

Building Partnerships Between American Indian Tribes and the National Park Service

by David Ruppert

Partnerships can help protect and restore ecosystems, while bringing people from different perspectives closer together.

Recent years have witnessed an increase in American Indian peoples requesting permission to collect natural resources from parks and public lands. Many of these requests are for harvesting plants and animals, and for collecting specific minerals used in religious or traditional cultural practices. But this increase in requests may not reflect an actual increase in resource uses. American Indian peoples have always collected these resources for cultural reasons—and from places deemed culturally appropriate for such collection. What these requests may reflect is an effort by American Indians to actively involve resource management agencies in efforts designed to preserve traditional Indian cultures. They may also reflect a renewed attempt to have federal land management agencies recognize tribal rights of access to resources that have been denied them over the past couple of centuries. Regardless of the reasons, these requests for resource use deserve more careful examination and consideration since they offer important opportunities for tribes and federal agencies alike. This short article focuses on some of these opportunities.

Tribal Resource Collecting Requests and Agency Missions

American Indian assertions of their perceived rights of access to resources have met with mixed reactions, depending on

the agency and the extent of the requests. In so-called "multiple-use" agencies, such as the USDA Forest Service and the Bureau of Land Management, such requests are often viewed as clearly within the range of authorized activities, unless they involve significant environmental harm. On the other hand, within the National Park Service such requests are often seen as being in conflict with the agency's strict preservationist mission. The question for the Park Service, of course, is: What is being preserved?

Coupled with tribal requests for access to resources are the multiple and rich heritages of indigenous resource harvesting techniques. Collection practices are often based on tribal traditions that span hundreds, if not thousands, of years. These practices and collection techniques, and the cultural knowledge that attends them, helped shape the American landscape long before the arrival of post-Columbian immigrants; they are a part of a cultural heritage vital to the history of this country and this continent. While various federal agencies, including the National Park Service, seek to preserve cultural resources under their respective management, they need to take seriously the idea that living Indian cultures offer cultural resource protection that goes far beyond the protection of archeological sites or abandoned ruins.

Through traditional resource collecting and the application of traditional knowledge related to this collecting activity,

Indian peoples maintain their living cultural heritage as well as continue to affect and shape the environment around them. If land management agencies have an interest in understanding the histories of the lands and resources they manage, they would benefit by finding ways to incorporate indigenous management techniques into their own management regimes.

Collection Agreements and Agency-Tribe Partnerships

One way of incorporating traditional knowledge is through formal agreements with tribal community members who seek to collect resources on federal lands. An agreement of this type was reached in northern Arizona and southern Utah in 1997. That year the Kaibab Band of Southern Paiute, along with the Moapa Band of Southern Paiute, requested permission to collect a variety of plants and minerals for religious and traditional purposes on park lands in Zion National Park and Pipe Spring National Monument. Following considerable consultation, a collection agreement was signed in 1998 between these park units and various bands of the Southern Paiute in Utah, Nevada, and northern Arizona.

The agreement permits the Paiute to gather plants and plant materials that are not endangered species. Agreements like this one are useful to the park and to the tribes from a number of standpoints. The Zion National Park-Paiute agreement specifically recognizes the importance of traditional collection of plant materials to the culture of the Paiute people. In addition, it recognizes the obligations of the agency to fulfill its responsibilities toward the tribe under law by allowing access to places and materials important for traditional and religious purposes.¹ Aside from allowing the harvesting of plants, the agreement sets up a dual-permitting system that recognizes the tribe's authority to identify and designate appropriate individuals within the tribe who are authorized to harvest for traditional cultural purposes. The tribe issues a permit to tribal members who then present this permit to the park; the park then issues its

own permit for the gathering of plants. This process may seem somewhat cumbersome but it addresses the tribe's concern that only certain trained people have the traditional knowledge necessary to

Incorporating American Indian management practices in selected areas offers unique and important opportunities in the communication of cultural knowledge.

gather plants in appropriate ways. Moreover, the reliance on tribal permitting authority establishes and maintains the government-to-government relationships between federal agencies and tribes mandated by President Clinton during the 1990s.² Finally, the agreement provides for periodic meetings between the park and the tribes to evaluate the environmental effects of collecting. If there is a determination that negative impacts have occurred, the collection activities are halted to allow the plant community to recover. In this way, the tribe becomes a partner with the park in the management of those resources important from the traditional cultural standpoint.

Aside from these benefits, agreements like these help to establish relationships between parks and tribes—relationships that were either tenuous at best, or nonexistent, at worst. A formal relationship also has a better chance of surviving frequent changes in local personnel—and policies—in federal agencies and tribes.

Agreements, Shared Goals, and Mutual Benefits

Arrangements, like the Zion National Park-Paiute agreement, offer a unique opportunity for federal land management

agencies and tribes to address the linked issues of ecological restoration and cultural preservation. With regard to ecological restoration, the incorporation of traditional collection techniques in selected areas may result in information about the effects such collecting historically may have had on natural resources and the surrounding landscape. Careful work, such as that done by Kat Anderson (1996, 2001), in cooperation with tribal traditionalists provides the details necessary to understand the links between traditional knowledge, indigenous management practices, and local ecological conditions—information that is vital for anyone interested in truly restoring a cultural landscape.

Of course, benefits are found not only in the links between traditional knowledge and resource conditions. Incorporating American Indian management practices in selected areas offers unique and important opportunities in the communication of cultural knowledge. Often, requests from tribal elders to collect on public lands are coupled with requests to bring Indian children with them so the young might learn the traditional ways of gathering and the importance these resources have in the larger cultural traditions of the tribe. In these cases, federal agencies are afforded the opportunity to become partners with tribes to provide the means for them to continue their living cultural traditions.

In particular, the National Park Service offers exceptional opportunities to realize the goal of revitalizing or preserving traditional American Indian land management practices. The agency, after all, has for many years protected large tracts of land from human intrusion. This protection has provided areas that maintain undisturbed ecological conditions where indigenous plant and animal species are, for the most part, still present. A century or more of "hands-off" management in these areas may have allowed shifts in species distribution and condition, but in many instances the basic elements of the pre-contact plant communities and ecology have been preserved. As their increasing requests to collect resources in parks indicate, American Indian people recognize that many of the indigenous species of plants now present in

parks may not be as available as they once were in places outside the parks that have experienced increased development activity. In many cases, parks offer the best opportunity to harvest traditional resources and, in the process, pass on traditional resource management knowledge to the next generation.

Tribal Agreements and National Park Service Advisory Board's Recommendations

In 2001, the National Park Service Advisory Board issued a statement calling for the agency to seek new ways to "Nurture Living Cultures and Communities" (National Park Service 2001). The Advisory Board listed a set of recommendations that included:

1. The National Park Service should help conserve the irreplaceable connections that ancestral and indigenous people have with the parks. These connections should be nurtured for future generations.
2. Parks should become sanctuaries for expressing and reclaiming ancient feelings for place.
3. Efforts should be made to connect these people with parks and other areas of special significance to strengthen their living cultures. Such efforts should include access by Native Americans to sacred sites and the use of ecologically sustainable cultural practices and traditions.
4. A formal Heritage Areas program should be established to support partnerships among communities so that the full scope of the American experience is revealed.

Following this list of recommendations, the report goes on to state that:

Throughout the National Park, this kind of [traditional] knowledge may be lost as aging bearers of traditional culture die without the opportunity to fully share their deep understanding of the nature and spirit of a place. Place names, migration routes, harvesting practices, prayers

and songs may be lost forever. These irreplaceable connections should be nurtured and conserved for future generations. [emphasis added]

Within the park service these recommendations signal the need to focus on living communities and efforts to preserve their cultural heritage. Clearly, agreements between tribes and parks similar to the agreement described in this article are one way to help fulfill these recommendations. Agreements with tribal communities can benefit both tribes and parks. Since sustainability is often the keystone of Indian harvesting, these agreements can lead to insights into how the incorporation of indigenous resource management techniques can aid park managers in their task of preserving both cultural and natural resources. Mutually beneficial agreements allow Indian access to sacred sites and resources, and help reestablish connections between tribes and places called for in the Advisory Board recommendations. Agreements can also lead to a greater understanding of how traditional gathering techniques affect local ecological conditions, thus leading to a better picture of the indigenous landscapes once managed by American Indian peoples.

Restored Ecosystems, Restored Relationships

The benefits of such agreements would appear to be many, while the risks would be few. A major benefit for the national park system (or other land-managing agencies) would be a return of some selected areas in a landscape to a condition approximately reflecting what they were like when the parks were established—at least from the standpoint of selective plant productivity and condition. This would amount to a historical reconstruction of landscape elements that more closely reflects the condition of the land and resources when non-Indian peoples first arrived. If such limited experiments were successful, the concept of the "cultural landscape" would be expanded to recognize the resource-managing skills of Indian peoples. For the natural scientist, experiments that reveal the effects of

plant horticultural and collection techniques on the range, morphology, and productivity of native plants should be of great importance.

For American Indian peoples, attempts at limited restoration using traditional cultural knowledge could mean the preservation of important aspects of their own heritage. As Indian elders with traditional knowledge pass on, there is less likelihood that such knowledge will be transmitted to younger members of the tribe. Partnerships between park managers and tribes focusing on the reintroduction of traditional plant management techniques could provide one way for tribal elders to pass cultural knowledge to a new generation, and provide new perspectives on cultural and heritage preservation for federal agencies. Clearly, successful agreements would cast a new light on resource management. They would also help restore relationships between agencies and tribes that have been lost in often unintended conflicts of perception regarding resource protection and preservation.

ENDNOTES

¹The American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978 (Public Law 95-341).

²These mandates include but are not limited to Government-to-Government Relations with Native American Tribal Governments: Memorandum for the Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies, 1994; Executive Order 13175; and Executive Order 13007.

REFERENCES

- Anderson, M.K. 1996. Tending the wilderness. *Restoration and Management Notes* 14(2): 154-166.
- . 2001. The contribution of ethnobiology to the reconstruction and the restoration of historic ecosystems. Pages 55-72 in D. Egan and E.A. Howell (eds.), *The historical ecology handbook: A restorationist's guide to reference ecosystems*. Washington, D.C.: Island Press.
- National Park Service. 2001. Rethinking the national park for the 21st century: A report of the National Park System Advisory Board. July. www.nps.gov/policy/report.htm.

David Ruppert, Ph.D., is a cultural anthropologist with the National Park Service, Intermountain Support Office, Denver, CO 80226, 303/969-2879, Fax: 303/987-6675, dave_ruppert@nps.gov.

Copyright of Ecological Restoration is the property of University of Wisconsin Press and its content may not be copied or emailed to multiple sites or posted to a listserv without the copyright holder's express written permission. However, users may print, download, or email articles for individual use.