

**The Kaibab National Forest's Heritage Program: Brokering Culture Inside and
Outside the Forest**

By Liz Lane

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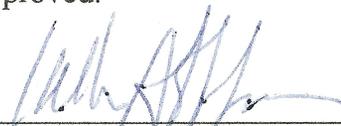
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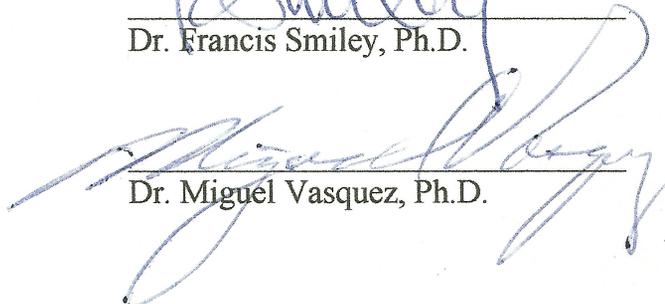
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Abstract

Professionals who work in the field of federal cultural resource management perform a remarkable variety of tasks. Such professionals must negotiate their work in several contexts, from consulting with American Indian tribes to educating local youth groups about the value of cultural sites. The work of the Kaibab National Forest's Heritage Resources Program serves as an excellent example of this multifaceted approach and the challenges that face such professionals. The multitude of tasks and contexts of federal archaeology necessitate the development of a variety of skills and strategies. I will examine a strategy—cultural brokerage—that works, and that can serve as a model for archaeologists who face challenges similar to those of the Kaibab National Forest's Heritage staff.

The Kaibab's Heritage Program works between cultures and constitutes a cultural entity itself, drawn together by common language, shared experiences, ideologies, behavior patterns, symbols, physical space, and more. The Kaibab Heritage team resides as an occupational subculture within the larger organizational cultures of the Kaibab National Forest and the United States Forest Service. In this paper, I explore how the Kaibab National Forest's Heritage Program both constitutes and negotiates culture among a variety of groups, from other Kaibab subcultures, to various publics who use Kaibab lands, to American Indian tribes who consider Kaibab lands to comprise significant aboriginal lands. I will examine how the Kaibab Heritage staff work to facilitate meaningful exchange among their stakeholders, fostering a spirit of collective stewardship that ultimately serves to protect cultural resources in ways that incorporate disparate public values.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Professionals who work in the field of federal cultural resource management perform a remarkable variety of tasks. Such professionals must negotiate their work in a variety of contexts, from consulting with American Indian tribes to educating local youth groups about the value of cultural sites. The work of the Kaibab National Forest's Heritage Resources Program serves as an excellent example of this multifaceted approach and the challenges that face such professionals. Consequently, the archaeologists charged with managing the Kaibab's cultural resources refer to their responsibilities as "Heritage resource management" to reflect the broad range of activities they perform and to distinguish their mission from the compliance-associated work of cultural resource management.

I sought to work with the Kaibab's Heritage Program to experience the diversity and scale of their work. As federal employees, the Heritage team members work in the public interest. I wanted to find out how archaeologists that worked for an agency with a very public mission and accountability manage the resources for which they are responsible, and consequently, how they negotiate with the multitude of people they encounter in their work.

What unites these disparate responsibilities? What common thread connects the work of the Heritage team? I think the answers to these questions can be understood by examining the Heritage Resources team as a cultural entity itself, drawn together by shared language, experiences, ideologies, behavior patterns, symbols, physical space, and

more. The Kaibab's Heritage Program resides as an occupational subculture within the larger organizational cultures of the Kaibab National Forest and the United States Forest Service. In this paper, I will explore how the Heritage Resources team constitutes an organizational subculture and how they act as culture brokers to engage people, both formally and informally, inside and outside their organizational realm in the course of their professional work. I will also explore the context in which the Kaibab's Heritage work proceeds by examining the current national historic preservation laws that guide their formal actions. I will review the historical development of the Kaibab's relationships with local American Indian communities, adapted largely from the history of Kaibab-American Indian contacts I developed during my internship. I will present this information as a case study to reveal strategies of cultural brokerage, and to show how the Heritage team's work with American Indian tribes has helped reinforce its position as an organizational subculture.

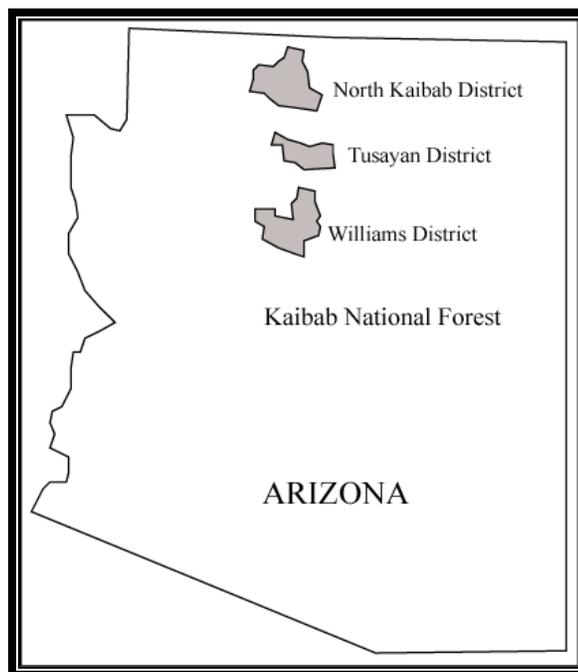


Figure 1. Location of the Kaibab National Forest.

Summary of Internship Activities

During the summer 2002 internship, I worked primarily within the Williams Ranger District as a part of the Heritage crew, under the direction of South Zone Archaeologist Neil Weintraub. I also worked at the Supervisor's Office under the direction of Forest Archaeologist Dr. John Hanson to better understand the management and philosophy of the Heritage Resource Program, and to learn how the Kaibab works with local American Indian communities.

As a part of the Heritage crew, I helped conduct archaeological survey. I also participated in a variety of site assessment and stabilization efforts. I worked with other Kaibab staff to protect and avoid archaeological sites. I became trained and certified in wildland firefighting and worked with fire fighters to avoid damage to cultural sites. I wrote reports on archaeological surveys for submission to the State Historic Preservation Officer (SHPO). I participated in consultations with American Indian tribes regarding Heritage resources and forest actions. As a part of my work with Dr. Hanson, I researched and compiled a history of Kaibab National Forest and American Indian interactions since 1976, which I submitted to Dr. Hanson as an internal document after the internship. As a part of this work, I had the opportunity to interview a variety of individuals who have been involved in the Kaibab's dealings with local tribes over the past 25 years. I learned about the Kaibab's work and how the Kaibab's efforts have both reflected and diverged from trends in other federal agencies' work.

In short, I experienced the work of the Kaibab National Forest's Heritage Program in all its different contexts. Flexibility turned out to be a virtue, as did patience.

No two days could be expected to hold the same tasks, as I found myself working on archaeological survey one day, and hauling fuel wood with local teenagers the next. The experience was not quite the action-filled, Indiana Jones-style adventure that many laypersons imagine for archaeologists, but the immense variety involved did make it an exceptionally dynamic experience.

The multitude of tasks and contexts of federal archaeology necessitate development of a variety of skills and strategies. I will examine a strategy—cultural brokerage— that works, and that can serve as a model for archaeologists who face challenges similar to those of the Kaibab National Forest’s Heritage Resources Program.

Chapter 2

Background: Forest Service Organizational Structure and Cultural Resources Management in Federal Agencies

To understand the position, occupational goals, and actions of the Kaibab Heritage program and my own placement within the organization, I will first discuss the organizational structure of the United States Forest Service (USFS), as well as the specific structure of the Kaibab National Forest. Next, I will review the laws that guide the Forest Service and the Heritage Program. As a federal organization, the Kaibab's projects are subject to a series of federal laws and regulations that govern how work must proceed. These include the national historic preservation laws that shape the Kaibab's Heritage Program's goals, objectives, and actions.

Organizational Context: History and Structure of the United States Forest Service

The Forest Service has a long history within the federal government. In 1876, a Department of Agriculture administrative action established a small unit to study forests and forest products. In 1886, the small study unit became a permanent statutory division. The 1891 Forest Reserve Act gave the President the ability to set aside forested lands as reserves. These Forest Reserves established a public land base set aside for conservation. The Department of the Interior controlled the Forest Reserves, but the 1891 law gave no provisions for management or administration of the lands. As a result, trespassers continued to pillage forests (Robinson 1975:6).

In 1896, the National Forest Commission, appointed by the Secretary of the Interior, recommended the establishment of an administrative system that would control forest fires and regulate timber harvesting, mining, and grazing on the federal forests (Robinson 1975:6). The Commission also recommended creation of additional Forest Reserves. President Cleveland followed these recommendations, alarming settlers in the western states, who feared attempts at conservation would threaten their livelihoods (Robinson 1975:6). In response, Congress passed the 1897 Forest Management Act (also known as the Organic Administration Act of the Forest Service), which temporarily restored reserved lands to the public and attempted to set up a compromise between conservation and economic interests in the West (Robinson 1975:6). The Forest Management Act also established an administrative system to promote sustainable use, and allowed the President to change the status of Forest Reserves without eliminating federal ownership of the lands. Lands well suited for economic purposes could be returned to the public domain, and a policy of permitting use of timber for domestic purposes continued (Robinson 1975:6-7).

In 1898, Gifford Pinchot, the division's new leader, organized the division into the Bureau of Forestry (Kaufman 1960:26-27). Pinchot argued that, as the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) had control over forestry but not the forests themselves, one agency should assume responsibility for all aspects of federal forestry. In 1905, as a result of Pinchot's efforts, the control of federal forests was transferred to the Department of Agriculture from the Department of the Interior. As a result, the USDA Forest Service in its modern form was founded in 1905 (Kaufman 1960:27-28).

The Forest Service added several lands to its holdings during the tenure of Gifford Pinchot and the presidency of Theodore Roosevelt. These land additions provoked controversy in the West and led Congress to revoke presidential authority to create new forest lands in 1907 (Robinson 1975:9). In addition to lands set aside in the western United States, the 1911 Weeks Act gave the Forest Service authority to purchase additional lands. The Weeks Act established the National Forest Reservation Commission and gave the Secretary of Agriculture, with the approval of the Commission, the power to purchase lands for incorporation into the National Forests (Kaufman 1960:28). The Forest Service was thus able to purchase new lands, especially extremely overexploited and infertile lands in the East, for incorporation and management by the USDA (Kaufman 1960:28).

The philosophy of the Forest Service continues to be influenced by Gifford Pinchot, its early outspoken leader (Robinson 1975:10). Pinchot placed an emphasis on field work and practical forest administration. Pinchot also envisioned strong ties between government and forestry, viewing forestry as an agricultural science (Kaufman 1960:27; Robinson 1975:9). Pinchot developed a Use Book that declared, “The timber, water, pasture, mineral, and other resources of the forest reserves are for the use of the people. They may be obtained under reasonable conditions, without delay. Legitimate improvements and business enterprises will be encouraged” (Robinson 1975:9). Pinchot saw trees as crops and forestry as “tree farming,” so worked to promote sustainable harvests of forest resources. Though this philosophy disturbs modern environmentalists, Pinchot was considered an important conservationist during his era, and consistently

argued for conservation and regulation of both public and private forestry (Robinson 1975:10-12).

In 1924, Congress passed the Clarke-McNary Act, which established a second major branch of the Forest Service devoted to providing assistance to state and private forestry ventures. In 1928, the McSweeney-McNary Act set up Experimental Forestry, the third branch of the Forest Service, dedicated to developing research stations and programs dealing with forest management (Robinson 1975:12).

The 1930s through 1950s saw continued growth of the Forest Service system, increased efforts at conservation (particularly during the Depression-era with the work of the Civilian Conservation Corps), and power struggles for control over management of forest lands between the Forest Service and the Department of the Interior (Robinson 1975:12-13). Robinson (1975:14) defined the period between the end of World War II and the 1970s as a period of “intensive management,” characterized by increased use of forest resources, as well as increased conflict between users. Increasing use of forest resources corresponded to increasing consumption by a growing American population. Recreational use of the national forests also increased dramatically during this period (Robinson 1975:15).

In 1960, Congress passed the Multiple-Use Sustained Yield Act, which clarified the mission of the Forest Service (Holman 2001:89). This law set up the “Multiple Use” mandate of the Forest Service that remains its guiding principle today. Holman (2001:89) argues that the Forest Service, in response to the act, divided management of forest lands based upon land function; this “stove pipe” approach satisfied the law but did not incorporate an ecological perspective that recognized “the interdependent nature of

the land being subdivided.” It was not until the 1970s that more ecological perspectives, recognizing that all elements of an ecosystem are interconnected, began to take root in national Forest Service policy.

The late 1960s through mid-1970s saw major changes in the approach of the Forest Service as the organization adopted a policy of “ecosystem management” (Holman 2001:1). Legislation began to formalize the increasing public concern for environmental considerations within the Forest Service. Key laws included the 1974 Forest and Rangeland Renewable Resources Planning Act (RPA) and the 1976 National Forest Management Act (NFMA) (Holman 2001:82). Both laws specifically targeted the Forest Service and built upon the support and mandate for responsible resource management articulated by the 1969 National Environmental Policy Act (discussed below). The RPA set up a public planning process and provided for a comprehensive inventory and assessment of the Forest Service’s resources every ten years (Holman 2001:82). The NFMA required management plans for each National Forest that would consider the best management practices (Holman 2001:82-82). Holman (2001:13-14) describes this period as “turbulent” for the Forest Service as Congress placed increased pressure on the Forest Service to increase timber sale and harvesting.

Between 1983 and 1992, the number of biological and social scientists increased dramatically while “traditional” jobs, such as rangeland and engineering positions, underwent slight reductions (Holman 2001:87). Holman’s (2001) study of change within the Forest Service suggests that the inclusion of a broader range of ideas brought in by nontraditional fields may have contributed to a more ecological view of forest management. Recent reviews of Forest Service policy and management have discussed

its increasingly ecological approach to management and a corresponding decrease in the economic emphasis on forest use (Wood 2000). The trend toward ecosystem management has continued, and the Forest Service has struggled to balance ecologically sound management with its multiple use mission in recent years.

The current mission of the United States Forest Service is “to achieve quality land management under the sustainable multiple-use management concept to meet the diverse needs of people” (USFS 2003). The Forest Service now encompasses five major divisions, including 1) the National Forest System (the largest of the divisions, dealing with Forests (Timber), Soils, Air, Water, Range, Wildlife, Fish, Wood, Recreation, Minerals, Wilderness, Heritage, Lands, and Operations), 2) State and Private Forestry and Fire, 3) Research and Development, 4) Operations (Administration), and 5) Programs and Legislation (USFS 2003).

The National Forest System has 9 regional offices, 116 Forest headquarters (called Forest Supervisor Offices), and approximately 570 ranger districts. Each District Ranger reports to a Forest Supervisor, who reports to a Regional Forester, who reports to a Deputy Chief in Washington, D.C. The Forest Service includes 155 National Forests and employs over 30,000 people (USFS 2003).

Structure and History of the Kaibab National Forest

The Kaibab National Forest arose in its early form as the Grand Canyon Forest Reserve. Established in 1893, it was one of the earliest Forest Reserves in the western United States. A second Forest Reserve became established in the Williams area in 1899.

In 1910, both Forest Reserves were incorporated into the Tusayan National Forest. In 1919, Grand Canyon lands were removed from Forest Service management with the establishment of Grand Canyon National Park. Lands north of the Grand Canyon became combined with the Tusayan National Forest in 1934, forming the Kaibab National Forest (Kaibab National Forest 2003).

The Kaibab National Forest is part of the Southwest Region (Region 3) of the United States Forest Service, regionally administered from Albuquerque, New Mexico. The Kaibab National Forest's Supervisor's Office, located in the town of Williams, supervises each forest district. The Kaibab National Forest currently consists of three Ranger Districts: the Williams, Tusayan, and North Kaibab Ranger Districts. Each Ranger District is organized differently. Within the Williams District, staff are organized into four main branches: the Technical Services Branch, the Stewardship Branch, Fire Management, and the Public Services Branch. The Technical Services Branch deals with Geographic Information Systems (GIS), compliance and planning under the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA), and general and business administration of the District. The Stewardship Branch maintains responsibility for management and research within the Timber, Wildlife Biology, and Range programs. The Fire division directs fire prevention efforts and wildland fire fighting. Finally, the Public Services Branch administers Recreation and Wilderness programs, Minerals programs, Lands programs, and the Heritage Resources Program for the South Zone of the Kaibab National Forest (the Williams and Tusayan Districts). The Williams District Ranger oversees all these branches.

Legislative Context: Major Laws Concerning Historic and Cultural Preservation

Most of the laws that govern day-to-day work with cultural resources have arisen within the last forty years, and so constitute a relatively young body of legislation. Consequently, many of these laws have evolved and changed with different regulations and interpretations in past decades. Laws and policies dealing with American Indian affairs are much older and often more complex; I will deal with these laws and policies more thoroughly in Chapter 5. A brief discussion of each of the major laws that affects the Kaibab's Heritage Program follows.

The Antiquities Act, passed in 1906, laid a foundation for subsequent cultural resource management legislation. The Antiquities Act levied fines and prison sentences as penalties for looting archaeological sites on public lands, and also gave the President authority to declare National Monuments. The law also required permits to excavate archaeological sites on public lands.

In 1966, Congress passed the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA), which articulated a national policy for historic preservation. Since its 1966 passage, several amendments have been added, and so have changed and clarified the law. NHPA established a National Register of Historic Places, and implementing regulations (36 CFR 60) defined criteria for nominating cultural sites to the Register. Section 106 of the law also required that any entity receiving federal money, permits, or licenses must consider the effects of its actions on historic properties. Federal regulations specify how agencies must carry out these responsibilities. This process is often known as the "Section 106 process."

The application and litigation of NHPA have significantly affected the Kaibab's Heritage Program. For example, a 1986 lawsuit against the Southwest Regional Office of the Forest Service by a group called Save the Jemez prompted changes in how Forest Service land managers dealt with Heritage resources throughout the Southwest Region. Save the Jemez charged that the Southwest Region of the Forest Service was systematically failing to comply with its duties to follow historic preservation laws, allowing the destruction of numerous sites that Pueblo peoples viewed as a part of their ancestral heritage. The Forest Service settled the suit out of court, and developed a programmatic agreement in 1989 with four regional SHPOs and the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation to define how USFS Region 3 would handle Section 106 consultations. One result of this action was the Forest Service's decision to hire more cultural resources staff in the mid-1980s to ensure compliance with historic preservation laws. The addition of cultural resources staff helped Region 3 Heritage Programs develop more systematic, comprehensive programs that advanced the transition out of traditional roles as reactive compliance archaeologists to more active roles as public educators.

The National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA), passed in 1969, declared a policy of preserving important "historic, cultural, and natural aspects of our national heritage." Like NHPA, this law required agencies to consider the effects of their actions on cultural resources, but also required consideration of natural and social impacts upon communities. NEPA regulates a great deal of the work the Forest Service does, and almost all forest projects must undergo some type of NEPA review process. As a result, the NEPA planning process largely influences the work of the Heritage Program.

In 1971, President Richard Nixon issued Executive Order 11593, instructing federal agencies to locate, inventory, and nominate to the National Register all the eligible historic properties under their control. This order also required federal agencies to treat all properties determined eligible for the National Register as though these properties were actually on the Register. As a result, federal agencies like the Kaibab must work to protect a range of sites that are not listed on the National Register, many of which may have been previously disregarded.

Congress enacted the American Indian Religious Freedom Act (AIRFA) in 1978.

The law is short and vague, stating,

Resolved by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that henceforth it shall be the policy of the United States to protect and preserve for American Indians their inherent right of freedom to believe, express, and exercise their traditional religions of the American Indian, Eskimo, Aleut, and Native Hawaiians, including but not limited to access to sites, use and possession of sacred objects, and the freedom to worship through ceremonials and traditional rites.

Legislators, federal agencies, and indigenous groups have all struggled with AIRFA. Due to its vagueness and lack of implementing regulations to give agencies specific guidance, the law has undergone extensive litigation. Court rulings have rendered the law weak and often nearly powerless; I will discuss this law more extensively in Chapter 5. AIRFA has been invoked and litigated by American Indian groups who consider all or parts of the National Forest lands to comprise aboriginal lands.

The Archaeological Resources Protection Act (ARPA) became law in 1979. This law provided for the protection of archaeological sites on federal and American Indian lands. ARPA requires a permit for excavations of sites on Indian or federal lands;

archaeological researchers who wish to carry out excavation on the Kaibab must apply for an ARPA permit. The law defines archaeological resources as materials over 100 years old and defines human remains in association with these properties as “archaeological resources,” causing continued consternation for American Indians trying to protect burial locations. The law also stipulates fines for destruction of, or trafficking in, archaeological resources. Kaibab Heritage staff have been involved in several ARPA investigations and one successful ARPA prosecution.

The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) took effect in 1990. NAGPRA attempted to rectify the practice of treating American Indian human remains and grave goods as “archaeological resources” for legitimate study, while other American groups received protections for the graves of their dead. NAGPRA requires the repatriation of human remains, funerary objects from burials, sacred objects, and “objects of cultural patrimony”— important cultural objects that belong to the entire group and that are important to maintaining the group’s heritage— obtained from federal lands or curated using federal funds. As a result, NAGPRA requires consultation with the various interested parties who may have a claim to these objects. NAGPRA also sets out criteria for consultation with American Indian groups when the possibility of discovering of human remains exists, and for when human remains are inadvertently discovered.

In 1996, President Bill Clinton issued Executive Order 13007, ordering federal agencies to ensure access to, and protection of, American Indian sacred sites. This order expands concepts first put forth in AIRFA. The order directs federal agencies to accommodate access to sacred sites for use by American Indian religious practitioners, to

avoid adversely affecting such sites, to maintain confidential information about these sites when appropriate, and to consult with American Indian groups regarding potential effects on these sites. President Clinton issued Executive Order 13084 in 1998, articulating a policy of consulting with American Indian groups on a government-to-government basis on matters that affect Indian communities. These orders reiterate a policy of government-to-government consultation and accommodation of land-based religious beliefs of American Indian groups.

These laws, as well as others, guide federal land managers in their work with cultural resources. They frame the work and goals of the Heritage program and define how Heritage work relates to other Kaibab National Forest efforts.

Chapter 3

Brokering Culture Inside the Kaibab National Forest

I find it useful to conceive of the Kaibab's Heritage Program as an occupational subculture within the larger organizational culture of the Kaibab National Forest. In this section, I will review approaches to studying organizational culture, focusing particularly on anthropological approaches, and will define the terms that deal with organizational and occupational cultures, subcultures, and cultural brokerage. I will examine the Kaibab National Forest as an organizational culture, and evaluate the position of the Kaibab's Heritage Program as an occupational subculture.

Approaches to Organizational Cultures and Subcultures

Many organizational researchers view the Hawthorne studies, carried out in the 1920s and 1930s, as pivotal in the development of studies of organizational behavior (Schwartzman 1993; Trice 1993). Hawthorne researchers originally set out to explore how lighting conditions affected worker output at an industrial plant, and discovered that lighting conditions appeared to have a relatively minor or no impact on worker behavior. Instead, human interactions appeared to affect output most significantly (Schwartzman 1993). The Hawthorne studies suggested that human relations, more than physical conditions, influenced human behavior in the workplace. The "human relations" field subsequently arose to study these influences. Anthropologists were early members of this field, and continue to add important insights to its research (Schwartzman 1993:26).

Anthropological study of organizational culture has drawn from a number of disciplines outside of anthropology (Hamada 1994b:22). Influences outside anthropology, especially psychology and business, incited a revival of interest in examining organizations using the culture concept in the 1980s (Hamada 1994b:20; Trice 1993:xv).

Though researchers have explored the culture concept in examining organizations, the precise meaning of “culture” can be ambiguous. Like anthropologists, organizational researchers employ a variety of definitions of organizational culture. Schwartzman (1993:33) has defined three major approaches to examining organizational culture. One approach that originated in the field of comparative management frames “culture as an external variable.” This approach views culture as an entity that lies outside the organization and is brought inside through individual employees. Schwartzman writes that this view, though compatible in many ways with traditional anthropological views of culture, essentially examines culture from an ethnocentric and American managerial perspective. The second perspective includes the “culture as informal organization” perspective in which culture is seen as the culmination of informal relations between workers that comprise the larger system of values and language that defines the organization. Several researchers have critiqued the links between this view and its use by managers in the manipulation of groups within organizations.

Finally, Schwartzman has discussed the idea of “culture as informal and formal organization.” This view has recently increased in popularity within anthropology and has focused on how members of different organizational cultures make sense of their experiences. Researchers favoring this perspective have attempted to understand the

“native view paradigms” (or emic understanding) within organizations, while also working to recognize, compare, and critique the etic aspects of organizations.

Researchers adopting this perspective have been “concerned with representing cultures as they are, rather than how managers might wish them to be” (Schwartzman 1993:36).

Researchers have also proposed different loci for the development of organizational culture. Schein (1985:1-22; cited in Hamada 1994:24) proposed that organizational culture consists of three levels, including “(1) the uppermost level of artifacts and creations, (2) the next level of values that are the conscious, shared group beliefs, and (3) the third and deepest level of basic assumptions that are invisible, often unconscious, and taken for granted.” According to Schein, organizational culture develops within small groups and pervades and changes the organization through leadership. Schein recommends an ethnographic approach to organizational research, but has proposed that organizations pay consultants to study organizational culture, arguing that monetary incentives for the organization will encourage greater disclosure. Hamada (1994:24) criticizes this approach as excessively management-focused, short-term, and narrow. However, the concept of the emic and etic properties of culture remains useful in examining organizations.

Researchers have developed several methodological and theoretical avenues to understand how people make sense of their organizations. For example, Mercier (1994) has argued for a hermeneutic approach to studying organizational culture, adopting a perspective that characterizes symbolic and interpretive approaches. Mercier has written that hermeneutics help unpack the complex dynamics within organizations. Mercier suggests that interpretations, though difficult to quantify, can be tested and evaluated.

Interpretations that most closely approximate the symbol systems within organizations will best survive repeated evaluation.

Trice (1993) has employed a largely symbolic approach to examining organizational and occupational cultures, drawing heavily on the work of Clifford Geertz. Trice writes that “humans construct culture to make sense of the world around them,” and then sets out some basic assumptions about cultures that are relevant to the study of organizational cultures: 1) cultures are collective, 2) cultures are inherently ambiguous, 3) cultures emerge over time, 4) cultures are dynamic, 5) cultures are intrinsically symbolic, 6) cultures are emotionally charged, 7) cultures encourage ethnocentrism, and 8) cultures structure social relations (1993:20-26). Trice (1993:20) elaborates, “Ideologies are the *substance* of a culture. Although abstract ideas, they tell members what is and in what actions they *ought* to engage. Cultural *forms*, in contrast, are observable entities that permeate actions with meanings.” Examples of such forms include stories/narratives, rituals, artifacts and symbols, and language.

The different approaches to organizational culture reflect the array of disciplinary approaches to the study of the problem. Psychologists, sociologists, business sciences, and a host of other disciplines have examined organizational culture. I will employ an anthropological approach to culture in my analysis of the Kaibab. In my experience, the Forest Service and the Heritage Resources Program can be productively examined using several approaches to culture, from behavioral to symbolic that have both emic and etic properties. I also believe symbolic/ideological models and the concept of cultural forms are particularly useful in examining organizational cultures and cultural interactions.

Hamada (1994a:6-7) has articulated the perspective of anthropologists seeking to understand organizational culture, stating,

. . . anthropologists tend to pay particular attention to historical context and to attempt to reveal dynamic, and sometimes contradictory, relationships between subjective experiences, languages, symbols, artifacts, collective expressions, behavioral patterns, physical settings, social structures, political alliances, inter-organizational relations, and environments. According to this viewpoint, organization is a social entity embedded in the wider culture of society.

Drawing on a modified version of Hamada's assessment and from the anthropological view of organizational culture as both formal and informal in nature, I will pay particular attention to 1) language and collective expressions, 2) shared experiences, ideologies and behavioral patterns, 3) symbols and artifacts, 4) physical structures and space, and 5) social and political relations. These cultural domains often overlap. For the purposes of this analysis, I will discuss how each of these forms is expressed within the Kaibab National Forest, especially the Williams District, as this is the group with whom I became most familiar during the course of my internship.

The Forest Service as an Organizational Culture

The Forest Service has long intrigued organizational researchers. Some of the pioneering studies of organizational behavior examined the Forest Service. Kaufman (1960) produced the first study of Forest Service culture in the 1960s. Kaufman became one of the first researchers to undertake a systematic, extensive study of organizational culture. He used an anthropological approach, practicing participant observation and examining a variety of cultural forms to determine how the Forest Service functioned.

Kaufman (1960) found that several factors encouraged “voluntary conformity” among Forest Service employees. Forest workers tended to have common educational and personal experiences that preceded entry into the Forest Service, while mechanisms within the organization helped promote and reinforce a sense of commonality.

The Forest Service exists both as part of a federal culture and as an agency culture. Gold (1982:59) has examined the Forest Service, in addition to the Passport Service and Customs Service, as part of a group of federal agencies that “embody an identifiable organizational culture that serves to integrate a tradition of philosophy with a well-defined mission” (Gold 1982:59, quoted in Fiske 1994:104). Below, I will discuss some examples of cultural forms shared by Forest Service employees.

Language and Shared Expressions

I experienced a sense of Forest Service culture immediately and powerfully during my first weeks at the Kaibab. As I had never worked in a federal office before, I spent a great deal of time early on trying to decipher just what terms and acronyms like “GS”, “T&E”, and “CRAIS” meant. Kaibab employees frequently spoke in acronyms and lingo, assuming a shared understanding that, as a neophyte, I did not possess.

During my first few days at the Kaibab, I felt an acute sense of culture shock. I worried over learning to understand what people were saying, let alone performing my occupational duties competently. However, as I became enculturated, I also began to understand and use the language of federal employees and the Forest Service. Much as immigrants learn to speak languages and understand social customs in new countries, I began to learn the language and customs of the Forest Service. The shared language of

the Forest Service was evident from my initial inability to make sense of many communications between veteran employees.

As Fiske (1994) and Kaufman (1960:69-70) have discussed, federal agency employees share a language of bureaucracy. Such language includes terms relating to rank and position within the organizational system, terms relating to the multitude of official papers each bureaucrat must comprehend, terms relating to laws governing activities and budgets, and a variety of other expressions relating to the experiences of employees as parts of the federal system.

Shared Experiences, Ideologies, and Behavioral Patterns

As with language and expressions, Forest Service employees share similar experiences and ideologies that define and unite them as a group. Gold (1982:572) and Kaufman (1960:83) have pointed out that the most managers within the Forest Service have risen through the ranks from field positions. Many Forest Service employees have an affinity for forest lands that developed in childhood. Kaufman (1960:164) discussed how the Forest Service used to encourage people who “fit” with its mission, and discourage others from Forest Service employment. The Forest Service has been, for decades, a truly “career organization,” promoting an ideology of upward mobility from the field to the top of the organization. Consequently, most line officers and branch managers can relate to the experiences of even the newest and youngest field staff.



Figure 2. The venerable Smokey Bear, a public symbol of the Forest Service. Photo by the author.

Symbols and Artifacts

Forest Service employees throughout the United States share some strong organizational symbols. For example, Smokey the Bear (or “Smokey Bear,” the modern federal name for the familiar icon), has remained a highly visible and durable symbol of the Forest Service since Smokey’s inception in the 1940s. Smokey paraphernalia pervades both Forest Service offices and the public domain, including everything from stuffed Smokey dolls to Smokey bumper stickers, shirts, and hats. Smokey’s prevalence also coincides with language that marks insiders. More than a few Forest Service employees have told me, after I said “Smokey the Bear” in conversation, that “Smokey has NO middle name!”

Shared artifacts and material culture that reflect and reinforce symbolic systems also permeate the Forest Service. The familiar forest-green Forest Service uniform serves as a common artifact among Forest employees that helps mark membership in the organization to outsiders. Similarly, the bright Forest Service-green trucks that travel forest landscapes mark membership in the organization. Within the office, employees use the government-issue pens, pencils, forms, and other artifacts of federal culture.

Physical Structures and Space

Forest employees also share physical structures and space. The spatial layout of the Williams District office creates and reinforces social space. Several researchers have explored how physical space can serve as social syntax (Ferguson 1996; Hiller and Hanson 1984). In the Williams District, as South Zone Archaeologist Neil Weintraub pointed out early in my internship, physical space reflects status and organizational values. Individuals who have enclosed offices generally hold higher status than do those who have cubicles or desks in shared workspaces. An “upstairs” or “downstairs” location also marks status; in general, people who work upstairs tend to be higher-paid and more office-oriented staff than the downstairs, field-oriented and lower-paid staff.

Social and Political Relations

Daily staff interactions influence the development of Forest Service culture. Staff interact formally within organizational duties. Meetings also serve as an important formal tool in creating and reinforcing organizational culture, clarifying status and acting as arenas for communicating organizational ideology (Schwartzman 1993). Informal

interactions also promote cohesion and cultural production among Forest Service staff. Interactions occur in informal settings, like the mail and break rooms, and encourage transmission of organizational stories and values. Office parties and informal social functions outside the organization increase a sense of shared experience and serve as avenues for sharing organizational narratives.

Fiske (1994) and Gold (1982) have discussed the nature of federal organizational culture, both paying particular attention to the unique culture of the Forest Service. Both Fiske and Gold have discussed the importance of the Forest Service mission in creating and reinforcing its culture. The mission is clear and public, causing a pride and cohesiveness among staff. Consequently, the Forest Service mission influences political and social interactions, encouraging high visibility and approachability within communities. Forest Service staff share daily interactions not only within the organization, but also share accountability outside an organizational context.

Occupational Subcultures

If researchers can study organizations as cultures, then the existence and nature of organizational subcultures also warrants consideration. Trice (1993:141) has anthropologically defined occupational subcultures, writing, “Organizational subcultures subscribe to clusters of understandings, behaviors, and cultural forms that characterize them as distinctive groups within an organization.” Such organizational cultures become extraordinarily cohesive; many individuals see occupational groups as “reference groups” that can help define them (Trice 1993:145). Such cohesiveness arises because

“occupational cultures socialize persons into specific ways of performing a series of tasks, as well as into the values, attitudes, interests, skills, and knowledge that accompany and justify them . . . occupations produce ethnocentricity in their members” (Trice 1993:145). For example, researchers have examined the occupational cultures of police groups, longshoremen, printers, and jazz musicians and have found distinctive, occupationally-shaped cultures among each group (Trice 1993).

Trice (1993:143) writes, “The basic ingredient for the development of a subculture is differential interaction, either on or off the job, or both. Subcultures form because their members interact face to face more frequently with one another than with other people.” Such groups tend to bond and become distinctive, developing methods for socialization and indoctrination of new members. Distinct ideologies arise and become transmitted among members. Several researchers “tend to see organizational cultures, including occupations, as made up of diverse internal systems of meaning—subcultures . . . Like cultures, subcultures have cultural forms that carry ideological messages from which come collective understandings and patterns of behavior. At the same time, these messages differ noticeably from the common core of ideologies” (Trice 1993:142-143).

Organizational researchers have tended to overlook occupational and organizational subcultures, in part due to a tendency to see organizational cultures as homogenous (Trice 1993:142). Occupational groups comprise a highly organized set of subcultures within organizations. Individuals often become as bonded to their occupations as to their organizations, and sometimes more so. Such groups may also maintain a distinctive character that exists both inside and outside of the workplace. As

large organizations, like the Forest Service, increasingly import different occupations into their infrastructures, occupational subcultures predictably develop (Trice 1993:144).

The Kaibab's Heritage Resources Program as an Occupational Subculture

The Heritage Resources Program of the Kaibab National Forest constitutes an occupational subculture within the overarching organizational cultures of the Forest Service and the Williams District. As with any group, the ideas, attitudes, values, and beliefs of people within the Heritage Team are not uniform. However, members share several cultural forms that distinguish them from other groups within the forest and the Forest Service system. Below, I will discuss these forms as I observed them during the internship. As always, my perceptions reflect my own position and experiences, and consequently, my ideas and interpretations.

Language and Shared Expressions

Like the Forest Service as a whole, the Heritage staff have their own language system. Each person understands and uses terms that relate to specific tasks and concerns of the Heritage Program. For example, each member has some understanding of the basic laws that govern Heritage work, and when carrying out occupational duties must understand and communicate such concepts to each other. The terms "Section 106" and "Section 110" are common, as are "No Adverse Effect", "No Effect", and "Mitigation." Such terms are specific concerns of the Heritage team. The forms, files, and software

used by Heritage members also create a shared language that can be almost unintelligible to other Forest Service employees.

Shared Experiences, Ideologies, and Behavioral Patterns

The backgrounds of Heritage staff and the nature of Heritage work promote a variety of shared ideologies and experiences. Heritage staff all have some level of education in anthropology and archaeology and have completed at least some graduate-level work in archaeology. As a result, all staff are familiar with and espouse, to some degree, a culturally relative perspective. A culturally relative perspective posits that people should approach other cultures without prejudice so as to understand each culture on its own terms. All Heritage staff are also familiar with, and have professional orientations rooted in, Western science as a result of their educational experiences.

The educational experience of the Heritage members also include experiences that act as rites of passage. One such example is the archaeological field school, a requirement for almost all people trained as archaeologists. Field schools help socialize beginning archaeologists, imparting students with knowledge of ideologies and correct behaviors common to the field. Students in field school often live and work in unusual and sometimes stressful situations. Field schools generally involve high levels of physical exertion, and often mean working long days. Camping out as a group in remote areas is not unusual. As a result, members of field schools tend to develop a strong sense of common purpose and cohesiveness. Many practicing archaeologists maintain contact with other members of their field school, and share narratives about their experiences with new students and others in the field. These narratives tend to encode a great deal of

information about the practices and beliefs of archaeologists. For example, many archaeologists with whom I have exchanged stories have emphasized themes surrounding “moving dirt” or “covering ground” despite long days and adverse conditions.

Storytellers imply a concern with their work that transcends ordinary occupational limits; affinity for such work becomes more than an occupation and develops into a lifestyle.

Leadership has also shaped Heritage culture. Trice (1993:69) has discussed how leaders can become “purveyors of ideologies.” Leadership has played an important role in developing and sustaining ideologies within the Heritage team. Dr. John Hanson has served as the team’s leader since 1986 and has emphasized relationships, cultural brokerage, and recognizing meaning of cultural sites that may extend beyond the immediate occupational concerns of the Heritage team. Dr. Hanson, along with former Tribal Liaison Larry Lesko and South Zone Archaeologist Neil Weintraub, formed an early cohesive Heritage Program that developed strong ideologies about interpersonal relations inside and outside the Kaibab. Trice (1993:69) states, “leadership is defined by the reaction of the leader’s followers because leaders, by definition, are able to get people to do things.” The leadership of the program has helped reinforce and transmit Heritage ideology among other staff. Hanson and Weintraub’s continuing leadership have been effective in transmitting core ideologies to mid- and lower-level staff.

The leaders of the Heritage Program have helped team members articulate and absorb Heritage ideology by facilitating “visioning” exercises. During a 2001 visioning meeting, Heritage staff developed statements about how they see themselves and their work philosophies. Team members compiled their ideas, writing,

The things that characterize the Heritage Team on the Kaibab and our common outlook:

Say what you mean, mean what you say.

Do it once and do it right.

Have fun.

Blur ALL the boundaries - on purpose!

Build a shared vision.

LISTEN - and learn.

Take a risk. If it isn't illegal, it really is better to beg forgiveness than ask permission.

Be a professional. It's an attitude not a job title.

Solicit and respect the views of others.

Remember that any successful team is more than the sum of its individual parts.

These have worked for us over the last 15 years. Perhaps they might work for others, too.

Group members here view Heritage ideology as egalitarian, innovative, humanist, dynamic, and professional. The emic understanding of group ideology suggests the group places value on cohesiveness, approachability, and flexibility—characteristics that I found other Kaibab groups to recognize as well. Further discussion below of how Heritage staff broker their ideology highlights Heritage ideology in action.

Symbols and Artifacts

Though the Heritage Program shares many of the symbols of the larger Forest Service, Heritage members maintain many symbols and artifacts unique to their group. Though they do not often don the Forest Service uniform, Heritage staff can be easily recognized as a battalion of scruffy hikers, traipsing out into the woods with hiking boots, sturdy clothing, rolls of pink flagging tape (often found in abundance on the people and objects of the Heritage crew), compasses, maps, and metal clipboards containing the array of Heritage recording forms. The Heritage crew also maintains a particularly disheveled vehicle that marks subculture membership. The green, often mud-splattered,

Jeep contains the artifacts of the Heritage crew. The vehicle also displays a replica of an Archaic split-twig figurine—another symbol of the Heritage crew—on its rearview mirror.

Physical Structures and Space

The shared physical space of the Heritage crew, within the District and Supervisor's Offices as well as in the woods, also helps define the group. The Heritage field crew, when outside, usually works together closely to complete field work, from survey to site recording. Crew members work within 20 meters on transect lines to survey different areas, so are almost always within earshot of each other. In the District office, Heritage staff move fluidly between the downstairs workspace of the field crew (conveniently nestled among fire and administrative staff), and the upstairs space of the South Zone Archaeologist (also conveniently located among administrators and members of a variety of other branches.) Heritage staff at the District also regularly visit the Supervisor's Office to collect forms, maps, and other materials essential to performing their daily duties, as well as to check in with the other contingent of the Heritage Team: Forest Archaeologist Dr. John Hanson and Tribal Liaison Melissa Schroeder. As a result, the Heritage crew tends to move more easily through the different physical spaces of the Kaibab National Forest than many other staff groups; this fluidity is also reflected in a variety of other aspects of Heritage culture.

Social and Political Relations

The somewhat unusual and unpredictable nature of the Heritage interactions within a variety of District spaces also extends to the social and political relations of the Heritage team. A major characteristic of the Heritage Program within the District is its often politically marginal position. Here, I define politically marginal as reflected by financial situation, since political and financial positions typically co-vary within organizations. The Heritage Program, though a necessary component of the District, is not well funded, nor is it popularly considered central to the larger organizational mission of the agency. The history of the Heritage Program within the Kaibab National Forest also reveals a lengthy period of relative political disadvantage. Forest Archaeologist Dr. John Hanson has described the efforts of the Heritage team to engage American Indian communities during period prior to the arrival of Forest Supervisor Conny Frisch in 1995 as a time of “benign neglect.” Dr. Hanson and archaeologist Larry Lesko engaged in informal contacts with local American Indian tribes, without a formal program or policy to endorse their work. However, their efforts became more formalized and institutionalized with the arrival of Conny Frisch, who recognized the value of the cultural brokerage strategy the Heritage Program had developed (discussed further in chapter 5). Frisch helped formalize the responsibilities of the Heritage Team, and the collaborative efforts of Frisch with the Heritage Program leaders have led to a more integral and prominent place for the Heritage team within the forest. However, Heritage ideology still portrays a somewhat rogue position; their list of strengths developed in the visioning exercise states, “We are the leaders in rule breaking!”

The marginal political position of the Heritage Program at the District level and the understanding of the historical challenges of the Program within the forest at the Supervisor's Office level shapes the culture of the Heritage team, as well as its interactions and strategies within its larger context. Consequently, Heritage staff participate in "politicking" around the District and the Supervisor's Office to continually contact and educate forest staff who might overlook or undervalue the work of the Heritage Program. Fortunately, Heritage staff exercise surprisingly greater mobility within organizational constraints than most other forest groups. All Heritage team members within the Williams District, from the seasonal student hires to the South Zone Archaeologist, tend to work closely with both field and managerial staff.

Consequently, the Heritage staff work to cultivate productive and agreeable social interactions that serve them both practically and politically. I heard various Heritage Program members state more than a few times, "It's about relationships." These "relationships" ultimately mean better treatment for cultural resources, Heritage efforts, and Heritage staff. Through their work in building relationships outside their own group, Heritage staff help impart their value of Heritage resources and Heritage concerns. The Heritage team recognizes its work as both people-oriented and resource-oriented, seeing both as intertwined.

Trice (1993:143) has discussed the conflicts that can arise between a particular subculture, the dominant organizational culture, and other subcultures. The amount of conflict between such groups can vary widely, and often depends on a number of factors. Sometimes, core values of a strongly bonded subculture may conflict with the larger organizational culture, giving rise to a subculture that actively violates tenets of

organizational values, thus becoming a “counterculture.” Occupational members usually “seek autonomy and control over their work”—Freidson (1973) calls this the “occupational principle.” Such desire for autonomy can conflict with management groups, who believe managers ought to control the “basic features of work.” Freidson has termed this concept the “administrative principle” (Trice 1993:145-146).

The Heritage Program does tend to work toward autonomy and control over its work, so has developed some tensions with District management, as Trice has predicted. The politically and financially marginal status of the Heritage Program increases the potential for conflicts. However, Heritage staff have worked hard to try to diffuse such tensions through development of positive, open relationships with managers and through promotion of a philosophy of communication and compromise. Heritage team members engage managers of various branches regularly in the course of completing projects, so strive to inform managers about their work. Heritage staff have worked to cultivate a sense of trust with managers by encouraging honest and open discussions with them.

However, the Heritage Program continues to struggle with justifying their work, much like archaeologists in other agencies and settings. Heritage staff accept and actively participate in public relations and program marketing to explain the work and importance of the Heritage efforts. However, when funding for the organization becomes tight, managers often begin to examine ways to “trim the fat.” Heritage programs and projects are often an early target of such scrutiny. Toward the end of my internship with the Kaibab, unhappy rumblings about high planning costs had begun to circulate around the District office. As Heritage staff have taken great pains to develop good relationships throughout the District, it was not long before an upper level manager

approached Heritage leaders to warn that some managers had attributed the high costs of planning for projects to Heritage work. As a result, internal public relations efforts intensified. Heritage members, united in their dismay at the unofficial assessment, began to work to justify and explain costs. A shared resentment began to develop. Heritage staff take pride in their efficiency and professionalism, recognizing an extremely low cost-per-acre for professional Heritage evaluation. That managers wanted an even lower cost was incomprehensible to Heritage staff; increased resentment of management interference with what was seen as occupationally controlled matters developed. This shared ideology helped cause an even greater internal sense of distinction between the Heritage staff and the rest of the District.

Heritage Staff as Culture Brokers

The concept of the “culture broker” has become a hallmark of applied anthropology. Originally conceived by Wolf (1956) as an individual who serves as a conduit between cultures, the idea has been adopted and promoted by health-care and social services-oriented fields (Van Willigen 1993:125). “Cultural brokerage” works by improving links between two or more sociocultural groups, usually a service-providing agency and a community group, and improving access and quality of services through these links (Van Willigen 1993:125-126). Weidman (1973) first proposed adopting the culture broker concept for use in health care; the health care field has since developed the concept more extensively (Van Willigen 1993:125). Van Willigen (1993:126) points out that “. . . the focus of change processes are the agencies themselves. The cultural

brokerage approach to intervention is a way of restructuring cultural relationships not so much to resolve cross-cultural conflicts, but to prevent them.”

Van Willigen (1993:126-127) also states that culture brokers adopt a culturally relative perspective and usually attempt to effect change. Change is most frequently targeted toward the service-providing agency. The culture broker concept differs from traditional outreach in its assumption of parity between the two cultural systems, whereas “. . . typical outreach workers are usually agents for the dominant culture and often work in an inherently compromised political position” (Van Willigen 1993:129). As a result, culture brokers require “substantial knowledge of the two systems involved” (Van Willigen 1993:129).

Though not as extensively explored in inter-organizational and intra-organizational contexts, the culture broker concept has applicability for working within organizational cultures. Businesses have long attempted to improve communications between management groups and other workers, recognizing the potential for conflicts. A primary goal of many studies of organizational behavior is to enhance communications between different organizational groups toward improving overall organizational function. Consequently, the communication skills of the culture broker serve as useful tools for businesses hoping to improve function, as well as groups who hope to adopt a pragmatic means of incorporating input from different groups, as with the Forest Service.

In an organizational context, the Heritage team members form a particular culture. However, they work with several other groups within the Kaibab to promote protection of cultural resources, transcending subcultural boundaries within their organizational culture. The Heritage team is also responsible for brokering culture outside of their

organization, as they work with a variety of public groups, businesses, and American Indian tribes (discussed in greater detail at the end of this chapter, chapter 4, and chapter 5). The Heritage team members work as informal leaders and change agents. Consequently, Heritage staff act as culture brokers who help promote exchange between the groups they engage, both inside and outside the Kaibab.

Heritage team members work to encourage changes in values and behaviors toward Heritage resources among of a variety of groups. However, the Heritage team does not attempt to change the *culture* of these groups, but rather to change *aspects* of culture. Heritage staff do not attempt, for example, to change how members of the fire group carry out their duties or how they see the world. However, Heritage staff do work to change how fire staff value and work around Heritage sites by instilling a sense of shared interest, ownership, and responsibility for the protection of these places.

The work of the culture brokers, since directed toward some type of change, is not usually value-neutral. The Heritage team is no exception. The Heritage team works to change the meaning of Heritage resources to Forest Service staff and outside publics, promoting conservation and preservation. Heritage staff also work to change the values of the Forest Service to better incorporate the values of American Indian tribes and other groups with whom the Heritage team works. The Kaibab's Heritage Resources Program has adopted a value-explicit approach that serves the interests of anthropology and archaeology well, much as an organization that uses culture brokers to better supply services to various communities would.

Ideologies play a critical role in the culture of the Heritage Program. Ideologies can structure behavior, so Heritage staff attempt cultural brokerage at both ideological

and behavioral levels. Sometimes, however, the Heritage staff must deal exclusively with behavior. For example, when serious laws regarding protection of archaeological sites are broken, Heritage staff do not attempt cultural brokerage, but rather involve law enforcement in immediately halting such behavior through various methods of interdiction. Such strategies arise when the desired outcome of cultural brokerage—prevention of negative behaviors—have not succeeded or when cultural brokerage has not been applied. In such circumstances, Heritage staff circumvent ideology and use tools to modify behavior alone.

A primary brokerage method embraced by the Heritage team to address ideology and behavior is “relationship-building.” It is here that the culturally relative perspective, in which staff suspend value judgments of other groups, serves the Heritage staff especially well. A major skill of the Heritage culture brokers includes being what most people would call “personable.” Team members work to develop an ability to communicate well with a variety of people, and try to be open to questions, ideas, and opinions. Such attitudes, which are fostered and encouraged by their Heritage culture, convey a sense of approachability and honesty that helps facilitate interaction and cultural exchange.

Toward this end, Heritage team members also accept a large amount of flexibility in their work lives, realizing the necessity of juggling multiple projects and tasks and assigning priority to each. Heritage staff complete projects according to forest priority, but if particular members of the organization need an unplanned project cleared quickly and the Heritage Program has ample flexibility in its work schedule, Heritage staff will put the project first, recognizing the social value of doing such a favor. Heritage staff

members do such favors frequently, while managing to juggle other projects. As a result, other Kaibab employees generally hold the Heritage Program in high regard.

Para-Archaeology Programs

Heritage team members employ several formal and informal strategies to manage cultural exchange. One of the Heritage staff's most effective tools for working with other sections of the forest is the para-archaeology program. This program allows other forest staff to receive training in Heritage resource management and receive certification of their completion. Para-archaeologists must complete at least 40 hours of training to become certified, and generally spend this time in the field with the Heritage crew. This program literally allows other subculture members to walk a mile in the Heritage team's shoes. Such an experiential approach allows the transfer of cultural values. Heritage staff are also encouraged to accompany different forest personnel on their projects, and so develop an understanding of how other occupational subcultures function. Heritage members also work to cultivate good personal relationships with other Kaibab staff; these relationships promote communication and cooperation between Heritage staff and other departments.

Consequently, the para-archaeology program serves as a formal, structured program of Heritage education for participants, and allows Heritage staff to convey the methods, duties, and values of their subculture. Trainees usually allot a certain number of days to spend with the Heritage staff. The training atmosphere is informal, allowing learning and the transfer of values and ideas. Heritage staff and para-archaeology

trainees experience high levels of one-on-one interaction. Heritage staff strongly encourage participation in the para-archaeology program and are usually amenable to taking interested parties into the field to work, even if the individual does not formally participate in the para-archaeology program. Several Kaibab staff have completed the program, and often become so invested in the program that they sometimes possess field skills that rival those of professional archaeologists.

In one case a wildlife specialist named Steve, who has worked in several Kaibab programs from Range to Timber, developed a reputation for keen observation when scouting for archaeological sites. Steve sometimes joked that he needed to be in the field to “find all the [Heritage] sites the archies [archaeologists] miss.” Steve has located a number of archaeological sites that he has subsequently reported to Kaibab Heritage staff. In addition to his personal investment in protecting archaeological sites, Steve’s tenure as foreman of the timber marking crew was marked by an increased level of interest in archaeological sites from the entire timber crew. Steve began a tradition of training timber markers to become versed in Heritage work that continues to this day. Several other timber markers have subsequently become para-archaeologists.

I participated in training three new para-archaeologists during the course of my internship. One, Stephanie, worked with the Minerals program as a seasonal employee. Another, Heather, was a seasonal timber marker. A third, Brandon, is a full-time permanent employee with the Fuels Management program. Each of these trainees became versed in the business of Heritage resource management, learning to survey, document, and mark sites of interest.

Some forest staff work with the Heritage crew even if they do not train to become para-archaeologists. For example, we worked with a NEPA planning assistant, Stephanie, for a day. Not only did the experience prove valuable for Stephanie, who had the sizeable job of helping to plan NEPA actions for the whole forest, but in addition, she helped to informally educate the Heritage crew about the NEPA planning process. The para-archaeology and other training programs, then, are two-way learning programs in which both sides reciprocate knowledge.

Working with Navajo Scouts Fire Crews and Youth Conservation Corps

The Heritage crew also worked extensively with Navajo Scouts fire crews during the summer. These crews were stationed at the Williams District early in the summer as on-call resources to manage the severe fire danger that resulted from a multiple-year drought in the area. The Navajo Scouts came from Fort Defiance, Arizona, and worked with the Heritage crew to remove fire fuels, such as dead and downed timber, on archaeological sites. The crews had no other work at the time, as no large fires had erupted, so Heritage staff asked the crews' leaders if they would help with a fuels reduction and stabilization effort. The project centered on removing timber from archaeological sites that was cut during a thinning project. Heritage staff worried that, in the event of a catastrophic fire, the downed fuels on the sites would burn hot and cause excessive damage. Consequently, the staff pursued a proactive management strategy that served not only to manage resources, but gave us the opportunity to meaningfully interact with fire crews who would almost certainly work near archaeological sites again.



Figure 3. Heritage staff working with Navajo Scout crews at an archaeological site near Kendrick Mountain. Photo courtesy of Neil Weintraub.

The fuels removal project turned out to be extremely labor-intensive. The downed wood was heavy, and chain saw operators from the fire crew worked hard to break up the logs so people could carry large pieces and pile the wood off the sites. Every member of the District Heritage crew worked on this project, carrying fuels alongside the crews— acting out an egalitarian ideology that implied parity. Before the work began, archaeologists Neil Weintraub and Calla McNamee showed the crews what archaeological sites in the area looked like and how to protect them. Traditional Navajo beliefs about archaeological sites teach avoidance, as artifacts associated with the dead

are considered taboo. Many members of the crews asked not to hold or touch artifacts on the sites. However, several crew members also showed great interest in the area prehistory, and peppered Heritage staff with questions. Afterwards, Heritage staff worked with the crews to avoid damaging prehistoric architecture in the area, and answered questions while working. In an area that I worked, I spent about five minutes discussing how we should remove dead trees and, as a result of questions, about fifteen minutes discussing the pithouse site that was the target of our efforts. Heritage staff and the Navajo Scouts interacted extensively, and exchanged a variety of personal and professional information.

The education and exchange process continued with the Youth Conservation Corps (YCC). Each summer, the Kaibab National Forest hires a small conservation corps made up of local teenagers. Forest staff work with the YCC to train corps members in a variety of tasks, such as trail work, removal of noxious weeds, fence building, and so on. The YCC spent a week working with the Heritage staff and Navajo Scouts crews, to remove from sites some standing dead trees that had burned during the Pumpkin Fire on Kendrick Mountain. Heritage staff had concerns about large dead trees located on archaeological sites, especially in structures, falling and becoming uprooted, churning large portions of each site's subsurface cultural deposits in the process. The Navajo Scouts chainsaw operators felled and broke up dead trees, and crews made up of YCC, Navajo Scouts, and the Heritage staff removed and piled the fuels. Again, Heritage staff spoke with crews both formally and informally about local archaeology, the work of the Heritage Program, and the reasons for the stabilization project. The YCC program exposed the teens to forestry, fire management, and archaeology. Heritage staff hoped

they would maintain an interest in conserving local archaeological sites and pass on their knowledge and understanding to their peers in the community.

The Trick Fire, Sycamore Canyon Wilderness, and Incident Management Teams

The Heritage team's work with fire crews continued more intensively during work on the Trick Fire that began in Sycamore Canyon, south of Williams. The fire broke out in late August in the Sycamore Canyon Wilderness and strong night winds caused the fire to rapidly grow to several thousand acres.

Federal laws that regulate management of cultural resources contain exceptions for emergency situations, such as the emergence and spread of large wildfires. Such a policy is legitimate; no agency would want to compromise the containment of a large fire to consult about the treatment of archaeological sites in the area. However, most members of Incident Management Teams, who are charged with coordinating wildland fire fighting efforts, do make a good-faith effort to mitigate damage done to cultural and natural resources when possible. As a result, most large fire-fighting efforts include archaeologists who have been "red-carded"—trained and certified in wildland fire fighting. All of the Kaibab's Heritage field staff are red-carded; I participated in "Fire school" during the second week of my internship. During containment efforts, archaeologists work with fire fighters to avoid disturbing archaeological sites, usually by walking in front of bulldozers that dig fire containment lines to ensure avoidance or the minimal disturbance of archaeological sites.

As the protection of cultural sites is largely a matter of discretion in emergency wildfire situations, the abilities of cultural resource managers to engage members of the Incident Management System become critical. Early on, local Kaibab fire crews managed the fire, so the Heritage staff capitalized on already established relationships to avoid sites. Later, when a new Incident Management Team assumed responsibility for fire containment, Heritage crew members worked hard to develop and maintain a reputation for flexibility and approachability so that fire crews and administrators would feel comfortable taking a preventative approach to dealing with cultural sites. We worked to flag sites for avoidance early so crews could dig fire lines swiftly. We spoke with all the bulldozer operators and “bosses,” and gave briefings about our concerns and plans each morning to the management team. We even named one significant site—the Butler Ballcourt— after a “dozer boss” who had taken a keen interest in locating and avoiding Heritage sites.

As the fire burned out and became contained, the Heritage staff expressed gratitude to the people who had worked to protect cultural sites. Special recognition was given to those who showed exceptional interest and effort in avoiding damage to sites. South Zone Archaeologist Neil Weintraub recognized these individuals by making them replicas of local Archaic-period split-twig figurines and by writing special letters to District Rangers recognizing individuals with whom we worked. Such recognition helped not only maintain a certain esprit de corps, but also helped ensure continued enthusiasm and cooperation with Heritage Resource managers on future fire containment efforts.

Chapter 4

Brokering Culture Outside the Kaibab National Forest: Multiple Use and Multiple Publics

While the Kaibab's Heritage team engages in cultural exchange with groups inside the Kaibab National Forest, staff also facilitate exchange with groups outside the organization. Heritage team members attempt to convey a sense of the value of Heritage resources to these different groups and to incorporate the values of these groups into Kaibab work. In this section I will examine how the Heritage Program engages the Forest Service's multiple publics.

"Multiple Use"

As discussed in Chapter 2, the primary mandate of the United States Forest Service is to manage lands to allow "multiple use." This means National Forest lands accommodate many functions, from individual recreation activities to corporate economic endeavors. The Kaibab National Forest's "multiple use" profile has shifted over the years, echoing trends in larger national changes throughout the past century. Through much of its history, the Kaibab dealt heavily with timber harvesting. Gradually, the use of Kaibab lands has shifted to accommodate broader interests. Since the 1980s, the Kaibab has, like many other National Forests, adopted a more ecological approach to forest management. Recreational use of the forest has surged in the past two decades. Economic use of the forest has changed in scale; large-scale mining and timber harvesting operations have declined somewhat while individual and small-scale

economic endeavors have become more prevalent. Forest users, both economic and recreational, corporate and individual, comprise the multiple publics of the Kaibab National Forest.

Passports in Time

Heritage staff encounter many components of the Forest Service public. First and foremost, the Kaibab Heritage staff deal with what I term the “interested” public. Any cultural resources-oriented program relies on this public for crucial support and involvement. The interested public includes people who take an active interest and involvement in cultural sites and the work of Heritage resource management.

Most major federal land management agencies have developed formal public outreach programs that operate at a local level to engage and inform the public about Heritage concerns. The Forest Service has developed the Passports in Time (PIT) program, a national outreach strategy that encourages volunteer public participation in Heritage work (Osborn 1998;Tamietti 2000).

Several National Forests offer local PIT projects, sometimes in partnership with other groups or institutions. The Kaibab National Forest typically offers a PIT project each year, either within the South Zone or the North Kaibab Ranger District. The PIT program gives interested members of the public a chance to learn about, and actively participate in, Heritage work. Unlike several private programs, PIT allows participation of individuals from a variety of economic backgrounds. Costs to participants usually do not exceed the basic cost of food and travel.

The Kaibab's PIT participants usually include some local residents. PIT gives Heritage staff a chance to interact meaningfully with local people. Kaibab PIT programs usually last about one week, allowing public participants and Heritage staff a chance to interact and become familiar with each other's backgrounds and values. Not only do Heritage staff have an excellent formal opportunity to convey the importance and methods of conservation to participants, but public participants also have the chance to voice their ideas and concerns to Heritage staff. Both the formal and informal nature of the program create a setting for effective exchange and give Heritage staff a chance to recruit a body of public participants who often continue to informally protect Heritage resources, and can continue to share their knowledge and value of Heritage resources with others.

The Heritage Program has offered a great variety of projects since becoming involved with PIT. One PIT project involved the excavation of a Cohonina site next to the Williams Ranger District, known as Clover Ruin. Several PIT participants worked with Heritage staff to excavate, document, and reconstruct the site. Eventually, PIT participants and Heritage staff developed the foundations for an interpretive site that will discuss the evidence used in reconstruction and that could be visited by other people interested in learning about archaeology and the Cohonina. Another PIT project gave participants the chance to work with Heritage staff to document rock art in the Snake Gulch wilderness area. Other PIT projects have focused on archaeological survey of Kaibab lands.

Arizona Site Stewards Program

As federal agencies have worked to develop programs that involve the public in historic preservation and archaeology, states have also worked to develop statewide programs that educate and involve the public. One such program is the Arizona Site Stewards, coordinated from the State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO). The Arizona SHPO—the agency responsible for coordinating state historic preservation efforts—developed this program, designed to involve residents around the state in archaeological site stewardship. Several agencies participate in this program. Such efforts have benefited both agencies and local publics, who can become active guardians of Heritage sites through the program. Currently, the South Zone of the Kaibab National Forest works with about ten local site stewards who help monitor sites. As the Kaibab does not have a particularly serious vandalism problem, site stewards concentrate on sites considered high profile and high-risk for vandalism. For example, one site steward lives near Keyhole Sink, a popular and interpreted rock art site. She can easily monitor the status of the site by walking her dog there every day. Another site steward lives close to and monitors several large Cohonina sites on Sitgreaves Mountain.

Education in Schools, Local Organizations, and Statewide Events

Kaibab Heritage Program staff, recognizing the power of early education to encourage public value for cultural resources, have participated in a variety of formal and informal educational programs in the Williams area and around the state. During Arizona

Archaeology Month, Heritage staff often give public talks regarding area archaeology. Kaibab staff also regularly participate in the Arizona Archaeology Expo, giving demonstrations and talking with Expo participants.

Heritage staff often give programs at Williams and Flagstaff schools, and have run programs at tribal schools in the area. Heritage staff also give talks at local public service organizations and to historical societies. Generally, the Heritage team tries to accept all requests for public appearances.

“Cookie” Willett and Cookie Willett Pueblo

Private individuals who make economic use of Forest Service lands represent one of the more established publics of the Forest Service. Often, ranchers, miners, and fuel wood cutters have extensive knowledge of the forest. South Zone Archaeologist Neil Weintraub has commented that these groups are often the most difficult to engage, but they are critical to site conservation efforts. People in such groups often may not have any predisposition to become involved in Heritage resource management.

Such an example on the Kaibab is the 70 year-old rancher “Cookie” Willett. Mr. Willett approached archaeologist Dan Sorrell while Dan was working on a small survey this summer. The two discussed the area and, in the course of the discussion, Mr. Willett mentioned a large pueblo site in the Upper Basin (southeast of the Grand Canyon) that was “the largest site he had ever seen.”

The Heritage crew planned to complete an extensive survey within the Upper Basin that summer. After learning about the approximate location and nature of the site,

Heritage staff set aside a day to locate and record the site. After some searching, we did locate the site, which turned out to be a large L-shaped roomblock with evidence of intensive and lengthy occupation and a possible large kiva depression. We recorded the site, which has helped refine the understanding of the Upper Basin prehistory, and named the site “Cookie Willett Pueblo” in honor of the rancher’s help. Now that the site has been documented, Heritage staff can monitor the site to prevent looting or vandalism.

Dan’s ability to engage the rancher in a congenial and non-threatening fashion exemplifies a strategy that emphasizes formation of constructive relationships with all the Kaibab’s publics. The rancher, who holds considerable knowledge of the local landscape, was able to provide valuable information about Heritage resources on Kaibab lands, enabling Heritage staff to better document and protect such sites. The Heritage team expressed gratitude at the rancher’s willingness to share information, hopeful of encouraging future interactions. Such reciprocal relationships serve to strengthen public investment in Heritage resources.

Private landowners comprise another important public. As with ranchers, private landowners also may hold extensive information about the National Forest lands surrounding their property. Often, these landholders can monitor adjacent forest lands, serving as informal stewards of the area. During the summer, the Heritage crew encountered one such landowner who holds a large lot within forest lands in the Tusayan District. The landowner initially showed reluctance to even have Heritage staff near his property, but after staff talked with him, he discussed several of the sites of interest around his land. The information he relayed helped Heritage staff better assess sites in the area, and the Heritage crew had a chance to discuss their work with the landowner.

Working with Ash Fork Quarry Operators

The Ash Fork area of the Kaibab National Forest provides unique challenges for the Heritage Resources Program. The Ash Fork area, located on the western margin of the South Kaibab, sits at a lower elevation than the Williams area, with elevations ranging from about 4000-5000 feet above sea level. Diverse vegetation, consisting primarily of pinyon and juniper, covers the area. As most archaeologists in the Southwest would attest, such elevation and vegetation often mean high prehistoric site density. The Ash Fork area follows this trend and is particularly noteworthy for the large amount of prehistoric rock art pecked into the local sandstone and basalt.

The Ash Fork economy relies heavily on quarrying the flat, high-quality sandstone in the Ash Fork area for use as flagstone. Often, these quarries were established under the 1872 General Mining Law. The 1872 General Mining Law defines procedures for mine development in much of the Western U.S. According to a Congressional Research Service report (Humphries and Vincent 2001), the federal General Mining Law of 1872

. . . grants free access to individuals and corporations to prospect for minerals in public domain lands, and allows them, upon making a discovery, to stake (or 'locate') a claim on that deposit. A claim gives the holder the right to develop the minerals and may be "patented" to convey full title to the claimant . . . The Mining Law continues to provide the structure for much of the Western mineral development on public domain lands. Western mining, although not as extensive as it once was, is still a major economic activity, and a high percentage of hardrock mining is on public lands . . . There is no limit on the number of claims a person can locate. There is no requirement that mineral production ever commence. Mineral production can take place without a patent or revenue payments to the federal government. Claims can be held indefinitely with or without mineral production, subject to challenge if not developed . . .

Multiple federal agencies regulate claim development. The Forest Service regulates the surface of the claim, while various agencies of the Department of the Interior deal with subsurface regulation. Mines established through claims, rather than by permit, are legally the property of the claimant. Consequently, the applicability of historic preservation laws to the quarries is murky at best. Heritage staff hold the difficult job of protecting the wide variety of prehistoric sites located within and around both permitted quarries and mining claims.

In addition to the possible destruction of entire sites, Heritage staff worry about the small scale, illegal activities carried out on forest lands. For example, “moss-rocking,” in which collectors remove sandstone covered in lichen (considered decoratively and commercially desirable) may lead to removal of petroglyphs, also considered commercially valuable. I personally documented the removal of at least one group of petroglyphs in the Ask Fork area during the internship. Luckily, since Kaibab Heritage staff and a para-archaeologist who works with mineral leases on the Kaibab had previously recorded the site, I was able to compile a reasonably complete damage assessment.

However, theft and vandalism likely exist on a much larger scale. Kaibab Heritage staff have previously recorded stolen rock art panels and have even helped successfully prosecute looters in the Ash Fork area. However, law enforcement and legal action alone are not effective enough to deter the looters. The challenge for Heritage staff lies in preventing such vandalism.

Toward that end, Heritage staff have worked to form relationships with local quarry operators. Heritage staff have become acquainted with several of the operators of

the large quarries in the area and worked to familiarize the operators with the work and goals of the Heritage Program. Quarry operators often maintain vigilance around their claims, monitoring activities near their operations. Some quarry operators have begun to take an interest in Heritage sites and in avoiding damage to them by informing Heritage staff about impending expansions and operations so staff can flag off sites for avoidance.

Working to Provide Fuel Wood to Navajo Chapters Near the Upper Basin

The Heritage team has strong ties to, and investment in, the Upper Basin Fuel Wood Project underway at the Kaibab. The Upper Basin is a very sensitive area of the Kaibab, due to its very fragile soils and high archaeological and historic site densities. Hunters, fuel wood cutters, and other recreational users of the Upper Basin area often damage archaeological sites. People may drive over sites that lie in fragile soils and cut trees within sites, destabilizing soils and affecting sites' integrity. In most cases, damage to sites by forest users is inadvertent. However, this damage creates serious concerns for the Heritage Program.

The Heritage team played a large part in developing a fuel wood sale in the Upper Basin. The sale was designed to accommodate local people who needed fuel wood at low cost, especially nearby Navajo people. Heritage staff reasoned that a well-planned fuel wood sale in the Upper Basin would not only contribute economically to local populations, but would also reduce the traditionally high rate of illegal fuel wood cutting in the highly sensitive and fragile area. This project also would allow the Kaibab to continue to develop better relationships with local Navajo communities, encouraging

future collaboration. The project, then, was designed to foster protection of Heritage sites as well as better relationships between the Kaibab and its Navajo neighbors. The Kaibab has been able, through the efforts of the Heritage staff, to take advantage of its Multiple Use mission to reach out to an American Indian community and nurture the development of more frequent and positive contacts. Such relationships can also encourage more active future input from the Navajo community regarding land use decisions affecting their community.

The Heritage crew completed a three-week archeological survey to allow the fuel wood sale to proceed. Heritage staff found the area exceptionally difficult to inventory, due to the extremely high site density. By the end of the survey, Heritage staff worked with timber staff to exclude large portions of the survey area from the sale. However, Heritage staff worked hard to locate viable sale parcels in low site-density areas. Concentrating fuel wood cutting in areas of low site density consequently reduces damage to cultural sites while allowing a project valuable to community relationships to go forward.

Working with Researchers

Academic researchers and their students make up another of the Kaibab's stakeholders. Forest staff encourage research on Kaibab lands, including archaeological work. The Kaibab allows archaeological research as long as researchers agree to work with local American Indian tribes to develop project parameters. The Heritage Program also prohibits intentional excavation of human remains for research purposes, as a result

of formal memoranda of understanding with American Indian tribes, and out of respect for American Indian beliefs. The issue of research on, and possession of, American Indian human remains has strained relationships between American Indians and archaeologists (Downer 2000; Mihesuah 2000; Watkins 2000). During the past 100 years, the excavation of American Indian burials has caused severe concern for many American Indian groups, who tend to see the sanctity of burial as much more important than the recovery of the scientific data sought by archaeologists. Though American Indians have a wide variety of views on the excavation of archaeological sites, most are loathe to condone intentional excavations that would disturb human remains. The Kaibab's American Indian neighbors, echoing a widespread sentiment, continue to maintain vigilance regarding the graves of their ancestors.

During the Canyon Mine case in the 1980s (discussed further in Chapter 5), a Havasupai affidavit to the Forest Service touched on some of the concerns that had become part of a national and international debate regarding treatment of human remains of indigenous peoples. The affidavit spoke about the treatment of Havasupai religion and burials by the United States Government and by archaeologists, stating,

The Representatives of the United States do not respect our religion. They have shown disrespect on several occasions by disregarding our teachings and warnings about sacred places and areas, and by digging up the graves and homes of our people. They put the things they find into boxes, cases, and bags. They put numbers and letters on them. They take them away. Sometimes they display parts of our bodies and other materials in museums for all to see. This is not proper.

Before NAGPRA passed, Kaibab Heritage staff had already developed some strategies for dealing with the sensitive issue of American Indian human remains on federal lands. For example, the Kaibab Heritage team has worked with researchers from

the University of Cincinnati, under Dr. Alan Sullivan, on the Upper Basin Archaeological Research Project (UBARP) to facilitate good communication between researchers and local American Indian tribes. UBARP, with technical assistance from the Kaibab, developed a Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) involving UBARP, the Arizona SHPO, the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, and Kaibab National Forest regarding one site in which human remains were encountered. The MOA determined the excavation could constitute an adverse effect to the site if human remains were discovered, but allowed the project to continue as a result of extensive discussions with local American Indian tribes and consideration of procedures under ARPA. UBARP excavated the site, and the remains of one individual were discovered. These remains were expeditiously reburied in place. Sullivan and Hanson wrote about their experiences working closely with the Hopi Cultural Resources Advisory Team (HCRAT), espousing a philosophy of “active anthropological archeology.” Sullivan et al. (1994:1), wrote

. . . the term anthropological archaeology has at least two meanings. Its most accustomed meaning describes an approach for interpreting patterning in the archeological record in behavioral or evolutionary terms. A second, less commonly appreciated meaning is the extent to which archeologists, in the execution of their research programs, develop and employ their skills as cultural anthropologists. Certainly, no practicing archeologist who is aware of the discipline’s history can deny that the native peoples have been involved in archeological research, to varying degrees, since the first observations were made of archeological phenomena.

Sullivan et al. (1994) discussed the benefits they received from working closely with HCRAT after the discovery of a burial, especially gaining insights into the nature of the prehistoric abandonment of local sites. The authors also discussed the political benefits the Hopi realize from working with researchers, who have helped better define their aboriginal territories.

“Practicing What We Preach”

The Kaibab’s Heritage Program, recognizing its role in promoting desirable behavior toward Heritage resources, works to professionally model such behavior. One such example is artifact collection from sites. As the scale of cultural resource surveys increased throughout the late 1970s and 1980s, the practicality and the ideology of artifact collection from sites came under review by the Heritage staff. Not only did collections begin to expand beyond the Kaibab’s curation facilities, but Heritage staff began to examine the reasons for complete collection of sites. As archaeologist Neil Weintraub explained, Heritage staff eventually decided they should stop collecting artifacts. Since Heritage staff asked the public not to collect artifacts, they thought they should “practice what we preach.” Kaibab leaders continue to promote this ideology.

In this sense, the Heritage team has attempted to close the gap between public and professional to show that the public can mirror professionals in their treatment of sites. Using this strategy, Heritage staff can relate at a practical level to public laypersons and “legitimately” ask the public to treat Heritage sites with respect.

The active, engaged approach of the Heritage team serves to spread responsibility for Heritage resource stewardship among its stakeholders. This shared responsibility for resource protection helps extend the ideology and behavior of the Heritage Program beyond its organizational context into the public domain.

Chapter 5

Heritage Resources, the Forest Service, and American Indians

American Indians occupy a unique place as one of the Kaibab National Forest's publics. United States policy regards American Indian tribes as sovereign governments. Tribes have both cultural and economic interests in the lands managed by the Kaibab. However, the meaning of "sovereign" and the status of American Indians within American society continue to evolve. American Indians continue to hold a marginal economic and cultural status within American society, and maintain a correspondingly ambiguous place as publics and partners of the United States Government. In this section, I will examine the Kaibab's relationship with local American Indian tribes through an abbreviated history of the Kaibab's interactions with these tribes since 1976, largely excerpted from a paper I wrote for the internship. Using a historical perspective, I will examine the development of Heritage relationships with American Indian groups and how the Forest-Tribal relationships have mirrored larger historical trends. I believe that a historical view will demonstrate how the past can explain the present and affect the future. Finally, I will discuss how the Heritage Program brokers greater cultural understanding between American Indian groups and Kaibab National Forest land managers. The evolution of the Kaibab's relationships with American Indian tribes provides a useful case study to examine the development and application of a range of strategies to increase cultural understanding, but also to highlight how Heritage responsibility for working with this marginal group both stems from the historically marginal position of Heritage staff and can reinforce an ideology among the Heritage

Program that values marginal groups. Consequently, both groups share some common ideologies and experiences.

Much of the Kaibab's successful application of cultural brokerage has come from the Heritage team's commitment to an anthropological perspective. Heritage staff respect American Indian worldviews—even though they may not fully understand or even agree with these views. It can be challenging to work with American Indian people who hold vastly different understandings of their pasts than do scientifically trained archaeologists, and who espouse varied and different opinions about how public lands should be managed. It can likewise be extremely difficult for American Indian groups to work with land managers who may perceive and manage lands very differently from American Indians. As Kaibab staff and American Indian groups have shown, though, if both groups work to find common ground, stewardship of Kaibab lands can become informed by and accommodate these sometimes disparate views.

Formation of the Kaibab's Cultural Resources Program: 1976-1986

The Kaibab's cultural resources program developed under the leadership of its first Forest Archaeologist, Dr. Thomas Cartledge. Dr. Cartledge began work at the Kaibab in 1976. The Kaibab National Forest's contact with American Indian groups from 1976 to 1986 was generally minimal, as with other federal agencies. Like other forests, Kaibab policy makers tended to value the Kaibab's lands as economic resources and archaeological sites as scientific resources. The forest's cultural resources program, according to Dr. Cartledge (personal communication 2002), concerned itself initially with

completing compliance work relating to Kaibab projects, especially timber sales. For a limited staff, compliance work alone was daunting. According to Dr. Cartledge, American Indians were not considered a part of the cultural resources management process at that time, and so had little contact with Heritage staff. The Heritage Program during the 1970s and early 1980s was considered primarily an archaeological entity, working to identify concrete, bounded properties so these properties could be protected for the future. National historic preservation legislation at this time considered historic and prehistoric properties to have value primarily for the heritage of the European-American public, tending to view American Indians as a small component of this larger entity. This concept also carried over to NEPA compliance; American Indian groups received scoping letters in the same manner as other interested members of the public. American Indian groups were generally not dealt with as sovereign governments. Larry Lesko, former Kaibab National Forest Tribal Liaison, believes that the first vehicle for consultation between local American Indian tribes and the Kaibab was the NEPA process, through project managers rather than cultural resources staff (personal communication 2002).

As a result, Kaibab Heritage staff had little contact with American Indian groups for almost a decade after the initial formation of its program. However, in the 1980s, two projects became critical controversies for local tribes that led to extensive interaction with the Kaibab: the Bill Williams Ski Area and the Canyon Uranium Mine proposals. The events and fallout surrounding these projects continue to resonate among local tribes today.

The Hopi and the Bill Williams Ski Area

In 1978, the City of Williams hired Sno-Engineering, Inc. to explore the development of a large alpine skiing facility on Bill Williams Mountain. The Sno-Engineering report found that Bill Williams Mountain offered excellent and varied terrain for skiers, that snowmaking could allow for a long ski season, and that regional demand for skiing opportunities was very high (Kaibab National Forest 1985). Williams residents tended to strongly support the ski area, as residents feared the nearly completed I-40 bypass would negatively affect the Williams economy. As a result, Kaibab National Forest developed an Environmental Assessment (a relatively cursory assessment of a project) that concluded the Kaibab should develop an Environmental Impact Statement (EIS), as the development would constitute a major federal action that would require detailed analysis of the project's impacts (Kaibab National Forest 1985). Under NEPA, federal actions that can be defined as "major federal actions significantly affecting the quality of the human environment" are considered to require the EIS as a detailed analysis of such impacts (King 1998:37). The forest began to scope the proposal for development of the EIS.

Several American Indian groups consider Bill Williams Mountain culturally significant (Lesko 1997). The Havasupai recognize a link to the Williams area landscape, and continue to feel an affinity for all their aboriginal lands. The Hualapai call Bill Williams Mountain *Wi ga vula* ("Riding Rock") and consider Bill Williams Mountain a Traditional Cultural Property, or TCP. The Yavapai-Prescott people also recognize the mountain as part of their aboriginal territory and call it *Wikuvaula*. The

Yavapai-Prescott people have discussed using the Bill Williams Mountain area for hunting, gathering, and special use for spiritual reasons. The Navajo refer to the mountain as *Tsin bee Eel'ai*, meaning “standing up with the trees,” and also consider the mountain a TCP (Vannette and Fearly 1981). The Navajo believe Bill Williams Mountain was one of the first peaks put down after the four sacred mountains were established during the emergence of the Navajo people. The mountain is associated with the *Hozhooji*, or Blessing Way (Lesko 1997).

The Hopi also consider Bill Williams Mountain a TCP and call it *Tusaqtsomo*, “Place of the Grassy Hill.” According to the Hopi response to the Draft EIS of the proposed Ski Area expansion in 1985, the Hopi consider Bill Williams Mountain a boundary marker of lands designated by the deity Maasaw, for which the Hopi are responsible. The Hopi wrote that several clans, before migrating to the Hopi mesas, settled on and around Bill Williams Mountain. The Hopi also discussed the presence of a nearby sacred spring and associated shrine, and the importance of Bill Williams Mountain as a traditional gathering place for native plants.

Dr. Thomas Cartledge conducted a 1985 cultural resources survey and clearance for the proposed ski area based upon the lack of physical evidence for archaeological sites present in the project area. American Indian concerns about the development of the ski area became a primary issue for the ski area expansion. It was not until the 1990s that Traditional Cultural Properties (TCPs) came to be considered legitimate management concerns under the Section 106 process. This shift in perspective reflected widespread changes in management of cultural resources, increasingly incorporating the values of American Indians and other minorities in determining significance. These shifts in

attitude were codified in the 1992 amendments to the National Historic Preservation Act, which required consultation with American Indians concerning the possible locations of TCPs. In 1990 the National Park Service issued Bulletin 38, which explained guidelines for evaluating the eligibility of TCPs for the National Register of Historic Places.

Changes in attitude were also reflected in legislation, including the Native American Graves and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), passed in 1990, and the National Museum of the American Indian Act, passed in 1989. These laws would also come to affect how the Kaibab dealt with American Indians. Dr. Cartledge remembers that the influences of Bulletin 38, along with pressure from the State Historic Preservation Officers (SHPOs), helped encourage greater consideration of American Indian perspectives.

Dr. Cartledge remembers that Kaibab staff and Hopi representatives organized a field trip to Bill Williams Mountain to discuss its importance. However, Dr. Cartledge and the cultural resources staff were not invited to attend, partly because forest leaders spearheaded the consultation process, and because the Hopi did not want to divulge the nature of the mountain's importance to multitudes of Kaibab staff. Hopi religious practice tends to be compartmentalized, and different ritual sodalities usually own esoteric ritual information. Though several local tribes recognized ties to Bill Williams Mountain, other tribes deferred to the Hopi in matters concerning the development. Similarly, the Hopi later deferred to the Havasupai in dealings with the Canyon Mine proposal near Red Butte.

In early 1985, the Kaibab National Forest completed a Draft Environmental Impact Statement (DEIS) for the proposed expansion of the Bill Williams ski area. The DEIS for the proposed expansion acknowledged Hopi ties to the mountain, but stated that

the two alternatives that involved expansion would not significantly interfere with Hopi religious practice. In February 1985, the Hopi tribe wrote a letter to the Kaibab National Forest commenting on the proposed expansion. The letter included an official Hopi Tribal Council resolution opposing the expansion. The letter stated that the mountain continued to hold importance to Hopi religion, and that ceremonies involving the mountain were still active. The letter indicated that interference with these ceremonies would have dire consequences, causing the extinction of particular ceremonies.

The Hopi view the web of ceremonial activities, each performed by different religious groups, as critical to the continued survival of the Hopi people. The Hopi, then, generally saw the Bill Williams Mountain development as more than simply a slight change in the visual character of the mountain, but rather as a part of a pattern of threats to the Hopi people themselves. The letter went on to declare,

As Hopis, we have a duty to preserve, protect, and hold onto the earth which has been given to us . . . Our religious leaders are ordered by our Supreme Being to be the spiritual guardians of our sacred lands. If we fail to protect sacred places like Bill Williams Mountain, the Hopi will be punished. We may experience a lack of rain and moisture and crop failures. Our failure to follow our divine responsibilities will cause the Hopi to lose faith in their beliefs and to abandon their practices. We will lose all respect for ourselves, and our culture and way of life will be threatened.

The Hopi comment letter also expressed dissatisfaction with the cultural resources survey the Forest Service conducted, stating,

The ‘cursory survey’ conducted by the Forest Service is not adequate to assess the full impact of the proposed development on cultural values, resources, and the religious practice of the Hopi people. The fact that the Forest Service’s examination ‘revealed no sites’ does not mean the area is not sacred and that ‘cultural resources’ of the Hopi will not be affected.

This articulation of concerns about ambiguously bounded lands and landmarks foreshadowed later historic preservation legislation that recognized the significance of Traditional Cultural Properties.

In June 1985, the Kaibab National Forest completed a final EIS and distributed it to the public. The Hopi Tribe subsequently appealed the Forest Service decision to allow the ski area expansion. The Hopi asked that the decision on the ski area be delayed to present more evidence and to await outcomes of high-profile AIRFA cases, especially the case of *Lyng vs. Northwest Indian Cemetery Protective Association* (discussed below). The Hopi continued to argue that development of the ski area would violate their First Amendment rights to free practice of religion, articulated in AIRFA. Eager to see the ski area development go forward, the City of Williams filed a brief opposing the Hopi appeal with the Forest Service in April 1986. The City of Williams then filed suit in District Court against the Forest Service and the Hopi tribe to force a decision on the ski area; both sides waited for months while the national office of the Forest Service sorted the case out.

Legislative History of AIRFA and Outcomes Affecting the Proposed Ski Area Expansion

During the ski expansion controversy, the Hopi felt much of their case would rest on AIRFA, which was being tested in the courts at that time. AIRFA has been problematic for American Indians since its passage, due to its ambiguity and lack of implementing regulations. The original intent of AIRFA was to require the government to carry out its duties in ways that did not unfairly inhibit American Indian religious

practice, and to reassert American Indians' inherent rights to religious freedom (Sewell 1993). The law was controversial, as legislators who opposed the act feared it would unconstitutionally establish a religion and give American Indians excessive influence in determining policy regarding public lands. As a part of a compromise, the senators who sponsored the bill agreed to make AIRFA more of a policy statement that could not bring about substantial changes rather than a specific, binding law (Sewell 1993). The subsequent outcome of AIRFA litigation reflects these weaknesses. Four key cases determined the judicial application of AIRFA: *Sequoyah vs. T.V.A.*, *Badoni vs. Higginson*, *Hopi Tribe vs. Block*, and *Lyng vs. Northwest Indian Cemetery Protective Association* (Sewell 1993).

The case of *Sequoyah vs. T.V.A.* involved the Cherokee tribe, who tried to prevent the Tennessee Valley Authority from completing a dam that would flood ancient Cherokee burial sites. The courts held that the dam would not violate the First Amendment rights of the tribe, as the burial sites in question were not central to the practice of the tribe's religion, and that the tribe had no property rights to the area so could not have any First Amendment concerns. The courts noted that the Cherokee arguments had been based mainly on preservation of tribal culture more than preservation of tribal religion (Sewell 1993).

In *Badoni vs. Higginson*, the Navajo tribe attempted to reverse the flooding of Rainbow Bridge by Lake Powell. They argued Rainbow Bridge was considered one of the Navajo deities, and that flooding the bridge would essentially drown this god. The Navajo also argued that the Park Service allowed desecration of a sacred area by allowing drunken tourists to visit the area. The courts held that Navajos' First Amendment rights

were not violated, as Navajo people were not denied access to Rainbow Bridge. The courts further found that prohibiting tourist use of the area would constitute an unconstitutional establishment of religion.

In *Hopi Tribe vs. Block*, a case of significant local as well as legal importance, the Hopi and Navajo tribes brought suit against the Forest Service to block a decision to expand the skiing facilities at Arizona Snow Bowl. The ski area is located on the San Francisco Peaks, which both groups view as sacred. The courts sided with the Forest Service, noting that the tribes had not been required to violate their religious beliefs, and that the expansion did not prevent specific religious practices. The courts felt, then, that the area of interest was not *central* to the practice of the tribes' religions. The courts also pointed out that AIRFA's purpose was to develop consistent policies that did not unfairly infringe on American Indians' religious rights, and that AIRFA could not grant "rights in excess" of constitutional guidelines. As the Forest Service had solicited Hopi and Navajo input during the decision making process, but had not necessarily based their decision solely upon this input, the courts felt the Forest Service had fulfilled its duty to consider the religious beliefs of concerned American Indian tribes.

In the case of *Lyng vs. Northwest Indian Cemetery Protective Association*, commonly known as the G-O Road case, the courts found that the Forest Service could pave a road through lands considered sacred by a California tribe. The courts found the Forest Service was not in violation of the AIRFA, as it had solicited input about the road, and had chosen the least obtrusive route to mitigate the impacts of the road on the tribe's religious beliefs. The courts decided the Forest Service had not unnecessarily interfered with religious practice.

All these decisions served to weaken the position of American Indian groups attempting to protect sacred sites on federal lands. AIRFA was rendered largely ineffectual beyond its presence as a vague policy statement, so has not expanded American Indian religious freedoms (Sewell 1993; King 1998). These decisions also supported the primacy of majority rule in cases of land interests; American Indians' religious freedoms were seen as important but not so important as to supercede the interests of other public use of federal lands.

Consequently, the Hopi attempts to halt the ski area expansion rested heavily on a law that lost much of its power in the 1980s. The Hopi, the Forest Service, and the City of Williams closely watched the outcomes of the AIRFA cases, especially the cases of *Lyng vs. Northwest Indian Cemetery Protective Association* and *Hopi vs. Block*. Williams newspapers reported the decision against the California American Indians, with the headline "Great news for Williams! 'G-O Road Case Decided in Favor of Forest Service" (Williams News 1988). Ultimately, the interests of the Williams community and the Kaibab National Forest's decision outweighed Hopi religious claims to Bill Williams Mountain. However, despite the green light for development of the ski area expansion, the expansion dealt with in the EIS never materialized (Kaibab National Forest 2000).

The Havasupai and the Canyon Uranium Mine

Like the controversy surrounding the Bill Williams Ski Area expansion, conflicts arose surrounding a proposed uranium mine near Red Butte, south of Tusayan, an area

considered culturally significant by the Havasupai. The Havasupai believed their rights to practice their religion, under the First Amendment and AIRFA, would be violated by the development of a mine in an area of religious significance, as the Hopi did during the Bill Williams Mountain ski area expansion. However, unlike the ski area case, in which the significance of Bill Williams Mountain to the Hopi was unquestioned, the Havasupai came under fire for their reticence regarding the specific role of Red Butte in their religious beliefs.

In 1984, Energy Fuels Nuclear (EFN) submitted a proposal to the Kaibab National Forest to develop a uranium mine at an area north of Red Butte. Havasupai Director of Natural and Cultural Resources Department and former tribal council member Roland Manakaja states that, as he understands the history of the event, EFN discovered the presence of uranium ore near Red Butte by examining the work of graduate geology students at nearby Northern Arizona University (personal communication 2003). EFN proposed to ship the ore from the mine to a plant in Blanding, Utah for processing. EFN made their claim under the 1872 General Mining Law. Larry Lesko has pointed out that the mine development was difficult to avoid. In essence, the Kaibab could not refuse to allow EFN to develop its claim without substantial evidence of probable major negative impacts. However, forest staff could try to mitigate the impacts of the mine as best they could; Lesko says this was the intention of Dennis Lund and Tom Gillett, who oversaw the project development.

The Havasupai commented on the mine, discussing their environmental, economic, and religious concerns, writing,

We reject the claim of EFN's water sampling company that their water monitoring plan is sufficiently statistically valid . . . While implementation of the

proposed operating plan may well result in predicted profits for the mining company, implementation would also result in substantial economic costs to our Tribal economy, Arizona businesses and the Tribal, State, and Federal governments . . . Our Tribal economy is based primarily on tourism. Tourists who brave the 8-mile hike or horse-ride down into our beautiful little canyon are, in the main, strong environmentalists – the segment of the market most sensitive to avoiding environmental risks such as radiation pollution. These people will simply stop visiting us if they develop a perception that environmental risks of doing so are increased . . .

The process by which the determination has been made that substantial religious and cultural resources will not be endangered or destroyed in the immediate area affected by the proposed operating plan is faulty. No appropriate Tribal members were consulted by the Forest Service about this issue other than the Tribal Chairman. Other members of the Tribal Council and important Tribal cultural and religious leaders have been neither informed nor consulted about the proposed operating plan. Hopis tell us the same thing . . . We have several other complaints about the process by which the Forest Service has ignored the substantial adverse impacts to cultural and religious resources that would be caused by implementation of the proposed operating plan, impacts that you have consequently failed to try to mitigate, but we do not know how to express these complaints adequately. We have hired the Tonantzin Land Institute, of Albuquerque, to help us express these concerns in a way that will be more helpful to you to use in planning to mitigate adverse impacts.

Kaibab National Forest filed the final EIS with the EPA in September 1986 and distributed copies to the public. The final EIS included some additions that reflected the strong concerns of American Indian groups; the EIS listed these concerns as a major issue. The final EIS also discussed the mine's possible impacts on groundwater in greater detail. However, the EIS did conclude that the mine development would not significantly impact the environment, and that impacts would be small and localized to the mine site.

Between October and November 1986, the Forest Supervisor received twelve appeals of the decision to go forward with the mine, as well as five requests for a stay of implementation. Both the Havasupai and the Hopi tribes filed appeals. The Deputy Regional Forester decided to allow EFN to begin surface development of the mine site in

November 1986, but decided to postpone subsurface development of the mine pending expected appeals. In August 1987, the Regional Forester affirmed the Kaibab's decision to allow the Canyon Mine operations to proceed. This decision was appealed to the Chief of the Forest Service, who affirmed the Regional Forester's decision in January 1988.

After the Chief's decision, the Havasupai Tribe filed a suit against the Forest Service and EFN in District Court in Arizona. The Court granted the tribe a temporary injunction against mining activities until the Court could decide the merits of the case. In the suit, the Havasupai claimed that the Forest Service violated the tribe's First Amendment rights of free exercise of religion, that the Forest Service and EFN violated the tribe's rights of aboriginal access to the mine site, that the Forest Service breached its fiduciary duties to the tribe by failing to protect the tribe's rights of access, and that the Forest Service generated a deficient EIS that did not comply with NEPA.

The Havasupai protests of the mine generated much public debate. One issue for the Forest Service in allowing the mine to proceed concerned the initial reluctance of the Havasupai to divulge the exact nature and significance of the mine site to their religious beliefs. The Havasupai did not reveal their specific ties to the Red Butte area until the time of the mine controversy, which many people, according to Larry Lesko, took as evidence that Havasupai representatives had perhaps fabricated the claim of religious significance.

EFN subsequently hired Dr. Robert Euler, an anthropologist who had worked extensively with the Havasupai and was considered to be an authority on Havasupai culture. Dr. Euler asserted that the mine site had no significance to the Havasupai. However, as Lesko points out, tribes often do not share information about their religious

practices with anthropologists; this may have been the case with Euler and the Havasupai. Roland Manakaja agrees. He says that discussing certain ritual information is taboo for Havasupai people, unless the individual is a medicine person. Manakaja also says that certain families keep information about specific places. Manakaja states that Havasupai people retain information about the Red Butte area, but have not documented their knowledge so “it can’t be exploited by anthropologists and archaeologists.”

The Havasupai encounter with Dr. Euler epitomizes some of the tension that has existed between anthropologists and American Indians. American Indians sometimes find statements of anthropological authority ludicrous. The distinguished Lakota scholar and activist Vine Deloria (1969:83) has bemoaned the “problem” of anthropologists, stating, “. . . Indians have been cursed above all other people in history. Indians have anthropologists.” Deloria (1969:85) questioned the validity and utility of anthropological study, writing, “. . . the anthropologist is only out on the reservations to VERIFY what he has expected all along—Indians are a very quaint people who bear watching.” Unsurprisingly, Havasupai suspicions of anthropologists persist, especially after the Canyon Mine experience.

One particularly contentious letter to several Western newspapers by former Congressman Teno Roncalio of Wyoming also voiced concern about the Havasupai reluctance to divulge ritual information. Roncalio had previously chaired the House subcommittee on Indian Affairs and Public Lands and was a member of the Interior Committee that had helped develop the Grand Canyon Enlargement Act, which expanded the Havasupai Tribe’s reservation from 516 acres to 185,000 acres (Roncalio 1988a). Roncalio (1988a) wrote,

One of the considerations in establishing the new reservation boundaries was the presence of important religious and cultural sites. The mine site now claimed to be essential to the survival of the religion and culture of the Tribe was never mentioned as a part of the deliberations . . . I would have expected the Tribe to have identified it on the maps presented to the Committee and to have included it in the lands being sought by the Tribe in the Bill. But the Tribe did neither . . . Having failed to identify the site, either to the Indian Claims Commission in early years or to Congress in 1973-1975 as a part of the deliberations on S.1296, it is my belief that the Tribe never had an interest in this site, let alone a legal right . . . Energy Fuels Nuclear has tried many times and ways to settle this dispute and each time has been rebuffed. The tragedy of this situation is underscored by the fact that many members of the Tribe would like jobs at the mine, but have been told to remain silent. This Tribe is economically depressed and now is devoting almost all of its limited resources to a groundless and invalid religious claim.

Roncalio, who served as an occasional consultant to EFN after he left Congress, also discussed EFN's integrity and past environmental record at length (Roncalio 1988b).

The Havasupai formally addressed the concerns about their previous failure to disclose the nature of the significance of the Red Butte area when their lawyer filed an affidavit submitted by four Havasupai tribal members in 1986, as a part of the Record of Appeal, to the Deputy Regional Forester for consideration. The affidavit discussed the nature of the Havasupai religion and implied Dr. Euler was not an "expert" on Havasupai religion, stating, "There are no 'Experts' on Havasupai religion who are not Havasupai. Even those who have spent years with us are not experts. Sometimes they know little. Sometimes they know nothing. No one who is not a Havasupai is an expert."

In 1990, the U.S. District Court ruled for the Chief of the Forest Service and EFN on all counts. In May 1991, the Havasupai Tribe appealed the decision. The Havasupai case largely reinforced its original points, and also asserted that the District Court erred by limiting judicial review to the administrative record filed by the Forest Service.

In August 1991, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit sided with the Forest Service, again on all counts. The Court discussed the Indian Claims Commission

payments to the Havasupai for wrongfully taken land in 1969, which terminated aboriginal title to the land. The Court also held that the Forest Service had adequately developed the Canyon Mine EIS, and that the previous decision to bar discovery outside the Forest Service administrative records was sound, as the tribe had not shown the Chief of the Forest Service had acted in bad faith or used materials outside the administrative record in his decision.

Early on, the Havasupai had made clear their intention to take their case all the way to the Supreme Court, if necessary. In 1992, the Havasupai fulfilled their promise. In January 1992, the Havasupai Tribe filed a petition with the U.S. Supreme Court to consider the Ninth Circuit Court's decision. In March 1992, the Supreme Court let the previous courts' decisions stand, a painful defeat for the Havasupai.

Though the courts gave EFN permission to proceed with Canyon Mine development, the mine site has never been developed aside from the surface component completed in the 1980s. With the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the worldwide market became flooded with uranium, driving its price down significantly (Schill 1992). Consequently, EFN determined operating the mine would be unprofitable. However, under the 1872 General Mining Law, claim holders never need to develop claims. The mine site lies dormant, overseen by a caretaker, and could begin operating if the uranium market should become profitable again (Schill 1992). Roland Manakaja has reiterated continuing Havasupai concern over the possible Canyon Mine development.

Recognition of Need for a New Direction: 1986

The controversy over the Bill Williams Ski Area and the Canyon Mine cases, along with several large shifts that began to take place at a national level, helped usher in a new era for the Kaibab. Kaibab staff began to recognize the need to change the nature of its relationships with American Indians. During this time, Dr. Cartledge left the Kaibab to work at the Santa Fe National Forest and Dr. John Hanson became the Kaibab's new Forest Archaeologist.

After the tumultuous events of the mid-1980s, changes in staff and the acknowledgment that past dealings were distressing and unproductive led to a new approach. Beginning in late 1980s, the Kaibab National Forest's Heritage Resources team began to take primary responsibility for facilitating consultation with tribes. Shifts in attitudes and in dealings with American Indian tribes came largely from the efforts of two members of the Heritage team: Forest Archaeologist Dr. John Hanson and his assistant, archaeologist Larry Lesko.

Both realized the deep historical connection between the local American Indian groups and lands the Kaibab managed, and believed previous forest actions had wronged local tribes. According to Hanson and Lesko (personal communications 2002), they began to take over the duties for consultation during this period, and began to work toward building relationships between the Kaibab and its neighboring tribes.

Lesko says that one early obstacle Heritage staff faced in contacting tribes was that most tribes lacked people who could act as counterparts. Few tribes were equipped to formally consult with large federal agencies, and most did not have consultation-

oriented offices that could act as central points of contact in government-to-government dealings. Lesko feels the large Glen Canyon Cultural Resources Survey and Study, run by the Bureau of Reclamation and National Park Service in 1990 and 1991 to help prepare an EIS for the operation of Glen Canyon Dam, helped many tribes in the Grand Canyon area develop their capacities to work with federal agencies. Lesko thinks this came about largely from the efforts of other federal agencies that ran on a “parallel track” in working with local tribes. For example, Jan Balsom, of Grand Canyon National Park, tried to ensure that tribal groups received funding from the Glen Canyon project that was sufficient for tribes to adequately respond to project proposals. Since the mid- 1980s, local tribes have become more astute in dealing with federal consultation. By the end of the Glen Canyon project, many tribes had either set up cultural preservation offices or had developed procedures and designated liaisons to aid in the consultation process.

Human Remains and Repatriation

After Congress enacted NAGPRA in 1990, the Kaibab National Forest inventoried artifacts from forest lands housed at museums in the state, and found four sets of human remains. Three sets of human remains were housed at the Museum of Northern Arizona and one was housed at Northern Arizona University. One burial came from a 1938 excavation of Pittsberg Village, two were inadvertently discovered during cinder excavations in the 1970s, and the last burial had come to the surface as a result of burrowing by animals. The inventory did not locate any funerary or sacred objects from the Kaibab. Heritage staff solicited input from all the local potentially interested

American Indian tribes, including the Hopi, Zuni, Navajo, Havasupai, Hualapai, Paiute, Yavapai-Prescott, and Yavapai Apache.

The Hualapai, Hopi, and Havasupai tribes indicated interest in the human remains. However, the different groups expressed disagreement about the cultural affiliation of the human remains, each believing they were most closely affiliated with the prehistoric culture archaeologists call the Cohonina. After the groups expressed some reluctance to discuss matters of reburial in the presence of agency staff, Heritage leaders encouraged the tribes to work together to discuss and decide how the human remains should be handled. Heritage staff offered technical support and helped facilitate communication among the tribes as they worked out an agreement. The Heritage team recognized that the tribes shared one important goal: reburial. Despite their differences, the Havasupai, Hualapai, and Hopi representatives embraced an intertribal approach that sought to accommodate all their concerns. Each tribe recognized the affiliation they have with each other; the Havasupai and Hualapai, for example, consider themselves to be like cousins. According to Roland Manakaja, the Havasupai refer to the Hopi as “elder brother,” and the Hopi call the Havasupai “younger brother.” Recognizing these links, the three tribes decided the Hopi would take responsibility for the reburial of the remains, which were subsequently re-interred in 1999 as near to their original locations as possible.

In the early 1990s, work by the Museum of Northern Arizona (MNA) and Northern Arizona University (NAU) field school, as well as forest surveys near Sitgreaves Mountain revealed three cremation burials and associated artifacts. The Kaibab sent letters to all the consulting tribes and, as agreed early on, the Hualapai made

plans to rebury the cremations as near to their original locations as possible. Members of the Heritage team accompanied the Hualapai on field trips to the sites, and notified the other tribes after the Hualapai completed the reburials of the human remains and artifacts.

In 1996, researchers affiliated with NAU and MNA, under the direction of Dr. David Wilcox, applied for an Archaeological Resources Protection Act (ARPA) permit to conduct excavations for a field school at Cohonina sites on the Kaibab. Heritage staff solicited input from local potentially interested tribes. Several of these groups responded. The Havasupai expressed concern about the possible disturbance of burials by excavation, as did the Yavapai-Prescott. The Havasupai also questioned the utility of the excavations, wanting to know how the information would be relevant to them. Heritage staff made arrangements for Havasupai representatives to meet with the researchers so that both sides could discuss their concerns. American Indian tribal representatives and researchers met and worked out an agreement to allow excavations, with several procedural stipulations in case of inadvertent discovery of burials.

Establishment of a Tribal Liaison: A Formal Culture Broker

The Kaibab Heritage Program has received varying levels of support from Kaibab National Forest Supervisors since its inception. Dr. John Hanson describes the treatment of the Heritage Program for many years as “benign neglect.” It was with the strong support of the late Conny Frisch as Forest Supervisor that the Heritage Program’s efforts to develop better relationships with local American Indian communities became more formalized. Larry Lesko and Dr. John Hanson state that not all Kaibab leaders have been

comfortable with working closely with tribes, but Frisch was an exception. She worked with the Heritage team to help other Kaibab staff understand the importance of working with local tribes on a government-to-government basis. Frisch backed the Heritage team in their efforts to develop good communication with tribes. She also encouraged Kaibab staff to keep American Indian groups informed about projects of concern *before* projects were initiated, so that tribes could offer input and become involved in the decision making process early on.

In this spirit, the Heritage team formalized its commitment to this process by designating archaeologist Larry Lesko as the Kaibab National Forest's Tribal Liaison in 1998, with the support and encouragement of the Forest Leadership Team. Lesko acted as the central point of contact for American Indian people to access the Kaibab National Forest system. Lesko also became a consistent figure, along with Hanson, in consultations with tribes, allowing for the development of personal as well as professional relationships with tribal personnel that ensured consistency. Lesko worked as a formal culture broker between the Kaibab and American Indian tribes, acting as a conduit for both groups.

Effective Formal Tools of Cultural Brokerage: Memoranda of Understanding

Memoranda of Understanding (MOUs) have become important and pioneering tools in furthering Kaibab National Forest-American Indian relationships. In 1999, the Kaibab became the first federal land-managing agency to develop a consultation MOU with the Hopi Tribe. The Kaibab National Forest and the Hopi developed the MOU, as

stated in the MOU itself, “to formalize the relationship between the Hopi and the Kaibab National Forest that has existed on an informal basis since 1986.”

The Kaibab Heritage team believes MOUs are excellent tools to formalize each government’s responsibilities towards one another. According to Dr. Hanson, the Kaibab attempts to loosely structure MOUs to set out expectations and procedures, while allowing sufficient flexibility for both parties to retain creativity in their dealings. Currently, the Kaibab has signed MOUs with the Hopi, Havasupai, and Kaibab Paiute tribes. The Kaibab and the Hualapai Tribe are currently negotiating an MOU. The Southwest Region of the Forest Service is also working to develop a region-wide MOU with the Navajo Nation, as the Navajo Nation spans a large area covering multiple states.

Important components of responsibilities of Kaibab National Forest in the MOUs include:

- Regular meetings to discuss plans for upcoming forest projects
- Maintaining confidential information about areas of importance to tribes
- Allowing access for tribal members to areas of special importance, including conducting ceremonies and gathering of traditional plants
- Providing technical support in areas of forest expertise for tribal projects, such as timber and range management
- Working with tribes to maintain natural resources of importance to tribes
- Delivering Heritage resources reports to tribes, as requested
- Not permitting intentional excavation of human remains for research or educational purposes

- Procedures for notifying tribes in the case of inadvertent discovery of human remains and for determining their proper disposition
- Keeping tribes apprised of applications to the forest for ARPA permits
- Facilitating communications between tribes and other state and federal agencies when appropriate
- Asking researchers to contact tribes directly when conducting research concerning those tribes

Important components of American Indian tribes' responsibilities in the MOUs include:

- Designation of a liaison to work with Kaibab National Forest
- Working through the liaison to identify issues and locations of concern to the tribe, and locating specific places cooperatively with the Kaibab's Tribal Liaison
- Assisting Kaibab National Forest in developing interpretive and educational materials as they relate to each tribe

Each MOU stipulates representatives from the Kaibab and each tribe will work together to schedule regular meetings to discuss issues of concern. Each MOU also contains a list of mutually agreed upon areas of cultural interest for the particular tribe and the Kaibab, and a stipulation that the Kaibab and each tribe work together to make sure these topics are addressed in archaeological projects conducted by the forest.

Resurgence of Proposal for Ski Area Expansion: Setbacks and More Lessons Learned

In February 1997, Alpine Recreation Company, LLC proposed a new expansion of the Bill Williams ski area. Despite the 1988 decision that the first proposed expansion could proceed, the expansion never took place due to lack of funds. The Kaibab, recalling the turmoil the previous expansion had created, acted early to try and engage concerned tribes in finding ways to allow the ski area expansion, while protecting tribal interests and acknowledging the importance of the mountain. Kaibab officials made a visit to the Hopi Tribe's headquarters in 1996 to discuss the new proposal. The proceedings were heavily overshadowed by recent events at Woodruff Butte, another Hopi boundary marker with associated ceremonial responsibilities. A private landowner had recently mined Woodruff Butte for gravel for an I-40 highway expansion; much of the top of the butte had been bulldozed despite Hopi efforts to block development. Having witnessed the destruction of another important part of their ancestral landscape, the Hopi projected a sad mood palpable to Kaibab staff. Hopi tribal members and staff from the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office (HCPO) expressed a desire to work with the forest, but also discussed the changes in attitudes brought about by the incident at Woodruff Butte that could affect their dealings with several agencies. Both groups agreed to continue correspondence on the subject.

In November 1997, the Kaibab National Forest published its intent to prepare an EIS for the ski area expansion in the Federal Register. In January 1998, the Kaibab, the HCPO, members of the Hopi Cultural Resources Advisory Team (CRAT), and members of the Hopi Tribe's Vice Chairman's office met to discuss the proposed ski area

expansion. In July 1998, Heritage staff organized a field trip to Bill Williams Mountain. Larry Lesko and John Hanson organized the trip, which was attended by leaders of Alpine Recreation Company and local American Indian tribes. Havasupai and Hopi representatives discussed the importance of the landscape to each group and expressed a desire to preserve the landscape as much as possible. The trip also allowed the tribes to discuss their concerns face to face with the expansion proponent.

In late 1999, the Kaibab released the DEIS for the proposed expansion. The 1999 DEIS gave much more weight to American Indian values and concerns about development than the 1985 DEIS for the proposed ski area expansion. The Heritage resources clearance, written by Larry Lesko in 1997, also dealt much more with the intangible value of the mountain for local American Indian groups than the previous cultural resources clearances for the area. Lesko's 1997 report demonstrated the clear shift in attitudes about the different ways American Indian groups ascribe cultural value to geographic locations. Lesko supported the 1985 Hopi statement that Bill Williams Mountain has cultural value that may not be visible to archaeologists or land managers, but that is very real to local American Indian people.

Kaibab staff and Hopi representatives engaged in discussions of various strategies to mitigate the impacts of the ski area expansion. The groups developed a list of mitigation measures. Heritage staff also worked to ensure that all stakeholders would participate in cooperative efforts aimed at mitigating the potential impacts of the development. Hopi representatives and Alpine Recreation Company (ARC) agreed to establish a respectful partnership based on reciprocity, trust, honesty, and dialogue. According to Heritage notes, this partnership would be founded on several agreements

including 1) ARC would deliver timber to the Hopi, 2) ARC would offer employment opportunities to Hopi tribal members, 3) ARC and the Hopi Tribe would continue to work to formalize their partnership, 4) ski programs would be made available to school children, and 5) ARC would provide space for American Indians to sell their art work during summers. Heritage files also stated that partnership efforts with the Hopi were already underway, including the re-routing of trails to avoid Hopi religious sites.

The DEIS included projections of the visual impacts of the expanded ski area. The visuals surprised both Heritage staff and the Hopi representatives. The Hopi thought the visual impacts were excessive, as the drastic changes depicted by the visuals had not been anticipated. In February 2000, the Hopi Tribe sent a formal comment letter asking the Kaibab National Forest not to expand the ski area. The letter, authored by the HCPO and signed by the Tribal Chairman, incorporated several previous statements from earlier Hopi protests against ski area expansion. The letter reiterated the past Hopi objections to development on Bill Williams Mountain, discussed the mountain's continuing religious importance to the Hopi people, asserted the status of the Hopi Tribe as a sovereign government, questioned the viability of supporting more skiing opportunities in Arizona, and stated the objections of the Hopi villages to development, despite previous efforts of the HCPO to allow limited development. The letter also stated, "The Hopi Tribe respectfully requests that officials of Kaibab National Forest comply fully with both the National Environmental Protection [sic] Act and the National Historic Preservation Act and complete the National Register nomination for [Bill Williams Mountain] before the final *Environmental Impact Statement Regarding the Expansion of the Williams Ski Area.*"

In 1999, Larry Lesko drafted an eligibility determination for the National Register for Bill Williams Mountain. Lesko based the determination upon information already in the public record that concerned Bill Williams Mountain that the Kaibab had received during the first proposed expansion in the 1980s.

Later, Leigh Kuwanwisiwma, director of the HCPO, acknowledged the work the Kaibab and the HCPO had done to mitigate the impacts of the ski expansion (personal communication 2002). However, Kuwanwisiwma discussed the Hopi Tribe's decision to request no development in 2000 as consistent with previous Hopi actions.

Kuwanwisiwma expressed some personal conflict over the decision, but said he felt he needed to honor Hopi beliefs and previous actions. In the case of the ski area on Bill Williams, Kuwanwisiwma pointed out that the Hopi had previously advocated the complete removal of all ski facilities on Bill Williams Mountain.

The conflict over the second expansion proposal had a profound effect on both Kaibab and HCPO staff. According to Dr. John Hanson, the Kaibab learned much from the failed proposal. Most importantly, Dr. Hanson felt the Kaibab did not realize that dealing with the HCPO did not always constitute adequate consultation. The HCPO's willingness to work with Kaibab officials to develop mitigation plans did not necessarily reflect other Hopi people's continuing concerns about any development on Bill Williams Mountain. Hanson also believes the HCPO learned from the experience to work more openly with Heritage staff to avoid surprises that could affect the good faith relationship between the two groups. Kaibab and HCPO staff eventually met following the submission of the Hopi letter protesting development and discussed the events surrounding the expansion proposal. Both groups discussed how they could have worked

better together, and how future work should proceed. The Kaibab and the Hopi, as a result, were able to move forward and work together productively again, though the ski area events did serve as a "reality check," according to Hanson.

What the Kaibab has Learned: Keys to Successful Relationships

The Kaibab's successful work with local American Indian groups includes several components.

- Government-to-government relations and broad participation

Government-to-government relations are a foundation of the concept of sovereignty and of self-determination for American Indians. Larry Lesko points out that American Indian tribes do not want to deal with lower agency staff; tribes want to ensure they are truly being consulted as governments. With this in mind, Heritage staff have worked to bring Kaibab National Forest line officers into regular contacts with tribes. According to Hanson, many of the line officers have taken very well to this procedure and enjoy the learning process and change of routine.

- Honesty

Hanson and Lesko both state that a good working relationship does not include patronizing agreements, but real honesty. Often, they say, this means saying "no," when plans are not feasible. Hanson and Lesko say that trust can only come from such honesty, so that all participants in the discussion understand exactly where they stand.

- Consistency and follow-through

Heritage staff and several American Indian people who have worked with the Kaibab over the years agree that consistency is a critical component in building trust in relationships. Constant turnover and dealing with too many different people can disrupt contacts. Angie Bullets, of the Kaibab Band of Paiute Indians, noted that the consistency of Larry Lesko and John Hanson was very helpful in working with the Kaibab (personal communication 2002). Roland Manakaja, of the Havasupai Tribe, has repeatedly stressed consistency in federal agencies. Manakaja says the Kaibab's efforts have been successful and sincere, stating, "I know John [Hanson] and Larry [Lesko] like my own two thumbs" (personal communication 2003).

Kaibab staff have also learned that one official letter asking for comment is inadequate. Heritage staff have found extensive follow-up in the form of phone calls and especially face-to-face meetings are more successful than a dry letter requesting comment. Heritage staff have also learned that tribes need ample time to return contacts, especially as some tribes may not have the infrastructure necessary to quickly respond to solicitations for comment.

- Recognition of the need to look at cultural preservation broadly

Lesko and Hanson also suggest that federal agencies need to look beyond the concept of cultural resources in working with local tribes; agencies should also deal with the "secular" issues that face their American Indian neighbors. Agencies should look at economic and community development, in addition to issues of cultural heritage.

Lesko's approach to this idea has been to have others in the agency "put him out of a

job.” In other words, tribes should have good relationships with every section of the agency, from timber, to range, to Heritage resources.

As a partner in land stewardship, the Kaibab has realized the importance of contributing, whenever possible, to the economic viability of its tribal neighbors, as well as honoring its responsibilities to respect the cultural significance of different parts of the land. Larry Lesko states that the Forest Service’s Multiple Use mission can be a tool for building constructive and supportive relationships with American Indian groups.

As a part of this philosophy, the Heritage team has worked as part of a cooperative effort to develop a program to provide timber for local Navajo chapters to build hogans. The Kaibab has also developed strategies to provide fuel wood permits to local chapter houses, so that Navajo residents do not have to travel all the way from the reservation to the district offices in Tusayan or Fredonia to obtain permits. The Kaibab has worked to improve opportunities for job training and employment among its tribal neighbors. The Kaibab has also worked with both the Kaibab Paiute and the Havasupai tribes to help obtain federal assistance as rural development communities.

Recently, the Kaibab has streamlined the process for American Indian individuals interested in obtaining various permits to use forest resources. Heritage staff have helped secure hunting permits for Kaibab Paiute tribal members and permits for ceremonial plant gathering for Navajo individuals.

- Reciprocity

The focus on the concept of reciprocity for the Hopi, as well as other American Indians, has strengthened during recent years (e.g., Vasquez et al. 1994). In this spirit, the Kaibab has worked to provide services for American Indian groups when services

have been requested from these groups. For example, the Kaibab worked with the Alpine Consultants, who own the ski area facilities on Bill Williams Mountain, to provide timber for the construction and maintenance of kivas and other structures for the Hopi. This idea was first put forth during discussions about the second possible ski area expansion on Bill Williams Mountain. Kaibab National Forest provides technical services, when requested, to its tribal neighbors in a variety of areas, some of which have been discussed above. In addition, the Heritage team has supplied technical support to the Yavapai-Prescott, the Hualapai, and the Havasupai to develop and strengthen heritage preservation programs and techniques for curation of artifacts. All the Kaibab's MOUs have also set out responsibilities for both the Kaibab AND each tribe, and so have laid the groundwork for truly reciprocal relationships.

- “Walking the Land Together”

John Hanson and Larry Lesko developed the concept of “Walking the Land Together” to describe how the Kaibab envisions its work with its American Indian neighbors: literally, walking and sharing the land. This vision includes dedication to respecting different worldviews. Heritage staff recognize the different but important American Indian views of the land. Heritage staff routinely organize group field trips to areas of interest to local American Indian tribes. The Heritage team has coordinated field trips to places like Bill Williams Mountain, Kendrick Mountain, Red Butte, several local rock art sites, and has encouraged American Indian participation in volunteer projects. Larry Lesko says that field trips to rock art sites provide excellent settings for dialogue. According to Lesko, these sites are generally not threatened in any way, so concerns about preservation are not often an issue. Rock art sites can serve to draw out several

interpretations from different tribes—almost, he says, like a “Rorschach test.” These trips help all groups involved reconnect to the land itself in a shared experience.

The Kaibab also works to realize the importance of the different but considerable ways local American Indian tribes are connected with forest lands, and to protect lands important to the tribes based on these values. For example, the Kaibab participated in a land exchange to acquire a parcel of land near Bill Williams Mountain that the Hopi view as significant. The Kaibab National Forest then solicited input about how the area should be managed, through the HCPO. Heritage staff organized a field trip to the area as a part of this process. As a result, the Hopi were able to help determine future management of important aboriginal lands. Kaibab Heritage staff also partnered with the Kaibab Paiute and the Hopi to develop and interpret the Snake Gulch rock art area, with grant support from the Kane Ranch, who held grazing permits in the area.

Dr. John Hanson and Larry Lesko also emphasize that cooperation in locating places of interest to American Indian tribes builds trust. Hanson and Lesko (1997) write, “. . . the tribes we deal with regularly link their oral tradition with specific places on the landscape. They often try to find special places like shrines or old collecting areas that have been lost during decades of contact with the dominant society. Forest employees often have valuable knowledge of places and plant distribution that can help tribes in their quests.”

Recognition, Progress, and the Future

Kaibab staff and American Indian representatives agree that much progress has been made since the 1980s. In 1999, Larry Lesko, John Hanson, and Conny Frisch received the Hopi Tribe's Cultural Awareness Award. In 2000, Kaibab National Forest's Heritage program was recognized as a Re-Invention Lab for tribal relations, for "demonstrating innovative approaches to fostering respectful and mutually beneficial government-to-government relationships with tribal neighbors." In 2002, the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office nominated Dr. John Hanson for an Arizona Heritage Preservation Honor Award, citing his work to develop an MOU with the Hopi Tribe and his long career dedicated to preservation. The nomination also recognized the efforts of former Tribal Liaison Larry Lesko and former Kaibab Forest Supervisor Conny Frisch. In 2003, Forest Archaeologist John Hanson and Tribal Liaison Melissa Schroeder won this award.

However, Kaibab Heritage staff and tribal representatives alike express the belief that more work remains to be done. For example, Angie Bullets, a Kaibab Paiute member who worked for the tribe for several years before becoming the Technical Services Branch Leader of the North Kaibab Ranger District, expresses the hope that Heritage staff will work to engage in more ethnography by working with tribal elders. She feels the Kaibab has made some good progress over the years, but still can develop its relationship with the Paiute further.

Larry Lesko left the Kaibab in 2001 to work with the Forest Service's National Headquarters in Washington, D.C. The Kaibab National Forest's second Tribal Liaison,

Melissa Schroeder, continues to build upon the program John Hanson and Larry Lesko, with the support of the Kaibab staff, have developed. Though he acknowledges the progressive and inclusive strategy the Kaibab has employed in the past decades, Lesko feels the forest can continue to streamline the consultation process even further to work more cooperatively with American Indian groups, as he feels the Jemez Ranger District of the Santa Fe National Forest has done in their work with Jemez Pueblo. Lesko hopes support for the philosophy of building relationships with American Indian neighbors will continue to increase among all regions of the Forest Service system.

The Kaibab's encounters with American Indians have demonstrated that, even after laws have changed to consider the input of American Indians, these laws still leave much room for interpretation and often do not require federal agencies to protect tribal interests, but only to consider them. As a result, work with local tribes on issues of concern can become an act of faith for both parties.

As Prucha (1987:55) has pointed out, the paternalistic nature of the U.S. Government's American Indian policies can be seen to live in on in many ways, even after laws have shifted to increase American Indian sovereignty. Legislation enacted to protect American Indian rights on federal lands, such as AIRFA, has often been ineffectual, leading courts to nullify perceived protections for American Indians in the face of other more politically and economically powerful interests. American Indian governments are recognized as sovereign, but are seen as sovereign *dependent* nations; this language again emphasizes the uneven relationship between the U.S. Government and American Indian tribes. However, the recent trends toward recognizing the connections and rights of American Indians to public lands and to the material remains of

their ancestors is, I think, proof of a changing attitude toward American Indian policy in the federal government. However, the burden to work beyond the limits of federal legislation currently rests with individual government employees and agencies. Fortunately, the culturally relative perspective and the understanding of financial and political marginality uniquely suits the Heritage Program to broker understanding between the National Forest and American Indians.

Though the way the U.S. Government deals with American Indians still can be mired in bureaucracy and antiquated attitudes, the efforts of the Kaibab and its American Indian neighbors toward forming honest and productive relationships are encouraging. The Kaibab and its neighbors have formed a vision and established a pragmatic means for effecting change in the way consultations and stewardship now proceed. Their efforts are a testament to both a changing national attitude toward American Indians, but also to the efficacy of individuals and groups who wish to change an entrenched and cumbersome national system at a local level. Both the Kaibab National Forest and its American Indian neighbors have attempted to emphasize human relationships and work together as partners, rather than adversaries. As Hanson and Lesko (1997) point out,

Sharing stewardship responsibilities with the tribes is an important concept. The tribes are committed to this place for the long term. Even if the Forest Service manages the land effectively now, the tribes feel they have a sacred trust to ensure that the land is managed well for future generations. We have been told, 'You are the caretakers of this land right now, but we are the spiritual caretakers; we must work together so the land may sustain all of us.'

Both Kaibab staff and local American Indian people express optimism about their future endeavors together. Despite a legacy of contentious encounters and misunderstandings, people from both groups realize the potential to work beyond past troubles to build a better future. Much direction can be taken from Roland Manakaja's

recent declaration, “We are not the people who signed the treaties to give up our aboriginal lands, and the people in the government are also different people. We are new generations . . . We need to manage these resources in the Indian way *and* the government way.”

Chapter 6

The Kaibab National Forest's Heritage Resources Program as a Model

After working with the Kaibab's Heritage team and examining the way members carry out their duties, I think the Heritage team can serve as a model for other agencies. The Heritage Program, as a result of its pragmatic orientation and its propensity to examine other occupational and public cultures holistically, operates with surprising effectiveness.

The Heritage staff, as a group, display considerable skill as civil servants that can work effectively within federal bureaucracy. They apply and interpret historic preservation legislation using strategies that promote Heritage resource protection, while allowing crucial forest projects to proceed at a reasonable pace so that resource evaluation can proceed early and dictate how projects develop, rather than the other way around. The Kaibab's Heritage team members have a good understanding of the intricacies of federal laws, and have worked with several groups, including the Arizona SHPO, to develop a pragmatic and innovative approach.

The Kaibab's Heritage Program is goal-oriented. They aim to avoid backlog, to assess and evaluate projects, and to move appropriate projects forward. However, the goals of the Kaibab's Heritage Program ultimately concern people. Heritage staff understand that high-quality and timely work influences how they relate to individual people as well as groups. Their relativistic, pragmatic, and experiential approach proves an effective strategy toward this end. The Heritage crew recognizes that their image as cooperative, reliable, and efficient will affect how other forest employees treat Heritage

programs; they have set up a system of reciprocity. The Heritage staff members hold a similar philosophy when working with groups and organizations outside the Kaibab, and try to incorporate these publics into Heritage goals.

The pragmatic, long-term vision of the Kaibab's Heritage team can serve as a good model for other cultural resources management programs, especially for programs operating within federal agencies. Cultural resource managers who deal with competing interests must make informed decisions about how to interact with these different groups, and informed decisions can come from a broad and long-term vision of resource management.

Though such a vision often emanates from cultural resource management program leaders, as with the Kaibab, core values also can exist at the crew/technician level, as these people often carry out the day-to-day work of such programs. As Simon (1947:2-3, quoted in Kaufman 1960:3) has stated, "The actual physical task of carrying out an organization's objectives falls to the persons at the lowest level of the administrative hierarchy."

The Kaibab's Heritage team's strategy to work effectively with people embraces an ideal of a cooperative, rather than adversarial, approach. Considering the vast number of resources it manages—over 8,000 at last count—such an approach is not only sound, but also necessary to the continued preservation and consideration of cultural resources.

Though the Kaibab's Heritage Resources Program exists as a work in progress, I think it can serve as a model of how cultural resources management in public agencies should proceed. The Heritage staff recognize their roles as culture brokers and work effectively with the many publics to whom they are responsible. Heritage Program staff

at the Kaibab National Forest are certainly not unique in their dual responsibilities as archaeologists and culture brokers. Archaeologists are increasingly called upon to interact effectively among a variety of groups. The need to interact with a multitude of groups has important implications for the training and education of archaeologists. As archaeologists increasingly negotiate a variety of contexts and duties in their work, education and training need to prepare students for these challenges. Training for work in federal archaeology should include a combination of practical field skills, understanding of laws governing cultural resources management in the United States, and a working understanding of the tools and techniques of applied anthropologists. Fortunately, several training programs have developed to meet these challenges; my coursework at NAU helped me immensely over the course of the internship. I hope this trend toward training students for these challenges will continue.

Some of the concepts that the Kaibab staff use particularly in reference to their relationships with American Indians permeates work with all the Kaibab publics: “trust”, “honesty”, “reciprocity” and “partnership.” Such guiding principles encourage reciprocal and responsible behavior among the publics within and outside the forest. Rather than acting as gatekeepers to exclusive knowledge, the Kaibab Heritage staff work to facilitate meaningful exchange among their publics, fostering a spirit of collective stewardship.

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