

DOUBLE ISSUE

common

Ground



STEWARDS OF THE HUMAN LANDSCAPE

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AN IMPORTANT ALLY IN PRESERVATION

Some may consider it ironic that cultural anthropology is relatively new to preservation. Even the earliest proponents of cultural resource management knew that preserving our nation's culture would take more than archeologists and historic architects working together. The effect of 1969's National Environmental Policy Act, which might have ushered in a larger role for cultural

anthropology, was not what some had hoped for. Change came with the American Indian Religious Freedom Act, the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, and the National Historic Preservation Act amendments in 1992. All three called for

greater involvement of Indians and other groups in the review of public projects. By assisting agencies that carry out these laws, cultural anthropologists have proven their mettle in preservation.

Thanks to their abilities in eliciting and analyzing the views of contemporary people, these professionals are skilled in identifying traditional cultural sites and evaluating their need for preservation. This is true for Native American sacred sites as well as for farming communities, urban neighborhoods, and the like whose significance may not be immediately recognized. Cultural anthropologists tap the traditional knowledge that makes these places what they are, helping public land managers make better choices in a range of situations.

NAGRPA is a case in point. The statute calls for cultural affiliation studies of human remains and artifacts that may appropriately be repatriated. To aid the process, cultural anthropologists conduct interviews with tribes, analyze traditional stories, and examine decades-old ethnographic studies. Sometimes they discover that something is more important than a land manager realizes, or is significant for different reasons. This happens with historic structures as well as with archeological sites.

Cultural anthropologists also assist agencies in caring for natural resources and in meeting a host of general management objectives. By systematically illuminating local perceptions, they help planners work with ethnic groups commonly thought of in connection with cultural anthropology, such as African Americans, as well as others such as elderly people in urban neighborhoods, traditional users of a ball field, or history buffs who engage in battle-field reenactments.

Interviews are as basic to cultural anthropology as artifact analysis is to archeologists or structural drawing is to historical architects. But the personal nature of the research demands sensitivity to how the information is used. There are often issues of confidentiality when the information relates to sacred sites or other such traditional places. Cultural anthropologists also strive to distin-

“Resolving the complex issues we face as preservationists will take close cooperation among all the disciplines.”

guish between the objective analysis needed for a public agency's decision-making and the advocacy of a group whose traditions they are studying.

Resolving the complex issues we face as preservationists will take close cooperation among all the disciplines. Cultural anthropology brings an important ally to the table.

Francis P. McManamon is Chief, Archeology and Ethnography Program, and Departmental Consulting Archeologist, National Park Service, Department of the Interior.

-Diggings-

NEWS, VIEWS, AND RECENTLY NOTED

"A CAREFUL NEGOTIATION OF SPACE"

NEW DISCOVERIES, INTERPRETATIONS AT BOOKER T. WASHINGTON'S PLANTATION BIRTHPLACE

Investigations at Virginia's Booker T. Washington National Monument, under an agreement between the Park Service and the state's Sweet Briar College, may draw a new picture of the former slave's early years on the 19th century Burroughs plantation, where he was born in 1856. Until recently, archeologists had investigated less than one percent of the 207-acre tobacco plantation—the site of the monument—whose buildings were largely destroyed over the last century.

Plantation life in Washington's time was what Sweet Briar archeologist Amber Moncure calls a "careful negotiation of physical and cultural space." Before the investigations, some doubted the supposed location of the Burroughs house, where what is left of a modest structure stands a mere 30 feet or so away from the remains of slave cabins. According to Moncure, "If it was that close [to the cabins], it is singular in everything I know about southern plantations. They had too much money to live next to slaves. If they did, there is a cultural reasoning for it that is not typical." University of North Carolina ethnographer Willie Baber believes the Burroughs lived on a knoll about two hundred yards away, which he discovered they owned from an 1850 deed. Archeologists working on the knoll, using magnetometers and other forms of remote sensing, found an area of disturbed earth about 60 feet square, which may be a foundation, with stones suggesting the remains of a building.

The site of the modest structure yielded some 19th century artifacts, but nothing conclusive about who lived there. Excavations of



TUSKEGEE UNIVERSITY

■ Investigating a Global Village

In the early 1800s, Russian seafarers, eager to grab a piece of the lucrative Northwest Pacific fur trade, came ashore at a northern California village occupied by the Kashaya Pomo Indians. There, the newcomers established Fort Ross, a former multi-ethnic community now the focus of an archeological investigation by the state's department of parks and recreation, the University of California at Berkeley, and the Kashaya Pomo tribe, funded by the National Science Foundation.

Archeologists are taking advantage of what they call an "extraordinary opportunity" to investigate Metini Village, one of the largest Kashaya Pomo sites. Long considered sacred, it was off-limits until the team recruited tribal members like Otis Parrish, a Berkeley Ph.D. candidate who is taking a prominent role.

The Russians hunted sea otters as far south as Baja California, assembling a workforce of Kashaya, native Alaskans, and "Creoles" (what they called those of mixed European and native ancestry). Investigators say that study of early cultural encounters has focused almost exclusively on native-European interaction, whereas most colonies were more complex, with extensive mingling, marriage, and cohabitation. Since colonial accounts were largely written by European men, archeology plays a crucial role in understanding culture change—and resistance.

According to Berkeley archeologist Kent Lightfoot, much of the project's impetus came from the Kashaya, who cherish their traditions and want to know more about their past. Most trace their ancestry to the 19th century villagers, so there is an excellent opportunity for oral histories.

School children from California, Russia, and Alaska can participate in the project at a web site called "Global Village" (www.mcn.org/ed/ross/gv.htm); also available there are educational materials and lesson plans created by archeologists and local teachers.



the foundation, slated for summer, should reveal more about the inhabitants.

Elsewhere, archeologists discovered where Washington was probably born. The Park Service knew that a cabin reconstructed to memorialize the event was in the wrong place. According to accounts from the Burroughs children, Washington's family moved to that site

later, from a cabin that was falling down. NPS archeologists had a general idea of the actual birthplace, but excavators on this project found what their report calls "substantive evidence." The remains of a wooden cabin and artifacts from the 19th century are consistent with those typically found at sites occupied by enslaved African Americans. The report says the

former inhabitants "were living on the edge—little food, few material goods [in] a cabin that was by 1860 in considerable disrepair." Investigators are confident this is Washington's real birthplace.

LEFT: Tuskegee University founder Booker T. Washington; BELOW: Linoleum cut of Fort Ross, 19th century Russian outpost.



- D i g g i n g s -



ONLINE

■ SACRED SITES REPORT

The estimated 26 million acres managed by the Defense Department hold a wealth of historical and cultural sites. Recently, DoD's Legacy Resource Management Program published **Native American Sacred Sites and the Department of Defense** to foster partnerships between defense installations and native people (Congress created the program in 1991 to facilitate preservation).

Though focused on DoD, the report covers issues such as the kinds of sacred sites, the legal basis for interaction between agencies and native people, and, through case studies, the consulting process.

The report was edited by Vine Deloria, Jr., of the University of Colorado and Richard W. Stoffle of the University of Arizona. Due to limited availability, readers are encouraged to download it from DoD's web site (go to <http://www.denix.osd.mil>, select "Public Menu," click "Native Americans" and then the report title).

CHACO CULTURE NATIONAL MONUMENT

A HOME IN THE NEW WORLD

TENEMENT MUSEUM NOW A NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE

President Clinton has signed a bill making New York City's Lower East Side Tenement Museum a national historic site. While maintaining its independence, the privately run museum will become a National Park Service "affiliated area," a designation given to historically important properties that are not NPS-owned but get technical (and sometimes financial) assistance.

The museum, at 97 Orchard Street, is in a tenement built in 1864, home to about 7,000 people from 20 nations until boarded up in 1935. Once vibrant with life (the first floor hosted a saloon in the 1870s), the building remained silent until 1988, when it reopened as a museum with the mission of interpreting the history of the urban, immigrant working class. The museum is frank in its depiction of lives that were often hard.

Thanks to historic recreations, visitors can tour the cramped accommodations of the Gumpertz family, German Jews who lived there in the 1870s, and the Baldizzis, Italian Catholics from the Depression. An interactive tour provides a glimpse into the life of the Confinos, Sephardic Jews from Turkey. The quarters occupied by the Rogarshevskys, an eastern European Jewish family that lived in the building from 1910 to 1935, have recently been recreated as well. Photography and artwork exhibits depict the history of New York and the neighborhood. The museum, which also offers walking tours and lec-

Heritage in Harm's Way

President Clinton has asked the Senate to ratify the Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict. The convention calls for nations to safeguard art and antiquities in the event war breaks out. It also demands that belligerents respect cultural property during hostilities and that invading forces identify it properly and prevent its export.

The United States signed the treaty in 1954 but never ratified it because of Cold War concerns that the agreement would be used for military advantage (such as when Iraq parked jet fighters next to cultural sites during the Gulf War). The effort to protect Kuwait's heritage during that conflict—and the end of the Cold War—prompted new U.S. interest in the treaty.

For more information on the convention, visit the World Wide Web site of the International Conference on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) at www.icomos.org/hague.

LOWER EAST SIDE TENEMENT MUSEUM

tures, will continue to have full authority over its programming as well as responsibility for raising its annual budget. NPS may pro-

vide technical assistance with traffic flow, exhibits, security, and preservation. The new bill authorizes the museum and NPS to collaborate on programs at Ellis Island and Castle Clinton NM to enrich the telling of the immigrants' story.



LOWER EAST SIDE TENEMENT MUSEUM

ABOVE: Restored apartment of the Baldazzi family, who lived at 97 Orchard Street during the Depression; **BELOW:** A fortune-teller's advertisement found beneath the building's floorboards.

PRICE, 15c.
97 Orchard Street,
 AND UP
 Delancy & Broome Sts.
 1st Fl. Back, Room 4, N. Y.
 the World Famous Palmist and Mind Reader
 ntly arrived from Europe.
PROF. DORA MELTZER,
 guesses the name and age of Every Person.
 She is an unexcelled
 Palmist, tells
 past, present
 gives

U.S. SEIZES PERUVIAN ANTIQUITIES

TREASURES LIKELY PLUNDERED FROM ANCIENT TOMBS IN SIPAN REGION

In a routine check of a crate marked “Peruvian handicrafts,” customs inspectors at Miami International Airport discovered human remains and artifacts probably taken from tombs in the archeologically rich Sipan region. The 572-pound crate—found in a Lufthansa Airlines warehouse on its way to Switzerland—contained a gold rattle, a gold-filled fox head, and other items along with a woman’s mummified head wrapped in a wool turban and a human arm with a blue tattoo. The contents, whose worth is estimated in the millions of dollars, were described on a manifest as handicrafts valued at \$2,764. Peruvian authorities issued a warrant for Rolando Rivas-Rivadeneyra, who they believe shipped the goods.

Customs seized the crate under the Convention on Cultural Property Implementation Act (19 U.S.C. 2601-2613), which prohibits the import of cultural artifacts without a permit. The act is intended to carry out the 1970 UNESCO convention prohibiting the illegal export and sale of cultural property. Officials at Peru’s National Institute of Culture estimate that about \$800 million a year is made on the sale of stolen artifacts, particularly from the Sipan region, where international demand drives rampant looting. In June 1997, the United States and Peru signed an agreement to step up the effort to stop the trafficking.

Although most of the seized materials were returned to Peru, some—with permission—were used to dramatize the trafficking problem in “Empires of Mystery,” a temporary exhibit on South American civilizations at St. Petersburg’s Florida International Museum. The objects appear in a diorama of the Lufthansa warehouse.

In a related development, FBI agents seized three gold artifacts from an exhibit at the Museum of New Mexico’s Palace of the Governors in Santa Fe. A pair of earrings and



LEFT: Gold headdress ornament from Peru’s archeologically rich Sipan region.



two gold pendants inlaid with turquoise and shell—also believed to be from Peruvian tombs—were on loan from an anonymous collector. Tom Chavez, director of the Palace of the Governors, had notified the lender that Peru might demand the return of the objects. The collector is cooperating with the FBI.

NATIONAL PARK LOOTERS CONVICTED

U.S. ATTORNEY'S OFFICE PURSUES ATTEMPT CHARGES

In a series of incidents, Assistant U.S. Attorney Dennis Kennedy of Virginia's Eastern District has employed ARPA's underused provision making attempted violations a crime. His district is the only one in the nation to use the provision (second violations of ARPA are automatically felonies).

In August, Gerald Williams was convicted of possessing a metal detector at Manassas Battlefield. The next month Park Police caught him again at Alexandria's Jones Point. He pled guilty to attempt, receiving a year's probation and a \$250 fine. He forfeited his metal detector and was banned from parks in the district for a year. In November, three people caught digging at the battlefield were prosecuted for attempt because of the nature of the evidence. Adam Breen and Craig MacMurray pled guilty; the latter's wife, Chizura, pled guilty to attempt as well as to possessing a metal detector and not paying the entrance fee. They forfeited equipment, paid nearly \$800 for repairs, and were banned from parks in the district for a year. In January, Donald Rogers pled guilty to attempt after being caught with a metal detector in Prince William Forest Park, whose piedmont forest ecosystem—one of the few remaining in the park system—has been inhabited since 8800 BC. Rogers' is the park's first ARPA prosecution; sentencing is set for April 6.

In 1997, Kennedy successfully prosecuted two people for attempting to dig at Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park.

Grave Looter's Appeal Denied

The California Court of Appeals has upheld the conviction of Brian Krantz, a former hunting guide convicted for looting Chumash graves at Channel Islands National Park (see spring 1997 and spring 1998 *Common Ground*). In 1997, after a three-week jury trial in Superior Court, Krantz was found guilty on a felony count of violating a state law that prohibits removing remains from a Native American grave. He was also found guilty of injuring an archeological object, a misdemeanor.

Krantz was sentenced to perform 250 hours of community service, given three years' probation, and fined \$200.

- Site watch -



AWARDS

John Wright, archeologist for the Delaware Water Gap National Recreation Area, is the winner of the NPS northeast region's "Excellence in Interpretation Media" award. Wright developed a "traveling trunk" with materials to simulate an excavation, then recruited teachers to construct lessons around it. The trunk—now in high demand among local educators—has become a model for other parks.

Helen Fahey, the United States Attorney for the Eastern District of Virginia, has been recognized for her "devotion and tireless effort" in protecting archeological sites in the national parks. NPS Special Agent Clark Guy presented her with an award during a ceremony in Alexandria, Virginia.

Ms. Fahey and her staff developed the fundamental strategies for preservation casework, having handled the first conviction for trafficking in Native American remains in violation of NAGPRA's criminal provision and the largest Civil War archeological prosecution ever brought before a court. She also supported an interagency initiative to bring preservation law into law school curricula.

POCONO RECORD

■ Seven Plead Guilty to Looting National Forest

When Assistant U.S. Attorney Beverly Mitchell went to examine looted archeological sites in north Georgia's Rich Mountain Wilderness Area, it became clear to her how someone could come and go undetected in the U.S. Forest Service preserve. The old road was little more than a track, washed out and barely negotiable in places even with a four-wheel drive vehicle.

The prosecutor's destination—a place between two creeks near the mountain's crest—looked like a mining operation. It was all that was left of a pair of 3,000-year-old archeological sites. Looters had made the treacherous, three-mile ascent at night, using all-terrain vehicles. They dug by lantern. Authorities found them camped out after one of their many illicit excavations between January and September 1997.

After being indicted by a federal grand jury in Atlanta last March, all seven pled guilty to digging illegally on Forest Service land. Two pled guilty to felony violations of the Archaeological Resources Protection Act, the rest to misdemeanors. John Searcy, 39, was sentenced to 10 months in federal prison. The others—nearly all from the nearby town of Blue Ridge—were ordered to serve terms of probation and community service and pay \$7,900 restitution and fines totalling \$14,800.

This group might not be entirely responsible for the \$35,000 in damage as determined by Forest archeologist Jack Wynn. Looting is a pastime in the region, says Mitchell. She sums up the looters' attitude towards being charged: "Some people hunt and fish. This is what we do up here in north Georgia." Agents from the Forest Service and the Gilmer County Sheriff's Department handled the case investigation.



ABOVE: North Georgia's rugged and remote Rich Mountain Wilderness Area.

ALL PHOTOS: QUENTIN BASS



JEREMY SABLOFF, FROM CITIES OF ANCIENT MEXICO

NORTH-SOUTH DEAL SIGNED

UNITED STATES, MEXICO TO COOPERATE ON CULTURAL HERITAGE

The United States and Mexico have signed a five-year agreement to cooperate in preserving historical and cultural sites. Signed in Washington, D.C., on June 10, the agreement identifies the National Park Service and Mexico's National Institute of Anthropology and History as the lead implementing agencies.

The memorandum of understanding defines the sites covered under the agreement as those that commemorate "archeological

and historical events and periods that are of importance to the national patrimony of both nations and, in several cases, to the world's heritage." The parties will collaborate on technical projects, training, conferences, law enforcement, and heightening public awareness of these sites and their irreplaceable material remains. Antiquities trafficking between the two nations, the primary motive for the agreement, has been a problem for years.

ABOVE: Temple of the Warriors at Chichen Itza.



MAGGIE L. WALKER NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE

SEEKING INCLUSIVENESS

BY MURIEL 'MIKI' CRESPI

Cultural anthropology

has proven to be an excellent fit with the

mission of the National Park Service. The NPS applied ethnography program focuses on the array of communities and other groups who, because of their intimate relationship to place, have a stake in the agency's resource and development decisions. Through consultation and research, the program makes their voices more audible and the resources they traditionally value more visible in decision-making. ¶ The program got a modest start in 1981, building the necessary policy foundations.¹ Later, external partners added their support, with the Society for Applied Anthropology and the American Anthropological Association taking prominent roles in the Congressional arena. Informal teamwork paid off in a small contract research fund and additional staff. The program expanded to include regional offices in Seattle, Sante Fe, Denver, and then Boston and Atlanta. Offices in the Great Lakes, the Great Plains, and Alaska expanded the group with their own regional anthropologists. ¶ The program's main goal is to further democratize decision-making in park planning, resource management, and interpretation. This is accomplished through multiple strategies. One is to use ethnographic methods to identify communities, tribes, and other stakeholders. Some interest groups readily express their views in writing and at public meetings, and the law compels consultation with Native American groups. But people inexperienced with the language and process of federal planning often keep their concerns muted, do not come forward when opportunities arise, or reject involvement with bureaucratic protocol when they find it culturally incompatible with their own way of making decisions. Rigid deadlines and large-scale public meetings satisfy bureaucratic needs but rarely consider those of the community. Under the program's aegis, ethnographic field research reaches out to these constituents, meeting the dictates of the National Environmental Policy Act in the process. ¶ The introduction of Rapid Ethnographic Assessment Procedures addressed the need for local voices early in planning. NPS planners necessarily tend to focus on visitors from afar and on nationally significant resources. Rapid assessments shine more local spotlights, revealing community concerns and the meanings assigned to places that sometimes diverge from, yet enrich, national values. ¶ Although still experimental, rapid assessments have already reaped benefits. In Philadelphia, Setha Low and her team highlighted the importance of the Liberty Bell—largely seen as a Euro-American symbol of independence—to the history of neighboring African Americans as well as to more recent Caribbean immigrants.² In Washington D.C., Brett Williams and her team demonstrated the significance of urban national parks as neighborhood places where African American communities host homecomings, Hispanic teams play soccer on weekends, and urban denizens of many backgrounds cultivate gardens.³ Community-building is a consequence of all these activities.

LEFT: Entrepreneur and community organizer Maggie Walker, whose efforts to gain inclusiveness for African Americans in Richmond during the late 19th and early 20th centuries earned her a prominent place in history.

"THE TENDENCY TO INTERPRET CONTROVERSIAL PASTS AND PAINFUL EXPERIENCES OF AFRICAN

Through ethnography, local groups participate in the social construction of their own pasts. Parks shift from presenting an outsider's view to one that incorporates the perceptions of those whose lives and histories are being interpreted. Clearly, park visitors benefit from multiple, if sometimes conflicting, interpretations that convey real complexities instead of unidimensional, homogenized stories.

Interpreting plantation parks is a particular challenge. The tendency to interpret controversial pasts from the official record can mask the proud and painful experiences of African Americans and other minorities. Change is underway thanks partly to ethnographic work at the plantations of Louisiana's Cane River Creole National Historical Park. My work at Magnolia Plantation⁴ and later interviewing at Oakland Plantation with Sherri Ann Lawson-Clark, Allison Peña, and Larry Van Horn⁵ dramatized the strong, often divergent views of slavery among current descendants of enslaved people and their owners. What was a rational business system for some was an inhumane institution for others. Enslaved people developed strategies to counter slavery's pernicious effects: resistance movements, forms of public mimicry to ingratiate themselves to their owners, songs and dances to symbolize private resentments, and ways to undermine the success of the plantation. Sharing these perspectives with visitors—southern and northern, national and international, as well as with the local people whose ancestral ways are the focus—confronts the park with difficult choices. Not doing so, however, abrogates our responsibilities as stewards of the nation's past and future. Cane River's superintendent agrees, saying that ethnographic assessments are extremely useful for understanding the complex cultural systems that NPS works with on the local level.⁶

Ethnography adds dimension to places ordinarily seen as having fixed, objectively defined boundaries, places categorized as archeological sites, historic structures, or cultural landscapes.



PHOTOS BY MIKI CRESPI

TWO VIEWS OF LOUISIANA: Melrose Plantation, a private museum (top); Worker quarters at Magnolia Plantation, Cane River Creole NHP, occupied from the mid-1800s to the 1960s (bottom).

Other characteristics emerge from the perspectives of people whose ethnic history and identity are traditionally associated with these resources and whose cultural survival depends, to some extent, on their continued use. The articles in this issue give a range of examples; others are baptismal sites, the churches at San Antonio Missions, the Sweet Auburn community of Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Ellis Island buildings memorialized in myths about cultural passages from the old world to the new. We call them "ethnographic resources."⁷ Because culturally informed management requires readily available information on these resources, the people who value them, and whose views must be considered, NPS has begun a computerized Ethnographic Resources Inventory that promises to become an important management tool.

National parks and the diverse peoples linked to them are members of the same ecosystem, bound by different yet joint interests to the same body of resources. Ethnography makes these links apparent.

For more information, contact Miki Crespi, Chief Ethnographer, NPS Archeology and Ethnography Program, 1849 C St., NW, NC 210, Washington, DC 20240, (202) 343-8156, fax (202) 343-5260, e-mail miki_crespi@nps.gov.

FOOTNOTES

1. In 1981, Douglas H. Scovill, then Chief Anthropologist at the National Park Service, hired me to work with him in developing the program. Supporting the effort were the former Associate Director of Cultural Resources, Jerry L. Rogers, and the Deputy Associate Director of Cultural Resources, Rowland T. Bowers. In 1990, once the program foundations were built and NPS funded a limited pilot project, Hal Vreeland (later joined by Charley Cheney) of the Society for Applied Anthropology and Judith Lisansky and Lisa Jacobson of the American Anthropological Association began to educate Congress on the program's importance and the need for funding.

2. Low, Setha, *Rapid Ethnographic Assessment: Independence National Park*, NPS Denver Service Center, 1995.

3. Williams, Brett, et al., *Rapid Ethnographic Assessment of Civil War Defenses of Washington and Anacostia Park Management Plans*, NPS Denver Service Center, 1998.

4. Crespi, Muriel, *A Brief Ethnography of Magnolia Plantation: Planning for Cane River Creole National Historical Park* (draft), NPS Denver Service Center, 1999.

5. Crespi, Muriel, Sherri Ann Lawson-Clark, Allison Peña, and Larry Van Horn, *A Brief Ethnography of Oakland Plantation* (draft), NPS Denver Service Center, 1998.

6. Thanks to Superintendent Soulliere of Cane River Creole NHP and Cultural Resources Manager Fanelli of Independence NHP for their thoughtful comments.

7. Crespi, Muriel, "Inventorying Ethnographic Resources Servicewide," CRM, 10:4 (1987).

FROM THE OFFICIAL RECORD CAN MASK THE PROUD AMERICANS AND OTHER MINORITIES."

ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH ON FEDERAL LANDS

PIECING THE PUZZLE

preservation law. Over time, these consultations—informed by current anthropological theory—have advanced both our understanding of native peoples and the sophistication of our research methods.

Through trial, error, and eventual success, we've developed three types of forms to gather information during field interviews with tribes. The term *ethnographic resources*, introduced by the Park Service in 1987, sums up the information we solicit on the places, plants, animals, minerals, and landforms that are entwined with Indian history and culture.

Ethnographic places do not necessarily yield material evidence the way archeological sites do. This is particularly true among tribes whose traditional lifeways have not modified the land in a permanent, or archeologically obvious, manner. Thus the importance of the interviews—and the forms that structure them.

Over the course of projects for NPS, the Bureau of Reclamation, and the Department of Energy, we conducted interviews with tribal members on plants, animals, and rock art, devising what we call a resource-specific form. Likewise, we developed a place-specific form, used for the first time at Utah's Zion National Park, Arizona's Pipe Spring National Monument, and four subsequent projects. Our understanding grew as interviewees

For nearly a decade, ethnographers at the University of Arizona's Bureau of Applied Research in Anthropology have grappled with the challenge of identifying Indian resources on public land. Much of our work, under contract with agencies, involves carrying out native consultations required by

offered a broad range of information on their spiritual and material connections with their surroundings. Over time, with input from Indian people, we

also designed a form to capture information on ethnographic landscapes, the larger networks that encompass both resources and places. By putting the place and resource information in context, this form allows us to investigate origin stories, migration traditions, settlement patterns—the entire mosaic of a region's land use. The form also elicits data on trail systems associated with songs, dreaming, and pilgrimages, crucial to unraveling complex cultural connections.

Last summer saw the most comprehensive test of the landscape form, when the Park Service contracted our team to research Ojibway land and resource use in the western Great Lakes, past and present. Fieldwork was conducted at Minnesota's Voyageurs National Park, Wisconsin's Apostle Islands National Lakeshore, and Michigan's Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore and Pictured Rocks National Lakeshore. Much of what we learned would have escaped archeological scrutiny. Seven U.S. Ojibway tribes and three Canadian first nations joined the anthropologists in the field. Research revealed that men and women, young and old, see traditional land use differently. Although each group had different concerns, we found that understanding the Ojibway's connection to water was central to understanding them as a people. This connection, which permeates their cosmology, is manifest in creation stories, migration traditions, and rituals. We identified traditional uses for a host of plants, animals, minerals, landforms, and waterways; this information will be incorporated in the NPS system-wide ethnographic resource inventory, which will help park managers understand, interpret, and protect the resources in their care.

Ethnographic research gives native people a voice in managing what has been an important part of their lives for centuries, revealing the deeper, human dimensions of the lands agencies are charged with preserving for future generations of Americans.

For more information contact M. Nieves Zedeño or Richard Stoffle, Bureau of Applied Research in Anthropology, Haury Building, University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ 85721, e-mail mzedeno@u.arizona.edu or rstoffle@u.arizona.edu.

BY GENEVIEVE DEWEY-
HEFLEY, M. NIEVES
ZEDENO, RICHARD
STOFFLE, AND FABIO
PITTALUGA

IN the HEART of the problem

the local burden
of national policies

BY EDWARD B. LIEBOW

If there is one thing I have learned over the past two decades of providing policy advice on a number of social, public health, and environmental issues, it is this: the problems we leave for government are among the stickiest, the ones for which no simple, ready solution can be found, the

ones where the stakes are high, the uncertainties great, and the impacts broadly felt for the longest time. ¶ Who do we count on to promote world peace, to clean up the toxic by-products of a vigilant defense effort? Who do we expect to care for sick people who are least able to pay? Who do we tap to support the open-ended pursuit of knowledge, confident of a payoff someday, even if we can't predict its

precise nature? ¶ That's right, it's "we, the people"—our government. And if the business of government is policymaking, it is an article of faith that if you start with the wrong formulation of the problem, you will end up with bad policy. And problem structuring is an important aim in having a cultural anthropologist on a policymaking team. ¶ A few highlights from recent projects show how, in the landscape of problems entrusted to government, cultural anthropologists engage those most likely to bear the local burden of national policies.

ABOVE: Low-level waste stored in a trench at Washington State's Hanford Nuclear Facility;
RIGHT: Community activist Tom Bailie, who represents those living downwind from the plant.



PHOTOS BY DUDLEY REED



“In practical terms, the issue is whose values should inform the choices.

Who ought to sit at the table when the big decisions get made?”

Dealing with Nuclear Contamination

One of the more polluted places on earth, the Department of Energy's Hanford nuclear facility has been suspected of posing health risks to thousands of people who have shared its air- and watersheds in the Pacific Northwest. Cultural anthropologists have been part of a multidisciplinary team assisting the U.S. Public Health Service in reconstructing where and how people were living when they might have received the greatest exposure to contamination.¹

How many people were exposed to unhealthy levels? At what ages? What kinds of food, drinking water, time spent outdoors, or occupations placed them at greater risk? Did certain groups—tribes, migrant farm workers, military personnel—receive higher doses? How prepared are the region's health care providers to answer their questions? These are the issues in deciding the appropriate kinds of health care and education.

The singular contribution of anthropologists has been in equipping communities to take part in making the decisions. In a sense, a mutual transformation is taking place among agency scientists and the public they are trying to serve. Just as communities and tribes have learned to talk the talk of environmental toxicology, health physics, and hydrology, specialists in these fields have learned from seeing their models implode, their introspection a poor substitute for considering the many, sometimes conflicting values held by the public.

A strategy of inclusion, collaboration, and acknowledgment of local insight, fashioned with the help and oversight of anthropologists, helps assure that the “public interest” in fact embraces a broad scope of perspectives, particularly those held by disadvantaged groups historically excluded from the dialogue.

Disposing of Chemical Weapons

Across the country, chemical weapons are slated for destruction, to reduce the risk of contamination and to honor an international treaty. Where there are large stockpiles, incineration is the choice of a National Research Council committee directed by Congress to weigh the hazards of different disposal alternatives. Many citizens' groups remain unconvinced of the incinerators' safety. The U.S. Army, who is carrying out the task, not only faces choices about the disposal technologies, but also questions about public health and the environment once the choices are made.²

A multidisciplinary team of social scientists, including an applied anthropologist, conducted more than 200 individual interviews and 40 focus groups in communities near where the

weapons are stored. Interviews were also conducted with Army managers. We found out a great deal about the underlying reasons for the conflict. The Army managers saw their job as carrying out technical studies to demonstrate that incineration, a choice made by Congress, can be done safely. In contrast, the residents' concerns were broader, echoing those of local groups across the country: Who is making the decision? Is it fair? Has the public been given opportunity for involvement? Has the agency's track record demonstrated concern for the community? What can the community expect in the future? Can the public trust agencies responsible for their safety?

Our research highlighted the real problem: the impossibility of addressing issues of technology without addressing issues of fairness, safety, and agency credibility. In the public's view, those aspects of the chemical stockpile program were all inextricably linked.

Tracking an Outbreak

Syphilis has just about been eliminated in most parts of the country, but not in several southern states, where it is heavily concentrated among African-Americans. When the South was awash in an outbreak during the late 1980s and early 1990s, federal health officials assumed it was from people exchanging sex for crack cocaine, whose use was on the rise at the time.

Conventional wisdom holds that for many sexually transmitted diseases, persistence depends on a group of people who frequently change partners, as they can be a reservoir of infection among the sexually active. The implications of this “core transmitter group” are clear for disease policy: track and treat the group spreading the infection and you will protect the public. Tracing contacts also helps avoid long-term costs like caring for congenitally infected infants and children.

At the request of the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, a multidisciplinary team of public health researchers and applied anthropologists assessed the agency's strategies for supporting control and prevention by state and local agencies.³ This work revealed a much more complex social landscape for transmitting the disease. Sex-for-drugs exchanges are risky, but so are other social situations. Incarceration in state prisons and local jails, being homeless and nearly-homeless, and men having anonymous, unprotected sex with other men in public venues like parks and highway rest stops all placed people at elevated risk for becoming infected.

We suggested to CDC that the notion of a “core group” is at best



misleading, because it directs the focus to an extremely small number of people, rather than taking a step back and seeing a number of distinct, if not altogether mutually exclusive, social players. What's more, we suggested that stigmatizing individuals as members of a so-called "core group" can undermine trust in public health. We also suggested that, rather than "reinvent the wheel," CDC collaborate with local institutions since many of the at-risk already have ties to them. By re-framing the problem in terms of risk scenarios, we helped to identify the people most likely to acquire or transmit the disease, the institutions likely to reach them, and the ways to mobilize these institutions.

Who Makes the Big Decisions?

In each of these cases, the central policy question is how to reduce the public's exposure to hazards. Finding acceptable answers involves value-laden, conflict-riddled choices over who will bear the burden locally in order to achieve a widespread benefit. In practical terms, the issue is whose values should inform the choices. Who ought to sit at the table when the big decisions get made? Too often, choices are regarded as matters of "fact" to be made only by specialists with the right knowledge or "expertise." Non-specialists are labeled "inexpert," their judgments discounted as ill-informed, politically motivated, or both. In my experience, excluding them from decisions promotes a lack of trust in the specialists, a feeling that the hazards and remedies are beyond the control of those most affected.

One specific aim of the applied anthropologist's involvement is to give voice to the insights of the non-specialists, lending authority to lay judgments about health dangers and the agencies responsible for managing them. In recent decades, anthropologists have been forced to learn that sharing ethnographic authority—relinquishing its sole possession, really—is essential to building policy that serves the public interest in the next century. Now we must rise to the challenge of transforming the practice of scientific undertakings, helping scientists to re-examine the premise of "scientific authority" on which all science-based policy is founded.

Anthropologist Edward Liebow has conducted research and public policy analysis throughout the United States and in Australia, examining a variety of energy, public health, and social policy issues concerning disadvantaged communities. For more information, contact him at the Environmental Health and Social Policy

Center, 909 NE 43rd Street, Seattle WA 98105, (206) 675-1002, fax (206) 675-1005, e-mail <liebow@policycenter.com>.

NOTES

1. In particular, the Centers for Disease Control, Agency for Toxic Substances and Disease Registry, and the Indian Health Service. For more information about the Hanford-related public health studies, look to the world wide web at www.doh.wa.gov/hanford/. Also, the Intertribal Council on Hanford Health Projects, a consortium of nine tribal governments involved in the Hanford work, is described in Wilkinson, J.R., and E.B. Liebow, 1998, "Tribal Involvement, Tribal Capacity, and Historical Dose Reconstruction," in T. Takaro, editor, *Proceedings of the First Annual Conference on The Health of the Hanford Site: Current Challenges*, December 3-4, 1997, Richland, Washington, Seattle: School of Public Health, University of Washington.

2. For more information about the Army's program for disposing of chemical warfare materiel, look for additional reading and background information on the web at www.pmcda.apgea.army.mil/ and at the not-for-profit Keystone Center's online "Dialogue on Assembled Chemical Weapons" at <http://dialogue.pmacwa.org/>. Also, see Liebow, Edward B., Judith A. Bradbury, Kristi M. Branch, et al. 1998. "The Landscape of Reason: A Scheme for Representing Arguments Concerning Environmental, Health, and Safety Effects of Chemical Weapons Disposal in the U.S.," *High Plains Anthropologist* 18(2): 115-126.

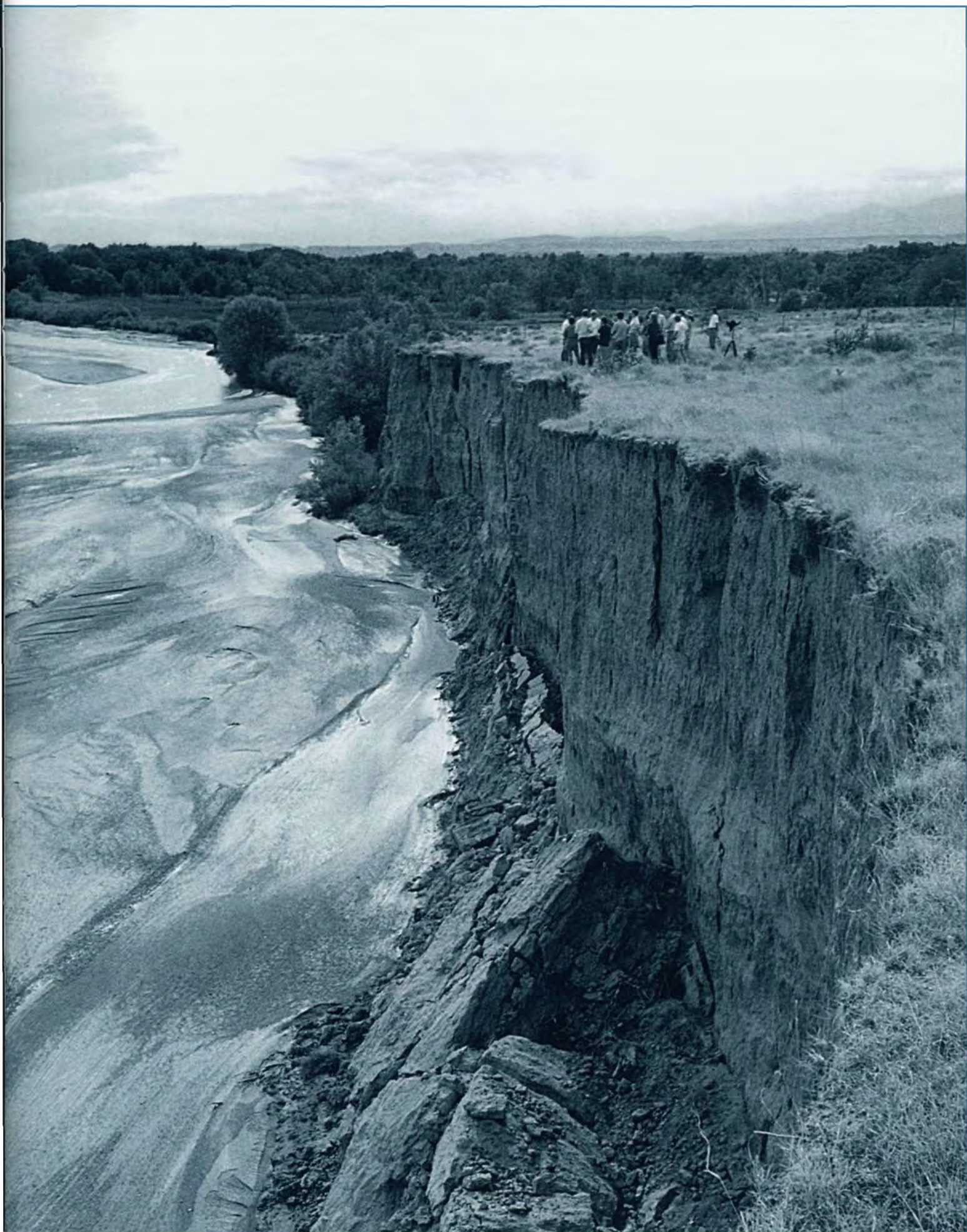
3. For an overview of the epidemiology of syphilis in the South, see Thomas, James C., Alice L. Kulik, and Victor J. Schoenbach, 1995, "Syphilis in the South: Rural Rates Surpass Urban Rates in North Carolina," *American Journal of Public Health* 85(8): 1119-1122. An anthropological analysis of sex-for-drugs exchanges can be found in Ratner, Mitchell S., 1993, "Sex, Drugs, and Public Policy: Studying and Understanding the Sex-for-Crack Phenomenon," in *Crack Pipe as Pimp: An Ethnographic Investigation of Sex-for-Crack Exchanges*, Mitchell S. Ratner, ed., New York, NY: Lexington Books. See also our recent evaluation report: Liebow, E.B., K.R. Mitchell, K.J. Goodman, G.P. Myers, L.A. Fish, M.L. Hare, and M.O. Butler, 1996, *Assessment of STD Prevention Program Responses to the Early Syphilis Epidemic in the Southern United States*, prepared for U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, Center for Prevention Services, Division of STD/HIV, Contract No. 200-93-0626, Seattle: Battelle Seattle Research Center, Report No. BSRC-700/96/011.

A recent article in the Washington Post reported about a practice in West Virginia called mountaintop removal. The process blasts away rocky "overburden," laying bare seams of coal for mining. The rubble, deposited in valleys and hollows, has buried more than 450 miles of stream beds. The practice presumably enables the coal-dependent state to remain competitive and provide jobs for its residents. Eventually, the coal industry "rehabilitates" the ▶

new . species at epa

by Theresa Trainor

OPPOSITE: Colorado rancher discusses erosion of his property with EPA representatives. Nearby development has brought more asphalt and concrete, which, along with other factors, has increased runoff in the watershed.





mining sites, making them ideal for golf courses and malls. The state's development office says "there's a great need in West Virginia for flat land."

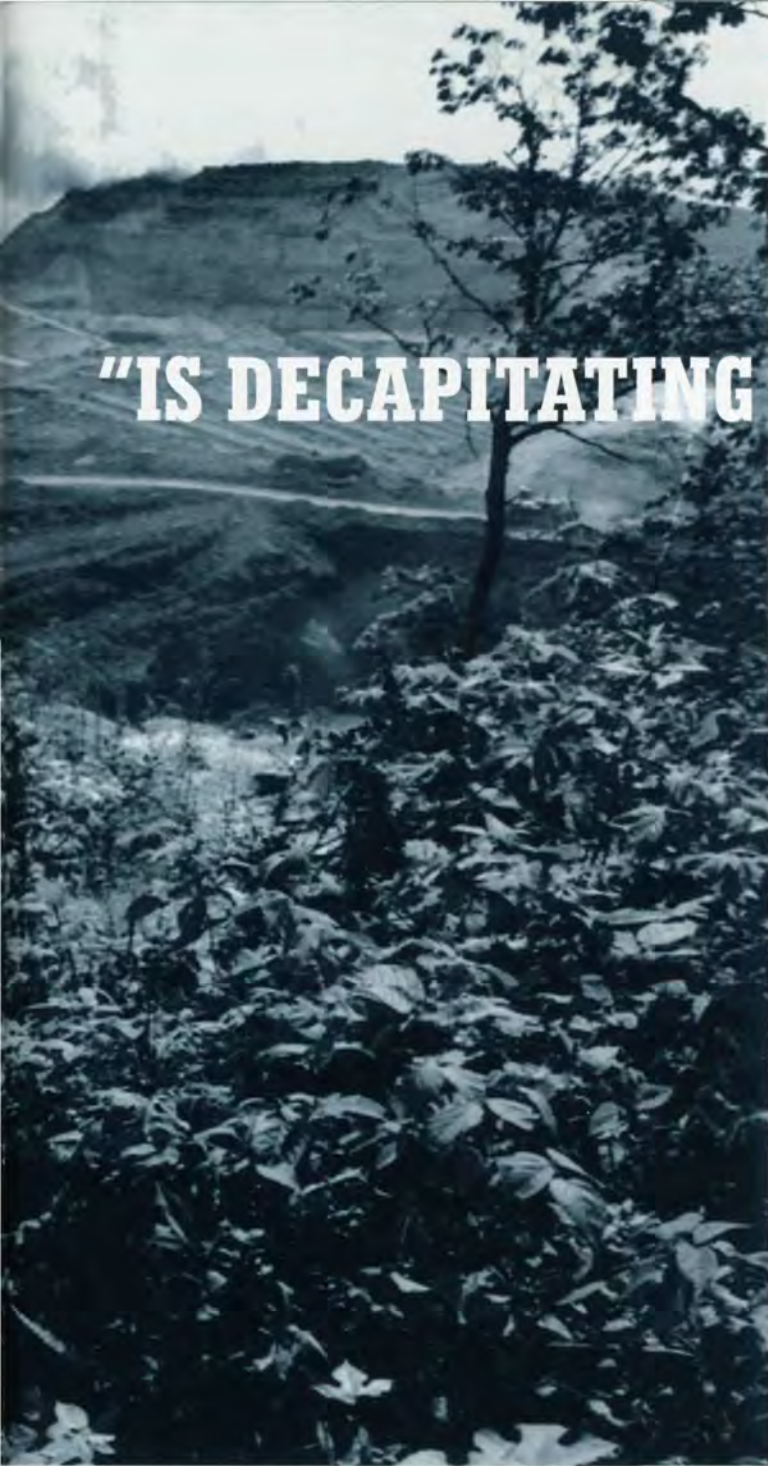
RE-INVENTING ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

There are many such situations where competing economic, environmental, and cultural values are creating complex challenges for people trying to reach agreement about the best use of our nation's natural resources. Many of today's pollution problems lie in diffuse sources beyond EPA's regulatory reach, like the fertilizer washing down street sewers into our waterways, and the imperious concrete of rapid, often uncontrolled development

ABOVE: From land that has been in his family since the 1800s, Larry Gibson watches a mining blast on a nearby mountaintop. Strip mining denuded the area in a short amount of time.

encroaching on plant and animal habitat. Such pollution is tied closely to human behavior and lifestyle choices, not industry. In dealing with some of these situations, EPA is complementing its role as regulator by re-inventing the way it does business with an approach focused on communities.

Community-based environmental protection provides an opportunity for cultural anthropology. At EPA, within the former office of sustainable ecosystems and communities/office of policy, I



"IS DECAPITATING A MOUNTAIN

merely a utilitarian decision to sustain a community and keep a traditional industry competitive?"

"stakeholder" and calling a public meeting "community involvement."

Overall, our aim was to improve understanding of the ways people perceive the environment. For example, is decapitating a mountain merely a utilitarian decision to sustain a community and keep a traditional industry competitive? How does the practice affect recreational hunters and fishermen, or long-time residents who revere the solitude and beauty of the place and whose identity is deeply rooted in the mountain way of life? These questions suggest the central role that culture should play in environmental planning and management. In fact, during a recent reorganization, Mike and I were welcomed into the office of water, reflecting an increased demand for the social sciences in the agency.

SEEING THE HUMAN DIMENSION

Our strategy consisted of three mutually reinforcing elements: program development, research, and strategic institutional change. Program development included creating the *Community Cultural Profiling Guide: Understanding a Community's Sense of Place* and corresponding training. The *Guide* discusses what makes up a community and how to use social science methodology to learn more about it. We provide technical assistance to communities themselves in the form of internships, fellowships, consultant assistance, and workshops through a cooperative agreement with the Society for Applied Anthropology, an international organization concerned with applying the social sciences to contemporary issues. We developed training in consensus building and negotiation that takes into account cultural differences, along with materials on public participation strategies, communicating with the public on ecological issues, and monitoring socio-environmental concerns. Research efforts include encouraging EPA's office of research and development to include more social science topics in the agency's research agenda, such as com-

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PHOTO BY FRANK JOHNSTON, © 1998 WASHINGTON POST

worked as the community dynamics team leader in a setting something akin to a "think tank." This setting enabled our team—which included another cultural anthropologist, Michael Kronthal—to experiment with applying the concept of culture and social science methodology to a world of policy, regulation, enforcement, budget cycles, grant programs, and social science naysayers.

We found many public participation tools already in the EPA milieu. We used the social sciences to deepen awareness of the values held by the diverse citizenship in communities across the nation. We advocated incorporating a cultural framework into the agency's approach, as opposed to merely labeling someone a

BUILDING A PUBLIC INTEREST

ANTHROPOLOGY

THE SOCIETY FOR APPLIED ANTHROPOLOGY'S ENVIRONMENTAL ANTHROPOLOGY PROJECT



BY BARBARA JOHNSTON Environmental change comes in many forms, yet usually has one consistent aspect: the upheaval it causes in human lives. As the world's resources are exploited more intensively, cultural anthropology is demonstrating the link between environmental quality and the human condition. The Environmental Anthropology Project brings together the Society for Applied Anthropology and the EPA to enable communities to be heard at the decision-making table. The project provides assistance to local groups, describes the social strata that make up a community, and defines the political network where environmental policy is made. It brings a focus on humanity to policymaking. It also brings interns and fellows—the next generation of cultural anthropologists—into the real world of issues and policy, providing experience they would get nowhere else.

This project validates the fact that environmental problems create winners and losers. Winners profit from exploiting resources. They are rarely “local,” and their status typically insulates them from the discomfort. Losers suffer from lost resources, health, and livelihood. Their powerlessness is often tied to poverty, ethnicity, or religion.

The society has found that the right to use resources and to play a role in how they are managed are crucial to sustaining communities. But strengthening the community voice has its risks. Every locality has its history of conflict. Environmental planning breaks down when old wounds are reexamined and emotions take over. Anthropologists often find themselves working as culture brokers, sorting out misinterpreted behavior as they listen to complaints, mediate conflicts, and promote compromise. This process of engagement is essential to a public interest anthropology.

The South Florida Eastward Ho! Project

As part of massive redevelopment in the Miami metropolitan area, cultural anthropologists are engaged in several related projects to compile a multi-faceted profile of communities that will be affected. They hope to draw a picture of the region's complex human face, with its array of ethnic groups, young and old, rich and poor, as players in a process that involves not only redevelopment, but also restoring the Everglades wetland ecosystem.

The work involves creating a GIS map illustrating the economic, social, and historic dimensions of the area, with overlays showing places that may have been contaminated with hazardous waste in the past. Health data gathered from residents will provide a baseline should medical problems develop in the future.

Anthropologists are also working with the Governor's Commission for a Sustainable South Florida to communicate citizens' concerns and perceptions. The project is not only helping communities in Miami, but is also developing a methodological tool kit for other places undergoing large scale redevelopment.

Restoring the Everglades

The Florida Everglades is one of the most fragile ecosystems in the world. But with the settlement of south Florida, water from it has been dammed, drained, and rerouted—a crisis that launched what has been called the biggest environmental reconstruction in history. With 4.5 million people living adjacent to the



ALL PHOTOS FRANK LUCCIO

Everglades, the task is formidable. The demographic mosaic—culturally diverse communities characterized by extreme economic inequity—further complicates the problem.

Anthropologists have been working with the Governor's Commission for a Sustainable South Florida to communicate citizens' concerns and perceptions. Part of the strategy is to get the different parties to see the issues from each other's perspectives.

Anthropologists and other social scientists have assessed feasibility studies for the restoration to give planners, ecologists, and engineers a clearer picture of the human environment by promoting ethnographic studies, community profiles, and the like.

The Columbia Plateau Agricultural Initiative

In eastern Washington State, where agriculture is an economic and social force, EPA is working with

local communities to examine the interplay between agriculture, ecological stewardship, and the social environment. Through its partnership with the Society for Applied Anthropology, the agency has established an anthropology internship that, through interviewing and other methods, is drawing a detailed cultural picture of the region.

In the process, some important issues have surfaced: How do farmers view environmentally sound agricultural practices? What are the obstacles to their use? How do farmers view the EPA? The results, hopefully, could mean a coming together of interests—federal and local—for a healthy environment, socially as well as biologically.

North Carolina's Chip Mills

With the proposed construction of a wood chip mill, the residents of North Carolina's Rutherford County faced decisions con-

cerning development and the wisest use of their forests. An anthropology fellowship provided a chance to explore these issues.

Interviews with residents allowed researchers to identify vested parties, clarify their interests, and allow them to express their concerns. Anthropologists organized public meetings to explore the mill's potential impacts and build a consensus on what to do. With a clearer picture of the community, StAA fellow Cheryl McClary was able to create a model for resolving the conflicts. This work prompted state agencies to examine the effects of chip mills in general and how forests should be managed for long-term sustainability.

For more information, contact Barbara Johnston, Director, Society for Applied Anthropology Environmental Project, 554 Brooks Avenue, San Jose, CA 95125, (408) 271-9552, e-mail bjohnston@igc.org.

ABOVE:
Anthropologists have confronted complex issues in communities where agriculture is a powerful social and economic force.

"In the early days

OF MY OFFICE, THERE WAS A GREAT DEAL
OF SKEPTICISM ABOUT WHAT THE SOCIAL SCIENCES COULD
CONTRIBUTE."

munity profiling. Institutional change has resulted from working with EPA committees, offices, and its partners to raise awareness of the usefulness of the non-economic social sciences. Our efforts include bringing in speakers and cultivating social science sympathizers to review documents and contribute ideas. And, we built a network of social scientists nationwide with whom we consult and link to projects.

THE VALUE ADDED

Community profiling proved to be one of our most useful tools. Over the past two years we piloted a number of projects, demonstrating to EPA and its community partners the value of systemat-

BELOW: Rancher discusses the impact of flooding on his land with EPA representatives.

ically collected cultural information. One pilot, conducted with the Nature Conservancy, included focus groups, a survey, interviews, and analyses of local newspapers. In one case, the profiling showed how the Conservancy had misperceived local attitudes toward the environment.

As the manager of a Conservancy property planned for sustainable harvesting of trees, he became increasingly aware of the lack of local participation and land use planning in the community. Initially, the Conservancy had little hope of nurturing a sustainability ethic in one of the poorest counties in the state. However, the profiling showed remarkable support for preserving the quality of life and natural beauty of the place—as well as for sustainable economic development. The results fostered a countywide vision for the future. Said the preserve's manager: "I've lived in Adams County for six and half years and from this one exercise I've learned so much more and realized that preserve managers were making decisions on errant assumptions . . . This process teaches us what we have to do."

Our agreement with the Society for Applied Anthropology has become a real cornerstone in placing anthropologists in the community. Data about values and the links among stakeholders, along with the re-framing of long-standing issues, have demonstrated the value of the anthropological perspective. For example, the outbreak of *Pfisteria* in the Chesapeake Bay raised concern about the economy, the environment, and the quality of life in local fishing communities. Most federal and state funding in response to the outbreaks was targeted to the hard science side of the problem. Our office was able to fund two anthropologists, an SfAA fellow and an intern from the University of Maryland, to work on the state's lower eastern shore. As a result, the human dimension of the issue was reframed to understand the perceptions and belief systems related to the outbreaks. The findings—which are being shared widely—are targeted to state officials in the hopes of assisting them in developing an appropriate policy and response.

The greatest strides at the government level have been in influencing the agency's research agenda, thus furthering reinvention efforts. We've worked closely with EPA's office of research and development on a number of national research solicitations. One is a \$3 million partnership with the National Science Foundation that includes a section on social factors and the environment.



UNEXPECTED SUCCESS

One of my first presentations at EPA was called "Anthropologists Don't Just Collect Bones!"—my response to the periodic confusion I encounter when I tell someone I'm an anthropologist. In the early days of my office, there was a great deal of skepticism about what the social sciences could contribute. Isn't working with people just common sense? Given that the science of environmental protection is EPA's business, it has been a slow road toward convincing people of the efficacy and rigor of the social sciences. The greatest challenges remain in demonstrating the difference they can make in achieving the agency's mission.

For me, the anthropological perspective has provided tools for understanding the nuances of government culture and greater patience with culture change. Within the agency, anthropology has demonstrated the relevance of the social aspect of environmental protection. It has shown the value of local versus expert knowledge, and it has provided opportunities to test the applicability of the anthropological approach, with its rich and specific detail, to national policy.

The success of our efforts seems to be based on our grassroots approach to advocating for the human dimension. Instead of focusing on a broad social science agenda, we've built a foundation of projects, tools, and training. We've provided specific examples of how the social sciences apply to, for example, preserving a watershed. Where anthropology may have been viewed within the EPA as unrelated, it is increasingly becoming a valuable perspective, something people in the agency can use daily. The personal interaction with anthropologists has reinforced their confidence in new ideas, unlocked the freedom to use words such as "sociocultural" in their daily discussions, and opened the door to the rewards of working with a new species at EPA.

For more information contact Theresa Trainor, Program Analyst, Environmental Protection Agency, Office of Water, Oceans and Coastal Protection Division, 401 M Street, SW, (4504F), Washington, DC 20460, (202) 260-3009, fax (202) 260-9960, e-mail trainor.theresa@epa.gov.

TRANSFORMATION

BY GEORGE ESBER AND ED NATAY

The divisions between agency officials and local minorities are less distinct these days as the National Park Service campaigns to recruit underrepresented peoples into its ranks. Among others, the change was fostered by Ed Natay, a Navajo now in charge of the southwest region's Office of American Indian Trust, and George Esber, a non-Indian cultural anthropologist whose field and bureaucratic experience proved invaluable in the position of regional ethnographer when it was created in 1990. The pairing required a "respectful partnership," they say, which has come to symbolize the agency's approach. —Ed.

From the very beginnings of the southwest region's Office of American Indian Programs over 20 years ago, NPS has been committed to working with native groups on a host of issues. In the early 1990s, however, Ed Natay and I began a series of initiatives that set the region on a new path.

Our office developed a contract research program to identify communities with traditional ties to parks and involve them in management decisions. The partnership enlightened planners on issues such as traditional ownership and use of park resources, the native view in interpreting places, and the repatriation of collections and human remains.

These issues played out when New Mexico's Petroglyph National Monument was established in 1990. The monument contains thousands of petroglyphs, five volcanoes, archeological sites, and other features important to local communities, both Indian and Hispanic. The Park Service knew that local pueblos traced their ancestry to the place, but was uncertain about which ones and how. Together we fought for and won local representation on the planning team, a first. Native people helped researchers collect information on the cultural aspects of the landscape, such as the location of shrines, some of which are still used and require special treatment.

New Mexico's Bandelier National Monument saw continued success; representatives of San Ildefonso Pueblo were involved in planning from the start. Before this time, consultations with local peoples—often little more than a letter inviting feedback—didn't begin until after basic park plans were complete.

The regional ethnographer's position defined new turf in the NPS bureaucracy; ethnographers are now essential to identifying stakeholders and their concerns. As the agency transforms its ranks, links are being forged between NPS parks and people as well as with affiliated communities. Therein lies the difference between an adversarial federal government and one that minds the resources of and for the nation's peoples.



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NO TRESPASSING

WHOLESALE

ICE

ICE

THE VALUE OF GROUND TRUTH

SUSTAINING AMERICA'S FISHING COMMUNITIES

Ground-truthed information, I learned at the National

Oceanic & Atmospheric Administration, is data collected by remote platforms like satellites interpreted with information from instruments such as rain gauges or buoys on the earth's surface. The instruments on the ground act as a corrective if clouds obscure the satellite's view—a vital function when it comes to tracking weather patterns like hurricanes. ¶ Ethnography is another way of getting ground-truthed information. Anthropologists begin at the most elementary level, the ground level, as a starting point for understanding how people organize themselves, what is important to them, and how political institutions, social class, and ethnicity affect their attitudes or values. This type of ground-truthed information is enormously useful in setting responsive and sci-

By Shirley J. Fiske *illustration by randy mays*

entifically accurate policy for natural resources in general and, at NOAA, coastal and marine resources in particular.

This article highlights one of NOAA's primary responsibilities—building and sustaining America's marine fisheries. With fisheries, as with the weather, NOAA needs information from many sources to know what is going on at the ground level. The efforts described here were undertaken by university faculty sponsored in part by NOAA's National Sea Grant Program and National Marine Fisheries Service. They are two examples of how NOAA uses ethnographic knowledge to accomplish its mission.

IDENTIFYING FISHING-DEPENDENT COMMUNITIES

NOAA's responsibilities encompass more than measuring the biological and economic indicators of harvesting fish. From its inception, the law establishing the agency's stewardship, the 1976 Magnuson Act, called for describing a community's culture as well as its historic participation in fishing. Under the 1996 reauthorization of the act, concern for the health of fishing communities reached new visibility. Since many fishermen began to face overall limits or individual quotas on how many fish or shellfish could be harvested, the bottom line was that many communities were under severe economic stress. Fishermen were unable to make their vessel mortgages, service businesses like ice or gas suppliers were going bankrupt, and families faced the social problems that go with being out of work for a long time. When large numbers of families are affected, the whole community feels it. The reauthorization called for assessing the regulations' effect on communities' sustained participation in fishing—their ability to survive. It further required efforts to mitigate adverse impacts.

Congress, however, did not define what constitutes a fishing community—a controversial issue, because they are not always cohesive, geographically bounded seaports. Fishing communities are often a network of individuals and businesses that provide links in the production of the finished product, and each link is dependent on fishing harvests for their income. The reauthorization of the Magnuson Act brought new regulations calling for a more comprehensive definition of these communities. The National Marine Fisheries Service assigned the task to an anthropologist, Dr. Patricia Clay, because of the discipline's established body of research on fishing families, their communities, and the industry in general.

The job did not depend on new ethnographic fieldwork, but rested on a generation of earlier research sponsored primarily by the National Sea Grant College Program and NMFS. This research, as it has informed the regulations, recognizes that a fishing community is not solely comprised of vessel owners, but includes crew members and families with varying levels of dependence on the harvest. It also includes secondary businesses that process, market, and supply. Under the new regulation, a community must have a geographic locus as a minimum to be considered

a community, but its unique economic and social conditions will be considered, including networks that extend beyond town or seaport lines.

The act required each NOAA region to address "community-dependency." Each region used existing data to draw minimal community profiles. All the regions, however, are seeking to develop more thorough descriptions of communities. The northeast region—through a cooperative agreement with anthropologists at MIT, the University of Rhode Island, and economists at the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution—hopes to develop technical guidance on how to identify communities and describe both sociocultural and economic dependency.

NEW WAYS TO MANAGE MAINE'S LOBSTER HARVEST

NOAA does not have a specific ethnography program located in one place in the organization, like the National Park Service. But it is clear that NOAA's investments in anthropology, through the National Sea Grant College Program and National Marine Fisheries Service, have been important in shaping management practices for coastal and marine resources, as illustrated by the work of University of Maine anthropologist Jim Acheson.

The National Sea Grant Program, one of NOAA's partnership programs that underwrites science and outreach on coastal issues, first funded Acheson in 1977 when he studied the adoption of wire lobster traps in three communities along the coast of Maine (traditional traps were made of wood). This work began a long-term research relationship between Acheson, the Maine Sea Grant Program, and lobstering communities and families, which has fostered trust and respect for academic research among lobstermen. The value of the work was underscored by the development of an innovative approach to managing Maine's lobsters.

Acheson's insightful 1988 book *The Lobster Gangs of Maine* laid the groundwork for fishery managers and lobstermen to understand the web of relationships that determines their survival and quality of life on the water: the principles of territoriality and "ownership" of lobster resources, the social organization of harvesting on a local scale, and the implications for the reigning conceptual paradigm in fisheries. Along with others such as the National Science Foundation, the Sea Grant Program in Maine continued to fund Acheson, who has researched the political history of lobstering, trap technology, management issues such as trap limits, and views of the "boom and bust" phenomena from the perspective of those in the industry as well as that of biological scientists, suggesting management strategies using the knowledge of lobster fishermen.

Acheson's longstanding work, along with that of his colleague at the University of Maine, economist Jim Wilson, has positioned them among the leaders involved in recent changes in lobster management. In 1995 Maine enacted a new approach to state lobster management, resting on local councils and "zones," in which lobstermen play an integral role in tailoring the regulations to their

"The ground-truthed approach—

talking with people in the community to incorporate their knowledge [and] values in management—has important payoffs for resource management agencies."

immediate area, deciding such issues as how many traps an individual can have or when they can fish. The law provides for several important innovations: (1) The creation of zone councils, drawn up to reflect various localized fishing conditions, historical "territories," and the needs of fishermen in different areas of the coast; (2) more authority and responsibility for the lobstermen—the councils can propose gear restrictions, regulate time of fishing, or other management practices—to be implemented in their area; and (3) the establishment of a two-year apprenticeship program, which in effect limits entry to the field while passing on practice and traditions to the next generation of lobstermen.

Cited as an example of co-management between the industry and state resource managers by some in the fishing industry, the new program is just getting underway. Many have contributed to the innovations, including state resource managers, marine extension specialists, lobstermen's associations, scientists, and the lobstermen themselves. Central to its development, however, is the work of the two social scientists that provided the ground-truthed knowledge of how the fisheries function. Wilson's work on chaos theory in economics, for example, argues that government has a role in setting the general parameters of fishery management, but that other decisions can and probably should be based on more local knowledge about the health and functioning of an ecosystem. Acheson's work on the social organization of lobstering has shown the value of building on local traditional practices, rather than instituting statewide homogenous regulations. These research legacies are being played out as the new laws are implemented through the Maine department of natural resources working with local zone councils.

Acheson and Wilson continue to play a lead role in developing the new councils. Along with the head of the Maine Lobstermen's Association, a representative of the Maine Department of Marine Resources, and other individuals, they are members of the lobster zone working group, which in 1996 held meetings from the southern tip of the state to "down east" Maine, to address local questions and concerns regarding the new management regime.

This model of how fisheries can be run in partnership with state

fishery managers—utilizing local control (instead of a top-down, one-size-fits-all management) and the expertise and stewardship of generations of fishermen—is now being considered by both fishermen and state resource managers as a model for harvesting scallops, soft-shell clams, and sea urchins in the Northeast. The results so far? It is early, but it seems that lobster co-management has been launched successfully.

Most impressively, local councils are stepping up to responsibility and actually imposing stricter trap limits. This development counters the widespread belief that fishermen will "fish out every last fish in the sea" if they are allowed to manage their own fisheries. There are subtler but equally important results: the zone councils have brought into political participation a new generation of fishermen (the 30 to 40-year-olds) who are apparently consummate politicians as zone chairs. And, information sharing among state resource agencies and fishermen has improved dramatically. The end results will be better conservation of lobsters, better compliance with regulations, and more tailored rules commensurate with local practices and needs.

THE PAYOFFS

Identifying the nature and extent of fishing communities, fishing-dependency, and how management measures affect all tiers of the harvesting enterprise are all important considerations. The ground truthed approach—talking with people first to incorporate their knowledge, social organization, and values—has important payoffs for resource management agencies.

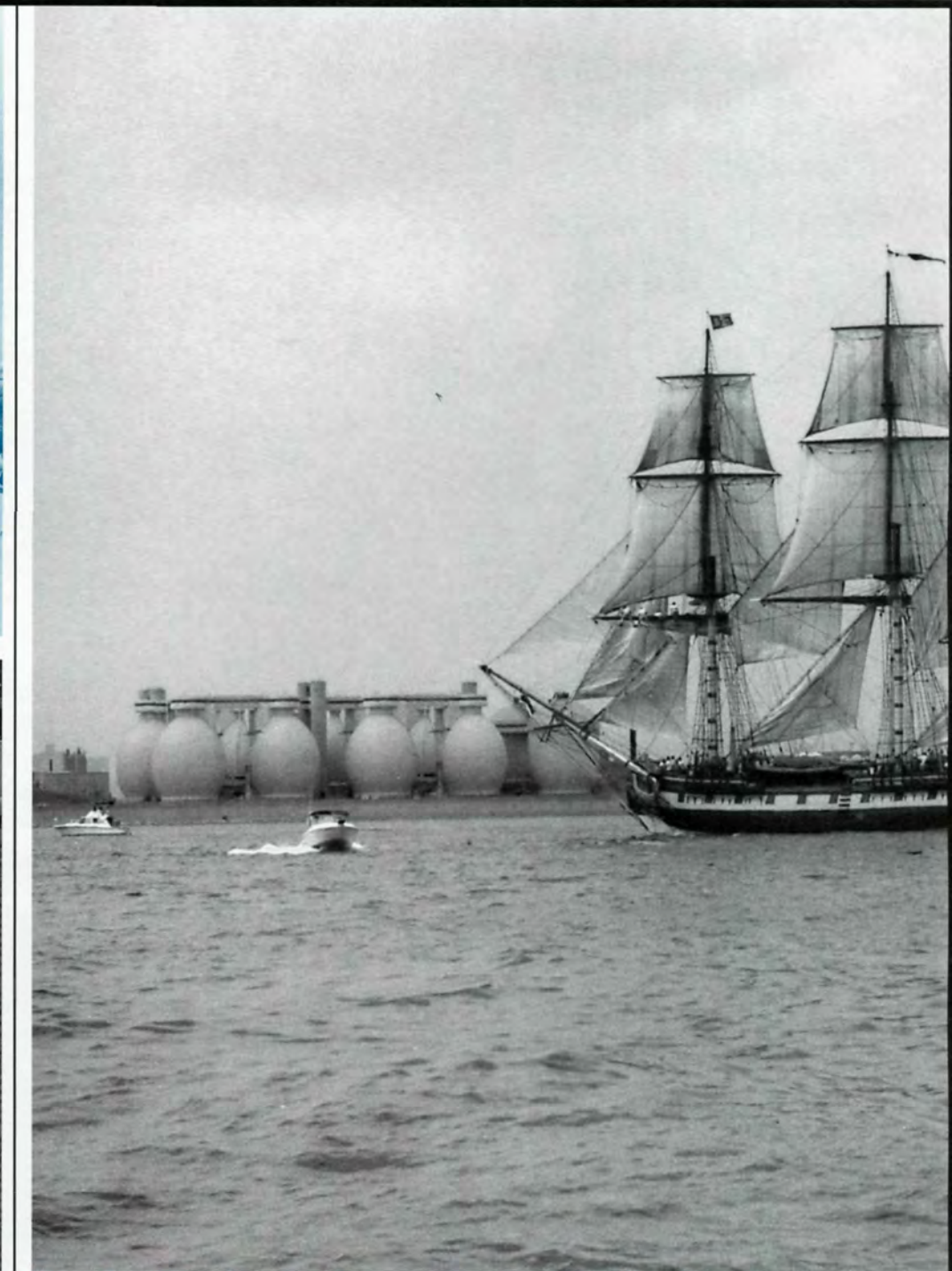
Shirley J. Fiske is currently on leave from NOAA, working as a Brookings Institution Legis Fellow on Capitol Hill with issues such as invasive species, coral reefs, alternative energy sources, and land and water conservation—from the human perspective.

For more information, contact Shirley J. Fiske, R/SG, National Sea Grant College Program, 1315 East-West Highway, Silver Spring, MD 20910, (202) 224-6361. Collage photographs courtesy Shirley J. Fiske and Jim Acheson.



THE LIVING LANDSCAPES

Urban



ALL PHOTOS MDS

OF AMERICA'S CITIES

by rebecca joseph

Parents



PREVIOUS PAGES, CLOCKWISE FROM LEFT: A product of urban farming at Brooklyn's Gateway National Recreation Area; WWII veterans and their families with vintage B-17 at Floyd Bennett Field, also at Gateway; U.S.S. Constitution sails past Boston Harbor Islands Park; capturing the name of an immigrant ancestor at Ellis Island's Wall of Honor.

Speaking one afternoon of "the tyranny of existing structures," Boston Harbor Islands' Superintendent George Price points out that that the physical remains of the urban past represent only a small part of American history. "It's easy to jump into existing buildings, infrastructure, recreational opportunities, the whole tourism thrust," he says. "To look only at the Boston harbor

islands as recreation possibilities for the 21st century cuts them short of their history, what makes them important. Our responsibility is to do the research and make sure [the public] gets the whole package." Price should know. He spent many years as manager of Lowell National Historical Park, one of the national park system's premier urban sites.

Urban national parks are vital public spaces as well as markers of national heritage. The diversity of people connected with these sites produce needs that may appear at odds with the purposes of a national park. To better address the challenges to preserving all the site's important resources while providing for public enjoyment and use, urban park managers often turn to ethnographers for help.

Location does make a difference. Urban national parks are integral parts of the built environment. They provide a laboratory in which to study the meaning of urban spaces through the knowledge of people who know them intimately. Parks in the Northeast commission ethnographic studies to better understand the significance of these places and their constituents.

Edison National Historic Site lies five miles from Newark (pop. 275,000) and about 20 miles west of New York City in one of New Jersey's mostly intensively developed regions. The park memorializes

the achievements of inventor Thomas Alva Edison by preserving his home and research laboratory in West Orange. About 60,000 people tour Edison's laboratory and Glenmont estate each year. It is a primary destination for international visitors, school groups, and a small but increasing number of home educators.

With its emphasis on the great inventor and the loss of many related buildings outside its boundaries to urban renewal, few park visitors realize the full import of the site. Established in 1886, the Edison corporate presence prevailed over West Orange for more than eight decades. At the height of production, manufacturing operations covered 21 acres off Main Street. Edison enterprises provided thousands of jobs for generations. A former worker, now 77, recalls, "I joined the Thomas A. Edison company because as I grew up my father had been with the company... forty-nine years and seven months when he retired. Our family and all the other families that grew up in the Oranges were all part of the Edison family... They went through the plants and said, if you have any brothers or sisters ask them to come in for an interview... A lot of men, their daughters came to work there... [Edison] wanted to keep the families in. Like I had a brother, a sister, and myself."

Ethnknoworks' Michael Agar, who conducted interviews with former Edison



ABOVE AND OPPOSITE: Gardening at Brooklyn's Gateway National Recreation Area gives city residents a sense of community and a chance to affirm their cultural backgrounds.

employees, neighbors, business people, and city officials in West Orange, was struck by the differences in how the National Park Service and long-time residents interpret the park's significance. While some local leaders see an opportunity to capitalize on their community's Edison heritage, for others the park is a painful reminder of what they view as the abandonment of their community by McGraw-Edison, the corporate descendant of the original Thomas A. Edison company, which ceased operations in West Orange in 1973. Moreover, ethnographic interviews revealed that the company's carefully crafted family image was not necessarily consistent with its practices. "It was fascinating to discover that the development of organized labor [in the Edison plants] was critical to all of

the people interviewed," Agar says.

Sometimes urban ethnography yields other surprises for researchers and parks. In 1996, the National Park Service sponsored an ethnographic study to support the re-organization of Gateway National Recreation Area's 20-year-old community gardening program, which serves more than 600 people at three sites in New York City. Because giving, exchanging, and processing produce are important among the gardeners, several thousand people in their households and social networks are also connected to the park's resources.

The community gardens serve many needs of city dwellers with limited access to open space. For some, they are a therapeutic refuge from the rigors of urban life, providing opportunities to observe and participate in natural processes as well as grow and provide fresh food to share. According to University of California, San Diego, anthropologist Steven Parish, "When people garden at Gateway, they often do much more than cultivate garden crops. They cultivate identities and harvest memories. It is not just that the gardeners are diverse in terms of their social and cultural backgrounds, their race or ethnicity; for many, the gardens are important as an affirmation of the histories and identities that constitute their diverse identities and cultural backgrounds."

Parish believes that in addition to serving as a resource for the community, Gateway's gardens demonstrate how well the Park Service mission fits in this urban setting: "Gardens and parks alike may offer an experience of nature, of open space. If some gardeners use their garden plots to remind themselves of their heritage and history, so do national parks:

they express and preserve the memories of the nation . . . [these] gardeners are doing in miniature something the National Park System does on a much vaster scale—affirm a connection to nature and to the past."

Establishing strong relations with African American communities is a priority for Manhattan Sites Superintendent Joseph Avery, who uses ethnographic research to address local conflicts, apathy, and antipathy among constituents. Saint Paul's Church National Historic Site, a unit of Manhattan Sites located in Mount Vernon, New York, undertook an ethnographic study to improve documentation of African American associations with the site and its resources including church buildings, a cemetery, and adjacent non-federal lands. Though once the picturesque center of predominantly white "Old Eastchester," today the site is surrounded by small industrial plants and enormous oil tanks. In a city of 61,000 that is 55 percent black, Mount Vernon residents include 96 nationalities.

Saint Paul's Church archives include documentation of its early beginnings as a "dissenting" church, its evolution into one of the oldest Protestant Episcopal churches in the country, and its role in the Revolutionary War. When the ethnography project began, site staff already knew a few things about the longevity of African American associations with the site. The cemetery, dating to 1704, contains over 8,000 burial sites including free and enslaved Africans. Between 1710 and 1800, the percentage of the Eastchester population owned by others increased from 8 to 15 percent. By 1910, only 1,345 Mount Vernon residents (4 percent) were African Americans. The Turner Homestead, adjacent to the cemetery, was



ABOVE AND RIGHT: The imprint of local communities at the gardens of Brooklyn's Gateway National Recreation Area.

occupied by descendants of Benjamin Turner, a prominent free African American of the mid-19th century, prior to a controversial land taking by the City of Mount Vernon in the 1930s.

Anthropologist Laura Pires-Hester says of her work at Saint Paul's Church, "Ethnographic research was especially crucial in locating and documenting details of the 20th century African-American presence and associations with the site . . . [the] interviews confirmed that indeed in the 'functioning Church' of the 1960-1980 period African-Americans were numerically predominant. It was a period of struggle as the small congregation attempted to survive, and it was also the period when efforts to transfer the site [to the Park Service] accelerated." Photographs collected by Pires-Hester show African Americans worshipping, getting married, and attending events alongside stalwart white parishioners in the Parish Hall.

Pires-Hester believes that "the African American presence is integral to the site and area's social history—not a separate story at all—and the challenge is to capture and interpret that continuum." Her ethnographic fieldwork confirmed "a reservoir of interest that can be tapped

“When people garden at Gateway, they often do much more than cultivate garden crops. They cultivate identities and harvest memories.”

with aggressive outreach, display representation, follow up and creative programming.”

Urban park managers recognize that ethnographic research speaks to their needs. Just ask John Piltzecker, superintendent of the two-year-old New Bedford

Whaling National Historical Park in Massachusetts. Recognizing that a small group of surviving whalers, like 102-year-old Antonio Lopes, and their immediate descendants are key to the park's mission of preserving and interpreting 19th century American whaling, he secured funding

for a documentation project to begin this year. As whaling drew from diverse populations so does this ethnographic project. Working with the New Bedford Whaling Museum, the New Bedford Historical Society (an African American organization), the Azorean American Heritage Committee, the Descendants of Whaling Masters, and the folklorist Laura Orleans, the park has identified 10 families intimately associated with whaling on which to focus the study—Wampanoags and African Americans along with people of Cape Verdean, Azorean, West Indian, and Yankee descent.

Boston Harbor Islands' Superintendent George Price has funding for an ethnographic study, too.

For more information, contact Rebecca Joseph, Program Manager, Northeast Region Ethnography Program, National Park Service, 15 State St., Boston, MA 02109, (617) 223-5056, fax (617) 223-5195, e-mail becky_joseph@nps.gov.

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The Olympic Peninsula, on Washington State's northwest coast, has been viewed as a vast wilderness, but perhaps vastly diverse better describes its Pacific coastline, rainforests, and mountainous peaks. Glistening lakes and alpine meadows punctuate the landscape, and magnificent rivers, fed by glaciers, run through lush forests below. Equally diverse are the people who have lived here since long ►



a voice for diversity

Preserving a Native
American Homeland in
the Pacific Northwest

"It is impossible to understand man without understanding his environment and the forces that have molded him physically and mentally." —Rachel Carson by [jacilee wray](#) and [marie hebert](#)





"Unpublished material"

before the first Europeans explored the peninsula's coast in the 1780s. Understanding the interactions of these people and their environment is essential to preserving the close to a million acres entrusted to the managers of Olympic National Park. In fact, the Forest Service, U.S. Fish & Wildlife, and the state's department of natural resources all have a stake in protecting the peninsula. So do the tribes that retain traditional ties to it. Partnerships are essential, with tribal associations presenting a unique opportunity to understand the relationship between people and the environment.

The Makah, Lower Elwha Klallam, Jamestown S'Klallam,¹ Port Gamble S'Klallam, Skokomish, Squaxin, Chehalis, Shoalwater Bay, Quinault, Quileute, and Hoh all live on or near the peninsula. Several of their reservations, ranging from 200 to almost 200,000 acres, border the park. Many aspects of park management relate to

PREVIOUS PAGES: The Olympic Peninsula's diverse environments, Northwest Indian stripping bark from a tree; **ABOVE:** Native fishermen of the Northwest; **RIGHT:** Indians baking salmon.

the tribal connection to the landscape. In 1990, the park began a research project to look at these traditional ties. The project has provided a compelling amount of information on the relationship between the tribes and the park.

What was discovered, in compiling an annotated bibliography, was a wealth of research that shed new

light on the region and its inhabitants. Unpublished material—early anthropological field notes, historic photos, land records and maps, settlers' journals, and archival documents—highlighted indigenous uses of the peninsula's interior unrecognized by popular accounts and, indeed, by most of the non-Indian community. Oral histories filled in the picture of Indian life in the rugged terrain. The mountains were once major travel routes, facilitating trade and other interactions such as marriage alliances that, in turn, provided access to resources and territorial knowledge.

Ethnographic interviews alerted us to ongoing significance of the interior, where people still acquire spiritual power. The place is the reputed home of powerful beings such as Thunderbird, said to have created many of the landforms of the peninsula. These interviews, and walks through the area with tribal members, led to informative discussions about past and present uses of the park, enhancing our perspectives of its cultural landscapes.

The result of the research was an ethnographic overview and assessment that provides park managers with a historical and con-

temporary foundation for understanding relationships with the tribes, including treaty rights, legislation, and official government policies. Such research, coupled with tribal cooperation fostered by NPS ethnographic initiatives, has facilitated compliance with laws and regulations that call for tribal consultation, such as the National Historic Preservation Act, the Archaeological Resources Protection Act, the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, the National Environmental Policy Act, and the American Indian Religious Freedom Act. Park projects have been enhanced as well; for example, research in advance of removing a



**highlighted indigenous uses of the peninsula's interior unrecognized by
popular accounts and, indeed, by
most of the non-Indian community."**

dam on the Elwha River enhanced understanding of the waterway's links to the Elwha Klallam Tribe and early homestead families. This goes beyond mere compliance with preservation law.

To facilitate alliances, the park anthropologist and other staff consult with tribal members and native groups such as the Olympic Peninsula Intertribal Cultural Advisory Committee, made up of nine tribes. Where issues concern more than one, the committee is in a position to facilitate communication among themselves as well as with NPS and other agencies. The park anthropologist works closely with members on projects such as

the watershed analyses required under the President's Forest Plan, whose goal is to manage forests for the benefit of the entire ecosystem.²

In 1995 the Quileute tribe requested that the park anthropologist and anthropologist Jay Powell assist them with a watershed analysis the Forest Service was conducting on the Sol Duc River. This work considered tribal cultural factors that would not have been sought or even understood without the involvement of the Quileute tribe and their cultural specialists: where traditional plants were once located, the extent of animal habitat in the past compared to today, and—not as quantifiable but just as important—the features of the land that give continued meaning to the tribe's way of life.

The Olympic Peninsula is a diverse ecosystem where American Indians have resided for at least 10,000 years. The knowledge they contribute is extremely valuable for land managers, not only to help them comply with legal mandates, but also to better understand the interconnectedness of people and the landscape. Olympic National Park is one of the many stewards of lands that have cultural importance to tribes. With the ethnography program and the intertribal committee, the park has an exceptional opportunity to understand and protect places of cultural importance, and provide a voice for tribal diversity and identity so that indigenous populations can continue to be guardians of their homeland.

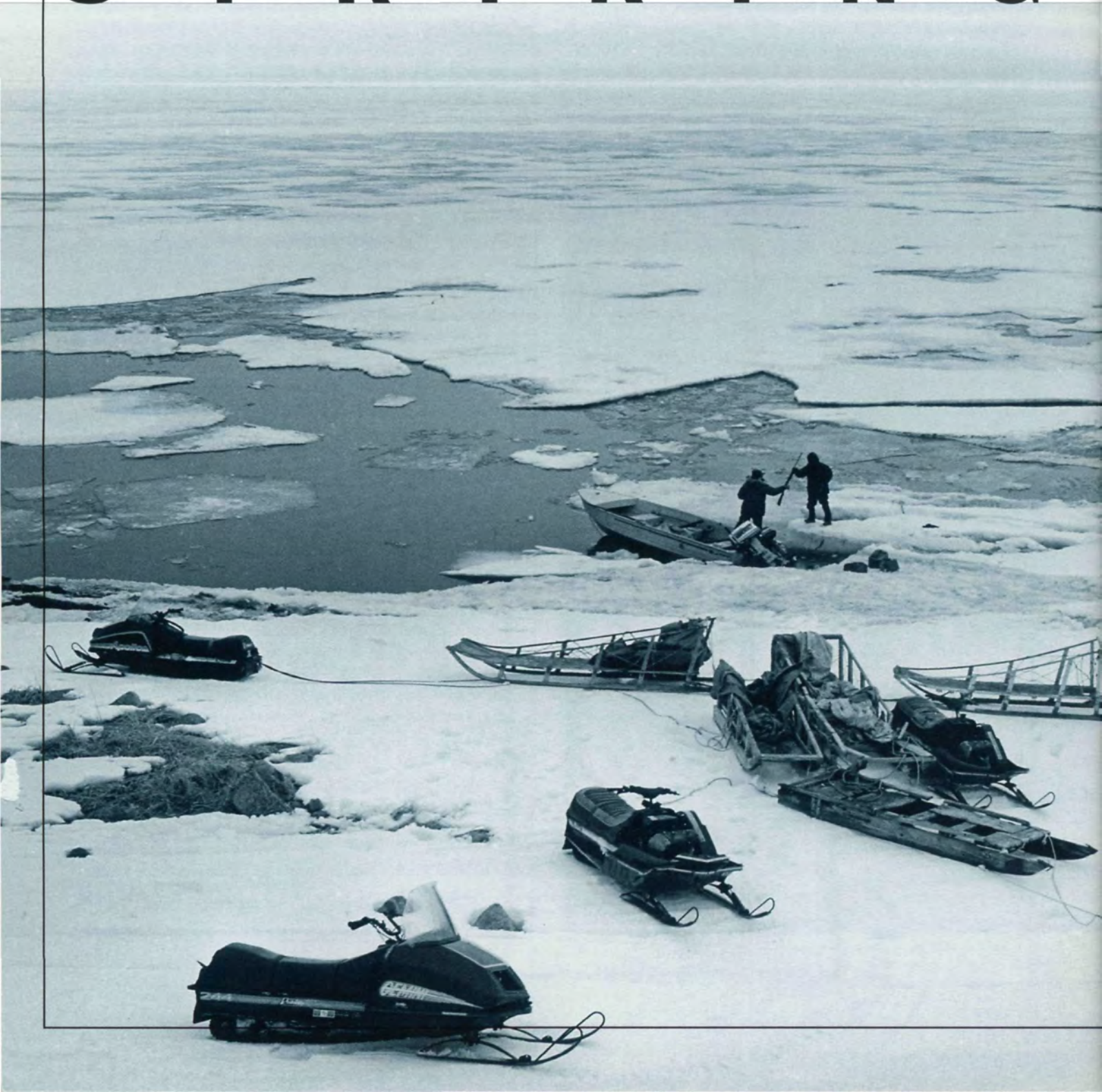
Jacilee Wray is anthropologist at Olympic National Park, 600 East Park Ave., Port Angeles, WA 98362, (360) 452-4501, fax (360) 452-0335. Marie Hebert is chairperson of the Olympic Peninsula Intertribal Cultural Advisory Committee and cultural resources director and council member for the Port Gamble S'Klallam Tribe.

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1. The Jamestown and Port Gamble use of S'Klallam reflects the spelling in the 1855 Treaty of Point No Point; the Lower Elwha Klallam do not use this spelling.
2. Final Supplemental Environmental Impact Statement on Management of Habitat for Late-Successional and Old-Growth Forest Related Species Within the Range of the Northern Spotted Owl, GPO Region 10: U.S. Forest Service and U.S. Department of Interior, 1994.



S T R I K I N G



B A L A N C E

BY DON CALLAWAY

PRESERVING NATURE, CONSERVING CULTURE
IN THE ALASKA ECOSYSTEM

Although Alaska is blessed with parks and preserves of considerable scope, migratory animals like caribou and waterfowl ignore the artificial political and management boundaries humans impose upon the landscape. A caribou herd may cross over from Canada, traverse native territory, pass through several federal refuges, and ultimately calve in a state park. Conserving these species is a complex effort that involves coordination among many constituents. **The Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act** placed special pressures on park managers to deal with consumptive practices on park lands. The act, a compromise among a range of interests, opened preserves to sports hunters and allowed the continuation of native hunting and fishing practices in newly formed parks. **The National Park Service** is in the difficult position of mediating between traditional harvest practices, which may view resources as being sentient and in infinite supply, with western concepts of restricted harvest seasons and bag limits. Determining the nature of traditional use often demands ethnographic inquiry. **Five years ago, the draft report** *Ecosystem Management and the National Park Service* called on the agency to collect a broader array of ethnographic data than it had in the past because differing social attitudes and cultural practices can affect how natural resources are managed. Today, NPS ethnographers pair quantitative research, which provides data like census figures, income, and

P H O T O G R A P H S B Y J A M E S H B A R K E R

range of species, with narrative studies, which communicate a community's character, values, and traditional beliefs.

Natives and other rural Alaskans consume almost 75 percent of the 50 million pounds of wildlife harvested each year. The vast majority of rural communities are accessible only by air or boat, making the purchase of processed foods extremely expensive. The economic numbers are revealing. In Anchorage, the price of food is

25 percent higher than it is in most cities of the western United States. Rural residents, however, pay double the Anchorage cost—and have considerably lower annual incomes. In a recent study, researchers estimated it would take over 75 percent of one community's total cash income to replace the wildlife they harvest in a year.

Other statistics reinforce the realization that wildlife is essential to survival in the Alaskan bush. On average each of the state's rural residents consumes about 375 pounds of meat and fish annually, compared to the U.S. average of 225 pounds. In the Arctic region, villagers may average 650 pounds per capita. Subsistence hunters, unlike sports hunters interested in trophy animals, harvest a wide variety of species—moose, caribou, seal, walrus, salmon, whitefish, and several types of berries. Fish are generally the most important resource, comprising about 60 percent of all the protein in their diet.

However, statistics tell only part of the story. Ethnographic reports, coupled with public testimony solicited by cultural anthropologists, fill in the rest. This considerable body of research shows that, for rural native groups, the social aspects of harvesting, processing, and sharing food are paramount. Whether it is clamming, processing salmon at a fish camp, or seal hunting with a father or brother, subsistence activities provide the most basic memories and values in an individual's life. They teach the person to fish, hunt, and process in a way that is efficient and not wasteful. They promote generosity, respect

for the knowledge of elders, and self esteem. The single most respected and reinforced role for young men is that of the successful hunter who distributes the fruits of his harvest widely in the community. In short, these activities provide the moral foundation for continuity between generations.

Even with detailed ethnographic information in hand it is not always easy to find common ground. NPS is tasked with maintaining "natural and healthy populations" of species. Its managers and community members may agree on the health of a particular species, but what do we mean by natural? For example, park managers and research biologists may view a natural brown bear population as the maximum number of bears that can be supported by the existing habitat. Local communities, who compete with bears for berries or have the drying racks at their fish camps raided by juvenile bears, may view much lower numbers as natural.

Understanding the tenets of "traditional ecological knowledge" can help managers negotiate these very different worldviews. For their part, native people believe it is in their best interests if managers consider this knowledge when they make decisions. Traditional ecological knowledge is "built up by a group of people through generations of living in close contact with nature," says Martha Johnson in *Lore: Capturing Traditional Environmental Knowledge*. "It includes a system of classification, a set of empirical observations about the local environment, and a system of self-management that governs resource use."

However, in the view of some game biologists and land managers, traditional ecological knowledge mixes concepts that they find useful with others that they cannot accept, such as the idea





that animals have souls or make sentient choices. Practical outcomes can be accomplished when both sides set aside insistence on one view and share information on the natural history of a species, its relationship to other species in the ecosystem, and the health of the population. Mutual respect, and an understanding of both traditional and western knowledge, holds great promise in achieving NPS objectives in ecosystems management.

Federal and state conservation units in Alaska may constitute sufficient acreage to sustain non-migratory species in a protected contiguous habitat. But, as we have seen, even in Alaska's vast spaces, human influences permeate the landscape. Ethnography provides a critical tool for understanding human influences on the environment and for negotiating conflicting values.

Thus, Alaska presents one of the best test cases for the stewardship of ecosystems. Though the challenge is formidable, few places in the world have comparable personnel and financial resources. If

ecosystem management cannot work in Alaska, one would have to be pessimistic about its chances of success anywhere else.

For more information, contact Don Callaway, National Park Service, 2525 Gambell St., Anchorage, AK 99503, (907) 257-2408, e-mail don_callaway@nps.gov.

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TAKING STOCK AT THE SMITHSONIAN

NATURAL HISTORY MUSEUM COMPLETES ITS INVENTORY

The National Museum of Natural History has completed an inventory of all its Native American human remains and artifacts. The remains represent more than 15,000 individuals; the artifacts number well over a million. The museum has sent the list to all federally recognized tribes, native Hawaiian groups, and Alaska native corporations and villages.

Native American human remains and artifacts have come to the museum from many sources. Much of the Smithsonian's collection came from archeological excavations around the country over the last 100 years. Some remains were collected by travelers in the West during the latter half of the 19th century. Others arrived via the military, who gathered them from battlefields during the Indian Wars at the Surgeon General's request.



ABOVE: Smithsonian technician Betsy Bruemmer and anthropologist Chuck Smythe examine Sioux artifacts.

The Smithsonian is the only federal organization exempt from NAGPRA; its repatriation is guided by the National Museum of the American Indian Act of 1989. That act requires the Institution to inventory, document, and, if requested, repatriate culturally affiliated human remains and cultural objects. Unlike NAGPRA, however, the act set no deadlines, which Congress imposed with its 1996 amendments to the statute. The amendments also

defined new categories of objects subject to repatriation that resemble NAGPRA's.

The information in the museum's inventories presents the essential cultural affiliation and geographic information on each artifact and set of

remains and provides a starting point for detailed research into the collection.

For more information, including summaries and inventory lists, contact the Repatriation Office, National Museum of Natural History, MRC-138, Smithsonian Institution, Washington,

D.C. 20560-0138. Additional information on the repatriation program can be found on the Natural History Museum's World Wide Web site. Readers are referred to the site at www.nmnh.si.edu/anthro/repatriation/repatriation.htm.

PETE SOUZA, CHICAGO TRIBUNE



ONLINE

■ TRIBAL DATABASE UPGRADED

The Native American Consultation Database is now on the World Wide Web at www.cr.nps.gov/aad/nacd/. This new incarnation, which replaces the earlier telnet version, offers a wealth of information to facilitate federally required consultation with native groups.

NACD makes it easy to identify a contact person for all 771 federally recognized Indian tribes, Alaska Native corporations, and Native Hawaiian organizations. The database can be searched by tribe, reservation, state, county, contact name, or Air Force installation (many of which have aboriginal lands). Some tribes provide additional information such as the types of cultural objects they are particularly concerned about.

To ensure that all appropriate parties are included in consultations, database users should also investigate sources such as national and local archives, and, where necessary, contact the Bureau of Indian Affairs and other federal, state, and local agencies with Native American programs.

The database is a cooperative effort between the National Park Service and the U.S. Air Force Center for Environmental Excellence.

UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA TO RETURN REMAINS OF NEARLY 2,000 INDIVIDUALS

REPATRIATION ARISES FROM DISCOVERY IN LAB

In one of the largest proposed repatriations ever under NAGPRA, the University of Nebraska will return the remains of 1,702 Native Americans to a group representing tribes from Nebraska, Kansas, Iowa, Oklahoma, and North and South Dakota. The university also acknowledged having misplaced or incinerated remains during the 1960s.

The repatriation arose from last fall's discovery of native remains in a campus lab. University Chancellor James Moeser, at a meeting with the tribes and the National Park Service, expressed regret and a willingness to assure the proper disposition of all remains stored at the school. After a thorough reevaluation of university collections and practices, negotiations led to what university president L. Dennis Smith called "an unprecedented consensus." As

a result, the university reevaluated its inventory of remains previously classified as culturally unidentifiable, with a number of them reclassified as being affiliated with several groups of tribes. The university then approached the NAGPRA review committee for its recommendation on the disposition of those remains that still have no affiliation. The repatriation will take place after the required notices announcing these facts appear in the *Federal Register*.

Scottish Museum Repatriates "Ghost Shirt"

A "ghost shirt" reputedly taken from a Sioux killed at Wounded Knee has been repatriated by Glasgow's Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum, which acquired it from Buffalo Bill Cody's Wild West Show on its visit to the city in 1891. Once worn by a follower of the Sioux Ghost Dance cult, the shirt holds great significance for the tribe today.

The campaign for the shirt's return started when a Cherokee tourist saw it five years ago. The Wounded Knee Survivors' Association, which spearheaded the repatriation campaign, sent representatives to negotiate. Last November, the municipal museum decided to return the shirt. It went to the Lakota Sioux.

In September, the Lakota received a number of Wounded Knee relics from the Smithsonian, including six ghost shirts, a war club, a medicine man's ceremonial stick, and a child's cap and moccasins—all military souvenirs that had found their way to the shelves of the Institution's National Museum of Natural History (see related story, opposite page).

FY 1997

1. Repatriation of Iwi. Hui Malama I Na Kupuna 'O Hawai'i Nei. Contact Edward Ayau: (808) 677-8230.
2. Coordination of Bering Straits Villages and Corporations. Bering Straits Foundation. Contact Vernon Olson: (907) 443-5252.
3. Alaska Repatriation Workshop. Ukpeagvik Inupiat Corporation. Contact Jana Harcharek: (907) 852-4460.
4. Tlingit and Haida Consultation. University of Alaska Museum, Fairbanks, with the Central Council of Tlingit and Haida Indian Tribes of Alaska. Contact Gary Selinger: (907) 474-7505.
5. Summary and Inventory Assessment and Documentation. Denakkanaaga, Inc., with the Native Village of Minto and five additional sub-regional hub villages. Contact Catherine Ipalook: (907) 456-1748.
6. Repatriation of Keet S'aaxw (Killerwhale Hat) and Keet Gwalaa (Killerwhale Dagger). Central Council of Tlingit and Haida Indian Tribes of Alaska. Contact Michelle Metz: (907) 586-1432.
7. Alaskan Repatriation Collaborations and Research of NAGPRA Objects at Auction Houses. Central Council of Tlingit and Haida Indian Tribes of Alaska. Contact Michelle Metz: (907) 586-1432.
8. S'Klallam Collaboration. Jamestown S'Klallam Tribe, with the Lower Elwha Klallam Tribe and Port Gamble S'Klallam Tribe. Contact Liz Mueller: (360) 681-4628.
9. Summary and Inventory Assessment and Documentation. Squaxin Island Tribe. Contact Brian Thompson: (360) 426-9781.
10. Native American Tribal Museum Repatriation Conference. Confederated Tribes of the Yakama Nation, with the Thomas Burke Memorial Washington State Museum and American Association for State and Local History. Contact Marilyn Malatare: (509) 865-2800.
11. Consultation with University of Oregon Museum. Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Reservation, with the State Museum of Anthropology, University of Oregon. Contact Jeffery Van Pelt: (541) 276-3629.
12. Mendocino County Collaboration. Sherwood Valley Rancheria, with the Phoebe Hearst Museum at the University of California, Berkeley, and the Coyote Valley Band of Pomo Indians, Hopland Band of Pomo Indians, Guidville Rancheria, Redwood Valley Little River Band of Pomo Indians, Pinoleville Rancheria, Round Valley Reservation, and Cahto Tribe-Laytonville Rancheria. Contact Pauline Girvin: (707) 459-9690.
13. Ohlone Consultation. Phoebe Hearst Museum of Anthropology, University of California at Berkeley. Contact Rosemary Joyce: (510) 642-3683.
14. Maidu, Miwok, Ohlone, Patwin, Pomo, and Yokut Consultations. Treganza Anthropology Museum, San Francisco State University. Contact Gary Pahl: (415) 338-3004.
15. NAGPRA Consultation Project. Hualapai Tribe, with the Havasupai Tribe, Hopi Tribe, Kaibab Paiute Tribe, Mohave-Apache Community, and Yavapai-Apache Community. Contact Monza Hong: (520) 769-2223.
16. Hopi-Salado Cultural Affiliation Project. Hopi Tribe. Contact Leigh Jenkins: (520) 734-2441 x751.
17. Zuni Salado and Lowland Mogollon Cultural Affiliation Project. Zuni Pueblo. Contact Joseph Dishta: (505) 782-4113.
18. Consultation with Nine Southwestern Tribes. Denver Museum of Natural History, with the Pueblos of Acoma, Hopi, Jemez, San Felipe, Santo Domingo, Taos, Tesuque, and Zuni and the Navajo Nation. Contact Robert Pickering: (303) 370-6492.
19. Consultation with Three Sioux Tribes. Denver Art Museum, with the Colorado Historical Society, Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe, Rosebud Sioux Tribe, and Standing Rock Sioux Tribe. Contact Nancy Blomberg: (303) 640-7572.
20. Summary and Inventory Assessment and Documentation. Fort Peck Assiniboine & Sioux Tribes. Contact Curley Youpee: (406) 768-5155 x392.



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■ GRANT APPLICATIONS
ON THE WORLD WIDE WEB

Applications for NAGPRA repatriation grants—to facilitate the return of human remains and cultural items—are now on the World Wide Web at www.cr.nps.gov/aad/nagpra/grapp1.html. The grants, administered by the NPS archeology and ethnography program, are available to tribes, native Alaskan villages and corporations, and native Hawaiian organizations, as well as to museums, institutions of higher learning, and state and local agencies.

21. Repatriation of Lakota Cultural Objects. Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe. Contact James Picotte: (605) 964-2542.

22. Wotakuye Wicagloku (Bringing our Relatives Home). Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe. Contact James Picotte: (605) 964-2542.

23. Summary and Inventory Assessment and Documentation. Quapaw Tribe of Oklahoma. Contact Carrie Wilson: (501) 442-7576.

24. Summary and Inventory Assessment and Documentation. Sac & Fox Nation of Oklahoma. Contact Judy Walkingstick: (918) 968-3526.

25. Cheyenne Repatriation. Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma. Contact Gordon Yellowman: (405) 262-0345.

26. Summary and Inventory Assessment and Documentation. Caddo Indian Tribe of Oklahoma. Contact Ruby Cozad: (405) 656-2344.

27. Summary and Inventory Assessment and Documentation. Chickasaw Nation. Contact Jerry Bray: (405) 332-8478.

28. Summary and Inventory Assessment and Documentation. White Earth Reservation. Contact Douglas Hodges: (218) 573-3007.

29. Consultation with Northwest Tribes. Science Museum of Minnesota, with Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Minnesota Historical Society, and Fredrick R. Weisman Art Museum. Contact Faith Bad Bear: (612) 221-9432.

30. Summary and Inventory Assessment and Documentation. Stockbridge-Munsee Community. Contact Theresa Puskarenko: (715) 793-4060.

31. Wisconsin Intertribal Repatriation Committee Documentation of Unidentifiable Human Remains and Association Funerary Objects. Oneida Tribe of Wisconsin, with the Forest County Potawatomi Community, Ho-Chunk Nation, Lac du Flambeau Band of Lake Superior Chippewa, Menominee

Indian Tribe of Wisconsin, Stockbridge-Munsee Community, Bad River Band of Lake Superior Indians, Red Cliff Band of Lake Superior Chippewa Indians, Sokaogon Chippewa Community, and St. Croix Chippewa Indians. Contact Susan Daniels: (414) 490-2095.

32. Potawatomi and Chippewa Consultation. Milwaukee Public Museum. Contact Ann McMullen: (414) 278-2786.

33. Summary and Inventory Assessment and Documentation. Little River Band of Ottawa Indians. Contact Mark Dougher: (616) 723-8288.

34. Kentucky Consultation. Webb Museum of Anthropology, University of Kentucky with the University of Louisville, Absentee-Shawnee Tribe of Oklahoma, Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma, Chickasaw Nation, Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians, Eastern Shawnee Tribe of Oklahoma, United Keetoowah Band of Cherokee Indians, and Miami Tribe of Oklahoma. Contact Nancy O'Malley: (606) 257-8208.

35. Consultation with New York Tribes. Rochester Museum & Science Center, with the Cayuga Indian Nation, Oneida Indian Nation, Oneida Tribe of Wisconsin, Onondaga Nation, Seneca Nation, Seneca-Cayuga Tribe of Oklahoma, St. Regis Mohawk Tribe, Stockbridge-Munsee Community, Tonawanda Band of Senecas, and Tuscarora Nation. Contact Connie Bodner: (716) 271-4552 x440.

36. Consultation with New York and Mid-Atlantic Tribes. Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University. Contact Rubie Watson: (617) 495-2254.

37. Wabanaki Repatriation Project. Houlton Band of Maliseet Indians, with the Aroostook Band of Micmac Indians, Indian Township Reservation of the Passamaquoddy Tribe, Penobscot Indian Nation, and Pleasant Point Reservation of the Passamaquoddy Tribe. Contact David Lindsay: (207) 532-4273.

FY 1998

38. Repatriation of Remains from Nihoa and Necker. Hui Malama I Na Kupuna 'O Hawai'i Nei, with the Edith Kanaka'ole Foundation. Contact Edward Ayau: (808) 677-8230.

39. Moku O Keawe Reburial Materials Project. Hui Malama I Na Kupuna 'O Hawai'i Nei, with the Pana'ewa Hawaiian Homelands Community Association. Contact Edward Ayau: (808) 677-8230.

40. Summary Assessment and Documentation. Bishop Museum, with Hui Malama I Na Kupuna 'O Hawai'i Nei. Contact Valerie Free: (808) 847-8205.

GRANTS

41. Summary and Inventory Assessment and Documentation. Naknek Native Village. Contact Fred Anderson: (907) 246-4210.

42. Bering Strait Communities' Museum Consultation. Bering Straits Foundation, with the University of Alaska, Fairbanks Museum, Native Village of Gambell, Nome Eskimo Community, Native Village of Savoonga, Native Village of Unalakleet, and Native Village of Shaktolik. Contact Vernon Olson: (907) 443-5252.

43. NAGPRA Education and Consultation. Denakkanaaga, Inc., with the Organized Village of Grayling (aka Holikachuk) and Village of Kaltag. Contact Catherine Ipalook: (907) 456-1748.

44. Tlingit and Haida Collaborative Repatriation Activities and Analysis of Individual Tlingit Property. Central Council of Tlingit and Haida Indian Tribes of Alaska, with Sitka Tribe of Alaska, Douglas Indian Association, Kootznoodoo, Inc., and University of Alaska Museum. Contact Michelle Metz: (907) 586-1432.

45. Summary and Inventory Assessment and Documentation. Kootznoodoo, Inc. Contact Leonard John: (907) 790-2992.

46. Summary and Inventory Assessment and Documentation. Sitka Tribe of Alaska. Contact Louise Brady: (907) 747-3207.

47. Summary and Inventory Assessment and Documentation. Confederated Tribes of Coos, Lower Umpqua and Siuslaw Indians. Contact John Ward: (541) 267-5454.

48. Coquille Repatriation Project. Coquille Indian Tribe. Contact Donald Ivy: (541) 756-0904.

49. Collaborative NAGPRA Education. The Klamath Tribes, with the University of Oregon Museum of Natural History. Contact Gordon Bettles: (541) 783-2219.

50. Onay Ma Ge Talth Quam (Keepers While I'm Gone). Yurok Tribe. Contact Thomas Gates: (707) 444-0433.

51. Mendocino County Collaboration. Sherwood Valley Rancheria, with the Coyote Valley Band of Pomo Indians, Hopland Band of Pomo Indians, Guidiville Rancheria, Redwood Valley Little River Band of Pomo Indians, Pinoleville Rancheria, Round Valley Reservation, Cahto Tribe-Laytonville Rancheria, and the Manchester/Point Arena of Pomo Indians and Elem Indian Colony of Pomo Indians. Contact Pauline Girvin: (707) 459-9690.

52. Summary and Inventory Assessment and Documentation. Mooretown Rancheria. Contact Gary Archuleta: (530) 533-3625.

53. Yurok Consultation. Phoebe Hearst Museum of Anthropology, University of California at Berkeley, with the Yurok Tribe. Contact Rosemary Joyce: (510) 642-3683.

54. Yokuts and Western Mono Consultations. Phoebe Hearst Museum of Anthropology, University of California at Berkeley, with the Table Mountain Rancheria. Contact Rosemary Joyce: (510) 642-3683.

55. Summary and Inventory Assessment and Documentation. Timbisha Shoshone Tribe. Contact Pauline Esteves: (760) 786-2374.

56. Summary and Inventory Assessment and Documentation. Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians, with the Augustine Band of Cahuilla Mission Indians, Cabazon Bend of Cahuilla Mission Indians, Cahuilla Band of Mission Indians, Santa Rosa Band of Cahuilla Mission Indians, Torres-Martinez Band of Cahuilla Mission

ABOVE: Blackfoot boy and his dog, 1937

Indians, and San Manuel Band of Serrano Mission Indians. Contact Ginger Ridgway: (760) 323-0151.

57. Conference to Discuss the Issue of Culturally Unidentifiable Human Remains. The Heard Museum, with the Arizona State University Law School. Contact Rebecca Tsosie: (602) 965-2714.

58. Pesticide Contamination Documentation Project. Hopi Tribe, with the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard University, Brooklyn Museum of Art, National Museum of the American Indian, National Museum of Natural History, Field Museum of Natural History,



NPS GEORGE GRANT COLLECTION



N A G P R A G R A N T S

OPPOSITE: Woman weaving at a Navajo camp in New Mexico.

Denver Museum of Natural History, and Museum of Northern Arizona. Contact Leigh Jenkins: (520) 734-2441 x751.

59. Blackfoot Confederacy Consultation. Denver Art Museum, with the Blackfeet Nation of Montana, Blood Tribe of Canada, Peigan Nation of Canada, and Blackfoot Tribe of Canada. Contact Nancy Blomberg: (303) 640-7572.

60. Sharing Crow Cultural Knowledge. Friends of Chief Plenty Coups Association, with the Crow Tribal Council. Contact Richard Pittsley: (406) 252-1289.

61. Consultation with Plains and Midwestern Tribes. Denver Museum of Natural History. Contact Robert Pickering: (303) 370-6492.

62. Consultation between Colorado Museums and Native Communities. Colorado Historical Society, with the Colorado Historical Society, Colorado Commission of Indian Affairs, Northern Arapaho Tribe, Southern Arapaho Tribe, Navajo Nation, Crow Tribe, Hopi Tribe, Ojibwa Sioux Tribe, University of Colorado at Boulder, University of Denver, Metropolitan State College of Denver, Koshare Indian Museum, and Denver Art Museum. Contact Carolyn McArthur: (303) 866-2303.

63. Consultation with Tribal Representatives. Taylor Museum, Colorado Springs Fine Art Center, with the Hopi Tribe, Pueblo of Taos,

Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma, Assiniboine and Sioux Tribes, and Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma. Contact Cathy Wright: (719) 634-5581, ext. 341.

64. Consultation with Tribal Representatives on the W.H. Over Museum Collection. South Dakota State Archeological Research Center, with the Three Affiliated Tribes of the Fort Berthold Reservation, Lower Brule Sioux Tribe, Sisseton-Wahpeton Sioux Tribes, and Yankton Sioux Tribe. Contact James Haug: (605) 394-1936.

65. Summary and Inventory Assessment and Documentation. Winnebago Tribe of Nebraska. Contact David Lee Smith: (402) 878-3313.

66. Summary and Inventory Assessment and Documentation. Iowa Tribe of Kansas and Nebraska. Contact Suzette McCord Rogers: (785) 442-3305.

67. Summary and Inventory Assessment and Documentation. Peoria Tribe of Indians of Oklahoma, with the Illinois State Museum. Contact Don Giles: (918) 540-2535.

68. Summary and Inventory Assessment and Documentation. Ponca Tribe of Indians of Oklahoma. Contact Louis Headman: (805) 763-0120.

69. Summary and Inventory Assessment and Documentation. Pawnee Tribe of Oklahoma. Contact Elizabeth Blackowl: (918) 762-3621.

70. Internet Informational System on Tribal Aboriginal/Historic Territories. Iowa Tribe of Oklahoma. Contact Marianne Long: (405) 547-2402.

71. Seminole Collaboration. Seminole Nation of Oklahoma, with the Seminole Tribe of Florida, Miccosukee Tribe of Indians of Florida, and the Independent Seminole Tribe of Indians of Florida. Contact Ted Underwood: (405) 382-8617.

72. Consultation with Southwestern Tribes. Science Museum of Minnesota, with the Minneapolis Institute of Arts, and Minnesota Historical Society. Contact Faith Bad Bear: (612) 221-9432.

73. Cheyenne Consultation. The Field Museum of Natural History, with the Northern Cheyenne Tribe, and Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma. Contact Jonathan Haas: (312) 922-9410.

74. Pawnee Consultation. The Field Museum of Natural History, with the Pawnee Tribe of Oklahoma. Contact Jonathan Haas: (312) 922-9410.

75. Consultation with Northwest and Southwest Tribes. American Museum of Natural History. Contact Martha Graham: (212) 769-5846.

76. Consultation with Native Hawaiian Organizations. Peabody Essex Museum, with Hui Malama I Na Kupuna 'O Hawai'i Nei, Office of Hawaiian Affairs, and Ka Lahui Hawai'i. Contact Christina Scarangelo: (508) 745-1876, ext. 3171.

77. Broadening Consultation Regarding the Etowah Site, Georgia. Robert S. Peabody Museum of Archeology at Phillips Academy, with the Cherokee Nation, Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians, United Keetoowah Band of Cherokee Indians, Alabama-Quassarte Tribal Town, Kialegee Tribal Town, Muscogee (Creek) Nation, Poarch Band of Creek Indians, Thlopthlocco Tribal Town, Georgia Department of Natural Resources, and National Museum of Natural History. Contact James Bradley: (978) 749-4490.

78. Wampanoag Collaboration. Wampanoag Tribe of Gay Head (Aquinnah), with the Mashpee Wampanoag Tribe and Assonet Band, Wampanoag Nation. Contact Philippe Jordi: (508) 645-9265.

79. S'Klallam Repatriation Project. Jamestown S'Klallam Tribe, with the Lower Elwha Klallam Tribe and Port Gamble S'Klallam Tribe. Contact Liz Mueller: (360) 681-4628.

80. Native Village of Kiana Repatriation Project. Native Village of Kiana. Contact Vera Morris: (907) 475-2109.

81. Peoria Tribe Repatriation Project. Peoria Tribe of Indians of Oklahoma. Contact John Froman: (918) 540-2535.

82. Seminole Repatriation Project. Seminole Nation of Oklahoma, with the Seminole Tribe of Florida, Miccosukee Tribe of Indians of Florida and Independent Seminole Tribe of Indians of Florida. Contact Ted Underwood: (405) 382-8617.

-pastpresent-



In the late 1940s, legendary NPS photographer George Grant sped from site to site in the Missouri River Basin, recording scenes like this one of the rapidly disappearing archeological record. The post-war boom had brought a massive reservoir building campaign to the Midwest, touching off one of U.S. history's biggest archeological salvage projects. The Park Service Midwest Archeological Center, which celebrates its 30th anniversary this year, had its origins in the River Basin Surveys, as they were called. MWAC, still a caretaker of the immense body of knowledge generated by the work, serves parks in 16 states and the stewardship of some of the nation's most important archeological sites. Center archeologists specialize in the archeology of the mid-continent, from the Appalachians to the Rockies. They have stabilized ruins in the Southwest, conducted forensic work for the U.N. War Crimes Commission, and pioneered geophysical survey techniques. Visit the center's web site at www.mwac.nps.gov.

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environmental problems create winners
and losers. Winners . . . are rarely local;
their status typically insulates them
from the discomfort. Losers suffer from lost
resources, health, and livelihood.
Their powerlessness is often tied to
poverty, ethnicity, or religion."**

**Barbara Johnston, "Building a
Public Interest Anthropology," page 24**

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