

# CULTURAL RESOURCE RELATIONS

AN EXPLORATION OF TRIBAL INTERESTS  
WITHIN THE SWEET HOME RANGER DISTRICT

JILL STONE





# CULTURAL RESOURCE RELATIONS

## AN EXPLORATION OF TRIBAL INTERESTS WITHIN THE SWEET HOME RANGER DISTRICT

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# APPROVAL

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# ABSTRACT

Federal-tribal collaborations in resource management are becoming more common, but successes are difficult to duplicate and recommendations for future partnerships are often vague, nontransferable, or dependent on a specific tribe, federal agency, or context. Since no two partnerships are alike, I ask how and why two projects within the same ranger district, with relations to the same tribes and harboring similar goals, have evolved and been implemented in different ways. Both Camas Prairie and Cougar Rock, two resource management projects within the Sweet Home Ranger District of the Willamette National Forest in Oregon, aim to improve access to and abundance of American Indian first foods. As a means to compare the two sites, this project uses a literature review to generate seven 'guiding principles of a successful federal-tribal collaboration.' The principles are then employed through a case study analysis, using in depth interviews and document analysis, in order to

- 1) Better understand the differences between two projects involving similar tribal interests
- 2) Explain how a specific landscape context adds to current understanding of federal-tribal relations and
- 3) Make recommendations to land managers on ways to better identify promising collaborations.

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## KEY TERMS

**Ceded land** - Land that was given to the U.S. government by American Indian tribes in exchange for reserved rights to the land, including access to usual and accustomed places

**Environmental justice** - “fair treatment and meaningful involvement of all people regardless of race, color, national origin, or income, with respect to the development, implementation, and enforcement of environmental laws, regulations, and policies” (EPA, 2014)

**First foods** - Foods historically used by American Indians for subsistence and cultural purposes

**Land Buy Backs** - From the Land Buy Back program, which allows native landowners to sell their land to their tribal government at fair market value

**Special Interest Area** - A designated area which “allows forests to meet internal and public interest in recognizing special values of certain areas and to tailor land uses to interpret, maintain and enhance those special features” (Ottawa NF, 2006)

**Traditional Ecological Knowledge** - “evolving knowledge acquired by indigenous and local peoples over hundreds or thousands of years through direct contact with the environment” (U.S. Fish and Wildlife, 2011)

**Tribal Self Determination** - A social movement where American Indian tribes practice self-governance

**Tribal Sovereignty** - The authority of American Indian tribes to govern themselves

**Trust Lands** - Land held and protected by the U.S. federal government for American Indian tribes

**Usual and accustomed places** - Land within and outside of ceded land where tribes have rights to hunt, fish, gather, and exercise other cultural practices

# ACRONYMS

**BIA** - Bureau of Indian Affairs

**BLM** - Bureau of Land Management

**EIS** - Environmental Impact Statement

**MUSYA** - Multi-Use Sustained-Yield Act

**NEPA** - National Environmental Policy Act

**NF** - National Forest

**NFMA** - National Forest Management Act

**OTR** - Office of Tribal Relations

**PNW** - Pacific Northwest

**SIA** - Special Interest Area

**TEK** -Traditional Ecological Knowledge

**USFS** - United States Forest Service

# FOREWARD

After an elder from the Cowlitz tribe and the tribe's fish biologist presented their collaborative salmon restoration work to my second year MLA seminar, I knew I wanted to know more. The biologist was not of tribal descent, the elder not of a conventional science background, but they worked together to restore salmon habitat on Cowlitz-owned land. I found this concept so beautiful - that there is more than one way towards restoration, and that honoring and utilizing the American Indian connection to the land is one of those ways.

I initially approached this project attempting to learn about the differences in landscape representation between 'Westerners' and American Indians. Quickly, however, I learned that landscape representation, i.e. 'mapping,' was not only a sensitive topic with regards to American Indian ethics, but only a small piece of the

whole picture. Thanks to several enlightening conversations with various willing participants, I was able to more fully investigate the intricacies behind federal-tribal relations within the Sweet Home Ranger District.

As I was not able to give the time to form trusting relations with any of the tribes that interact with the Sweet Home Ranger District, this project will use data from a USFS perspective only. Furthermore, the tribes that I mention in the paper - the Warm Springs, Siletz, and Grande Ronde, were chosen as they are actively participating in collaborative work with Sweet Home and were all formerly, in part, Kalapuyan - the ancestral people of the Willamette National Forest.

The introduction to this project provides context dating back to the first European-American Indian relations and landscape management

techniques. Many of the issues behind present day federal-tribal relations are due to historical distrust, a disregard of tribal interests, and differing landscape perceptions between the two groups. In order to fully understand those issues, it's important to know the historical events and origins behind federal-tribal interactions.

Some other ethical considerations I have made during this project are as follows: To protect the interest of the tribes, I will not disclose specific information regarding the location of either project site. 'American Indian' will be used to refer to people of tribal descent, as it is the term I found most used when referring to the native people of Oregon.

The terms 'success' and 'successful' will appear in this text when referring to federal-tribal collaborations. For the purpose of this project, successful

collaborations are defined as those that are either ongoing or have a physical component implemented on the land. Lastly, any conclusions presented pertain to my findings alone, and should be regarded with sensitivity when trying to transfer similar lessons towards other agencies and tribes.

Over the course of this project, one of the most valuable lessons learned was how to approach a sensitive topic from the perspective of a landscape architecture student while still navigating the many factors that define that topic's ethical constraints. I would like to once again thank everyone who helped me along the way.



# 1

## INTRODUCTION

### FEDERAL INDIAN TRUST RESPONSIBILITY

The federal Indian trust responsibility is a legal commitment wherein the United States “has charged itself with moral obligations of the highest responsibility and trust” toward American Indian Tribes (*Seminole Nation v. United States*, 1941). In compliance with the trust responsibility, federal agencies must consult with American Indian tribes when “tribal rights are reserved by treaty, spiritual and cultural values and practices exist, public lands are adjacent to tribal or trust lands, and tribal rights may be affected” (Mitchell, 1997). After the 1850-55 United States treaty negotiations, American Indian tribes were guaranteed the rights to hunt, gather, and fish on their ceded land. Federal projects and policies, however, are sometimes implemented without consideration of these rights,

triggering issues between the two groups.

Some of the major problems behind the trust responsibility include tribal distrust of the government, a lack of tribal consultation and recognition of tribal sovereignty, defacing of tribal sacred sites, damage or impaired access to cultural resources, and the containment or regulations put on tribal gathering. While a majority of these issues are rooted in colonialism, westward expansion, and the removal of the American Indians from their land, federal agencies and American Indian tribes also manage and perceive the landscape differently, which hinders certain solutions. These different landscape perceptions, however, were not caused by the treaties and Euro American settlement – they were intrinsically in place during the earliest period of Oregon’s known history.

## EARLY OREGON LANDSCAPE PERCEPTION AND MANAGEMENT

*Life in nineteenth-century Oregon - for native people and Euro-American newcomer alike - was intimately connected to the land. Its resources were essential to human existence. Fishing, hunting, farming, mining, and cutting trees were elemental, physical activities that placed individuals in the midst of a daunting and imposing natural world of great valley bottoms, turbulent waterways, magnificent mountains, and an amazing profusion of flora and fauna (Robbins, 1997).*

Both European explorers and American Indians not only felt an inherent connection to the land in the 1800s, but depended upon its resources for their livelihood. While this notion is translated throughout the United States, this chapter will focus mainly on Oregon explorers and native peoples, and their perception, expression, and management of the Oregon landscape.

For explorers heading west from the Rockies, the lush landscape of Oregon provided promise, opportunity, and bounty. Oregon's American Indians, on the other hand, have generally considered the land through a more spiritual lens as mother, the provider (Mackey, 1974).

## THE INDIANS OF THE WILLAMETTE VALLEY

The people of the Willamette Valley, the Kalapuyans, subsisted mainly by gathering wild foods. Their economy and livelihood was based largely on their ability to obtain wild plants, and secondly, game meat. The bulb of the camas lily, specifically, comprised the majority of their diet and informed a large part of their land management practices – most notably, prescribed burning (Boyd, 1999). The Kalapuyans used prescribed fire to encourage the growth of wild edibles, improve hunting grounds, defense, and mobility on the land, and eliminate competitive plant species (Goble & Hirt, 1999). Early Oregon explorers often wrote about the 'wildness' of Oregon's landscape, but the landscape was not wild at all – it was heavily managed by the people who lived there.

While the Kalapuyans were semi-nomadic, the domestication of food, such as the camas plant, initiated tribal patterns of settlement. The tribes did not call this domestication ownership, nor did they create fixed boundaries. The modern day conception of a tribe did not exist: There were different ethnolinguistic groups but no political boundaries, and therefore, no drawn



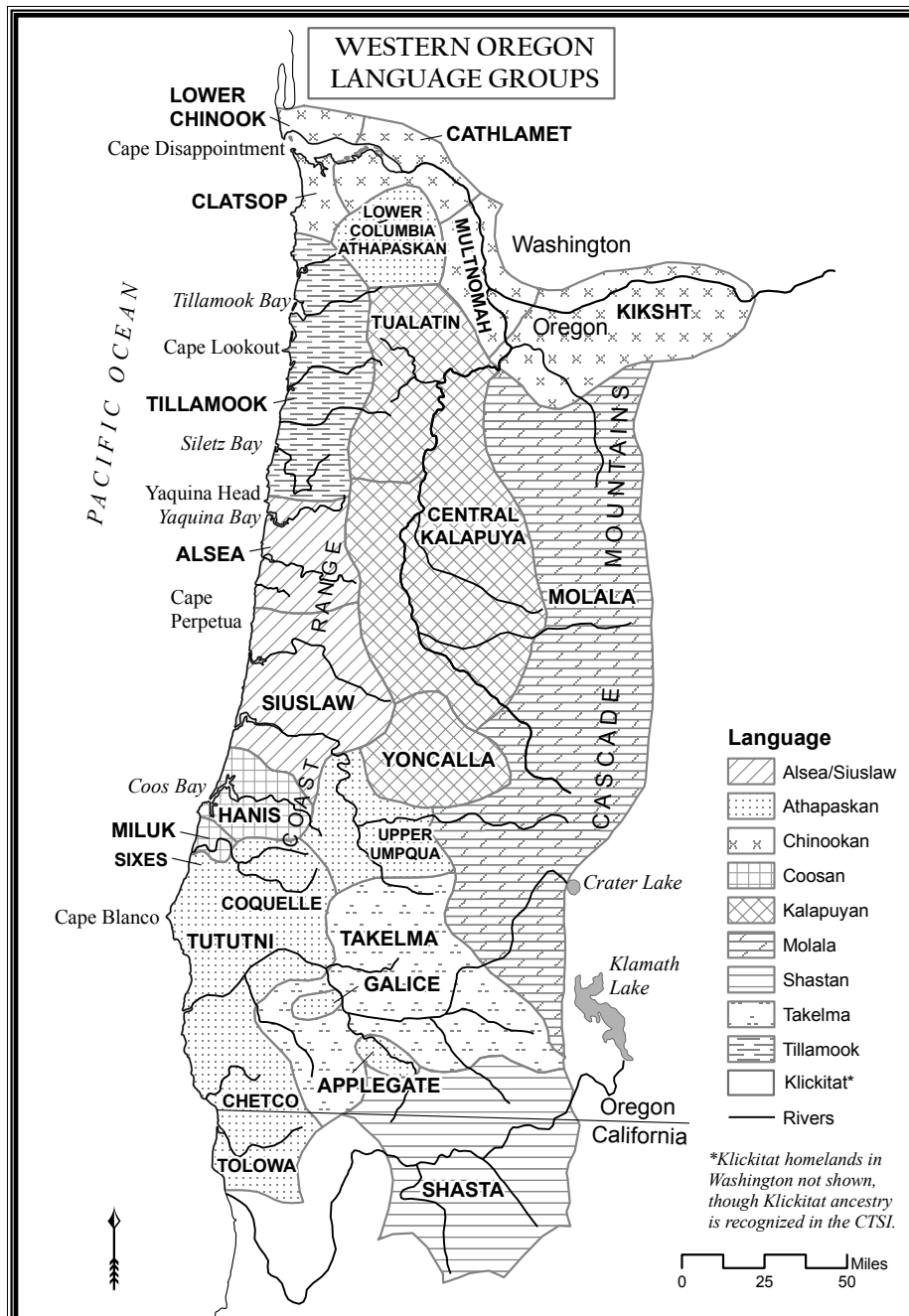


Figure 1.1 Western Oregon ethnolinguistic groups (Wilkinson, 2012)

lines (Goble & Hirt, 1999) (Figure 1.1). It is currently unknown whether Pacific Northwest (PNW) tribes even created physical maps of their hunting and gathering areas, but they have richly documented and shared their landscape perceptions through stories and oral history.

Story-telling is an important piece of many native cultures. As mentioned by Kalapuyan and Coos woman Esther Stutzman, stories are personal property: When one tells someone else's story, they are stealing from them. Dr. Helen Redbird Selam, in a conference entitled 'Man and the Land,' spoke a little more about the importance of myths to native people:

*Remember that a myth is a myth if you don't believe it. Our myths and those things that we have are sacred to us and they are a part of our religious structure. They are a part of our interpretation of the universe, and we do not call them myths. They are oral history for us, not myths (Oregon College of Education, 1973).*

Oral history has also provided a template for tribal elders to pass on land management practices to their children (Oregon College of Education, 1973). Though not much written history exists from the Kalapuyan people, a number of stories of how they

have lived on and ritualized the land endure. These stories continue to hold important meaning today, where they inform and preserve American Indian land management practices.

## **EUROPEAN EXPLORATION AND SETTLEMENT**

European westward exploration and expansion began when Lewis and Clark returned with news of Oregon's lush landscape, moderate climate, and abundance of nutrient rich soils for farming (Robbins, 1997). Some of the first explorers to reach the Willamette Valley were part of The Hudson Bay Company's southern trapping expedition. Though mostly concerned with fur trapping and trading, these explorers were still quick to notice Oregon's agricultural potential: "Indian maintained open landscapes became plausible farm sites for future settlers, stands of Douglas fir offered promise and opportunity should regional markets be developed, and the abundant salmon in the Great River itself suggested great rewards to those with the ingenuity to develop the commerce" (Robbins, 1997). Oregon, rich with resources and potential, quickly became the symbol of the early American Frontier (Slaughter, 2007).



**Figure 1.2** Two views of Willamette Valley. Top: Paul Kane, 1847 Bottom: George Gibbs, 1851 (Boyd, 1999)



**Figure 1.3** Logs moving down the Deschutes River (Robbins, 1997)

As other explorers brought news of Oregon's bounty to the east, more Euro-Americans arrived to settle and work the land. Like the American Indians in the region, the new European settlers recognized and utilized Oregon's resource bounty, but resources were treated more as a commodity and less as a means of sustenance: "Euro-American immigrants quickly busied themselves with altering the landscapes of the Northwest to fit their needs, desires, and visions of what the land should look like and what it should provide" (Robbins, 1997) For the most part, the new settlers treated the region as a blank slate, a commons where they were free to settle and cultivate, regardless of the resident native people and their subsistence needs.

The new agenda of the explorers had vast ecological effects on Oregon's landscape. As seen in Figure 1.2, agricultural production, specifically, dramatically changed the landscape. Wetlands were drained for wheat cultivation and rivers were channelized and reconfigured for irrigation and commercial traffic (Figure 1.3). The surrounding hillsides were stripped of timber, horses, cattle and sheep overgrazed the remaining grassland, and the oak savanna that had been tended for thousands of years gave way

to invasive species, moss and timber. The American Indian subsistence lifestyle was drastically altered by this new productive landscape, but that had little effect on the new settlement patterns and opinions. Conversely, many of the new settlers believed that lifestyle to be one unworthy of protection (Mackey, 1974).

## **FIRST EUROPEAN-TRIBAL RELATIONS**

While the first explorers to the Willamette Valley showed no signs of distrust or dislike of the natives they encountered, these attitudes quickly changed. Some of the earliest explorer journals describe the Kalapuyans as an ugly and ill-formed race. William Henry, an early fur trader in the area, wrote “[the people here] are called calipuyens, and appear to be a wretched tribe, diminutive in size and with scarcely any covering... they are a wandering race, who have neither horses, tents, nor homes, but live in the open air in fine weather, and under shelter of large sprawling pines and cedars during foul weather” (Mackey, 2007). Most explorers thought the natives were a savage people, made apparent by how close they lived to the land (Oregon College of Education, 1973). Others believed that the

European settlers had divine right to the land, because the natives managed it so poorly: “the hand of providence is removing them to give place to a people more worthy of this beautiful and fertile country” (Robbins, 1997).

Strong cultural differences, especially regarding the environment, appeared to have fueled the initial European opinions of the Oregon Indians. The English believed strongly in the picturesque, the utilization of agricultural land, and tangible progress. The Oregon Indians subsisted on what they could hunt and gather in the region, and believed strongly in the spiritual value of nature as the provider. These diverging opinions, at first non-confrontational, were soon translated into the forceful removal of the American Indians from their land: Just fifty years after the first European settlers came to the west, the Oregon treaties, which transferred a vast amount of Indian land to the U.S. government, were ratified.

## **THE OREGON TREATIES**

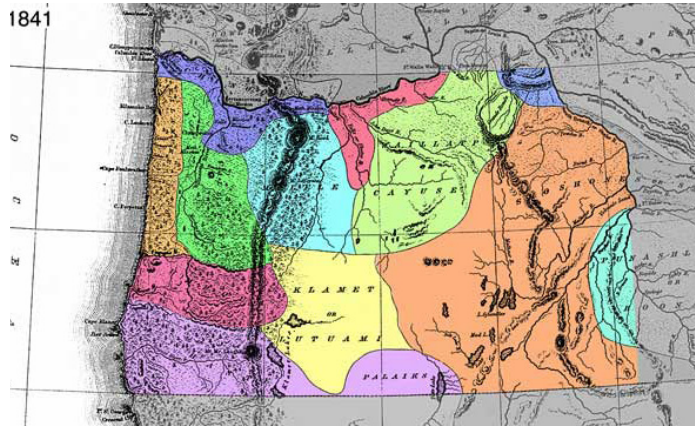
Before the Oregon treaties were signed, a series of epidemics greatly weakened the natives in the region. As European immigrants moved into the valley, they brought disease and epidemics.

By 1830, smallpox, venereal disease, wet weather illness, and malaria killed nearly 80% of the Kalapuyans, leaving only 1000 alive in the Willamette Valley (Robbins, 1997). Weakened and depleted by disease, the Kalapuyans were unable to offer much resistance to the settlers (Mackey, 2007). Many native elders and historians attribute the great Indian land cessations that followed to the weakened state of the tribes: “How can you break my leg and then criticize the way I walk?” Coos member Jason Younker said of his ancestral people.

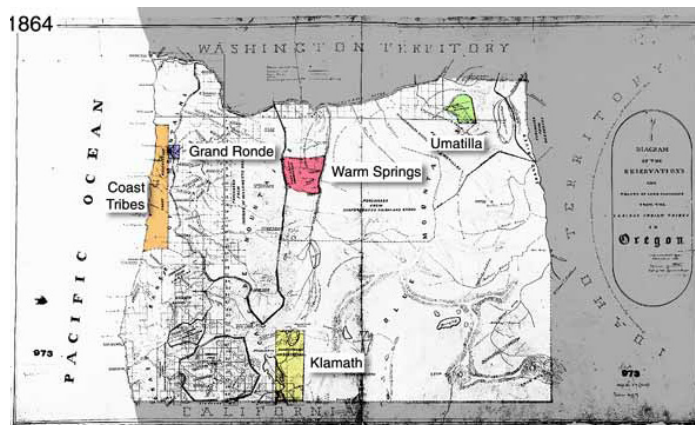
The treaties were initially meant to assimilate the American Indians. The original intent was not to kill, displace, or eliminate the native people, but to teach them how to farm the land, and convert them to Christianity (Mackey, 1974). After a series of laws that were meant to protect the Indian right to land, however, the new Indian Treaty Act passed, allowing forcible removal of Oregon Indians from their land: Territorial delegate Samuel Thurston told Congress that Indian removal was the “first prerequisite step to settling the Oregon land issue” (Robbins, 1997). In 1850 the Indian Board of Commissioners came to Oregon in order to negotiate land cessation and the removal of the Willamette Valley Indians to Eastern Oregon (Mackey,

1974). In the treaty proceedings that followed, the Champoege sessions, it became clear that the people of the Willamette Valley did not want to move. When each band of the Kalapuyans was asked if they would be willing to move to the east of the Cascades, they unanimously answered no. They claimed that “their hearts were upon that piece of land, and they did not wish to leave it” (Mackey, 1974). The proceedings continued, and the land offered to the tribes shrank. The chiefs pleaded with the commissioners, claiming that tying them to such a small space would greatly inhibit their subsistence livelihood. After several years of negotiations, each band of the Kalapuyans eventually sold some of their land to the federal government.

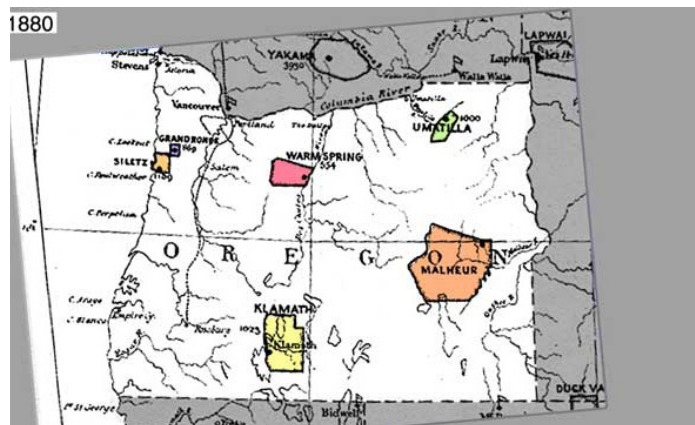
Despite the agreements that occurred during the Champoege sessions, congress had already abolished all Indian commissioners and transferred the rights to the superintendent of Indian Affairs. News never reached the treaty proceedings at Champoege until they were finished. The treaties from the Champoege sessions were never ratified, and Joel Palmer, the new superintendent, came to renegotiate the Indian land titles in 1854 and 1855. In the proceedings that followed, the Kalapuyans ceded 7.5 million



**Figure 1.4a**  
Oregon Territory  
Created by the  
U.S. Exploring  
Expedition



**Figure 1.4b**  
Original lands  
ceded by  
Umatilla, Warm  
Springs, Siletz,  
Klamath, and  
Grande Ronde  
in the Stevens-  
Palmer Treaties



**Figure 1.4c**  
Reservations  
after the  
allotments era  
(Oregon History  
Project)

acres to the U.S. government, and were mostly relocated to the Grand Ronde reservation. The two successful Palmer treaties, the Calapooia Creek treaty in 1854 and the Dayton Treaty of 1855 were ratified by congress, and therefore, became an executive order (Mackey, 2007). Figures 1.4a - c illustrate the evolution from the original Indian lands in Oregon to the small reservations that still exist today.

The new reservations severely limited the tribes' ability to subsist by hunting and gathering. In an article entitled *Oregon Voices*, native elders were asked their thoughts about the Palmer treaties: One elder answered "We specifically mentioned that fish was very important to us, and if you're going to put us on that little bitty Indian reservation you need to understand that our economic base is very broad" (Hansen, 2005). The treaties also created boundaries where boundaries never existed before: In a documentary entitled *Broken Treaties*, an American Indian woman speaks about how the Palmer Treaties were the US government's way of teaching the native people about political boundaries, whereas, "tribal members previously never believed that they could ever own the land. It was a cultural, spiritual concept that the land had a singular spiritual existence

and as mere humans, we couldn't take ownership of what was a divine spirit" (Hansen, 2005).

The reservations were new terrain, both physically and culturally, for Oregon American Indians. The people lost their physical connection to the land, and therefore "their ways of knowing" (Hansen, 2005). For a people so intimately connected to their landscape, their physical removal from it had devastating effects on their culture, wellbeing, and heritage. American Indians believe that "when humans are gone from an area long enough, they lose the practical knowledge about correct interaction, and the plants and animals retreat spiritually from the earth or hide from humans. When intimate interaction ceases, the continuity of knowledge, passed down through generations, is broken, and the land becomes 'wilderness'" (Catton, 2016).

## **FEDERAL-INDIAN POLICY**

After the implementation of the treaties, the U.S. government worked to assimilate American Indians and terminate tribes. The beginning of the allotment era was marked by The Dawes Act, which allowed non-Indians to lease Indian lands (Figure 1.5). Then,

between the 1940s and 1960s, a series of laws passed aimed at ending tribal sovereignty and converting American Indians to taxpaying, law abiding, and Christian American citizens (Donoghue, Thompson & Bliss, 2010).

Since the 1960s, however, a new series of laws were implemented to protect tribal interests and rights and require tribal consultation (Catton, 2016). This period of time marks a change in United States policy and thinking away from assimilation and towards recognizing tribal sovereignty and rights. A few notable laws passed including Clinton's executive order 13007, the National Indian Forest Resources Management Act of 1990, and the Tribal Forest Lands Protection Act of 2005. A series of court cases followed, reinstating tribal sovereignty and instituting land buy backs. As the turn of the century approached, more and more tribal governments, backed by tribal self-determination, re-established forestry programs and took control of their own resources from the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). President Obama followed in 2009 with a 'Memorandum to Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies on Tribal Consultation' that required all federal agencies to develop policies regarding tribal consultation (Catton, 2016). Obama's memorandum directly

addressed the federal agencies' trust responsibilities. Though earlier examples of good trust responsibility exist, Obama instituted the first federal policy to directly encourage tribal partnerships.

The United States Forest Service (USFS), which is the agency I will focus upon in this project, has approached tribal relations and partnerships through a variety of avenues. In the 1980s, the Forest Service began to practice ecosystem management – which they defined as “using an ecological approach to achieve the management of national forests and grasslands by blending the needs of people and environmental values in such a way that national forests and grasslands represent diverse, healthy, productive, and sustainable ecosystems” (Wang, Anderson & Jakes, 2002). After President Obama's Memorandum in 2009, the Secretary of Agriculture, Tom Vilsack, formed the Office of Tribal Relations (OTR). While the Forest Service has to comply with the National Forest Management Act (NFMA), the Multi-Use Sustained-Yield Act (MUSYA), and, in Oregon, the Northwest Forest Plan, the OTR aims to encourage government-to-government consultation within the bounds of other management plans. The OTR manages a newsletter and



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<small>001_002_5_17 Advertisement. Library of Congress.</small>					

Figure 1.5 1910, Courtesy of the Department of the Interior

website where they publish success stories of USFS-tribal partnerships and has published a handbook, ‘The Tribal Relations Strategic Plan,’ in order to outline ways in which to improve and encourage USFS-tribal partnerships. Additionally, the most recent planning rule, which is a USFS document to guide any land management plans, is the first to include the consideration

of native knowledge. The Forest Service, in general, has made vast improvements to recognize tribal sovereignty and encourage tribal collaboration. Policy amendments alone, however, cannot change deeply held land management paradigms.

## RESEARCH STATEMENT

Politics play a large role behind both the problems and solutions regarding federal-tribal relations, and there are many additional policies and regulations that have affected federal-tribal relations, but this project will only provide an overview. Brett Kenney's *Tribes as Managers of Federal Natural Resources* gives a more thorough explanation of federal-tribal policy changes and their effects on federal and tribal land management. The roadblocks to federal-tribal partnerships, however, are not only legal in nature. After changes in agency-wide thinking, certain federal projects are collaborative with tribes, while others illustrate a minimal adherence to trust responsibility. In order to encourage more of the former than the latter, professionals have critically assessed a variety of project cases involving federal-tribal relations.

These professionals, ranging from foresters to anthropologists to policy makers, have been successful in providing an overview of the issues and opportunities behind federal-tribal collaboration, and I will summarize some of their findings later in this project. This topic, however, is largely

dependent on a case by case basis and successes can be hard to generalize.

Relevant research is mostly comprised of case study analyses, involving a wide range of federal agencies and federally recognized tribes. In these analyses, very different agencies and tribes are compared with each other. This proves problematic as each tribe and each federal agency has very different cultures, policies, relations, and understanding of land and resource management. Nathan Duprees of the Warm Springs tribe, spoke about the implications of this difference:

*You cannot put a Sioux and a Warm Spring in a classroom and expect to teach them the same things. They would not learn the same things because of the different backgrounds, different environments, different beliefs... you take them out of the classroom... they're not going to do everything they're taught to do... and there are some things that if we were to work together, we could not do because we are of different lands; the environment is different (Duprees, 1973).*

When examined cases are from different tribes and agencies, recommendations for future partnerships can be vague, non-transferable, or dependent on a specific landscape or cultural context.

My project will address this issue specifically as I will investigate two cases within the same ranger district and national forest, the Sweet Home Ranger District of the Willamette National Forest in Oregon. Both cases involve relations to the same, formerly Kalapuyan tribes - the Grand Ronde, the Siletz, and the Warm Springs, and harbor similar goals of improving access to and availability of American Indian cultural resources.

This project investigates two cases: A) Camas Prairie and B) Cougar Rock. Camas Prairie, a story of camas restoration with active on-the-ground tribal collaboration, was initiated in 2001 and continues today. Cougar Rock, on the other hand, has yet to be implemented. One of the goals of the Cougar Rock project, however, is to increase access to and availability of huckleberry for native gathering. Both camas and huckleberry are important first foods - meaning American Indians have historically depended upon these resources for both cultural and sustenance purposes. Unlike Camas Prairie, however, the Cougar Rock huckleberry restoration will not, in its current form, be implemented. This project asks what, exactly, caused the difference in project implementation between the two sites. As both projects take place within the same forest,

under the same agency mandates, why did they evolve differently?

The main motivating question behind this project is:

*To what extent are 'guiding principles' of a successful federal-tribal collaboration transferable?*

This question leads into an additional subquestion of:

*What role do the same 'guiding principles' play when comparing two projects within one USFS ranger district?*

My project answers these questions by using 'current thinking' to identify the 'guiding principles,' and then using the principles to critically compare the two projects. By performing a case study analysis of Camas Prairie and Cougar Rock, I hope to 1) Better understand the differences between two projects involving similar tribal interests 2) Explain how a specific landscape context adds to current understanding of federal-tribal relations and 3) Make recommendations to land managers on ways to better identify promising collaborations.

## PROJECT APPROACH

This project, which mirrors the approach taken in Robert Yin's *Case Study Research*, is structured into the following four sections (Figure 1.6):

1. Understand federal-tribal relations
2. Classify 'current thinking' about federal-tribal collaborations
3. Case study analysis
4. Data synthesis and reflection

In phase 1, I performed an extensive literature review, supplemented by conversations with regional experts, in order to understand federal-tribal relations and constitute what this project will refer to as 'prior knowledge.'

In phase 2, the 'prior knowledge' was used as a filter for a secondary literature review in order to choose studies that would identify 'current thinking' surrounding federal-tribal resource management. The five chosen papers, which will be reviewed in the following chapter, were selected based on the occurrence of similar themes found within the earliest stages of my project, any USFS involvement, and the presence of a tribal perspective. Using a sorting system to classify both the papers' findings as well as the main

themes from my 'prior knowledge,' I developed seven 'guiding principles of a successful federal-tribal collaboration.' These guiding principles, which act as a guide of the 'dos and don'ts' of federal-tribal partnerships, were then translated into a series of operational questions that could be applied towards each case study.

In phase 3, I applied the questions to each case study through both document analysis and semi-structured interviews to produce a set of data, that were then synthesized into usable information.

I concluded the project with phase 4, where I returned to my project goals in order to qualitatively measure my success.

## CHAPTER PREVIEW

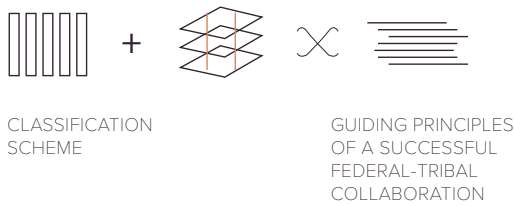
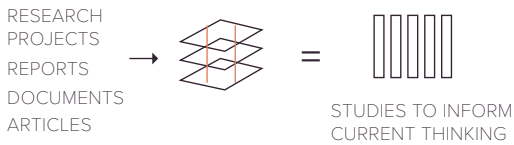
This chapter provided an overview of the issues behind the federal trust responsibility, how that relates to current federal-tribal relations, and the historical origins of both. It explained the differences in federal and tribal management techniques, current approaches towards improving collaboration, and what might be missing in those approaches. The following chapter will provide a

**PHASE I: UNDERSTAND  
FEDERAL-TRIBAL RELATIONS**



more detailed overview of the methodological approach used to achieve my project’s goals within the scope of the Sweet Home Ranger District and the stories of Camas Prairie and Cougar Rock.

**PHASE II: CLASSIFY RELEVANT  
INFORMATION**



**PHASE III : CASE STUDY ANALYSIS**



**PHASE IV: SYNTHESIS AND  
REFLECTION**

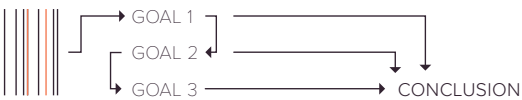


Figure 1.6 Project diagram



# 2

## METHODS

### METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

The purpose of this project is to understand how the ‘current thinking’ regarding federal-tribal relations can help explain the differences in the implementation of federal-tribal collaborative projects. The principle methodological approach used to understand this question is a case study method. M. Elen Deming and Simon Swaffield state “case studies are particularly well suited to landscape architectural research, as the focus of interest of the discipline is typically complex, multidisciplinary, and embedded in a wider context, and thus hard to separate into discrete features” (Deming and Swaffield, 2011). As mentioned earlier, federal-tribal relations in resource management cannot be easily generalized. Furthermore, the cause and effect relationships present within Camas

Prairie and Cougar Rock are not readily apparent. According to Robert K. Yin in his text *Case Study Research*, “A case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (Yin, 1994). By critically comparing Camas Prairie and Cougar Rock, I will reveal the role of social and cultural context in each case.

### RESEARCH DESIGN

After regarding the applicability and appropriateness of a case study method, Yin outlines the basic design to any kind of research: “Every type of empirical research has an implicit, if not explicit, research design. In the most elementary sense, the design is the logical sequence that connects

the empirical data to a study's initial research questions, and ultimately to its conclusions... a research design is an action plan for getting from here to there" (Yin, 2009). The typical approach for getting from 'here to there' in a case study, according to Lin, is to 1) Design the case study 2) Conduct the analysis 3) Analyze the evidence and 4) Develop the conclusions. This project follows Yin's four steps in order to examine the complex relationships within each project site and extract relevant lessons.

The case study analysis of Camas Prairie and Cougar Rock emulates Yin's approach in the following phases:

### **Design the case study (Yin)**

The first two phases of this project fall within the design of the case study. In the **first phase**, a literature review was used, supplemented by conversations with regional experts, in order to **understand federal-tribal relations**. The **second phase** of the project involved a sorting system to **classify current thinking about federal-tribal collaborations**.

### **Conduct the analysis (Yin)**

In phase three of this project, the case study analysis was executed.

This process involved both in depth interviews and secondary document analysis.

### **Analyze the evidence and develop conclusions (Yin)**

Phase four of this project responds to Yin's last two steps. It entailed **synthesizing the data, reflecting upon it, and forming conclusions and/or recommendations**.

## **RESEARCH QUESTION**

Similar to Yin's 'research design,' Deming and Swaffield suggest outlining a research project and question into four steps. The following steps, borrowed from Deming and Swaffield's narrative, are outlined in order to explain how this project will follow a logical sequence that connects the data to the research question, and ultimately, to the conclusions.

**Topic:** I am investigating how social and political context affects federal-tribal collaborations in resource management

**Question:** Because I want to find out why two projects within one ranger district are implemented differently



**Strategy:** I am using a case study method in order to critically compare the two projects

**Motive:** In order to see what might be transferable, or not, behind federal-tribal collaborations

**Research Question:** To what extent are ‘guiding principles’ of a successful federal-tribal collaboration transferable?

## THE PROCESS

### **Phase I: Understanding Federal-Tribal Relations**

As mentioned earlier in this text, federal-tribal relations vary widely between regions, agencies and tribes. In order to gain the most thorough understanding possible, this project began with an extensive two pronged literature review, which was summarized in the introductory chapter. I investigated the history of both American Indians and European Americans in Oregon, and how the two parties have interacted with one another. The literature review also helped to identify current day federal-tribal relations and the issues and opportunities behind the federal trust responsibility. In order to supplement the literature review, I consulted a

number of regional experts. I spoke to USFS personnel, Bureau of Indian Affairs employees, researchers, and persons of American Indian descent about their experiences behind resource management, trust responsibilities, and the issues regarding federal-tribal relations. Since I had already postulated about the importance of context within the scope of this project, I needed to understand the relevant regional issues. Another crucial piece of this project was the ability to obtain differing viewpoints: Ideas about federal-tribal relations can be sensitive and vary widely, so this project takes an eclectic and widely scoped approach in identifying them. Phase I, which began in the earliest stages of my project, had a large impact on the scope and methods for the remainder of the analysis. The findings from phase I, and consequently my understanding of federal-tribal relations involving resource management, were used extensively in the application of phase II.

### **Phase II- Classify current thinking about federal-tribal collaborations**

*Part 1 – Gathering studies to inform ‘current thinking’*

The first portion of phase II involved choosing studies to inform what

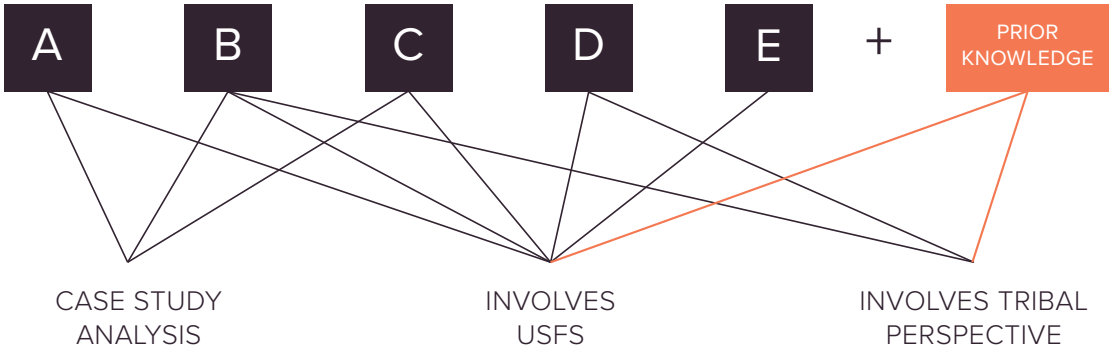
this project calls ‘current thinking.’ As mentioned above, phase I acted as a filter upon the literature review performed for phase II. I searched for studies that emulated the same themes found from the initial literature review and conversations with regional experts. I also aimed for studies and reports from a variety of different viewpoints. Five studies were chosen to classify the ‘current thinking’ surrounding the topic of this project. Three of the sources are case study analyses (Figure 2.1A - C), which is the same approach used in this project. One paper is taken exclusively from a tribal perspective (Figure 2.1D) and one paper is the management plan mentioned earlier, published and written by the USFS (Figure 2.1E). The main finding of each paper is provided in the next section, and a more detailed account of exactly how each study

was used will be provided later in this chapter.

The five studies chosen to classify ‘current thinking’ are as follows:

**[A] Title:** Tribal Issues and Considerations Related to Collaborative Natural Resource Management  
**Type:** Case study analysis  
**Findings:** While there are a number of reasons why federal-tribal collaboration can be difficult, many issues stem from historical cultural differences, and current political, socioeconomic, and cultural management variance between western and tribal management techniques.

**[B] Title:** Tribal-Federal Collaboration in Resource Management  
**Type:** Case study analysis



**Figure 2.1** Diagram illustrating some reasons why each study was chosen to inform ‘current thinking’

**Findings:** There are many different kinds of collaboration and Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK) means something different to every tribe. Therefore, TEK can be implemented in successful collaborations in different ways.

**[C] Title:** Heritage Management in the U.S. Forest Service

**Type:** Case study analysis and secondary document analysis

**Findings:** Heritage management, or knowledge about the past, can be applied towards USFS-defined ecosystem management in order to improve federal-tribal partnerships.

**[D] Title:** Listening to Neglected Voices: American Indian Perspectives on Natural Resource Management

**Type:** Content Analysis

**Findings:** The four main values missing from federal land management are TEK, spiritual values, environmental justice, and ecosystem management.

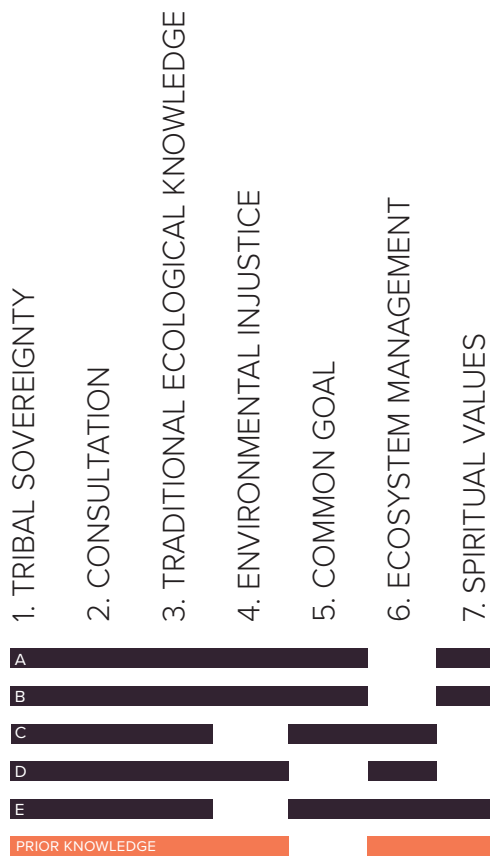
**[E] Title:** Tribal Relations Strategic Plan

**Type:** Strategic Plan

**Intent:** The Forest Service aims to improve tribal relations by honoring the trust responsibility, improving partnerships, and promoting integration of a tribal relation plan throughout the agency.

## *Part 2 – Classifying ‘current thinking’*

In order to progress with the design of the case study, I used a classification scheme to organize the main findings of each report. Each of the five papers was reviewed for themes from phase I and any other recurring themes between the papers. Since this project did not involve very extensive interaction with persons of American Indian descent, papers that involved a tribal perspective were given greater weight. I also treated my notes and recollection of my earlier conversations as a ‘sixth study’ in the scheme (Figure 2.1 ‘Prior Knowledge’). After identifying all of the most common themes, I wrote what this project refers to as the ‘guiding principles of a successful federal-tribal collaboration.’ Figure 2.2 shows exactly how aspects of each study were used to extrude each theme. The themes have been framed as ‘principles’ as a guide of the ‘dos and don’ts’ of federal-tribal collaborations. Additionally, I decided it was easier to test whether or not principles, rather than general themes, were present in each case study.



**Figure 2.2** Diagram illustrating where each ‘guiding principle’ came from

The finalized guiding principles are as follows:

1. *Tribal sovereignty should be recognized and respected*
2. *Consultation should be early, engaging, ongoing, and aimed at relationship building and improving partnerships*
3. *Traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) should be incorporated with conventional science in a way that best suits the project in question*
4. *No issues of environmental injustice should be present*
5. *Projects should identify a common goal*
6. *Projects should focus on a broader landscape, and use ecosystem management*
7. *In addition to TEK, the spiritual value of nature should be respected*

After writing the seven principles, I formed a series of operational questions that could be applied to Cougar Rock and Camas Prairie. The questions, available in Appendix A of this project, acted both as interview questions and as the questions applied towards any supplemental document analysis. These operational questions,

in Yin's plan, initiated the 'case study analysis.'

### **Phase III Case Study Analysis**

The primary purpose of the 'case study analysis' phase is data collection. Robert Yin outlines six sources that may act as evidence in a case study analysis: documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observation, participant observation, and physical artifacts. As this project will mainly employ interviews with regional experts, my evidence will, according to Yin, be targeted and insightful but could also be biased and reflexive (Yin, 1994).

As mentioned earlier, the two cases, Camas Prairie and Cougar Rock, are two projects within the Sweet Home Ranger District of the Willamette National Forest. I chose to investigate Sweet Home, in particular, because of personal contacts with experts in the region. For the purpose of this project, regional experts are defined as those who have the most influence and/or knowledge of each of the two projects. Through speaking with experts for each project, I gained a more thorough understanding of the decision-making process of each project and was able to obtain a better grasp on the specific

social and political nature behind tribal relations within the district.

In order to collect the data, I travelled to the Sweet Home Ranger station several times to speak to the regional experts there, Archaeologist Tony Farque and Natural Resource Staff Chris Sorensen, with whom I conducted semi-structured interviews. The semi-structured interviews consisted of directing the operational questions (derived from the seven guiding principles), at each person while also allowing room for conversations to go elsewhere. This structure helped me to identify the most important contextual pieces of each project, as the interviewees were encouraged to talk about whatever they found relevant to the questions. The semi-structured interviews, which were recorded and reviewed later on, made up the majority of the data for this project. The rest of the data were derived from content analysis of project documentation and various news sources.

### **Phase IV Synthesis & Reflection**

After data are gathered, data analysis- which "consists of examining, categorizing, tabulating, or otherwise recombining evidence to address the initial propositions of a study" (Yin, 1994) - must occur. Yin presents

several techniques for data analysis, namely pattern matching, explanation-building, and time-series analysis. This project most closely follows a pattern matching approach, which compares an observed pattern with a predicted one. The predicted pattern in this project is the seven 'guiding principles of a successful federal-tribal collaboration.' I searched for the same pattern, or a diverging one, within the observed cases, Camas Prairie and Cougar Rock. Several passes were taken through the raw data, where I parsed and extracted relevant pieces related to each of my goals (Figure 2.3).

On the first pass through the data, each project was tested for the mention

of each of the seven principles. This technique provided a good basis for the pattern matching approach, and a means to compare and contrast the cases. The critical comparison that took place during this pass partially fulfilled my first goal; to better understand the differences between two projects involving tribal interests.

In the second pass through the data, I sought out anything that seemed case and place specific. For example, I asked whether an aspect of the project existed because of someone in particular, or because of a PNW specific policy, or perhaps due to aspects related to the physical landscape itself. This portion of the project relied heavily on a

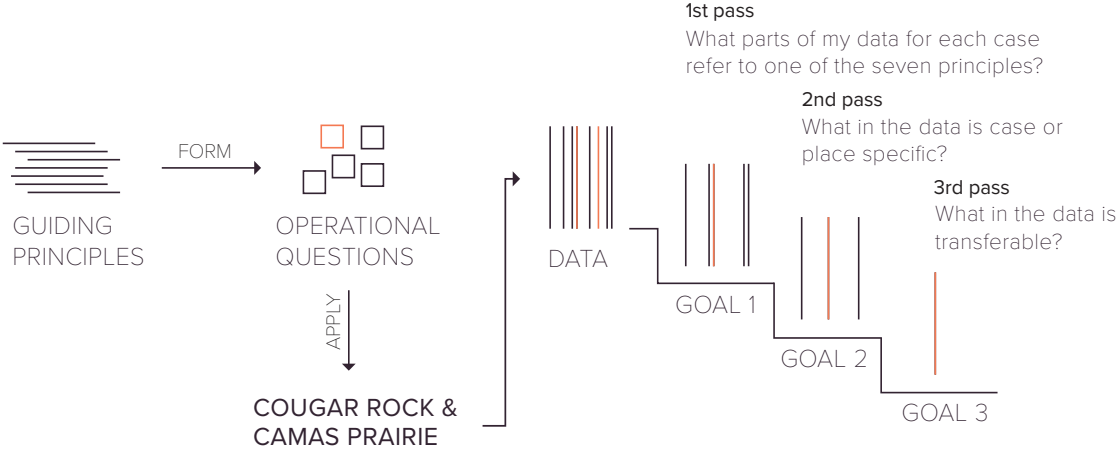


Figure 2.3 Data analysis diagram

subjectivist approach. I decided which pieces of the data were or weren't context specific, and consequently, invited some bias into the project. After performing this second pass, however, I was able to address my second goal: Explain how a specific landscape context adds to current understanding of federal-tribal relations.

During the third pass through the data, I asked what from the last two phases is transferable? Do these aspects differ from and/or add to my seven guiding principles? In this portion of the analysis, I was able to parse out transferable or generalizable pieces of these projects: both the 'dos' and the 'don'ts' of federal-tribal collaborations. This third pass helped answer pieces of my third goal, where I asked whether the transferable and context specific pieces of the two cases could be formed into recommendations for other land managers.

The conclusion of this project answers several questions: Can I form the context specific pieces from my data into more generalizable lessons? Can I form the more generalizable pieces into recommendations for other USFS ranger districts? Or other federal agencies? Lastly, are there specific pieces of my seven principles that can be elaborated, or told and shown in a

different way? In order to answer these questions, the conclusion draws on lessons learned from all three goals, and provides some thoughts about future federal-tribal collaborations.





# 3

## CONTEXT & FINDINGS

### CHAPTER OVERVIEW

Cougar Rock and Camas Prairie, though similar projects in many ways, have different and complex histories. It's important to understand these histories in order to comprehend how each project reflects the seven guiding principles. Therefore, this chapter has been divided into two pieces - 'Context' and 'Findings.' The context section will include a summary of how each project has evolved, and who or what was responsible for that evolution. In the findings section, I will present how the two projects have followed, or transgressed from each of the seven 'guiding principles of a successful federal-tribal collaboration.' Principles 1, 2, 4, and 6 are reflected similarly in the two projects, while principles 3, 5, and 7 help to illustrate some important differences. The chapter will then conclude with additional findings that

did not fit within the bounds of the seven guiding principles.<sup>1</sup>

### COUGAR ROCK AND CAMAS PRAIRIE

Cougar Rock and Camas Prairie fall under the Trout Creek Project Area of the Sweet Home Ranger District, within the Willamette National Forest (Figure 3.1). Both are designated Special Interest Areas (SIA) which “allows forests to meet internal and public interest in recognizing special values of certain areas and to tailor land uses to interpret, maintain and enhance those special features” (Ottawa NF, 2006). Sweet Home has given this designation to both areas to protect and enhance opportunities involving

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<sup>1</sup> For the purpose of protecting tribal interests, I will not disclose the specific location of either project and 'Sweet Home' will be used, at times, in place of 'Sweet Home Ranger District.'

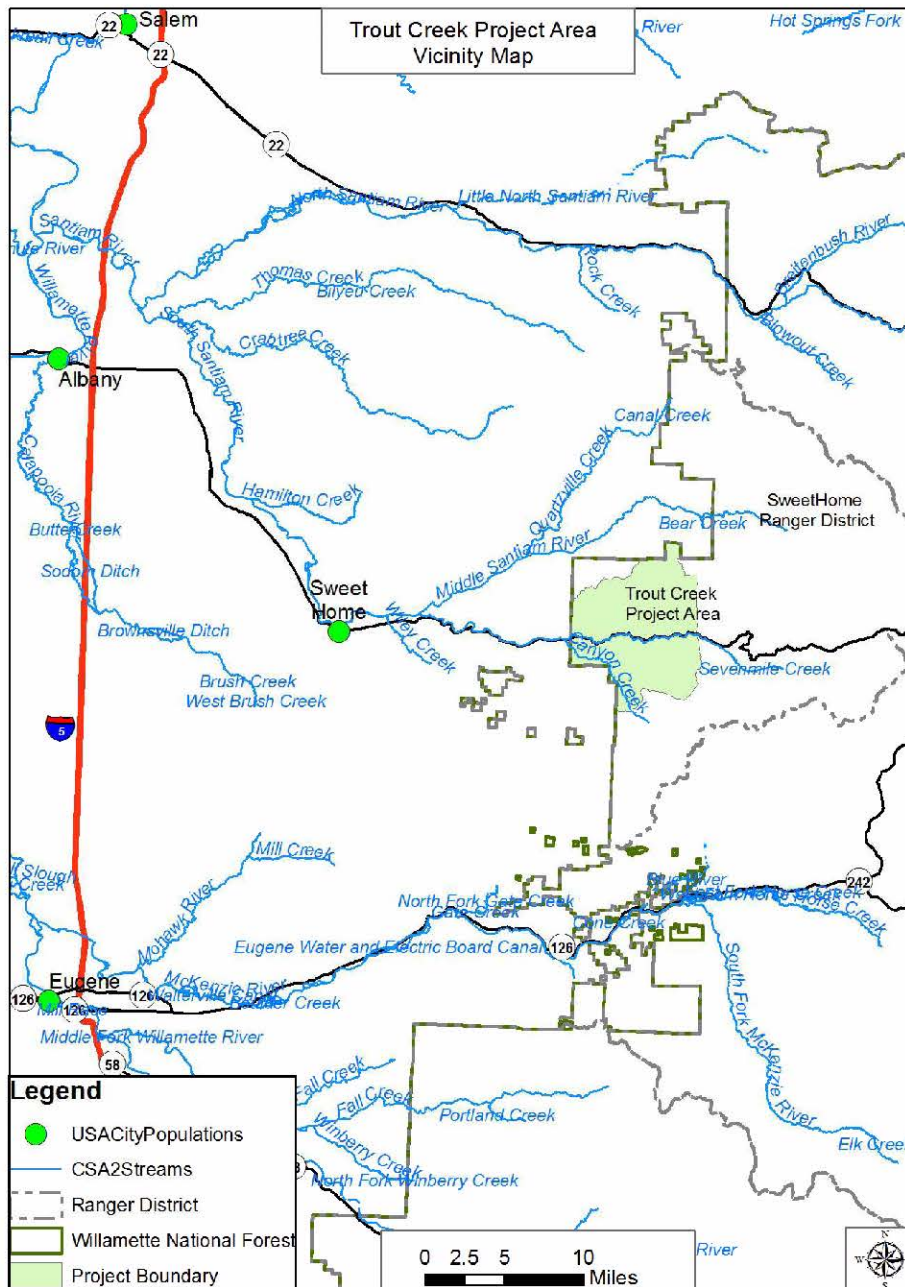


Figure 3.1 The Trout Creek Project Area (USFS, 2015)

tribal interests, specifically first foods. Under the Willamette National Forest Management Plan, a Special Interest Area requires direct collaboration with tribes in restoration work, where all activities will be to benefit those characteristics for which it was established (Farque, 2018). While this direct tribal collaboration, in the form of on-the-ground work, began at both project areas almost 20 years ago, the two projects have evolved at different times and through very different means.

### **Cougar Rock**

Choice huckleberries were discovered near Cougar Rock nearly 40 years ago. After a project was proposed in the area, Tony Farque, archaeologist for the district, was sent into the area to survey for anything of cultural importance or interest. Farque quickly found American Indian artifacts, which prompted him to reference old Forest Service maps. The maps showed a historic USFS trail running through the area that, when laid upon the non-ratified treaty maps of 1851, reflected the Molalla trail, an old Indian travel way (Figure 3.2). The Molalla trail is the only travel way that had been drawn on the map, allowing Farque to infer that the tribes wished to hold it in reserve when ceding their land to

the United States government. Noting the trail's probable importance to the tribes, Farque initiated Sweet Home's first SIA designation, marking Cougar Rock as the district's first.

In concert with the Special Interest Area designation, Farque became acquainted with some tribal members in the region. Around 10 years after the SIA designation, he informally mentioned Cougar Rock to Catherine Harrison, a tribal council member for the Grande Ronde. Farque brought Harrison to the huckleberry patch where she jumped out of the truck and declared "Usual and accustomed places!" claiming Cougar Rock as a treaty-protected area for tribal gathering. As a provision to the original Palmer treaties, certain rights were given to tribes for off reservation areas with importance to ancestral lands, or 'usual and accustomed places' (Bernholz and Weiner, 2008). Harrison immediately recognized the huckleberry patch as an important area to her ancestral people, and the area has been visited by the Siletz, Grande Ronde, and Warm Springs tribes ever since (Farque, 2018).

Tribal access to Cougar Rock, however, is limited. The access road has degraded badly and the huckleberries have been crowded out, both by the invasive



Figure 3.2 A section of the Gibbs-Starling Treaty Map reflecting the old Molalla trail (Willamette Valley Sketch Map, 1851)

**Figure 3.3a**  
The Cougar Rock  
huckleberry  
restoration area  
(Courtesy of Alice  
Smith)



**Figure 3.3b**  
Dense hemlock  
and fir crowding  
out the  
huckleberries  
(Courtesy of Alice  
Smith)



mountain ash, and by a dense forest of mountain hemlock and true fir that has grown in the absence of controlled burning. The area sits on a 70% rocky slope, and thinning work is both dangerous and difficult (Figure 3.3a-b). According to Farque, there hadn't been an opportunity to improve the road and forest structure at Cougar Rock until the newly proposed Trout Creek project plan.

The Trout Creek project, as a whole, spans nearly 1,670 acres (Figure 3.4) and has goals to “promote forest health, species diversity and complexity, provide a sustainable supply of timber products, mimic historic mixed severity fire at a landscape scale, improve fire resiliency, manage hazardous fuels and enhance hardwood habitat and diversity” (USFS, 2018). As a means to complete different types of restoration work, it also includes a number of timber sales. In the Forest Service, there is certain money allocated towards different types of projects, but, for the most part, restoration can only occur when economically viable (Sorensen, 2018). Originally, as a part of the project plan, a timber sale of economically viable cedar and Douglas-fir located below the huckleberries was going to fund road improvements and forest thinning in the Cougar Rock area. The trees within the huckleberry

area, hemlock and true firs, are not viable lumber, and would have been removed, chipped and sold with the more valuable cedar and Doug-fir below it (Sorensen, 2018).

As a part of the public process within all USFS projects, the Draft Environmental Impact Statement (DEIS) and project proposal must be made available to the public for a 45 day comment period. This impact assessment includes an evaluation of resources that could possibly be impacted from the proposed project. One resource, the red tree vole, was originally found to not be affected by the timber harvest. As per the guidelines for the USFS, any forested areas below 3500 ft are surveyed for the vole. After the DEIS was made public, however, a citizen scientist who did not agree with these guidelines went out to survey trees above the 3500 ft mark. This person found strong evidence of the tree vole above 3500 ft, and consequently, in the area of the economically viable lumber that would have funded the huckleberry restoration. Sweet Home sent out their specialists, confirmed the findings of the citizen scientist, and decided to remove the viable timber sale, and consequently the huckleberry restoration from the project (Figure 3.5). Chris Sorensen, the Natural

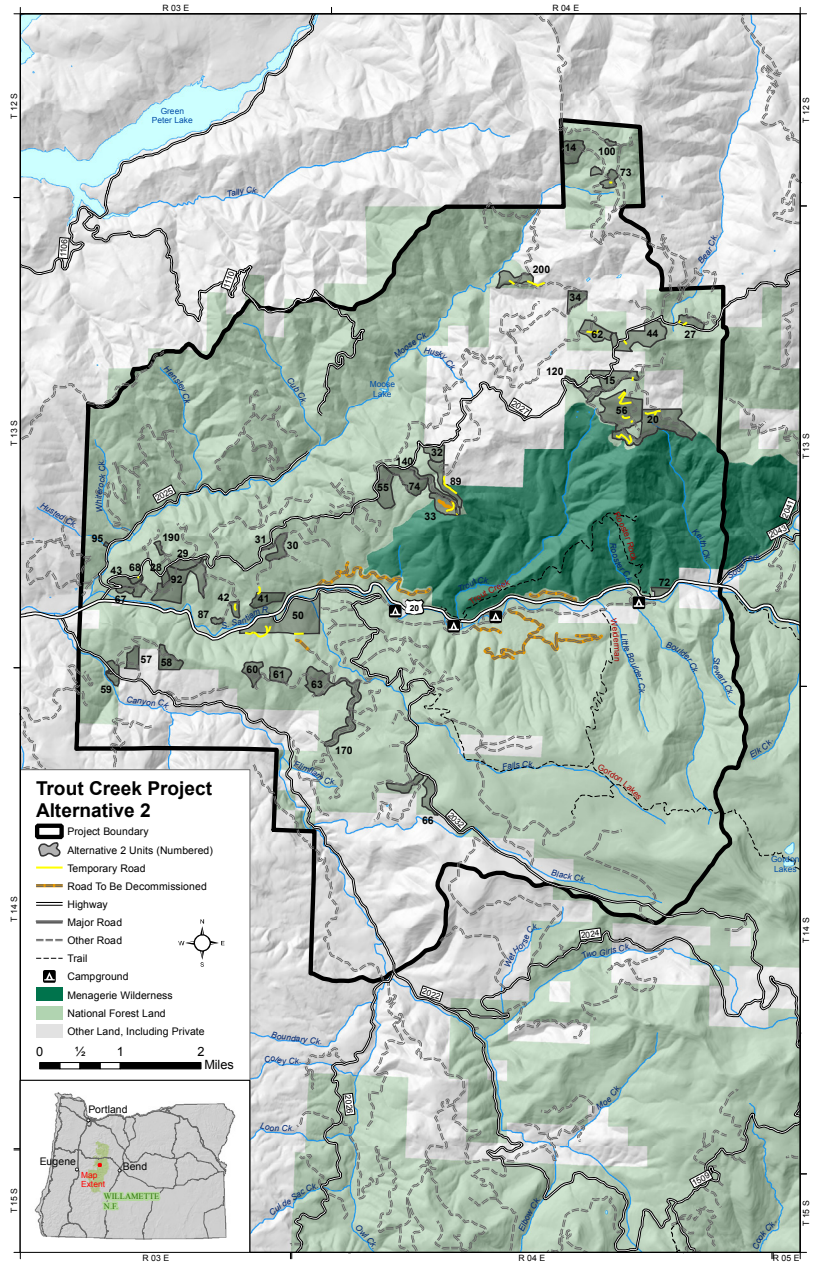
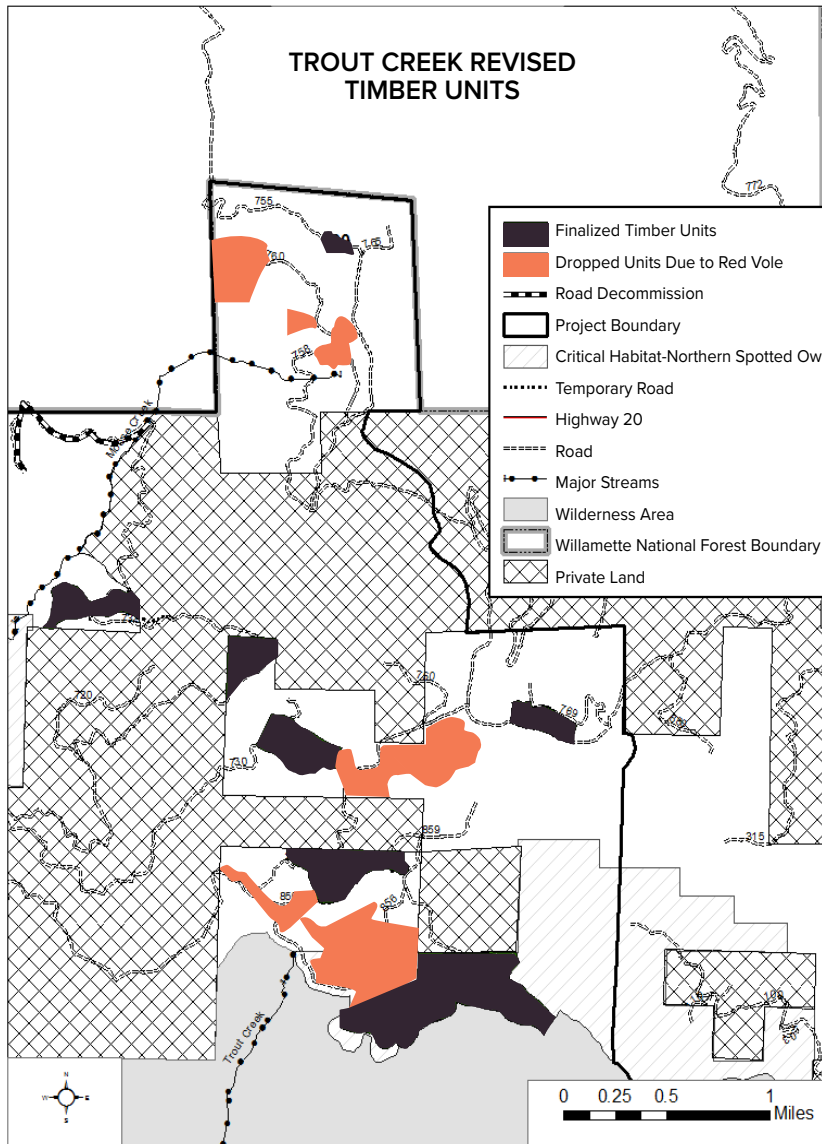


Figure 3.4 The finalized project boundary for the Trout Creek Restoration Plan, including all original timber sale units (Trout Creek Final EIS, 2018)



**Figure 3.5** Several timber harvest units needed to be dropped from the project area to accommodate the red tree vole (Modified from the USFS)



Resource Staff for Sweet Home, stated that this discovery doesn't mean the huckleberry project will never occur, it just can't occur through the mechanism of a timber sale. One option would be for the tribes to fund a project to improve the road and sell the wood chips, or hire a fire crew to hike in and strategically thin the area. Alternatively, the Forest Service could find grants in partnership with the tribes in order to complete the work. Many grant opportunities are for projects that are 'shovel ready,' like Cougar Rock, where the EIS has already been completed (Sorensen, 2018). In accordance with the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA), the EIS is valid for 5 year and the huckleberry restoration project could proceed without the need of a new impact statement.

Despite setbacks in the restoration project at Cougar Rock, the huckleberries can still be reached, and have been, by those who know how to find them. Siletz and Grande Ronde have brought in work crews for a number of years to kill the invasive mountain ash and tend the huckleberry plants and both tribes will continue to harvest the huckleberry as long as the land allows (Farque, 2018).

## **Camas Prairie**

Camas Prairie has evolved very differently than Cougar Rock. The lead botanist for the Sweet Home Ranger District, Alice Smith, discovered the camas plant within Camas Prairie around the same time as huckleberries were found at Cougar Rock. This discovery, however, occurred as a part of a new land acquisition for the district. In 1997 Sweet Home received the land, which had been originally acquired by the federal government as payment for a drug charge. The field, which had been used heavily for agriculture since the 1930s, was a hayed, pastured, and degraded wetland (Figure 3.6). Once Sweet Home acquired the land, Farque and Smith assessed the area for resources of natural and cultural importance. Smith found a camas plant the same day Farque found artifacts, which led to the formation of the Camas Prairie Restoration Project, a collaborative effort between the USFS, BLM, and several federally recognized tribes (Smith and Farque, 2001). Sweet Home then teamed up with Linn-Benton and Lane Community Colleges, the BLM, and the Klamath tribe to perform a more in-depth archaeological survey and the team found evidence of 6000 years of food processing on site. Shortly thereafter, Camas Prairie was



**Figure 3.6**  
The degraded wetland before the Camas Prairie restoration work (Courtesy of Alice Smith)



**Figure 3.7**  
The USFS integrating prescribed burns at Camas Prairie (Courtesy of Alice Smith)

designated as a Special Interest Area (Farque, 2018).

Due to its small size of just 10 acres and relatively low environmental complexity, Camas Prairie qualified for a categorical exclusion within the National Environmental Protection Act (NEPA) process and progressed quickly. The district invited the Siletz and Grande Ronde tribes to come in first to help prepare the meadow for the restoration work. Beginning in 1998, the Siletz brought work crews to clear the field and the Grande Ronde followed to help with the first burn of the meadow (Figure 3.7). After the meadow had been burned four or five times, Smith and Farque attended the Hoopa conference, run by the Hoopa Valley tribe in Northern California, to learn about integrating traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) within restoration projects. Inspired, the pair returned to Sweet Home, applied for grant money, and cosponsored a “Traditional Use of Fire Symposium” with the Siletz and Grand Ronde tribes. The conference hosted a variety of scientific and tribal based panels and included field trips to both Camas Prairie and Cougar Rock. Camas Prairie was thrust into the spotlight as a ‘gold star project’ for Sweet Home and Smith presented the project at various conferences across Europe and

the United States to teach other land managers about integrating traditional burning into restoration efforts (Farque, 2018).

Today, Sweet Home burns the prairie every two years, and propagated seeds are sown after each burn (Figure 3.8). Tribal participation has been strong at both burning and seeding events, where elders come to teach the youth about ancestral land tending. Additionally, the Siletz, Grande Ronde, and Warm Springs harvest camas from the prairie every year for ceremonial use. While these celebrations themselves do not occur at Camas Prairie, camas is still an important piece of first food ceremony (Farque, 2018) (Figure 3.9).

Since both Cougar Rock and Camas Prairie have occurred in the same district, and under the same leadership, they often follow, or transgress from the seven ‘guiding principles of a successful federal-tribal collaboration’ in the same way. However, there are some important differences between the two projects and I will use the guiding principles to discuss these. I will first review the principles which are reflected similarly in the two projects (1, 2, 4, and 6) and then the principles that help explain their differences (3, 5, and 7).



Figure 3.8 The Siletz tribe collecting camas seed (Courtesy of Alice Smith)

## FINDINGS: GUIDING PRINCIPLES

*Principles reflected similarly across Sweet Home Ranger District's projects*

### **#1 Tribal sovereignty should be recognized and respected**

As per an executive order under President Clinton, the government is required to “establish regular

and meaningful consultation and collaboration with tribal officials in the development of federal policies that have tribal implications” (Landry, 2016). During our conversations, Farque mentioned Clinton’s order several times when addressing the importance of government-to-government relations within the district. Tribes are consulted before the general public at Sweet Home as Farque believes “this is their land and Sweet



**Figure 3.9** Camas Prairie after restoration (Courtesy of Alice Smith)

Home is just the gatekeeper” (Farque, 2018). Furthermore, the tribes, unlike the public, can object to projects at any time. As tribes are considered a sovereign nation, the objection process is from one government to another. The general public, since not considered a government, must make comments during the 45 day comment period to have standing to object later on. However, Farque noted, tribes have not had any formal

decision making authority at either Camas Prairie or Cougar Rock. The USFS is not ready to accept the tribes as partners, or co-managers, only as other entities to collaborate with, he remarked. Farque believes that the fundamental problem involving tribal sovereignty lies much higher up within the Forest Service: Most districts and forests don’t give credit to the tribe for having tended the landscape for 10,000 years. While attitudes are changing,

they have not yet trickled down to federal land managers on the ground (Farque, 2018). Informally, however, tribes can visit either Cougar Rock or Camas Prairie to harvest, work, or hold ceremony whenever they please. This right is reserved for tribes alone, and a certain amount of privacy is guaranteed: “We don’t want to tell their stories,” Farque asserted, “part of a good sovereign relationship is to not ask why tribes are interested” (Farque, 2018).

## **#2 Consultation should be early, engaging, ongoing, and aimed at relationship building and improving partnerships**

The Sweet Home Ranger District engages in both informal and formal consultation with the tribes in the region. On the formal side, Sweet Home holds a separate meeting with the Siletz, the Grande Ronde, and the Warm Springs tribes at the beginning of each year. During this meeting, the district presents all projects that are to be completed in the next year, in addition to any possible projects within the next 2-3 years. The tribes have an opportunity at these meetings to voice any concerns or thoughts regarding the projects or bring up additional tribal interests. Once a project is underway, every step is presented to the tribes

for comment before the general public. As the district changes management, Smith and Farque ‘breed’ the new staff by instilling the importance of the strong connections present within Sweet Home. The district has also decided to overlap both Farque and Smith’s replacements for six months, to be sure that the replacements understand all of the nuances of the important work that the two have completed. In addition, the tribes that work with Sweet Home take care to educate their new leaders about the special relationship. As a result, tribal leaders have agreed to speak to anyone within the leadership staff at Sweet Home, perpetuating the good relations (Farque, 2018).

On the informal side, Sweet Home engages in the majority of consultation work on the ground. Farque, especially, has strong relationships with tribes on different projects. During our conversations, he often attributed the strength of the Sweet Home-tribal relationship to the lack of politics involved outdoors, on the land. While tribal councils may disagree with each other, other tribes, or the Forest Service, any work ‘in the dirt’ leaves these concerns behind. Tribal elders, who are held in high esteem within the tribal structure, also help to instill this attitude. According to Farque, tribal

elders are not interested in politics, and they help influence the attitudes and actions of the ever-changing tribal council members. Overall, he advised, “Start small, find common ground, build upon successes. Prepare leaders from both parties well so when they meet at the right spot and at the right time, they can get somewhere. Preparation leads to success” (Farque, 2018).

Sweet Home wants to continue encouraging strong tribal relations because the district truly understands their importance. Leaders haven’t solely learned about tribal interests through district training, some have been out with tribal elders and have experienced ‘significant cultural experiences,’ where they saw, first hand, the importance of the land to the people. One of the lead rangers at Sweet Home had two of these experiences, in the same location but with different tribes, and decided from then on that Sweet Home would never say ‘no’ to the tribes: Farque stated “these tribes have a connection to parts of this landscape that we will never know or understand, or shouldn’t or can’t- he really got it. We’re going to figure out how to do it and go. Some rangers didn’t get it but projects kept going because who is going to say ‘no’ when there are very few successes

on the forest for tribal restoration partnerships” (Farque, 2018).

#### **#4 No issues of environmental injustice should be present**

Due to Sweet Home’s ‘positive obligation’ to the tribes in the region, there have been no reports of environmental injustice within the district. When roads or other infrastructure improvements are planned, Sweet Home informs the tribes first so that they can come back with comments or concerns. Farque also mentioned the importance of the informed leadership at Sweet Home. The lead ranger is the main decision maker for Sweet Home, but she attends each of the district’s specialists’ meetings, where she can better understand all of the ramifications of land management decisions. When asked about environmental injustice, Farque mentions there are times when tribal interests can’t be met, but he can’t recall times that any Sweet Home projects have interfered with treaty rights. If there are disagreements, Farque mentioned, all interested parties go out into the field to educate one another (Farque, 2018).

## #6 Projects should focus on a broader landscape, and use ecosystem management

According to the Forest Service, ecosystem management is “using an ecological approach to achieve the management of national forests and grasslands by blending the needs of people and environmental values in such a way that National Forests and grasslands represent diverse, healthy, productive, and sustainable ecosystems” (Wang, Anderson & Jakes, 2002). After speaking with Farque and Sorensen, I found that this concept excited them, but also led them to reflect about the many reasons why and how ecosystem management is sometimes not possible. With projects involving natural cultural resources, Farque mentioned that anyone with ancestral ties to the land should be invited to collaborate. While Camas Prairie and Cougar Rock are politically within the boundary of the Sweet Home Ranger District, they don’t belong to Sweet Home alone. “We don’t talk about Camas Prairie as physically in your forest” Farque stated, “we don’t talk about that we want you to participate in this project because this was your spot, we talk about history, resources, telling the story for the future, and availability and reconnection and continuation of

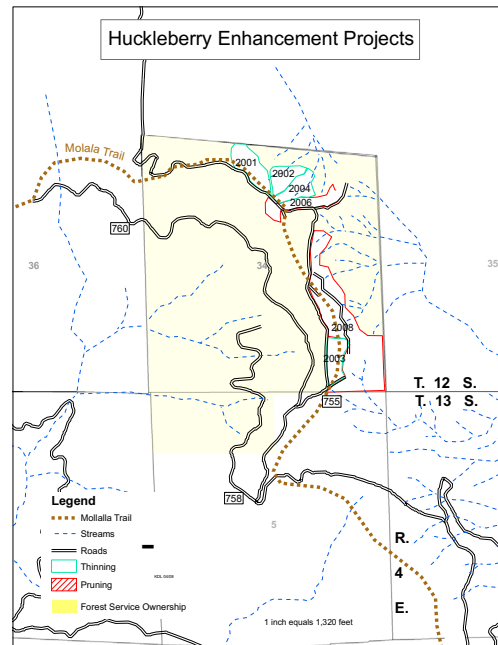


Figure 3.10 The Molalla Trail running straight through the Cougar Rock huckleberry restoration area (USFS)

traditional cultural practice on that site for anybody that is a descendant of that ancestral group regardless of political affiliation today” (Farque, 2018). Farque also thinks about ecosystem management when discussing the future of cultural resources within the district: As climate change threatens to play a bigger role in cultural resource availability, the staff at Sweet Home have begun to look for new areas to provide first foods. Trade stock huckleberries - those of high quality and abundance - are a rare commodity and Sweet Home has taken measures



to make sure, 100 years from now, they will still be available to the tribes. A piece of private land one can see from Cougar Rock has a heavy snow pack and the right aspect and climate to be able to provide choice huckleberries, even with warming temperatures, and Farque mentioned it as an important piece of the land acquisition strategy for Sweet Home: He is able to think and plan outside the physical boundary of Sweet Home, of an ‘unbounded’ ranger district, in order to continue his positive obligation with the tribes. Farque also excitedly talked about the possibility of a reconnected Molalla trail: “Now that’s restoration - tie the locales together through landscape but also through cultural connectedness to their past and tradition. If unbounded, we would be talking like that” (Farque, 2018). The SIAs in Sweet Home, Farque informed me, used to be connected by the Molalla trail, but now are just fragmented components (Figure 3.10).

The Sweet Home Ranger District is in a unique position as it is surrounded by other National Forests, wilderness boundaries, timber land, private inholdings, and waterways controlled by the Army Corps of Engineers. Management across boundaries depends on who shares that boundary. For example, Sweet Home has a strong relationship with a private landowner

in the area who allows tribal access and Forest Service-led tours to Cascadia Cave, an important petroglyph site near the district. Furthermore, some projects within the district are planned and implemented with other ranger districts in the Willamette Forest, or with the BLM. Sorensen notes, however, that these collaborations still fall back on the specific management plans for either land agency and that most collaboration across district borders occurs within road maintenance agreements or for fire suppression. Sorensen also spoke a bit about how an unbounded district would allow for better forest health. He noted that fire and water don’t recognize boundaries so why should ranger districts? “The interesting thing about [Trout Creek],” Sorensen stated, “is that it encompasses this whole area. Private timber lands, wilderness, highway, city of Sweet Home, we need to be dealing with wilderness and private industry, dealing with wilderness character and laws, and the ecological effects of fire exclusion. There are lots of objectives [but] land use designations play a huge part in what we do” (Sorensen, 2018) (Figure 3.11).

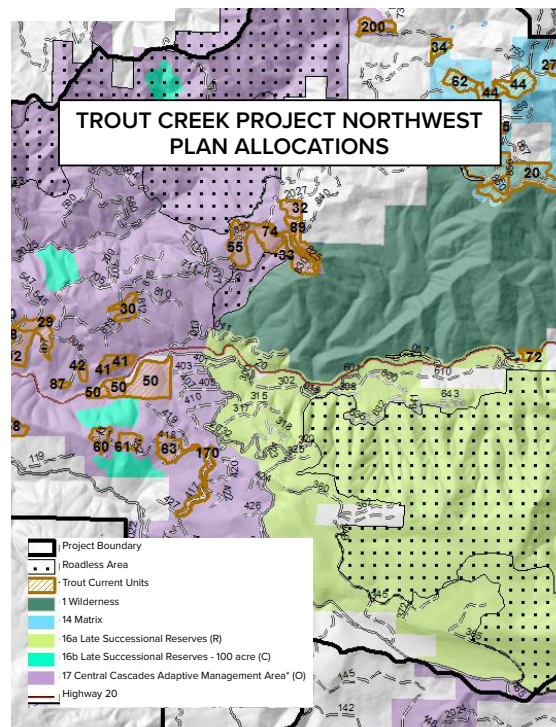
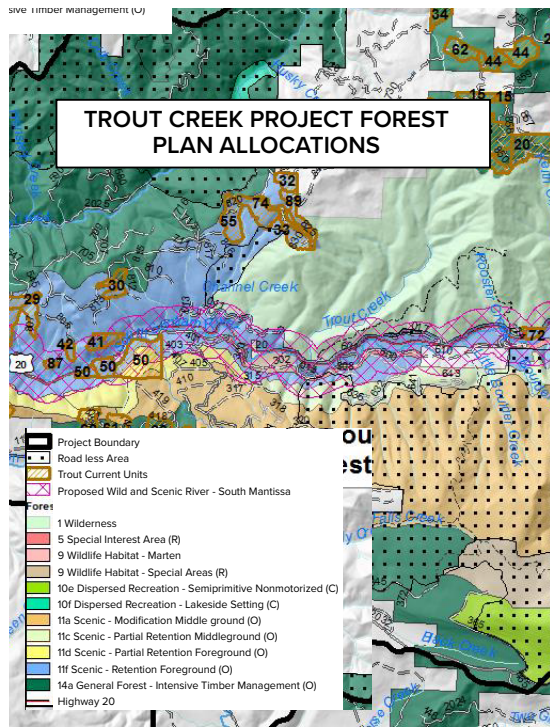


Figure 3.11 Some of the forest plan allocations surrounding the Sweet Home Ranger District (Modified from the Trout Creek Final EIS, 2018).

*Principles reflected differently at Cougar Rock and Camas Prairie*

**#7 In addition to TEK, the spiritual value of nature should be respected**

The spiritual value of nature means a resource is important because of its spiritual components and its subsistence or commercial uses - the two are integrated (Bengston, 2004). The leadership at Sweet Home understand that huckleberry and camas

hold important spiritual meaning for the tribes but, as Farque points out, the ceremonial value of the resource in question belongs to the tribes alone. While stories of important portals into the spirit world or other landscape features are sometimes shared with Farque, he is careful not to ask what, exactly, this importance means or entails. Tribal ceremonies are held every spring for important cultural resources, which include camas, huckleberry, and salmon. The tribes,

however, do not hold these ceremonies on Forest Service property, nor are Forest Service personnel typically present. The people at Sweet Home, instead, understand the importance of cultural resource ceremony and are deeply invested in securing the necessary resources.

Principle #7 highlights the first important difference between Cougar Rock and Camas Prairie. While both huckleberry and camas are held with high ceremonial and spiritual value, only huckleberry is still a subsistence resource, at least for the tribes Farque has worked with. Camas was once a staple of the Kalapuyan diet, but is now primarily used for ceremony alone. Farque attributes this difference to the history of the land. The huckleberries at Cougar Rock never disappeared. Though the first food was compromised by dense forest and tribes were not reconnected with the huckleberry patch until the 1990s, the Kalapuyan people were completely removed from the camas field due to agricultural expansion. It is the positive obligation of Sweet Home to reconnect tribes in the region with their cultural landscape, and the acquisition of the land where Camas Prairie now sits provided a strong opportunity to do so. Farque stated “[the tribes] are bound to recover that knowledge and that

connection to place for their agreement to be removed from that land” (Farque, 2018). He postulated that maybe the removal of the ancestral people from the camas fields caused the plant to lose its role as a food staple. The success of Camas Prairie could have been partly caused by the importance of reinstating ceremony, Farque pondered: maybe it was not as pressing to reconnect the native people to the huckleberry as they were never truly disconnected (Farque, 2018).

### **#3 Traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) should be incorporated with conventional science in a way that best suits the project in question**

While traditional ecological knowledge is viewed similarly in both of these projects, it is implemented very differently. Farque mentioned that, for the most part, it is Sweet Home’s responsibility to include TEK without asking what exactly it may be. Instead, he noted, it’s important for the district to understand the seasonality of harvest and the importance of tribal economies: “A restoration project isn’t complete until traditional economies are back on the landscape, just having the resource isn’t enough” (Farque, 2018). Furthermore, Farque believes that the tribes should be brought to

the land to integrate TEK themselves. Though specific pieces of traditional knowledge are sometimes shared with him, Farque believes it is his and Smith's obligation to design restoration work that reflects TEK, while not divulging any of the knowledge itself.

The important differences between Cougar Rock and Camas Prairie lie in how and by whom TEK has been implemented. Both huckleberry and camas fields were traditionally managed with fire and there are stories connecting prescribed burns and ceremony to both sites. While it's almost certain other types of TEK are part of the two projects, this project will address traditional burning only. Prescribed burning, which occurs at Camas Prairie every two years, is becoming more commonplace and widely accepted in the empirical science world. It easily fills both rolls as a western scientific and a TEK tool, and their integration is even exemplified in the field: "Tribal elders are a part of our projects. So our timber or fire crew can talk with elders. They'll talk with the elders about what the blaze should look like," Farque stated (Farque, 2018). The huckleberry fields at Cougar Rock, on the other hand, will never be burned. Though an important TEK strategy, there are too many other factors that inhibit the burning. The huckleberries

are surrounded by private property, the winds are unpredictable, and the humidity is too high. Due to past fire suppression practices, it is no longer possible to integrate fire there. At Camas Prairie, on the other hand, there is a road that runs alongside the field and the surrounding private property is further away, allowing easier control of prescribed burns.

Farque and I also discussed who implements TEK at each site, and he spoke often of the importance of indigenous place-based tending and connection to the landscape. Camas Prairie involves ceremonial, tribe-based tending. Huckleberry plants, on the other hand, are tended by families instead of by tribal units. Individual huckleberry plants are recognizable year to year and families go and camp, work, and harvest together. Farque postulated that the difference in the type of place-based tending might have influenced how each project has evolved. It's possible that, since Camas Prairie involves tribal-based tending, it has been easier to get full tribal support and grants whereas the huckleberry work is more casual, where fewer large work parties and organized involvement is possible (Farque, 2018).

## #5 Projects should identify a common goal

Both Cougar Rock and Camas Prairie hold similar overarching goals - to restore traditional resources and provide improved availability and accessibility to those resources. While the two resources are physically different, and to restore each requires different techniques, the additional goals of each of these projects have had strong effects on each project's evolution.

The main goal behind Camas Prairie was to restore a degraded agricultural wetland into a thriving camas meadow. As mentioned by Farque, the main motivator behind this restoration project was to reconnect the people with ancestral ties to Camas Prairie back to the land. This goal was shared by both the Sweet Home Ranger District and the Siletz, Grande Ronde, and Warm Springs tribes. Though I have not spoken to the tribes directly, Farque has mentioned that the people he works with, especially the elders, are interested in continuing direct involvement with the land of their ancestors, and practicing TEK (Farque, 2018).

The Trout Creek Restoration Plan, which includes Cougar Rock, once

included similar promise of a reconnected cultural restoration project like that at Camas Prairie. Since Trout Creek occupies a large tract of land, tribes were brought into discussions early on about the myriad of opportunities for restoration. The main goal of Trout Creek however, according to Sorensen, is to “restore forest structure” (Sorensen, 2018). When Sorensen spoke about all of the parts of Trout Creek, he remarked that the goal is to restore pieces of the landscape back to a pre-fire suppression seral landscape. The huckleberry restoration work at Cougar Rock was tied into the timber sales that would help accomplish this restored forest structure. Though the tribes seemed originally on board and interested in the huckleberry restoration proposal, they were not upset when told it would not happen. The tribes feel protective of their choice huckleberries, Farque stated, and feared that an improved road might bring more people to the sensitive area (Farque, 2018). Though the tribes wanted to improve availability and access to the huckleberries, they do much of the work themselves by manually cutting invasive species and tending the area. The main goal of the tribes, in the Cougar Rock project area, had already been realized. At Camas Prairie, where the physical connection to traditional

resources had completely ceased, the USFS and tribal goals were a better match.

## OTHER FINDINGS

Despite the intentions of the leadership at both the Sweet Home Ranger District and within the tribes, there are a number of management plans and laws that have a stronger influence on what can happen within the district. For example, any restoration portion of a timber sale must be located within a certain distance of that sale, or funds must be allocated in a certain way. Furthermore, Sweet Home must follow the Willamette National Forest Management Plan and the Northwest Forest Plan. If endangered species or cultural artifacts are present within a project area, the district needs to follow the guidelines from the EPA and the National Historic Preservation Act. Furthermore, due to poor funding, restoration work can be difficult in the Forest Service. Minimal funding affects projects after they are completed, as well: One issue Farque sees with all projects at Sweet Home is the lack of monitoring. He stated “But restoration isn’t complete until traditional economies are resumed. But there is no monitoring, no money for monitoring, so how can we learn from successes?” (Farque, 2018).

Some of the main differences between Cougar Rock and Camas Prairie lay outside the bounds of the seven principles, and are mainly political and social in nature. With regards to NEPA, Camas Prairie qualified for a categorical exclusion and the district was not required to do an entire environmental impact assessment. Trout Creek, on the other hand, has many moving parts and an in-depth impact statement was required. Sorensen refers to the differences between these kind of projects as ‘big gulp NEPA versus small gulp NEPA.’ The more pieces involved, the more complicated the permitting and approval system becomes. Since Camas Prairie was not controversial and there was no need to generate funds for the restoration work, it was, in essence, a much more straightforward project (Sorensen, 2018). The successful implementation of the Cougar Rock huckleberry restoration, on the other hand, depended upon the success of the timber sale surrounding it.

Another factor that fueled Camas Prairie ahead of Cougar Rock was the ease of the restoration work itself. Camas is a much easier plant to reintroduce, and let thrive in this climate. Huckleberry is more sensitive. The plant requires a variety of environmental conditions and is

not as easy to propagate. The nature of the restoration work at Cougar Rock is more complicated than Camas Prairie - trees need to be thinned, but not removed, and invasives need to be controlled without harming the huckleberry. The access to Cougar Rock is difficult and the slopes where the huckleberries grow are steep and dangerous. There are hundreds of acres to take care of and it cannot be easily protected, or gated off, like Camas Prairie. At Camas Prairie, on the other hand, invasives were removed and regular burning keeps them away while enriching the soils. The access and restoration work was relatively easy and there were many parties interested in helping. From a land management perspective, Camas Prairie was just easier and less cost prohibitive than Cougar Rock.

Lastly, the current cultural climate surrounding Sweet Home influenced much of Camas Prairie's success. For example, the private land owners and neighbors to Sweet Home Ranger District hold differing views. Some neighbors are interested in a reconnected cultural landscape, while others care only about timber. The Molalla trail could never be reconnected as it runs straight through some of the valuable timber land. The use of fire was possible at Camas Prairie but not at

Cougar Rock, as Camas Prairie is near the road, it's public, and people, both native and non-native, were interested in getting involved. As made apparent by the public interest surrounding Camas Prairie, meadow restoration involving fire was an exciting topic at the time of the restoration work and both the general science community and the public were in support of the project. Furthermore, fire-based land management was more 'safe' at Camas Prairie than at Cougar Rock. Private property surrounds Cougar Rock, and fire is much more difficult to control. Cougar Rock, as Farque stated, "is on top of the world." It's out of view of the general public and it is not as easy for people to understand how Cougar Rock is connected to Cascadia Cave and other tribal interests in the area. "From a modern exploitation framework," Farque asserted, "Cougar Rock is disconnected from Camas Prairie," though both areas fall along the old Molalla trail. Lastly, much more archaeological work had been completed at Camas Prairie: It was thrust into the public eye as a culturally significant area that could easily fold together western ecological and TEK interests where Cougar Rock, hidden 'on top of the world,' remains a place for the tribes alone.





# 4

## REFLECTION

### CHAPTER OVERVIEW

At the start of this project, I had postulated that specific cases of federal-tribal partnerships shouldn't be compared with one another because every tribe and federal agency hold different ideas, cultures, and practices. In order to respond to this problem, I chose to compare two sites within the same ranger district, with the assertion that I would learn something new about federal-tribal collaborations in the process. Using my seven 'guiding principles of a successful federal-tribal collaboration' to compare the sites, I learned that projects within the same ranger district, involving the same tribes, cultures and practices, also display important differences. The principles, therefore, fall short of recognizing all of the intricate factors behind a federal-tribal collaboration.

This chapter will discuss which of the seven principles proved most useful in my analysis and which taught me something new about the topic. I will assess which principles were most utilized in Sweet Home's approach to tribal relations, which are most transferable to other land managers, and what might have been missing in my approach. The principles, which have also been revised as per the findings of my project, will be presented chronologically from what I have deemed, 'most important' to 'least important' for other land managers to follow when identifying promising federal-tribal partnerships.

## GUIDING PRINCIPLES REVISED

*Original Principle: Consultation should be early, engaging, ongoing, and aimed at relationship building and improving partnerships.*

*Revised Principle: Consultation should be early, engaging, ongoing, and aimed at relationship building and improving partnerships. Federal-tribal relations should have both a formal and an informal component and involve land managers and American Indians, on the land, together.*

The Sweet Home Ranger District handles tribal consultation, and especially the formation of relationships, in a unique manner. The employees have an innate understanding of the line between being respectful without demanding respect, and letting the ground work dictate the relationships, not the other way around. The district preserves both formal and informal relations with tribes in the region, covering all bases while keeping relations casual. By respecting the formal obligations of tribal consultation, the ranger district shows the tribes that their sovereignty is treated seriously. By maintaining informal relations, the district illustrates that they are open to building relations and collaborations.

Learning from Sweet Home, other land managers should start small, in the field, and encourage staff to be physically involved in projects involving tribal interests. This process takes time, can't be scripted, and requires the desire of all of the people on the ground to do the work and build the relationships. "The best thing to do is to leave ongoing projects on the ground," Farque reflected, "people have to figure out how to work together. You can't direct people's compassion. But if that landscape has already been tended, the work itself will mold the relationship" (Farque, 2018).

*Original Principle: Projects should focus on a broader landscape, and use ecosystem management.*

*Revised Principle: Projects should focus on a broader landscape and use ecosystem management, where all parties with interest in the resource in question and historical ties to the land should be invited to participate.*

This principle proved to be one of the major themes fueling successful federal-tribal collaborations at Sweet Home Ranger District. The main people involved with restoration work at the district, including Farque and Sorensen, feel similarly about ecosystem management, but approach it in different ways.

Farque believes in the strength of a connected cultural landscape that does not include boundary lines, where Sorensen believes in an ecologically connected space where timber land doesn't fragment habitat. The political boundary lines drawn in the district can inhibit the realization of a certain project, but they don't have to inhibit broad project goals. Farque and Smith, for example, treated Camas Prairie as a physically bounded area not being defined by that boundary. Ignoring that Camas Prairie is owned - and therefore managed - by the USFS, they reached out to anyone that could have had an interest in or tie to the land and/or its resources. Because of this attitude and approach, a number of different parties helped and a number benefitted. Community colleges, the BLM, and multiple tribes were invited to work on the land and tribes, regardless of their political affiliation, are invited to harvest the resource. Camas Prairie's story shows that by inviting a broad base of possible partners, restoration work is more likely to get funded and be implemented on the land.

Sorensen also spoke about collaborative projects with Sweet Home's neighbors, including a new project that involves three different ranger districts within the Willamette Forest. He excitedly talked about the possibilities of treating

entire watersheds, instead of being forced to quarantine restoration efforts by district boundaries. I believe that this shared attitude between Sorensen and Farque is one of the main reasons Sweet Home is successful at inviting collaborators to the table, begging the questions - what would a typical map of the area look like if current boundary lines were taken away? Could it be used to encourage ecosystem management or partnerships? This 'map' might be used to show landowners and land managers how the practitioners at Sweet Home teach us to think about ancestral ties to the land, and about how the land functions. Figure 4.1, a graphic exploration of an 'unbounded' Sweet Home Ranger District, shows where collaborators could be invited, to pay less attention to land ownerships, and to take notice of the historic uses of the land. At Sweet Home, ecosystem management is practiced where the 'ecosystem' includes people: Both humans and human history play a role.



**Figure 4.1**

This figure is a graphic exploration of what an 'unbounded' Sweet Home Ranger District might look like. The large white block represents ancestral Kalapuyan land, and the old Molalla trail runs down the middle. All current land ownership lines have been removed, and the ecological provinces, derived by the USFS, are emphasized. This 'map' is a symbolic gesture of the story of Camas Prairie and Cougar Rock, and how we can look to the way the land functions and could be treated, with human, human history, and ecology at the forefront of any collaborative restoration process.



The Molalla Trail

The following three principles have been aggregated to a single principle:

*Three Original Principles: (1) Traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) should be incorporated with conventional science in a way that best suits the project in question.*

*(2) In addition to TEK, the spiritual value of nature should be respected.*

*(3) Projects should identify a common goal.*

*Revised Principle: Think about the resource itself - ask what are the geographic, cultural, and spiritual contextual pieces for both native and non-native people. Know when it is appropriate*

*to ask whether TEK can be implemented with conventional science, or when it is constrained by a project's cultural or political surroundings. Know when it is appropriate to step back from a restoration process involving TEK, and invite tribes to implement it themselves. Integrate these findings into the restoration process and keep the projects simple, with as few interlocking political factors, as possible.*

I realized the importance of these three original principles, and how closely they are tied together, when comparing Cougar Rock and Camas Prairie. The differences between the two sites, and why that difference matters, lie largely

	CAMAS	HUCKLEBERRY
Environmental Needs	Uncomplicated, Restoration 'easier'	Requires specific environmental factors to thrive
Fundings	Easy to attract outside sources	Restoration work depended on timber sale
TEK	Worked well in this case to integrate traditional burning with western fire ecology	Not appropriate to integrate due to surrounding private property
Spiritual Context	Ceremonial use, no longer subsistence	Ceremonial and subsistence
Cultural Context	Neighbors and other parties were interested	Out of view of public, used by tribes alone
Political	No profit involved, NEPA categorical exclusion, no timber complications	Timber sale tied in with huckleberry restoration

Figure 4.2 The differences between camas and huckleberry at the Sweet Home Ranger District

in the fact that the two projects involve distinctive resources. Restoration work, inherently, is complicated and there are numerous interlocking factors that need to be addressed when preparing for a project. Some of these factors include the resource's environmental needs, its cultural and spiritual connotation, and any of the resource's current cultural and political associations. Figure 4.2 summarizes the main findings that distinguish camas and huckleberry, and therefore each project, from one another.

The successful implementation of Camas Prairie before Cougar Rock shows that it is important to regard the resource in question as both a natural and cultural resource. As a natural resource, camas is easier to restore, and its restoration had no effect on other natural resources. Huckleberry, in this case, had many needs – both environmental and political, before it could be restored. The camas restoration project had no connection to the timber industry while Cougar Rock depended upon the timber industry to be implemented. This shows us that it is important to know who your neighbors are and how you can relate to them. While it's unlikely the timber industry will end anytime soon, maybe a family is interested in becoming involved in tribal interests,

and helping with restoration efforts. Land managers, therefore, should maintain informal, friendly relations with all neighbors, native and non-native alike.

As a cultural resource, camas provided an opportunity to integrate TEK with conventional science and celebrate the ceremonial use of first foods, where using the same TEK integration and celebration at Cougar Rock was not appropriate or possible. Some lessons for future land managers could be that it's best to keep projects simple and to not tie too many goals together. When involving tribal interests, ask - what is the resource and what does that mean? Think about the resource's environmental needs, ask what's easier to restore, or less cost prohibitive. Where are other parties and partnerships more likely to help out and be able to see tangible results? Furthermore, How is the resource used? Is it appropriate to ask or know? TEK should only be shared with land managers when appropriate, or when it can be implemented. If it is not appropriate to understand or know TEK surrounding a resource, or conventional science and culture clash with TEK techniques, invite and allow the tribes to work the land themselves.

Ask what is the resource's spiritual importance? Have the tribes lost their connection to the resource in question? Land managers should pay attention to type of tending done, and how that can be reflected in the restoration efforts. By taking care to recognize all of these factors, land managers will better understand that different projects may have to progress through different means. The resource's needs and associations need to be truly unpacked and understood before restoration work can proceed.

*(New) Original Principle: Specialists who work to restore natural cultural resources should be able to form relations with different kinds of people, share interests, complement each other's specialties, and enjoy working together.*

It quickly became clear that one of the main factors behind the active federal-tribal relations at Sweet Home involve the district's employees and their relationships with each other. Not only are different types of specialists interested in similar goals, they hold deep respect and reverence for their colleagues. Farque and Smith, especially, have an important and unique relationship. The strong partnership between head archaeologist and head botanist makes for a powerful team as both specialists

are motivated and experienced in very different, but interlocking interests. First foods, for example, are significant as both an archaeological and an ethnobotanical resource. Smith, as lead botanist, promotes vegetation and weed management at Camas Prairie, and has presented the project throughout the country to show others how to blend botanical restoration with tribal interests. Farque, who is interested in preserving and promoting tribal interests, has strong informal relations with tribes in the region, and is invested in working with them directly to restore and protect those interests.

Farque is not only well versed in tribal interests, but is also familiar with the environmental needs of Sweet Home's cultural resources. He blends his job with many others, and is not defined by his title. He is, alone, perhaps one of the strongest factors contributing to good tribal relations at Sweet Home. Though I did not have interactions with much of the staff at the district, I've watched Farque interact with a number of people, and have concluded that he is a very important piece of the whole picture. He's easy to relate to, a story teller, a jokester - He, simply put, is a people person: there even exists a Tony Farque Fan Collective. Additionally, I noticed that Farque would intersperse



creation stories into our conversations about the two projects. He knows firsthand the importance of stories to tribal land management and he blends his knowledge of cultural resources with his knowledge of natural resources, because, for him, they are one and the same.

*Original Principle: Tribal sovereignty should be recognized and respected.*

*Revised Principle: Tribal sovereignty should be recognized and respected.*

*Respect the tribes' privacy.*

and

*Original Principle: No issues of environmental injustice should be present.*

These two principles did not reveal themselves often in my case study analysis. However that is not to conclude that they are not important principles within the district, just that they are inherently present before any other considerations. While tribal sovereignty is still an essential principle for other land managers to recognize and respect, it is also a legal obligation, which makes it less of a 'do or don't', and more of an unstated part of the way Sweet Home, and other districts, should function. Farque spoke often of his obligations to not ask what the tribes were interested in and to respect

their privacy as a means to respecting sovereignty. Though it's important that the tribes are consulted before the public, it's also important to respect the formalities of a government-to-government relationship, and to respect the privacy of that government.

Environmental injustice issues are also not present within the Sweet Home Ranger District. After completing my analysis, I can conclude that the presence of environmental injustice issues would prevent the initiation of any form of tribal collaboration as it would preclude the first and most important principle: Consultation should be early, engaging, ongoing, and aimed at relationship building and improving partnerships. If tribal interests are not respected in the first place, then there is little chance of any kind of federal-tribal collaboration or trusting relationship.

## CLOSING THOUGHTS

This project, which aimed to understand the transferability of 'current thinking' behind federal-tribal collaboration, added some important insight to the topic. I had originally postulated that lessons from collaborations between different agencies and tribes can't be generalized,

and I tested that theory by applying the seven guiding principles towards two cases within the same agency. I can now conclude that there are important factors that influence collaborations within one district, as well.

Furthermore, certain lessons can be generalized, but the way they play out within each district could differ drastically. The guiding principles - which have been reworked to better reflect the partnerships at Sweet Home Ranger District - are a good place for other land managers to start, but cannot alone dictate the successful implementation of a federal-tribal collaboration. Much of Sweet Home's collaborative story lies in the characters there, the tribes the district has relations with, and the specialists' strong informal relationships and dedication to ecosystem thinking. The collaborative restoration work at Sweet Home came from a place of deep understanding and love for the land and its people, and not just federal-tribal obligation.

While there are pieces of the federal-tribal collaboration at Sweet Home that can be recreated in other districts and land management agencies, and principles that can be followed, I hold to my conclusion that this topic is heavily dependent on a case-by-case

basis. Successes will occur when the right characters understand the right things, and are truly committed to fostering relationships and respecting ancestral ties. Important considerations must be made based upon the resource type, and an understanding of both the ecological and social needs of that resource itself is important. Perhaps further research on how the kind of resource impacts the implementation of federal-tribal collaborative projects could lead to better insight about what kinds of resources to target, or avoid, and ways that restoration projects involving different kinds of cultural resources should proceed.

Finally, the guiding principles are much more intertwined than I originally thought, as the factors driving or deterring restoration work often are. This phenomenon, of course, will change from case to case, and the fact that not every federal-tribal collaborative project holds transferable lessons is possibly the most transferable piece of my analysis. The process to create successful federal-tribal collaborations can't be scripted: it must be worked out, continuously worked on, and experienced by all interested parties out on the land.



# APPENDIX A

The following is the script used during my interviews with Tony Farque and Chris Sorensen. The interviews, however, were semi-formal and our conversations brought up additional questions.

## **Questions about tribal consultations and relationships**

*When, in the planning of this project, were tribes consulted?*

*How was tribal consultation initiated?*

*What was the nature of the relationship?*

*Was the relationship maintained throughout the project?*

*<if yes> How?*

*Were there any issues regarding consultation?*

*<if yes> What were the issues?*

*Did the interested tribes agree to speak to anyone at the Sweet Home Ranger District?*

*Did consultation continue throughout the project?*

*Were there any agency commitments or mandates present to encourage collaboration?*

*Were tribes worked with to develop protocols for next tribal/USFS leaders to follow?*

*Are there any strategies in play to increase the presence of American Indians within Sweet Home's workforce?*

## **Questions about tribal sovereignty**

*Did tribes have autonomous decision making authority in this project?*

*<if yes> What kinds of decisions were the tribes responsible for?*

*<if no or n/a> Did acknowledgement of tribal sovereignty play a part in management decisions for this project?*

*<if yes> How?*

## **Questions about environmental injustice**

*Have/Will any aspects of this project compromised tribal interests?*

*Is it known what tribal interests could be affected?*

*What did the Sweet Home Ranger District do to ensure environmental justice for the tribes involved in this project?*

## **Questions about Traditional Ecological Knowledge**

*Was TEK implemented in this project?*

*<if yes> How? Who was responsible for integrating TEK?*

*Was TEK shared with USFS personnel?*

*<if yes> How? To what degree of specificity?*

*Was there/will there be any on-the-ground tribal management involved?*

*<if yes> How has/will this be implemented?*

*<if no or n/a> Why wasn't TEK integrated?*

*Does this project encourage place based tending?*

*Does this project encourage tribal subsistence?*

*Is the history of the American Indian tribes' people in this area known?*

*Was the history considered when making management decisions?*

### **Questions about project goals**

*What is the main goal of this project?*

*What are some other goals of the project?*

*Were the tribes asked about their vision for future land management of this area?*

*Were economic benefits for both the tribes and the USFS mentioned/involved?*

*Are there research projects within the Sweet Home Ranger District that are mutually beneficial to both tribes and the USFS?*

### **Questions about ecosystem management**

*Did the land ownership boundaries of the Sweet Home Ranger District affect the location of management units?*

*Did the land ownership boundaries of the Willamette National Forest affect the location of management units?*

*<if yes> Do you believe this project would look different if not bounded?*

*How do political issues of ownership affect the project management goals?*

### **Questions about spiritual values**

*Were the spiritual values of the resources involved in this project mentioned?*

*<if no or n/a> Were resources managed to promote subsistence alone?*

### **Background questions**

*Which tribes have interests in this project?*

*If there are multiple tribes with interests, how are tribal to tribal relations approached?*

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