# INTERACTIONS OF AMERICAN INDIAN NATIONS AND ETHNIC GROUPS WITH THE NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

PREPARED BY

RICHARD C. HANES
Bureau of Land Management

And

RICHARD HANSIS
Washington State University

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Preface

The following report was prepared by University scientists through cooperative agreement, project science staff, or contractors as part of the ongoing efforts of the Interior Columbia Basin Ecosystem Management Project, co-managed by the U.S. Forest Service and the Bureau of Land Management. It was prepared for the express purpose of compiling information, reviewing available literature, researching topics related to ecosystems within the Interior Columbia Basin, or exploring relationships among biophysical and economic/social resources.

This report has been reviewed by agency scientists as part of the ongoing ecosystem project. The report may be cited within the primary products produced by the project or it may have served its purposes by furthering our understanding of complex resource issues within the Basin. This report may become the basis for scientific journal articles or technical reports by the USDA Forest Service or USDI Bureau of Land Management. The attached report has not been through all the steps appropriate to final publishing as either a scientific journal article or a technical report.

# Interactions of American Indian Nations and Ethnic Groups with the Natural Environment

**Richard C. Hanes**

Bureau of Land Management, Portland, OR

**Richard Hansis**

Washington State University, Vancouver, WA

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## *Introduction*

While the interior Columbia Basin has a relatively large number of American Indians, it has a smaller percentage of minorities than does the rest of the United States. However, painting the region with such a large brush misses the concentrations of Latinos (Hispanics) and American Indians in certain parts. of the region and the large numbers of Southeast Asians who use public lands but live outside the region. Significant qualitative differences exist between Indian peoples and ethnic groups on one hand and the dominant Euro-American society on the other. Distinct differences are also apparent between the nineteen Federally-recognized Indian nations and nonrecognized traditional communities and ethnic groups because of longtime use of and attachment to the land by the former. The types of uses of and values toward the land are both utilitarian and symbolic. The symbolic dimension is most represented by the Indian population while Latinos and the various Asian groups are more concerned with the extraction of resources to generate income or use for recreation; however, both dimensions characterize Indian and ethnic group interests.

## *Why These Groups Are Important to Ecosystem Management*

While absolute numbers of people living in the interior Columbia basin tell one story about the use of public lands, the whole story cannot be told without understanding the diversity in the population that dwells in or uses public lands there. Even knowing numbers of people in the different categories does not allow us to put flesh onto some bare bones; we need to be able to understand which people have claims to, presently make use of, and may utilize these lands in the future. Often overlooked in the discussions/arguments among competing interests and differing values over the major resources - forests, water, grazing land are Indian nations and ethnic minorities. Tribal governments have an increasing influence on the formulation of public land policy through legally established rights and privileges as well as the unique trust relationship with the United States government. Some

ethnic minorities and American Indians now have substantial effects on how public lands are presently used. Because of increasing numbers of ethnic minorities and growth of American Indian economic capabilities and political clout, they will have an increasing role in the formulation of public land policy. In addition to the 1994 executive order an environmental justice that addresses concerns of minority and low income populations (Executive Order 12898 1994), goodwill and ethics require that those who are sometimes without voice be given the opportunity to participate in decisions that affect their lives.

## *Where People Live*

The Latino population is concentrated in seven river basins.While the largest number live in the Yakima Valley from Ellensburg to the Tri-Cities in Washington, smaller but significant concentrations occur along the Snake River in Idaho, Oregon and Washington and in the Wenatchee, Washington area. Smaller numbers live in the Deschutes and Klamath basins in Oregon and around Elko and Winnemucca regions of Nevada. The relation of the Latino population to the major source of employment in irrigated agriculture is clear. Other ethnic minorities are relatively evenly spread throughout the basin. A few concentrations of Japanese-Americans, who are the largest contingent of Asians, have resulted from the internment camps of World War 11. The large number of Southeast Asian users come from the large urban areas west of the Cascades. The African-American population is small and does not use public lands even in proportion to its small numbers.

Prior to non-Indian arrival into the region, American Indian settlements were more pervasively distributed across the landscape throughout the region. Attachment to homelands and the landscape was well established. Because of the political autonomy of these individual settlements, the primary larger group self-identification of any permanence was based on linguistic distinctions. These include primarily Salishan, Sahaptin, Shoshonean, Kootenai, and Chinookan within the region. Even then, language differences did not serve as significant socio-cultural barriers between different settlements. Major population losses and relocation of groups to reservations in the 18th and 19th centuries resulted in more geographically isolated and distinct rural communities and the formation of political "tribes." These newly created entities are often composed of distinct linguistic groups relocated by the United States government onto common grounds away from their traditional homelands. Map 1 shows a distribution of reservations within the region. Population data and amount of lands controlled by tribes is provided in Table 1.

Table 2 presents data concerning population distribution by county for four categories. Maps 2-4 provide a graphic characterization of the distribution by census tract.

*Attachment to the Land Forms the Basis of Indian Interests*

The intense interest of the Indian population in the northern intermontane region is based on their long term spiritual attachment to the land. Although the various Indian societies in the region differ in many ways, they hold a common belief about their relationship with the land and water (see Dick 1990). All groups in the area stress the placement of their peoples in this landscape by the Creator. Thus, Indian ancestry in the region extends from "time immemorial." Such long term attachment is reflected in various aspects of Indian culture. For instance, Hunn (1990: 97) noted an extensive geographical terminology among the mid-Columbia River Sahaptins that "suggests a long period of stable residence on this stretch of river."

The Indian peoples of the northern intermontane are part of a large, loose social web strengthened by their shared experience of the Columbia River Basin and surrounding ecosystems (Hunn 1990: 3). The traditional subsistence economy is broad-based, including fishing, fowling, hunting, and gathering terrestrial and aquatic resources over very large geographic areas encompassing a diverse range of important places (Walker 1993: 146). The full range of resources needed to sustain lives and Indian culture was found each in its own specific niches. Consequently, Indian peoples have accrued a "detailed, encyclopedic knowledge of their environment" through the millenia. (Hunn 1990: 93). This expansive geographic perspective contrasts with many other populations who focus more on particular parts of the landscape (rivers, mountains, natural areas, timber products, grazing lands, etc.). Thus, the types of uses of and values toward the land are both utilitarian and symbolic, merged in an inseparable manner.

The length of attachment to the land and the totality of landscape importance has contributed a strong sense of place. These Sacred Lands of the Indian peoples and all natural components participate in a system of complex inter-relationships. As such, places of importance are created by an intersection of nature, social relations, and meaning. Sacredness is associated with supernatural power derived from the spirit world and sacred space is wherever spiritual energy resides. Landforms are attributed to creation during mythic times and contain spirits of creation figures and their descendents. Some spirits range freely across the landscape, whereas others reside at specific places. Knowledge of places, sacredness is passed through generations by oral traditions, performance of rituals and personal experiences. Fueled by religious intolerance, mockery and mimicry of beliefs, and loss of control over sacred places, a clandestine persistence has evolved when exclusiveness of such traditional knowledge became a cornerstone of relations with non-Indians. The importance of place is embedded in Indian culture as reflected in the languages which serve a "symbolic link" to the land and maintenance of

cultural identity. Place names relay traditional knowledge of land and resources.

The worldview of persons living within tribal communities with long-term traditional interests in the northern intermontane region poses a dramatic contrast to that of present-day economically dominant "White" culture of the Pacific Northwest as expressed through activities of the public agencies. In brief, traditional American Indian perceptions are that nature possesses a symbolic content more significant than the visible material content. Special insight is required to interpret nature's hidden symbols. This worldview has fundamental implications when addressing issues concerning lands and natural resources. Attachment to a traditional cosmological perspective is maintained and produces sacred emotional attachment to native plants and animals and to natural landform features. The belief that people are one of thousands of species in a single, common universal cosmological system is basic and contrasts dramatically to a detached science perspective currently supported by U.S. Federal agencies. In this sense, the Endangered Species Act is seen as invalid. Though the Act addresses management of habitats, it is often applied by agencies on an individual species basis rather than for the wellbeing of all.

A key element of American Indian spirituality is that all animals and plants in the ecosystem share with humankind intelligence and have moral rights and obligations, a perception labelled "animism" in European thought. Humans can change into animals and birds and vice versa. In this way species can communicate and learn from each other. This power extends to the inanimate as well, such as plants, rocks, and natural features (Spier 1930: 93) As Hunn (1990: 232) states, "Animism extends the moral benefits of human society to the entire local ecosystem...One's life literally depends upon maintaining whole this socio-ecological web ... Animism suggests a rather different view of the world of nature and of the human place." In a collective sense, Indian peoples consider themselves as guardians or custodians of the land, rather than owners.American Indians considered themselves privileged to be able to eat the traditional native foodstuffs and owe thanks to the spirits of the natural world for the variety and wealth of plants and animals.

The climate of the northern intermontane region varies considerably from the well-watered valleys of the Kutenai and Coeur d'Alene subsistence areas to the semi-arid high desert of Shoshonean country. In this diverse region, native plant and animal species have been utilized for millenia for food, medicine, shelter, craft production, firewood and fuel, commerce, and social and religious symbols. Today, as in the distant past, tribal members and tribal organizations hold considerable natural resource information in the form of "indigenous knowledge" (DeWalt 1994). Elders keep traditions alive through their practice and counsel to

the younger generations and sustenance and comfort are still provided for those who follow the traditional ways. Resource interest in wildlife and plants are briefly discussed below.

For many of the tribes, salmon and steelhead have played a central role in "terms of subsistence, survival, culture, religion, or social status" (Meyer 1983: 43; see also Hewes 1947, 1973; Hoover 1993). Salmon were utilized in many different forms with large quantities dried for storage and commerce (Schalk 1977, 1986; Rostlund 1952). Fishing also represents sport of the "highest order" with skillful fisherman receiving much social honor (Walker 1967, 1992). As with the other resources discussed below, the loss of these resources has resulted in the breakdown and loss of a vast amount of cultural knowledge and ritual.

Hunting is an important supplement to the traditional diets of many of the northern intermontane Indian communities, and serves a greater socio-cultural role. The taking of game animals is a rite of passage, a central ingredient in masculine identity. In the northern Great Basin, the principal large wildlife species were deer, pronghorn and bighorn sheep; in the Columbia Basin were also moose, elk, and bison and in several areas bears were hunted for meat as well as fur (Fowler 1986b: 79). Animals are considered powerful and can thus help or hinder a person's ability to progress through life. Thus, animals constitute a major class of spirits. The power to cure disease frequently comes from such animal spirits (Fowler 1986b: 96). Fish and wildlife laws are regarded with disdain by those who view the respectful taking of such animals as their natural, aboriginal right.

Though an abundant resource, the importance of native plant use to Indian peoples in the intermontane has received relatively little recognition by non-Indians when compared to fishing and hunting. However, cultural use of economically important plants is at least equal, if not greater, in importance than fisheries. For instance, food-plant resource occurrence, not salmonids, has been considered the critical variable for historically determining locations of settlements in the Nez Perce region (Ames and Marshall 1980: 27). Further west in the Columbia Plateau, Hunn (1980: 8) states that the bulk of "calories was no doubt provided by the abundant and varied edible roots." Similarly for the northern Great Basin, Fowler (1986b: 92) stated that a significant proportion of the diet was derived from plants and plant products.

Even though particular physiographic and botanical characteristics are common in much of the northern Great Basin and Columbia Plateau, actual plant utilization varies significantly. Basic categories of culturally used plants include roots, celeries, berries/fruits, and nuts. Industrial use also includes other floral types such as sedges and grasses. The term "root" is normally used to include "all underground storage organs" such as roots, tubers, bulbs, corms, rhizomes, etc. (Couture et. al 1986:

159)

Many native plants continue to be used for ceremonial, subsistence, commercial and medicinal purposes and for manufacturing of objects (e.g., baskets, cradleboards) for personal use or sale (see Fowler 1990, Schlick 1994, and Wilke 1988) . These traditional activities occur frequently out of sight of the public and with little knowledge by the land managers. Recent years have witnessed a renewed interest in plant use by many peoples in the region. Youngsters are being taught traditional ways and "root feasts" are held at some schools. Such a renewal is seen as socially rewarding and important for maintenance of traditional activities that provide continuity with the past and reaffirmation of Indian identity (Couture et. al 1986: 158). Traditional plant use reflects resilience and persistence, common themes in the intermontane region (see Hanes 1982).

Plants, like fish, are used commercially as well as for subsistence and ceremony. For instance, camas root in Coeur d'Alene country is normally abundant and a large surplus is gathered for trade (Walker 1973). Similarly, roots from the northern Great Basin are involved in an extensive trade network (Prouty 1994: 579). Cultural root plants have long been major trade items by the Harney Valley Paiute (Couture et. al 1986: 157).

*How Ethnic Minorities Use Public Lands*

It has only been during recent years that significant numbers, of nonIndian people of color have begun to use public lands. Barriers include both fear of being targets of the EuroAmerican population and the former's role in the economy. Latinas, drawn to the interior Columbia basin by jobs in irrigated agriculture, have begun to use public lands, especially national forests, both for income and recreation. First arriving in significant numbers through the bracero program of the 1940’s, few Mexicans settled permanently. Speaking only Spanish, confined to camps, working long hours during the harvest, and being returned to Mexico when the crop season ended afforded the braceros little opportunity for finding out that such things as national forests existed. When the bracero program began to come to an end in the late 1940's, Spanish speaking workers from the Rio Grande valley of Texas were recruited to fill needs for cheap, flexible agricultural labor. Most, working long hours and returning to their Texas homes after harvests ended in November, also had little chance to realize what recreation possibilities existed (Valle 1994). Little by little some of these migrant workers who journeyed with their families began to settle out in the 1950's and 1960's (Gamboa 1990). Increasing numbers of single workers began to come from Mexico in the 1970's first from northern and central Mexico and lately from southern Mexico. Some of these also began to "settle out", and thus to increase the numbers of Latinos permanently living in the

basin, especially in those areas where irrigated agriculture plays an important role in the economy.

As children of the first settled out migrants went to public schools, learned English, and entered jobs outside of agriculture, both knowledge and time available increased. Recreation has become more important. Some of this recreation involves large family outings to nearby parks, while increasing numbers of Latinos hunt, fish and camp an public lands. Numbers, though, are still well below their proportion of the population. As more and more first and second generation Latinos work outside agriculture, numbers of them using public lands for recreation will increase (Pfister 1993).

Public lands, rather than being used heavily for recreation by the Latino population, are utilized by large numbers who earn income in forestry related activities. As a hard working, low wage labor force and insecure in their jobs, they are being employed by labor contractors to reforest, prune, and thin trees. Displacing other local residents from these jobs because of their need to accept almost any wage offered, Latinos have suffered some hostility. Some contractors have taken advantage of the undocumented status of Latino workers and have paid them poorly, when at all, and have further undercut other labor (Nicholson 1994). Fire fighting has employed some Latinos, but it seems that full advantage has not been taken of this source of labor.

Another form of public land use by Latinos involves the harvest of special forest products. Huckleberry picking is beginning to serve some agricultural workers as a fill in source of income between the late spring/early summer harvests and the late summer/fall fruit and hop picking (Hansis 1995). Just as recent are the increasing numbers of young Latino men living in cities on the west side of the Cascades, many of whom appear to be hired by Southeast Asian small entrepreneurs to cut beargrass for the floral greens market. Examination of recent special forest product permit data shows a rapid increase in the -numbers of these harvesters (Hansis 1995). For these Latinos, harvesting these products seems to be like harvesting any agricultural product: a means to acquire money.

Southeast Asians, although a very small minority of the residents of the interior Columbia basin, have begun to use public lands for the harvesting of special forest products. Many, coming from the west side of the Cascades, are picking mushrooms and harvesting beargrass. Although seen as a source of income, the harvesting of some of these products may provide a backdrop for family and social cohesion. In some cases, whole families go to public lands, camp, pick beargrass and mushrooms, and socialize in extended kin networks (Richards 1994) . Recent arrangements for camping facilities on the Deschutes National Forest may be a model for public land management agencies (Yimsut 1994) . Other products,

such as medicinal plants, may become the next target for the Southeast Asians.

*Federal Indian Policy and Law Shapes Federal-Tribal Interaction*

For over two centuries, federal policy towards Indian peoples has vacillated between two conflicting themes: self-determination and assimilation. From initial non-Indian settlement of the east coast of North America prior to the existence of the United States, Indian peoples were recognized as sovereign and independent nations by European nations and functioned as such (Cohen 1971: 47). Spain established principles of Indian title and consent requirement as early as the 16th century and this continued to influence international law through the 18th century. The United States inherited from England the conflicting policies of recognition of Indian sovereignty within the context of "right of discovery" which gave title to the discoverer, but subject to the Indians' right of occupancy. The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 (1 Stat. 50) reaffirmed this recognition of sovereignty to tribal groups, and the U.S. Constitution acknowledged the sovereign status of Indian Tribes. A series of Indian trade and intercourse acts initiated in 1790 (1 Stat. 137) and permanently adopted in 1834, became the cornerstone of Federal Indian policy. A series of three Supreme Court decisions, referred to as the Marshall Trilogy, were ruled upon between 1823 and 1831. Established were the Discovery Doctrine in which only the federal government has preemptive right to procure Indian land; identification of the trust responsibility of the Federal government with Indian tribes having status of sovereign, domestic dependent nations who do not have power to make treaties with foreign countries; and the Supremacy Clause, that treaties take precedence over State laws.

In 1848 the Oregon Territory was created with the Organic Act extending the Northwest Ordinance's confirmation of Indian title to land in the new U.S. territory and recognizing that lands not expressly ceded by ratified treaty constitute Indian Country. An aggressive policy of securing land for non-Indian settlers through treaties began in 1850. However, in direct contradiction to the treaty process was the Oregon Donation Act of 1850 which ultimately provided patent (7,437 claims in Oregon and 1,018 in Washington) to land totalling 2.8 million acres to new settlers of the Territory beginning prior to the ratification of any treaties of land cession in the Pacific Northwest. This action was contrary to established U.S. Indian policy and not unexpectly has created considerable tension in the region through the present day.

The period of 1854-55 was particularly one of increasing tension between Indians and non-Indians in the region, given the following factors: (1) the significant Indian population decline due to recurring epidemics; (2) encroachment and seizure of Indian lands authorized by Congressional acts in contradiction to long

established United States Indian policy; (3) rapid destruction of Indian food resources; (4) non-ratification of Indian treaties negotiated with western Oregon tribes in 1851; and, (5) the persistent overt hatred and mutual fear and distrust between both communities (Beckham 1984: 33). The very short time frame allowed for negotiation of the treaties by the United States enhanced bitter feelings, despair, and latent hostility and contributes to the tone of today's Federal-Indian relationships.

In 1855, various native groups in the interior Columbia Basin entered into five treaties with Washington Territorial Governor Isaac Stevens. Each of these reserved rights for the tribes to continue off-reservation subsistence activities. The treaties contain virtually identical language, reserving "the right of taking fish at all usual and accustomed places in common with citizens of the Territory ... together with the privilege of hunting, gathering roots and berries, and pasturing their horses and cattle on open and unclaimed land." A primary goal of the tribes in treaty negotiations was the preservation of their traditional economies and cultures.

While the scope and extent of fishing at usual and accustomed stations have been defined through numerous court decisions, the geographical limits on other treaty-reserved rights have yet to be conclusively determined. The terms "open", "unclaimed", "public lands", and "unoccupied" lands carry with them the implied condition that rights reserved on those lands which include BLM and FS lands could be exercised until the lands were closed, claimed, or occupied by settlers under the public land disposal statutes. Most importantly for public land management considerations, tribal traditional areas as related to off-reservation treaty rights and protection of traditional uses (for both treaty and executive order tribes) may extend well beyond the United States-imposed ceded and reservation boundaries.

These treaties provided for apportionment of natural resources on the western frontier and still serve that purpose today. The primary function of reserved rights retained by tribes constitutes the assurance of the U.S. government the right of tribes to sustain traditional lifeways. In other words, what is reserved is the way of life of the tribal communities, not just resource uses. The treaties, federal statutes, and executive agreements over the past 200 years have established a special trust relationship between tribes and the Federal government. Through the treaties, the tribes received promises of federal protection for their lands, resources and people, the promises constituting federal fiduciary trust responsibilities. The benefits gained by the United States were considerable, establishing the basis for its economic development. Congress has the power to modify or revoke a treaty, but such action must be compensated. Hunn (1990: 269) states that "treaties ... provide a legal basis for the continued existence of a Plateau Indian way of life."

The reservations set aside by treaty, statute, or executive order, though sizable in the beginning, were systematically and dramatically reduced in size as non-Indian settlements and land use expanded. Passage of the Dawes Act in 1387 (24 Stat. 389) led to dramatic reductions, if not elimination of reservations in many cases, as allotment plans were developed through the next few decades and tribes were dispossessed of much of their lands (Cohen 1971: 210). The act gave BIA authority to allot parcels carved out of reservation lands to tribal members and to dispose of the "excess" lands to third parties. Tribes lost 90 million acres nationally, from 138 down to 48 million, and the Indian Country left was severely fragmented.

The allotment process was terminated in 1934 with a basic shift in policy back away from forced assimilation to a policy of cultural and ethnic pluralism. The Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) (48 Stat. 984) made major revisions to Federal policy by ending the alloting of Indian lands; extending the trust status for lands alloted; restoring unsold "surplus" lands from the allotment period to tribal ownership; ceasing the sales of Indian lands to nonIndians; beginning acquiring lands for Indian use; establishing the right of tribes to incorporate; providing revolving loans; and enhancing management practices for Indian forests and range (Cohen 1971: 84).

The IRA encouraged tribes to organize themselves as governments and receive formal recognition from the federal government. Tribes could form corporations for their own economic development and were encouraged to revive their native arts and crafts. The Federal policy sought to promote reservation autonomy and self-determination and to preserve Indian cultures and values. As a by-product, the establishment of constitutions and by-laws under the IRA ended the leadership era of headmen and of traditionally recognized chiefs in many cases. New leaders were boards of trustees or business councils and chairmen. The boards often have been responsible for establishing concepts of economic development and establishing resource management policies in timber, range and farming.

The 1950s provided another era of major setbacks to tribes. The Termination Act of 1953 again introduced serious forced assimilation policy. Reservations of those tribes selected were terminated and lands sold to third parties. Federal services were ceased and tribal sovereignty was terminated. A relocation program was established to guide tribal members departure from former reservation lands to urban settings. The Klamath Tribes was one of the hardest hit tribes in the nation, losing its land base which subsequently became the current Winema National Forest.

Tribal communities in the northern intermontane greatly benefited from actions of the Nixon administration resulting in the Indian Self -Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975 (88

Stat. 2203) that provided substantial funding avenues for the tribes. Authority for tribes to acquire lands adjacent to reservations was also granted. This act has further enabled tribes to pursue economic growth and effectively assert their role in the region.

Important in the Northwest was the Boldt Decision handed down in 1974. The *U.S. v. Washington* District Court decision reaffirmed off-reservation fishing rights and their priority over other uses. Upheld by the Supreme Court in 1979, tribes were allowed up to a 50% share of harvestable returning fish at accustomed traditional fishing sites. It also recognized the right of tribes to regulate their off-reservation treaty rights, rather than states. An important aspect of this decision in regard to federal ecosystem managment strategies is the surmised right of tribes to take part in the protection of fish habitats, helping ensure that a resource exists. The case has been allowed to stand open, as has been the similar *U.S. v. Oregon* case beginning in the late 1960s, to resolve further disputes concerning exercise of the treaty rights. States can still regulate for conservation purposes.

A number of federal regulatory acts have been passed in the last 15 years, increasing the role of tribes in the federal decision-making process regarding public land management. These include: the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (83 Stat. 852); the American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978 (92 Stat. 469); the Archaeological Resources Protection Act (ARPA) of 1979 (93 Stat. 721); the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990 (104 Stat. 3048); the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (80 Stat. 915), as amended in 1992; the Religious Freedom Restoration Act of 1993 (107 Stat. 1488); and, the 1994 amendments to the Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975 (108 Stat. 4272).

Recent administrative policy and guidance has been provided in two documents. Interior Secretarial Order No. 3175, issued in November 1993, established the responsibility of all bureaus and agencies to carry out trust responsibilities of the federal government and assess the impacts of their actions on Indian trust resources and requires consultation with tribes when impacts are identified. A White House memorandum was issued in April 1994 emphasizing the importance of government to government relations with tribal governments and to consult with tribes prior to taking actions that may affect tribal interests.

In sum, we are now in an extended period of increasing tribal political and economic involvement. The above series of Congressional acts, executive orders and court results have provided a basis for tribal renewal. In keeping with each tribe's unique legal and cultural histories is the individual path each is forging in their socio-economic recoveries. The long-standing treaties and agreements established a "trust relationship" between

Indians and the Federal government in which the latter became a manager or trustee over unceded remaining Indian lands and on public lands for which rights were retained. The Federal government is responsible for assisting tribes while still recognizing their sovereign rights. In addition, the Federal government must mesh its trustee role toward the tribes with its responsibilities to manage public lands in the U.S. public's best interest. In addition to their obligation not to abrogate Indian treaty rights without specific Congressional action, the Federal agencies must use their authority to safeguard that which is the subject matter of the federal treaties. The trust relationship between the United States and Indian tribes is part of the very fabric of federal Indian law that imposes stringent fiduciary standards of conduct on federal agencies in their dealings with Indian tribes with respect to Indian-owned assets

### *Sociocultural Behavior Influences Land Use*

In Indian Country, spring is a special time of year when all life is reborn and the salmon return. It is a time of celebration and ceremony with the salmon's epic trek symbolizing this renewal of life. Tribal fishermen still supply many social needs with ceremonial spring fish for use in spiritual and cultural observances. Almost two centuries ago Lewis and Clark observed that thanks were ritually offered to the first spring Chinook by the whole community (Spier and Sapir 1930: 248-9). Today, a series of spring salmon and root feasts marks a ritual high point of the Indian spiritual calendar (Hunn 1980: 13). In addition to the substantial spring salmon/root ritual feast, numerous other events are celebrated as well at lonqhouses, shorthouses, Shaker Churches and private homes. These mark other annual feast days. Also, each marriage, naming, funeral, first kill, and even Sunday Service may include a meal of traditional foods. Plants particularly play an additional role in worldview by serving as sources of spiritual well-being. Big sagebrush, a "most respected plant," is used in ceremonies; it's burning often signifies purification. Crushed sage is a medium through which messages are taken to spirits. Tobacco can have special importance for acquiring curative powers. In sum, plants remain an important focus for present-day activities, including ceremonies and subsistence uses (Kuhnlein and Turner 1986).

The value of fish to the northern intermontane tribes is reflected in the Sahaptin fish nomenclature and classification, with an unusual elaboration of terms being indicative of the particular cultural significance (Hunn 1980: 1). Also, dip net fishing from wooden platforms cantilevered out over the water continues today at a number of locations, such as on the mainstem of the Columbia River just below The Dalles Dam, at Sherar's Bridge on the Deschutes River, and at falls on the Klickitat River two miles above its mouth (Hunn 1990: 273) . A description of the

variety of species harvested by the Wishram is provided by Spier and Sapir (1930: 174) including five species of salmon, steelhead trout, pike, sturgeon, sucker, chub, trout, smelt, and lamprey eels. Traditional commercial use of fisheries is reflected in their aboriginal trade value.

Several cultural and natural factors have traditionally influenced plant harvests. People exercise "a certain degree of selectivity in harvesting their floral environments" in the sense that plant species are not necessarily selected based on relative abundance and availability (Fowler 1986: 64). One species may be more valued than other locally more abundant food plants (Couture et. al 1986: 156). Such gathering activities, normally performed by women, require knowledge, skill, and technological expertise (Hunn 1990: 122). often before harvest for root plants begins, women may check several areas, first evaluating such factors as size of plants available and softness of soil to dig in. Roots may then be tested for "ripeness" and ease of peeling.

Use of many types of resource locations, such as root grounds, were often shared with a number of communities as well as other ethnic and linguistic groups (Ray 1936: 117). Root gathering is often associated with large groupings, comprised of members of several geographically-distinct groups, a festive event though actual digging is not performed in groups but done on a family or local group basis. The social nature of root camps is still important and occur no doubt more frequently than is commonly known by non-Indians (Couture et.al 1986: 155). The considerable movement and socializing historically enjoyed is still an important cultural factor today.

In sum, American Indians are linked to their environment by careful observation, economic calculation, ritual monitoring, and mythical explanation (Hunn 1980: 14). Natural resources are an important economic necessity with their use primarily orchestrated through myth and ritual associations. Taking of plants is often accompanied by prayers and occasional offerings to -the plant spirits to show respect. Ceremonies and religious stories honor the spirits of the fish, animals and plants and teach against overuse. Plants and animals played important roles in the world views of the peoples as reflected in myths and tales. Many species of mammals, reptiles, birds and occasionally insects and fish account for creation of earth and people, establishment of seasons, and setting of food preferences and taboos. They illustrate proper and improper social behavior (Fowler 1986: 96). As Ames and Marshall (1980: 31) have stated, "In the Nez Perce view, people were economically successful because they lived exemplary lives based on ‘religious’ principles ... So by living correctly people found themselves in regions where resources were available."

A "bottomline" issue in regard to tribal interests in the region concerns maintenance of community well-being. Indian

communities have a well established tradition of maintaining closeknit groups with recognition of extensive kinship roles and use of communally controlled lands and resources. This tradition is inbedded largely in the traditional use of the land (both resources and landforms). Community health is based on numerous factors, including economic growth, freedom to pursue traditional uses of the land, effective trust relationship with federal government, and lack of infringements on religious practices. Short falls in any of these factors can lead to substantial effects on community wellbeing and may be reflected in a number of social measures (unemployment, subsistence abuse, suicide rate, etc.).

### *Resource Competition Has Grown*

Increasing use of special forest products has led to friction between Indians and some of the ethnic groups. Especially salient is the present irritations and future discord which results from more people using lands that Indian peoples have considered theirs by tradition and by ways of using land that Indians find wasteful. In the Yakima valley, for example, nonenvironmental frictions- fights, intermarriage, etc - may carry over into mistrust of Latinos who cut boughs or pick huckleberries.

As mushrooms have become more valuable, local non-Indian residents have expressed irritation with the influx of Southeast Asian pickers who may be getting to the mushrooms before local pickers who have been gathering mushrooms for many years. This competition gets expressed in *anti-immigrant terms* or in ways that accuse these pickers of violating local custom, such as encroaching an established territories or being accused of engaging in destructive behavior, e.g. , raking mushroom beds. Crews of pickers from outside the local areas and hired by entrepreneurs, may not have a stake in the local resource. However, since beargrass is a product almost completely developed by recent Southeast Asian immigrants, the same level of animosity is not directed towards them for picking this green. Fear of transgressing rules that may not be known and desiring not to be subject to harassment, especially among Latinos realizing that they can be singled out by physical appearance, have probably used public lands to a lesser degree than would be expected by their numbers in the population.

Intensive timber harvest practices and cattle grazing have decreased the availability of some of these other resources and increased competition for the quantity which remains. Exacerbating the increased demand for special natural products are management practices that irritate harvesters. Notifying people about a timber harvest well in advance, for example, would be a measure that would help decrease animosity. Ecosystem management implies planning for the production of special forest products as well as traditional commodity and recreational functions in order to satisfy the symbolic, subsistence, and commercial demands of the

widest possible public.

*A New Era Has Arrived for Public Land Managers*

In light of the above considerations, an inherent difficulty (not to mention appropriateness) exists in describing the nature and degree of importance of the various aspects of the intermontane landscape to American Indians. Whereas the natural world is viewed in a "sacred" manner by Indian traditionalists, Federal agencies consider the natural world in a linear, scientific way with decision-making involving hierarchical objective thinking. Therefore, English words such as "subsistence," "food," "medicine," and "use" have fundamentally different meanings. For example, all traditional foods may also be "referred to as medicine given their healing qualities for both the body and spirit" (Keith and Corliss 1993). The following statement by Winthrop (1994: 26) highlights problems in assessing traditional cultural interests as "resources":

> By treating an Indian medicine area as analogous to an owl nesting site or a patch of wetlands , its *cultural character is ignored. The significance* of medicines ... does not accrue simply from the existence of particular physical substances at particular sites alone; rather, it is inherent in the culturally patterned relationship between the substances, the pristine settings in which they occur, the traditional knowledge of their properties and modes of use held by particular individuals, and the appropriate actions and prayers with which they are collected.

Therefore, what appears on the surface to be "simple food gathering is something much more profound for traditionalists" allowing persons to "define their role in society and provides a link with their ancestral heritage... (constituting) a powerful communion with the forces that create and sustain life on our planet" (Corliss and Keith n.d.) Consequently, culture as a whole is the primary concern for sustainability, not just the individual species or certain habitat types. In sustaining and preserving their lifeways, Indian peoples commonly state that their leaders must look back seven generations and look ahead seven generations for measuring the potential implications of their use of the land.

Culturally-based perceptions of nature and science must be taken into account when applying scientific assessments to traditional cultural activities and governmental regulatory processes to cultural landscapes. one implication of differing worldviews between agencies and tribal governments is that agencies' data collection is commonly performed in the language of a natural or social scientist, not sufficiently accomodating the general complexity of human behavior or particular cultural sensitivities. The remedy for this shortcoming is the maintenance

of more continuous contact. In this context, use of the concept of "ecosystems" essentially serves as a social "tool for holistic and empathetic thinking about nature" that can help bridge the gap (Ingerson 1994: 376).

Another major implication for ecosystem management strategies and goals is recognition of what is a "natural" condition for vegetation communities. Contrary to many of the beliefs of nonIndian emigrants arriving in the region in the 19th century, the interior Columbia Basin and adjoining areas were not pristine wilderness areas, but ecological systems in which humans had been an active component for millenia (MacCleery 1994; Woolfenden 1993). Disruption of regional traditional lifeways in the 19th century led to ecological changes. These changes highlighted the previous interactions which contributed to keeping at bay certain ecological states such as low fire fuel build-up and forest encroachment on non-forested settings.

Most groups manipulated or otherwise managed portions of their environments in various ways. Aboriginal use of fire to maintain or select certain vegetative states or manage wildlife has received substantial attention in recent years (Fowler 1986b: 93; see Robbins 1994). It is perceived that fire was a more common component of nature's life cycle and for millenia it was introduced by humans through perhaps a combination of intentional and unintentional actions.

Adoption of the horse by Nez Perce, Cayuse, Bannock, and other interior Columbian groups introduced major environmental change to the region as well. Some broadcast sowing of wild seeds was also performed in the Great Basin, at times combined with burning. Intentional and unintentional pruning of willows for basket fibers also occurred (Fowler 1986b: 94). The transplanting of some species for convenience purposes, particularly near substantial settlements, was perhaps far more common than perceived today.

Certain hunting and fishing practices reflect a conservation ethic, such as catching principally male trout and salmon on the spawning beds and restricted fishing at nights or on certain days, thus allowing a portion of fish to pass. Selective digging techniques employed in plant food harvesting and the time of harvests for natural plants and -animals also embody conservation elements. There is a strong desire not to intensively harvest species so as to eradicate them from a particular area, but rather to sustain their presence in familiar locations. Most importantly for land managers today, the tribes potentially possess intimate indigenous knowledge of the ecological adaptations of native species in the isolated geographic pockets where the species persist today, and hence an accurate awareness of "indicator" species.

The successful implementation and monitoring of projects and

policies requires that all users feel a sense of "ownership" in the process of developing policies and projects. Special efforts need to be made to include Indian nations and ethnic groups with different traditions of governance into the public participation process.

Increased emphasis of the tribal sovereignty status and maintenance of government to government relations between tribes and agencies has placed greater importance on the early participation of tribes in agency planning activities. The recognition of the uniqueness of each tribe has placed the burden on agencies to become knowledgeable and sensitive to Indian interests on an individual tribal basis. Tribal variation is considerable regarding demographic characteristics and dependence on public land resources. Not only is there variation in traditional economies, but economic growth initiatives are even more variable. One implication is that an ongoing dialogue be established "locally" over and beyond the NEPA process, as well as notification and consultation requirements associated with other regulatory acts, such as ARPA and NAGPRA. With the stringent time frames associated with compliance with the various statutes (which apply to agencies only, not tribes) , agency decision-makers must be familiar with potential effects on tribal interests early in (preferrably before) the planning process. In addition, with passage of the Self-Governance Act late in 1994, increased emphasis is being placed on involving tribes in the Federal management processes, including development and implementation of land use plans, preparation of budget proposals, and carrying out other activities on public lands on behalf of the agencies.

Southeast Asians and Latinos, as important harvesters of special natural products, need to have a voice in setting policies for the protection of forests and rangelands. Lack of information about the effect of long term harvest of these products at ever higher levels cannot be easily remedied unless the cooperation of these groups can be obtained. They can be useful monitors of changing production levels as on the ground observers of nature. Education about the sustainability of harvest also will require their feeling that they have a stake in the process and outcome of policy making and planning.

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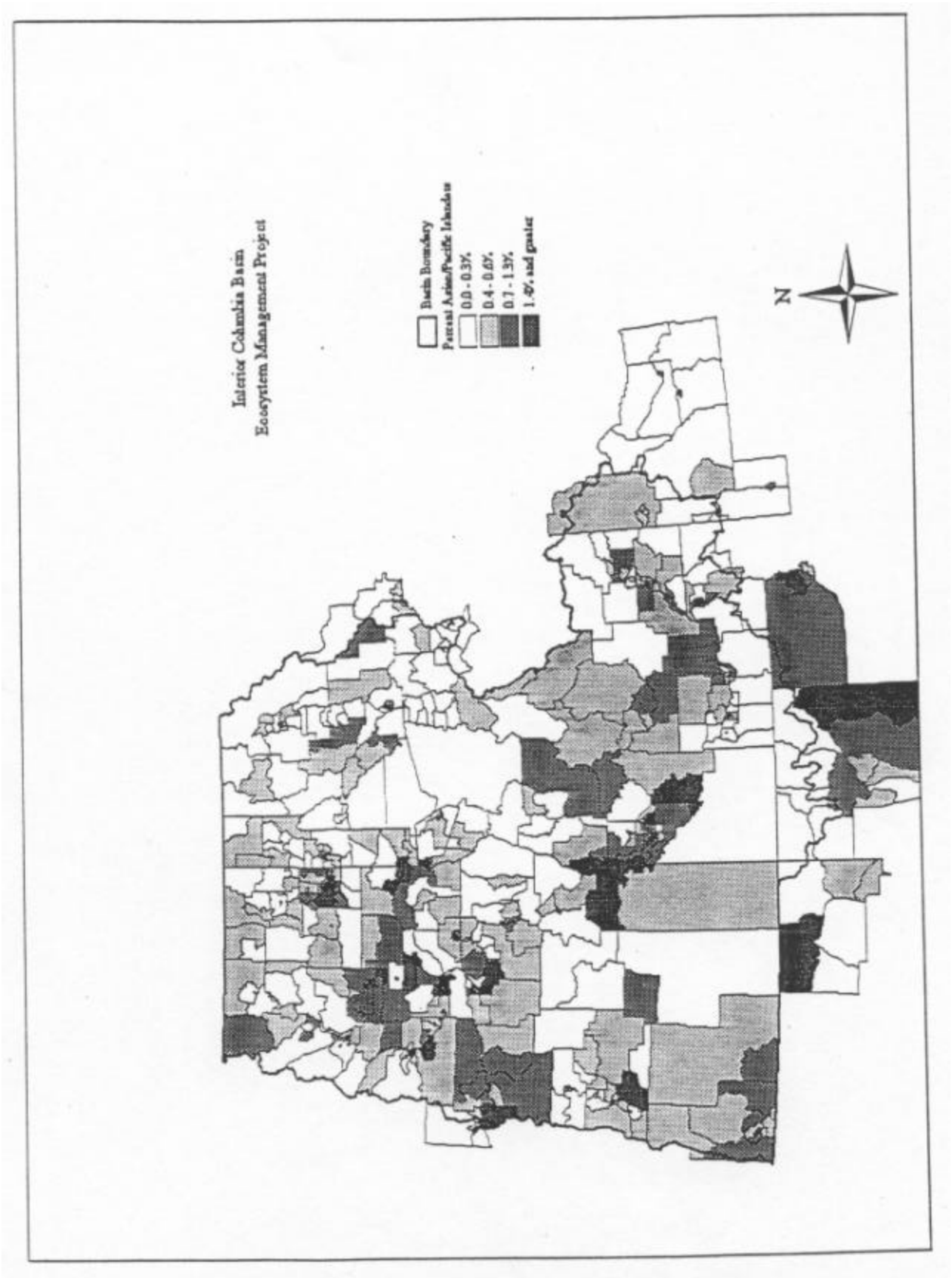
Table 1. Number of enrolled members for each tribal government as of 1994.

| Tribe | # persons enrolled |
|---|---|
| Burns Paiute | 274 |
| Couer d'Alene Tribe | 1,290 |
| Colville Confederated Tribes | 7,992 |
| Fort Bidwell Paiute | 163 |
| Fort McDermitt Paiute | 816 |
| Kalispel Tribe | 327 |
| Klamath Tribes | 2,914 |
| Kootenai Tribe | 110 |
| Nez Perce Tribe | 3,170 |
| Northwest Band of Shoshoni | 411 |
| Salish & Kootenai Tribes of Flathead | 6,792 |
| Shoshoni-Bannock of Ft. Hall | 3,761 |
| Shoshoni-Paiute of Duck Valley | 1,691 |
| Spokane Tribe | 2,121 |
| Umatilla Conderated Tribes | 1,529 |
| Warm Springs Confederated Tribes | 3,468 |
| Yakama Nation | 8,435 |


Interior Columbia Basin
Ecosystem Management Project
Basin Boundary
Percent Areas/Pacific Islanders
0.0 - 0.3%
0.4 - 0.6%
0.7 - 1.3%
1.4% and greater
N

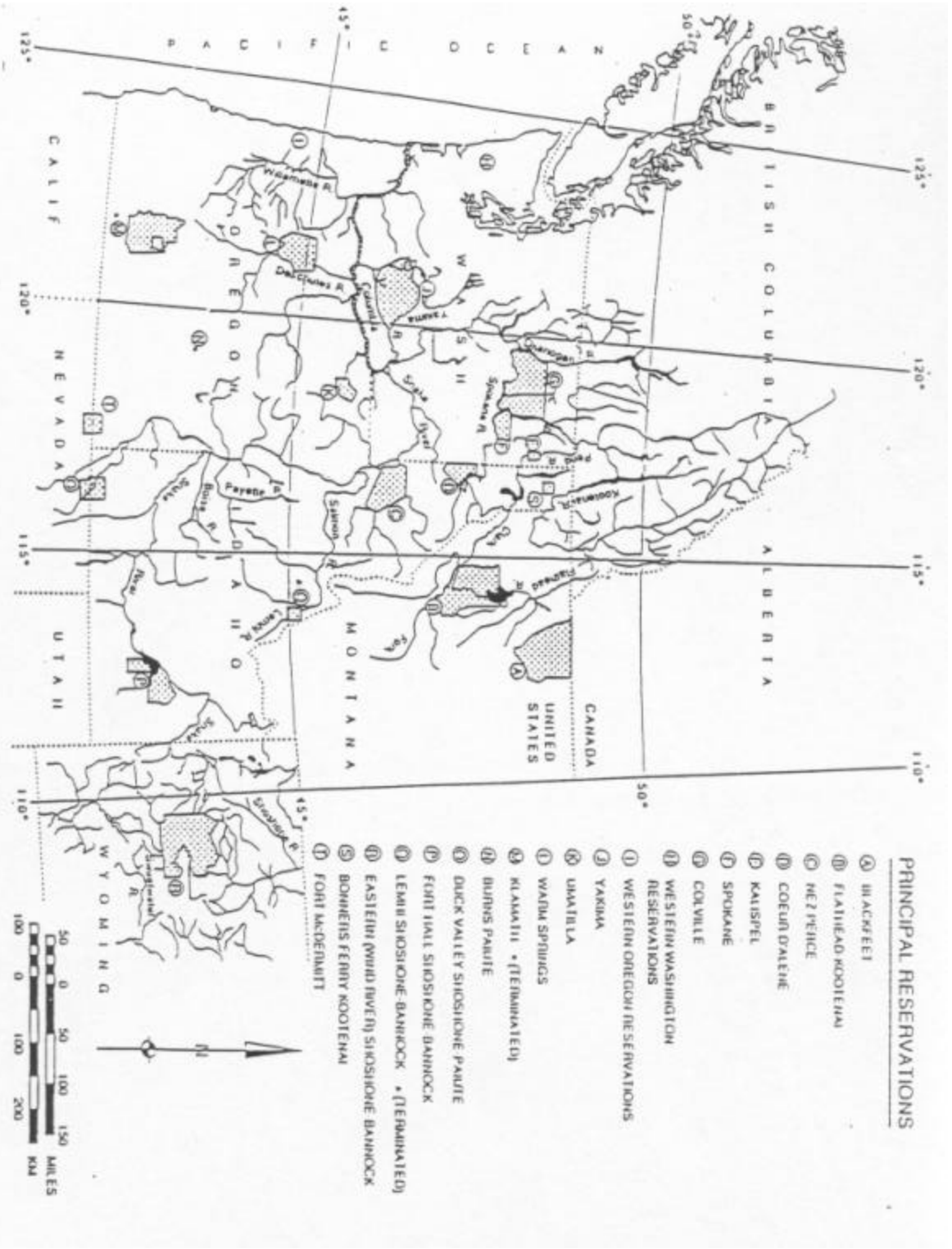
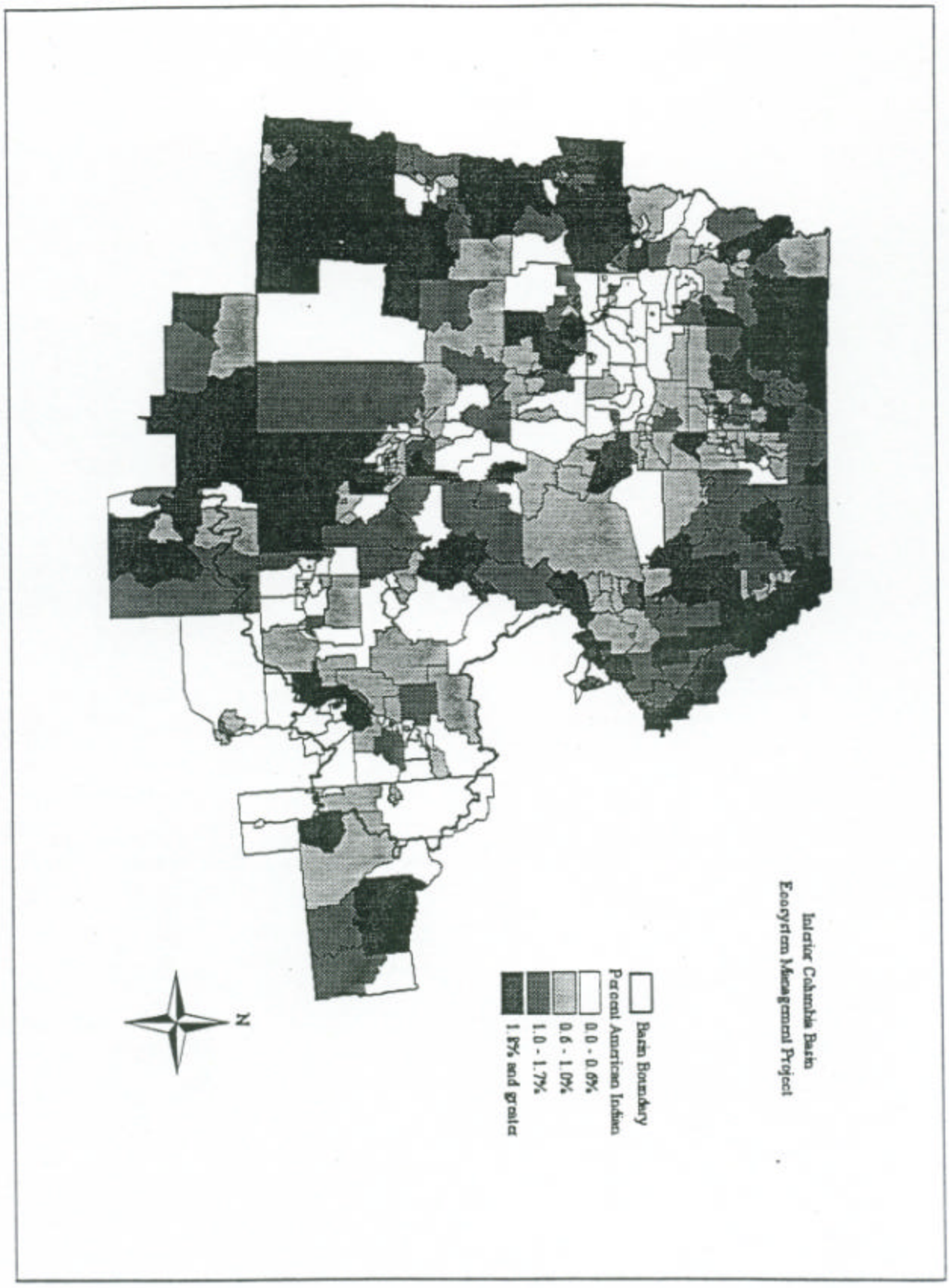
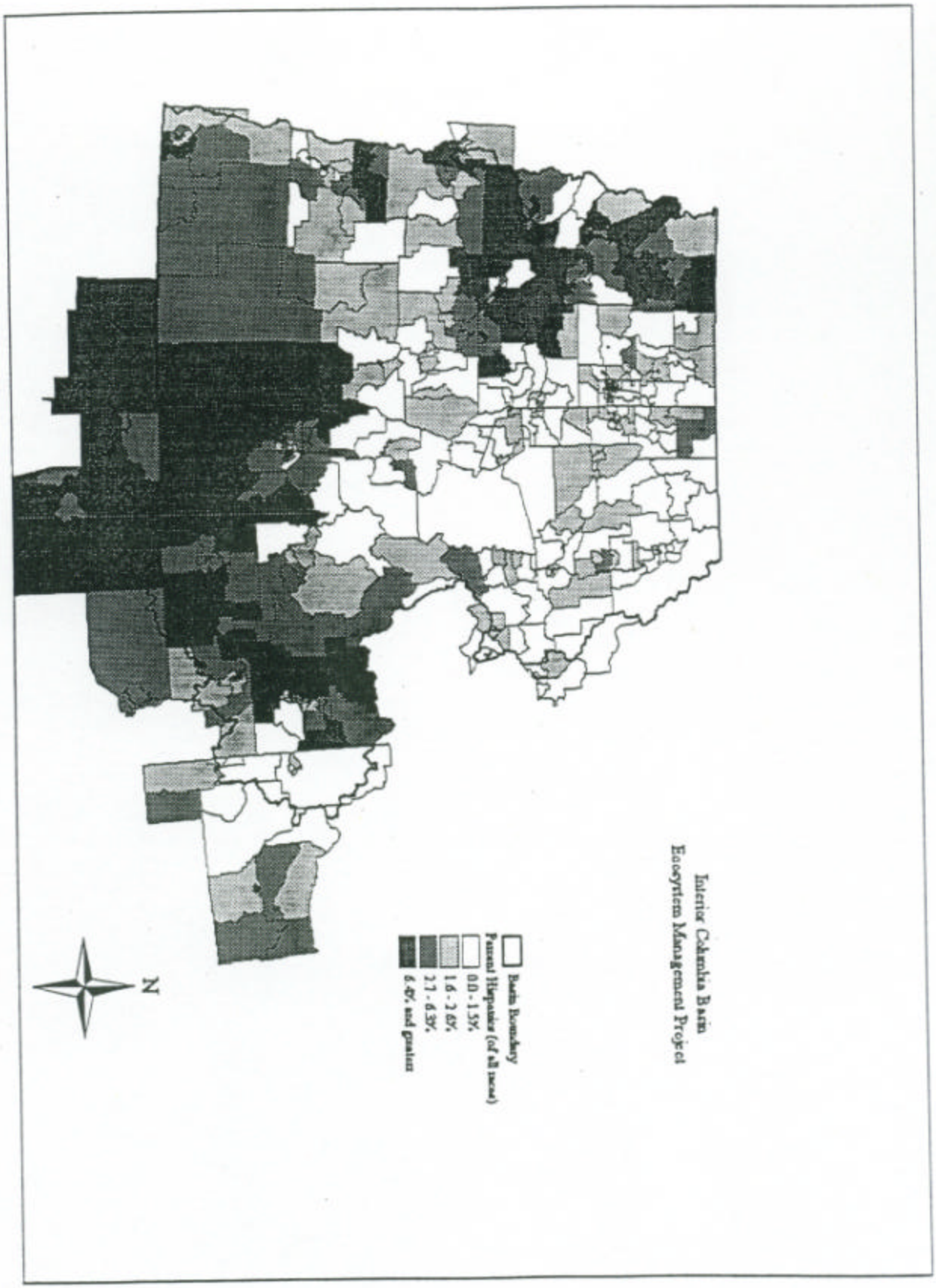



Figure 1. Indian reservations of the Interior Pacific Northwest potentially affected by the Interior Columbia Basin Ecosystem Management Project (taken from Walker 1993b: 216).


Interior Columbia Basin
Ecosystem Management Project
Basin Boundary
Percent American Indian
0.0 - 0.6%
0.6 - 1.0%
1.0 - 1.7%
1.8% and greater
N


Interior Columbia Basin
Ecosystem Management Project
Basin Boundary
Percent Hispanics (of all races)
0.0 - 1.5%
1.6 - 2.6%
2.7 - 6.3%
6.4% and greater
N

## Wyoming

| County | Population | Asian* population | % of County population | Latino population | % of County population | American Indian population | % of County population | Black population | % of County population |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Fremont | 33662 | 136 | 0.40 | 1173 | 3.48 | 6228 | 18.50 | 17 | 0.05 |
| Lincoln | 12625 | 15 | 0.18 | 216 | 1.71 | 55 | 0.44 | 12 | 0.09 |
| Sublette | 4843 | 21 | 0.43 | 44 | 0.91 | 91 | 1.88 | 0 | 0 |
| Teton | 11172 | 58 | 0.52 | 110 | 0.98 | 152 | 1.36 | 19 | 0.17 |

* Does not include Asian Indians, a group which has very few people in the Interior Columbia Basin

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1990.

# Washington

| County | Population | Asian* population | % of County population | Latino population | % of County population | American Indian population | % of County population | Black population | % of County population |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Adams | 13603 | 82 | 0.60 | 4349 | 31.97 | 38 | 0.28 | 27 | 0.20 |
| Asotin | 17605 | 23 | 0.13 | 275 | 1.56 | 186 | 1.06 | 52 | 0.30 |
| Benton | 112560 | 1925 | 1.71 | 8609 | 7.65 | 815 | 0.72 | 965 | 0.86 |
| Chelan | 52250 | 288 | 0.55 | 4589 | 8.78 | 534 | 1.02 | 88 | 0.17 |
| Columbia | 4024 | 6 | 0.15 | 479 | 11.90 | 25 | 0.62 | 0 | 0 |
| Douglas | 26205 | 134 | 0.51 | 2807 | 10.71 | 315 | 1.20 | 40 | 0.15 |
| Ferry | 6295 | 15 | 0.24 | 108 | 1.72 | 1133 | 17.99 | 7 | 0.11 |
| Franklin | 37473 | 879 | 2.35 | 11287 | 30.12 | 349 | 0.93 | 1203 | 3.21 |
| Garfield | 2248 | 9 | 0.40 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0.09 | 0 | 0 |
| Grant | 54758 | 598 | 1.09 | 9282 | 16.95 | 658 | 1.20 | 516 | 0.94 |
| Kittitas | 26725 | 379 | 1.42 | 733 | 2.74 | 218 | 0.82 | 104 | 0.19 |
| Klickitat | 16616 | 93 | 0.56 | 1040 | 6.26 | 578 | 3.48 | 23 | 0.14 |
| Lincoln | 8864 | 20 | 0.23 | 82 | 0.93 | 140 | 1.58 | 0 | 0 |
| Okanagon | 33350 | 102 | 0.31 | 2806 | 8.41 | 3535 | 10.60 | 34 | 0.10 |
| Pend Oreille | 8915 | 22 | 0.25 | 103 | 1.16 | 145 | 1.63 | 24 | 0.27 |
| Skamania | 8289 | 28 | 0.34 | 129 | 1.56 | 300 | 3.62 | 0 | 0 |
| Spokane | 361364 | 5816 | 1.61 | 5851 | 1.62 | 5113 | 1.41 | 5067 | 1.40 |
| Stevens | 30948 | 80 | 0.26 | 520 | 1.68 | 1867 | 6.03 | 89 | 0.29 |
| Walla Walla | 48439 | 560 | 1.16 | 4764 | 9.84 | 278 | 0.57 | 684 | 1.41 |
| Whitman | 38775 | 1810 | 4.67 | 651 | 1.68 | 252 | 0.65 | 519 | 1.34 |
| Yakima | 188823 | 1824 | 0.97 | 44527 | 23.58 | 8394 | 4.45 | 2087 | 1.11 |

* Does not include Asian Indians, a group which has very few people in the Interior Columbia Basin

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1990.

# Oregon

| County | Population | Asian * population | % of County population | Latino population | % of County population | American Indian population | % of County population | Black population | % of County population |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Baker | 15317 | 40 | 0.26 | 278 | 1.81 | 130 | 0.85 | 36 | 0.20 |
| Crook | 14111 | 13 | 0.09 | 113 | 0.80 | 299 | 2.12 | 11 | 0.08 |
| Deschutes | 74958 | 364 | 0.49 | 1476 | 1.97 | 898 | 1.20 | 110 | 0.15 |
| Gilliam | 1717 | 13 | 0.76 | 40 | 2.33 | 8 | 0.47 | 0 | 0 |
| Grant | 7853 | 3 | 0.04 | 175 | 2.23 | 107 | 1.36 | 1 | 0.01 |
| Harney | 7060 | 38 | 0.54 | 220 | 3.12 | 247 | 3.50 | 2 | 0.03 |
| Hood River | 16903 | 258 | 1.53 | 2665 | 15.77 | 310 | 1.83 | 43 | 0.25 |
| Jefferson | 13676 | 44 | 0.32 | 1433 | 10.48 | 2662 | 19.46 | 22 | 0.16 |
| Klamath | 57702 | 275 | 0.48 | 2983 | 5.17 | 2294 | 3.98 | 360 | 0.62 |
| Lake | 7186 | 31 | 0.43 | 263 | 3.66 | 96 | 1.34 | 17 | 0.24 |
| Malheur | 26038 | 733 | 2.82 | 5273 | 20.25 | 262 | 1.01 | 44 | 0.17 |
| Morrow | 7625 | 25 | 0.33 | 844 | 11.07 | 88 | 1.15 | 7 | 0.09 |
| Sherman | 1918 | 5 | 0.26 | 27 | 1.41 | 16 | 0.93 | 0 | 0 |
| Umatilla | 59249 | 393 | 0.66 | 5199 | 8.77 | 1940 | 3.27 | 354 | 0.60 |
| Union | 23598 | 143 | 0.61 | 357 | 1.51 | 256 | 1.08 | 88 | 0.37 |
| Wallowa | 6911 | 22 | 0.32 | 106 | 1.53 | 33 | 0.48 | 0 | 0 |
| Wasco | 21683 | 128 | 0.59 | 1104 | 5.09 | 812 | 3.74 | 91 | 0.42 |
| Wheeler | 1396 | 2 | 0.14 | 16 | 1.15 | 6 | 0.43 | 0 | 0 |

* Does not include Asian Indians, a group which has very few people in the Interior Columbia Basin

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1990.

# Montana

| County | Population | Asian * population | % of County population | Latino population | % of County population | American Indian population | % of County population | Black population | % of County population |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Deer Lodge | 10278 | 32 | 0.31 | 108 | 1.05 | 251 | 2.44 | 21 | 0.20 |
| Flathead | 59218 | 217 | 0.37 | 683 | 1.15 | 855 | 1.44 | 56 | 0.09 |
| Granite | 2548 | 5 | 0.20 | 10 | 0.39 | 18 | 0.71 | 0 | 0 |
| Lake | 21041 | 19 | 0.09 | 49 | 0.23 | 4474 | 21.26 | 6 | 0.03 |
| Lewis & Clark | 47495 | 272 | 0.57 | 525 | 1.11 | 995 | 2.09 | 49 | 0.10 |
| Lincoln | 17481 | 59 | 0.34 | 192 | 1.10 | 343 | 1.96 | 3 | 0.02 |
| Mineral | 3315 | 21 | 0.63 | 57 | 1.72 | 68 | 2.05 | 4 | 0.12 |
| Missoula | 78687 | 677 | 0.86 | 1014 | 1.29 | 1799 | 2.29 | 175 | 0.22 |
| Powell | 6620 | 0 | 0 | 102 | 1.54 | 286 | 4.32 | 0 | 0 |
| Ravalli | 25010 | 65 | 0.26 | 242 | 0.97 | 311 | 1.24 | 18 | 0.07 |
| Sanders | 8669 | 19 | 0.22 | 142 | 1.64 | 513 | 5.92 | 6 | 0.07 |
| Silver Bow | 33941 | 180 | 0.53 | 758 | 2.23 | 386 | 1.14 | 11 | 0.03 |

* Does not include Asian Indians, a group which has very few people in the Interior Columbia Basin

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1990.

## Oregon

| County | Population | Asian* population | % of County population | Latino population | % of County population | American Indian population | % of County population | Black population | % of County population |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Baker | 15317 | 40 | 0.26 | 278 | 1.81 | 130 | 0.85 | 36 | 0.20 |
| Crook | 14111 | 13 | 0.09 | 113 | 0.80 | 299 | 2.12 | 11 | 0.08 |
| Deschutes | 74958 | 364 | 0.49 | 1476 | 1.97 | 898 | 1.20 | 110 | 0.15 |
| Gilliam | 1717 | 13 | 0.76 | 40 | 2.33 | 8 | 0.47 | 0 | 0 |
| Grant | 7853 | 3 | 0.04 | 175 | 2.23 | 107 | 1.36 | 1 | 0.01 |
| Harney | 7060 | 38 | 0.54 | 220 | 3.12 | 247 | 3.50 | 2 | 0.03 |
| Hood River | 16903 | 258 | 1.53 | 2665 | 15.77 | 310 | 1.83 | 43 | 0.25 |
| Jefferson | 13676 | 44 | 0.32 | 1433 | 10.48 | 2662 | 19.46 | 22 | 0.16 |
| Klamath | 57702 | 275 | 0.48 | 2983 | 5.17 | 2294 | 3.98 | 360 | 0.62 |
| Lake | 7186 | 31 | 0.43 | 263 | 3.66 | 96 | 1.34 | 17 | 0.24 |
| Malheur | 26038 | 733 | 2.82 | 5273 | 20.25 | 262 | 1.01 | 44 | 0.17 |
| Morrow | 7625 | 25 | 0.33 | 844 | 11.07 | 88 | 1.15 | 7 | 0.09 |
| Sherman | 1918 | 5 | 0.26 | 27 | 1.41 | 16 | 0.93 | 0 | 0 |
| Umatilla | 59249 | 393 | 0.66 | 5199 | 8.77 | 1940 | 3.27 | 354 | 0.60 |
| Union | 23598 | 143 | 0.61 | 357 | 1.51 | 256 | 1.08 | 88 | 0.37 |
| Wallowa | 6911 | 22 | 0.32 | 106 | 1.53 | 33 | 0.48 | 0 | 0 |
| Wasco | 21683 | 128 | 0.59 | 1104 | 5.09 | 812 | 3.74 | 91 | 0.42 |
| Wheeler | 1396 | 2 | 0.14 | 16 | 1.15 | 6 | 0.43 | 0 | 0 |

* Does not include Asian Indians, a group which has very few people in the Interior Columbia Basin

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1990.

## Idaho

| County | Population | Asian * population | % of County population | Latino population | % of County population | American Indian population | % of County population | Black population | % of County population |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Madison | 23674 | 300 | 1.27 | 685 | 2.90 | 94 | 0.40 | 50 | 0.21 |
| Minidoka | 19361 | 112 | 0.58 | 3619 | 18.70 | 192 | 0.99 | 38 | 0.20 |
| Nez Perce | 33754 | 197 | 0.58 | 441 | 1.31 | 1604 | 4.75 | 61 | 0.18 |
| Oneida | 3492 | 2 | 0.06 | 40 | 1.15 | 18 | 0.56 | 6 | 0.17 |
| Owyhee | 8392 | 81 | 0.97 | 1516 | 18.06 | 295 | 3.52 | 44 | 0.52 |
| Payette | 16434 | 170 | 1.03 | 1223 | 7.44 | 258 | 1.57 | 14 | 0.09 |
| Power | 7086 | 70 | 0.99 | 881 | 12.43 | 203 | 2.86 | 4 | 0.06 |
| Teton | 3439 | 0 | 0 | 262 | 7.62 | 19 | 0.55 | 6 | 0.17 |
| Twin Falls | 53580 | 451 | 0.84 | 3094 | 5.77 | 336 | 0.63 | 86 | 0.16 |
| Valley | 6109 | 17 | 0.28 | 130 | 2.13 | 31 | 0.51 | 16 | 0.26 |
| Washington | 8550 | 177 | 2.07 | 883 | 10.33 | 21 | 0.25 | 0 | 0 |

* Does not include Asian Indians, a group which has very few people in the Interior Columbia Basin

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1990.

# Idaho

| County | Population | Asian * populaton | % of County population | Latino population | % of County population | American Indian population | % of County population | Black population | % of County population |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ada | 205775 | 2175 | 1.06 | 5216 | 2.53 | 1561 | 0.76 | 1161 | 0.56 |
| Adams | 3254 | 0 | 0 | 35 | 1.08 | 54 | 1.66 | 0 | 0 |
| Bannock | 66026 | 714 | 1.08 | 2588 | 3.91 | 1588 | 2.41 | 358 | 0.54 |
| Bearlake | 6084 | 0 | 0 | 150 | 2.47 | 613 | 10.08 | 0 | 0 |
| Benewah | 7937 | 10 | 0.12 | 124 | 1.56 | 21 | 0.26 | 0 | 0 |
| Bingham | 37583 | 198 | 0.53 | 3394 | 9.0 | 2637 | 19.02 | 73 | 0.19 |
| Blaine | 13552 | 150 | 1.1 | 347 | 2.56 | 58 | 0.43 | 8 | 0.06 |
| Boise | 3509 | 2 | 0.05 | 68 | 1.94 | 30 | 0.85 | 0 | 0 |
| Bonner | 26622 | 46 | 0.17 | 439 | 1.65 | 310 | 1.16 | 29 | 0.11 |
| Bonneville | 72207 | 767 | 1.1 | 2988 | 4.14 | 426 | 0.59 | 348 | 0.48 |
| Boundary | 8332 | 31 | 0.37 | 310 | 3.72 | 191 | 2.29 | 12 | 0.14 |
| Butte | 2918 | 2 | 0.07 | 97 | 3.32 | 23 | 0.79 | 0 | 0 |
| Camas | 727 | 2 | 0.28 | 4 | 0.55 | 2 | 0.28 | 0 | 0 |
| Canyon | 90076 | 819 | 0.91 | 11955 | 13.27 | 681 | 0.76 | 141 | 0.16 |
| Carribou | 6963 | 13 | 0.19 | 122 | 1.75 | 14 | 0.20 | 0 | 0 |
| Cassia | 19532 | 78 | 0.40 | 2578 | 13.20 | 211 | 1.08 | 4 | 0.05 |
| Clark | 762 | 0 | 0 | 75 | 9.84 | 6 | 0.79 | 0 | 0 |
| Clearwater | 8505 | 13 | 0.15 | 162 | 1.90 | 209 | 2.46 | 1 | 0.01 |
| Custer | 4133 | 17 | 0.41 | 68 | 4.65 | 48 | 1.16 | 6 | 0.15 |
| Elmore | 21205 | 384 | 1.81 | 1506 | 7.10 | 164 | 0.77 | 813 | 3.83 |
| Franklin | 9232 | 11 | 0.12 | 244 | 2.64 | 41 | 0.44 | 0 | 0 |
| Fremont | 10937 | 8 | 0.07 | 681 | 6.23 | 114 | 1.04 | 0 | 0 |
| Gem | 11844 | 28 | 0.24 | 657 | 5.54 | 185 | 1.56 | 0 | 0 |
| Gooding | 11633 | 14 | 0.12 | 940 | 8.08 | 50 | 0.43 | 0 | 0 |
| Idaho | 13783 | 15 | 0.11 | 144 | 1.04 | 318 | 8.41 | 0 | 0 |
| Jefferson | 16543 | 51 | 0.31 | 966 | 5.84 | 206 | 1.25 | 4 | 0.02 |
| Jerome | 15138 | 21 | 0.14 | 944 | 6.24 | 106 | 0.70 | 3 | 0.02 |
| Kooicnai | 69795 | 239 | 0.34 | 989 | 1.41 | 783 | 1.12 | 139 | 0.02 |
| Latah | 29470 | 492 | 1.67 | 404 | 1.37 | 221 | 0.75 | 192 | 0.65 |
| Lemhi | 6899 | 0 | 0 | 144 | 2.09 | 89 | 1.29 | 0 | 0 |
| Lewis | 3516 | 21 | 0.60 | 54 | 1.54 | 177 | 5.03 | 6 | 0.17 |
| Lincoln | 3308 | 5 | 0.15 | 177 | 5.35 | 11 | 0.33 | 7 | 0.21 |

## Nevada

| County | Population | Asian* population | % of County population | Latino population | % of County population | American Indian population | % of County population | Black population | % of County population |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Elko | 33530 | 257 | 0.77 | 4264 | 12.71 | 2006 | 5.98 | 280 | 0.84 |
| Humboldt | 12844 | 36 | 0.28 | 2317 | 18.04 | 675 | 5.26 | 139 | 1.08 |

* Does not include Asian Indians, a group which has very few people in the Interior Columbia Basin

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1990.

## Utah

| County | Population | Asian* population | % of County population | Latino population | % of County population | American Indian population | % of County population | Black population | % of County population |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Box Elder | 36485 | 449 | 1.23 | 1416 | 3.88 | 478 | 1.31 | 2 | - |

* Does not include Asian Indians, a group which has very few people in the Interior Columbia Basin

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1990.