CULTURAL RESOURCES, CONSULTATION, AND CONNECTIONS TO PLACE AT GRAND CANYON NATIONAL PARK

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ABSTRACT

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JESSICA MEDWIED-SAVAGE

Developing relationships based on mutual respect and understanding between federal land management agencies and traditionally associated peoples improves management outcomes, decreases costly conflict, and works towards a more just society. This thesis will use critical theories and cultural analysis to examine the relationships between Grand Canyon National Park (the park) and its traditionally associated tribes (the tribes). Applying several critical theories shows how large-scale structural factors intertwine to shape the ongoing relationships between tribes, the place, and the park. Marxism focuses on the effects of economic class, while post-colonial subjectivity focuses on the effects of colonialism on the minds of the colonized. Political ecology further demonstrates how large-scale structural factors change the physical landscape. This thesis will further explore American, bureaucratic, and American Indian cultures and the intersections that have the potential to cause conflict. Insights from critical theories and exploration of cultural interactions experienced in my internship with the park's Tribal and Cultural Resources Programs can improve consultation programs to create more just, equitable, and mutually beneficial outcomes in federal-tribal consultation interactions.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Federal agencies have a legal and moral responsibility to consult with tribes. Both the legal and moral obligations are outlined in the next section. Bare minimum compliance undervalues the potential of tribal consultation to benefit the agency in addition to the tribes. Building long-term relationships based on trust and mutual respect improves outcomes for all involved parties. Using an applied anthropology approach, rather than a traditional research based approach, demonstrates how anthropologists can address real world problems working within formal organizations and agencies. This thesis uses anthropological perspectives to examine the relationships between Grand Canyon National Park (the park) (Figure 1.1) and its traditionally associated tribes (the tribes). These perspectives led to the creation of a set of recommendations that can aid federal agencies in improving tribal consultation programs.

Marxism, political ecology, and postcolonial subjectivity serve as the theoretical foundation of this thesis. Such theories generate a launch pad from which to explore how overarching factors affect tribal consultation. More specifically, these theories provide tools to explore how large-scale structural factors intertwine to shape the physical landscape of the canyon itself, ongoing relationships between tribes, the place, and the park, and even individual American Indian's worldviews. Marxism introduced the critical approach, but excludes important considerations outside of economic class. Post-colonial subjectivity provides an important consideration of large-scale factors on individual psychology. Political ecology provides a solid base from which to consider the effects of structural factors on the canyon itself, as well as the ability of the tribes to interact with it.

These considerations inform the analysis in this thesis by providing an understanding of the large-scale constraints and support present in tribal consultation.

This thesis further explores the cultures involved in tribal consultation and the points of contention between them. Mainstream American culture in the United States, bureaucratic culture, and American Indian cultures all contribute to consultation interactions. I will identify some intersections between these cultures that have the potential to cause conflict. The park, for one, maintains an exemplary tribal consultation program considering the structural barriers the agency and the tribes face. I explore past and present tribal relations at Grand Canyon National Park to explore how American culture, bureaucratic culture, and the connected American Indian cultures intersect. This exploration demonstrates areas of potential conflict in federal tribal consultations and how consultation programs might be improved. Some of the intersections include widely differing perspectives on place, articulation, ways of knowing, and meaning of time between American, bureaucratic, and American Indian cultures. This chapter will conclude with a discussion on how the focus on mainstream American and bureaucratic culture, rather than only the American Indian cultures, promotes a more equitable and effective approach for all involved parties.

My internship with the park's Tribal and Cultural Resources Programs illustrates how federal agencies can apply critical theories and cultural exploration to improve tribal consultation programs and therefore management goals in general. Well formed consultation programs create more equitable, just and mutually beneficial outcomes for the tribes and the agency. The best consultation programs maintain confidentiality, encourage collaborative relationships, share data, involve decision makers, demonstrate

creativity and flexibility, pay adequate attention to all tribes, and retain permanent staff. Agencies should incorporate tribal perspectives into their resource management and interpretation programs, acknowledge past mistakes, and find common ground to move forward with tribes. There is never going to be a step-by-step manual for good consultation. The process is fluid and always evolving based on the players, issues, and the larger socio-political arena. The agency always has to return to the tribes themselves to discuss each issue. Further ethnographies of agencies and tribal concerns related to consultation can additionally resolve conflicts and help build stronger collaborative relationships. These recommendations can help agencies avoid costly conflict and create relationships that help all parties better reach their goals.

Tribal Consultation

Federal agencies are mandated to consult with American Indian tribal governments to discuss issues that affect the agency and the tribes and take each party's concerns into account. These mandates, as outlined in the next paragraph, stem from the acknowledgment that federally recognized American Indian tribes have retained rights of sovereign nations from the pre-contact era except those explicitly reduced by treaties and legislation. As a result, tribes maintain status as sovereign nations within the United States, or "domestic dependent" status and therefore consultation should proceed on a "government-to-government" basis. The tribes, therefore maintain a nebulous status with more sovereignty than the states, but less than the Federal Government (National Association of Tribal Historic Preservation Officers 2005; Getches et al. 2011).

The Commerce Clause in the constitution and Johnson v. McIntosh established the unique right of the Federal Government to make treaties and agreements with tribes, including land sales and trade relations. The cession of lands and resources to the Federal Government requires the federal government to manage these lands and resources with the interests of the tribes in mind. In other words, it created the trust responsibility of the Federal Government. According to the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, "the trust responsibility establishes fiduciary obligations to the tribes including duties to protect tribal lands and cultural and natural resources for the benefit of tribes" (Advisory Council on Historic Preservation 2007:3). As such, the Federal Government maintains a special relationship with the tribes, aimed to protect the tribes' interests. Since the tribes had important spiritual, political, and social ties to Grand Canyon prior to the creation of the park, the park has an obligation to consider the effects of their management on these ties (National Association of Tribal Historic Preservation Officers 2005).

A series of congressional acts first mandated consultation requirements for federal agencies. The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (NHPA) mandates consultation regarding places, sites, and objects of significance for the tribe. The 1992 amendments to NHPA require more of a partnership between agencies and tribes in the process of complying with the law and allowed the tribes to take over State Historic Preservation Officer responsibilities (Tribal Historic Preservation Officers). The National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (NEPA) requires the creation of documents that examine the potential effects of federal actions on the human environment. Federal actions that have the potential to have a significant impact, such as management plans, require the creation of an Environmental Impact Statement. As part of this process,

NEPA requires consultation with tribes. Federal agencies generally treat the tribal consultation requirements of NHPA and NEPA as concurrent processes. Agencies combine tribal consultation efforts for both while fulfilling the individual mandates.

The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) of 1990 further requires consultation to identify culturally affiliated American Indian tribes with regards to possession and discovery of human remains and NAGPRA related objects on federal lands. NAGPRA related objects include "funerary objects, sacred objects, or objects of cultural patrimony". Another portion of the regulation requires agencies possessing such human remains or NAGPRA related objects must create an inventory of them and must publish a Notice of Inventory Completion(s) to allow the culturally affiliated tribes to request their return or reburial (National Association of Tribal Historic Preservation Officers 2005; NAGPRA 1990; NHPA 2000).

Later court cases, executive orders, and other federal policies reinforced the tribal consultation process. Pueblo of Sandia v. United States in 1995 established that federal agencies must conduct consultation with a "reasonable and good faith effort." Executive Order 13175, issued in 2000 by President Clinton, requires each federal agency to develop general consultation programs that are both regular and meaningful. Tribes also must be incorporated early in the planning process and the agency must demonstrate attempts to address tribal concerns. President Barack Obama issued a memorandum on November 5th, 2009 that reinforced his administration's commitment to consultation and required updated plans for meaningful consultation, including annual progress reports.

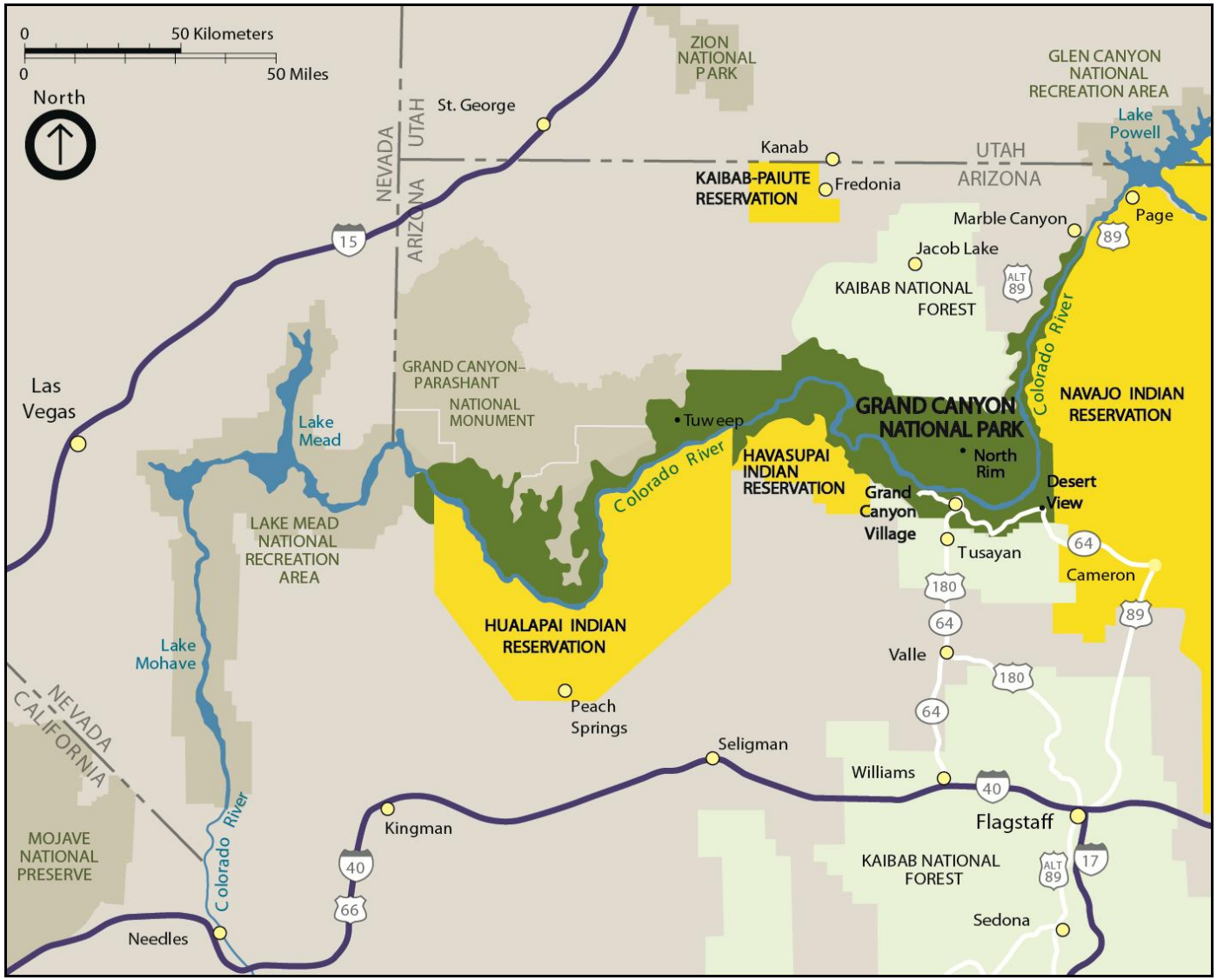

Figure 1.1 Map of Grand Canyon National Park (Adapted from http://www.nps.gov/grca/planyourvisit/maps.htm)

Each federal agency therefore maintains its own consultation policies and practices in addition to the national mandates. As a result, the nature of the consultation varies widely across agencies (National Association of Tribal Historic Preservation Officers 2005; Environmental Protection Agency 2000).

In addition to legal requirements, many federal agencies have come to recognize that consultation with tribes forms an important part of good management policies. The park, for example, notes that "beyond legal responsibilities for government-to-government relationships, the park has an obligation to work with all neighbors. While many park programs affect resources of tribal concern, many tribal programs affect park resources and visitor experience" (Grand Canyon National Park 2008: 5). The Tribal Program Manager further emphasized that the park recognizes that tribes maintain knowledge about natural resources that can better inform management decisions. She further noted that the park benefits overall from tribal perspectives and expertise. Federal agencies need to consult tribes based on tribal sovereignty, tribal connections to place, and in order to address tribal concerns. Federal agencies should recognize that working together also improves overall satisfaction and outcomes for all parties, reduces redundancies, and avoids costly conflict (National Association of Tribal Historic Preservation Officers 2005).

CHAPTER 2

BACKGROUND

Tribal consultation interactions do not take place in a vacuum. Learning about culture without reference to history or social organization neglects key components in the interactions between agencies and tribes. Anthropologists have extensively studied American Indian cultures throughout the history of the discipline. American and agency cultures, on the other hand, have been left virtually unexplored. In an attempt to address this blind spot, I will provide additional information on the agency and my role in the park within this chapter.

Agency Context

In order to examine the conflicts that arise in consultation, one must first explore the entities involved. This thesis is not intended as a critique of Grand Canyon National Park. As someone who has worked on consultation projects for several federal agencies, I am thoroughly impressed with the consultation efforts of the park. In addition to being one of very few Federal units with a dedicated tribal relations staff member, the park has emphasized tribal relations in their goals and has been able to impressively improve their relationships with tribes. This thesis attempts to show where complications have the potential to occur or where they have occurred in the past. Many of these complications the park has been able to avoid or has addressed. The park, with limited funding and

personnel available, has been able to create an effective tribal consultation program characterized by positive interactions, despite historically poor relations.

Archaeology and Traditionally Associated Tribes

Humans have been part of the Grand Canyon environment for thousands of years. The earliest evidence of human use in the Grand Canyon region are two Paleo-Indian projectile points fragments (Clovis and Folsom) that date to at least ten thousand years ago. Split twig figurines found in Grand Canyon date to the Late Archaic, about 4,500 years ago. Split twig figurines provide evidence of the depth of connections between American Indians and animals in Grand Canyon (Coulam and Schroedl 2004). Due to the park's immense size (1,218,375 acres), much of the park remains unsurveyed. Therefore no one knows how many sites are actually within the park's boundaries. Ellen Brennan, the park's Cultural Resources Program Manager, stated (e-mail to author, April 6, 2012) "we estimate the number to be on the order of 50,000-60,000. From the surveys we have done, it is clear that early peoples occupied or utilized almost all the environmental zones available across the landscape and for significant periods of time." Surveys of only 6 percent of the park's habitable lands, however, have identified over 4,000 archaeological sites. Archaeologically defined cultures that inhabited the park include Paleo-Indian, Archaic, Basketmaker, Ancestral Puebloan (Kayenta and Virgin branches), Cohonina (some archaeologists consider them Ancestral Puebloan), and Cerbat. Many of today's tribes descend from these groups (Grand Canyon National Park 2011).

Today, the park recognizes and maintains formal relationships with eleven traditionally associated tribes (see figure 2.1). The NPS defines traditionally associated

peoples as groups who view the park's resources as vital to the group's cultural continuity and whose connection has continued for at least two generations and began before the establishment of the NPS unit (National Park Service 2006). In the case of the park, the traditionally associated tribes include the Havasupai Tribe, the Hopi Tribe, Hualapai Tribe, Kaibab Band of Paiute Indians, Las Vegas Band of Paiute Indians, Moapa Band of Paiute Indians, the Navajo Nation, Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah, San Juan Southern Paiute Tribe, Yavapai-Apache Nation, and the Pueblo of Zuni.

Figure 2.2 Map of the Current Locations of the Traditionally Associated Tribes of Grand Canyon (Adapted from Native Voices on the Colorado River)

These groups are self-identified and therefore this number could change at any time if additional Federally-recognized tribes claim association. The self-identified tribes represent a wide variety of cultures and lifeways, including eight ethnic groups. The traditionally associated tribes also have an extensive history of relations with both the canyon itself and the park as an agency (Grand Canyon National Park 1995; National Parks Conservation Association 2010).

These tribes can request any range of involvement on projects and issues related to park management. Consultation is usually initiated with a letter to the tribes regarding management actions within the park. If a tribe has concerns about the proposed action, they may request additional information, provide comments, or request the opportunity to discuss the action with the park. For undertakings or any actions the Tribal Program Manager knows may concern tribes, such as general management plans, the park especially proactively seeks out comments or concerns from the tribes. Most tribes request letters on all issues, while others only request certain correspondence, such as major park actions or NAGPRA. A number of the tribes regularly engage the park about actions that concern them, while others largely defer to the other tribes or the State Historic Preservation Officer. Depending on the topic (i.e. sensitivity), some tribes want to have joint meetings to hear each other's concerns while others want a meeting that focuses on their specific tribe's concerns. The five Southern Paiute tribes, for example, typically request joint meetings since their shared culture generates similar concerns. Combining meetings also allows tribes to participate in more meetings with agency staff since distance limits staff travel to their reservations. This simple adjustment allows the tribes to support each other by sharing concerns and possible solutions, while allowing

for increased interaction between the tribes and the parks because of reduced travel time and cost.

In addition to the varieties of agency interactions, tribes also maintain differing kinds of connections with the park and specific concerns. Some tribes recognize the Grand Canyon as a vital part of their culture and some share a physical boundary with the park. The tribes that are less involved in consultation may maintain a strong spiritual connection, but geographic distance, tribal infrastructure, and other more pressing concerns may take precedence over consulting with the Grand Canyon. Specific tribal concerns vary based on the nature of the tribe's connections to the park and their specific culture. Concerns range from disturbance of archaeological and sacred sites, visitor impacts to the canyon or their reservation, NAGPRA discoveries or inventories, culturally important plant or animal species, and the education of tribal youth and visitors on tribal connections to the canyon.

Grand Canyon National Park's Administrative History

This section outlines chronologically the major developments in the park's administrative history. President Harrison first created the Grand Canyon Forest Reserve on February 20th 1893. President Theodore Roosevelt visited Grand Canyon in 1903 and stated his desire that the canyon be protected for future generations. On January 11th, 1908 President Roosevelt created Grand Canyon National Monument. President Woodrow Wilson signed a bill crafting the National Park Service (NPS), a bureau of the Department of the Interior, on August 25, 1916. Three years later President Wilson signed a bill designating Grand Canyon the seventeenth National Park in the United

States on February 26, 1919. (Anderson 2000; National Park Service 2003; National Parks Conservation Association 2010).

For the next fifty six years, much of what today forms part of the park remained within other agencies. In 1975, Congress enacted the Grand Canyon National Park Enlargement Act (Enlargement Act). This act merged adjacent federal lands into Grand Canyon National Park, almost doubling its size. Only four years after the consolidation, on October 26, 1979, UNESCO named Grand Canyon National Park a World Heritage Site (Grand Canyon National Park 1995).

Park Relationships with Tribes: Past and Present

The Havasupai reservation, created in 1882, consisted of a mere 518 acres. The drastic reduction of their original territory was economically and socially devastating. In response to the tribe's herculean efforts and their dire situation, the Enlargement Act returned almost eighty-four thousand acres to the Havasupai and set aside another ninety-five thousand acres within the park as a "traditional use" area for the tribe. Environmental groups actively fought the transfer of park land to the Havasupai (See Chapter Five for additional information) (Anderson 2000; Keller and Turek 1998).

Relationships with the tribes have become an increasingly important value for the park through time. Tribal consultation has been conducted formally and regularly for decades. The 1995 Grand Canyon General Management Plan included input from traditionally associated tribes and determined that American Indian perspectives should be increased in interpretation and management decisions that may affect culturally important places (Grand Canyon 1995; National Parks Conservation Association 2010).

The construction of the Landmark Feature in 2010 provides a tangible example of the park's attempts to fulfill these goals (see Figure 2.2). The Landmark Feature, located between the visitor's center and the rim, raises awareness among visitors of the presence of the tribes. The tribes participated in the creation of the Landmark Feature and have expressed to the Tribal Program Manager a greater sense of ownership of the space and feel more welcome at the park as a result (National Parks Conservation Association 2010).

Figures 2.2 and 2.3 Landscape Feature at Grand Canyon National Park
(Courtesy of the Grand Canyon National Park and U.S. Forest Service, Southwestern Region, Kaibab National Forest respectively)

The park in currently in the process of updating its management goals for the next four years. The goals reflect the increasing value placed on tribal relations within the park. A draft version of the park's goals contains goal number three (of eight): "Integrate Tribal knowledge and perspectives into park management decisions and practices to foster collaborative tribal relations". I provide the complete description of the draft goal and then follow with bullets of the specific draft objectives related to the goal:

> We will pursue an open, collaborative relationship with traditionally associated tribes to enhance our understanding of the significance of each tribes historic, cultural, and spiritual connections to the park, sites and resources. We will work with tribal governments to provide access to park resources and places that are essential for the continuation of their traditional cultural or religious practices.

- Have well established working relationships and active partnerships with all Traditionally Associated Tribes.
- Provide, as appropriate, field based opportunities for tribal members and park staff to work collaboratively on issues of mutual concern and benefit. This includes gatherings or meetings, or pre-project resource collections.
- Repatriate all Culturally Affiliated Human Remains and Associated Funerary Objects in the park's NAGPRA collections.
- Work collaboratively with Tribal and park staff on all issues of concern or interest, sharing information, data, and results for the benefit of the park and Tribes.
- Work with the Tribes and incorporate their interpretive message into parkwide interpretive programs (including exhibits, ranger led programs, web-based messaging). (Grand Canyon National Park 2012: 2).

The specifics may change somewhat before the park releases the final draft. The Tribal Program Manager also emphasized that these objectives don't represent the full breadth of what the park hopes to accomplish in the next four years with regards to tribal relations. In other words, this document presents a general overview, not a limiting list.

Nonetheless these goals and strategies reflect an important shift in policy and introduce many of the themes discussed in Chapters 5 and 6.

NPS Applied Ethnography Program

The NPS Applied Ethnography Program began in 1981 with the hiring of anthropologist, Dr. Muriel Crespi. The NPS tasked her with the creation of a policy regarding relationships with American Indian tribes and the formation of an ethnography program to fulfill federal consultation requirements. *Director's Order 28* first mandated the inclusion of an ethnographic program for any park that has "associated ethnic groups." The NPS first included the management of ethnographic resources into policy in 1988 in the *Federal Register* notice on "Management of Native American Relationships Policy." Muriel Crespi passed away in 2003 and the position of Chief Ethnographer has still yet to be filled in 2012. The Applied Ethnography Program had no head for nine years, leaving ethnographic policy and goals to the regional level. Since the inception of the program, demand for the involvement of ethnographers in consultation by parks has expanded exponentially. Despite these advancements, the ethnography component within the National Park Service still currently severely lacks funding, staffing, and clear direction (National Park Service 2008).

Internship Components

During the summer of 2011, I interned in the Science and Resource Management (SRM) office of Grand Canyon National Park. My internship had two major components based on the two programs that I worked within: the Cultural Resources and Tribal

Programs. For the Cultural Resources Program I compiled data for the Ethnographic Resources Inventory (ERI) database. For the Tribal Program I assisted on the tribal component for the Backcountry Management Plan EIS NEPA and NHPA compliance, NAGPRA, and general tribal consultation work. I further participated in additional park, Forest Service, and archaeological events in order to foster further understanding of the work of the agencies relating to tribes and cultural resources. Although this thesis includes data gathered through all portions of the internship, the work conducted for the Backcountry Management Plan Environmental Impact Statement (BMP EIS) within the tribal program forms the primary focus of analysis.

Cultural Resources

During the Cultural Resources portion of this internship, I used eight ethnographies provided by the park's SRM division staff to enter data into the park's ERI database. This database includes information on the tribe's perceptions of natural resources, places, and cultural resources within Grand Canyon. I first focused on ethnozoological information, or information on the various kinds of connections that tribes maintain with animals found within the park. Some examples of ethnozoological information would be hunting, creation story or mythological characters, ceremonial significance, or medicinal use of an animal. I completed the ethnozoological portion of the database for those ethnographies. I then added ethnobotanical (plant interaction) information and to review previous ethnobotanical entries for verification.

Tribal Program

I completed the following tasks for the Tribal Program during my internship:

1. Attended Backcountry Management Plan public scoping meeting.
2. Assisted in the planning, preparation, and implementation of three informational meetings about the Backcountry Management Plan.
3. Assisted with internal informational meeting for the park staff regarding special Havasupai considerations with regard to the Backcountry Management Plan.
4. Aided in reviewing and verifying NAGPRA inventory and Notice of Inventory Completion for resubmission to the Regional Office.
5. Attended webinar on the new NAGPRA regulations.
6. Updated consultation interactions record system.
7. Updated tribal contact list.

In addition to working on the database, the other major component of my internship consisted of aiding the Tribal Program Manager. The tribal program component mainly involved working on the Backcountry Management Plan Environmental Impact Statement (BMP EIS), NAGPRA, and helping to develop an organization schema for consultation interactions.

For the BMP EIS, I first attended the Flagstaff public scoping meeting to learn more about proposed actions under the backcountry management plan. I then assisted in the planning, preparation, and implementation of three informational meetings with eight tribes about the Backcountry Management Plan EIS. For two of the meetings, I documented the meetings through note taking and digital photography and created final

meeting records. For the final informational meeting, I served as lead organizer and primary agency point of contact for the five involved tribes. The park facilitated these meetings in order to provide the tribes with the best opportunities to contribute ideas for the BMP EIS. Including tribes early in the process increases the likelihood that their concerns can be considered and incorporated into alternatives development. Lastly, I provided assistance with an inter-divisional meeting about special considerations for the EIS regarding the park's unique management of the Havasupai Traditional Use Land within the park's boundaries. This meeting informed BMPS EIS planners about the purpose and structure of the Havasupai Traditional Use Land so they would be better prepared for alternatives development and to address public comments, while protecting the rights of the Havasupai people.

In addition to working on the NEPA process through the BMP EIS, I worked on the NAGPRA process. I aided in reviewing and verifying the park's NAGPRA inventory and three Notices of Inventory Completion (NIC) with the Tribal Program Manager and Museum Collections staff. Inconsistencies between the three NIC and the original inventory had to be identified and adjusted. This process included determining cultural affiliation of the human remains and associated funerary objects. Human remains and associated funerary objects identified as culturally unidentifiable were then set aside for future repatriation. As a final task, the Tribal Program Manager and I attended a webinar on the new NAGPRA regulations. The updated NIC and inventory were then resubmitted to the region after the completion of this work.

The third major task that I completed for the Tribal Program included updating the consultation recordkeeping system. This work involved adjusting the tribal

consultation interaction record spreadsheets and tribal contact list for increased efficiency, clarity, and ease of use. As part of this task, I updated the tribal contact lists to ensure they reflected the most recent tribal elections. The record of consultation interactions and contact list were updated to ensure the sustainability and efficiency of official recordkeeping for tribal consultation.

Additional Components

In addition to the work outlined in the previous sections, I participated in other activities related to the cultural and tribal programs during my internship. I volunteered at the Kaibab National Forest's Kaibab Paiute Youth Camp, participated in the Science and Resource Management division's Open House to learn more about the variety of work done within the division, and attended the North Rim Native American Heritage Days, the Pecos Conference, and the installation of the new superintendent. As a final task, I completed a final report for the Landsward Institute at Northern Arizona University outlining my internship activities.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Applied anthropology uses anthropological perspectives to create solutions to some of the world's most pressing social needs, including issues of health, human rights, economic development, and education (Van Willigen 2002). Erve Chambers (1987:xi) describes applied anthropology as "what happens when the knowledge and insight of anthropologists hit the hard ground of practical endeavor." Applied anthropology involves the use of anthropological methods, knowledge, or perspectives to solve real world problems. In many cases, anthropologists are employed outside academia where they do not conduct traditional anthropological research, but they use anthropological techniques to inform their work. Traditional anthropological research, on the other hand, involves long-term residence and rigorous research within a residential community aimed to contribute to general scientific knowledge about cultures. Applied anthropologists use anthropology to improve the human condition (Van Willigen 2002). Chambers (1987:xiii) explains that applied anthropologists bring anthropology's methodology, epistemology, and theory into organizations and agencies to bring about change.

In this internship, I used all three anthropological components: methodology, epistemology, and theory to achieve project goals. Although I used a critical theoretical approach and the methods that follow, the epistemological aspect proved most valuable. The Tribal Program Manager regularly advocated for my presence at meetings and for my feedback on documents or plans. She specifically wanted another set of

“anthropological eyes” to catch anything she might miss and allow for discussion of appropriate next steps. Unlike traditional research based anthropology, my internship demonstrated “how important it is for applied anthropologists to be well trained in general anthropology as well as in the special skills and insights of application” (Wulff and Fiske 1987:xiv). Rather than simply analyzing the cultures involved in the tribal consultation process, an applied anthropology approach uses those anthropological skills and viewpoints in order to improve the process itself and ultimately create mutually satisfying management outcomes.

Triangulation

The methods used within the internship include key informant interviews, meeting/discussion groups, participant observation, and field notes. Maintaining a variety of field techniques, or triangulation, provides a more complete picture than any single method, with each method catching different aspects of or individual perspectives on the same program. Triangulation allows for the greatest likelihood that the results will be accurate and nuanced. LeCompte and Schensul (1999:131) emphasize how triangulation “ensures that information elicited from each key informant is corroborated by information from others— preferably people who have different perspectives on the subject or who occupy different positions in the project.” Rather than simply relying on information gathered though participant observation, for example, key informant interviews and discussion groups added significant depth to my analysis by provided information about the perspectives of those entrenched in the process and the interactions

between the different parties. Triangulation protects against the biases of any particular approach or viewpoint.

Reflexivity

In addition to the variety of formal ethnographic methods, self-reflection remained an essential tool throughout the entire process. LeCompte et al. stress that (1999:12) "one of the most important attributes an ethnographer can bring to his or her project is a keen ability to engage in self-reflection." Reflexivity proves particularly important, because as noted in the opening to the book, for ethnography "the *researcher* is the primary tool for collecting primary data" (LeCompte et al. 1999:1). As such, it proves particularly important for the researcher to be self-reflexive both to avoid personally biasing the research and to avoid biasing the research based on participants' perceptions of the ethnographer. To facilitate reflexivity, I maintained a field journal during the internship of my experiences and my initial reactions. In addition to personal reflection, another method of self-reflection involves discussing the work with both those involved in the program and other anthropologists, as advocated by LeCompte et al. (1999:69). I consistently attempted to receive feedback on interpretations from those within the internship setting as well as other anthropologists in order to promote this process. For example, I had many discussions with my preceptors and committee chair about the ideas I saw developing during the internship and analysis process.

Iterative Process

Throughout the process, I consistently adjusted future questions, explorations, reflexivity, and analysis based on what I had learned up to that point. This method of constantly updating your understanding and adjusting accordingly suggests previously unthought-of possibilities and provides the ethnographer the greatest amount of flexibility to adjust to the research, the likelihood of achieving the greatest depth and necessary context, and the best opportunity to avoid preconceived notions. For example, during my internship, I was surprised to see the level of cooperation and promoting each other's interests between tribes and began to incorporate these observations into my methods, such as questions in key informant interviews. Unlike surveys, an iterative process provides the ethnographer the opportunity to ensure they are asking the right questions and allows the participant the opportunity to "suggest topics, concerns, and meanings that are important to them" (Rubin and Rubin 2005:33, 35).

Participant Observation

Participant observers "study people in their ordinary settings, where they live or work or play, analyze what they have heard and seen, and then convey to others, in rich and realistic detail, the experiences and perspectives of those being studied" (Rubin and Rubin (2005: 2). This internship allowed me to be a participant observer within the park's Tribal and Cultural Resources programs. I participated as a full member within the park's tribal interactions, in which I saw tribal consultation as it really occurs, rather than simply how it is described by participants. Consultation participants might have adjusted their behavior had I participated as a formal research anthropologist rather than as a park

employee. I incorporated other methods as well, however, to help reduce the inherent bias created if I were to only use participant observation to study the agency in which I work. Chapters Five and Six discuss how participant observation can further benefit agency-tribe relationships and outcomes.

Informal Interviews

I conducted key informant interviews throughout the internship and analysis process with three park staff members who have worked on tribal consultation or cultural resource projects. Key informants should be "*experienced* and *knowledgeable* in the area you are interviewing about" (Rubin and Rubin 2005:64). Schensul et al. (1999: 7) note that such interviews are "typically informal and unstructured" and that they provide the researcher with information about the culture with which the researcher works. Rubin and Rubin (2005:4) emphasize how "such *open-ended, unstructured interviews* are meant to obtain a general flavor" of the topic under research. Informal interviews were conducted with three key representatives with knowledge about tribal consultation and cultural resources at the park. These interviews provided an important baseline with which to understand the occurrences going on around me and from which to begin my analysis.

Meetings/Discussion Groups

During the course of the internship, I practiced participant observation during three informational meetings regarding tribal concerns about the BMP EIS. Although not intended as research focused discussion groups, these meetings provided the same kind of data as discussion groups. The particularly enlightening aspect of these

meetings/discussion groups was the inclusion of both the park staff and tribal representatives. One particularly interesting meeting/discussion group involved tribal representatives from three different tribes. The three meetings/discussion groups provided a great deal of information regarding the particular concerns the tribes had regarding the BMP EIS, general concerns relating to the park or consultation, how the park would be able to respond to such concerns, and how all of the different entities interacted with each other. Watching the interactions between all the present entities provided a considerably deeper understanding regarding the relationships and concerns involved than interviews or other methods alone could have provided.

Methods of Analysis

The analysis developed throughout the internship and writing process. Like all parts of the methodology, analysis remained an iterative process with pieces of analysis evolving as new data were acquired. LeCompte and Schensul (1999:150) explain that results emerge not through some "mystical process", but "because the researcher is engaged in a systematic cognitive process that takes place in three stages. These stages may be termed 'item', 'pattern', and 'constitutive' or 'structural' analysis." Items are simply moments that stand out for the ethnographer. Ethnographers notice these because "they occur often, because they are crucial to other items, because they are rare and influential, or because they are totally absent despite the researcher's expectations" (LeCompte and Schensul 1999:150). Through my field journal, which included many items, I began to notice patterns. For example, specific instances served as items while the cultural traits I discuss in Chapter Five, such as views on land, time, etc formed as

patterns out of a series of instances. Once I identified patterns, I conducted a literature review in order to base my understanding within larger theoretical paradigms that explained the mechanisms behind these items and patterns. As LeCompte and Schensul (1999:158) further explain, "ethnographic analysis of qualitative or text data begins with the first set of observations as items; after these are aggregated into, or categorized as parts of, domains, they can then be compared, contrasted, defined, and confirmed on an ongoing basis." Through time ethnographers begin to detect patterns that fit into large-scale constellations of meaning.

CHAPTER 4

CRITICAL THEORIES

Critical theories provide an important base from which to analyze the relationship between Grand Canyon, the park, and the tribes. Critical theories examine how the larger context, including power imbalances, influence the local. Huertin- Roberts (1995: 111) explains that “the "critical" perspective begins from a position of assumed power imbalance focusing on economics and class structure”. Proponents of Marxism introduced the critical approach by analyzing how economic class affected the choices of individuals and how mystification conceals such realities. Marxism, on the other hand, poorly reflects tribal realities and non-economic considerations. Post-colonial subjectivity provides tools to explore how the dominant colonial powers affect the perceptions of American Indian individuals and communities, which remains an important consideration when working with American Indian populations. With an emphasis on tribal consultation at the park, however, political ecology forms the most useful approach, with the tools it brings to analyze how structural factors influence all involved parties, including the canyon itself. These theories are described more fully in the sections that follow.

Marxism

Marxism provides important constructs for the analysis of the experience of the tribes with the park. The park consults with eleven tribes, which vary considerably in almost all aspects of their society and connections to Grand Canyon. Marxism essentializes the nature of tribal societies and does not consider other factors in addition

to class, but Marxism provided the first important means to explore the structural factors that such groups face. As exposed by Marxism, the dominant ideology within the United States mystifies the capitalist system and the experience of American Indians within this country. But marginalized groups still prove able to recognize and challenge their position and the hierarchy in its totality to some degree. In general, Marxism provides an important basic lens for the exploration of the experiences and relationships of the tribes as will be discussed further.

Marxism provided the first basis to aid in analyzing the complex circumstances of the tribes. Donham (1999:402) outlines some of the major tenets of Marxist thought:

> Capitalist society is divided by productive inequalities into two opposed classes: capitalists who control the great mass of productive powers versus workers who control no such powers, except their own capacities for labor. Capitalists, therefore, have the means to set up enterprises; they have the money to buy machines and to hire workers. Workers, by contrast, own nothing but their own labor power.

Most tribal members would fall under the general category of workers within this schema. As such, the tribes face major structural barriers in their daily lives and their attempts to perpetuate their way of life. As Donham (1999:397) explains "men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past." These circumstances include being born into the working, as opposed to the bourgeois, class. Marxism provides a means to explore how these groups are embedded within a hierarchy of power and how that affects agency.

Although anthropologists, through the influence of Marxism, now recognize the impact of structural factors on individual agency, American culture as a whole maintains

an ideology that continues to mystify such realities. As Bourgois (1995: 614) emphasizes, "America was built on racial hierarchy and on blame-the-victim justifications for the existence of poverty and class distinctions… political will and public policy ignore the fundamental structural economic facts of marginalization in America." Wolf explores how this mystification is perpetuated in two ways. First, the consensus history of the United States is presented as inevitable and "good," including the example that "there was surely land for the taking on the new continent, but it had to be taken first from the Native Americans who inhabited it" (Wolf 1982: 369). In addition to creating the accepted mythology of the country, alternative or contradictory histories needed to be removed, or "a component of a common history suppressed or omitted from conventional studies for economic, political, or ideological reasons" (Wolf 1982: 378). In addition to society at large, anthropologists specifically have contributed to this through, "the tacit anthropological supposition that people like these are people without history amounts to the erasure of 500 years of confrontation, killing, resurrection, and accommodation" (Wolf 1982: 377). American Indians experience high levels of disjuncture within a society that largely ignores their struggles, and even their continued existence. Mystification, through individual blame, historical mythologizing and exclusion, and larger discourses, not only serve to maintain the system, but further cause harm to the members of the worker class itself.

Mystification can only prove so effective, however, and resistance is expressed to the extent possible. Traditional groups, such as the tribes connected to Grand Canyon, do not necessarily inherently view capitalism in the same way as mainstream American society. Taussig (1977:133) for example notes that for South American peasants "the

characteristics of the capitalist mode of production are there viewed neither as good nor as self-evident laws of Nature; in fact they are regarded as unnatural and even evil." Furthermore, simply because a group may not be able to resist participating in a larger capitalist system does not mean that they will necessarily replicate that larger system within their own culture. Taussig (1977: 154) articulates this point, "A community can in many ways be affected and even controlled by the wider capitalist world, but this in itself does not necessarily make such a community a replica of the larger society and global economy." Despite mystification, tribes will not necessarily accept or reproduce larger societal norms within their communities.

Donham (1999: 404) argues that, in addition to the differing perspective on capitalism, groups also often recognize the structural barriers that constrain them to some extent, noting that:

> It is probable that people in all societies have some understanding of the inequalities that order their lives, some insight into the oppression that limits their being. This knowledge remains, however, typically partial and unclarified, hard to dredge up to the light of day, difficult to systematize in public discourse.

People often recognize their oppression despite the large-scale mystification. Although the tribes may recognize the oppression they experience, they also find themselves structurally unable to resist. In Donham's (1999: 404) words, "*If* societies are to persist in the same mode of production, methods of resolution must exist that will uphold the power of dominant groups…. the de facto exclusion of still other groups from recourse to the law (workers in capitalist societies are generally too poor to fight certain legal matters)." "Workers" therefore may recognize the power inequality, but find themselves unable to resist.

Marxism provided the initial tools to analyze how larger context affects local communities. Marxism, however, proves an inappropriate theory from which to analyze the tribes and their relationship to Grand Canyon in many ways. Marx provides numerous generalizations about tribal life, which at best do not match the tribes' experiences, and at worst stereotype tribal life or even increase the mystification he attempts to counter. The tribes would likely find some of the semantics and assumptions downright insulting. Examples include that in regards to nature "men's relations are purely animal and by which they are overawed like beasts," that "the social structure is, therefore, limited to an extension of the family" and that tribal members prove "sheep-like" (Marx and Engels 1845-6: 58; 63; 64). Finally, as Wallerstein (1974:233) notes, class proves insufficient for exploring the processes at work, arguing that "such groups are really one variety of status-groups, and indeed often overlap heavily with other kinds of status-groups such as those defined by ethnic, linguistic, or religious criteria." Marx's model paints an essentialist picture of tribal life and does not explore the complexities of their relationship with the capitalist system or with the natural systems around them.

Marxism can be an important tool for beginning to explore the situation of the traditionally associated tribes. Marxism does tend to oversimplify tribal societies and their non-class based features, but it can prove to be an important tool in understanding some of the structural barriers that such groups face. American culture further mystifies capitalism and the situation that American Indians face, which further harms these groups. The tribes are able recognize to some extent the inequality they experience, even if they largely prove unable to resist. Marxism provides an initial lens with which to

explore the economic class-based effects on the relationship between the park and the tribes.

Post-Colonial Subjectivity

Marxism demonstrates larger structural factors, such as economic class, limit choices available to individuals and groups. I will further elaborate on this concept in the following section on political ecology. In addition to limiting choices, Post-colonial subjectivity demonstrates how colonial structures further affect individual perspectives. Individuals working with such groups should consider the effects of the system on the viewpoints of Native American individuals and communities. The scope and focus of this thesis, however, does not allow for an in depth analysis of post-colonial subjectivity.

Postcolonial subjectivity demonstrates the basic premise that "colonization has had an influence on much of the current state of knowledge" (Duran and Duran 1995:7). Individuals are subjected to colonially based knowledge because "as citizens, students, teachers, and so on, we are also 'subject to' surveillance, diagnosis, classification, discipline, reward, and punishment by authorities" (Middleton 2005:479). These judgments from authorities all coalesce. As a result everyone is "subjected to these discourses of domination/subordination, authority/power, superiority/inferiority" (Treacher 2005:55). These discourses enter the subjectivity of the individual and prove influential, although the individual may ultimately reject the discourses. Based on these assumptions, postcolonial subjectivity explores "the nature of colonialism's cultural impact on the psyches of the colonised and vice versa" (Williams and Chrisman 1994:23).

American Indian representations of themselves have been influenced by the dominant American culture. Through my consultation experiences, I have noticed how some American Indians, having internalized their own personal experiences and centuries of cultural experience with Euro-Americans, denigrate their own culture based on the response they expect from the listener. American Indians often expect negative reactions to American Indian cultural practices and beliefs from those steeped in mainstream American culture. Some of these negative reactions stem from the American emphasis on science that explicitly rejects anything that cannot be proven through the scientific method. Davis-Floyd (1998: 15) emphasizes that "American society's core value system is strongly oriented toward science" to the extent that "the worship of science and technology has become the new American religion." West (2007:38) recognizes how anthropologists can unintentionally reinforce this perspective emphasizing that:

> In the end, Turner's position, as applied to my case-that Muedans failed to recognize their own symbols (or metaphors); that they mistook allegories for identities… had me asserting, with echoes of colonial condescension, that Muedans' deceived themselves.

American Indian representatives' perspectives, particularly while working with members of the dominant culture, have been shaped at least to some extent by that larger culture. Like with Marxism, however, individuals can recognize and resist the shaping of their perspectives.

Postcolonial subjectivity provides the means to explore how structural factors can influence individual subjectivity and interaction with the dominant culture. This thesis attempts to provide background and recommendations so that those who conduct tribal consultation can do so most effectively and appropriately. Representatives implementing

tribal consultation should have an understanding of post-colonial subjectivity in order to best understand interactions with tribal representatives and the pressures they face. Although an important consideration, postcolonial subjectivity remains largely outside of the scope of this particular analysis.

Political Ecology

Political ecology serves as the most appropriate means to explore how larger structural factors affect the relationship between tribes, the environment, and the park. Anthropologists use political ecology to consider structural factors from more than simply a class perspective and in order to incorporate place into the analysis. Within political ecology, large scale structural factors include history, policy, ideology, globalization, economics, and "especially asymmetric power relations" (Spaeder 2005:166). Furthermore, political ecology addresses the constraints most relevant to tribal consultation, even though the constraints demonstrated by postcolonial subjectivity have considerable effects on the American Indian experience in general.

The park, like the tribes, also faces structural constraints that affect its relationship with the place and the tribes. Funding, policies, and ideologies from the Federal Government, based on the priorities of society at large, heavily constrict individual agencies' actions. Although critical theories traditionally have focused only on marginalized groups, researchers need to recognize the constraints on all parties to create truly successful interventions. Furthermore, leaving government institutions out of the analysis removes important considerations. Walker (2003: 11) notes that:

> Less literature in political ecology… has focused on the *formal* political institutions of the state as arenas of environmental contestation. Robbins, citing Dove (1999), argues that the movement toward political ecology research in the first world should draw our attention to a need to 'invert the preoccupation with 'indigenous movements and NGOs rather than government ministries'

In addition to ignoring the constraints on specific agencies, ignoring government agencies removes important information from the dataset. Scholars of political ecology are beginning to recognize the theory's applicability to governmental institutions and populations within the "first world."

According to political ecology, large scale structural factors all come together to shape the environment itself and the way that people interact with place and each other. According to Kawamura (2004:159), "the fundamental premise of political ecology is that ecological studies can no longer ignore dynamic political interaction between a local ecological unit and outside agencies." In other words, you cannot examine the interaction of people and land locally without considering larger factors, such as marginalization, government policy, and the economy. Spaeder (2005:175) emphasizes that "political ecology provides a useful conceptual framework for understanding how history, environmental factors, power and culture interact to produce social conflicts, and in cases such as these, new institutional arrangements for managing wildlife."

Glen Canyon Dam serves as a clear example of the application of political ecology. The historical context, including Euro-American hegemony, technology, and demands for water and flood controls, led to the creation of Glen Canyon Dam. The dam flooded Glen Canyon itself and permanently altered the natural flows of the Colorado River. Sediment could not pass through the dam, which created severe erosion problems for Grand Canyon. The lack of sediment and seasonal flows caused erosion of

archaeological sites and detrimental effects to natural resources. These effects harm places important to the tribes. The detrimental effects caused by the creation and operation of Glen Canyon Dam over thirty six years triggered the Grand Canyon Protection Act in 1992, which obliges that Glen Canyon Dam be run in such a way "protect, mitigate adverse impacts to, and improve the values for which Grand Canyon National Park and Glen Canyon National Recreation Area were established, including, but not limited to natural and cultural resources and visitor use" (United States Bureau of Reclamation 2012). The subsequent EIS and section 106 agreement spurred tribal monitoring programs on the Colorado River which has provided an opportunity for tribes to interact regularly with the Grand Canyon and have their concerns considered. Glen Canyon Dam clearly altered both the physical environment and the manner in which tribes were able to interact with both Grand Canyon and Glen Canyon (Argonne National Laboratory 2012; National Park Service 2009).

In this section, I will explore a few ways that structural factors have affected the environment of Grand Canyon itself, the park, the tribes, and the interaction of the three. The ways that structural factors have affected these relationships are considerably too numerous to document, so I have provided a few key examples that demonstrate some of the ways such factors have changed these relationships.

Ideology

National parks, such as Grand Canyon National Park, demonstrate how larger structural factors influence people's interactions with the environment. European and then Euro-American hegemony enabled the determination of land use based on a

European model despite the protests of American Indians. With this model, the United States' government set aside land for specific purposes, such as national parks. The national parks in the United States have all been based on the "Yellowstone model of national parks" or the "notion that 'nature' can be 'preserved' from the effects of human agency by legislatively creating a bounded space for nature controlled by a centralized bureaucratic authority" (Neumann 1998: 9). The "Yellowstone model of national parks" encourages the exclusion of American Indians from many of their important places. Changes have been made to allow for gathering, traditional access or use, and consultation in the parks. Decision-making about the implementation of such activities remains with the federal agency itself, however, and therefore the results range widely (Yablon 2004).

In addition to the tribes' physical exclusion from the national parks, tribes have further been disproportionately symbolically removed from those lands. *Polishing the Jewel*, found on the park's website, describes the administrative history of the park. In the book, Anderson notes that although histories of early Euro-American explorers, residents, and users of the park have been extensively documented, those of the traditionally associated tribes and the park has not been, which he considers a "significant slight" (Anderson 2000:x). He states that the exclusion of minorities, particularly the tribes, and environmental history was necessitated by the "limited space, other-directed research, and the simple truth that these people as well as non-human species have been marginalized in past management equations." Brettell (1993:104) notes that "the questions of 'whose history is it?' and 'for whom?' remain both crucial and fundamental" in considering representation. In this case it proves clear that the answer to both these

questions is “all Americans”, while the representation actually only focuses on dominant Euro-Americans (see Chapter 5 for additional information).

Even with the Havasupai living within Grand Canyon itself, their story has been largely ignored in the written history of the place. Even representation that did include American Indians at Grand Canyon was often not done in consultation with the tribes. Some of the tribes expressed their resentment about not being consulted (Keller and Turek 1998). Brettell (1993: 99, 101) again notes regarding her experience with representation that “the past is a cultural possession, and I was naive in thinking that I was on safe ground in talking about it,” and that representation without consultation “undermined the privilege of a community to manage its own history and its own identity.” In an attempt to rectify the situation, the 1995 Grand Canyon General Management Plan noted that interpretation should emphasize that “American Indians lived and continue to live in and around the Grand Canyon, and they continue to play a significant role in the history of the canyon” (Grand Canyon National Park 1995).

Globalization

Due to the influence of capitalism and globalization, culture itself has become a commodity. Moore (2003: 451) notes that “ecological and cultural tourism is on the increase, and tourists not only want to buy cultural artifacts, but to experience local—tribal, exotic— life in all its details.” This explains why tribal dances, “costumes”, and crafts especially were, and to some extent continue to be, an important draw or tourists to Grand Canyon. These tourists, however, want their conception of what this tribal commodification should entail—conceptions that are often heavily influenced by

stereotypes. The tribes recognize tourism and the international craft trade as one of their few economic opportunities and

> may be using this process of extension to make the global flows of people, income, and knowledge work towards their own social and cultural reproduction… cultural extension, which remains deeply implicated in unequal power relations and access to resources, is none the less part of a process of reimagining the local and its value in a global context [Moore 2003:451]

If these tribes must work within the capitalist system, they often do so in a way that will help them maintain their cultural practices and separate identities.

Tourism provides economic opportunities for the tribes, but also hinders their ability to affect change within management of the park. Tourists come from all over the world to see Grand Canyon, a World Heritage Site. Tourists who come from halfway across the world expect specific experiences and the park faces considerable anger when making decisions that are unpopular among tourists. Even the park's EIS public reviews receive comments from around the globe.

During a consultation meeting this summer on the backcountry management plan, several tribes expressed that they perceive that typically park's decisions largely favor tourists. These tribes were quite distressed about the way visitors treat what is possibly their most sacred site. In their discussions with the park, however, the tribes recognized that the park would never close this site to the public. The tribes therefore alternatively requested changes in visitor behavior at the site. These tribes recognized that there was no way they could compete with the capital brought in by tourists, and hoped that adjusting their requests might prove more successful. Such disconnections from their original homeland and sacred places demonstrates that as a result of capitalism and

globalization “for even people remaining in familiar and ancestral places find the nature of their relation to place ineluctably changed, and the illusion of the natural and essential connection between the place and the culture broken” (Gupta and Ferguson 1992: 611). The tribes cannot achieve as much power within the decision making process as tourist demands and adjust their attempts to continue to interact with the place in a traditionally appropriate manner accordingly. The tribes recognize that the tourism fostered by both globalization and capitalism can provide them with some economic means, but also limits their influence over their traditional homelands and sacred sites.

Policy

As noted in Chapter One, a series of federal laws and decisions mandating consultation increased tribal participation in agency decision-making. Some of the legal mandates include NHPA, NEPA, and NAGPRA. Implementation remains with the agencies, however, providing a wide spectrum of results. All of these consultation requirements preceded a shift in Grand Canyon National Park policy that led to the creation of the 1995 General Management Plan and the increased emphasis on consultation in the past few decades. All of these legal mandates offer tribes the tools and opportunity to provide their input on federal actions. Agencies must now consider tribal concerns; however, agencies are still not required to act accordingly.

Reconciliation

The park attempted to further improve relationships in part with the creation of the full time permanent position of Tribal Program Manager three years ago. Despite this

advancement, more than one employee would be necessary in order to create the depth of relationships sought between a major national park and eleven traditionally associated tribes. The Science and Resource Management Offices sought funding for additional tribal program staff in the past, but restraints on the federal budget and the priority placed on visitor services and maintenance did not leave additional funding for the tribal program. The National Parks Conservation Association (2010:3-4) emphasizes that "continuing to strengthen relationships with the 11 American Indian tribes affiliated with the park is essential" and that in order to achieve this goal, they recognize the "need for permanent funding for more proactive, strategic consultation activities to continue to foster effective relationships with the park's 11 affiliated American Indian tribes." Such a program would prove considerably more effective than compliance and activity based consultation. Nevertheless, Grand Canyon has made impressive strides in their consultation program. (Grand Canyon National Park 2010; National Parks Conservation Association 2010).

Although the park faces constraints, the park has taken many actions that have improved relations with tribes. For one, the park has closed the traditional salt gathering locations to all but American Indians. The park has also made a concerted effort to protect American Indian sacred sites in general and has provided for some allowed gathering of traditional plants. Hopi, for one, has recognized the park's effort to improve tribal relations. In the words of Leigh Kuwanwisiwma (formerly Jenkins), the director of the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, "we'll start from here and go forward. We're not going to dwell on the problems because in the last couple of years the Park Service has come a long way" (Keller and Turek 1998:155) (See Figure 4.1). Despite these strides,

Kuwanwisiwma noted in 1998 that he would still like to see a tribal examination of some of the interpretation provided to tourists and meaningful employment in interpretation and other positions for tribal members. Keller and Turek, in 1998, noted that most American Indian employees (both NPS and Xanterra, the park's concessioner) within the park still served as housekeepers or in other low paying positions. Although the tribes

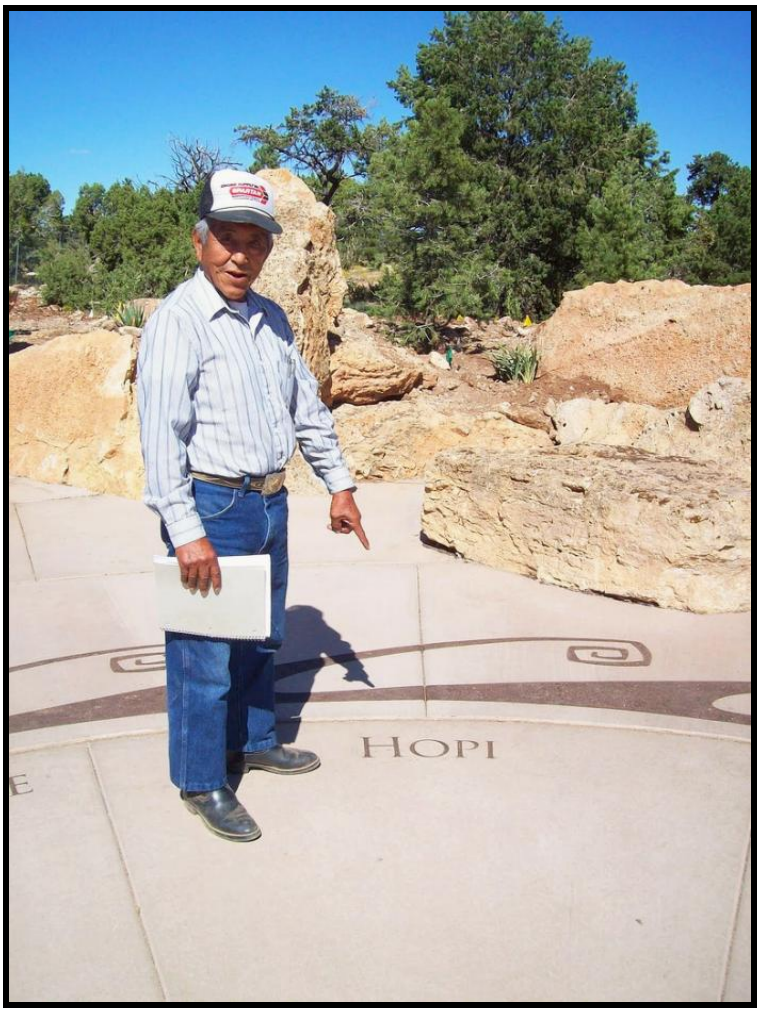

Figure 4.1 Hopi Representative at the Landmark Feature
(Courtesy of the U.S. Forest Service, Southwestern Region, Kaibab National Forest)

still have additional recommendations, the park demonstrates an impressive shift in the quality of their relationships with tribes and will continue to improve, especially with additional funding. If the park continues along the trend of their proposed goals (see

Chapter Two), I have no doubt the park will achieve the kind of consultation program it seeks.

Discussion

Critical theories demonstrate the constraints faced by both the park and the tribes. This perspective proves important throughout the remainder of the analysis. Constraints must be considered in order to create effective and practical recommendations for improving federal tribal consultation.

Critical theories have a tendency to focus exclusively on how the system as a whole reduces the opportunities and wellbeing of marginalized groups. According to this approach, the entire system must be brought down in order to create equity and justice for all. Critical theorists, however, largely do not suggest a method for this process. Critical theorists do expose the realities hidden behind mystification, which ultimately could provide the impetus for larger changes, although they do this within the system itself. Exposing inequities and attempting to improve segments of the system that most affect these populations proves to be the best mechanism that anthropologists currently have to positively impact the world. Critical theories should reflect the ability of formal institutions to change and improve the situation. Anthropologists sitting in their position within the system writing about the system's harmful effects on marginalized people need to provide practical mechanisms for change that actually improve the situation for those that they purport to defend. Huertin-Roberts (1995) argues for the need to combine critical theories with applied anthropology. Critical theories need to be applied to expose the situation as a whole, and then improve specific portions within it.

CHAPTER 5

CULTURAL INTERSECTIONS

This chapter explores how mainstream American, bureaucratic, and American Indian cultures interact within the context of tribal consultation. For the purpose of this thesis, culture is "a system of behaviors (including economic, religious, and social), beliefs (values, ideologies), and social arrangements" as defined by the NPS (1998: 180). Cultures are traditionally thought of as discrete, homogenous groups. Anthropologists recognize, however, that individuals may form part of multiple cultures at any given time. Bureaucratic culture, for example, forms a subset of American culture. Those working within the bureaucracy find themselves within a set of specific behaviors, beliefs, and social arrangements. While not at work, however, these individuals find themselves within mainstream American culture as a whole and the cultural backgrounds of their family and friends. American Indian individuals find themselves within both the culture(s) in which they were raised and larger American culture to varying degrees. Furthermore, an individual's cultural identity and cultures as a whole remain fluid and heterogeneous. Keeping these considerations in mind, culture provides a necessary unit of analysis in order to provide useful recommendations for federal agencies.

I will use the park and its relationship with the eleven associated tribes as a case study in order to explore the intersections of mainstream American, bureaucratic, and American Indian cultures. These intersections illustrate the location of potential conflicts in consultation work stemming from the involved cultural backgrounds. Examining all of

the involved cultures provides the foundation for a more equal relationship between the agencies and the tribes.

Due to the sensitive nature of my internship, I am unable to include much of my experience within this thesis. Where I do include examples, I will generalize to avoid referencing specific tribes, site names, and details, unless previously published. Again I recognize that none of the involved cultures (American, bureaucratic, or American Indian cultures) are homogenous. The 11 tribes, for example, share many general perspectives, but represent very viewpoints on specific issues. I have only included characteristics that in my experience are at least for the most part common to all of these tribes. In using the term American Indian within this chapter, therefore, I am only referencing the cultures that work with the park rather than attempting to define "pan-Indian" characteristics. The explorations of American, Bureaucratic, and American Indian cultures, therefore, are intended more as considerations for management purposes than as a guidebook. Agencies still need to work with each tribe on a case by case basis in addition to these considerations.

Agencies and Tribes

As previously noted, this analysis is not intended as a critique of the park. Considering the constraints and prior poor relations with tribes, the park has done an exceptional job in creating the base of an effective tribal program. The park has explored mechanisms to foster even more collaborative programs and seeks to implement these within the next few years. This analysis uses the park as a case study, exploring where conflicts have occurred in the past or where they would be likely to occur in other

settings, in order to inform policy and provide recommendations that could improve general federal-tribal consultation.

Nader (1972: 289), in "Up the Anthropologist— Perspectives Gained from Studying Up" explores the question of "what if, in reinventing anthropology, anthropologists were to study the colonizers rather than the colonized, the culture of power rather than the culture of the powerless." Nader argues that anthropologists should focus on studying the powerful, such as government agencies, in order to avoid reinforcing the power structure itself. In order to achieve this, I will explore both bureaucratic and mainstream American culture within this chapter rather than simply problematizing American Indian culture within consultation.

Grand Canyon National Park is a unit within the NPS, which is a bureau of the Department of the Interior within the executive branch of the federal government. As demonstrated by Weatherford's book "Tribes on the Hill," components of the federal government have strong organizational cultures. Like Congress, the bureaucracy also maintains a culture, although it varies much more widely throughout the vast array of agencies. Weatherford (1985: 97) emphasizes the static bias in the bureaucracy, stating that "the bureaucracy, by nature, is a conservative organization which, left to its own devices, would never change. When faced with the threat of shifts, turns, or reforms from an outside source, even when the outside source is Congress, the bureaucratic instinct is to resist" (Weatherford 1985: 97). Tribal consultation represents one such shift that many agencies have actively resisted despite congressional mandates. Beginning in 1966, congress began passing acts that required consultation (see Chapter 4). Thirty-four years after the passage of the first mandate requiring consultation with American Indian tribes,

President Clinton issued Executive Order 13175 requiring that such consultation be "meaningful", demonstrating a reluctance of the agencies to comply with such laws (Environmental Protection Agency 2000).

In addition to federal agencies' resistance to change, they also face constant shifts in their structure. Weatherford (1985: 100) notes that "in this way the bi-annual reorganization of Congress in each odd-number year is accompanied by a succession of reverberating changed in the bureaucracy. The bureaucracy, like the Congress, is perpetually reorganizing." As part of the executive branch, agencies such as the NPS experience considerable shifts upon elections. A transfer of power between political parties can express itself through drastic shifts in personnel and funding for different agencies. In addition, most promotions within federal land management agencies require shifting locations. All of these kinds of shifts make it difficult for agencies and tribes to create long-term meaningful relationships.

Trust and respect bring tribes to the consultation table. Jan Balsom, who conducted the park's tribal consultation for decades, emphasizes that trust must be developed through the development of long-term personal relationships. The San Juan Southern Paiute tribal government has only been federally recognized by since 1990 and is currently undergoing legal battles to determine the rightful Chairperson. In the meantime, they have a BIA appointed chairman who has been unresponsive to the park, local forest service units, the BIA, and even other Southern Paiute tribes. I happened to personally know the chairman from my work at the Bureau of Applied Research in Anthropology at the University of Arizona. I sent him an email and he agreed that the tribe would attend the Southern Paiute Backcountry meeting. With the lawsuit in process,

however, they did not have access to tribal funds. So with my personal relationship and the creativity and persistence of the Tribal Program Manager, other Science and Resource Management staff, and the Grand Canyon Association, we were able to bring our 11th traditionally associated tribe back into consultation.

Where relationships have not already developed, this process can take considerably more time and effort. Tribes do not want to invest time and effort into consultation efforts just to start over with each shift in personnel. Balsom explained that the Havasupai wouldn't speak to her for the first eight years that she conducted consultation. Balsom was sitting at a picnic table on the South Rim having lunch with a Hualapai representative when a Havasupai representative walked by. The Havasupai representative traditionally greeted the Hualapai representative, then looked toward Balsom and commented that she had been at the park a long time and asked when she would be leaving. Only after she commented that she did not think she would be leaving, did the representative sit down and begin a connection between the park and the tribe that continues to this day (Interview, February 20, 2012).

Changes in staff prove particularly difficult considering the frequent shifts of the decision makers, such as the NPS superintendents. Davis-Floyd (1998: 31) emphasizes the important role of these individuals, "those at the top of a hierarchy, considered more important, are granted the authority to determine the rules by which others must live." During the meetings this summer, several tribes explicitly expressed their desire to meet the new superintendent himself. Tribes recognize the fluctuating nature of the bureaucracy and often find it exasperating to constantly attempt to form and maintain such relationships. Tribes suspect that superintendents do not have enough background

information to make informed decisions relating to their interests. Stoffle (2001: 33) emphasizes therefore that "mechanisms should be in place to assure that consultation partnerships can survive personnel change." Even if decision makers will continue to shift, staff members who conduct tribal consultation should have permanent positions. As part of the application process, a candidate's willingness and ability to remain in that position should be evaluated. Short term stints in positions intended to be permanent are not fair to the agency or the tribes. Furthermore the transition periods between such permanent staff members should overlap sufficiently to provide the new staff member the opportunity to develop relationships with the presence of the first staff member.

The park's new superintendent, Dave Uberuaga, attended the Zuni's Shalako ceremony and then met with the tribal council this past fall. Experiences such as these provide decision makers and tribes with meaningful opportunities to bond and learn about each other. The Zuni were excited to share their culture with a superintendent who was so receptive, which creates enduring partnerships. In addition, such participant observation on the part of the Superintendent allows them much greater understanding of tribal perspectives and the effects of agency decisions. Decision-makers should strive to participate in such community events as a means of creating relationships of mutual respect and deeper insight, even within the constraints of bureaucracies that constantly change.

Tribal governments also experience rapid turnaround. The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 catalyzed the creation of tribal governments based on an American model of governance. This model involves a cycle of elections rather than traditional, often more long term, models of governance. Tribal governments, therefore, often cycle through

faster than federal employees. The Havasupai tribe, for example, ultimately had to shift their terms from one year to three because so little could be accomplished. In contrast with the agencies, however, tribal governments tend to have the same individuals cycling through regularly. In the same way that federal staff maintains relationships between decision makers, tribal staff also provides coherence between tribal councils. The relationship and trust built between federal and tribal staff members therefore proves essential.

Differing Perspectives on Grand Canyon

Grand Canyon proves vitally important to most of the associated tribes. Both Hopi and Zuni point to locations within Grand Canyon as their places of emergence into this world, while the Southern Paiutes view Grand Canyon as the location where their people pass into the afterlife (Dongoske et al. 1997; Stoffle, Halmo, and Austin 1997). Hopi shrines dot the canyon and its traditional trails. These shrines form part of pilgrimages to Grand Canyon (Fox 1994). Grand Canyon also contains a traditional salt gathering site that has considerable religious significance for the Hopi. The Havasupai lived and continue to live within Grand Canyon and they consider themselves, and the Hopi recognize them as, the "Cohonino," or "the stewards or 'Keepers' of the Grand Canyon" (Keller and Turek 1998: 155). Grand Canyon has served important functional and sacred roles for the tribes, prehistorically, historically, and currently. Economically, hunting and agriculture shifted to entertaining tourists and crafts sales, but spiritual connections have remained throughout (National Parks Conservation Association 2010; Clemmer 1995).

Euro-American visitors to the park have very different expectations of the experience they seek at the park. Tourists come from all over the world to see Grand Canyon and anticipate specific experiences. Recreationalists prove eager to describe their experiences, as hiking or rafting Grand Canyon serves as a symbol of accomplishment within American culture. Abraham (in Bruner 1986: 14) contends that, "Americans are preoccupied with experience, that we hunger for it and have an obsession with novelty." The cultural capital associated with such experiences encourages management policies that support access.

In conducting consultation with the tribes, several tribes often recognized that the park's decisions have a tendency to favor the tourists. The tribes believe there is no way they can compete with the capital brought in by the tourists in decision making and some tribes hoped that adjusting their requests might prove more successful. One Havasupai man expressed his outrage that the American perspective on Grand Canyon has often prevailed in management and policy decisions. Of the Sierra Club, he said, "Recreation! We are talking about survival while they talk about recreation. Where does the greed of these people stop?" (Keller and Turek 1998: 180). The tribes recognize that the demand for tourism opportunities competes with their requests to be allowed to continue to interact with the place in a traditionally appropriate manner.

Views of Land Use

Neumann's "Yellowstone model of national parks" discussed in Chapter Four advocates the exclusion of people from "nature." This model is based on the Western concepts that came from the nature and culture dilemma, where "Descartes, Bacon, and

others neatly resolved this problem in the 1600s when they established the philosophical separation of mind and body" (Davis-Floyd 1998: 19). Davis-Floyd continues to describe how the mind represented culture while the body represents the earth. These philosophers therefore "developed and widely disseminated a philosophy that ultimately severed this sense of interconnection between humans and the planet they inhabit" (Davis-Floyd 1998: 19). Western culture views "nature" and "culture" as two distinct phenomena and therefore removes indigenous inhabitants so others can view "nature".

Wilderness preservation techniques reflect the Western dichotomy of nature and culture. American Indian peoples have been removed from NPS units across the country to protect the environment. Martinez (2003: 250) points to disconnect in this logic noting that "on the one hand, 1.5 million years of human evolution *within* nature tells us that we are an integral part of the natural world. On the other, the Western idea of nature, which is only about 150 years old, tells us that we are separate from nature." Egan and Anderson note how American Indians have been altering natural resources in the Americas for so long that their absence detrimentally affects natural resources. Egan and Anderson (2003:245) further note the specific connections, such as "hunting, fishing, burning, pruning, sowing, weeding, and tilling, that indigenous people had with nature—a relationship that shaped the environment of much of North America." Ecosystems across the United States adapted to the presence of American Indians and could no longer properly self-regulate in their absence, as evidenced by Charles Kay's studies at Yellowstone and Jasper National Parks (Egan and Anderson 2003:248).

The Western concept of the separation of nature and culture has caused major conflicts between environmental and American Indian groups. In 1975, Congress enacted

the Grand Canyon National Park Enlargement Act. This Act merged adjacent federal areas into Grand Canyon National Park, doubling its size almost to its current size of 1,218,375 acres. This act also returned almost eighty-four thousand acres to the Havasupai and set aside another ninety-five thousand acres within the park as a traditional use area. During the creation of this Act, environmentalists, spearheaded by the Sierra Club, actively fought the transfer of park land to the Havasupai based on their fervent belief in the exclusion of people in preserving land, in what is known as "the most bitter clash between Indians and environmentalism in U.S. history" (Keller and Turek 1998:156). The environmentalists feared that if the Havasupai weren't excluded from larger tracks of land that they would be manipulated into developing the land (Keller and Turek 1998).

The environmental argument was further based on the idea that "regardless of past injustice… the Grand Canyon now belonged to all Americans" (Keller and Turek 1998: 166). This reflects the American belief in equal opportunity for everyone rather than "special privileges" or that "in the middle-class conception… one is afforded equality of opportunity" (Jung 2007:8). The Havasupai, on the other hand, recognized no such nature-culture dichotomy and certainly did not accept that they had no more claim to the Grand Canyon than any other American. In 1971, the park hosted a meeting regarding the management of the park where those present discussed their concerns regarding the physical environment of Grand Canyon. After hours of listening, Havasupai chairman Lee Marshall began, "I heard all you people talk about the Grand Canyon. Well, you're looking at it. *I* am the Grand Canyon!" (Hirst 2006: 207). This statement reflects the uniquely intertwined relationship between the Havasupai and Grand Canyon. Within

American culture, specific places should be separated out as “nature” for the recreational enjoyment of all, regardless of the long ecological, spiritual, and recognized political connections of some.

Western culture’s emphasis on the dichotomies of nature and culture and mind and body suggests that nature and the body do not have agency or sentience. Davis-Floyd (1998: 19) explains the continuation of “this philosophy held that the world is not sentient but mechanistic, not participatory but inert.” From the Western perspective, nature lacks agency, which differs widely from common American Indian views of the earth and all things on it as sentient (Davis-Floyd 1998: 19; Cajete 2000: 21). Those who view nature as sentient, interact with places in an entirely different manner. Those coming from the larger Western perspective that does not view the earth as having agency will interact with the land in an entirely different manner. The Yellowstone model of national parks deliberately excludes the presence of American Indians in their traditional manner by requiring the separation of the natural and cultural realms and rejecting the sentient nature of the earth. The exclusion of American Indians hurts both the culture of these people and the environments they formerly inhabited.

Representation

As noted in Chapter Four, American culture mystifies the reality of inequality historically and currently within the United States by excluding contradictory histories. Grand Canyon similarly excluded the tribes from administrative history and from opportunities to represent themselves in public interpretation until relatively recently. American Indians experience high levels of disjuncture within a society that excludes

them from representing themselves and largely ignores their struggles, and even, often their very continued existence. At the same time Brettell (1993: 103) demonstrates the outrage of the general American public when the same thing happens to them and their ideology and its mystification is exposed: “This exhibition was a revisionist reading of westward expansion, a reading that toppled the heroic concept of Manifest Destiny and replaced it with an antiheroic history of capitalist exploitation and destruction…. a writer to the said newspaper said that to attack ‘a nation's founding myth is tantamount to burning the flag’.” American culture denies American Indians the opportunity to represent themselves and therefore expose the flaws in American ideology that mystifies much of the structural realities and unflattering history. Americans, however, react lividly when their ideology is exposed and they themselves are denied their preferred representation.

Articulation

American culture values articulation of experience as a way of creating unique selves. Jung (2007: 132), in *Learning to Be an Individual*, notes the emphasis within creativity education on “the paramount cultural value attached to self-expression.” In addition to articulating the self through experiences, the dominant society maintains a specific style of the interaction that values narration. The video *Preschool in Three Cultures* demonstrates how American preschools place emphasis on teaching children to self-narrate and verbalize their thoughts (Tobin 1989). On the other hand, American culture views those who maintain other patterns of communication as problems. Jung (2007:103) elaborates this point noting that minority students “did not have the resources

that ‘white’ students had, including the ‘white’ style of communication. She attributed the fact that many African American students were ‘problem’ cases in the school to the interaction style that they brought from home, which was vastly different from the ‘white’ way.” These individuals, including American Indians, experience how “the middle-class, mostly Euro-American, notion of personhood and the corresponding interaction pattern may put students with different backgrounds at a serious disadvantage” (Jung 2007: 9). Individuals who do not comply with the dominant interaction style that emphasizes verbal expression, especially in specific ways, find themselves at a disadvantage within society as a whole.

The expectation of a society that values coherent articulation and specific narrative that management requires proves particularly problematic for American Indian tribes. Ferguson and Colwell-Chanthaphonh (2006:250) explain that American Indian tribes within their study of American Indian connections to the San Pedro Valley in southeast Arizona “were explicit in telling us that they could not share certain types of information because it was privileged and esoteric.” In many American Indian cultures, knowledge, especially that of a sacred nature, is restricted to certain individuals. Keesing (2006:161) emphasizes this difficulty commenting “that views of cultures as collective phenomena, of symbols and meanings as public and shared, need to be qualified by a view of knowledge as distributed and controlled. Even in classless societies, who knows what becomes a serious issue.” American Indians experience difficulty providing narratives on sacred aspects of their culture, while the federal government, based on American culture, views authenticity through narration.

The federal government officially recognizes how difficult it is for tribes to articulate sacred and/or traditional knowledge. Section 304 of the National Historic Preservation Act mandates confidentiality when revealing information could "cause a significant invasion of privacy, risk harm to the historic resources; or impede the use of a traditional religious site by practitioners" (NHPA 2000: 35). Bulletin 38 on Traditional Cultural Properties further emphasizes that agencies need to consider confidentiality and remain flexible. Bulletin 38 emphasizes that the problems confidentiality creates for agencies "may pale into insignificance when compared with the wrenching cultural conflicts they may present to those who value the properties" (Parker and King 1998: 20). Federal decision makers have recognized the difficulty of tribes to articulate information about certain places.

Even if federal agencies maintain confidentiality as per NHPA, problems for protecting these important sites remain. When discussing education as part of a strategy to protect a sacred site, one NPS staff member noted that visitors do not respond to vague comments that a place is important. Without specifics, most tourists will simply disregard the message. Furthermore, literature is often used to validate a site and its importance, so tribes who have maintained confidentiality will have fewer "legitimate" sources to back their claims. Even with greater federal recognition of the importance of confidentiality, problems still arise for tribes that are hesitant to share information.

Ways of Knowing

Dominant American culture has very different ways of knowing, such as emphasizing literature, than most American Indian groups. One way that many American

Indians recognize specific places as sacred is through their own corporeal reactions to the site. In some cases, the body knows the place even though the individual had only heard of it, because the body should be recognized as “not as an object but as a subject” (Csordas’ 1990: 36). Individual’s bodies may know a place through shock experienced at a place as explained by Victor Turner (1986:35-6):

> These experiences that erupt from or disrupt routinized, repetitive behavior begin with shocks of pain or pleasure. Such shocks are evocative: they summon up precedents and likenesses from the conscious or unconscious past…What happens next is an anxious need to find meaning in what has disconcerted us, whether by pain or pleasure, and converted mere experience into *an* experience. All this when we try to put past and present together. It is structurally unimportant whether the past is "real" or "mythical," "moral" or "amoral."

From my experience, American Indians often learn through their bodies and the shock experienced when visiting sacred places. Additionally, American Indian will sometimes use dreams, interactions with the site, and the presence of specific natural elements as a way of knowing about a site. Tribal members may further recognize specific sites from ceremonial songs, prayers, or oral traditions even though they may never have been there. These forms of evidence, although often highly respected within tribes, may be viewed as inauthenticity by the non-Native individuals that have the power in managing sites.

The aforementioned emphasis on the separation of the mind and body in American culture influences the rejection of using the body as an acceptable and valued way of knowing. Cerroni-Long (1998) emphasized the valuation of the mind over the body in American culture, stating that “all through my explorations of American culture, I repeatedly found a common popular concern with the ideational realm, an attitude almost opposite to the Japanese preoccupation with behavioral norms.” Specifically as a

way of knowing, the mind is heavily privileged over the body in the American education system based on this preference for ideas. Jung (2007: 47) described two types of students within the American education system, the “idea-oriented” and “relational” students. She describes that for the “relational” students “it is more important for them to have a good relationship with teachers to be able to learn” and they tend to learn “from their friends, but not by themselves.” They get information “from the outer world” rather than from inside. They are “tactile” rather than “theoretical” (Jung2007: 47). This learning style that incorporates kinesthetic learning is devalued in comparison to “idea-oriented” learning. Unlike American Indian cultures, American culture almost exclusively privileges the mind as the method of learning over the body.

Body Praxis

Although the tribes would prefer that tourists not have access to sacred sites, tribes recognize the cultural capital vested in recreational experience and the management of the park. Therefore, during the backcountry meeting this summer tribes merely requested instead that visitors be educated not to yell, rappel, or swim naked at one such site, which they considered highly inappropriate behavior. Jackson (1983:329) emphasizes that “it is not surprising to find such an emphasis on bodily praxis in a preliterate society where most practical learning is a matter of direct observation and 'prestigious imitation'.” The fact that inappropriate bodily actions prove so offensive relates to the emphasis on the body within American Indian culture as a way of knowing and learning. This also demonstrates why appropriate body behavior proved so essential when American Indians describe proper interaction with sites. Appropriate behavior, such

as smudging, applying hematite to the body, or other purification measures for the body, is often required before entering a site. Appropriate action of the body within a site such as this proves vital due to the cultural value placed on the body within the many American Indian cultures.

Self and Community

American Indians strongly maintain their perceptions about the body based on maintenance of their culture. Most individuals within mainstream American culture do not understand American Indians' essential attachments to their culture and its associated places. This difficulty stems from the fact that Americans do not believe they have a culture. Instead Americans see identity as an ever shifting category. Cerroni-Long (1998: 89) emphasizes this point noting that:

> A great many Americans seem to believe that 'ideas make the person' and because ideas can and do change, people can continuously reinvent themselves. Perhaps because of this belief, the idea of American culture as a stable configuration is not commonly accepted, and even members of minority groups feel that their identity is a matter of 'negotiation'

Americans do not understand the continuing value placed on culture within American Indian communities because they see identity as easily changing and value this quality.

In American culture individuality is valued, whereas in American Indian cultures individual desires are often submerged if it is better for the group. Affiliations are viewed by the middle class as interfering with one's ability to "make the best of oneself" as noted by Jung (2007: 8). Furthermore, Jung (2007: 42) emphasizes the devaluing of cultures that focus on community, such as the associated American Indian tribes, because "those who have their own agency and thus are 'independent' of others (e.g. peers) are placed

higher in the ethno-psychological rank of personhood, relative to those who are more 'dependent' on others and controlled by external rules or agents." American culture lacks an understanding of the strong attachment of American Indians to their culture, places, and community based on American's valuation of shifting identities and the belief that connections both constrain the individual and demonstrate their dependent nature.

Time

Anthropologists widely recognize that indigenous peoples have differing conceptions of time from the Western view. The Western idea that one can "measure the passage of time along a uniform and continuous linear scale that begins in the past and continues forward into the future… constitutes one of the foundations of Western culture" (Ferguson and Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2006:35). On the other hand, Vine Deloria, Jr. (in Ferguson and Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2006:33) argues that "most Native American traditions privilege space and events over precise temporal concepts." In blunt terms, the two cultures are not even talking about the same thing.

Although many recognize the differing values of time between the two cultures, other aspects of time remain ignored. The first is simple. Most tribal governments, largely understaffed and underfunded, simply do not have enough time to adequately review and respond to all consultation requests. Considering the sheer number of NHPA, NEPA, and NAGPRA notices alone that any single agency may send, let alone the multiple agencies any one tribe may interact with, tribes do not have the time to respond to anything but the most important projects within the timeframes put forth by the agencies. Furthermore,

considering that tribal councils may only meet once a month, agency timeframes sometimes simply cannot be met.

The second unrecognized aspect of time for American Indians is that the past does not leave the place. Barbara Bender (in Ferguson and Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2006:34) remarks that “landscape is time materialized.” The past never leaves a place. Therefore, while tourists believe that only physical damage remains, American Indians believe that their disrespectful actions stay with the place. The place is then altered and needs to be once again treated properly so that it may return to its sacred and powerful function. It proves unsurprising considering the past behavior of visitors that tribes make requests like “a Southern Paiute spiritual leader must visit the site to restore the spiritual feeling of the place" (Stoffle et al. 1995: 116). Just like vandalism, disrespectful behavior damages a place in ways that remain even though unseen.

Implications

Tribal consultation proves difficult due to the conflicting perspectives of American, bureaucratic, and American Indian cultures. The park demonstrates some of the ways that these cultural perceptions have the potential for conflict. Areas of potential conflict include land use, representation, articulation, ways of knowing, and the body. The approach in this thesis includes the role of American culture in these interactions. Agency discussions of tribal consultation have traditionally focused on how the tribal cultures complicate the work the agency attempts and not vice-versa. The focus on American Indian culture stems from the vehement denial of an American culture. As Cerroni-Long (1998: 91) explains, “I must conclude that denying that an American

culture exists seems to be one of the most consistent local cultural traits." The reluctance of Americans to acknowledge that they have a culture, let alone multiple layers of culture, places the blame and othering on the tribes rather than recognizing the adjustments the agencies themselves could make to improve the situation.

In order to combat this perspective and produce a healthier and more even dialogue between the parties, Nader recommends "studying up." In other words, "a reinvented anthropology should study powerful institutions and bureaucratic organizations in the United States, for such institutions and their network systems affect our lives and also affect the lives of people that anthropologists have traditionally studied" (Nader 1972: 293). Anthropologists should provide the tools so that the tribes can effectively engage the agencies based on understanding of agency culture. A wide variety of ethnographies already exist, but these ethnographies focus "on the poor, the ethnic groups, the disadvantaged; there is comparatively little field research on the middle class and very little firsthand work on the upper classes" (Nader 1972: 289). More simply, rather than the myriad ethnographies focusing on the tribes, Anthropologists should be "writing ethnographies for the 'natives'" (Nader 1972: 293). Agency and/or tribal anthropologists particularly could have a role in the creation of such documents. These ethnographies would aid the tribes in adjusting to best work with the agency cultures, as well as aiding the agencies themselves in understanding first that they have a culture and how it can be adjusted. Agency transparency through ethnography would allow all parties to better adjust to the other and thus ease efficiency, the creation of relationships, and ability to avoid conflict. Overall, such an approach would maximize the benefits of tribal consultation for all involved parties.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

Summary

This thesis explores data on tribal consultation and connections to places that I obtained through my internship with the Cultural Resources and Tribal Programs at the park. Chapter Two provided the appropriate background information on my internship and the agency within which it was connected. Within the internship, I used an applied anthropology approach. The information was gathered through participant observation, informal interviews, a field journal, and meetings (discussion groups). Triangulation, reflexivity, and an iterative process all came together in order to increase the data's reliability. In the end, I used the concepts of items, patterns, and structures in order to analyze the obtained data. Future research, including interviews with several tribal representatives from each tribe, should be conducted in order to improve the park specific recommendations and to further incorporate the perspective of those who work with agencies from the outside. A more in depth ethnographic study would have greatly enhanced the provided interpretations, but that remained out of the scope of this research.

Large scale structural factors and American, bureaucratic, and American Indian cultures all come together to shape the current state of interactions among agencies, tribes, and places. First, critical theories demonstrate the constraints that all of the involved parties face. Marxism demonstrates the economic constraints, while postcolonial subjectivity addresses the psychological. Political ecology includes the

concept of place and shows how large-scale constraints shape the environment itself, along with the interactions of place, associated traditional peoples, and agencies who manage the place. Through the lens of political ecology, this thesis explores how ideology, globalization, policy, and recent shifts in consultation have affected the relationships at the park. Recognizing constraints proves essential in order to recognize where the systems allow for flexibility and improvement within the constraints in place.

After recognizing the larger constraints, this thesis then investgates how mainstream American, bureaucratic, and American Indian cultures interact in ways that has the potential to cause conflict. The park has dramatically improved their tribal relations and if the park continues along the path that it is currently on, it has the potential to become a model consultation program. Using past and current relationships with tribes, I delve into the intersections of the cultures where conflict has the potential to occur. Some of the intersections include differing perspectives on place, articulation, ways of knowing, the role of the body, self and community, time, and representation. These analyses explore the influence of American and bureaucratic cultures in addition to American Indian cultures in order to avoid the trend of blaming the tribes for the intersections and to promote a more equitable and effective approach.

Recommendations

The recommendations provided below are based on the analysis developed throughout this thesis. Many of the conclusions I reached had already separately been recognized by anthropologists working within the park. The park, therefore, is already taking steps towards addressing most of these recommendations. The first two

recommendations provide additional considerations for the park, while the following recommendations are always worth reiteration even while they are in progress at the park. The park, however, is already on the path towards an exceptional tribal consultation program if things continue in the same direction. These recommendations are largely aimed at practitioners of federal tribal consultation in general or those agencies seeking to enhance their current efforts.

1. Ethnographies of government agencies promote more positive and equal relationships between the agency and the tribes. Providing the associated tribes with an ethnography of the agency's culture would promote trust by showing the tribes that the agency is attempting transparency and allow the tribes to most effectively work together with the agency.

2. Interviews with tribal members who participate in consultation should be conducted. These interviews should revolve around past relations with federal agencies, history of relationships with that agency specifically, connections to agency land base, current consultation relationships, current and ongoing issues the tribe faces, and agency areas for improvement. This additional perspective is needed in order strengthen the process of developing management recommendations, and encourage identification of additional arenas for collaboration.

3. Confidentiality needs to be strictly maintained when requested. When an agency demonstrates its ability to maintain confidentiality, tribes will more likely feel comfortable expressing their specific concerns, making it easier for the agency to address them.

4. Tribal consultation should go above and beyond mere compliance with the law. Collaborative relationships aid in avoiding conflict, help all entities improve their management, and promote efficiency in consultation based on solid created relationships. In-person activities develop personal relationships and trust between staff members, build on the goals of all parties, and identify further points where goals can be mutually promoted. Vasquez and Jenkins (1994:17) emphasize that "this kind of hands-on, roll-up-your sleeves collaboration… seems to be a key factor in the project's success." In addition, staff members who participate in tribal events as participant observers gain a greater understanding of the tribe and its deep connections to place and build even more meaningful relationships.

5. Data collected through research and other resources can prove extremely valuable to both parties, so the mutual exchange of sources should be encouraged.

6. Tribes played important roles in the ecology of the area before the creation of the agency and have centuries or even millennia of experience on how to live sustainably within that local environment. Collaborations that incorporate associated tribes' Traditional Ecological Knowledge would both aid the agency's efforts to protect natural resources and the Tribes' attempts to maintain their cultural practices and connection to place. In the words of Martinez (2003: 250), "Indigenous cultural survival depends on healthy land…healthy lands depend on the survival of indigenous peoples and their positive role as keystone players in our planet's diverse ecosystems."

7. In order to create long-term relationships of trust and understanding, government and tribal staff involved in consultation should be permanent, full-time employees dedicated solely to working together. Although decision makers in both agencies and tribes will continue to shift, long-term staff-to-staff relationships will provide a base that facilitates efficient and effective work. New staff members should be brought into the process while the original staff member(s) remains in order to promote a smooth transition rather than recreating relationships from scratch.

8. Tribes appreciate the opportunity to build a relationship with decision makers personally. As much as possible, decision makers and their direct staff should be present at consultation meetings, so the consultation work will be more effective and tribal representatives will know they are respected. Ideally, decision makers especially should attend tribal events, such as Shalako at Zuni (Chapter Five), in order to gain a greater understanding of the issues at hand and the importance of tribal relations.

9. Tribes should be incorporated early in the planning process of projects and always given more than adequate time to respond. This proves important not only for adequately complying with laws and tribal consultation policies, but also because it avoids possible conflicts before they arise and creates an atmosphere of mutual trust and respect. Tribal Representatives become very angry if they feel agencies are only paying lip service to consultation by beginning too late in the process. If they are incorporated too late into the process tribes cannot adequately incorporate their concerns into alternatives or consult with elders or a tribal council that rarely meets in order to most appropriately respond. Starting with or building anger and mistrust fosters an environment that is not conducive to effective consultation.

10. Agencies should work to ensure all tribes receive adequate attention and consultation. Some tribes may feel they do not receive enough attention due to factors like fewer documented connections to places in the canyon, tribe size and

infrastructure, historic relations with the agency, or even simply physical distance. Tribes additionally often feel inadequately included in consultation if their tribes' beliefs about their connections to past groups are not recognized by the dominant society as 'legitimate'. Perceived favoritism can cause strain to relations with other tribes.

11. Due to the limited time and resources of many of the tribes, the individuals conducting tribal consultation should know enough about each of the tribes in order to recognize when a tribe may have specific concerns and specifically bring these instances to their attention. This avoids conflict later in the process and assures the tribe that the agency is not trying to slide things by them. In addition, all staff should have general knowledge of tribal consultation, the tribes themselves, and the value of working with the tribes. When all staff know about and value tribal issues, tribal consultation becomes more sustainable and more likely to be properly considered. It is not necessary, however, for agency employees to be "experts" on the tribes. The tribes are the experts on the tribes. Knowing who to ask or where to look for information prove much more useful skills.

12. Tribes should be incorporated into the creation of interpretive displays and programs in order to ensure that the tribes are presented in a way that the tribe can be proud of and that encourages appropriate visitor behavior within the canyon. When advocating appropriate behaviors, these messages prove more effective when presented by a representative of the culture that requests this behavior. The park, for example, provides an orientation river trip video with interviews from several tribal members. The video includes comments from associate tribes' representatives requesting visitors be respectful of the canyon.

13. In order to create relationships based on trust and understanding, the agency must acknowledge what it has done wrong in the past in order to move forward. The agency and the tribes must further acknowledge what cannot be changed or where they must agree to disagree. There are some cultural differences or regulatory barriers, for example, that cannot be overcome. From there, the agency and the tribes can discuss issues where improvement can happen. In finding places for improvement, Jan Balsom, who conducted the park's tribal consultation for decades recommends approaching the issues from the perspective of "how can we, not why can't we" noting that "there's always a way to do what's right" (interview, February 20, 2012). Creativity and flexibility are essential in order to find ways to improve despite the constraints both the agencies and the tribes face.

Tribal consultation is a complicated process. There will never be a simple guidebook for tribal consultation because each tribe is different, tribes themselves are not homogenous, and both tribes and agencies face constraints. Locally, additional agency

and consultation based ethnographic studies can further resolve conflicts and help create stronger collaborative partnerships. No amount of recommendations, however, will change the fact that agencies simply need to return to the tribes regarding each issue. These recommendations, however, can help avoid some major and unnecessary conflicts that cost agencies and tribes significant, time and money. Furthermore these approaches to tribal consultation improve general outcomes for both the agency and the tribes.

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