Community Literacy Journal

Volume 15 | Issue 2 Article 4

Spring 2021

Public Memory as Community-Engaged Writing: Composing Difficult Histories on Campus

Amy J. Lueck

Matthew V. Kroot

Lee M. Panich

Articles

Public Memory as Community-Engaged Writing: Composing Difficult Histories on Campus

Amy J. Lueck, Matthew V. Kroot, and Lee M. Panich

Abstract

Colleges and universities across the United States are recognizing the public memory function of their campus spaces and facing difficult decisions about how to represent the ugly sides of their histories within their landscapes of remembrance. Official administrative responses to demands for greater inclusiveness are often slow and conservative in nature. Using our own institution and our work with local Indigenous community members as a case study, we argue that students and faculty can employ community-engaged, public-facing, digital composing projects to effectively challenge entrenched institutional interests that may elide or even misrepresent difficult histories in public memory works. Such projects are a nimble and accessible means of creating counter-narratives to intervene in public memory discourses. Additionally, by engaging in public discourses, such work helps promote meaningful student rhetorical learning in courses across disciplines.

Keywords

Ohlone; public memory; colonialism; California missions; digital; pedagogy; community engagement

Introduction

Communities across the United States are facing difficult decisions about how to represent their histories, as institutions and individuals doing memory work must grapple with the impacts of their historical frameworks and ideological claims in the public square (Epstein and Peck). The recent booms in scholarship on "memory" (Winter) and "difficult histories" (Attwood) across disciplines—and particularly within rhetoric and communication (see Greer and Grobman; Dickinson et al.; Crawford et al.)—have contributed to the growing acknowledgement that public memory, like all ideological claims about the past, does not merely reflect and preserve, but rather asserts and transmits conceptions of history, culture, and identity.

College campuses, whose present-day resources are at least in part products of the historical exploitation of marginalized and subjugated populations, are not exempt from these controversies (e.g., Clarke and Fine; Hart Micke). Indeed, because

most institutions of higher education have instructors, scholars, and even units that work to interrogate hegemonic discourses and the production of new knowledge about the past, and because memory work is inherently educational work, colleges and universities are especially obligated to take on the challenge of historical representation proactively. Pairing the realities of campus histories and the cultural role of higher education with current trends in collaborative partnerships between academics and stakeholder communities (e.g., Colwell; Grobman; Heron; Israel et al; Kovach; Wallerstein et al; Wilson), we argue that campus public memory and public history work—particularly digital public memory projects—are an opportunity for community-engaged composition that is a powerful means for producing creative counter-narratives that challenge entrenched institutional interests, which may otherwise elide or even misrepresent difficult histories.

Using our own institution of Santa Clara University as a case study, we highlight how community-engaged digital public memory work can be both pedagogical and political, moving the needle on an otherwise often slow and highly conservative process of addressing historical wrongs on college campuses. We also emphasize how this community-engaged composition work can serve as a bridge between our different disciplinary backgrounds—archaeology and rhetoric—with our shared interest in collaborative research models, as well as the construction and deployment of public memories (Keene and Colligan; Wilson).

Santa Clara University's campus is an ideal case study because of its unique history. Our institution is the only university established at the site of one of California's twenty-one Spanish missions, being located on the former grounds of Mission Santa Clara de Asís. The California missions are highly charged sites of public memory, a fact that has only been exacerbated with the recent canonization of eighteenth-century Franciscan missionary Junípero Serra (Dartt-Newton; Helmbrecht; Kryder-Reid, *California Mission Landscapes*; Lorimer; Panich, "After Saint Serra"). Long seen as the anchors of European settlement on the Pacific Coast—Serra himself is often referred to as "California's founding father" (Hackel)—the missions occupy a foundational place in the public memory of the state of California (Figure 1). This is the interpretive frame employed by our institution, which has described the mission as the "anchor and spiritual center" of the university ("History"), a frame that effectively erases the experiences of the Indigenous groups associated with the mission and, in particular, the Ohlone whose ancestral territory the campus occupies. Similar narratives are replicated in culturally hegemonic settler colonial and white supremacist discourses on California history found in many educational contexts.

Figure 1. Plaque inside the Mission Church, commemorating the bicentennial of the founding of the first Spanish mission in Alta California in 1769, here defined by the Daughters of the American Revolution as the founding of California.

For many Native people, in contrast, the missions represent sites of profound loss. They are institutional agents of cultural suppression, coerced and uncompensated labor, corporal punishment, family separation, ecological degradation, and increased disease loads—historical injustices that are glossed over by the public interpretive programs at most California mission sites. At the same time, the hardships of missionization are just part of the story, and there is a risk that a single-minded focus on the horrors of colonialism only plays into settler colonialism's "logic of elimination" (Wolfe). Therefore, it is paramount for public memory rhetorics to provide what Sonya Atalay calls a "sense of the struggle," while also keeping the long-term persistence of Native Californians at the center of the narrative (Atalay, "No Sense"; Schneider et al).

As professors of anthropology and rhetoric, our intention in this work is to use our positions and resources at the university to center and amplify the perspectives, experiences, and histories of local Native communities in order to intervene in their erasure within our campus space. To ensure community-based sentiments about the history of colonization and Indigenous persistence are accurately reflected in our various community-engaged writing projects on campus, we partner with local Ohlone tribal members in order to disrupt California's hegemonic founding narrative, considering the particular role of digital technologies in helping to compose alternative public representations of our campus space and its history.

To introduce this case study as an example of community-engaged public memory work, we begin here by reviewing recent work on how US colleges have tackled difficult histories associated with their institutions as sites of cultural history and public memory. Next, we draw on scholarship in rhetoric and education to argue that assigning digital public memory projects as community-engaged writing in undergraduate courses can provide space for the knowledge-building, reflection, and engagement necessary for shifting public memory on campuses.

Turning to the case study of our university, we provide background into our campus's current commemorative landscape and recent developments towards reexamining its public memory works, particularly in relation to Ohlone history and culture. We explore the various sources of community-based engagement spurred by interests in campus public memory and activism, outlining the ways students at Santa Clara University—driven by their own identities, commitments, and coalitional goals—have been a central force in compelling reflection and enacting change on our campus. We then describe how the classroom-based digital projects and other grant-supported projects underway on our campus marshal those student-community connections and harness the potential of virtual space to publicly present counterstories that shape memory on our campus for more just and inclusive ends. We conclude with a discussion of the lessons of our community-engaged composition work on difficult campus histories, which are broadly applicable to other community-engaged projects.

Difficult Histories and Public Memory on College Campuses

In recent years, a number of colleges and universities across the United States have sought ways to reconcile their historical and contemporary perpetuation of systems of racial, economic, and political domination and exploitation with their claimed commitments to social justice and the creation of opportunity (Clarke and Fine 84; see also Wilder). For example, members of the Georgetown and Brown University communities have undertaken administratively sanctioned examinations of the colleges' histories in partnership with local stakeholder communities and used them to inform recommendations redressing the historical and contemporary legacy of slavery and racialized violence that helped shape these institutions (Clarke and Fine; Walters; Working Group).

However, universities too often forgo such a broadly inclusive communal approach to this sort of work in favor of official proclamations and representations that may reflect the identities and priorities of administrations, rather than students and other community stakeholders. This, in effect, makes public memory works on campuses "constructed for the people but not by the people" (Haskins 402). In these cases, faculty and students are often left filling the gaps in official memory with their own projects. For example, at Harvard University and the University of Alabama, individual faculty and their students drove the process of historical reckoning, with administrations responding to the publicity generated by this work (See Walters; Clarke and Fine). While Harvard's administration did eventually financially and rhetorically support the project, Alabama is cited as an example of a less successful case. There, agitation to address the legacy of slavery in that institution's past resulted in a lukewarm institutional apology in 2004 and little else in the way of recognition or reparations (Clarke and Fine). However, despite the lack of official change, Alabama faculty and students continue to take the lead in producing counternarratives, such as Professor Hillary Green and her student collaborators' Hallowed Grounds walking tour and After Slavery digital pop-up museum (Green, *The Hallowed Grounds Project* and "The Burden").

The legacies of chattel enslavement of Africans and members of the African Diaspora are not the only difficult histories with which members of campus communities are currently engaging. At Stanford University, faculty created the Chinese Railroad Workers in North America Project (CRRW) in part to explore the role of their institution's founding family in the exploitation of Chinese workers in the late nineteenth century (Chang and Fisher Fishkin; Voss). In addition to traditional, published scholarship, the Stanford CRRW project has generated digital galleries of documents and archaeological evidence to engage a variety of public audiences (Chinese Railroad Workers Project). Initiatives like those at Stanford and Alabama sidestep the challenge of institutional inertia or resistance, leveraging the affordances of ephemeral performance and digital space for intervening in public remembrance.

Just as slavery and exploitative labor practices are intertwined in the history of American universities, so too did such institutions benefit from the processes of settler colonialism, including the annexation and sale of tribal lands, the use of coerced Native labor, the erasure of cultural traditions, and the displacement and attempted genocide of Indigenous people (Lee and Ahtone; Hart Micke; Luke and Heynen; Nash). Higher education has only recently begun to address this legacy (Brasher et al.; Calloway; Hart Micke). For example, universities across North America have begun to bring the memory of Indigenous displacement and survivance into campus activities through the composition and circulation of land acknowledgement statements (Wilkes et al). In California, student activism is similarly forcing many campuses to reckon with how they commemorate Junípero Serra, founder of the Alta California mission system, with schools like Stanford making overtures to address their complicity in colonial domination by renaming buildings and other sites on campus (Gomez; Myers).

In light of these histories, memory scholars have theorized college campuses as "wounded" places fundamentally shaped by legacies of racialized, political, and cultural violence (Brasher et al; Till). Revisions to the campus environment, such as those described above, attempt to redress these historical violences, recognizing the fact that place names are political, and discursive violence has substantive impacts (Rios 63; Barnd). Still, many campuses have been slow to take up this call. Those universities without more obvious tributes to racist figures or traditions may not even recognize their campuses as sites of public memory construction, much less historical violence.

Of course, all universities do convey a sense of their own history and identity through their built environment, interpretive signage, and commemorative displays that become part of the "hidden curriculum" of their campus, communicating belonging and unbelonging to current and potential students and differently positioned community members (Jackson; Lueck et al.). As we will demonstrate, digital community-engaged composition projects represent a significant avenue for interrupting and contributing to this memory work, which can be engaged both within and beyond the classroom.

Campus Public Memory Work through Digital Community-Engaged Composition

Public memory scholars have widely acknowledged the "importance of involving multiple stakeholders in the processes of ethical decision making when public memory is being produced" (Greer and Grobman 3; also see Kryder-Reid, "Introduction"; Kryder-Reid et al.). Engaging students as stakeholders in community-engaged public memory projects can bring rhetorical and historical learning outside the classroom and into the public realm, where students can see themselves as participants in the construction of public remembrance, rather than merely passive consumers or inheritors of history. As Greer and Grobman argue, "Inviting students not only to analyse the arguments advanced by museums, archives, and memorials but also to invent those arguments themselves opens up significant opportunities for expanding their rhetorical repertoires as well as for deepening their understanding of the processes and powers of remembrance" (2). The understanding of processes and powers of remembrance is a key historical, communicative, and, ultimately, civic lesson for students. Whereas "relegating the task of remembering to official institutions and artifacts arguably weakens the need for a political community actively to remember its past", taking on this work with students and communities lays the groundwork for future critical engagement and civic action (Haskins 402).

As community-engaged compositions, the projects students produce can also move forward the political and cultural goals of community partners, contributing to their efforts in relation to public remembrance, the stakes of which many of them already deeply understand and experience daily. Sharing authority in the design of research, while centering marginalized perspectives and critically interrogating our own position as participants in domination and exploitation, are central goals of

community-based research (CBR) (Stoecker). Striving towards decolonial models for university-community interaction, this work endeavors to not merely share authority but actually to cede it to stakeholder communities in the composition of public memory and historical representation (King; Kendi; Kovach; Lonetree; Lyons).

Appeals for a "place-engaged" approach to community-engaged learning similarly lay the groundwork for campus public memory projects. They pay special attention to the complex and multivocal histories of partner communities, as well as the role of an institution's own material, institutional, and cultural inheritances in the experiences and structural forces that continue to marginalize these communities in the present (Siemers et al.). Place- and community-engaged campus public memory projects can invite stakeholders into our own campus spaces to critique and improve what *we* are doing in terms of public remembrance and historical representation as part of our efforts to decolonize public remembrance, and to draw our attention to the colonial history of settler states and their component institutions.

Such collaborative efforts to revise public memory reflect Steinman's call to approach community-engaged work as "making space," which, "can be a vehicle for de-centering the perspectives of dominant social groups, for the creation of deeper and more community-oriented relationships, and heightening university/college participants' personal awareness of their location within, and participation in, social inequalities" (12). Campus public memory work engaged in partnership with diverse communities can "serve to identify, denaturalize, and replace hegemonic colonial power/knowledge regimes" (5).

In the case of community-engaged campus memory work, that change happens on several levels. The work of "making space" is as much about non-Native students and faculty listening and learning from communities as it is about *doing* or composing anything as a result. Learning from stakeholder communities' responses to campus's historical and cultural representations *is* part of a longer process of transforming public memory, as the conversations and compositions students and faculty produce as a result of these collaborations and reflections further contribute to that public memory work in circulating new models of historical remembrance to a broader public audience. Curricular practices are powerful ideological apparatuses that can reproduce or challenge existing power structure by creating popular discursive frameworks (Apple).

Of course, such community-engaged memory work is complicated, fraught with potential power differentials and needful of a careful personal and political approach. Grobman discusses some of these challenges in her cross-race work on a public history project with the NAACP branch of Reading, Pennsylvania. She reminds of the "complex web of interrelated issues that disappear from view only to reappear again" when working across difference and cautions that "theoretical understandings of hybridity, border-crossing, and blurring of group-based differences and identities do not necessarily occur in practice" (Grobman 131, 136). Responding to similar racial and political dynamics, Crawford et al. use their community-engaged historical writing as an opportunity for students to interrogate their own positionality and use their writ-

ing to provoke further conversation and inquiry that will disrupt damaging narratives in their residential community of Kansas City.

The possibility of perpetuating unequal power dynamics in the implementation of projects remains a reality, particularly when this work is engaged in by predominantly settler institutions, or within the disguised hegemonic ideologies of power at institutions rhetorically committed to social justice (La Salle and Hutchings; Shange). Practitioners must remain vigilant to this possibility by consistently striving to achieve the empowerment of community stakeholders on the collaborative level in rhetoric programs and on the societal level with careful consideration of how rhetorical products enter into broader fields of power.

While scholars have been rightly critical of overzealous claims about the democratic potentials of digital media for similar reasons (Haskins; Smith), digital public memory work has a number of advantages over other media when composing community-engaged public memory discourses on campus. It can be accessible to a wider audience and is a medium through which more people can operate than many physical or performance-based products. It also enables community-engaged writers and researchers to remain nimble and responsive to changing community priorities or needs as they emerge across cycles of iterative design and feedback. One of the major challenges recognized, for example, in planning and sustainability studies is what is commonly termed the "inertia of the built environment" (e.g., Haarstad and Oseland). Digital media, by contrast, are designed to be flexibly modified.

Thus, digital new media expands the "commemorative landscape" of the campus, providing opportunities for community collaboration and the sharing of memory work that do not exist within the more static and conservatively designed built environment (Aden 4; see also Greer and Grobman; Jay). Because of their easily revised nature, digital assets provide a flexible form of public commemoration and engagement that can accommodate new voices, changes in political context, and shifting rhetorical strategies among stakeholders. As Lueck and Panich have argued elsewhere, this flexibility is particularly important for work with communities, our relationships with whom are in process and unfolding and whose own interests and needs may shift over time.

Of course, digital projects are still no panacea for "democratic" memory practices. Haskins warns of the "twin dangers of ideological reification and amnesia" inherent in commemorative practices engaged online (405). These commemorative practices can also reflect the same disparities of power and access as other sites of public discourse and community engagement. This is why the use of collaborative approaches, with stakeholders driving the development, implementation, and revision of heritage programs, is so essential. The flexible, yet durable, nature of digital projects is only as valuable as the process through which they are enacted. In what follows, we examine the ways these factors are playing out in our own campus context.

Public Memory at Santa Clara University

Santa Clara University (SCU) is a prime example of a university that is beginning to grapple with its own difficult history. SCU is a Jesuit institution that was established on the grounds of a Spanish colonial mission originally founded in 1777 in the homeland of the Thamien Ohlone people. Like all 21 California missions, Santa Clara's primary purpose was to convert the local Indigenous population to Roman Catholic Christianity, indoctrinate them in European lifeways, and use them as the instruments and provisioners of the Spanish crown in the competition with other colonial powers for control of the Americas. The exact location of Mission Santa Clara changed over the course of the Spanish and Mexican colonial periods (ca. 1777-1840s) due to floods and earthquakes, and the remnants of three mission churches are on the grounds of the current SCU campus. The mission had a resident population of over 1,000 Native individuals in any given year, representing a diverse array of tribal communities from surrounding regions. The campus also covers the mission's large Native neighborhood, or *ranchería*, as well as two mission cemeteries that together hold the remains of more than 7,000 individuals, most of whom were Native Californians (Panich, "Mission Santa Clara"; Skowronek and Wizorek).

While in residence at the mission, Ohlone families endured the suppression of their culture, the theft of their lands, and the loss of loved ones. Yet, they eventually outlasted the mission system, regrouping in the second half of the nineteenth century in the hills of the southeastern Bay Area where they enjoyed a cultural revival despite the continuing pressures of settler colonialism (Milliken et al.; Panich, *Narrative of Persistence*). Today, their descendants are organized into several interrelated tribal groups, including the Ohlone Indian Tribe and the Muwekma Ohlone Tribe (Field et al.). Indeed, as Andrew Galvan, one of our community partners often underscores, "We are here, still! And, the Franciscans are not."

As the only institution of higher learning in the state to be located on a Spanish mission site, SCU uses various means to work the public's broad awareness of the California missions to its advantage. The mission church is the geographical focal point of the campus, and promotional materials tout the long tradition connecting the current university with the ostensibly educational purpose of the colonial mission. The central architectural theme of the campus is Mission Revival, complete with tile roofs and a color scheme meant to evoke adobe bricks. The likeness of the mission church is central to the university marketing materials, adorning everything from departmental letterhead to souvenir coffee mugs, while various sports teams proclaim to be "on a mission."

However, the complexity of the history behind this symbol is rarely explored. As of 2021, physical interpretive media related to SCU are limited to three venues. The university's art museum, the de Saisset, has a small California history exhibit. The mission church, operated by Campus Ministries, provides two brief interpretive panels dedicated to mission history. Outdoor media consist of a series of relatively unobtrusive markers and monuments, scattered across the campus, that fall under the purview of University Operations. All three entities—the de Saisset Museum, Campus Ministries, and University Operations—exist outside of the university's academic

structure, a fact that limits student and faculty involvement in the creation of public memory at SCU.

SCU's efforts at public memory related to Mission Santa Clara are not meant to engage viewers in difficult questions about the past. Rather, they work together to present a relatively narrow interpretation of the colonial period that privileges the role of Euroamerican agents in creating the institutions that eventually became SCU and the modern city of Santa Clara, while being as visually unobtrusive as possible. In doing so, the current approach to public memory limits who exactly counts as part of the community being commemorated (Waterton and Smith). This framing, moreover, creates its own inertia against engagement with broader publics whose own histories may counter those currently being celebrated on our campus.

As revealed by a recent survey of undergraduates, a large proportion have little existing knowledge of our campus's difficult histories. However, a similarly large percentage are eager to learn more (Kroot and Panich). In fact, it has been students who have organized most effectively in support of incorporating Native history and culture in campus life. The sustained attention of students across courses, clubs, organizations, and public events has compelled the administration to pay attention to the issue of Native representation on campus. As a result of student pressure, SCU adopted a land acknowledgement statement and held its first formal Indigenous Peoples Day event in 2018. In the months that followed, SCU organized a formal Ohlone History Working Group to explore further actions. Following the model of Georgetown and others, then-President Engh charged the group to "review the current markers and monuments that honor the history of the Ohlone people on campus and particularly in the history of Mission Santa Clara de Asís de Thamien; consult with Ohlone representatives about their views on the most appropriate ways to honor their ancestors; consult/review commemorations of Native Peoples at other California Missions; and draft recommendations based on investigations and consultations" (Engh).

While this development is encouraging, it is important to recognize that it came about only as a result of sustained rhetorical action, particularly by students on behalf of Native stakeholders. President Engh even tacitly acknowledged the institutional inertia that otherwise prevailed, admitting that the need to better acknowledge Ohlone history had been clear "for some time." He also recognized the critical role pressure by Native communities and students—both Native and non-Native—played in moving the needle on this issue, giving "special thanks and praise" to leaders in the Ohlone community and the student group Native American Coalition for Change for their efforts (Engh). In what follows, we describe efforts to build on this momentum by employing digital public memory projects as community-engaged writing in and out of our classrooms. As we argue, such community-engaged writing projects are a way to support and extend the revision of public historical representation and remembrance on our campuses.

Digital Projects Engaging Difficult Histories at SCU

On our campus, we have partnered with local Ohlone tribal groups and engaged students with a range of digital composing projects—both inside and outside of courses—to begin to reconfigure the commemorative landscape and shift public memory. The collaborative research design and engagement with our tribal partners has come in several forms, all building on existing relationships our Anthropology department and campus museum had fostered for many years through consultations and collaborations on projects in the area. With this more focused turn towards questions of campus public memory, we have called on some of our established contacts as resources to help us think about how to proceed, obtaining several lines of funding to support deeply collaborative pedagogical and technological design projects as well as inviting tribal members into our classrooms more informally to share perspectives and guide student research projects such as those we discuss below. The resulting projects so far have included course websites showcasing student historical research, 360 tours built on Google Tour Builder, annotated 3D scans hosted online by the Sketchfab website, and digital exhibits designed on the open-source archiving platform, Omeka, all of which we have conceptualized as a process of asset-building in support of larger-scale, Ohlone-led public remembrance projects.

Our most focused community-engaged public memory work began in Spring 2019 in a course, co-taught by two of us, that focused on community-engaged digital writing projects related to the Indigenous histories at the mission. One of our projects was 3D modelling work to digitize and annotate Ohlone artifacts recovered archaeologically from our campus and surrounding areas. Ideally, students would have been free to choose from among the thousands of artifacts related to the rich archaeological history of our campus, covering precontact and colonial-period deposits related to the Ohlone and other Native American groups. However, given access restrictions, students chose from a limited number of artifacts that nonetheless offered various interpretive avenues.

Using a small internal grant to purchase an HP Pro S3 structured light 3D scanner, we worked with students to select and digitize artifacts that provide insight into Ohlone history and culture of our campus. Prior to the digitization process, students learned about the specifics of our campus history, the broader patterns of romanticization that have characterized public interpretation at California mission sites for more than a century (e.g., Kryder-Reid, *California Mission Landscapes*), and were taught contemporary Ohlone perspectives on the mission by Ohlone heritage professionals (e.g. Galvan; Galvan and Medina; Medina). Most crucially, students consulted with Andrew Galvan, member of the Ohlone Indian Tribe and curator of Mission Dolores in San Francisco, whose perspectives shaped students' digitization and composing choices. It is worth noting here that Andy and other Ohlone collaborators are always compensated for their time and expertise provided on these projects. Andy visited our class early in the quarter to share his perspectives on Native experience and history, reviewed student projects in development, and attended our final project exhibitions at the end of the quarter to discuss the work with the students.

In small groups, students researched their objects using the scholarly literature on local archaeology and ethnography. Based on their findings, they composed interpretive introductory texts for the artifacts and annotated key features of the artifact models.

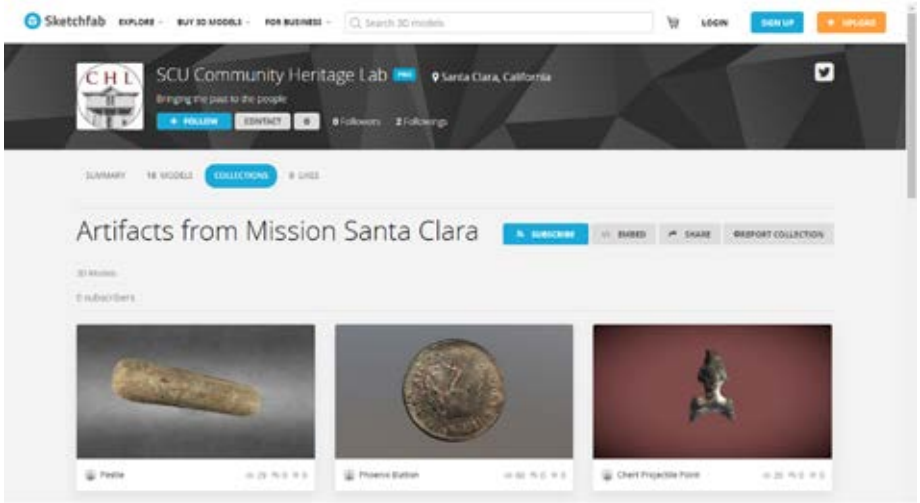

Figure 2. Screenshot of the Community Heritage Lab page on Sketchfab, with examples of 3D models of artifacts from the Mission ("Media").

Students then uploaded their scans to Sketchfab (Figure 2). By hosting the students' work on Sketchfab, we tried to extend the community-engagement and ensure that these projects connect to both the work of their peers and to others with an interest in Ohlone culture and archaeological research. This potential for public scrutiny produced incentives for students to both invest more thoroughly in their work and to critically think about the role of historical rhetorics in the world. Students opened themselves up to critiques on facts and frameworks from a much larger audience, a process that can both create risks, but also potential rewards through the forging of new relationships beyond the classroom (Greer and Grobman).

A consequence of this public audience is that students can become more critical consumers and capable producers of public remembrance. In this way, Collin Brooke observes that student blogs—and, we would add, other online projects—strike a balance between centripetal and centrifugal tendencies. Existing at the periphery of the classroom, they function to reflect and engage course concepts and networks, but also, and perhaps even more importantly, to engage the public. While we recognize that the platform may limit the audience to those with specialized interests, thereby falling short of the potential intervention into campus public memory that we envision, the Sketchfab platform is a temporary solution that allows us to build a shared repository of digital assets, meeting both short-term pedagogical and long-term public memory goals. In the meantime, being a publicly accessible online platform allows these models

to be embedded in various university webpages. For example, the SCU Community Heritage Lab (CHL), the university's academic archaeology laboratory, includes several of these models on its media page, helping to reach a broader audience.

The success of the initial class has led others to use similar digital composing assignments in their own courses as well. For example, students in a summer archaeological class used the scanner to create a number of 3D models and annotations of archaeological artifacts associated with later Euroamerican residents who lived in the area of the SCU campus during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Thus, while not limited to interventions in the difficult colonial heritage of our campus, assignments like 3D scanning and annotation of archaeological artifacts allow students to engage with the materiality of campus history, to think through how those histories might be told more inclusively, and to engage various community groups and stakeholders in the process.

Our second digital heritage program, using Omeka, has been more diverse in its coverage, with faculty and students focused primarily on uploading and cataloging high-quality digital assets. These include documentation of SCU's current efforts at public commemoration, scans of documents and ephemera housed in SCU's Archives and Special Collections, and still images of archaeological artifacts from colonial Spanish, Mexican, and American sites on and near the campus. This process provides students with tangible skills in various professional practices, from artifact photography to archival data entry to scientific illustration, while practicing critical rhetorical and writing skills, using these images and other file types, such as videos, audio recordings, and historical texts, to produce freely available, public-facing online digital exhibits (Figure 3).

Figure 3. Screenshot of an Omeka page about the Mission, created by students in a general education course.

The first round of Omeka assignments using this model, during the 2019-2020 academic year, asked students to produce exhibits that advocated specific actions of the students' choosing for changing how SCU deals with mission heritage. The instructor for the course collaborated with Ohlone stakeholders to collate and develop the readings, videos, lecture frameworks, and supplementary resources used to provide students with the background they needed for the project. Future classes that will use Omeka include both lower level and upper level English and Anthropology courses using a similar collaborative process for instructional resources. The exhibits developed in these courses are to be featured on the CHL and SCU Digital Humanities Initiative websites. This program also serves to seed a continuously expanding digital archive and online exhibit space to be maintained by the CHL and to demonstrate to other faculty the potential for using the database and exhibit space—and the community-engaged writing these projects lend themselves to—in their classes across the disciplines.

Mobilizing Student Projects for Community Partnerships

Each class that contributes to our shared Omeka collection on local history or the Sketchfab collection will extend the work of public memory through their writing, engaging communities as both collaborators and potential audience members. Because the digital exhibits are public facing, students have to master content in such a way that they can thoughtfully and responsibly translate knowledge learned in the classroom and through engagement with community members into visual, audio, and textual narratives comprehensible to a non-expert audience. Though constrained by the assignments and presentation platforms, these choices are nonetheless significant, including choices of lighting effect, object orientation, terminology, and artifact selection itself, all of which substantially shape the way an audience understands the significance of an item and their own relationship to it. In this way, students working on digital memory projects grappled with the rhetorical choices inherent in language and detail selection, considering their consequences for readers' conceptions of Native people in both the past and the present. For example, what is the effect, in terms of how Native culture and history are remembered, of using the past tense or passive voice, or of highlighting the work of archaeologists in "discovering" a given artifact? Raising questions like these encouraged students to develop a more complex conception of both historical research and communication.

Within these constraints—and perhaps even *because* of them—students were able to learn historical content knowledge and practice rhetorical skills related to historical representation and public memory. Composing for public audiences encourages students to move beyond the conception of writing as reporting "facts" into a recognition of the persuasive work inherent in all composing. As Greer and Grobman argue in relation to other public memory work, "Students expand the range of their rhetorical repertoires in ways that they may deem more relevant to their lives beyond the university, and they become more flexible in their rhetorical practices" (12).

The representational insights and opportunities were equally spurred by the community engagement at the production end of student projects as well, where students learned about the lived experiences and material consequences of rhetorics of public remembrance for various communities, including the understanding of how rhetorics of Native "extinction" have contributed to a lack of federal recognition for many Native groups in California today, including the Ohlone (Leventhal et al.). In his class visit, Andrew Galvan provided a vivid image of the significance of federal recognition to many tribal members: that of a large hypothetical display case, empty, with a label designating the intent to someday enclose documentation of restored federal tribal recognition. This image of a dream deferred, framed by the technologies of public memory and museum curation, was a powerful idea that stuck with many students and faculty alike.

In the process, such community-engaged writing projects make student research and labor useful for more than just the learner and the instructor, giving students a greater sense of ownership over their work. Their investment in the work itself contributes to the public memory function of their projects, as they continue to discuss and share research findings and compositions with their own networks as well.

But it is equally important to note that students are not "experts" in Ohlone history and public representation at the end of any of these courses or experiences. Instead, having been grounded in the attempt to understand and represent just one artifact or site, we hope that they are left with the sense of only being able to tackle one small part of the question, leaving the larger questions of commemoration and representation to Ohlone representatives themselves. Ultimately, we hope that lesson is one of the most lasting insights: that is, the recognition among non-Native students and faculty of when it is *not* our place to shape public remembrance, and we strive to devise structures in our own classroom and research to support more decolonial approaches. This has been a challenge, given the existing paradigms of expertise and privilege that determine who is at the front of the classroom and produce the need to seek outside funding to support Native contributions. Still, it is a goal we continue to strive for in our shared work with tribal members as we move forward.

Discussion and Conclusion

The focus on digitization of Ohlone artifacts was a shared interest of both Ohlone collaborators and us as professors. A significant number of Ohlone individuals work in Cultural Resource Management (CRM) as consultants and monitors of construction job sites to protect their cultural heritage and participate in the work of advancing knowledge about their ancestors. These artifacts are an important way they connect to their past and learn about their own history, and some individuals have an even more direct connection to the artifacts, having been involved in their recovery and preservation. Recognizing the value of having Ohlone individuals drive the public memory process but unable to embark on the development of a large-scale project without funding to support Ohlone contributions, we were interested in having stu-

dents preserve these artifacts as a means to incrementally build a repository of digital assets to support later project development.

Designing student projects in this way, we are able to do double duty: engaging students in the analysis and production of historical and interpretive exhibits while also contributing to a shared repository of digital assets that will move the broader initiative forward incrementally, providing the raw material on which future large-scale digital public memory projects can draw. By working on small public-facing projects, students were able to engage in questions of representation and remembrance while minimizing the risk of inserting their own colonial perspectives on the end product. Crucially, for the purposes of our own campus, this strategy will allow us to work more effectively with our Native partners to have them lead the design of the eventual large-scale projects with a better sense of what kinds of materials and resources we have available to contribute to the process. In keeping with anti-racist methods of activist-scholars such as Ibram X. Kendi, Kenneth Jones, and Tema Okun, we question our own impulses towards perfection and our desire to leap towards final products, attending to the process of knowledge building, asset development, and, thus, political organizing as key metrics of success for this ongoing community-engaged memory work. In this process, students in our courses are positioned not only as learners but also as contributors to a political and cultural movement. Many archaeologists and historians are leading projects with highly engaged student and community collaborations. As writing studies professionals, we can leverage this existing community-engaged public memory work to advance the cause of community-engaged writing and, together, compose more just and equitable historical representation on campuses. As sites of public memory construction, colleges and universities have a particular opportunity to use their own campuses and histories to engage students in meaningful, community-engaged public memory composing work, and decades of community-based archaeology and related heritage work has already helped to nudge a variety of institutions to acknowledge their obligations to communities and stakeholder groups (Atalay, "Can Archaeology"). In our case, students have collaborated with community stakeholders to bring new voices into the remembrance of campus histories. Without these partnerships, the central role of Native life and labor for our campus could remain silenced, distorted, or at the very least, truncated.

Because these projects are meant to combat the pervasive lack of knowledge and appreciation of Ohlone culture and history among students and the broader public, the primary audience of these projects is not Ohlone individuals themselves. Nonetheless, given the general lack of opportunities to interact with and learn about Ohlone culture, our Ohlone collaborators have also expressed interest in these projects for their own learning and that of their families, as they continue to engage themselves in a process of unlearning harmful historical narratives and replacing them with historically rich understandings of their own ancestors and heritage. As several of our collaborators have emphasized throughout this work, there is still a lot more for *all* of us to learn about Ohlone history and culture.

While many administrations remain conservative in their strategies for addressing their own complicated histories and revising their public commemorative landscapes, we have found that digital community-engaged writing projects have the ability to intervene in this process. Through the composition of digital projects as part of an ongoing and changing public conversation, students were able to conceive of their writing as civic engagement and a contribution to public historical discourse, and could share their work with their friends, classmates, and a broader public interested in the local, national, or global stories with which our campuses intersect.

Public memory is a particularly useful frame for thinking about this kind of community-engaged writing work because both enterprises encourage us to see—and to seek—ways that our pedagogies are always already political, our histories are positioned and provisional, and our educational and composing work affects both students and communities in a deeply connected way. The explicit move to engage the public in both memory work and community-engaged writing also comes with a shared set of risks and responsibilities, requiring us to continually reflect on our relationships and the needs and interests of our stakeholders. As Gabriela Raquel Rios suggests, "Instead of assuming that our disciplinary standards define our commitment to communities, we might consider how our commitment to communities challenges our disciplinary norms" (63). We see the interdisciplinary insights afforded by community-engaged public memory work such as we have done as a fruitful example of challenging disciplinary norms and practices, in response to the specific exigencies on our campus and in working with our stakeholder communities. Through an incremental, iterative, and responsive process of digital asset building in our community-engaged classrooms, we hope to continue to challenge assumptions and commitments and move the needle on campus historical representation in ways that are responsive to the stakeholders with whom we are working. We are continually challenged and even chastened by this process, which is how we know that good community-engaged historical work is happening in our classrooms and, in time, beyond them.

Works Cited

Aden, Roger C. *Rhetorics Haunting the National Mall: Displaced and Ephemeral Public Memories.* Lexington Books, 2018.

Apple, Michael. *Ideology and Curriculum*. 4th ed., Routledge, 2018.

Atalay, Sonya. "Can Archaeology Help Decolonize the Way Institutions Think? How Community-Based Research is Transforming the Archaeology Training Toolbox and Helping to Transform Institutions." *Archaeologies,* vol. 15, no. 3, 2019, pp. 514-535.

_____. "No Sense of the Struggle: Creating a Context for Survivance at the NMAI." *American Indian Quarterly,* vol. 30, no. 3&4, 2006, pp. 597–618.

Attwood, Bain M. "The International Difficult Histories Boom, the Democratization of History, and the National Museum of Australia." *The International Handbooks of Museum Studies*, edited by Sharon Macdonald and Helen Rees

Leahy, *Volume 4: Museum Transformations*, edited by Annie E. Coombes and Ruth B. Phillips, John Wiley & Sons, Ltd., 2015, pp. 61-83. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118829059.wbihms403

Barnd, Natchee Blu. *Native Space: Geographic Strategies to Unsettle Settler Colonialism*. Oregon State UP, 2017.

Brasher, Jordan P., et al.. "Applying Critical Race and Memory Studies to University Place Naming Controversies: Toward a Responsible Landscape Policy." *Papers in Applied Geography,* vol. 3, no. 3-4, 2017, pp. 292-307.

Brooke, Collin. "Weblogs as Deictic Systems: Centripetal, Centrifugal, and Small World Blogging." *Computers and Composition Online*, 2005. http://cconlinejournal.org/brooke

Calloway, Colin G. *The Indian History of an American Institution: Native Americans and Dartmouth*. Dartmouth College Press, 2010.

Chang, Gordon H., and Shelley Fisher Fishkin, editors. *The Chinese and the Iron Road: Building the Transcontinental Railroad*. Stanford UP, 2019.

Chinese Railroad Workers Project. Stanford University. https://exhibits.stanford.edu/crrw.

Clarke, Max and Gary Alan Fine. "'A' For Apology: Slavery and the Collegiate Discourses of Remembrance--the Cases of Brown University and the University of Alabama." *History and Memory,* vol. 22, no. 1, 2010, pp. 81-112.

Colwell, Chip. "Collaborative Archaeologies and Descendant Communities." *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol. 45, 2016, pp. 113–127.

Crawford, Anne E., et al. "Drawing Hope from Difficult History: Public Memory and Rhetorical Education in Kansas City." *College English,* vol. 82, no. 3, 2020, pp. 255-280.

Dartt-Newton, Deana. "California's Sites of Conscience: An Analysis of the State's Historic Mission Museums." *Museum Anthropology,* vol. 34, no. 2, 2011, pp. 97-108.

Dickinson, Greg, et al. *Places of Public Memory: The Rhetoric of Museums and Memorials.* U of Alabama P, 2010.

Engh, Michael. Email Communication, May 29, 2019.

Epstein, Terrie and Carla L. Peck. *Teaching and Learning Difficult Histories in International Contexts: A Critical Sociocultural Approach.* Routledge, 2017.

Field, Les, et al. "A Contemporary Ohlone Tribal Revitalization Movement: A Perspective from the Muwekma Costanoan/Ohlone Indians of the San Francisco Bay Area." *California History,* vol. 71, no. 3, 1992, pp. 412–3.

Galvan, Andrew. "Old Mission Dolores Under New Management: An Open Letter." *News from Native California*, Summer 2013, pp. 11-13.

Galvan, Andrew and Vincent Medina. "Indian Memorials at California Missions." *Franciscans and American Indians in Pan-Boarderlands Perspective: Adaptation, Negotiation, and Resistance*, edited by Jeffrey M. Burns and Timothy J. Johnson. The Academy of American Franciscan History, 2018, pp. 323-331.

Gomez, Mark. "Stanford University to Remove Junipero Serra Name from Buildings, Mall." *The Mercury News*, Sept 14, 2018. https://www.mercurynews.com/2018/09/14/stanford-to-remove-Junípero-serra-name-from-buildings-mall/

Green, Hillary. *The Hallowed Grounds Project: Race, Slavery, and Memory at the University of Alabama.* University of Alabama, 2017. https://hgreen.people.ua.edu/hallowed-grounds-project.html

_____ "The Burden of the University of Alabama's Hallowed Grounds." *The Public Historian*, vol. 42, no. 4, 2020, pp. 28–40. https://doi.org/10.1525/tph.2020.42.4.28

Greer, Jane and Laurie Grobman. *Pedagogies of Public Memory: Teaching Writing and Rhetoric at Museums, Archives, and Memorials*. Routledge, 2015.

Grobman, Laurie. "'Speaking With One Another' in Community-Based Research: (Re)Writing African American History in Berks County, Pennsylvania." *Reflections*, 2009, pp. 129-161.

Haarstad, Håvard, and Stina Ellevseth Oseland. "Historicizing Urban Sustainability: The Shifting Ideals Behind Forus Industrial Park, Norway." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research,* vol. 41, no. 5, 2017, pp. 838-854.

Hackel, Steven W. *Junípero Serra: California's Founding Father*. Hill and Wang, 2013.

Hart Micke, Sarah. "Sustainability, Place, and Rhetoric; A Levinasian Pedagogy of Responsibility." *Reflections,* vol. 16, no. 1, 2016, pp. 126-139.

Haskins, Ekaterina. "Between Archive and Participation: Public Memory in a Digital Age." *Rhetoric Society Quarterly*, vol. 37, no. 4, 2007, pp. 401-422. DOI: 10.1080/02773940601086794.

Heron, John. *Co-Operative Inquiry: Research Into the Human Condition.* Sage, 1996.

Helmbrecht, Brenda. "Revisiting Missions: Decolonizing Public Memories in California." *Rhetoric Society Quarterly,* vol. 49, no. 5, 1996, pp. 470-494. DOI: 10.1080/02773945.2019.1668048.

"History." *About SCU, Santa Clara University*. https://www.scu.edu/aboutscu/history/

Israel, Barbara A. et al. "Review of Community-Based Research: Assessing Partnership Approaches to Improve Public Health." *Annual Review of Public Health,* vol. 19, 1998, pp. 173-202.

Jackson, Philip W. *Life in Classrooms.* Teachers College Press, 1968.

Jay, Gregory. "The Engaged Humanities: Principles and Practices of Public Scholarship and Teaching." *Imagining America,* vol. 15, 2010.

Jones, Kenneth, and Tema Okun. *Dismantling Racism Works: A Workbook for Social Change Groups. https://www.dismantlingracism.org/*

Keene, Arthur S., and Sumi Colligan. "Service-Learning and Anthropology." *Michigan Journal of Community Service Learning*, Summer 2004, pp. 5-15.

Kendi, Ibram X. *How to be an Antiracist*. One World, 2019.

King, Lisa. *Legible Sovereignties: Rhetoric, Representations, and Native American Museums.* Oregon State UP, 2017.

Kovach, Margaret. *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts*. University of Toronto, 2009.

Kroot, Matthew V., and Lee M. Panich. "Students are Stakeholders in On-Campus Archaeology." *Advances in Archaeological Practice*, vol. 8, no. 2, 2020, pp. 134-150. DOI:10.1017/aap.2020.12

Kryder-Reid, Elizabeth. *California Mission Landscapes: Race, Memory, and the Politics of Heritage.* U of Minnesota P, 2016.

_____. "Introduction: Tools for a Critical Heritage." *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, vol. 24, no. 7, 2018, pp. 691–93.

Kryder-Reid, Elizabeth, et al. "'I Just Don't Ever Use That Word': Investigating Stakeholders' Understanding of Heritage." *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, vol. 24, 2018, pp. 743-763.

La Salle, Marina and Rich Hutchings. "What Makes Us Squirm--A Critical Assessment of Community-Oriented Archaeology." *Canadian Journal of Archaeology,* vol. 40, 2016, pp. 164-180.

Lee, Robert, and Tristan Ahtone. "Land-Grab Universities: Expropriated Indigenous Land is the Foundation of the Land-Grant University." *High Country News,* March 30, 2020.

Leventhal, Alan, et al. "The Ohlone: Back from Extinction." *The Ohlone Past and Present: Native Americans of the San Francisco Bay Region*, edited by Lowell John Bean, Ballena Press, 1994, pp. 297-336.

Lonetree, Amy. *Decolonizing Museums: Representing Native America in National and Tribal Museums.* U of North Carolina P, 2012.

Lorimer, Michelle M. *Resurrecting the Past: The California Mission Myth*. Great Oaks Press, 2016.

Lueck, Amy, et al.. "Inclusivity in the Archives: Expanding Undergraduate Pedagogies for Diversity and Inclusion." *Diversity, Equity, and Inclusivity in Contemporary Higher Education*, edited by Rhonda Jeffries, IGI Global, 2019, pp. 1-12. doi:10.4018/978-1- 5225-5724-1.ch001.

Lueck, Amy J., and Lee M. Panich. "Representing Indigenous Histories Using XR Technologies in the Classroom." *Journal of Interactive Technology and Pedagogy,* vol. 17, 2020.

Luke, Nikki, and Nik Heynen. "Abolishing the Frontier: (De)Colonizing 'Public' Education." *Social & Cultural Geography*, 2019. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/14649365.2019.1593492.

Lyons, Scott Richard. "Rhetorical Sovereignty: What Do American Indians Want from Writing?" *College Composition and Communication*, vol. 51, no. 3, 2000, pp. 447-68.

"Media." *Community Heritage Lab,* SCU Community Heritage Lab. https://www.scu.edu/community-heritage-lab/media/.

Medina, Vincent. "Tips for Teaching California History to Kids." News from Native California, Winter 2014/15, pp. 48-58.

Milliken, Randall, et al. *Ohlone/Costanoan Indians of the San Francisco Peninsula and their Neighbors, Yesterday and Today*. Report to the National Park Service, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, San Francisco, 2009.

Myers, Alex. "LMU Needs to Respect Native Californians." *The Los Angeles Loyolan.* Oct. 24, 2018. -http://www.laloyolan.com/opinion/lmu-needs-to-respect-native- californians/article_3accaa63-107d-5cee-b5d4-f9662735e45c.html

Nash, Margaret A. "Entangled Pasts: Land-Grant Colleges and American Indian Dispossession." *History of Education Quarterly,* vol. 59, no. 4, 2019, pp. 437–67.

Panich, Lee M. "Mission Santa Clara in a Changing Urban Environment." *Boletín: Journal of the California Mission Studies Association,* vol. 31, no. 1, 2015, pp. 36-45.

_____. "After Saint Serra: Unearthing Indigenous Histories at the California Missions." *Journal of Social Archaeology*, vol. 16, no. 2, 2016, pp. 238–258.

_____. *Narratives of Persistence: Indigenous Negotiations of Colonialism in Alta and Baja California.* U of Arizona P, Tucson, 2020.

Rios, Gabriela Raquel. "Cultivating Land-Based Literacies and Rhetorics." *Literacy in Composition Studies*, vol. 3, no. 1, 2015, pp. 60-70.

Schneider, Tsim D., et al. "Scaling Invisible Walls: Reasserting Indigenous Persistence in Mission-Era California." *The Public Historian,* vol. 42, no. 2, 2020, pp. 97–120.

Shange, Savannah. *Progressive Dystopia: Abolition, Anti-Blackness, and Schooling in San Francisco*. Duke UP, 2019.

Siemers, Cheryl K., et al. "Engaging Place as Partner." *Michigan Journal of Community Service Learning,* 2015, pp. 101-104.

Skowronek, Russell K., and Julie C. Wizorek. "Archaeology at Santa Clara de Asís: The Slow Rediscovery of a Moveable Mission." *Pacific Coast Archaeological Society Quarterly*, vol. 33, no. 3, 1997, pp. 54–92.

Smith, Kevin. "Negotiating Community Literacy Practice: Public Memory Work and the Boston Marathon Bombing Digital Archive." *Computers and Composition*, vol. 40, 2016, pp. 115-130.

Smith, Laurajane. *Uses of Heritage*. Routledge, 2006.

Steinman, Erich. "'Making Space': Lessons from Collaborations with Tribal Nations." *Michigan Journal of Community Service Learning,* 2011, pp. 5-18.

Stoecker, Randy. "Community-Based Research: From Practice to Theory and Back Again." *Michigan Journal of Community Service Learning,* 2003, pp. 35-46.

Till, Karen E. "Wounded Cities." *Political Geography*, vol. 31, no. 1, 2012, pp. 3-14.

Voss, Barbara L. "The Archaeology of Precarious Lives: Chinese Railroad Workers in Nineteenth-Century North America." *Current Anthropology,* vol. 59, no. 3, 2018, pp. 287-313.

Wallerstein, Nina, et al. *Community-Based Participatory Research for Health*. Jossey-Bass, 2018.

Walters, Lindsey K. "Slavery and the American University: Discourses of Retrospective Justice at Harvard and Brown." *Slavery and Abolition,* vol. 38, no. 4, 2017, pp. 719–44.

Waterton, Emma, and Laurajane Smith. "The Recognition and Misrecognition of Community Heritage." *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, vol. 16, no. 1, 2010, pp. 4-15.

Wilder, Craig Steven. *Ebony and Ivy: Race, Slavery, and the Troubled History of America's Universities*. Bloomsbury Press, 2013.
Wilkes, Rima, et al. "Canadian University Acknowledgment of Indigenous Lands, Treaties, and Peoples." *Canadian Review of Sociology,* vol. 54, no. 1, 2017, pp. 89–120.
Wilson, Shawn. *Research is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods.* Fernwood Publishing, 2008.
Winter, Jay. *Remembering War: The Great War Between Memory and History in the Twentieth Century*. Yale UP, 2006.
Wolfe, Patrick. "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native." *Journal of Genocide Research,* vol. 8, no. 4, 2006, pp. 387–409.
Working Group. *Georgetown University: Slavery, Memory, and Reconciliation*. Georgetown University, 2016. http://slavery.georgetown.edu/

Author Bios

Amy J. Lueck is Assistant Professor of English at Santa Clara University, where her research and teaching focus on histories of rhetorical instruction and practice, women's rhetorics, feminist historiography, and public memory. She is the author of *A Shared History: Writing in the High School, College, and University, 1856-1886* (SIU Press 2020), and her work has also appeared in journals such as *College English, Rhetoric Review, Composition Studies*, *Peitho,* and *Kairos.*

Matthew V. Kroot is an anthropological archaeologist at Santa Clara University. He studies the growth of political and economic inequalities, as well as the development of egalitarian institutions in the deep past and recent history of the Middle East and West Africa. His work also focuses on community collaborative methods.

Lee M. Panich is an Associate Professor of Anthropology at Santa Clara University. His research employs a combination of archaeological, ethnographic, and archival data to examine the long-term entanglements between California's Indigenous societies and colonial institutions, particularly the Spanish mission system. Working with members of local tribal communities, he has conducted collaborative investigations of Indigenous life at Mission Santa Clara de Asís and Mission San José in Alta California, as well as at Mission Santa Catalina in Baja California, Mexico. Panich is the co-editor of *Indigenous Landscapes and Spanish Missions: New Perspectives from Archaeology and Ethnohistory* (University of Arizona Press, 2014) and the author of *Narratives of Persistence: Indigenous Negotiations of Colonialism in Alta and Baja California* (University of Arizona Press, 2020).