show how job seekers are experiencing this application criterion as a means of excluding them from available job openings. Further research is needed to show how employers interpret driving record checks as an employment screening mechanism. Nonetheless, the

absence of a driver's license posed a significant hindrance to job seekers in this study, especially for those on-reservation where physical distance and the lack of public transportation necessitated the use of personal vehicles.

To surmount these obstacles, those living on-reservation leveraged their physical strength and the technical know-how gleaned from growing up off-grid to either pursue entrepreneurial options derived from their land's natural resources, or working outdoors for receptive employers who prioritized their on-the-job expertise over their ability to pass a background or driving record check. This was particularly the case in dangerous industries like wildfire firefighting and forestry where a mistake on the part of a fellow crewmember can be fatal. In addition, respondents found work in recovery to be particularly compelling as it affirmed their sobriety while recognizing their expertise as "professional exes" (Maruna 2001) and providing a means for generative meaning-making by reframing their past addictions and even traumas as job skills rather than constraints (Edin et al. 2019, Erikson 1950, Holzer 1996, Maruna 2001, McAdams 2006). Working in recovery represented a form of survivance as respondents leveraged past adversity into opportunity, not only for themselves, but for their community members. In this way, such occupations aligned with the generative aspects of their worldview and allowed respondents to reframe their victimhood into resilience. Receptive employers were a vital lynch pin in this process, as they were off-reservation, where tribal fathers were particularly relegated to the periphery. In the coastal job markets, respondents found themselves working part-time and/or temporary seasonal jobs in construction and landscaping, with underemployment high given the few such jobs that exist off-reservation.

In both locations, my respondents combined individual initiative with the personal referrals of their social networks to leverage their job skills beyond the limits imposed by their

criminal records, for an employment rate of 77% across the sample. This high employment rate masks the heterogeneity in positions in the sample, and obscures the prevalence of underemployment for respondents, especially off-reservation. In addition, for those in full-time positions in natural resource industries, working in these jobs can be a tradeoff, between their deep resonance with the men's worldview and country masculine habitus, and their seasonal nature, the physical danger associated with these occupations (Desmond 2008, Sherman 2009, Wilk 2007), and their growing instability as climate change descends upon the local environment (Abatzoglou et al. 2014, Sundaresan 2015). Even still, my respondents' commitment to these kinds of jobs has survived multiple industry declines. In light of such durable job sector preferences, policy makers would do well to support green jobs and other positions that affirm the country masculine habitus and overall labor force attachment of my respondents and the other rural male job seekers like them.

Respondents explained how their social network partners and family members supported their job search outcomes through job referrals from those job holders who were already working in the respondents' desired industry and/or department. Despite the availability of such assistance, my respondents specified a preference for seeking employment on their own through personal initiative and this affirmed their identity as *numi pegerk*, or the expectation to independently provide for their families. The process of securing formal employment represents a process of survivance as my respondents overcame many obstacles to actualize their job-seeking aspirations despite the several overlapping factors that conspired to prevent this, like substance dependencies and slack labor market. Their ability to do so exemplifies the process of survivance as defined by Vizenor (2008) and affirmed by Ramirez & Hammack (2014) whereby they detail the strategies of resilience that Indigenous peoples have adopted to ensure their

survival. For my respondents, the process of recovery and finding work were ultimately mutually reinforcing, much like their addictions and their unemployment.

Beyond individual characteristics, my respondents were also part of social networks that were distinguished by a high rate of kinship and acquaintance density both on and off-reservation. While they described leaning on their social resources to help make ends meet, my respondents infinitely preferred being the one to help, adopting a "generosity of position" that was leveraged for helping others get sober and find work. This generosity manifested in the respondents' willingness to help their junior peers find work, and in turn themselves benefit from similar generosities from their fathers, uncles, and older male network partners who were already employed in the positions in which they desired to work. In particular, the men described a process of "vouching" whereby their social network partners personally referred them to their employer and risked their own standing in the event that the referral did not pan out. Such assistance was not taken likely, but being able to offer it affirmed respondents as *numi pegerk*, specifically the expectation to be generous with those less fortunate if one is in the position to do so. From this orientation, it made sense that the men were generous in offering help, yet where they drew the line was in asking for this same help for themselves. In this way, tribal fathers with criminal records saw themselves as giving help, rather than receiving it.

Compared to their generosity towards others, my respondents were relatively disinclined to explicitly ask for help in the job search process, instead preferring to "go it alone" in their job search (Smith 2007). This *preferred* individualism parallels the defensive individualism observed by Smith (2007) in the respondents' extreme aversion to asking for help, but varies in that the men did not describe doing so in a context of pervasive distrust. Even still, the sheer lack of open positions meant that regardless of individual initiative and the boon of personal referrals, the

number of job seekers far outpaced job availability. This mirrors the experience of low-income job seekers in high-poverty urban neighborhoods where not even a strong work ethic nor sterling referral can surmount the structural limitations of a post-decline economy (Anderson 2000, Newman 2000, Young 2003). With these findings, I show that job referrals are not atomistic, one-time exchanges of information taking place exclusively between job-holder and job-seeker. Rather, they take place within the context of pre-existing social structures and cultural scripts that dictate which patterns of referrals are likely and which patterns are highly unlikely (e.g., nephews helping uncles get jobs). This is a prudent reminder that while the specifics may vary in other contexts, there are nonetheless relevant pre-existing social and cultural processes that shape how job referrals play out.

In addition to their supply-side credentials, tribal fathers were also seeking work in labor markets where tribal governments were the primary employers, and their receptivity to hiring their own ex-felons is mixed at best. Like those seeking work in immigrant enclaves (Portes & Manning 1986), my respondents shared the position of "other" with these employers by virtue of their shared worldview, and this bound respondents and community members together culturally and spiritually (Portes & Sensenbrenner 1993, Aldrich & Zimmer 1986, Lara-Cooper & Lara 2019). Yet, each of the tribes employed different gatekeeping mechanisms that prevented those with criminal records from working for them, under the guise of background checks and driving record checks tied to government funding requirements. While they do adopt tribal preference in hiring, tribal bodies are different from those co-ethnic employers observed in enclaves in that their nonmonetary investments in their workforce are scant, and nearly nonexistent for potential hires. The Tribal Court offers a monthly workshop for ex-offenders to clean up their records and reformulate their résumés, but these efforts are arguably futile if the participants are still unable

to work for their own tribe. Ultimately, tribal employers are in a position to make-or-break the economic vitality of their citizens, and in the case of tribal fathers with criminal records, there is much work to be done with regards to reincorporating them back into the labor market. While background checks are a necessary part of contemporary hiring procedures (Connerly et al. 2001), a significant minority of enrolled tribal members have criminal histories, and adopting policies like Title 30a that codify criminal stigma and as a result sideline so many tribal members from employment seems short-sighted at best, and self-defeating at worst. Beyond the specifics of this tribal case, I also show how the process of mobilizing social ties for employment can be greatly hampered by the institutional reality of governmental hiring. As such, the benefits of co-ethnic job referrals may be more easily realized in some sectors of the economy and less so in others.

Tribal fathers with criminal records sit at the intersection of several existing theories on the employment search outcomes of low-income job-seekers. On one hand, the bounded nature of the reservation is similar to that of an immigrant enclave (Portes & Sensenbrenner 1993, Portes & Manning 1986). On the other, the respondents' preference in how they sought work and their reluctance to accept help in doing so mirrored the job seeking behaviors of low-income blacks in their shared ardent individualism (Smith 2005, 2007). Yet the backdrop of generosity my respondents exhibited in helping their peers find work and even get sober encapsulated the ethos of service and responsibility they derived from their world renewal worldview (Buckley 2002, Risling-Baldy 2018, Lara-Cooper & Lara 2019). The process of survivance evidenced in their ability to secure formal employment underscores the degree to which tribal fathers with criminal records harnessed their resilience in the process of reentry. In the next chapter, I expand

on this consideration to include their experiences of fatherhood, specifically as this role relates to their children and their partners.

Chapter 7:
Tribal Responsibilities: Fatherhood and Domestic Partnerships

Introduction

Marginalized fathers have alternatively been painted as removed from the daily lives of their families and providing only scant support to their children (Anderson 1989, Liebow 1967, Moynihan 1965, Patterson 1998), or as emotionally-invested fathers who navigated economic constraints and multiple partner fertility to be present in at least one of their children's lives (Edin, Tach & Mincy 2009, Edin & Nelson 2013, Nelson 2004, Roy 2006, Waller 2002). Research on the scope and character of the involvement of marginalized men in their families' lives is ongoing, and I offer the experience of tribal fathers with criminal records as a relevant population. Similar to those populations studied previously (Anderson 2000, Edin & Nelson 2013, Liebow 1967, Roy 2006), my respondents shared several economic and social constraints by virtue of their unemployment and incarceration. Yet they also have access to the rich world renewal worldview introduced in Chapter 4, specifically the expectation that tribal men independently support their families and contribute to the resources of the collective as possible (Buckley 2002, Kroeber 1925, Lara-Cooper & Lara 2019). With this chapter, I add to existing portrayals of economically marginalized fathers and their active presence in the lives of their children and partners (Edin & Nelson 2013, Roy 2006, Waller 2002).

Irrespective of employment status, tribal fathers with criminal records described intense involvement with their family units. Being a father was as a social role that structured their day-to-day lives, and they highly prioritized their ability to provide for their children's emotional and physical needs. They leaned heavily on their domestic partners and larger social networks to help meet their paternal expectations. Some men enacted cultural scripts that emphasized their

"involved fatherhood" over providing (Edin & Nelson 2013, Krampe 2003, Nelson 2004, Roy 2006, Waller 2002), but most were reticent to decouple their roles as providers from their status as fathers. Respondents maintained active paternal involvement even in cases of multiple partner fertility, typically sharing custody of their children from previous unions through the start of new relationships and subsequent births.

With these findings, I affirm representations of low-income fathers as involved, caring and present fathers (Connor & White 2006, Edin & Nelson 2013, Roy 2006, Waller 2002, Way & Stauber 1996). I offer the case of tribal fathers with criminal records as men who raise their children in the context of cultural scripts that uphold the "ideal family unit" (Edin & Nelson 2013, Townsend 2002) with the help of their long-term monogamous partners despite social and cultural trends to the contrary (Harding 2011, Hochschild & Machung 1989). In doing so, I push back on previous accounts of economically marginalized fathers as peripherally attached to their families (Anderson 1989, Liebow 1967, Moynihan 1965, Patterson 1998). These findings are in keeping with contemporary depictions of low-income fathers who are parents within the midst of enormous constraints (Edin & Nelson 2013, Roy 2006, Waller 2002).

Literature Review

It is unclear the degree to which chronically incarcerated fathers who are peripherally attached to the labor market are incorporated into their family units. Some authors describe them as absent fathers whose labor market shortcomings limit their capacity to meet their paternal obligations, both monetary and emotional (Anderson 1989, Liebow 1967, Moynihan 1965, Patterson 1998). Media portrayals have particularly emphasized these negative representations of low-income, typically black men who are accused of fathering children with little consideration

as to the consequences for their progeny nor tax payers alike (Edin, Tach & Mincy 2009, Edin & Nelson 2013, Roy 2006, Waller 2002). Yet, recent studies refute such portrayals, instead showing how the narrative of the "hit-and-run father" is actually quite rare (Edin, Tach & Mincy 2009, Clayton et al. 2002). Most fathers highly prioritized their involvement with their children (Connor & White 2006, Edin & Nelson 2013, Krampe 2003, Nelson 2004, Roy 2006, Way & Stauber 1996, Waller 2002). While their ability to provide could be stunted by the men's poor labor market prospects, their paternal efforts were oriented around "emotional" or "involved" fatherhood rather than exclusively emphasizing more traditional expectations of "father as provider" (Edin & Nelson 2013, Edin et al. 2019, Roy 2006, Townsend 2002, Waller 2002). Further examples are necessary as to the participation of unemployed fathers with their family units as compared to those previously studied (Anderson 1989, Edin & Nelson 2013, Liebow 1967, Roy 2006, Waller 2002). In particular, I draw on the case of tribal fathers with criminal records to speak to the scope of paternal obligations as understood by this subset of marginalized men.

"Streetcorner men" have long served as a subject of sociological inquiry, and time and again they have been presented as weakly-if-at-all attached to their conjugal partners and any resulting children. Liebow (1967: xix) underscored the degree to which his respondents' marginal labor force status informed their social attachments such that "men without jobs are fathers without children." Subsequent authors have expanded these descriptions to demonstrate how as labor force attachment attenuated, so too did commitment to active fatherhood such that generations of young men grew up with absent fathers who cycled in and out of their lives between job loss, incarceration, and substance use (Anderson 1989, 2000, Wilson 1996, Liebow 1967, Morgan et al. 1993, Preston et al. 1992). The lack of paternal involvement was a backdrop

to the matriarchal family units that typified inner-city neighborhoods, with multiple partner fertility and female-headed households soon outpacing two-parent households that were structured around the nuclear family unit (Bianchi 1994, Carlson & McLanahan 2012, Edin & Kefalas 2005, Edin & Lein 1997, Guzzo 2014, McLanahan 1988, McLanahan 2014, McLanahan et al. 2013, Meyer et al. 2005).

Contrary to these previous studies, authors in recent years have painted a more nuanced portrait of fatherhood in the era of multiple partner fertility (Guzzo 2014, McLanahan 1988, Meyer et al. 2005). Edin & Nelson (2013: 5) take the myth of "so-called fatherless families" head on in their in-depth investigation of low-income fathers in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. The authors assert that children were now the focus of their father's attention, rather than an extension of his romantic interest in their mother (Liebow 1967). Specifically, Edin & Nelson (2013) outlined a process by which low-income fathers have reframed the traditional expectations of providing for their children to prioritize emotionally supporting their children as highly as helping to meet their physical needs. Waller (2002) also described a reframing of paternal expectations in her study of low-income black fathers where she observed how providing was no longer seen as a sufficient paternal contribution, but rather that they also be hands-on and emotionally involved with their children. In both cases, however, as much as fathers prioritized their emotional investments in their children, the expectation to provide was nonetheless a particularly durable cultural script (Pepin & Cotter 2017, Pedulla & Thébaud 2015, Riggs 1997).

The rise of "involved fatherhood" (Edin & Nelson 2013, Krampe 2003, Nelson 2004, Roy 2006, Waller 2002) is set within a context of rising multiple pattern fertility or MPF (Bianchi 1994, Carlson & McLanahan 2012, Edin & Kefalas 2005, Guzzo 2014, McLanahan

1988, McLanahan 2014, McLanahan et al. 2013, Meyer et al. 2005) whereby fathers who have had children with multiple partners are left splitting their emotional and monetary resources across their different children's households (Edin & Nelson 2013, Edin, Nelson & Paranal 2001, Edin, Tach & Mincy 2009, Tach, Mincy & Edin 2010). As marriage rates have fallen since the 1960s, an increasing number of children are born to unmarried couples (Curtin et al. 2014, Espenshade 1985, South & Tolnay 2019, Popenoe et al. 1993). In low-income communities, these unions have been shown to be short-lived, with only one in three couples still together by a child's 3rd birthday (Edin & Nelson 2013). As parents have children with different partners, even the best intentions to remain involved in their children's lives are stymied by the opportunity costs of maintaining their paternal ties across different households. In many cases, a father's resources were allocated primarily to their residential children compared to those who lived with ex-partners (Edin & Nelson 2013, Edin et al. 2001, 2009, Tach et al. 2010). Estimates of MPF range from 13-60% of childbearing couples, with low-income areas, young parents (< 20) and large family sizes particularly associated with high rates of multiple partner fertility (Carlson & Furstenberg 2006, Edin & Nelson 2013, Guzzo 2014, Guzzo & Furstenberg 2007, Manlove et al. 2008). In my sample, 37% of respondents had a child with more than one person, and only 20% of the sample overall were married. While long-term relationships were frequent (46% of the sample), a significant minority of respondents were navigating MPF as they sought to maintain involvement in all of their children's lives, including sharing physical custody and even sole custody in the case of maternal absence.

Multiple partner fertility and fatherhood are well studied, yet I concur with Roy (2006) that further examples of low-income fathers could strengthen our understanding of how men who are peripherally attached to the labor market maintain paternal connections with at least one child

at any given time. I offer the experience of tribal fathers with criminal records as an additional population that are marginally positioned both socially and economically-speaking, but who continue to cohabit and have children irrespective of their employment status, chronic incarceration, and drug and/or alcohol addictions. In this chapter, I describe how my respondents take an active role in the day-to-day of their children's lives, and how they continued to seek out the "ideal family unit" whereby they lived with the mother of their children in a shared household (Edin & Nelson 2013). As observed elsewhere (Glotzer 2003, Townsend 2002), respondents preferred raising their children within the context of a two-parent household, with the father as the primary breadwinner. This "package deal" of fatherhood combined with marriage and their ability to support their families has become increasingly hard to attain as the economic prospects of low-income suitors have declined (Townsend 2002, Wilson 1996). Nonetheless, the fathers in my sample continued to enact cultural scripts that prioritized two-parent households where all children lived either full-time or part-time through a shared custody arrangement. To do this, my respondents detailed drawing upon their world renewal worldview and the gender-based expectations therein, a major boon to their meaning-making processes just as the local industry decline constrained their ability to provide for their families. In this way, the world renewal worldview provided tribal men with a powerful cultural script for fatherhood just as their economic opportunities dwindled (Roy 2006, Settersen & Cancel-Tirado 2010).

Just as the world renewal worldview was a tool for facilitating active fatherhood, so too was it an asset to the domestic partnerships of my respondents. The sample was characterized by durable, long-term monogamous relationships, with 46% of the men in relationships lasting five years or more. While only half of these respondents were legally married to their partners, they were nonetheless most typically operating within the context of a two-parent household shared

with their “woman” or “old lady.” I contextualize the frequency of such long-term unions based on the existing literature on marriage and family. Generally speaking, low income men and women are just as likely to marry, but their marriages are more unstable as a result of the economic and social obstacles that plague their communities and households (Fein 2004). Compared to their middle and upper-class counterparts, most low-income couples welcome their first child before marriage and are more likely to be unemployed and have a lower education (Fein 2004). Nonetheless, low-income couples spend more time together than couples in other income quartiles, with the hours not spent at work spent together, usually with their children (Fein 2009).

Despite their time spent together, low-income couples frequently have few positive role models of successful marriages, and the lack of such modeling limits the longevity of many unions (Dion 2005, Forste, Bartkowski & Jackson 2009, Roy 2006). Marriage is important for family structure as wives are a key source of parenting information for fathers as they provide their husbands with guidance on appropriate behavior. This is particularly true for men who lack the family background from which to draw such cues, as is the case for those with absent and/or abusive fathers (Forste et al. 2009). Whether an individual models or compensates in their parenting style depends on their relationship with their own father and their interpretation of his parenting style either positively or negatively (Forste et al. 2009, Gaunt & Bassi 2012). For those with absent fathers, they tend to describe fathering with an emphasis on the breadwinner role whereas those who were close to their fathers emphasized nurturing capacities (Forste et al. 2009). Additionally, those with negative relationships with their fathers were explicit in their desire not to model their father’s behavior and instead underscored their desire to be different and “be there” for their children in ways their fathers were not (Forste et al. 2009). This

phenomenon of "crossing over" whereby men adopt behaviors in contrast with those of their parents was frequent in cases of childhood physical abuse (Floyd & Morman 2000, Forste et al. 2009, Masciadrelli, Pleck, & Stueve, 2006; Pleck 1997), and fathers in my sample described a similar experience of wanting to be different fathers to their children than their fathers had been to them. Nonetheless, the processes of modeling and "compensating" for learned behavior was not a strict dichotomy but rather more fluid, with fathers modeling some behaviors why compensating for others (Gaunt & Bassi 2012). By detailing this process, I add to existing considerations of paternal agency in reconfiguring parenting scripts (Forste, Bartkowski & Jackson 2009, Moloney et al. 2009).

Finally, I offer the experiences of my respondents as a way of engaging with conceptions of "cultural heterogeneity" in low-income communities (Harding 2006, 2007, 2011). Harding (2006, 2007, 20011) pushed back on portrayals of urban low-income neighborhoods as characterized by a distinctive subculture. He found that disadvantaged neighborhoods had access to a greater number of cultural scripts and frames than those in more advantaged contexts, between their access to "oppositional" (Fordham & Ogbu 1986, Massey & Denton 1993, Anderson 2000) or "ghetto-related" (Wilson 1996) norms and values alongside those of the mainstream (Hochschild 1995). I am not discounting these findings, but rather questioning their application to communities characterized by disadvantage and high social cohesion. For example, in this chapter I demonstrate how although they have access to and occasionally adopted paternal scripts in line with "new fatherhood" conceptions (Edin et al. 2019, Edin & Nelson 2013), my respondents vastly preferred utilizing those that affirmed their world renewal worldview whenever possible. Two-earner households and changes to the division of labor from more gender-based versions have their growing place in mainstream society (Croft et al. 2014,

Hochschild & Machung 1989, Torr & Short 2004), and are arguably the most effective employment arrangement when female partners are better able to find work in the local economy than their male counterparts (Browne 2000, Bound & Holzer 1991, Edin & Kefalas 2005, Newman 2000). The world renewal worldview is a cultural orientation that predates the contemporary disadvantage that clusters on-reservation, and remains a primary tool-kit from which my respondents derived meaning and shaped their actions (Swidler 1986, 2001). It was for this reason that they sought out full-time work rather than pushing their potentially better-placed partners to do so, only begrudgingly accepting such employment in the absence of their own. For my respondents, their very manhood as world renewal men rested on their ability to honor their roles and expectations as providers, and to do so through their own hard work and initiative (Buckley 2002). It was through this lens that they and their network partners assessed their available strategies of action, in some ways constraining the behaviors available to them and enforcing these boundaries through social stigma and resource exchange.

In the following sections, I detail the distinguishing characteristics of the respondent pool as fathers, and the scope of their involvement in the lives of their children. I nuance this consideration with a discussion of those fathers who themselves had absent fathers, men who could be described as "begrudging fathers" and others who might be better deemed "consummate fathers." In each case, my respondents leaned heavily on their domestic partners to honor their obligations as fathers, with those men who worked full-time particularly dependent on their partners as homemakers. This division of labor met the dual obligations of providing income for their households and meeting their family's childcare obligations, which could be sizable in the case of large families (≥ 4 children). Not all men had this option, however, as evidenced by stay-at-home dads and single fathers in the final section.

Distinguishing Characteristics of Tribal Fathers

My sample includes thirty-five tribal fathers with criminal records, and as fathers of minor children, they shared several characteristics with their urban counterparts in low-income neighborhoods. Edin & Nelson (2013) focused on men who did not have legal custody of their children, but in my sample this was more the exception than the rule. While my study design focused on recruiting tribal fathers with similar characteristics as fathers studied in other low-income communities, it was extraordinarily difficult to find men who did not live with their children and domestic partners. A lion's share of the literature on marginalized fathers focuses on noncustodial parents, yet my respondents maintained physical and legal custody of their children in most cases. This custodial status was a direct reflection of the fact that tribal fathers were most often in a monogamous relationship with the mother of their children as married or cohabiting couples. Additionally, several men had actually fought to maintain or regain custody of their children in cases of family dissolution, and the men's custody of their children was irrespective of incarceration and job loss.

In total, 43% of the sample lived with all of their minor children, and another 23% shared joint physical custody of their children with past partners. For those respondents who shared custody, over 60% of them had recoupled since relationship dissolution, and nearly three out of four had also had another child. For these reasons, it was exceedingly difficult to recruit men who were fathers with criminal records who did not have sole or joint physical custody of their children at the time of their interviews, underscoring the degree to which they were a part of their family's day-to-day lives.

Despite this departure from previous studies of nonresident fathers (Edin & Nelson 2013, Edin, Nelson & Paranal 2001), I assert that my respondents represent a proximal group in their

low rates of marriage (20%) as well as their economic marginalization, chronic incarceration, and residence in high-poverty communities. Beyond these shared traits, respondents were also distinguished by several noteworthy characteristics. First, big families were more common than not, with an average family size of four children and two adults, a family size 55% larger the national average (ACS 2017). As observed elsewhere (Carlson & Furstenberg 2006, Evenhouse & Reilly 2010), multiple partner fertility contributed to family size, although several respondents shared families of five or more children with the same partner. Across the sample, 37% of men had children with multiple child-bearing partners, with respondents frequently having children in "sets" whereby they would have several children with the same woman over a number of years. Unlike previous studies of low-income partnerships (Anderson 1989, Edin & Kefalas 2005, Edin & Nelson 2013, Waller 2002), few men described their romantic relationships with present and former partners as casual and/or short-term.

Instead, my respondents were much more likely to describe having children within the context of long-term monogamous relationships. For example, of the 35 men in the sample, two-thirds were in monogamous relationships with the mother of their child at the time of their interview, 60% of which were long-term relationships lasting five years or more (46% of the sample overall).[99] Despite the frequency of such relationships, only 44% of long-term cohabiting partners were married, comprising just 20% of the sample overall. The experience of tribal mothers in these partnerships merits its own investigation, but subsequent sections will outline the scope of their roles as key sources of support and resilience for their partners in the sample. Beyond monogamous pairs, 20% of the sample self-described themselves as "single fathers" in

[99] Only two men acknowledged planning to have a child with their partners despite the frequency of long-term monogamous relationships.

that they maintained physical custody of their children without the assistance of a domestic partner.

In addition to the frequency of large families and long-term monogamous partnerships, my respondents were also characterized by several age-related trends. Young fathers were very much a phenomenon, with one out of three men becoming a father before the age of 18. On the other end of the spectrum, a handful of respondents were men over the age of 45 who were the primary caretakers of children under the age of 10. Neil, 51, first became a father at 24, and of his five children, he had single-handedly raised his middle son, Johnson, from ages 3-16. In his mind, Johnson was supposed to be his last child, but after meeting his current partner, a woman who was a decade his junior, he became a father again at the age of 47. At first, Neil was reticent, describing his response to her request as "'Are you crazy?' you know, 'I'm 50 years-old and my - that's just - you do realize what you're asking?'" Despite his initial hesitation, Neil's cousin and contemporary had recently welcomed a child of his own at 48, and his resolve softened. For as much as he was surprised at her request, the rest was relatively straightforward: "it was no sooner she got off birth control, we got pregnant." I describe these characteristics of the sample, including the men's age diversity and other trends, to demonstrate the unique traits that influenced the experience of fatherhood for tribal fathers in noteworthy ways. In the next sections, I dig into these attributes and substantively engage how they shape paternal responsibilities and obligations as understood by my respondents.

Rising to the Occasion of *Numi Pegerk*

In this section, I show how tribal fathers with criminal records were active parents who rose to the challenge of fatherhood even in cases when their own fathers were absent. In doing

so, they exemplified the paternal expectations of "*numi pegerk*,"[100] an orienting frame of world renewal worldview. This ethos was evidenced by the strong relationships they cultivated with their children through hands-on involvement, and in how they leveraged the court system to maintain or regain physical custody of their children. Even those fathers who struggled to meet the emotional needs of their children still adhered to both traditional and mainstream cultural scripts of providing financially for their families. Finally, my respondents fought to honor their roles as fathers and providers even when they struggled to get sober for their children, and in the tragic event that they had lost a child. Their intense involvement with their family units adds to growing depictions of involved fathers within contexts of disadvantage (Edin & Nelson 2013, Roy 2006, Waller 2002).

Fatherhood as an Orienting Role

Chuck grinned from ear to ear when he spoke of his children. He dug through his backpack during his interview to show me the collection of supplies he carried with him to each visitation with his infant son, ranging from bottles to blankets, diapers to several jumpers. He described their hourly encounters as "never long enough" and he structured his work shifts and other weekly obligations around the days he got to spend an hour with his son at the social services office in Crescent City. Three times a week, Chuck would bring everything he needed to feed and clothe the boy over the course of their supervised visit, typically arriving an hour before the appointment to complete any paperwork and proceed to the visitation room before his ex-

[100] *Numi pegerk* refers to the world renewal worldview expectation that in order for tribal man to be "real men" as directly translated, they had to independently provide for their families through gainful, licit means, and they also had to accumulate spiritual wealth in the form of regalia to help honor their responsibilities as a dance makers in traditional ceremonies (Buckley 2002). The requirement of fatherhood was an underlying condition as marriage and the birth of one's first child were seen as defining moments for tribal men both pre-and post-invasion. For more information on this concept, please refer to section "Responsibility & Fatherhood: Generational Transmission of Work Ethic" in Chapter 4.

girlfriend and son arrived. As I dropped him off at the office after his interview,[101] I asked Chuck if he was too early as the appointment was not for another hour, but Chuck explained "I don't ever want to be late here. They don't let you see him if you're late and they tell the judge you didn't come." Chuck would wait while his son was transferred from his mother to a social worker, who would then hand the boy over to Chuck in a separate room, ensuring that the acrimonious ex-partners did not cross paths during their visitation. Some days, Chuck would spend just as much time waiting and preparing to see his son as he would actually holding the baby. Even still, he glowed with pride as he described his growing stability as a father:

> I just went and bought a bunch of stuff. I went and bought a blanket, and just, like, one of the onesies I bought him… I got probably, like, maybe, like - right now I've probably got, like, I think I've got three sleepers, I've got four bibs, I've got eight socks, and then I've got I think five long-sleeve and five - four or five short-sleeve, you know, 6 to 9 months, and 9-month ones. And then I got some 12-month ones. All together I've got about 20 outfits.

At 45, Chuck was a father of two children under the age of 5, a 4-year old daughter and his infant son, and he coordinated his life around the time he spent with both children. In addition to his visitations with his son, he shared custody of his daughter with his ex-girlfriend, a woman he had met in recovery meetings in Crescent City. Chuck was very proud to have been granted weekend visits, and appreciated his status as the first person his daughter's mother called when she needed a babysitter so she could work extra shifts as a manager at the local Burger King. In light of his past incarceration and substance use, Chuck was especially grateful to be such a present father:

> I've struggled, and I've gone through a couple things. You know, struggled with the drugs a little bit for a while. But, you know, in those two years, you know, I got my own place, I got a couple jobs, I get my daughter every weekend, and whenever I have time during the week to get her. You know, I'm clean almost four months. I mean, and I get my son - and eventually I'll be having my son….there's been a lot of ups and downs, a lot of bad and stuff, you know, gone through some things, you know, here I am, still standing…You know, two years out of prison, still got a couple jobs, still got my own place, you know, still, you know, taking care of my kids and stuff. So - and I'm clean. So, you know, I'm happy and I'm grateful for the life I have, you know? You know, it is a struggle sometimes. But it's better than wasting my life in a prison cell and full of misery.

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[101] Observational field note, 2.20.18, Crescent City, CA.

In the two years since his last prison release, Chuck had regained custody of his daughter, and was in the process of confirming paternity of his son so that he could do the same. He relished the time he spent with each child, and was a veritable anthology of information on their development, a characteristic that contrasted heavily with his frenzied speech and erratic mannerisms, vestiges of his decades of meth abuse.

Chuck himself had no memories before age 8, and both of his parents struggled with addiction his entire life. His mother was a prostitute, and his father was addicted to barbiturates and alcohol, working long hours each day despite a chronic back condition. Cognizant of these deficits, Chuck enrolled in an online parenting course administered by the Yurok Tribe for those sharing custody of their children:

> The terms that I just used is what I kind of learned from taking the workshop I took. It's called "Parenting after separation.” it's an online course you take through the court...I was doing it at the law library. And I was working up there and a little bit here [at the employment center’s computer lab], and then I finally got on my phone and it kind of took a while to try to get the thing downloaded…

Chuck spent the next several days pouring over the resources from his phone’s screen. He utilized the program’s lessons when it came to interacting with his infant son, and dealing with his acrimonious ex-girlfriend, who had denied Chuck’s paternity despite their obvious resemblance, sharing the same features even to a stranger’s eye. Chuck did not care how long he had to attend supervised visits nor the multiple court sessions to establish his tie to the child because in his mind, “as a father and as a man, it's my duty to do anything and everything I can to protect my child and provide for my child.” Chuck modeled his ethos to provide after his father who, despite numerous addictions, maintained a home for Chuck and his sister as a single father before his arrest as described in Chapter 5. Even still, in the absence of a close paternal attachment (Forste et al. 2009, Gaunt & Bassi 2012), Chuck recognized his need to compensate

for the more emotional aspects of fatherhood, and he sought out opportunities to do so, like the online parenting course.

Chuck was far from the only respondent to rise to the challenge of fatherhood despite scant personal resources, both physical and emotional. Like Chuck, Raymond, 29, was raising his children in Crescent City, although both he and his wife Retta, 34, had their heart set on returning to live with her father downriver. In the meantime, they lived in town and took turns taking care of the kids and working, with one employed formally to pay rent and other bills while the other, usually Raymond, stayed home with their two preschool-aged children, a boy and a girl. Raymond was the one formally employed at the time of his interview, and he had walked over twenty-five miles with heavy equipment through significant shrubbery as a brusher that week. Such work would be strenuous for most, yet particularly so for Raymond as his body had virtually been rebuilt eight years previous as the result of a major car accident. He didn't mind the physical pain if it meant food for his children, and it was instead an emotional pain that dogged his mind that day. We had had to reschedule the week previous after Raymond received some alarming news about his two eldest children from a previous relationship:

> I would say "kidnapped" because I haven't spoke to them. But the law enforcement up here says different, and it's really frustrating. And that's, like, my big problem being up here is just the law enforcement up here is really crooked I think on a lot of things. It might be the Indians, it might just - I don't know, it might just be me. But I see different. I mean, there's no justice for us up here. My two kids were taken out of this county, weren't supposed to be. Court papers say it, you know? I share custody, I'm supposed to see my kids every second and fourth weekends, and plus the holidays and all this stuff that we worked out. And she was letting me see them every weekend because she lived right in town, too. No problems, no - "Okay, I'll meet you at Chevron and get the kids." And it was drop-off point, pickup point right there. No arguments, easy-peasy. And she up and moved on me, so - and ran and - she's - no trails, no nothing. It was like she was gone. So I'm stuck, like, wondering where are my visits, where are my kids?
>
> The counselor calls me up - the school counselor calls me and said, "I'm going - I went to go get your daughter out of school and she wasn't there." They said she was disenrolled. And I panicked, you know? I'm, like, "What do you mean?" And I called the school right up, "Hey, what are you talking about? My kids are sup- I'm supposed to have every information about my kids. If their disenrolled you guys are supposed to call me right away." And no one did, no one ever called me back, you know? And it's like little things like that, too, that can really irritate me. Because now what they created was a big domino effect. If they would've stopped them right there from - "Hey, wait a minute. Let me call the dad up and let him get down here," and it would've been stopped right there. But they let it happen. And now I, like, haven't seen my kids since October - since Halloween. So it's pretty rough right now.

In Raymond's mind, his children had been kidnapped by their mother, in a flagrant violation of their shared custody agreement and arguably to the detriment of the children who had previously been seeing their father and half siblings every weekend. Raymond was especially vexed by what he felt was potentially discriminatory behavior by local law enforcement and school officials who did not acknowledge his right to his children despite his maintaining legal custody. The panic he felt when he learned the kids were gone was all to familiar as he had only recently regained physical custody of them after the mom fled the state when the children were infants. Now, he dejectedly described how they would have to wait until the end of the school year to report the children missing, per the Sheriff's interpretation of their custody agreement. In the interim, both Raymond and his wife Retta were left feeling as if their home was half full, a feeling Retta poignantly described as "when his kids are not here with him, I only have a part of his heart. The rest is wherever they are, and right now we don't even know." When they were not at work, the pair spent every minute together as a family, and the absence of their eldest two children was a constant strain on their well-being, especially Raymond's.

At 17, Raymond became a father to his eldest daughter, and described the day as life-altering: "that's my baby, my first kid I ever had, looked in her eyes and it's changed my whole life." Even with the great meaning he took from fatherhood and in holding his firstborn, Raymond acknowledged

> When my daughter - my first daughter was born, I was kind of a knucklehead still. I was 16, you know? And I had a lot of anger built up in me because I didn't have a father around, didn't have my mom around, and I always wondered where they were. But I was always kind of in jail. I hate to say that, but I was doing 90 days, you know, and sometimes at the time - and that's three months out of a kid's life.

Like the other young fathers in the sample, Raymond was still very much coming to grips with the implications of being raised by his great-grandmother because both parents were deep in their addiction. As such, Raymond struggled to meet his paternal obligations at first as he cycled

between drinking with his brothers, sitting in jail, and back home again. Not surprisingly, his relationship didn't last long, although long enough to welcome the birth of a second child, this time a son. As she would do time and again throughout their lives, his ex absconded with the children soon after giving birth, and Raymond was left in a deep despair:

> I was depressed, I was down, didn't know where my kids were, and that's when she came along is when I was, like, way down on my rock bottom. And she helped me, and she saw something in me. And then, like, I quit doing drugs the day I saw her, June 30th.

Retta had had her own struggles—just before meeting Raymond, she had been released from prison after spending a decade inside for a violent crime. She explained to me "I didn't want anything from him, it wasn't even like that. I just could see he was hurting and it was because his kids were gone. So I just wanted to help him get them back." Retta and Raymond filed for joint custody and the local courts were able to track the children down as Raymond had never once ceded his legal rights to them. The mother left the kids with Raymond and Retta for the next year and half, and in that time, they welcomed their own child. Now with only his two youngest in the house, Raymond and his family were left feeling the absence of the eldest siblings:

> My household is really, like, it's mixed up, like, really emotional right now. My babies are missing their older ones, and I'm missing them, and... And we all just miss each other. And I hate to imagine what they're thinking right now. And she's probably putting in their ear all kind of things—"Dad don't love you. Dad don't want to talk to you." Look, that's not the case, because I can try to call them right now, and you get email or - I mean, I get a voicemail or I'll get a, "What do you want? No, I won't let you talk to your kids. Why should I do that?" I was, like "God, because they're my kids."

As their father, Raymond had every right to speak to his children, but his ex-partner's inability to co-parent left him parenting in spurts, in between her erratic behavior and all the while having to maintain his emotional state for the children that were still in the home. Raymond clung to his children fiercely, and this stemmed from his own desire for present parents growing up:

> We've tried everything. I've been through every possible loophole and thing, and it's just a waiting game. It really is, it's a waiting game when it comes to the co-parent, because they don't want to co-parent, they want to be little kids. And I'd say, "Okay, yeah, we did have kids; let's share them," you know what I mean? Let's share them and let's not make their life miserable. That's who it affects. I mean, like I said, I didn't have a mom or dad growing up. And I always wondered, "Where's my mom? Where's my dad?" I mean, I always loved my grandma with all my heart, you know what I mean? But I was - every kid

> wonders probably... "Where's my mom? Where's my dad? Are they going to come and see me today, or...?"

Raymond fulfilled the fatherhood role in a way that his own father could never muster, even one that he could not when he was a younger man. But since the birth of his eldest daughter, he had identified as a father and a husband before any other title, and he actively sought out the opportunity to honor his responsibilities time and again. For almost two years, he and Retta were the primary caretakers for all four of his children, and Raymond still aspired to this arrangement even as his paternal rights were left to the whim of his ex-partner's wanderings. To make matters worse, Raymond was left navigating an unreceptive court system to establish even basic contact with his children despite his earnest desire to be a part of their daily lives.

In some cases, custody had to be regained for good reason. Men like Carson, 43, had spent most of his adult life incarcerated, and by the age of 35, he had fathered over nine children with five partners, some children born within months of each other despite different mothers. Carson had a rueful smile when he explained the overlap between the birthdates of his children, acknowledging his youthful antics coupled with his speculation that

> I used to think a lot of that was because I was always getting out of prison. So - and I had times where I got a lot of clean time, and so... Maybe that's why. I think about it, like, I mean, every time I got out I was just, like healthy and everything was working [laughs]

Given his chronic incarceration, each child lived with their mothers for the most part, although Carson's parents and other paternal kin maintained constant contact with them irrespective of their son's presence. In 2008, Carson was scheduled to come home and had been walking the Red Road[102] as a sweat lodge participant in prison, preparing himself to live sober on the outside. His partner and the mother of his three daughters had been waiting for him to come home for a second time in their relationship. On the eve of his release, she passed away in a tragic car

[102] The Red Road refers to sober programming fashioned after Lakota-style cleansing rituals, and these sweat lodges are in every California state prison after inmates exerted their rights to them in the 1990s (Grobsmith 1994, Waldram 1993).

accident. Her family opted to take in the children while their father was away, afraid that this tragedy and Carson's own admitted substance use problems would leave him unable to care for the girls. While Carson agreed that keeping them with family before he got out made the most sense, he was making moves to be their primary guardian upon his release:

> At that point I was starting to make some changes, and I was already making changes when it came to my thought process—"no, I've got to take responsibility for my kids."… And I was always struggling with addiction. And I was in that cycle of getting out of prison. And then when their mom passed and I really kind of lost it a little bit. And so I had to step up to the - responsibility with my kids, because their mother wasn't there anymore.

Despite his internal commitment, his in-laws fought tooth and nail to keep the girls, and Carson had to mobilize every resource at his disposal to assert his right to custody of his children. He leaned on his Vocational Rehab[103] mentor Jack, 58, and moved his case to the Yurok Tribal Court where he felt he would receive more equitable treatment than in the state system. Even with their report compiled on his many (self-admitted) flaws and the personal attorney hired by his in-laws, Carson was able to demonstrate the changes he had made to take in his daughters, and his custody rights were restored. He credited his reentry programming as pivotal to this process:

> Housing--they help you deal with the down payment for, like, a deposit and stuff like that. And [our] place needed a lot of work, so, I mean, Jack put in a lot of work to get into a place and set that up... I got my kids before that - before that place, so I was still with my auntie. And [our social worker] bought us a triple bunk bed. Because all I had was a room at my auntie's, so we got a triple bunk bed and I got my three girls on there. And my girlfriend at the time had just gotten out, too. She was locked up. And so she got out. And then we was staying there at my auntie's, and… it was just, like, man, yeah, one room and triple bunk. But it was, like, man, it was a new start. And that's what we branched out from there, you know?

Once Carson secured permanent housing for his daughters, the rest of his children moved in, and he would welcome two more sons before his 40th birthday. At the time of his interview, Carson had five minor and three adult children residing in his home, and he lived the life of a single father:

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[103] Vocational Rehab is a federally funded program that provides vocational training and other support services for disabled job seekers, and men like Carson qualified as a result of his chemical dependencies. For more information, see the section "Employment Patterns Across the Sample" in Chapter 6.

> We barely make it, you know what I mean? That's me putting in a lot of work. I run back and forth all day, every day. God knows they got needs, a lot of needs. And I've got to do it all, you know what I mean? I've got to make sure there's toilet paper, make sure we have shampoo and conditioner, I mean, laundry soap, all that stuff. And then I've got to keep them on their health stuff, you know, keep that stuff in order, and you'd think they would just do it on their own but sometimes they don't, so I gotta keep their health in order, or keep them on their chores and stuff. I end up being the bad guy some nights, you know?

From juggling school, doctors' appointments, trips to town for basic supplies, and household chores, each of these tasks fell on Carson's shoulders as a single father. He shared children with several women, but tragically two of them had died and another was in active addiction, so Carson was left with a majority if-not-all of the responsibility associated with raising their children. The ways that Carson scheduled his time around the needs of his family more accurately mirrored those previously observed in studies of urban single mothers (Edin & Kefalas 2005, Edin & Lein 1997, McLanahan 1988) than similarly-placed fathers (Nelson 2004). Carson tended to the day-to-day physical and emotional needs of each child with a "gentleness" that he was clear had taken time to finesse, but was vital to his role as a father:

> I notice that each child is - has their individual needs. And the way I deal with it - sometimes I can't put a rule that goes for everybody, because everybody's a little bit different. So I've got to mix that up a little bit, too. And sometimes they think it's not fair, but it's, like, "You know what… I know what's going on, and this is what I feel is appropriate. And that's my call, and it's my job to do that." So that kind of switches up, you know what I mean? Different approaches for each one…it's a different dynamic, each one is.

Carson extended this ethos to each individual child, a sizable task given his family's size. Yet even with such hands-on fathering at the time of his interview, he acknowledged the animosity that his elder sons had in comparison to the two he was now raising on his own. Carson had been away in prison for much of their childhood and their anger at him for this reared its head from time to time. Yet, each of his many children still chose to live under his roof, including his eldest sons. Now men in their own right, they opted to live with their father and had done so ever since Carson established his own household. Over the course of the observation period, I frequently saw Carson with his children, flanked by each of his adult sons as their little brothers trailed

behind, moving like a troupe-of-sorts at ceremonial dances and festivals, each sharing Carson's sharp feathers and casual stride.[104]

Carson was highly regarded for his daily efforts as a single father, and community members underscored his resilience post-incarceration, most in awe[105] of his ability to transition from full-time offending to full-time fatherhood so seamlessly. According to Carson, stepping up as a father was the result of a realization he had not long after his last prison release, a realization that prompted the ensuing custody battle for his daughters:

> The only way they're going to get [focused attention] is from their mom or their dad, you know what I mean? In other households you're secondary, you know what I mean? To where it's, like, man, they're my first priority. And you only get that from your mom or your dad…with anyone else, they're not going to get that commitment, like, that their dad's going to give them, because that's my responsibility, and that's at the forefront, is my children.

Carson was eight years clean at the time of this interview, and had recently assumed a teaching role in the Hoopa recovery community, in addition to his growing knowledge as a world renewal dancer leader. His recovery was a precondition to his fatherhood, but his addictions were arguably things of the past as he made plans for the future as a father of many. Carson was on track to continue his education at the local university, but his youngest sons had just reached school age, and in the short-term, he reasoned that they needed him more than he needed to go back to school:

> They needed me. They still need me right now. So that's been my excuse for the last two years. I should be in Humboldt by now, you know, working my way towards my degree. But then I said, you know what, man, I've got to focus on these little guys right now. They need me. And that's what I've been doing is making that happen. So in the meantime I was shooting at small-term goals…

Carson lived and breathed his role as a father, and he had to with a family as big as his. Yet, to say that he fulfilled his responsibilities as a consummate father would not be a stretch, and this was a particularly compelling in light of the two decades previous that he had spent in prison.

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[104] Observational field note, 7.14.18, Sregon, CA; observational field note, 7.28.18, Weitchpec, CA; observational field note, 8.18.18, Klamath, CA.

[105] Observational field note, 6.27.18, McKinleyville, CA; observational field note, 9.5.18, Hoopa, CA.

Like Carson, Johnny, 36, also shared children with several partners. From Weitchpec, the father of three first became a father at age 18 to his eldest son, Adam, and twice again in his 30s, to a son and daughter with two different women. His youngest son's mother was his first long term relationship after returning home from prison, and while there was some animosity after they broke up, Johnny now counted her as a friend and the two shared a close coparenting relationship. This was notwithstanding Johnny's current relationship with Kim, the mother of his youngest daughter, Sadie. The two lived with Sadie and Mera, Kim's daughter from a previous relationship, in a manufactured home on Johnny's family's property:

> Yeah well Adam he's 19, I had him in '99 and uhh that's like right before I went to prison. And uhh he's my number one. And then when I got out of prison, a few years later after that, then I had my other little guy, Roy, Roy Lee Rogers, you know. And he's nine now…he's an awesome little guy. And then head on down the road, another relationship, you know, broke up with his, Roy's mom you know not too long, we had a rough time there in like you know, we're good friends now….They're all separate mothers, and now I got Sadie you know. She's 3, going on 4 pretty quick. Smart little baby [nervous but proud laughter]

Johnny and Kim had custody of their daughters full-time, and he also maintained a room for each of his sons. Adam, 18, would split his time as a young bachelor between Johnny's house downriver and his grandmother's place out on the coast, and Roy, 9, lived with Johnny every other weekend and most of each summer. Both Johnny and his ex-girlfriend Teri preferred Roy live in Hoopa where Teri was from and where the boy had a large maternal kin network at the reservation's schools, when playing youth football, and for participating in ceremonial dances.

Johnny was raising his children within the context of multiple partner fertility, but he did not let this prevent his involvement with each of his children, even after recoupling with Kim and starting a family of their own. Johnny was not alone in navigating MPF and sharing custody of his children as a result. Like Johnny, 37% of the sample has more than one child-bearing partner, and of them, 69% shared physical custody of their nonresidential children. Of those who shared physical custody of their children, over 60% of them had recoupled since, and nearly three out of four had also had another child with their new partners. In this way, fathers in my

sample maintained active relationships with children from previous relationships past relationship dissolution and new births, a process that can be strained by having children in multiple households (Edin et al. 2001, 2009, Edin & Nelson 2013, Forste et al. 2009). Like their peers who were raising their children in the context of long-term monogamous relationships, fathers with children by multiple partners continued to seek out the "ideal family unit" with each new partner (Edin & Nelson 2013, Glotzer 2003, Townsend 2002). In doing so, they reframed the "package deal" (Townsend 2002) to include their current partner, their children, *and* the children they shared with other partners through joint custody. Beyond their own children from previous unions, social children were also an integral part of their family units, and few men qualified their stepchildren as such unless pressed on this point. Instead, at intake, they frequently claimed family sizes that included their own biological children as well as those of their partners.

For Johnny, this included his stepdaughter Mera, 8. While he was not her biological father, the care Johnny had for her was obvious in the concern he shared for her ongoing medical issues. In Johnny's mind, he had not lived a life marred by tragedy, yet the health issues of his children cut to his core. When I asked him about such experiences, he described his eldest son's near fatal encounter with a gun during the two weeks between our interview sessions as his first such incident, and the potential deafness of his stepdaughter as the second. Johnny had spent the previous week watching Sadie so that Kim and Mera could go to an out-of-area doctor's appointment for Mera's decreasing hearing in one ear. Unfortunately, this most recent test had little good news for the family, but this did not dampen Johnny's hopes for Mera's future:

> "If you'd seen her, you wouldn't think she's deaf. She can hear anything [laughs] "you're not deaf!" I tell her, she does really well, you know… we're really hoping they can do something for her because she's just a little brain, she's a really smart girl, you know. Expect big things out of her… she's gonna be something"

Johnny held out hope that they could save Mera's hearing in the right ear, but her remaining ear was comparatively fine, and he would tease her for hearing so well in spite of her disability. In his own way, Johnny was teaching Mera she could accomplish whatever she wanted irrespective of her hearing. In the meantime, he was on standby to help her and her mother with whatever her health required because in Johnny's eyes, Mera was just as much his child as Adam, Roy, and Sadie.

Like Carson and Johnny, Elijah, 40, could also be described as a paramount father. In Chapter 4, I offered Elijah's unrelenting ethos to provide as one based on his world renewal worldview. Similarly, Elijah modeled his expectations of the fatherhood role from the examples of his grandfather or *peechowos*, who single-handedly raised eight children and worked full-time during the logging heyday after his wife died in a car accident. These lessons were in place of his own father's, who had spent most of Elijah's childhood in prison, and who was murdered not long after Elijah became a first time father at 19. For Elijah, being a father of six was a role that he prioritized over all others. This was not only a direct reflection of his father's absence, but also the frequency of loss in his life:

> Growing up without a father, obviously I didn't really realize it at the time, but it's like I knew what it was like. So I never wanted my kids to not feel like I wasn't there for them. So I already had that implanted [in my mind] when I was going to have kids, I always wanted to be a father. And then I seen the way my Grandpa raised his kids… the way I grew up you know it's like I had a lot of family members pass away, like way too young, too short. And like my Grandma and my Grandpa, I knew what love was because that's what they gave me unconditionally. And I always wanted to show that to my kids, you know. My mother also, it's like when I grew up, I always wanted to hate my dad for not caring about me and stuff like that, but I knew my mom loved me, so that's the way I try to be. Everyday I tell my kids I love them, give each other hugs, try to like you know cuz you never know, you know what I mean?

To say that Elijah spent every waking moment with his family or providing for his family would not be an understatement. He structured his graveyard work schedules around the need to transport his kids to and from school in the daytime, and even his off-time was designed to meet

the various timetables of sports practices, powwows and family errands. He also relished his role as his children's spiritual advisor, and held them to a standard that was rare off-reservation:

> For my kids it's been hard because like they grew up traditional and they gotta live the white man's way out here, and they just think differently. So they don't really get along with a lot of those kids because they're just like different. Their goals in life are different than my kids's. Their way of life is different you know, and if we did up and leave, we'd all go together, and we'd do it, the same thing we're doing now, just somewhere else.

Elijah's family was known off-reservation as a powerhouse on the basketball court, in the classroom and on the track, and he actively cultivated these skillsets with each of his children. Elijah described running with his family in a way that echoed pre-contact rituals of training for dances by building physical endurance:

> My son usually does football but uhhh I gave him the opportunity to choose if he wanted to do it [this year] … he chose cross country, which is always going to help him after school, he's not going to go to the NFL or whatever, play ball, you know…But being able to run and stuff too, you know at like an elite level is pretty big….I only really took them running all the time cuz I grew up running and stuff, I did three marathons, and my mother, she was a runner. So I kind of wanted to show them how.

Elijah took great pride in his family's physical and spiritual prowess, and as a father, he felt it was his responsibility to cultivate these areas. Elijah was one of several respondents who exemplified the characteristics of a *numi pegerk* in his extreme dedication to providing for his family and being an active father. To accomplish this feat, Elijah modeled a great majority of his fathering behaviors after those of his *peechowos* while also compensating for negative experiences with his father, with whom he had had little attachment. Arguably, the high standard to which he held himself as a father was why his two DUIs and handful of "drunk in public" charges were such a source of deep personal chagrin.

Each of the men described above demonstrate the range of fatherhood experiences in the sample, from single fathers sharing custody with their exes like Chuck and Carson, to men who shared numerous children with the same partner of many years like Elijah and Raymond. Across the sample, my respondents described active involvement with their children, from tending to

their basic needs, sharing childcare obligations, and building their spiritual selves. In the next subsection, I describe those who struggled to meet their children's emotional needs but strongly adhered to the expectation to provide as fathers.

Reticent Adoptees of "New Fatherhood"

For as involved as some fathers were in meeting their children's hands-on needs, others still struggled to muster the emotional bandwidth necessary to do so, especially for their preschool-aged kids. In these cases, they offered their ability to provide for their household financially. To a certain degree, the men's aversion to child-rearing in the younger years was based on their world renewal worldview, where fathers became more involved in adolescence and ceded most of the day-to-day childcare for younger children to their wives (Buckley 2002, Risling-Baldy 2018, Kroeber 1925). Yet, as social trends move in favor of more expansive forms of emotional fatherhood or "new fatherhood," a subset of my respondents still specified a preference for a more removed form of parenting.

Antony, 37, was very clear about how much he struggled to be tender with his young daughter and he directly linked this to his own traumatic childhood. As described in Chapter 5, Antony's mother was abusive and had used drugs his entire life, eventually turning him over to foster care when he was only nine years old. He would be molested in his first foster home, and that trauma coupled with a lack of maternal attachment left him with a razor sharp edge and an anger that was visible from the way he held his jaw when he talked to his furrowed brow when minding his daughter. He and his wife had been together for over five years, and they lived with his mother while they both enrolled in courses at the local community college. They would alternate childcare between their class schedule and his mother's clarity to watch children, at-

times foregoing class if they were unable to find a sober babysitter. In his first interview, his wife was in class and he had been unable to leave his daughter, so she joined our interview from the corner, headphones in and playing with a toy from our meal at McDonald's. Whenever Antony spoke to her, his directives were clip and usually delivered with a scowl, but his inability to be gentle with her was not lost upon him:

> I'm violent, you know? I'm violent, okay? I have a tendency to neglect my daughter. Because my mom, when I was a kid, neglected me. Because - and she's - my mom's mean. I have a tendency to sometimes want to be mean and my wife's got to check me, because my mom was mean to me, the same way that the people in the foster homes were mean to her.

Antony's mother had also grown up in foster care, and after enrolling in courses to become a drug and alcohol counselor, Antony began to realize how the trauma they had both experienced manifested in their substance use and in their emotional shortcomings as parents. In some way, this provided Antony solace as he worked to meet his responsibilities:

> Sometimes I've got to force myself to get out of bed and do it one more time. All right, just for today I'm just going to do what's in front of me. You know, but I'm thankful, you know, because me and my wife, we don't fight anymore. You know, my daughter's happy to have her parents in her life for once. And it makes me feel good inside that I'm actually stepping up to the plate as much as I can. And I'm going to be a drug and alcohol counselor because, you know, I want to help people who were like me, who were raised in craziness and neglected by their parents, and living in abuse, and not knowing how to make up or down of your life, and getting locked up over it over and over and over. And just - you know, because I'm learning this college - in these college classes that we are a product of our nature at the beginning. But in the end we are absolutely a product of everything that nurtured us through life.

Antony was a begrudging father insofar as he struggled to muster the gentle nature that young children required, but he was determined each day to try again. Even though being a father was a challenge in light of his own traumatic childhood, he was deeply grateful to be living with his family after facing a significant prison sentence only a year before his interview. For Antony, each day with his daughter presented an opportunity to compensate for the traumatizing parenting of his past, an opportunity that was facilitated by his wife Cleo's reminders and modeling of more positive behaviors:

> My wife's family, they know how to love each other, even when they're mad at each other. And in my family, we don't. My whole family uses drugs, drinks, smokes meth, you know, things like that, like I did.

> And the best thing they know how to do in life is fight with each other. And I don't want my daughter growing up like that.

Antony was quick to point out that while Cleo's family also struggled with addiction and violence, their interactions with one another were characterized by a concern for each other's well-being that Antony and Cleo were now actively trying to cultivate in their own household with daughter Ella. Even still, there were times when Antony ceded this emotional labor to his wife as he struggled to compensate for the negative parenting behaviors he was exposed to as a child.

Unlike Antony, Keehl's disdain for the more emotional parts of fatherhood did not come from a place of trauma, but perhaps was instead simply the flipside of what he did well in the forest. For someone who casually joked "I almost die, fuck, every day sometimes," Keehl, 34, had to be in some ways desensitized to life just to get by on the job. This detachment manifested in his carefree attitude towards his dangerous job as a logger and commercial fisherman, but also in his nonchalant approach to fatherhood. Keehl willingly conceded "I just lived my life and ended up with kids." He shared two children with his wife, an adolescent daughter and a 5-year old son, and for the most part, when it came to caring for the children day-to-day, "she does all that, I don't have to do nothing like that. I mean I deal with the kids a little bit but…" Keehl was open about the fact that he became a father by circumstance rather than some burning internal desire. Instead, he contended

> I never liked being a dad, I didn't like kids. Yeah, I didn't want no kids. But I got kids, I love them though, you know what I mean? I take care of them. I don't know, I don't deal with them a lot [laughter].

Keehl was in his element when hoisting a redwood log up from the river's floor, or felling a timber titan in the forest, but this skillset only translated so much to being an active father. Since he got to know his own father through work, and would do the same with his children once they got a bit older, Keehl drew on the example of his "Uncle Larry" in the meantime:

> I work hard to become a better father. I look up to like the way my uncle's raising his kids and I look at that, and I take what I like out of that and I kinda use it. It's kinda weird that I say this but I kinda use what, how he treats his kids and I'll try to do that, you know?

By emulating the example of Uncle Larry, Keehl was drawing the world renewal custom of learning from male kin such as uncles. Try as he might to become a more involved father, Keehl preferred to honor his role as the provider for his family above all else, and this was evidenced by the fact that Keehl had built the home his family lived in with his bare hands, and in how he worked day in and day out to provide for their homestead along the river bar.

This cultural script to provide was something that Keehl clung to even in times of duress. The winter before his interview, Keehl was grievously injured in an explosion. Burned on over 25% of his body, all on his back and legs, Keehl was rendered immobile and in traction[106] for over a week. Four months later, he still grimaced when describing how walking out of the hospital was "so very painful" and only the beginning of his healing—he had been prescribed pain medication for his recovery, and as a recovering opioid addict, the risk of relapse was real. Even still, he had worked to gain so much, and Keehl was cognizant of what relapse would mean for his family and leaned into this responsibility as he worked to maintain his sobriety though the injury: "I got a family and everything so I wake up, go to work, do everything and that's what helps me out through my day is being able to work and do everything." For Keehl, as much as he admits "I don't know if I should be walking around like this," he feared succumbing to the pain of his injury would endanger everything he had worked so hard to build over the last six years: "if I don't walk around and do everything like I do, everything's going to get messed up."

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[106] Traction refers to the medical procedure of applying pressure to a wound as it heals (Glassford 2019). In Keehl's case, this mean stretching his burnt skin so that as it healed, it did not restrict his mobility nor its functionality long-term. While medically necessary, this is an incredibly painful process.

Tests of Fatherhood: Sobriety, Custody & Loss

In addition to their participation in their children's day-to-day lives and at-times preference for providing over more emotional aspects of fatherhood, my respondents also described experiences in which they were tested as fathers, specifically losing custody of their children as a result of their substance use, and in the tragic circumstance that they lost a child. As discussed in Chapter 5, over 90% of the sample identified as being in active addiction at some point in their lives, and this had implications for their ability to parent their children. For men like Danny, 36, who was steadfast in his proclamation, "even when I was in my active addiction, I still held a job," his darkest day was the removal of his children:

> Like I said, when they took my kids that was my rock bottom. That was my total rock bottom. And I'm, like, all right. I'm getting older. I need to get my life straight. You know, I'm too old to be messing around anymore, and my kids need me more than that - more than I need drugs my kids need me. So I knew at that point I was done. And I'll never do meth again, ever - ever. I know that all the way through me. I'll have a beer every now and again, or whatever, but that's it- I don't even smoke weed, so...

Danny and his partner of thirteen years had used methamphetamine together for the majority of their relationship. Six years before his interview, his children were removed from their care after a mandatory Child Protective Services (CPS) investigation following a domestic violence call. Meth and its comedown have been shown to increase the likelihood of intimate partner violence (Weisheit & White 2009), and local law enforcement is required to report incidences of children in the home when called to a residence for a domestic dispute. After a minimum threshold is reached, a CPS investigation is initiated, and in Danny's case, his children were removed from the home:

> That was the hardest thing I ever had to do in my life was watch my kids scream and cry when they couldn't stay and had to jump back in with the CPS worker and take them back over there. That was devastating. I mean, especially for my little guy, he was, like - you know, it was hard. And that right there was enough for me to, like, "Okay, I'm finished."

To regain custody, Danny and his partner had to attend drug treatment and provide their children with a drug-free home in the process. They moved from Hoopa to Crescent City on the coast,

and Danny lived off-reservation for the first time in his life at 30. Over the course of the next six months, they completed their custody requirements and rented an apartment together, with his wife staying home to take care of the children upon their return, and Danny starting his job at the Yurok Tribe.

Danny was not alone in linking his children to his long-term sobriety, with nearly every respondent who had been sober for five years or longer directly attributing their recovery to their roles as fathers and husbands. The decision to get sober frequently took the form of ultimatums from their domestic partners, like those received by Orion, 34, Liam, 33, and Noah, 44. For Orion, his wife threatened to remove his children and leave him if he did not seek treatment: "she said she'd had enough, and I'd just gotten charged, so she said it was either go to rehab or she was taking the kids." Like Orion, Noah and his wife had been together since high school and shared two children when she offered him the chance to kick his addiction to OxyContins, or risk losing his marriage of 15 years. In both cases, the men opted for treatment rather than the dissolution of their families. This fear of losing their families and custody of their children differed from the "child-keeping" phenomenon observed by Stack (1974) in that the men vehemently opposed the removal of their children, and only ceded custody of them under threat of force on the part of CPS.

In the rare cases a father ceded custody of his children, the circumstances were typically dire. Mason, 35, and his wife, Lira, surrendered their two daughters to family members after finding themselves months into a drug binge. The two had dabbled with methamphetamine and alcohol since they were young, but things took a turn for the worse after they lost their third-born child. They had had an uneventful pregnancy only to lose the baby after it was stillborn. Mason and his wife were left mourning the child and found solace in their drug of choice. As their

addiction worsened, they made the decision to cede physical custody of their children to their siblings, yet the corresponding foster subsidy for keeping the children meant that they would have to go through a formal CPS process to regain custody. Over the course of six months, Mason and Lira met the necessary milestones:

> We were fighting for our kids and we're uhhh we didn't have jobs because we're getting up at 7, going to town, getting home at 7pm, doing it all everyday. We're [doing that] like for a year… and it just worked, I don't know how it happened, it just like, to this [day], still don't know how it worked out. But we got them back, got our own place, you know battled through it. It was just the fear of man, at any point in that time, you could have, like if we'd have lost our place, we would have had nowhere for our kids to come visit us and all that. But we made it through it all, I don't know how, but…

Mason and his family were reunited, and both he and Lira had been sober ever since. Not long after their reunification, they found out she was expecting despite being told her stillbirth had left her infertile. In the next three years, they would welcome two more children and Mason would go on to join the tribal leadership.

As tragic as it sounds, the loss of a child was exceedingly common across the sample.[107] Of the 35 respondents, one out of five had lost a child, and the men described it as some of the most trying times of their lives. Like Mason, Xavier, 29, and Antony, 37, had each lost a child, and subsequently found themselves in the midst of a drug binge that they would spend years crawling out of. In each case, the men had not yet begun the process of recovery before their loss and were left coping with the tragedies through substance use. Others, like Liam, 33, Samson, 60, and Jack, 58, would lean into their recovery and depend on their social networks to provide emotional support in place of substances. In Liam's case, a year before his interview, his infant daughter passed away from SIDS at sixteen months old. Her birth had marked a new beginning for the family of four as both Liam and his wife had been in recovery for several years when she was born. Her passing was shocking and reverberated throughout his network:

[107] As an example, one respondent was recruited less than a month after their adult daughter's passing, and he would bury her on the weekend between his interviews.

> I leaned on my people, they helped me through it. Noah spoke at her services, we had a nice memorial. It's just one of those things, tragic is the only word. But I told myself if I didn't use now, at the hardest point in my life, there's was nothing that could ever make me want to use again.

Liam was steadfast in his recovery despite such a trying circumstance, and this strength was far from lost on his social network. His younger brother Lucas, 30, also described the passing of his niece during his interview. Shaking his head, he said "I don't know how he did that, my brother. The way he's handled it, I don't know if I would be strong enough." The loss of a child was understandably one of the turning points in the lives of men who had lived through such tragedies, and these losses echoed through their social worlds. To navigate such loss and the other experiences that went with their roles as fathers, my respondents leaned heavily on their partners and their larger social networks, as I detail in subsequent sections.

Primacy of Mothers as Monogamous Partners and Childcare Providers

Wives and long-time girlfriends were instrumental in all aspects of the men's lives, ranging from everyday activities[108] like providing childcare and cleaning house to turning points like pushing for sobriety and even pursuing it in tandem. As described in the first section, approximately half of the sample were in long-term (five years or more) monogamous relationships with the mother of their children. Two-thirds of the respondents were in a relationship at the time of their interview, and of those who were single, most were actively seeking a long-term partner. The frequency and durability of respondents' long-term relationships is a stark departure from studies of proximal fathers in urban low-income neighborhoods (Anderson 1989, Edin & Nelson 2013, Edin et al. 2001, 2009, Krampe 2003, Liebow 1967, Moynihan 1965, Patterson 1998, Tach et al. 2010, Waller 2002) and merits an

[108] Such activities also included participating in this study. Several respondents were not involved in the scheduling of their interviews. Instead, their partners exclusively handled our correspondence, confirming times and attendance via text message, to which Caleb, 34, explained "she just told me when to show up." For each of these men, they would not have participated had their partner not vouched for the study or myself.

investigation in itself. In the scope of this inquiry, the presence of female domestic partners is a fundamental contextual factor for tribal fathers irrespective of their criminal or work history. This could in part be explained by the world renewal worldview introduced in Chapter 4 whereby the male ideal of *numi pegerk* is defined as an independent man with the ability to support his wife (or wives) and their progeny (Buckley 2002). In world renewal villages, marriage was a rite of passage for both men and women, and served as the basic unit of social organization (Buckley 2002, Kroeber 1925). Finally, as several respondents shared with me, there are traditional teachings that underscored the monogamy of local animals, like bald eagles, pileated woodpeckers, and California condors—each of these animals is associated with spiritual lessons and they all emphasize the importance of lifelong male-female bonds. These beliefs were further ensconced within mainstream ideals of the "package deal" (Glotzer 2003, Townsend 2002). For these reasons, tribal fathers were predisposed to raise their children within the context of a two-parent household irrespective of marital status. In fact, only 20% of respondents were married at the time of their interview, despite the fact that all were fathers and 60% were in relationships, of which three out of four had lasted five years or more.

Caleb, 34, and Heather, 36, were one such example. They had been together for over twenty years, but had never married. To say that some Caleb was utterly dependent on Heather would not be an overstatement. Caleb had spent most of his adult life in prison, and Heather had been the one constant in his life since age 15. She had waited for him to come home from numerous prison bids, and they shared seven children together. At the time of their interview, they were preparing for the birth of their first grandchild by their eldest son, Arthur. For many years, Heather had been the primary caretaker for the children. Since his last prison release, however, Caleb had taken a more hands-on role with the kids and was the childcare provider for

his three youngest pre-school aged children, two daughters and a son, while Heather worked off-reservation in Willow Creek during the weekdays. When Caleb reflected on the role Heather played in his life, he explained

> She's just my friend...she'll do everything, it's kinda cool. That's what I love about her, she's just that way. And a lot of people, they'll know, if Heather 's coming, they be all "oh Caleb's not feeling it or something" [laughter]

By using the word "friend," Caleb touched on the fact that he and Heather had been each other's primary source of support since they were in high school. They had virtually grown up together, and each had taken the other back too many times to count. They had never officially married to preserve Heather's welfare eligibility, but most regarded them as a married couple, much to the chagrin of Heather's family who had ostracized the pair after past behavior, including domestic violence charges and Caleb's numerous prison terms. But the two had clung to each other come hell-or-high-water, and this was reflected in how the two cared for one another. Caleb struggled with literacy and rarely left the reservation for fear of violence, so Heather made the trips to town for groceries and completed any paperwork that Caleb or their children needed. At the time of the interview, she was working full-time but Caleb proudly bragged "she's a hustler, whatever we need, she gets it. If it's money, food, clothes, whatever, she knows what applications to fill out, what offices to go to, all that. She's just a boss." Caleb's contributions were growing as his time at home increased. In the last two years, he had been the primary childcare provider in the home, tending to the pre-school aged children and cleaning the house during the day. Caleb grinned

> I have to stay in my routine, you know what I mean, I have to have the house clean, the dishes washed, you know, everything prepared and clean, and then she gets home and she can, most the time it's easier for her to cook. Cuz I cook for them their breakfast and stuff, but they don't like my dinner for some reason [big laugh]."

Having spent much of his adult life in prison, Caleb maintained a regimented lifestyle and attributed his meticulous cleanliness to many years spent in a cell. He carried this ethos over into

his housework, completing household chores and caring for his son and two twin daughters while Heather worked.

Beyond their household division of labor, the two supported each other in their shared sobriety—both Caleb and Heather had used methamphetamine together, even dealing at one point, an experience that ultimately resulted in the removal of their children. Heather's sobriety gained traction first as she worked to regain custody, but Caleb soon followed after a drug encounter nearly turned deadly when he was "in the wrong place at the wrong time":

> I thought he was going to kill me, I thought he was going to kill everyone, man so it was "like , I need to get out of here, you're gonna die or something" and so I was like "Gram, help me out here man" and just got up and fucking went for it, got shot at... it was just a trailer, but he was just like maybe from me to you, that's how close he was shooting.

Heather and Caleb had been on the outs at the time of the shooting, but as soon as Caleb cleared the property where the gunfight was taking place, he headed straight back to her, and the two reconciled. Now, Caleb rarely leaves their home:

> I've always been in prison for something. It's just these last two years are the two years I been actually, hadn't had to go back to jail or nothing. Just sit home with my kids. I like it. And then my friends come around, like "let's go do this, let's go do that," and I'm like "Nah, I'm cool, I'm staying home." And they're like "why don't you go nowhere?" And I'm like "I just don't want to go nowhere. I'm cool here man." [laughs] I got my own little chair to sit down in, I can watch the TV, it's cool...

Caleb and Heather had a tumultuous relationship spanning two decades, but the fact that she was the first person he sought out in such a dire time of need underscores the primacy of Heather in Caleb's life. Their shared dependency was not an outlier in the sample, nor was their at-times violent behaviors. Each had been charged with a domestic violence crime in their past, and this was common across the sample, with 43% of respondents having been arrested for a similar charge. Domestic violence[109] was the most common offense type in my analysis of tribal offense

[109] The sheer frequency of domestic violence as described by my respondents and observed in the larger two-county area demands its own analysis. I do not seek to exceptionalize such violence, however—as a key informant with the tribal court explained "there is no family in the world without domestic violence." Nonetheless, future considerations of Indigenous families must continue to articulate the scope of violence in tribal households in hopes of intervening in such cycles of abuse.

patterns in Humboldt and Del Norte counties, compared to drug crimes for the population-at-large.

In other studies of low-income relationships, domestic violence was a frequent reason cited for ending a relationship (Edin & Kefalas 2005), but my respondents did not draw as clean lines between such violence and relationship dissolution. Even "consummate fathers" like Elijah, 40, who had also been with his wife since they were 16 admitted

> A lot of like people were like complementing me and [Sherry]. We were kids raising a family, the good and the bad. We both got issues, separate issues and you know it took me a long time to figure out how to drink you know?

Elijah spoke to the imperfect but nonetheless longstanding relationship he shared with his wife, and how their ability to stay together no matter the "rollercoaster" of life experiences. In his mind, he hoped for the same tenacity in the relationships of his children and younger cousins:

> I mean we had our good times, and bad times, and you know we're still together so it's like that's part of like life. That's what I tell younger people too you know, it's like nowadays they get in fight or something and they just break up without trying to fix things you know? I'm kinda like the old school family, you know, just cuz they're having a bad time in their life, doesn't mean you guys gotta split up. You work things out, you know? To me, I mean, like when you talk and stuff and you take those vows, like I really felt it. I was like man, it really means something. We should be able to work stuff out, you know?

Elijah took his role as a husband as seriously as he did his role as a father, drawing on the example of his grandfather who not only raised his children on his own after his wife died suddenly in a car accident, but who never remarried again out of respect to her. Both Elijah and Caleb leaned on their partners to help them fulfill their responsibilities as fathers and they were not alone—as Raymond, 29, so fittingly put it, "And then I met Retta and it's like I grew, like, 10 times as strong. Because she'd help me, like, get everything that was kind of falling away in my life back together." The importance of the relationship bond between my respondents and their domestic partners was an orienting tie in their lives, one upon which they built their family unit.

The durability of my respondents' relationships was a distinguishing characteristic of the sample, and this was the result of several factors. First, marriage is and has been a fundamental

social unit in world renewal society (Buckley 2002, Kroeber 1925), with explicit teachings on the importance of such unions. Although a majority of my respondents were not legally married, the expectation of a long-term monogamous bond was not exclusive to a marriage certificate. Long-term relationships are shaped by a variety of factors in low-income communities (Edin & Nelson 2013, Edin et al. 2001, 2009, Krampe 2003, Tach et al. 2010, Waller 2002) and this was certainly the case for my respondents. Typically these areas lack positive role models in terms of marriage (Dion 2005, Roy 2006), yet men like Elijah, 40, Isaac, 42, and Caleb, 34, all pointed to the examples of their parents, grandparents, and even stepparents in emulating strong partnerships. For Isaac, his parents were known around the community for the longevity of their union, one that had survived alcoholism, separation, and the loss of a child:

> My mom is always remind me, you know, she wanted to leave my dad at one point, but she thought about us kids first, you know? And that's - you know, they did separate for, like, a year, but she got back together for us, you know? And it was all about us, and all about us. And she's always saying that she stuck with my dad all those years for us. And so that kind of, like, engrains in me, you know?

Unlike fathers in other marginalized communities, tribal fathers had many examples of "Indian love" (Buckley 2002, Campbell 2017, McCovey 2005) that has persisted despite adversity after adversity. They aspired to these relationships in their own lives, and loved hard no matter the outcome. Roman, 36, was a prime example—he and Sarah, the mother of his two youngest children, were frequently at odds, but had reconciled several times over their seven years together. Their paths had split after Roman entered treatment and Sarah did not. His brow furrowed as he described the end of their relationship:

> People don't understand, when you got a guy like me, with all we've been through, we don't just give our heart away. We keep it locked up tight, you know what I mean? But when we finally find that person we want to give it to and we do, there's no going back. And to lose that? It's like losing everything.

Despite their intensity and durability, Roman's relationship is evidence that these ties were not immune to the adversities of reservation life. 77% of those who lived off-reservation were with their partners for five years or more, as compared to 45% on-reservation. The increased

incidence of relationship dissolution mirrors the higher rates of poverty, unemployment and crime associated with living on the reservation. Additionally, while fathers were equally likely to live with all of their children on and off-reservation, the frequency of multiple partner fertility was also slightly higher on-reservation. Even when their relationships ended, respondents continued to seek out partners with whom to raise their children. As shown in the previous section, they expanded the resulting "package deal" to include their residential and nonresidential children alike.

The importance of domestic partnerships also rests fundamentally on the primacy of "mother" in the world renewal worldview (Buckley 2002, Risling Baldy 2018) coupled with the need for full-time childcare in the event of full-time employment. In the former, I highlight the traditional gender role expectations for fathers and mothers, with fathers responsible for providing shelter, meat sources, and leading ceremony, and mothers saddled with the task of raising children, feeding the village and gathering supplies for basketry and ceremonial garb (Buckley 2002, Kroeber 1925). While fathers were expected to take a more hands-on role as their children aged, the care of children younger than 10 was a uniquely feminine responsibility. This underlying cultural script could explain the continued prevalence of a similarly coordinated division of labor in current era, but there were also direct opportunity costs associated with negotiating full-time work and childcare needs for preschool aged children. If a family had at least one child under the age of 5, respondents and their partners reasoned that it made more sense for a parent to stay home rather than have to accommodate the high cost of childcare. They were not alone in coming to this conclusion as studies of childcare in other areas demonstrate (Blau & Robins 1988, Chevalier & Viitanen 2002, Connelly 1992), yet my respondents

articulated the importance they placed on a mother's involvement beyond the financial incentives of saving on childcare.

Alexander, 29, was one of only a handful of men[110] who had ceded physical custody of their children to their former partners. When asked why, Alexander emphasized how he felt that "a mother's love" was more impactful to his children's lives, at least this point. Alexander was a fierce provider despite the distance between his children and his own life living out-of-the-area, and even went so far as to sign himself up for child support once he secured steady work:

> I went and put myself on child support, I wasn't going to have anyone saying I wasn't taking care of my kids. And that way we are both protected, because I have proof I paid and she has proof she's been paid… She still calls me though, even though she's got a new man and they got a baby on the way, she still calls me for help if they need it. And I give it, but shit…

In Alexander's mind, it was his responsibility to provide for the financial needs of his children no matter the distance between them, and he took great pride in his ability to do so. Yet, he also recognized that as a single father, he wouldn't be able to provide them with everything they would need emotionally at such a young age, both under age 7:

> They need their mom right now, they're just young kids. I mean I miss them everyday but I know how much my mom meant to me, and I wouldn't take that from my kids. I wouldn't be who I am today without my mom, and they're still so young, I don't want to confuse them. So they live with her and her man now, and they call him Dad. I gotta admit it made me mad the first time I heard it, but then I had to think about how that's who's there with them all the time and they need that. They know I'm they're dad-dad, but I'm not around all the time. Once they get older, they will start asking about me more and maybe come down and stay with me some, stuff like that…

Alexander's own relationship with his mother had been his saving grace in a childhood marked by paternal abuse, domestic violence and alcoholism. While he was committed to not making those same mistakes as a father himself, he still reasoned that his lessons for his children would be better taught when they were a little older, and in the meantime, they were right were they needed to be. This was no small sacrifice to him, however—Alexander conceded that while he

[110] Out of 35 cases, only five men had ceded physical custody of their children to their former partners. Two were in active addiction, and another was left off the birth certificate. Eli, one of the youngest fathers at 19, was only 16 when his child was born. As such, both he and his ex-girlfriend decided to cede custody to her parents, yet he still visited weekly with his daughter, frequently spending several days at a time at their home.

had not cried the day he buried his father, he did when saying goodbye to his children before he left for treatment two years before. As a survivor of grievous childhood trauma, his inability to cry was not lost on Alexander, but leaving his kids behind was one of the few moments that elicited that kind of emotion from him.

Even if Alexander had wanted to bring his children to live with him, he would still have been left with a daily need for childcare during his working hours, and this negotiation of childcare needs vs. work schedules was a constant consideration for tribal fathers and their families. As such, my respondents catered to their families' childcare needs in a variety of ways. This included working full-time to support their wives as homemakers; modifying their own work schedules to accommodate their children's care in the event that their partners were in a higher-paying but less flexible jobs; and providing all childcare for their families in instances where their partners were better-placed in the labor market. In each instance, the large size of my respondents' families and the frequency of preschool-aged children meant that most were negotiating their own work schedules, recovery meetings, and court obligations alongside childcare expectations.

In the case of full-time employment for those with minor children, the high cost of childcare left most opting for the mother to stay home during the day while the father worked. As shown in the previous section, Keehl, 34, had no problem relinquishing the day-to-day of his children to his wife, and in fact preferred this more traditional division of labor given the self-professed aversion to children. Others like Danny sheepishly admitted "my wife fights with everyone," so much so that it was easier for him to gain and maintain work than it was for her. The two shared a car, so she was responsible for getting the kids to and from school each day, in addition to taking Danny to and from work on either side of the children's pick-up times. For

Konnor, 37, the father of five children, three under the age of five, he would not have been able to work his full-time seasonal job in the tribal Roads department if it were not for the childcare provided by his partner and his extended kin network. Konnor was gone most days during the summer, working a county over and staying in a hotel during the workweek. He earned enough during the six-month summer construction window to support his family year-round, yet working 90+ hour weeks would not be possible without the support of his partner of six years:

> She does it all when I'm gone, the house, the kids, that's all her. I help when I'm around obviously but when I'm at the job site, I can be gone for a week or more at a time. My aunties help her out too, watch the kids when she's at work or pick them up when she can't but otherwise, it's all her.

In many ways, my respondents were replicating the "ideal family unit" (Edin & Nelson 2013) and as such, they generally enacted a more traditional division of labor in the household, whereby the mother managed the day-to-day activities of the family, and the father joined as he was available, providing the financial resources necessary to do so in either case. For men like Konnor and Keehl who worked full-time, even over-time during the busy seasons, such rigorous work schedules would not be possible without the time and support of their domestic partners. In short, for the large families of my respondents, the opportunity costs associated with full-time work demanded full-time childcare, and it was frequently wives and girlfriends who provided the latter so that fathers would work outside the home.

Even with the prevalence of this division of labor, respondents described scenarios in which they adapted their work schedules to meet their families' childcare needs. This included cases where the domestic partner was working a higher-paying job with less on-the-clock flexibility; and in the event that the fathers were unable to secure formal work but their partners were, they provided childcare instead. In the case of Neil, 51, he was responsible for taking his two daughters to and from daycare each day, on either side of his work day as his partner's job with the county did not allow her to leave the office. As a biologist for a local tribe, Neil had

more flexibility to leave his job in time for daycare's dismissal, and as his job was less stable than his girlfriend's, it made the most sense for him to tend to the girls' schedule:

> Because I work every day and my schedule now - depending on her schedule--we kind of go back and forth depending on what's happening--but with her new job I drop the kids off and pick them up in the mornings.… I'm pretty blessed with the Wiyot Tribe. So we work 8:00 to 4:00, which is awesome, and get a paid half-hour lunch….So it's usually not a big deal for me to... Yeah, I can't make it to work by 8:00, so - but they're cool out there with a flexible schedule. So I work from 8:15 to 4:15. If I show up at 8:25 because we had a slow morning getting the kids ready, then I'll work until 4:25. It's not a big deal. But for me nowadays it's get the kids to school, get to work, and then after work get the kids and get them home and get them fed.

Neil was considering a job change at the time of his interview, but the flexibility of his schedule and the Wiyot Tribe's ability to look past his criminal record made doing so a matter of careful calculus. Similarly, Lucas, 30, was in between jobs when he interviewed, having just finished a contracting job in construction. While he preferred more manual outdoor work, he had re-applied at the local temp agency in the meantime for its schedule flexibility compared to a more permanent position:

> So she's working two jobs and that means I stay home if our daughter's sick. Like the other day, that's why I had to reschedule, she wasn't feeling well and we can't send her to Headstart like that, with a fever and everything. So I had to stay home with her and my woman went to work.

In both cases, Lucas and Neil adapted their work schedules to accommodate their families' childcare needs and complement their partner's employment. While this challenged the script of solely providing for their families, this adaptation demonstrates how the world renewal worldview is slowly changing to accommodate the structural conditions that shape the lives of its adherents.

The Case of Stay-at-Home Dads and Single Fathers

Similar to men who modified their work arrangements to accommodate their families' childcare needs, some men had to accept a paternal role that was in some ways a more extreme version of "new fatherhood," like stay-at-home dads and single fathers. Within this cultural

framework, the more emotional and hands-on aspects of fatherhood and the day-to-day caregiving responsibilities stand alongside expectations to provide for their families financially (Edin & Nelson 2013, Edin et al. 2019, Waller 2002, Roy 2006). For single fathers and stay-at-home dads, these combined responsibilities fell on their shoulders and men like Raymond, 29, and Isaac, 42, begrudgingly accepted these more affective roles at times. Their hesitation did not stem from an inability to tend to the emotional needs of their children, but rather from their feelings of inadequacy as fathers and men if they were unable to provide for their families' physical needs as well. As much as they adopted cultural scripts that were part of this shift towards more hands-on parenting, my respondents' reluctance to step into the role of full-time caretakers provides a case in which the exception proves the rule. Even as they picked from a heterogeneous cultural tool-kit (Harding 2006, 2007, 2011) informed by expanding definitions of parenting, their preferred behaviors were constrained by their conceptions of fatherhood and masculinity more generally as world renewal men.

Raymond, 29, had to adapt his job search to reflect their families' financial situation. For Raymond, this meant opting out of the labor force so that his better-placed partner could look for work instead. At the time of his interview, Raymond had managed to secure a temporary job on a brushing crew, and his wife quit her job to stay at home with the kids:

> She was working at the gas station, but, like, the childcare thing... We both were working and I was paying my cousin to babysit my kids, like, 200 bucks a month. And we were sitting there thinking about it, like, "God, we could just - one of us could stay home," because that's how we were getting behind on bills. Like, we didn't want to owe nobody no money. We'd rather just pay them, not have them mad at us, so when we need them we've got them. Or if we borrow we pay them back or something. So we kind of just paid her every time, and sometimes the water bill would slip or sometimes, like, our rental on the TV or couch that'd go behind. And it's, like, "God, we should just stay home - one of us should stay home." And there was, like - I got laid off and she had that job, so I was staying home with the kids. And then now I've got my job back on the fourth and she kind of, like, had to quit her job, you know? And it was, like, "Well, you're making more money than I was making," because I'm making $16, and she was only making probably half of my check in one. And I was making double hers in my single - you know what I mean, my two weeks. She's, like, "Well, we'll just keep your check and I'll quit." And I'm, like, "All right. If you really want to do that we can do that." And she's, like, "Yeah, I don't mind." So that's where we're at. We have to make sacrifices, you know?

Retta echoed her preference for being home with the kids: “These are my babies, you know? Why should I be working just to pay someone else to watch them? It don’t make no sense, especially when it’s what I’d rather be doing anyways.” While this was their family’s preferred arrangement, it was more typical that Retta was working than Raymond. He was working when we interviewed, but by the next month, when I interviewed Retta, Raymond was back to watching the kids after the temporary position had run its course.

Retta had had more luck in the job market than her husband, and as a light-skinned Karuk woman, this asymmetry was not lost on her:

> He will apply and apply and apply all day long and he doesn’t get nothing. I go in and it’s no problem, I get offered the job on the spot, and it’s fucked up because I’m the one whose actually been to prison. But they see him, they see his dark skin and his long hair, they see Indian and they’re just like “nope!”

If Retta and Raymond had their way, she would stay at home to take care of their three and four-year olds and tend to the older children’s school schedule once they regained custody, and he would clock-in somewhere that paid enough to support his family of six. But between his low-skill background and the perceived discrimination from employers, he was more often left minding the children while Retta worked in food service and other “pink-collar” industry positions (Bound & Holzer 1991, Nixon 2009).

Men like Isaac, 42, who were single fathers did not have the option to trade between childcare and employment with their partners, and this deficit was not lost on them. Isaac was a father of three, and he had temporarily given up custody of his children as he worked to get sober after decades of alcoholism. He had been in recovery before, but had relapsed after living downriver with his family to help take care of his three girls, alternating between their care in the day and drinking at night. As much as living with his parents reduced their household budget and helped meet their day-to-day needs, the isolation of off-grid life was hard for Isaac: “all the way down in Pecwan, like, being so isolated. Like, to this day, like, I say to myself, man, I never

want to be that alone again. Like, I thought I was really alone out there." Isaac could not find solace in his relationship however—his wife had struggled with drug addiction since her teenage years, and was more frequently in jail or prison than living with the Isaac and their children. After moving to the coast in hopes of kicking his drinking habit, Isaac soon realized he needed professional help, and his family took in the children while he went to an out-of-area treatment facility. He did not want to regain custody until he was ready, but he was planning to return to the life of a single father once he did:

> So this time around I'm definitely going to be, you know, looking into raising the kids, you know, by myself, but not necessarily by myself. Because like I was saying, my sister stays right down the road just a few miles.… Like I know my sister and her husband's family has been really supportive with all of this.… You know, I've had to sacrifice a lot of things that, you know, a man would want otherwise… there's been a lot of restrictions on my part that I've not been able to do, and working is one of them. Working is definitely one of them that has occurred up in the Eureka area as well, because, you know, I would have to stay home with our youngest baby, you know, while the older ones were in Early Head Start. And that was my job, it was the stay-at-home parent, you know, periodically. But - so doing that again I'm really being cautious, you know, on when it's time for me to be able to parent the girls again, you know? And I'm going to need a lot of support, you know?... As far as, you know, housing, you know, the girls are going to be a little bit older by the time I get them back. You know, somebody said that, you know, it might take maybe 18 months, you know, maybe a little longer. However long it takes, you know, I know the girls are doing good, but it's going - I'm going to have to really have all my pieces in order to make this work this time, you know?

For Isaac, these pieces included his sobriety, as well as stable housing and childcare for his children, although soon they would both be school-age and that would loosen his schedule in some ways. Even still, Isaac realized he would have to prioritize his children's care over any future job or any other obligations, and the example of other single fathers gave him some hope for the road ahead:

> I know - you know, some men that I've seen in my community, you know, and I have some friends up in Crescent City and around, you know, who have been single parents, you know? And they're still - you know, that gives a person inspiration, you know, of you can be a dad and, you know, and raise your girls or your boys, you know, without the mother, you know?… But I was just kind of thinking of, you know, the men that I've seen in the area who you know, they've raised their kids themselves, you know. And the kids are healthy, you know, they're graduating high schools, you know, they're going to colleges. And so, you know, yeah, seeing it done - seeing it can be done is definitely beneficial. And that's probably how it's going to go. That's probably how it's going to go is it'll be me as it was before, but it'll be me, you know, getting into the reunification kind of housing that I'm talking about, and, you know, working some kind of side job on the weekends or something like that, and getting the kids to school and stuff.

As a matter of sheer opportunity costs, single fathers like Isaac could not be in two places at once, and were faced with a choice between meeting the needs of their children and maintaining employment. Just as single mothers observed elsewhere have done (Edin & Kefalas 2005, Edin & Lein 1997, McLanahan 1988), when men like Isaac were saddled with these dual obligations, they leaned on their extended kin networks in order to help fulfill their roles as fathers. Isaac's social network partners were accommodating of the absence of a maternal figure for his three daughters (and their family members), and because they also valued the cultural script of father-as-provider, they supported Isaac by sharing in-kind resources like housing, clothing, and food with the three girls while he got back in his feet. In order to do work full-time, however, Isaac would continue to need the help of his parents and his siblings in the absence of a domestic partner. Even as he adopted a more expansive role as a single father, Isaac still held out hope that doing so would only be a placeholder until this position was filled:

> Like I say now, you know, it's almost - I would need, like, another significant other, you know? I would need somebody else in my life living with me 24 hours a day to be able to, you know, help me get the kids to school, like let's say I was working. You know, you need help. You know, you need a partner, you know? My mom can't be there - my mom, you know, she couldn't be there the entire time.

Isaac interpreted his role as a father as set within a complementary relationship between himself and a partner. Even in their absence, this cultural script was evident in how Isaac envisioned his responsibilities to his daughters through the lens of his providing and a someday-partner's caregiving.

Conclusion

In this analysis, I sought to further nuance considerations of marginalized fathers with an investigation of the experiences of tribal fathers with criminal records. Men in my sample typically maintained custody of their children, were in long-term monogamous relationships with

the mothers of their children, and together they shared large families, with at least four children on average. Multiple partner fertility was a factor shaping family structure, yet most fathers shared physical custody of their nonresidential children irrespective of relationship recoupling or new births. For those in a relationship, they typically had several children with a partner of five years or more, with a portion of the sample in relationships of fifteen years or longer.

Given the high rate of long-term relationships and domestic partners, fathers were most often parenting in the context of two-parent households. While they ranged in their level of hands-on involvement, most respondents described fatherhood as an orienting role in their lives, and cultivated their status as active fathers. They frequently exerted their legal custody to their children, and were not afraid to navigate the court system in order to do so. Some men could only be described as "consummate fathers" or *numi pegerk* whereas others enacted more traditional notions of providing financially when it came to fulfilling their paternal obligations. Begrudging feelings aside, my respondents mustered to the task of fatherhood more often than not, even in cases of absent fathers themselves. They alternatively compensated for the absence of their fathers while also modeling the positive behavior of other paternal figures and extended kin, like grandfathers and uncles. With this discussion, I expand considerations of the role models that low-income fathers look to for guidance to include these other male kin (Forste, Bartkowski & Jackson 2009, Gaunt & Bassi 2012).

Children and the need to step up as fathers was one of the most oft-cited reasons for getting sober, especially for those who had gained long-term sobriety (5+ years). A significant portion of the sample had suffered the loss of a child, and they leaned into substances and their social networks in alternate measures to navigate such tragedies. Even in their grief, fathers worked to honor their obligations as fathers as they served as fundamental components of their

family units. In both times of tragedy and celebration, fatherhood was a turning point for my respondents, and this echoes the bulk of the literature on criminal activity over the life course (Edin et al. 2001, Elder 1985, Glueck & Glueck 1968, Kerr et al. 2011, Percheski & Wildeman 2008, Visher et al. 2013). Both fatherhood and marriage were anchors around which respondents planed their days and their futures, underscoring the role of these institutions in maintaining criminal desistance (Edin et al. 2001, Glueck & Glueck 1968, Hirschi 1969, Kerr et al. 2011, Laub & Sampson 1993, Percheski & Wildeman 2008, Sampson & Laub 2005). Yet, I concur with criminologists in their assertions that the power of this turning point for the formerly incarcerated is maximized for those who are able to find stable and meaningful full-time employment (Elder 1985, Horney, Osgood, & Marshall 1995, Kerr et al. 2011, Moloney et al. 2009, Visher et al. 2013, Wadsworth 2006). Ensuring all fathers, even those with criminal histories, can provide for their children is key to lowering criminal activity. My respondents made it clear how much they craved the role of provider and they are not alone in this preference (Pepin & Cotter 2017, Pedulla & Thébaud 2015, Riggs 1997), so it is up to policy makers and employers alike to tap into this under-utilized portion of the labor market.

In terms of their households, my respondents were usually operating in the context of a relationship, with half the sample in a relationship that had lasted five years or more. This was a direct reflection of the primacy of marriage and the male-female monogamous bond in the world renewal worldview, with my respondents preferring a maternal caretaker for their children, especially in the formative years. Single fathers underscored the need for a mother in their children's lives both as a matter of maternal teachings, but also for sheer opportunity costs. Between childcare expenses and full-time work, the need for a two-parent household was a matter of function as it was romantic pairing. For most families, a father's commitment to

maintaining full-time formal employment necessitated a need for the mother to assume full-time caretaking responsibilities. Even still, families were adaptable in the case that the mother was able to secure a more stable job and it made more sense for the father to structure their time around the family's childcare needs; or in the event of male unemployment, the father would stay home with the children to avoid paying for external childcare. The need for full-time childcare was particularly pressing for those with full-time work commitments and preschool-aged children. Unlike middle and upper class families (Pepin & Cotter 2017, Pedulla & Thébaud 2015, Riggs 1997), my respondents' high childcare costs were more impactful on their budgets than the income from a second earner, and they structured their household's division of labor to accommodate these needs.

In a fundamental way, the active involvement of tribal men with criminal records in their family units was a driving principle to both the research question and the overarching analysis. In my previous study of reservation unemployment, it was clear that the degree to which men were weakly attached to the labor market was in no way indicative of their attachment to their families. Like Edin & Nelson (2013: 51), I too observed that becoming a father was a moment of deep meaning and "unadulterated happiness" in the lives of my respondents. I showed how my respondents maintained an active presence in the lives of their children, even shouldering the burden of single parenthood at times. With this chapter, I underscored the degree to which tribal fathers maintained a constant presence in their families' lives irrespective of their incarceration nor employment status. Going further, for fathers with multiple child-bearing partners, I showed how they continued to be active fathers in the lives of their nonresidential children, even in cases where they had started a new relationship or had another child. By enforcing their rights to joint physical custody, fathers cultivated their paternal ties across several households and expanded

their conception of the "package deal" (Townsend 2002) to include their partners, their shared children, and their children from past unions.

By outlining the scope of fatherhood for my respondents, I offer several contributions. First, I build on the work of family sociologists by providing another example of how marginal fathers can maintain active ties with their children and domestic partners even as they struggle to find work or stay sober (Connor & White 2006, Edin & Nelson 2013, Krampe 2003, Nelson 2004, Roy 2006, Waller 2002, Way & Stauber 1996). In this way, the health and prosperity of fathers is directly tied to that of their families, and this emphasizes the need to consider interventions across the life course, and most specifically for men with minor children. Educational attainment and socialization link back to the homes that children come from, and the vitality of the father is key condition shaping these social outcomes in families where the dad is a part of day-to-day life. Additionally, my respondents strongly enforced their custodial rights, and they worked to share custody of all of their children in cases of multiple partner fertility. Single mothers and their rights to their children have long been acknowledged, but single fathers, particularly minority fathers, often find themselves navigating a hostile court system that sees them through the lens of their prior criminal justice system involvement rather than their efforts to be in their children's lives. Like Edin & Nelson (2013), I advocate for reconsideration of the rights of fathers to their children just as frequently as we outline their financial and legal responsibilities to them.

Going further, I highlight the need for expanded childcare provision for families with preschool-aged children to facilitate parental labor force participation. Yet as vital as these services will be for the families that use them, I caution policy makers and theorists alike to consider that some women may still opt to stay at home with their children, and they may well

have partners who also prefer this arrangement. While social trends have in some regards moved away from such a gendered division of labor, we should still take into account single-earner households when advocating for legislation like the living wage and universal childcare (Baker et al. 2008, Havnes & Mogstad 2011, 2015), and identify ways to maximize these policies for families of all configurations.

Finally, I problematize the "cultural heterogeneity" theory posited by Harding (2006, 2007, 2011) whereby those in low-income communities are portrayed as an amalgam of cultural scripts and frames borrowed from their context and the larger mainstream. My respondents adhered closely to the scripts derived from their worldview—they were fathers and providers because this was the metric by which their manhood was measured in the world renewal worldview. An ethos of paternal responsibility was a key part of the world renewal cultural script of masculinity, and had direct implications for my respondents' understandings of what a family "ought" to be.

In particular, their conceptions of the "ideal family unit" have persisted despite high substance dependency, intergenerational poverty and other constraints. Yet, it is vital that the reader not interpret my respondents' actions as some attempt to hearken back to the days of *Ozzy and Harriet.* Instead, understanding their roles as providers informed the kinds of work they sought (Chapter 6); how they and their partners stayed together come hell or high water; and how they chose to parent even when struggling with addiction and trauma. In some ways, my respondents were both saved by these scripts, but also constrained by them as it restricted the scope of "acceptable" behaviors as fathers and caregivers. It is important to note that by drawing on these scripts and frames, tribal fathers were doing so in the context of a *pre*-culture, not a subculture. Simply put, the world renewal worldview pre-dates the structural conditions that

shaped their day-to-day lives. In this conception, it was a natural progression of their manhood to step into the role of provider, with their partners honoring complementary roles[111] in order to help them do so. In this way, I push back on the theorization of low-income communities as particularly culturally heterogeneous (Harding 2006, 2007, 2011). Instead, I show that when people live in highly cohesive social groups, even within the context of a larger, diverse culture, their access and deployment of cultural scripts are still curtailed to include specific frames over others. With this contribution, I expand considerations of cultural scripts of fatherhood in marginalized communities to include the case of tribal fathers with criminal records.

[111] Gender-based roles are not inherently unequal, and we have to be careful of conflating such essentialism with a necessarily inegalitarian framework (Pepin & Cotter 2007). In the world renewal worldview, women could attain the same social status and prestige that men could, and fathers could rise to the occasion of childrearing just as mothers did. But there was an appreciation for a natural order that emphasized the respective and reinforcing powers of each gender, including the tasks for which these skillsets were best suited (Buckley 2002, Risling Baldy 2018).

Chapter 8:
Conclusion: World Renewal Fathers as Providers, Survivors and Believers

> But I can't tell you right now, I can't tell you that. I don't know where I'm going because I just - honestly I'm scared. I'm scared to fucking death….You know, I *can* say, hey, I'm going to be free [emphasis his]. I'm not talking about out of jail, I'm not talking about whatever, I'm going to be free from whatever's holding me down. I'm going to be free. That's what I can tell you in the future, right now I'm going to tell you is I'm going to be free. I'm going to be free. I'm going to finally find myself.…
>
> A lot of people grew up without fathers, without mothers, you know? And they're just reaching out. And that's who I'm trying to be. Because, you know, like, for instance, there was this little guy named Parker, Parker Marshall, just a little guy, you know what I mean? He was one of those guys, those little guys that jumped in the middle - you know, one of 'em who dances with the big guys. He was one of those kids. And he didn't have no father or nothing. And I said, "Where'd you learn how to jump middle?" And he said, "You." And he looked at me, and I fucking about cried, you know? Because, fuck - and I said, "Really?" "Yeah, watching you." And I said, "No shit." And he attached himself to me, and he followed me around. I gave him a big hug, you know, when he left, you know what I mean? And that's what it's about right there, you know what I mean?… I'm going to get out and help kids like that who don't have a father, don't have nobody to look up to. I'm going to be there teaching them, you know what I mean?...
>
> That's the key--that's when you totally have made your full circle, made a full circle and you're whole, you know what I'm saying? You can walk lightly in this world. Walking heavy, that, that's what everybody's taught. When you walk light you're not making such a hard imprint, where it knocks that person off their path. You're walking light to where it shows me the right direction, where to go, you know?
>
> I had a dream one time, you know, that all these people were going up this trail. And everybody's going up this way, up this mountain and that mountain, there's all these trails going off in every direction, you know? Well, those other trails, you know what I'm saying, somebody's gotta walk them other ones, you know what I'm saying, and be able to guide them in the right direction. So, I'm walking on small trails, that way those young people or whatever, you know what I'm saying, can see where I'm going and they can go the right direction. You know, because it's so easy to follow that big trail, so easy to go back and do what everybody else is doing. Takes a real man to guide you down that, fricking really do that alone, you know, and not be afraid.

At 29, it was hard for Xavier to look ahead to the future—he was facing prison time for a violent crime that he deeply regretted, but for which he nonetheless took accountability. He yearned to teach lessons shared with him by elders, passed on to the next generation, especially those whom he felt would have no other teachers, like little Parker Marshall. Yet even as he drew deep meaning from these generative aspirations, he found himself walking a trail that would lead him back to a prison cell by summer's end. Xavier struggled to see past his upcoming time away, but he yearned for the day when he would be free—not just from a cell, but in his soul too. Free to take care of his children, love his woman, work in the forest, dance in the summers, and live "in a good way" on the days in between.

For Xavier and other tribal fathers with criminal records, their hopes and dreams were relatively straightforward. They wanted to provide for their families with their hard work and bare hands, working with the land to meet this responsibility as had their fathers and grandfathers before them, going back for centuries. Their world renewal worldview prioritized their work ethic and their duty to their families and larger social networks, and they structured their lives around the ability to meet these expectations. Yet, they also experienced frequent adversity across the life course coupled with co-occurring substance dependencies, and these characteristics relegated them to the periphery in a post-decline labor market. Despite these obstacles, my respondents were equal parts tenacious and generous in their job search efforts, securing full-time work that valued their manual skillsets and outdoor expertise, but not shying from accepting less resonant work or staying at home if their partners were better suited for the labor force. My respondents framed the world through the lens of father-as-provider, mother-as-caretaker, and they leaned heavily on wives and girlfriends to fulfill the needs of their children, both emotional and physical. Contrary to portrayals of the formerly incarcerated as peripheral to their social networks, tribal fathers were active participants in the day-to-day lives of their families, and relished in their dense and overlapping social ties.

Summative Takeaways

In this dissertation, I investigate the job search of tribal fathers with criminal records as a lens into the experience of living and working on a rural tribal reservation. Focusing on the Yurok and Hoopa Valley tribal reservations and their surrounding two-county region, I describe how this distinct population meets their obligation to provide in the context of an industry decline. In particular, I showcase the defining characteristics of the respondent pool, most

specifically their world renewal worldview. This orientation informs how they conceived of their responsibilities as men and as fathers; their relationship to the collective, both to their families and their communities; and their conceptions of work. Their very conception of masculinity rested on the ethos of *numi pegerk*, a term used in the Yurok language to signify a "real man," a man who accrued both material and sacred wealth to fulfill his roles as a provider, a dance maker, and a regalia holder (Buckley 2002). These gender-based expectations were derived from their worldview, and despite living in contemporary era, they were still the metrics by which respondents assessed their social standing and how they understood the behaviors that could increase or diminish it.

My respondents were deeply spiritual men, and they expressed their belief system in their enactment of sacred ceremonies as dancers and singers. These roles were deeply meaningful to them, as evidenced by the way Brannon, 40, beamed with pride when he described his sons singing his songs, or how memories of not being asked to dance still haunted men like Mason, 35, well into their adulthood. For men like Caleb, 34, while living "in a good way" was a new leaf for him after decades of addiction, gangs and prison time, it was one steeped in the lessons of his grandmother as descendants of the original inhabitants of Hoopa Valley. The land itself was a mecca of sorts, with the reservations' most remote portions serving as a carefully preserved, yet inherently wild space maintained for the pilgrimage of world renewal adherents.

The reservation serves as the center of the world renewal worldview, and this sacred landscape predates the present-day inequalities that cluster within its boundaries. Nonetheless, outcomes like exposure to adverse childhood experiences (Felitti et al. 1998) and substance dependencies to methamphetamine, alcohol and opioids/opiates were co-occurring in the lives of my respondents, and this was particularly true for those living on-reservation. Going further,

their individual and family-level adversities were set within a context of concentrated disadvantage (Sampson & Wilson 1995, Sampson 2012, Sharkey 2013, Wilson 1987, 1996) and historical trauma (Brokenleg 2012, Duran et al. 1998, Lara-Cooper & Lara 2019, Tuhiwai Smith 1999, 2013), and these contextual factors constrained respondents in their job search. Such obstacles manifested in negative credentials like high school attrition, violent criminal histories and the lack of a driver's license, each a significant impediment in an already slack labor market.

Despite these constraints, tribal fathers with criminal records continued to seek out formal employment and enact the cultural script of "father-as-provider" by drawing on their world renewal worldview, their individual initiative and their thick social networks. Entrepreneurial enterprises like independent contracting and generative work in recovery now stand alongside forestry, fisheries and wildfire firefighting as resonant employment options on-reservation. In these industries, men like William, 46, Keehl, 34, and Orion, 34, were able to capitalize on their significant physical abilities, their vocational expertise, and even their past as substance users to secure work. Jobs in these industries allowed them to provide for themselves and their families in ways that resonated with their country masculine habitus (Desmond 2008) as world renewal men, and honored the natural resource-based skillset that went with it. Tribal fathers off-reservation did not have access to the natural resources nor family land that facilitated such work, and instead were relegated to the periphery in part-time, seasonal and/or temporary positions in construction and at the docks. They were particularly dependent on receptive employers who were willing to look past their criminal histories, yet this frequently left them dependent on less-than-ideal under-the-table work. Nonetheless, nearly every respondent was either seeking work or actively employed at the time of their interview, and I contend that

navigating the slack local labor markets secure formal employment constitutes a process of survivance on the part of tribal fathers with criminal records (Vizenor 2008).

In this sample, fatherhood was a social role that structured daily life, both between domestic partners and between men and their children. While they ranged in their level of hands-on involvement, most described fatherhood as a set of orienting cultural scripts in their lives, and they cultivated their skills as active fathers. While only 20% of the sample were legally married, most were cohabiting, with 46% in relationships lasting five years or more. In cases of multiple partner fertility (37% of sample), respondents maintained shared custody of their children, even through the formation of new relationships and subsequent births.

Respondents conceptualized their roles as fathers within the context of a two-parent household, and this was both a matter of romantic interest as it was economic calculation. In the case of full-time employment and pre-school aged children, childcare costs were significant, especially with families with four or more children, which were frequent. As such, most men expressed a preference for a division of labor that prioritized the mother in the home as a caretaker, with the father working full-time to meet their monetary needs. Respondents leaned heavily on their domestic partners for maintaining full-time employment, with mothers contributing a majority-if-not-all of a given household's childcare.

As a reminder, living on the reservation compared to off-reservation in the larger two-county context was the primary point of variation in the study. I found that residential location had ramifications for meaning-making, experiences of adversity, and strategies of resilience. On the one hand, the reservation was the center of the world renewal worldview—living there represented access to traditional ceremonies, to the sacred landscape itself, and to the social networks that clustered within its boundaries. Yet, it was also the seat of great adversity,

including both historic and present-day traumas. The tight-knit, kin-based social networks of the reservation amplified the repercussions of these adverse experiences. Ultimately, the reservation was a context in which the grief and loss of adversity sat alongside the vibrancy and resilience of world renewal families, a tension that the latter had to navigate in order to thrive on-reservation. Fathers in particular worked with the reservation's natural resources to provide for their families, affirming their country masculine habitus and traditional responsibility to steward the local landscape in equal measures. Entrepreneurship, family land, and a majority of the remaining natural resources jobs were reservation-specific, yet respondents first had to overcome their substance dependencies in order to capitalize on these resources. Such work was usually full-time, albeit not full-year, but living on-reservation facilitated subsistence lifestyles that supplemented seasonal gaps in formal employment.

For those living off-reservation, the decision to do so was both a reflection of personal preference and multigenerational legacy. Many had grown up off-reservation after their parents or grandparents had moved to town after the local industry declines, rising crime and drug use on reservation, and extreme weather events such as the 1964 Flood. Those living off-reservation did not have access to family land on-reservation, and were more likely to be renting their homes or doubling up with family. Respondents off-reservation were also more likely to be in long-term monogamous relationships and less likely to be sharing custody of their children as a result of multiple partner fertility. In some ways, this could be an indication of the strain that living in a context of concentrated disadvantage places on low-income partnerships (Edin & Kefalas 2005, Edin & Nelson 2013, Fein 2004), as was the case for those on-reservation. With regards to employment outcomes, those living off-reservation were more likely to be underemployed than those in Klamath, Hoopa and downriver. They struggled to find full-time, full-year employment

in any industry, instead cobbling together part-time, temporary and other suboptimal positions to support their households. In some cases, their employment prospects were so limited compared to their partners that it made more sense for them to be the primary childcare providers for their families, although most were reticent of adopting this component of "new fatherhood" (Edin & Nelson 2013, Edin et al. 2019, Krampe 2003, Nelson 2004, Roy 2006, Waller 2002).

Irrespective of residential location, respondents described social networks characterized by high levels of social organization, enforceable trust, and social resource exchange. This was particularly relevant for the job search as men helped one another secure employment, with men helping their younger peers get a job and in turn benefitting from the same generosity from their older network partners. Those off-reservation described smaller, more circumscribed networks, a direct reflection of their distance from on-reservation social networks. Despite these differences, respondents in both locations vastly preferred to be the "central points" (Freeman 1978) of their social networks, whereby they were the ones supporting their network partners rather than the other way around. Their social networks affirmed this expectation as they freely exchanged in-kind resources like housing and childcare between households, yet stigmatized the borrowing of cash or other resources that would replace a father's contribution to his family.

In many ways, this comparison between on and off-reservation respondents reifies a false dichotomy between the two spaces as they were deeply intertwined—the flow of people, resources, and spirituality to and from the reservation to town on the coast was constant. Even those who chose to live in one location over another, location-specific resources like ceremonial spaces on-reservation and county courthouses and grocery stores off-reservation in town made trips in either direction necessary in both contexts. As proposed by Snipp (1992), the connections between reservations and their surrounding areas are thickly interwoven. In many ways, each

environment is dependent on the other, and this needs to be recognized in theory and practice alike. Just as we define and orient the place of the reservation in the reproduction of inequality, we must also acknowledge the interplay between this space and its overarching historical and contemporary governance and economic structures. For far too long, these institutions have been structured to exploit the natural resources of reservations for the gain of off-reservation interests (Snipp 1992, Henson 2008, Wilkinson 2005). The vitality of the reservation rests just as heavily on internal mechanisms as it does on the external structures of power that surround it and the settler-colonial paradigms therein (Risling Baldy 2018, Tuhiwai Smith 1999, 2013). With this caveat, I build on a growing body of literature in neighborhood effects that contextualizes the role of neighborhoods in shaping the flow of people and resources between urban spaces (Wang, Phillips, Small & Sampson 2018).

By providing a thick description of the perceptions of work and fatherhood held by tribal fathers with criminal records living on and off-reservation, I demonstrate how these fathers' worldviews and experiences of adversity shape both who they want to be as providers and fathers, and what constraints they face in achieving these ideals. In particular, I offer the centrality of their world renewal worldview, an ancient framework through which they interpret their individual and social responsibilities irrespective of the inequalities that shape their communities in present day. The vitality of this worldview permeates their day-to-day lives and juxtaposes strongly with the adversity they experience across the life course. They navigate this tension to varying success as indicated by incidents of incarceration and violence. Yet for those who choose to pursue formal employment, they do so by drawing on this worldview to gain sobriety, reclaim their personal agency, and secure work, all necessary preconditions to abstaining from crime for tribal fathers with criminal records. With this investigation, I extend

considerations of the dual processes of adversity and resilience in marginalized communities (Brokenleg et al. 2012, Guerrero et al. 2016, Lamont et al. 2013, Luthar & Zelazo 2003, Masten 2007, Newman 1999, Ramirez & Hammack 2014, Ris 2015, Stack 1970, Vizenor 2008).

Theoretical Contributions and Novel Insights

At the outset of this dissertation, I underscored the glaring omission of Indigenous peoples and their communities from sociological theory, and posited a number of ways these areas could expand our existing considerations of place and inequality. With my contribution, I make some inroads to ameliorating this gap while at the same time offering new insight into long-held theoretical considerations. As a first order concern, I have added a new layer to studies of concentrated disadvantage (Sampson 2012, Sampson & Wilson 1995, Sharkey 2013, Wilson 1987, 1996, 1999) by describing how, like inner-city neighborhoods, the "reservation" represents both a physical space and a social institution that shapes employment patterns, social network structures, and a host of other aspects of daily life in rural areas. Going further, I theorized a "reservation effect" whereby individual and family-level adversity and substance dependence are further exacerbated by the high acquaintance density (Weisheit et al. 1996, Weisheit 1996) and adversity that characterized both reservations.

I also expand on previous understandings of how orientations inform actions (Goffman 1974, Edin et al. 2019, Harding 2006, 2007, 2011, Lamont & Small 2008, Snow & Benford 1992, Swidler 1986, 2001, Young 2003), in this case showing my respondents' world renewal worldview influenced their job-seeking behaviors and other aspects of their lives, like their conception of fatherhood, domestic partnerships, and social resource exchange. Finally, I affirmed representations of low-income men as involved and caring fathers (Edin et al. 2019,

Edin & Nelson 2013, Roy 2006, Waller 2002) and nuanced considerations of "cultural heterogeneity" (Harding 2006, 2007, 2011) to include those fathers who prioritized cultural scripts that upheld the "ideal family unit" (Edin & Nelson 2013, Edin et al. 2019) despite social and cultural trends to the contrary (Hochschild & Machung 1989). In this vein, I assert that for those living in highly cohesive social groups, even within the context of a larger, diverse culture, their access and deployment of cultural scripts will be curtailed to include specific frames over others. It is a Western assumption that one's behaviors are a matter of maximizing "efficiency" (Lara-Cooper & Lara 2019, Tuhiwai Smith 1999, 2013, Waters 2015, Weber 1922), yet I push back on this paradigm to include strategies of action (Swidler 1986, 2001) that emphasize responsibility to the collective over individual optimization.

In addition to my sociological contributions, I also expand the use of "survivance" from Indigenous Studies (Vizenor 2008) through my application of this concept to the process of securing work. In particular, I underscored the tenacity of my respondents in navigating multiple constraints to their job search, including the slack local conditions post-industry decline and their own limitations of co-occurring exposure to traumatic experiences and substance dependency. An ethos of responsibility permeated their understanding of formal employment and fatherhood as they conceived of both through the frame of "father-as-provider." Their intense involvement with their families was a true testament to their commitment to this role. According to Allen (2011), survivance was explicitly theorized to speak to the living, breathing components of Indigenous cultures, underscoring their dynamic interactions with contextual factors vs. a more static depiction of "dying" or "vanishing" peoples. With my application of survivance, I answer the challenge posed to Indigenous Studies scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012: 230) by a community member: "'We know we are dying, but tell me why are we living.'" My respondents

surmounted significant obstacles in terms of the local economy and their very own mental health to secure work and meet their expectation to provide. Their sheer force of will and commitment to their families is laudable, particularly when contextualized by the extreme frequency of exposure to trauma and drug and alcohol dependencies. By emphasizing how my respondent overcame these constraints, I foreground their resilience and their dynamism.

In particular, I spotlight the role of spirituality for my respondents. I contend that as Indigenous men, tribal fathers have access to expressions of mainstream masculinity, yet their interpretations of reality are most informed by the frames derived from their world renewal worldview. Throughout the dissertation, I posit the existence of a "pre-culture" that predated the contemporary disadvantage that shaped conditions on the reservation. Even after 150+ years of colonization, my respondents' world renewal worldview remained a primary tool-kit from which they derived meaning and interpreted their actions (Swidler 1986, 2001). At times, the social expectations encompassed by this worldview constrained the options they deemed suitable for supporting their families, but these expectations also served as vital sources of support in the form of lifelong monogamous partnerships and dense social ties. The primacy of the underlying world renewal belief system to my respondents' worldview is not surprising if interpreted through Tuhiwai Smith's (2012: 78) assertion that

> Concepts of spirituality which Christianity attempted to destroy, then to appropriate, and then to claim, are critical sites of resistance for Indigenous peoples. The values, attitudes, concepts, and language embedded in beliefs about spirituality represent, in many cases, the clearest contrast and mark of difference between indigenous peoples and the West. It is one of the few parts of ourselves which the West cannot decipher, cannot understand and cannot control" (78)

My respondents enacted their worldview in their work, in their fatherhood, and in their concept of self, all of which flowed from the collective spirituality they shared with their world renewal community. The primacy of their spirituality and its attendant social bonds affirms Long & Nelson's (1999) description of "cultural/spiritual" tool-kits as a fundamental component of

Indigenous resilience. Additionally, I provide further support for Lamont and colleagues (2013) assertion that individual capacities for resilience are grounded in shared cultural scripts that foster social inclusion within a context of adversity.

Beyond the unique characteristics of my study participants, I also posited several insights that may extend beyond this specific case. I advance a theorization of the reservation as a place where the sacred and the profane live side-by-side (Durkheim 1915). In particular, the reservation is both the site of significant spiritual importance, with the very landscape recognized as sentient and an interactive factor in the lives of my respondents and their families. Yet, it has also served as the collection point for each generation's victimization, dating back to the genocide of first contact (Calloway 2011, Madley 2009), the slavery and boarding schools that followed (Lomawaima 2004, Norton 1979), and now in present day with the removal of Indigenous peoples through mass incarceration (Beran 2005, Sakala 2014) and the attacks on their health, both physical and mental, through substance dependence. In this way, the reservation is as a place where negative outcomes have clustered over time, irrespective of the deep meaning attributed to the space by its residents. In present day, inequality sits as a backdrop for the spirituality that lives on-reservation. This tension is a key takeaway because the lion's share of inequality research would recommend that those living with such daily adversity simply move to an area where that is no longer the case (Chetty et al. 2015, Goering & Feins 2003, Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn 2003, Ludwig et al. 2013). Even in my study area, the option of moving to the coast is ever-present, with some readers potentially wondering why people like Johnny, 36, and Henry, 50, so highly prized living on-reservation in its most remote parts after learning of all that such a life like this entails. Yet, one must realize that for those who highly prize their world renewal spirituality and the cultural scripts, social actions, and meaning-making

that go with it, living on the reservation is a point of deep pride, and one that they have every right to assert as the original inhabitants and stewards of this sacred landscape. As such, we need to actualize those policy interventions that would be most effective in-place, and set aside considerations otherwise. The reservation is a vital part of modern Indigenous conceptions of the world, and it is our responsibility as scholars and policy makers to find ways to support the vitality of these spaces.

I also offer an additional barrier through which the formerly incarcerated are barred from employment, specifically the role of driver's licenses as screening mechanisms in the hiring process. I observed that for my respondents, their lack of a driver's license was as significant an obstacle to their job search as their criminal histories and their experiences of substance dependence. Employers used this indicator as a way to thin the stack of potential job applicants, and this was particularly the case for tribal employers who were governed by externally-imposed reporting requirements in hiring. In addition to employer stigma, the limitations on personal transportation posed by the lack of a driver's license were particularly onerous in an area nearly devoid of public transportation. I encourage further investigation into how this characteristic may represent a screening mechanism for hiring in other labor markets, with an emphasis on rural areas where personal vehicles are the primary mode of transportation (American Community Survey 2017, Arcury et al. 2006, Moseley 1979).

In the realm of social capital analysis, I suggest that job referrals are not atomistic occurrences existing wholly between job-holders and job-seekers. Rather, the exchange of job information takes place within the context of pre-existing social structures and cultural scripts that dictate which patterns of referrals are more or less likely than others. For example, my respondents shied away from asking for help in their job search process, instead preferring to

find work through their own efforts. Despite this ethos of "preferred individualism," they still benefitted from a phenomenon I dub "generosity of position" whereby respondents helped those their junior find work, like "baby cousins" and sons. In turn, they benefited from similar generosities from their fathers, uncles, and other older male network partners who were already employed in the positions in which they desired to work. Job referrals were also gendered in that my respondents' preferred occupations were in industries like fire, fisheries, and forestry where fellow men were more frequently in the position to broker job information than women. While my case is specific, it is a prudent reminder that while the conditions may vary in other social contexts (Fernandez & Fernandez-Mateo 2006, Portes & Manning 1986, Portes & Sensenbrenner 1993, Smith 2005, 2007), there are nonetheless relevant pre-existing social structures and cultural beliefs that shape how job referrals play out.

Finally, I also advocate for the inclusion of "the body" as a tool for cultural expression and a locus of cultural analysis. For my respondents, some of the most tangible expressions of their world renewal worldview were enacted by their physical actions, as evidenced by their participation in ceremonial dances, their fasting, and their work in resonant, albeit dangerous occupations that heavily relied on their bodily knowledge for efficiency, let alone survival. Cultural sociologists tend to emphasize the role of discursive cultural expression (Goffman 1974, Edin et al. 2019, Harding 2006, 2007, 2011, Lamont & Small 2008, Snow & Benford 1992, Swidler 1986, 2001, Young 2003); however, I push for more considerations of *non*-discursive examples and how they both affirm and expand our existing theorizations of "culture."

Policy Implications & Future Research

My study suggests several policy implications and areas for further academic inquiry. In terms of labor force takeaways, I highlight those skillsets that policy makers and employers alike

could better support through targeted hiring practices, like my respondents' country masculine habitus (Desmond 2008) and their qualifications as "professional exes" (Maruna 2001). In the former, I advocate strongly for expanded investment in "green jobs" and other natural resources-based skillsets (Kammen & Engel 2009, Killingsworth et al. 2012, Wheeler & Beatley 2014, Yi 2013), in particular in rural areas where these jobs resonate with Indigenous worldviews and rural conceptions of masculinity alike (Desmond 2008, Sherman 2009). Receptive employers are a fundamental part of this process, and I encourage employers to find the flexibility to prioritize job skillsets over past indiscretions for those looking for work post-incarceration. Gaining and maintaining formal employment is a vital part of prisoner reintegration (Baer et al. 2006, James 2011, La Vigne et al. 2004, Travis 2000, Travis & Visher 2003, Visher et al. 2004, 2010, Harding et al. 2011), and we should increase existing incentives for employers to hire such workers (Harris & Keller 2005). These kinds of interventions are important because my case suggests that in the absence of resonant employment, job seekers may be reticent to transition to working in an incongruent industry. This is an important consideration with regards to industry decline and policy interventions aimed at retraining displaced workers for burgeoning industries that significantly differ from their preferred occupation. For my respondents and men like them, policy makers should support green jobs and other positions that affirm the country masculine habitus of rural male job seekers rather than vocational training focused on retooling them for more service-oriented employment (Fischer 2009, Manyika et al. 2011, McGahey & Vey 2008).

In addition to green jobs, I also underscore the need to expand our nation's mental health resources, especially in its vastly underserved rural areas. Rural communities are already suffering from an extreme dearth of healthcare providers (Burton et al. 2013, Weisheit et al. 1994), and mental health services are an extension of this gap, including drug and alcohol

rehabilitation. Generative work in recovery was especially resonant for my respondents, and their lived experiences of getting sober on the reservation make them uniquely suited to lead others down that same path. Orion, 34, and Carson, 43, were already deeply entrenched in this kind of work, and others like Xavier, 29, from the opening of the chapter yearned for his chance to do so once he had gotten sober himself. Each man was uniquely suited for generative work by virtue of their lived experiences, both good and bad, as well as their deep entrenchment in the world renewal worldview. Ultimately, accessing this spirituality, reminding men of its importance, and getting them to practice it again on a daily basis is fundamental to restoring the vitality of world renewal men. Where the rub lies, however, is that some of the men who most highly honor these traditions are the same ones who will refuse to engage with the sacred when they are "in a bad way." By incentivizing work in recovery and removing the barriers to it like unnecessarily stringent background checks, policy makers and tribal leaders alike are primed to access the rich generative skillsets of men on their very own reservations, men who are particularly well-suited to lead their peers back to the "good way."

In terms of family policy, I echo Edin & Nelson (2013) in their advocacy for a re-prioritization of *paternal* rights to one's children just as highly as we prioritize outlining their financial and legal responsibilities to them. We cannot hold fathers responsible for sizable child support payments without also acknowledging that they have rights to their children in the same way that we do for mothers. Going further, I encourage policy makers to help buttress the health and vitality of fathers returning home to their families after incarceration. As my findings showed, even those fathers who were chronically incarcerated were parts of their families' day-to-day lives, making them key actors in the education and socialization of their children. As

such, I emphasize the need to consider interventions focused on the health and well-being of fathers across the life course, and most specifically for men with minor children.

Finally, I advocate for expanded childcare provision for families with preschool-aged children to facilitate parental labor force participation. Even as I do so, however, I remind policy makers and theorists alike that some mothers may still prefer to stay at home with their children, and they may well have partners who also value this “ideal family unit.” While social trends have in many ways moved away from the gendered division of labor (Croft et al. 2014, Edin et al. 2019, Edin & Nelson 2013, Hochschild & Machung 1989, Torr & Short 2004), we must still consider single-earner households when designing legislation like the living wage or universal childcare (Baker et al. 2008, Havnes & Mogstad 2011, 2015), and identify strategies for maximizing these policies for families of all formations. For example, I concur with Hotz & Scholz (2000) on the effectiveness of the Earned Income Tax Credit coupled with child tax credits in providing low-income families with additional resources while also allowing them the flexibility to apply these credits based on their families’ individual needs (MDRC 2013, Neumark & Wascher 2000, Scholz 1993). I advocate expanding the size and frequency of such disbursements to a seasonal schedule akin to quarterly tax payments, thereby simultaneously enhancing a family’s resources across the course of a year and incentivizing full-year labor force participation. Such a policy expansion would benefit both those families who preferred a father-as-provider, mother-as-caretaker dynamic as well as those who alternated seasonally between the formal employment of the father and the mother.

I conclude with recommendations for further research. I offer tribal reservations as a unique context in which to study the overlap between drug and alcohol dependencies and social inequalities. By focusing on areas where these outcomes are co-occurring, scholars and

policymakers can better document how individuals, both users and non-users alike, navigate these conditions on a daily basis (Henkel 2011). Hoopa and Klamath are now several generations into substance dependency, and disentangling the conditions under which this has occurred will help contextualize the high methamphetamine and heroin use patterns observed in Native American communities (Weisheit & White 2009). More importantly, this information will guide interventions into these cycles on rural tribal reservations, and help shape policies for heading off the rising rates of opioid use in rural communities across the nation (Compton et al. 2018, Evans et al. 2018, Mars et al. 2014).

In addition to addiction science, I highlight the need to conduct a comparable study with the wives, girlfriends, and other domestic partners of tribal fathers with criminal records. Throughout my analysis, they were the backdrop and arguably the backbone of the resilience described by my respondents, and their primacy in the homes that the men held dear cannot be understated. If there is a discernible limitation to this dissertation, it is that without their accounts of reservation life, social network exchange, or the gender expectations therein, I can only offer half of what is surely a two-part story. What I do know, however, is that any such study would have to consider two key trends as identified over the course of this work. Through my respondent recruitment efforts, I found that a significant minority of those tribal members incarcerated in the local jails were female. While female incarceration rates are on the rise nationally, women still comprise less than 15% of the total incarceral population (Bureau of Justice Statistics 2019, La Vigne, Brooks & Shollenberger 2009), compared to four out of ten incarcerated Yuroks. In addition, my respondents reported a high frequency of domestic violence in their home lives, and a review of their criminal histories as well as larger regional crime patterns verifies these accounts. Domestic violence has received some mention in previous

studies of low-income mothers and marriage (Edin & Kefalas 2007), yet any study of world renewal women would have to consider the frequency of such violence coupled with the high rates of incarceration for both tribal men and women alike.

Appendix A.
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Appendix B.
Interview Guide

Section 1. Lead-In, Family Situation, Marriage, and Children

This first interview is about me getting to know you, what you like to do, what gets you up in the morning, who you spend your time with, etc. I have a list of questions to guide you, but a lot of what you will tell me depends on your story.

- What do you like to do? What gets you excited when you wake up in the morning? What do you dream about?
- What is your purpose today in life?
  - *Follow-up if not explicit: is there anything you are looking forward to in the future? Consider asking these again at close of interview as well.*

- As a study participant, you were recruited because you are a father. How many children do you have?
  - Are you their legal guardian? Primary caretaker? Etc.? Please tell me more.
  - How would you describe a "good" father? A "bad" father?
  - How did it feel when your child(ren) was/were born?
  - How did your relationship with your father impact your own parenting?
    - Was there ever anything you really wanted to make sure you did? Or things you wanted to make sure you *didn't* do?

- What is your marital status? Single? Married? Cohabiting?
  - If partnered:
    - How long have you been together? How did you meet?
  - Do you live with your partner? Has this changed over time?
    - What does your partner do for work? Has this changed over time?
    - Is there a "head-of-household" in your home? How do you divide paying the bills, caring for the home, the children, etc?

- As a father, how do you meet the expectation to "provide" for your children?

- Has being a father changed anything about the kinds of work you look for, for example less dangerous jobs, different hours, etc.?
  - Does your partner's employment shape the kind of work you do?
  - Do you think being a father makes having a job more important?

Section 2. Traditional Activities

- Do you hunt? Fish? Have you ever done either for pay?
  - When you hunt, what do you use? A gun? Traditional methods? Etc?
  - Have you ever fished in the commercial salmon season?

- Do you live on the reservation? Have you ever lived on the reservation?
  - For example, during childhood, during summers, spend other times that were meaningful to you?
- If someone asked you where you were from, where would you say?

- Do you participate in tribal ceremonies, like the jump dance? Other seasonal practices?
- Do you donate to or otherwise assist in the care of an elder?
- Do you speak your traditional language? Do you know anyone who does?

Section 3. Kin & Social Networks

- Do you live near any of your immediate family members?
    - Extended family members like cousins?
    - Close friends?
    - How close is the closest one? The farthest?
- Do you like living this far apart/close? Would being closer change your relationship? Farther apart?
- Do you ever borrow or lend things like food, diapers or money to your family or friends? Do you think changing where you live would change this exchange?

Section 4. Housing & Other Needs

- Where do you usually stay? Does this ever change?
    - Like from a partner's house to your mom's house, grandmother's house, etc?
    - How many people (adults and children) live there?
    - How long there? Do you have any plans to move in the next year?
- Do you rent or own your home? What is the monthly cost associated with living here?
    - If you pay rent, is it ever late?
- At your home, do you have electricity? Access to clean water? Heat? Trash disposal? Internet access? Telephone?
- Do you receive any assistance in paying your bills? From the tribe or other government organization?
    - Tribal housing? Food stamps?

Section 5. Residential Location

The following questions may be personal, so I want to remind you that you don't have to tell me anything you're not comfortable sharing or that you think may risk your probation/parole status. But, as a reminder, anything that you tell me is protected by the Certificate of Confidentiality that we discussed earlier today.

- Could you tell me more about where you grew up?
    - Name of town:
- What is the best part about living on/off reservation? The worst part?
- Is there anything you currently use that you wouldn't have access to if you moved? Anything you might not have access to now that you would if you did move?
    - Family resources? Friends? Access to housing or subsistence living? Transportation? More or less amenities? Natural hazards (e.g. recent slides, road construction, etc.)?
        - Have you ever lived somewhere else from where you are currently live? Did you have to look for a job? How was that experience different?
        - Have you ever moved or considered moving to make finding a job easier? Why or why not?

Break for Second Interview Session

Plan for next interview:

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Section 6. Employment History
For this interview, we will focus on your work history, experiences with employment, and how this has changed over time. I would also like to talk about any news since our last interview, like whether your family has celebrated any milestones, whether you have found work, moved, etc. How have you been?

Early Impressions of Work
- Tell me about school—did you like it? What is your highest degree completed?
- Tell me about your primary caretakers? What did they do for work?
    - Did your grandparents help raise you? In what ways?
- Did your parents/guardians seem to enjoy their work? How did you know?
- Did you family ever receive welfare benefits? For how long?
- Thinking back, what did your relatives do for work?
- When you were young, what did you want to do for a living?

Current Impressions of Work
- What is your primary occupation? How did you come to this?
- What was your first job? How did it end?
- Approximately how many jobs have you had since entering the work force?
- Has your primary occupation changed over time?
    - How did you prepare for work in this field?
    - What is your highest credential? Training received?
    - Do you have a driver's license? Has this always been the case?

- What was your last job? How long did you work in that position?

Section 7. Job Search
The following questions may be personal, so I want to remind you that you don't have to tell me anything you're not comfortable sharing or that you think may risk your probation/parole status. But, as a reminder, anything that you tell me is protected by the Certificate of Confidentiality that we discussed at our first interview, and I would be happy to talk more about protection now before we start this section.
- How long have you been looking for work?
- What kind of jobs are you looking for? Why? Are these similar or different to ones you've held in the past? In what ways?
- How do you look for a job?
    - Help-Wanted ads? Online? Have you ever found a job through a friend or family member? Any other ways?
        - If you have found a job through a friend or family member, did it make the process any easier?
- Has it been difficult to find a job? Harder or easier than other times when you were unemployed? Why do you think this is the case?
- Has being a father ever helped your job search? Hurt it? In what ways?
- How do you provide for yourself when you are out of work? For your monthly bills, daily needs, etc?
    - Who do you rely on? Is there anyone that helps you when you are out of work?
    - If you are still living with your children, how do you provide for their day-to-day needs without a job?
    - If you do not live with them, do you contribute to their day-to-day needs? How do you contribute when you don't have a job?

- Do you ever work under-the-table?
    - o Have you ever considered ending your job search and relying only on under-the-table work? Tell me more.

Section 8. Job Referral Networks

- When you have looked for a job, do you think your search was the same, harder, or easier than that of your friends and family members?
- In your opinion, what is the best way to find a job?
- Have you ever helped anyone to get a job? Why or why not?
- What do you think about the statement "It's not what you know, it's who you know?"
- What makes it hard to find a job for you? Do you think this is a problem for others seeking work? Tell me more.

Section 9. Attitudes & Opinions Around Work & Unemployment

- What makes you happy when you work?
- Is there anything you would give up about the job for a better wage? Would you be willing to earn less at a job if you enjoyed doing it?
- What is a "good job" to you? A bad job?
- How would you define the term "work ethic?"
- What does being employed mean to you? Being unemployed?
- Has being unemployed affected your emotional well-being? In what ways?
- Are there any positives to being unemployed?
    - o For example, more free time to assist with family responsibilities, participate in tribal practices, etc?
    - o Is there anything you are able to do now that you wouldn't be able to do if you had a job? Or is there anything you will be able to do after getting a job that you can't now? How do you feel about these trade-offs?

Break for Third Interview Session

Plan for next interview:

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Section 10. Criminal History & The Job Search

The last two interviews focused on your background, your family, and what it's like to find work on the reservation. This interview, we will talk more about your criminal history and how it has impacted the kinds of jobs you look for. But, like last time, before we begin, how have you been? And your family?

- Tell me about your earliest experience with law enforcement and/or the criminal justice system.
- Tell me about your criminal history. Have you ever been to jail? Prison? For how long?
- Tell me about your most recent interaction with the criminal justice system and the subsequent consequences.
- Do you think your criminal history impacts your job search process? In what ways?
  - Did you ever look for work before you had a record?
  - Do you think people know about your criminal history before you apply to a job? In such a small town, can you keep this information private?
- Did you participate in any rehabilitation, educational or job-training programs while incarcerated?
  - If not, were these programs available?
  - If so, do you feel that they gave your skills to help gain and maintain formal employment?
- Have you ever had a court or probation requirement impact your job search? Your availability to work? Had to pay a large fine or had to clear a license suspension?
- As part of my data collection process, it would be helpful to have reviewed your county record at the courthouse. *Do I have your permission to request this document?*

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Section 11. Hardship

The following questions are personal, so I want to remind you that you don't have to tell me anything you're not comfortable sharing or that you think may risk your probation/parole status. But, while they are sensitive, answering these questions will help me add more context to the details you have already shared with me, and understanding your story will help me help our community with this project.

- Were there any problems growing up, like crime or drug use? Trauma? Loss?
  - Have you ever known anyone who died in car accident?
- Were either of your parents ever incarcerated? Family members? Close friends? Why?
- Have you ever used drugs?
  - Meth? Prescription Pills? Heroin?

IF NO:

- Do you know anyone who has? How has drug use affected their lives? Socially? Do they still have a job?
  - Have you ever noticed any patterns in what drug they use and what happens to the user?
- Do you think drug use has impacted your community? In what ways?

IF YES:

- Do you still use drugs? How do you use them (method of ingestion)?
  - For example, do you take it daily, only when you can, orally vs. nasally, etc.?
- Why did you first start using <drug of choice>? Has this changed over time? How?
- Have you ever gone to rehab? How did that affect your use?

- How has <drug of choice> impacted your life? Your relationships with others?
- Have you ever lost a job because of your use? What happened?
- Do you know anyone else who has used <drug of choice>? How has it impacted their lives?
- Do you think using affects your ability to get and keep a job? How?

Section 12. Conclusion

- As we talked about in the consent form, we will not be using your real name when I use these interviews. What is the fake name a.k.a. a "pseudonym" that you would me to use? We can always change it if you change your mind:
    - ____
- Do you have any questions for me as we wrap up? Anything you'd like to add?
- ***I am also looking for family members or partners to talk with as part of this project. Is there anyone you can think of?
    - ***If so***, would you be willing to share with them my contact info, please?
        - I have here a copy of the info sheet that you and I discussed at our first meeting, you can pass it on to them and it has my contact information at the bottom. As a reminder, nothing you have shared with me over the course of these interviews will be shared with them.

Appendix C.
Field Note Template

DATE: PSEUDONYM/ID # & Session Number

Weather & Road Conditions
X
X
X

Comments on road quality:
X
X
X

Expenses:
Gas: $
Breakfast/Lunch: $
Incentive: $
Snacks: $

Schedule of day:
X
X
X

Verification:
X
X
X

Commentary on interview overall
X
X
X

Audio Commentary from recorder:
X
X
X

Notes from paperwork

DOB:
Pseudonym:
Referral:

From non-recorded time:
X
X
X

Next Steps/Follow-up Points

X
X
X

On field notes:

Observational field notes were drafted for any substantive encounter in the field and/or with the Tribal Court. This included all phone calls, visits to the reservation, court observations and respondent interviews. Using this template, I completed field notes within the following 48 hours after an encounter, with basic details noted within the first 12 hours. For respondent interviews, I supplemented my field notes with an Excel coding sheet based on the data points listed in Appendix D. I compiled my field notes using a combination of handwritten notes, transcribed audio recordings taped immediately after interview and/or observation sessions, and from memory in the event I was unable to record an interaction. By fall 2018, I had approximately two years of observational field note data. Dated field notes begin in December 2016, although preliminary findings based on observational data from June-November 2016 were used in early-stage drafting and project design.

Appendix D.
Key Data Points

Interview Hit List
10 Data Points Needed From Every Respondent

1. Growing up, were there any issues like drug addiction, alcoholism, domestic violence? Was your family ever on welfare? Did your parents ever go to jail/prison? How do you think that impacted you?
    a. ***Data point*: adverse childhood experiences**

2. What was your first experience with loss or trauma? For example, losing a parent or family member, vehicle accidents, abusive relationships? Sexual abuse? How do you think that impacted you? Has anything like that ever happened again?
    a. ***Data point*: adverse experiences, either childhood or adulthood**

3. What cultural/traditional activities do you do? Eeling, fishing, hunting, dances, elder care etc.? Do you speak the Yurok language?
    a. ***Data point*: cultural foundation**

4. Where do you live and why/how? On/off-rez, in town, with family, rent or own, etc.
    a. ***Data point*: living arrangement and residential location**

5. What do you do in a typical day? For example, do you help get kids to school? Go to work? What do you do when the kids are at school? After they come home? Does this change depending on the day? Time of the year?
    a. ***Data point*: daily schedule (first is there one? If so, what does it work around?)**

6. Whether you have a job or not, your family needs food and shelter every day/week. How do you provide for these things when you are not clocking in somewhere? Do you still use these any of these strategies after you get a job?
    a. ***Data point*: meeting daily needs**

7. If you needed $100 by the end of the week for something very important, like a doctor's appointment, car repair, rent, etc., how would you get it together?
    a. ***Data point*: how do they meet emergency needs**

8. Who do you go to for help? Who asks you for help? Like if you needed a babysitter, diapers, $20 for gas, etc.?
    a. ***Data point*: social network and resources therein**

9. As a father, what is it important for you to teach your children? How do you do this? How does this compare to your experience growing up?
    a. ***Data point*: understanding of fatherhood and responsibility**

10. Is there anything you can't do because you have a criminal record? For example, do you think it impacts your job search? Your ability to meet your daily needs? If you could change anything about having a record (besides not having one), what would it be?
    a. ***Data point*: impact of criminal history**

Appendix E.
Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACE) Survey

Table 1. Prevalence of childhood exposure to abuse and household dysfunction

Category of childhood exposure[a]	Prevalence (%)	Prevalence (%)
Abuse by category		
Psychological		**11.1**
(Did a parent or other adult in the household . . .)		
Often or very often swear at, insult, or put you down?	10.0	
Often or very often act in a way that made you afraid that you would be physically hurt?	4.8	
Physical		**10.8**
(Did a parent or other adult in the household . . .)		
Often or very often push, grab, shove, or slap you?	4.9	
Often or very often hit you so hard that you had marks or were injured?	9.6	
Sexual		**22.0**
(Did an adult or person at least 5 years older ever . . .)		
Touch or fondle you in a sexual way?	19.3	
Have you touch their body in a sexual way?	8.7	
Attempt oral, anal, or vaginal intercourse with you?	8.9	
Actually have oral, anal, or vaginal intercourse with you?	6.9	
Household dysfunction by category		
Substance abuse		**25.6**
Live with anyone who was a problem drinker or alcoholic?	23.5	
Live with anyone who used street drugs?	4.9	
Mental illness		**18.8**
Was a household member depressed or mentally ill?	17.5	
Did a household member attempt suicide?	4.0	
Mother treated violently		**12.5**
Was your mother (or stepmother)		
Sometimes, often, or very often pushed, grabbed, slapped, or had something thrown at her?	11.9	
Sometimes, often, or very often kicked, bitten, hit with a fist, or hit with something hard?	6.3	
Ever repeatedly hit over at least a few minutes?	6.6	
Ever threatened with, or hurt by, a knife or gun?	3.0	
Criminal behavior in household		
Did a household member go to prison?	3.4	**3.4**
	Any category reported	**52.1%**

[a]An exposure to one or more items listed under the set of questions for each category.

Reproduced from Table 1. Prevalence Of Childhood Exposure To Abuse And Household Dysfunction, pg. 248.

Citation:

Felitti, Vincent J., MD, FACP, Robert F. Anda, MD, MS, Dale Nordenberg, MD, David F. Williamson, MS, PhD, Alison M. Spitz, MS, MPH, Valerie Edwards, BA, Mary P. Koss, PhD, James S. Marks, MD, MPH. 1998. “Relationship of Childhood Abuse and Household Dysfunction to Many of the Leading Causes of Death in Adults: The Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACE) Study.” *American Journal of Preventative Medicine*. Vol. 14 (4): 245-258.