Interpretation as Ceremony:

American Indian Park Rangers - Telling Our Own Stories,

Protecting Cultural Resources in an Era of Military Preference

A Thesis

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for the

Degree of Master of Arts

with a Major of Anthropology

in the

College of Graduate Studies

University of Idaho

by

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May 2015

Authorization to Submit Thesis

This thesis of Heather Kae Binkley submitted for the degree of Master of Arts with a Major in Anthropology and titled "Interpretation as Ceremony: American Indian Park Rangers - Telling Our Own Stories, Protecting Cultural Resources in an Era of Military Preference" has been reviewed in final form. Permission, as indicated by the signatures and dates below, is now granted to submit final copies to the college of Graduate Studies for approval.

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Abstract

Using an indigenous design and methodology, this thesis seeks to identify and convey how an "Indigenous Interpretation" of cultural resource issues can enhance the experience of visitors to National Parks, especially parks related to American Indian history and culture. Explored are preconceived ideas and misunderstandings as well as desires held by park rangers and visitors of color; an area of concern for the National Park Service when the "minority" becomes the majority in this country. Also explored, National Park policies that impact American Indian park rangers, such as military preference in hiring. In considering an "Indian/Indigenous Interpretation," this thesis attempts to provide a strategy for better utilization and protection of our Nations Parks. Through the sharing and sacrifice of storytelling, interpretation can be ceremony, and through ceremony healing can take place.

Vitae

Education

- **University of Idaho Graduate Student, Anthropology, 4.0 GPA**

Thesis: ***Interpretation as Ceremony: American Indian Park Rangers telling our own stories - protecting cultural resources, in an era of military preference.***

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- Native American Student Association Representative, Unity 2007-09
- President Alpha Sigma Lambda, National Honor Society 2008-09
- Presenter, Athena Woman's Leadership Conference: Exploring your world, Charting Your Future "Women in Activism 101: Community Based Activism"
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Research/ Papers Presented

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  This is a collaboration between the Alfred W. Bowers Laboratory assisting students to recognize sacred objects, so that that those objects may be returned to tribal authorities through the auspices of NAGPRA.
- *Native American Males in Academia: What Went Right?*
- *Meaning and Purposes of the Plateau Sweat Lodge: An Architectural and Cultural Comparison*
- *The Historical Significance of the "S-Word" (Squaw)*
- *Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act: on Repatriation, Native American Remains and Associated Funerary Items*
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Senior Research Assistant, NAGPRA Senior Assistant, September 2006 to January 2011, (with exception of hiatus to work at Native Center, see below)
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Responsibilities: all facets of community and university outreach, hiring committee, training lab employees and volunteers

Coordinator, 2010 Latah County Fair interpretive exhibit: Archaeological Site *10NP102: from a 1967 looted and professionally rehabilitated site to present day end processing and curation*. ARPA and NAGPRA laws, including the recent defacing of the Red Elk

Rock shelter pictograph site, including tribal opinion on the destruction of sacred sites. Responsibilities: photos, text, training lab employees and volunteers how best to interpret this exhibit to the public.

- Coordinator, annual laboratory open house. Set up stations for children and adults describing through text, photos, and interactive games precontact and historic archaeology, lab methods.
- Responsible for speaking to the Laboratory Methods class held in the laboratory on ARPA and NAGPRA laws and how those laws apply to archaeologists working with tribal nations.
- NAGPRA Research Assistant: Tribal liaison for the cataloging of human remains and associated funerary items and/or sacred objects, writing the NAGPRA inventory, grant writing for transportation and misc. burial objects, repatriating the remains, cultural and funerary items back to tribal nations. Directed study in forensic osteology; beadwork and grave goods analysis.
- Team Leader/ Lab Technician: Supervise and train lab employees, volunteers, and work study on end-processing of collections for Idaho Transportation Department, Bureau of Land Management, and Nez Perce Tribe. Data entry MS *Access*, researching, identifying, cataloging, and rehabilitating historic/precontact artifacts, including ground stone, flaked stone, organics, faunal and osteological remains.
- Nez Perce Tribe Sewer line Project, Lapwai, Idaho. Responsibilities screening soil for artifacts, paperwork for soil level samples.
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- Presented on campus to various student, staff and faculty groups on a wide range of subjects which impact Native students, including but not limited to: the issue of Indian mascots, the "real" Columbus, and the historical significance of the "S-word" (squaw).
- Developed and presented the Native American Peer Mentor Program which assisted Native students academically and socially. Non-traditional i.e. older successful Native students were teamed with younger Native students for tutoring and or social activities.
- Coordinator of American Indian History Month
  Presentations included: Indigenous Peoples Day, Ndn poetry Slam, Foods of the Americas, Stick Game competition, drumming and round dance, etc.
- Recruitment and retention program HOIST – Helping Orient Indian Students and Teachers – into STEM field

National Park Service, Joshua Tree National Park, January 2011-present

- Archaeological Tech: field survey and site recording
- Interpretive Ranger and Visitor Use Assistant: programs primarily on cultural resource protection of American Indian sites for both adults and the Junior Ranger Program.

Acknowledgements

I would have to thank my major Professor Dr. Frey (I had to call you "Dr. Frey" to continue your endless teasing from the "fam") for his infinite patience during this seemingly infinite project! I could not thank Rodney without including his wife Kris who has graciously allowed me and others into their lives. After a visit to Rodney's sweat lodge she would always have a lovely meal for us all – even after a long day of work at the university. Big Brother – most important were the personal teachings I received – from *allowing* me to Sun Dance in your honor, to my naming ceremony at Spear Siding – these gifts are ones I most treasure.

A big thank you to my committee members Ian Chambers and Laura Putsche. During my tenure at the U of I Native Center, Ian was a strong supporter of our programming. Without Laura I would not have even the faintest grasp of anthropological theory! I have always had the sense she respected my diverse opinions.

Aishenda'ga,, lim lemt.sh, qe'ci'yew'yew, pilamaya, isniyes, aho, to my co-researchers. I could not have written this without them- telling their own stories with passion and humor.

I thank Leah Evans-Janke for coming to the Cataldo Mission where I worked and encouraging me join her team at the Anthropology Lab. Leah entrusted me with sensitive work, and stood by me when shenanigans reigned (And apologies for blowing up "Susie").

I thank Dave Henley from cultural resources at Joshua Tree National Park who took me under his wing and out into the field. Also from Joshua Tree, I thank Dave Carney who went above and beyond to secure a student Ranger position for me. I think I can speak for the rest of the Park when I say you are both greatly missed.

I would also like to thank my Shoshone and Ash`e Is`ee Crow families for their unconditional love and teachings, especially Leonard and Regina Bends and family, Jackie Yellowtail and Thomas Yellowtail and families, my brother Rayburn Beck and sister Janet. Aho! Deaxkaash Daaiawiish

Dedication

To my Moms and Vato –

Both of whom believed in me until I could believe in myself.

Aho Mitakuye Oyasin.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Chapter 1

> People of historically marginalized groups experience greatest success in academic and professional roles when they are capable of functioning in multiple social, linguistic, cultural settings. They retain their essential identity and way of knowing in their culture of origin while also 'speaking the language' necessary for communicating well with other dominant and non-dominant cultural groups. Likewise, multi-contextual organizations actively honor and welcome the broadest range of cultures and worldviews in their policy and practice.
>
> *– Indigenous Ways of Knowing, Lewis and Clark Graduate School of Education and Counseling*

> Diversity may be the hardest thing for a society to live with, and perhaps the most dangerous thing for a society to be without.
>
> – William Sloane Coffin Jr.

Introduction

I am interested in the life skills and values that make up the personal success "strategies" of Native American Indian Interpretive rangers that work for the Park Service. As a result of this research I hope Native youth are encouraged and mentored for eventual careers as interpretive rangers in positions that influence Park Service policy and interpretive protocol for the future park visitor. The importance of interpretation, which makes connections for the protection of cultural resources through an understanding of the unbroken thread of the past, puts a familiar face from a stereotypical "Vanishing" or "Noble Indian" of lore to the Native Americans' of today and the future. The participants of this project, the Native American communities, the Park Service and its cultural resources, and Park visitors, will all benefit in the long term as a result. The anthropological and archaeological disciplines will also benefit, as archaeological sites, artifacts, rock art, and Native American remains will be protected.

I have always been concerned with the internal and external factors that help Natives succeed in environments that are, or can be, less than welcoming through overt actions of coworkers, supervisors, and Institutions. During my time as Program Service Coordinator at the University of Idaho's Native American Student Center, I conducted my undergraduate research, *Native American Males in Academia: What went right?* I compared two American Indian males with Masters Degrees who came from two very different backgrounds. One was raised on the Rez (reservation), where he grew up sweating with the old men and learned

weaving from his aunties; the other was adopted by a mixed race couple in an urban environment. My research indicated a strong support system assisted in success of both men. In the case of the reservation raised male, family support assisted in his success. In the case of the urban male, mentorship throughout college assisted in his success. Also, humor played a role in sustaining both through the hard times. Interviews indicated the use of humor and the ability to laugh at one's self, and to not take one's self too seriously were key in maintaining stability. On the reservation those who take themselves too seriously or think they are above others generally get a healthy dose of shaming through merciless teasing. As Nez Perce elder Leroy Seth states, "Humor is medicine to us."

Identification of the experiences that motivate a Native ranger to remain in the Park Service is essential for the development of the Native rangers. Understanding these motivations can also benefit the guest and, ultimately, the Park Service. Further, it is imperative to identify what has been said or done that might discourage Natives from seeking employment elsewhere, or behaviors and policies that may eventually drive them away from careers in the Park Service.

I sought to ascertain how these Rangers develop their interpretive programs; were they encouraged to follow a passion, or asked to follow a seasonal topic or pressing issue that the Park was experiencing? Did the degree of freedom they experienced in choosing a topic equate to the level of satisfaction they derived from their position? Did they avoid Native themes if the Park they work at was not located on or near their homelands? If they did indeed interpret Native themes, did they interview local tribal members and elders? Did they experience resistance and if so, in their opinion, why were local tribes reluctant to share knowledge, traditional or otherwise?

If, in fact, these rangers work within or near their homelands, do they develop interpretive programs directly from their family or tribal history? If they work with, or train non-Native or non-tribal member rangers, how do they encourage appropriate and accurate interpretive programs? Are non-Natives discouraged from interpreting tribal issues or sensitive topics? Or are the non-Native rangers mentored by a Native ranger who approves the content of certain stories?

I was also interested to find out what combination of mentoring, academic achievement, and family or Tribal/Nation support could assist an individual to succeed against

the duel odds of the white, male dominated Park Service. I hoped to gain access to statistics that documented the percentage of Native American Indian Rangers who were employed by the Park Service. What was the percentage of rangers who were permanent, and what was the percentage of seasonal rangers? If they were seasonal, how many years had they returned to their position? Was it their desire to eventually hold a permanent position? And finally, how did those rangers acquire their position? Through what program were they eventually hired and made permanent? The options for positions were the Student Temporary Employment Program (STEP) and the Student Career Experience Program (SCEP) replaced with the Pathways program in 2012, or military preference.

So, while investigating the challenges of a Native ranger in a predominantly white/Anglo institution, and in the interest of continuity of Native cultural preservation, the primary focus of this thesis research is placed on retention strategies for those rangers who have succeeded in becoming permanent Park Service employees. Did they use the formal Park Service Interpretive "formula" or did they use a more "Indigenous" interpretation style? What can be done to develop the skills of seasonal Native rangers to help them succeed – maybe even motivate them to seek a permanent position with the Park Service? Whether it is one or more mentors, or a group of one's cohorts, or a combination of the above, something must be done to insure the success of Native American Indian Rangers. The benefits to the Park Service, the Park visitor, and finally the state of cultural resources, would be immeasurable.

Key Research Questions

The questions I ask will hopefully identify and quantify in some way gained the level of job satisfaction Native American Indian Rangers experience. Is it through the amount of freedom they are given to develop programs such as using an Indigenous paradigm or ways of knowing from which they have a personal, family, or tribal knowledge? How is satisfaction achieved? Is satisfaction and success attained through mentorship, a Native American supervisor, or simply through a strong sense of family or tribal support? A discussion with Iris Pretty Paint (Blackfeet) precipitated the proposal of the possibility of a concept of an Indigenous versus a western formula to assist Native students to "acclimate" to a University environment. I propose to take this concept further in that there may be a type of "Indigenous formula" which may assist Native Rangers to succeed against the aforementioned duel odds

of the current Park Service climate, and thus provide a strategy for those rangers to succeed in becoming permanent Park Service employees.

Through interviews with Native American Interpretive Rangers in the National Park Service, I hope to bring the strength of two diverse but significant voices into an interpretive program that can both serve to protect threatened cultural resources (as an example, currently 70% of California's rock art has been destroyed, either vandalized or looted) as well as through Ranger-led interpretative programs. If Indian/Indigenous interpretation is understood as better able to authentically connect visitors to cultural resources and thereby connect Indians of today with those threatened cultural resources, perhaps the Park Service will see the importance of hiring more Indian/Indigenous Rangers. Rather than simply making term and temporary Rangers permanent, perhaps the Park Service will finally advance those permanent Rangers into lead, superintendent, and executive positions. In this manner Indian/Indigenous Rangers (and those who hope to have careers in the park service) can use those positions to improve Park policy both from the top as well as from an Indigenous perspective, bringing an Indigenous way of knowing to both visitors and non-Native rangers. If non-Native Park Service supervisors and park visitors are enlightened with respect to Indigenous methodologies or simply 'ways of knowing' of *present day* Native American's current connection to the land, all will benefit. Furthermore, if those cultural assets of the past are *seen* through Native American ranger's interpretation of those resources, then communication, cooperation, and understanding will most certainly follow.

However, it has become obvious through very recent developments that people of color feel a 'disconnect' towards the Nation's National Parks. Unenthusiastic magazine articles, books, and park surveys on this topic emphasize the struggle the National Park Service has with recruitment of park visitors of color. This dialog between Native American Rangers (and other ethnicities) and non-Native supervisors, and those in executive positions as well as park visitors, uncomfortable as it may be, must occur. If the Park Service is to survive when the 'minority' becomes the majority and that majority, the people of color in this country will either embrace their National Parks as an extension of themselves and a connection to their history, or will they refuse to support a Park system they perceive as a source of historical trauma, raised on a foundation of manifest destiny and colonization?

The Death of Indians and Indian Land: The Birth of the National Parks

> "One imagines… by some great protecting policy of government… a magnificent park, where the world could see for ages to come the native Indian in his classic attire, galloping his wild horse, with sinewy bow, and shield and lance, amid the fleeting herds of elk and buffalo."
>
> – George Catlin, 1832 *North American Indians*

> "When you walk into any natural, national park you're walking into somebody's homeland. You're walking into somebody's house, you're walking into somebody's church. You're walking into somebody's place where they've lived since the Creator made it for them. And so you're not walking into a wilderness area, you're walking into someplace that has been utilized for generations upon generations in every form you can imagine."
>
> – Gerard Baker, 2009 (Mandan-Hidatsa)

Although it did not achieve National Park status until 1890, Yosemite was created in 1864 by Abraham Lincoln, ironically known as the "The Great Emancipator." In this instance, Lincoln was aided in part by the Army's "Mariposa Battalion," which participated in what later became known as the Mariposa Indian War. In this conflict, Miwok villages were burned so as to freeze and starve the Miwok into leaving the spectacular Sylvan Meadows. In the Yosemite Valley the Sylvan Meadows had transformed not by accident, but through Miwok horticulture. The battalion was involved in invasions, lynching and slaughtering 23 Miwok who refused to leave their homelands. According to Lafayette Bunnell, a physician with the battalion, he "considered himself sympathetic toward Indian victims of government policy," but the doctor's bland description of a lynching betrayed his true feelings. He stated at best, "an old squaw was a peculiar living ethnological curiosity," at worse "redskins plundered, murdered, and committed atrocities." They were "superstitious, treacherous, cunning marauders, yelling demons, and savages...overgrown vicious children on who moral teachings had no effect. [And felt the need] to sweep the territory of any scattered bands that might infest it." After the slaughter of the 23 Miwok, Bunnell boasted the battalion suffered no casualties and that no prisoners were taken (Keller-Turek, 1998:21).

According to the National Park Service website *America's National Park System: The Critical Documents, Chapter One the Early Years 1864-1918*:

> The first movement to create a park came amidst the Civil War. Yosemite Valley had been first entered by Americans chasing a band of Indians in 1851. Within five years the situation at Niagara Falls began to repeat itself.

> Claims on the valley lands were filed and tolls charged. Haphazard tourism began even as the fame of the valley spread to a wondering and suspicious East. Concern for this amazing spectacle and its availability to all comers led Congress to withdraw the lands from alienation in 1864 and turn over the valley and a nearby grove of giant sequoias to the state of California as a public park. The state would continue to manage this first federal withdrawal for a park until 1906 when it was merged with Yosemite National Park (America's National Park System, 2000:01).

There seems to be a disconnect between the purposeful burning, freezing, and starvation of an agricultural Indian Nation and the eventual slaughter of the 23 Miwok and the Park Service's account in the above quotation that states the Yosemite Valley was entered first by Americans chasing a band of Indians in 1851. This is a theme that runs throughout the thesis – the removal of Indians from their lands for parks, which continues to this day; the Park Service's minimization or denial of unpleasant events and refusal to have those uncomfortable yet necessary conversations. Today Miwok Indians at Yosemite demand their story be told accurately and their culture be recognized; but according to a former Miwok Park Service employee the Yosemite history is a painful one and must be told carefully with Miwok input so as not to re-traumatize the living descendants. The assumption is that the Park Service does not have the sensitivity to tell this story. This is another theme often brought up in Native conversations; non-Natives do not seem to comprehend that through oral tradition and repetition therein, ancestors from generations past speak and are therefore alive and in the present. To relive the murder through the telling of burning, freezing, and the starvation of one's relations is another form of historical trauma.

According to *Takini's Historical Trauma* webpage, it is Dr. Maria Yellow Horse Braveheart who first conceptualized historical trauma in the 1980s. Historical trauma is defined as "The collective emotional and psychological injury both over the life span and across generations, resulting from a cataclysmic history of genocide." There are six phases of unresolved grief from the events of historical trauma. The first phase is contact with other cultures during the Colonization Period, which included death from diseases and traumatic events such as massacres, and the denial of time for grieving without the possibility for further loss of family or life. There was also a loss of physical and spiritual sustenance through economic competition.

The second phase was the Extermination Period, which occurred through invasion, war, and “refugee symptoms.” These symptoms were characteristic of the third phase, the Reservation Period, together with the fourth phase, the Relocation Period and Forced Dependency on the Oppressor. The fifth phase, the Boarding School Period, destroyed family systems through beatings, rapes, loss of language and religion culminating in “identity confusion.” The sixth phase was the Termination Period, which included forced relocation to urban environment and loss of community.

The “Intervention Model” offers hope for healing the effects of historical trauma through confronting the trauma and education, which increases awareness. Sharing the effects of historical trauma provides relief and “grief resolution through collective mourning/healing creates positive group identity and commitment to community.” Again an unpleasant conversation that I believe the Park Service must initiate to begin healing the wounds of many people of color, not just American Indians (Takini’s Historical Trauma, 2013:1).

In 1872 Yellowstone National Park was created by Ulysses S. Grant and is considered the first National Park in the history of the world. Shortly after the Park’s creation, Superintendent Philetus Norris demanded the expulsion of the Lakota, Shoshone, Crow, Bannock, Nez Perce, Flathead, and Blackfeet Indians. Norris stated "Yellowstone is not Indian country and no natives lived in the Park, and any that did were harmless hermits" (Keller-Turek, 1998:23). Belying that statement, Norris not only built a fort, but also considered firearms necessary defense against the "harmless hermits." Norris also created a myth that persisted for decades that local tribes there “had taboos against the geysers.” Through this myth, Norris justified excluding local natives from involvement in Park activities as well as exclusion from employment. There were pervasive misconceptions initiated by whites that Indian fears of evil spirits or superstitions kept them out of, ironically, the most desirable lands for gathering and hunting. Rangers and guidebooks, Yellowstone Superintendent Horace Albright, Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall, and scholars like Ake Hultkrantz repeated these myths. The promotion of Indians fearing certain lands justified the lack of Native presence in the parks until the Fred Harvey/Santa Fe Railroad and Louis Hill/Great Northern, Indian as Entertainment era (Keller and Turek 1998:25).

According to Gerard Baker (Mandan-Hidatsa) former Superintendent of Mount Rushmore in *National Parks: America’s Best Idea*

> In the early days of the National Parks, the Indians were brought back not as a people who would tell their story, but as somebody who can dance for the tourists. This was their homeland. This is where they had lived. They got removed from those areas, and what the National Park Service did was bring them back in for the tourists. And of course at that time, the most that people knew about Indians were the northern Plains Indians with the war bonnets and the bells and all the feathers. They were there in their feathers, their markings on their faces, their bells, their drums. They were expected to be the "Indian." To sing, to dance, and to use the terms that the tourists would be using in those days, for instance to say "How." That's all they would say. That's what attracted the tourists to come there, not necessarily to learn that much other than to take their pictures and to see them dance. And so that's how they were *used* (Burns and Duncan, 2005:58).

Another theme in this thesis is my choice to not excise parts of 'the peoples' stories that I might determine erroneously *at this point in my life* as unimportant or repetitive. In the book *For Indigenous Eyes Only: A Decolonization Handbook,* CHiXapKaid- Michael Pavel (Skokomish) writes in his chapter *Decolonizing Through Storytelling,* "Storytelling became an instructional technique, enabling the listeners to visualize the knowledge that needed to be preserved and passed on." And "Pace and repetition means that important information is never blurted out but is shared in a slow, enunciated, rhythmic, ceremonial speech pattern" (127). Throughout the personal narrative section in CHiXapKaid's chapter, after every paragraph where he describes disappointment, discrimination, racism, and finally an academic position despite still being told Indians could not do research on Indians, he states in italics, *All the while, I kept singing and dancing, and learning more from my ancestors who left the stories behind for us to hear, and trying to remember all that I could* (Wilson and Yellow Bird, 2005:127).

Notice in the paragraph from Baker's interview in *The National Parks: America's Best Idea*, the use of repetition about the humiliating use of local Indians by the Park Service. Also he seems to be alluding to the unfortunate habit of the Park Service and the rest of America of stereotyping all Indians as Plains i.e. buffalo hunting, horse culture, headdress wearing, and warring pan-Indianism. Obviously this is not telling the true story of real Indian diversity, a diversity that included transhumance and sedentary agricultural tribes. But where is the pride in having murdered or run off their lands little bands of peaceful root gatherers' and farmers? And so, from the beginning the Park Service rewrote the history of how it accumulated its park land *without saying a word*.

Norris' statement that "Yellowstone is for the use of and enjoyment of all Americans (115)" obviously did not include the use and enjoyment of its first inhabitants. Philosopher Alston Chase, who wrote in 1996 *Playing God in Yellowstone: The Destruction of America's First National Park,* understood the loss "Created for the benefit and enjoyment of all people, [Yellowstone] destroyed a people. Dedicated to preservation, it evicted those who had preserved it. Denied its Indian past, it deprived us of the knowledge to keep it pristine" (115). Chase's central theme states that the National Park Service "aided and abetted by the budding environmental movement" is to blame for destroying Yellowstone National Park.

Chase describes how Yellowstone was destroyed from what it once was. There are now very few beaver due to the depletion of local vegetation. The vegetation was depleted because there were too many elk. There were too many elk because there were not enough mountain lion or wolves to cull the elk herds. There were no longer enough mountain lion and wolves because the Park Service had killed them; oftentimes due to pressure from surrounding ranchers. The circle was broken due to the loss of Indians from Yellowstone, who through their direct influence hunted the elk, which allowed the vegetation and consequently, the beaver to flourish (Alston. 115:1996).

The prevailing government attitude towards Indians during this time is evident by the following infamous quotations

> The only good Indians I ever saw were dead.
>
> – attributed to General Sheridan at an Indian conference of chiefs 1869

> I don't go so far as to think that 'the only good Indians are dead Indians' but I believe nine out of ten are, and I shouldn't like to inquire too closely into the case of the tenth.
>
> – Theodore Roosevelt

> I have come to kill Indians, and believe it is right and honorable to use any means under God's heaven to kill Indians.
>
> – Colonel and Minister John Milton Chivington, leader of the Sand Creek Massacre

One cannot adequately discuss the birth of the nation's National Park system without taking a hard look at the birth of Indian policy in the United States, which occurred concurrently. We see the disastrous consequences for Indian people due to relocation policies, the lack of a separation between church and state, and the overarching belief in manifest destiny. In 1849 Congress transferred the "Indian Office" from the War Department to the

Interior. Shortly thereafter in 1851 Congress passed the Indian Appropriations Act whereby Indian reservations were established. During this time relations between settlers and Indians grew increasingly hostile as settlers trespassed on Native lands, stealing resources and worse.

At the beginning of the 1860s President Grant pursued a "Peace Policy" reorganizing the "Indian Office" with the goal of relocating bands and tribes to small parcels of land and replacing notoriously crooked government officials with Catholic, Baptist, and Quaker missionaries. These missionaries built churches with intentions of converting the Indians to Christianity and encouraging farming. Ten years later, in the 1870s, the policy was regarded as a failure due to the outbreak of some of the bloodiest wars between American Indians and United States (Keller and Turek, 1998:17).

In 1887 Congress passed General Allotment Act/Dawes Act, which imposed the loss of communal tribal lands to an individual-only land title system. "Excess" land was awarded to white settlers, further reducing reservation lands. Because of geography, the Civil War, and determined American Indian resistance, matters did not proceed smoothly over the next decades as railroads, cattlemen, loggers, and miners occupied the Great Plains, the Rocky Mountains, the deserts of the Southwest, and the Pacific Coast. “The names Little Crow, Sitting Bull, Crazy Horse, Custer [Battle of the Little Big Horn now Little Big Horn Battlefield National Monument, Crow Agency, Montana] Bear Paw, and Chief Joseph reflect the bloodshed and military conquest of the 1860s and 1870s” (18). That violent era brought about the end of treaty-making, although 'agreements' continued to be made for another three decades. The early 1880s saw governmental agencies and humanitarian efforts to assimilate Indians into Euro-American society through schools, Christian missions, and industrial training (Keller and Turek, 1998:18).

The general allotment act of 1887 imposed individual land title in lieu of communal tribal lands. Over the next 40 years, land allotment in private tracts would reduce tribal territory from 138 million acres to fewer than 47 million; some tribes lost over 90 percent of their reserves/reservation. Many tribes lost all their lands, others tribes were forced upon reservations with tribes of a different language group, many of whom were traditional enemies (Keller and Turek, 1998:19). According the Jewish Journal, Hitler’s relocation, ghetto, and concentration camp programs were inspired by the U.S. government’s death

marches of Indians to reservations, where their numbers would be reduced through starvation and disease.

The next fifty-seven National Parks saw more slaughter and finally removal of Indians from “Park land.” Eventually, murder was condoned and running Indians’ off of the lands they had inhabited since time immemorial, through less heinous means, happened repeatedly. Locking Indians out of water sources, swindling, and bad land swaps were generally handled by the Army, or the Department of War, which dealt directly with Indian Nations, and was the characteristic modus-operandi. Most of these machinations were blatantly obvious to the various tribes involved, but they were powerless to fight the encroachment, and ultimately the loss of their traditional lands. The tribes that were most often able to maintain their land base were typically those in which various churches held the power in those lands, such as Catholicism, in the case of the Schitsc’umsh/ Coeur d’Alene, the Protestants in Niimiipoo/ Nez Perce, and to some degree the Baptists’ in Apsaalooke/ Crow lands. In the era in which the nation laid the foundation for its National Park System, Native people suffered immensely. The "crown jewels" of Yosemite, Yellowstone, Mt. Rainer, Crater Lake, Mesa Verde, Olympic, Grand Canyon, Glacier, and Rocky Mountain *had been* Indian Country in 1850, a homeland, where the bones of their ancestors lay (Keller-Turek 1998:20).

The Interviews

Due to the nature of these interviews, this thesis, this story, is told through multiple voices; my voice, the voices of the people, as well as stories told to them by their elders. This thesis is a collaborative construction of many voices, from many different tribal nations. I have left all responses to questions untouched. The only words excised are names or other distinguishing comments. As part of an Indigenous methodology, much of the upcoming chapters convey the voices of the interviewer’s questions and the responses of the interviewee, un-mediated by someone else’s interpretation. The choice of using Indigenous research methods is further discussed in chapter twelve “Methodology.”

As previously expressed, the teachings meant for others within the “storytelling” may not be apparent to me. And I felt I owed my “co-researchers” the full expression of their experiences, both good and bad, thereby providing a sovereign voice to their story. And it acknowledges the reflexivity and voice of the interviewer, fully honest and very personal at

times. Unpleasant topics such as the massacres discussed in the previous chapter are brought up by several interviewees. These Rangers are the descendants of those massacre victims and their pain was palpable, but crucial to the telling of their story. I interviewed both male and female American Indian Park Rangers of varying ages. One Ranger was just starting a career while another was about to retire. I decided to make these interviews anonymous as I could sense immediately the reticence of the Rangers who were not permanent to speak freely on "difficult" topics such as chapters six and seven, "Park Service Policies that Limit Success" and the dilemma of "Military Preference."

Chapter 2

"Tell me the Story of Your Journey to Becoming a Park Ranger…"

> …so I found myself struggling with 'Do they want me to tell the history that I learned at home?' versus what I learned in books which was pretty loopy, y'know […] Yeah, white washed history. And so, over the years you realize that the public wants both. It's nice if they can hear both. I struggled within myself over quite a few things about, like I wonder how Grandma would feel if she knew I was here talking about things to people—strangers, y'know I didn't feel real comfortable with it. And until I went to a course called interpretive Native American cultures—that's where I got to meet quite a few people from Crow Agency and stuff and realized the struggles that I was going through inside were with everybody—all native people.
>
> – American Indian Park Ranger

> [I had] one really weird experience ah, from a higher up over there. Who asked me one day: why don't you make a coloring book for the park? [This Park is the site of a famous Indian massacre of this Rangers' people] So all I can think of is I'm going to give them a blank piece of paper and a red crayon—for blood and that's all I saw was this. And they were trying to lead the story away from something else and I could kind of understand it now but I would have a hard time still doing it. But yeah, it was like, I—y'know I don't get this. I really don't […] Not until it became part of our park would those ideas become something really function that could be of use over there […] Hey we are still here. We survived here. We were here before then. We're here after that. We do, do these things but we still remember. And ah, so there's looking at a little bit different aspect and I'm okay with that. [We're] surviving.
>
> – American Indian Park Ranger

My first inquiry, "Tell me your story to becoming a Ranger," was meant to relax both myself and the interviewee. Initially, I was extremely uncomfortable interviewing people; it felt invasive. In my personal life I rarely ask questions of my elders, but wait for them to tell me what they think I need to know. I hoped perhaps this first question would take them back in time to the beginning of their careers so that success strategies might emerge. However, I quickly lost my feelings of trepidation as after my first interview at one park, other rangers called out, "When are you going to interview *me*?" and "Interview *me*!" followed by some jumping up and down and much laughter. In fact all my interviews were filled with joking and laughter, even when the subject matter was less than amusing. Indian humor in the face of adversity is a universally indigenous theme.

The first interview (I) as well as the third through the fifth (III-V) were fairly straightforward. I asked my 10 questions and there was not a discernible amount of deviation

from the topic. Interview number two (II) was both difficult to transcribe as well as to code. The interviewee requested an outdoor location and as soon as I said "recording," the Ranger did not wait for a question but just started telling me their story. I believe the outdoor venue was challenging, but if you believe wisdom resides in physical places such as the landscape and those stories and teachings spring from those places, it makes sense. A spiritual person would need to be in those places to both *see and feel* the landscape for the stories to come.

American Indian Ranger I

H: All right. Could you tell me the story of your journey to becoming a park ranger?

I: Okay. Well, it was all by accident. (Laughter.) Ah, if I'd actually known I was going to become a park ranger I would've taken some courses at university but I'd been there for four years. And I would've taken some classes from a man in the Department of Natural Resources who is—He's considered almost worldwide the guru of interpretation. But I had no idea. I was –I was working—I knew I was going to do something with history but I didn't know what. And I had gone into …ah…anthropology and I looked—I jumped around to quite a few colleges, okay? I didn't have like a real plan. (Laughter.) I'd sneak out of there…I'd be (indistinct) It's hard to be owned. It's hard to be …I wasn't used to having somebody over me that tight and I was …I just couldn't seem to grasp that concept.

H: About how old were you?

I: I was actually thirty-two or so. Thirty three. Ah, I went to college because my husband at the time was doing his graduate work and I thought, well, I'll try it, y'know? And, uh, I wasn't promising anything to myself 'cause I'd been out of school for 17 years. So, I was really in the deficit. I was really did okay in high school and everything—got straight As and all that but y'know when you're out of school that long—that's scary. That's a long time. So, anyway, ah, (Pause.) I didn't know that I'd be working here but what I did was I got a summer job working here with the books—sales. And they hired me as the manager. And so, that's how I think—by getting to know people--

H: So like a gift store manager sort of—

I: Yea. Right.

H: Did you buy too?

I: Well, yea, I bought a few books but I mean, I was mainly here just doing the management of the books and stuff and so my daughter actually worked here under uh, the [lead] and the other lady were two tough women. And they were—they handled the money and stuff and they didn't get along and my daughter'd be right in the middle but they told me—they both told me—they only had to show her something once. She was really sharp [as an adult became the leader of her Tribe]. Well then, here I come along (Laughter) and totally different—I just had never—

y'know, like—a lot of us I found out went into history because we didn't want to deal with computers. That was actually a time before computers had really gotten a hold of all of us. And we actually thought there was a field out there where we could avoid computers forever. (Laughter) And that's funny, it's just funny. I don't feel so bad though, like, I remember Dr. [celebrated anthropologist] talking about when he got into anthropology and how he ended up there was he said, you don't even want to know. You wouldn't even want to know how embarrassing it was to know what I thought anthropology was. (Laughter.) And so, that's kinda how I feel. But anyway, they asked me to apply and there was some other—there was another very qualified [Local Tribe] who knew more of the language than I did by far but he had other skills that weren't up to snuff but anyway, he later got in this park and everything but (Pause.) The difficulty was I was a senior in college when this position opened up and so they rated me as a 13, which is college level.

H: Wow!

I: Yeah. I'm missing about five classes about—no probably about three classes to get a degree. If I had not jumped around to all these different colleges I would've had a degree but y'know—

H: So they didn't bring you in as a term or SCEP [student hire with intention to make permanent versus a STEP student hire with a possibility of becoming permanent] a seasonal—they just brought you in-

I: No.

H: Fulltime, you're on board.

I: What it was–it was a MOU [Memorandum of Understanding] with the [excised] Tribe I found out later in which our tribe was demanding that they hire more [tribal members] and that was a part of that effort. And so myself and [cousin] were hired under that—

H: What year was that?

I: The MOU was in the late 80s but this was in 1990.

H: So it took 10 years for the Park to hire—

I: No. Late 80s.

H: Oh! Late 80s.

I: Yeah. '88 '89 something like that. (Laughter.) Yeah, that'd be really bad, wouldn't it?

H: But not surprising! Oops! Better cut that. (Laughter.)

I: Yeah, yeah. No, it's true. It does take a long time. It's like, uhm (Pause) we've kinda just done this trip hammer thing with every superintendent. I have personally and perhaps the area—they hire someone who is demanding more jobs. Y'know, isn't that funny? Isn't that ironic that they--and I actually asked myself –I know when I was first hired and I had really a tough time because I a-not been in the work force a lot. I'd just done odd jobs, y'know. So I was in for a real shocker in a lot of ways because I wasn't use to office politics and stuff like that. I, was in a real protective little world. Little did I know. And then the other thing about it was that I…I just wasn't…I wasn't y'know, really keen to …to—I tried to analyze, y'know, why I was hired. And I think it's because I was a [member of a politically important family]

and my father-in-law was a minister as a matter of fact he was the minister in the film and even though he had his Indian ways and all that, uh, y'know I'd talked confidentially to friends of mine in the park service later and I think I was seen as a [member of a politically important family] … but I married into that family. And I was raised very, uh…y'know to always stand up for my rights and so forth and uh, like my brother was at Alcatraz and he did that very sincerely and with his whole heart, etc. And so that's kinda how we were raised. We were raised as activists. And our dad was an activist. He did the march, y'know, to DC and all that sorta stuff. And he was murdered in the year 2000 as a tribal chairman for [tribal nation] and because—it was just a political coup that didn't want him, the BIA police and all kinds of stuff. Anyway, to make a long story short, y'know, I have this [other Indian Tribe] side of me that was raised very differently than the [other side] and so I found myself struggling with 'Do they want me to tell the history that I learned at home?' versus what I learned in books which was pretty loopy, y'know.

H: White washed.

I: Yeah, white washed history. And so, over the years you realize that the public wants both. It's nice if they can hear both. But ah, I struggled within myself over quite a few things about, like I wonder how grandma would feel if she knew I was here talking about things to people—strangers, y'know I didn't feel real comfortable with it. And until I went to a course called interpretive Native American cultures—that's where I got to meet quite a few people from Crow Agency and stuff and realized the struggles that I was going through inside were with everybody—all native people. So, anyway, the ones who identify with that—y'know, but anyway that's how—that's how I got in. And the superintendent –I was looked on favorably nonetheless. He trained me. He did a lot of things for me that I look back and other superintendents haven't. I got—he would always—like his reports to General Council—and it was a very smart thing to do—he would bounce off me to have me read them. And you look at it, that'd be a smart thing to do.

H: Take advantage.

I: Yeah! Take advantage of why you hired that person, y'know? And so we had—when him and I were here—we had to fight for—it was a struggle, a power struggle because the ones who'd been here already –one in particular who's still—didn't like the idea of this happening and so we always had opposition. Everything that we'd say was—the public would be told that we were unqualified. We were this. We were that. Y'know, all kinds of stuff and that—so it wasn't without—

H: You were a "minority hire?" (Puts fingers around, denoting parenthesis)

I: Yeah.

H: Somebody had said that to me one time "…are you a minority hire?"(Disgusted looks exchanged)

I: Yeah. And it wasn't without struggle at all. And actually, I was the only one on the staff who had a background in history. The only one. But yeah, they were qualified—so anyway, there was a lot of—

H: Jealousies?

I: Yeah. A lot of jealousy. And as a matter of fact, that first superintendent I had, he said this, he said, '[name excised], you just happened to be at the right place at the right time.' And that's, y'know, that's the way it is. It's too bad, yknow? And that's what happened too, y'know?

H: Did you talk to him about the struggle that was going on? Was he aware of it?

I: Oh, yeah. He was. As a matter of fact, he put emails out and stuff—

H: Tried to back you up?

I: Oh yeah.

H: He didn't just say, 'Well, take care of it 'cause these things happen.'

I: No, he didn't. He was there. Now as we go down the years because I've been here 21 years, like, we had a superintendent that was just horrible. He just looked for things wrong, y'know. But, ah, it's ah, it's been an interesting journey, no doubt. But yeah, I had no idea I was going to be working as a park ranger. (Laughter.) I didn't grow up—and I had a really hard time with the uniform. That was my biggest struggle. I was a clothes person, y'know? And I mean, somebody'd say let's go eat up at the casino and I could change in that bathroom so fast—you never saw somebody change so fast—I wasn't going to be seen in public with this uniform on, y'know? But now the younger generations, they're different than me. 'Course, see I had a hang up with the government anyway.

H: People seeing you as the Man. (Laughter.)

I: My ex-husband used to say he was going to take a picture of me putting the flag up, y'know, and blackmail me. (Laughter.)

H: In California, like, there's a Mexican grocery store I would come into after work and I can just feel peoples go (scared look) because they think I'm like Border Patrol or something. At first they have this—immediately they have this scared look, and I just feel terrible. So, yeah, I'm the same way but after that, couple times, I realized what was going on and I stopped doing it because I didn't want people to have post-traumatic stress disorder because they saw a uniform coming up behind them, y'know? (Laughter.)

I: Well, yeah, it goes a little deeper like … y'know yeah.

This next individual started right in to telling their story without my needing to ask any questions so I just let them freestyle. I've done my best to pick out the sections that pertain to the questions I asked as this person did naturally seem hit on all subjects I was interested in asking. However, each section is in actuality a continuation of this individual's story.

American Indian Ranger II

H: ...she had…snake medicine?!

II: Yeah. Well she had something that pertained to snake medicine. Or actually, something—she had a medicine that snakes pertained to…is how it should be said. And I can't reveal what it was because people do know what that is but kind of keep it hush, hush. And maybe they shouldn't because—may be it could help have a bit of respect for snakes (laughter.) But any way, so yeah, there's some things I use personally …ah that I use in my interpretations

because I have…literally fulfilled what I started out to do and that was to become an artist. (Pause.) And I went to the Institute of the American Indian Arts and took (indistinct) painting, drawing, all of that. I ah…had a…a nifty lady down there who liked to have (indistinct) course and she would tell your—she would delve into your tribal…history and ah, material goods and how they were manufactured and come up…get a paper done, manufacture something. That was neat. …and so, she—

H: Reproduce it or use it as sort of a guide?

II: Ah use it—use an artifact as a guide but reproduce something like that. And ah…and write a paper on it. It was a neat idea because people are going to (indistinct) themselves or they knew about it. I said do you want to call home? May be you know some elders or elders know something about that. She gave them every avenue to go get the information. That was a neat thing to do, y'know? And I've used that idea ah since but…I graduated from my—back in 1977 and…graduated again 1988. I went down for curatorial ah…studies under [a guy] down there who actually fairly well known and…at some point in time before that and after '77 I got into other…park or other museums. Because I'd worked with the museum at IAIA …and it came up and had a ah…job over in the Cultural Center when it was first started—it was just built. I mean, the building was built. They had to put the whole insides together. And so I had information on building cases and putting up displays and how they should look. And so I got hired on over there. And it was rather interesting because the artist they wanted to hire was Yakima. My first job was to go and find this artist and have him get hired. Then I'd be out of a job. (Laughter. Pause.) Never did find him. Anyway I worked there all summer and worked on vignettes and other items and the museum there was—actually one of my teachers from the Institute of Native American Arts had come back to work at his museum—tribal museum. And he had me hired on basically and I worked with him.

H: Pardon me. Was that a National Park in a museum?

II: This was Tribal Cultural [museum] and so I worked over there. But they were also getting help from a ah…national park curator—regional curator …and he had a….was helping guide things along and everything because he had all this experience with curatorial and I—even though, I mean, at that time that…tribal museums run by tribal entities were fairly new. And they had lots of collections but it was fairly new to them and the reason was at that time (indistinct) and coming around these modern museums—

H: So actually they had to curate their own collections?

II: Yes. (Laughter.) And now they were curating their own collection down there and they were gathering material. It was rather interesting. There was three big vaults down there at one time. And they were totally empty except for few items. So they were just starting ah literally starting to collect their own items and their own museum. And anyway this kind of (indistinct) finished the job over there. I was the last artist working in the museum actually when they opened it up and ah, they came in and literally kicked me and my rolling tray of paints out the back door while they snipped the ribbon in the front door. …And I didn't finish one painting over there. I mean, I finished them all except for one. And it was—

H: That's too bad.

II: And never did get to go back.

H: That would've been a really beautiful opening with you over there painting, people could talk to you.

II: Anyway, anyway, ah…the regional curator of the Pacific Northwest at that time said, said [your Tribes'] Park is building a new museum and they could probably really use you over there. I mean this job's kind of done over here. But you can go over there. And…probably get right on and literally I did. Actually I came over here and I think within a week I was hired here. And I worked at as—at that time the park had been open but they were still just barely finishing things off. They'd been open about three years. But I came in as a cultural demonstrator.

H: Not as a ranger.

II: Not as a ranger. And so my—

H: Were you a government employee or were you—

II: Yeah.

H: Tribal employee—

II: I was a government employee. I was hired by the park. And I worked three summers at that. And ah… actually between two of the summers I spent as a contractor for the park and actually bid on a contract and got it. And it was making a seasonal display of what would be found or used in that season in these cases. And I helped build the cases. And I put the items in there. I made miniature items of stuff to display for the different months. And it was around for may be fifteen years and then the park service actually gave it to the tribe and the tribe has it up [within tribal boundaries] right now. So it's not being disused it's just has a new location (Indistinct) I like that. My work's getting around. Yeah, and—

H: Not in a backroom somewhere.

II: Yeah. So I've done things (indistinct) some glass work out there. Drawings…painting ah, creating items …ah…I've leather worked with—so I've used all sorts of materials ah there's actually I was learning from my auntie ah…the stuff that she told me before she died. I was still able to use that information she give me. I've used information that my father had given me, actually both my fathers. My adopted father (indistinct) ah…and it was great, y'know? And I was doing all this singing and talking to people and telling them about the item and talking about things they know. Would be done. Could be done. And to compare with their own culture what they had like that. (indistinct) We call them *parfleche*, but it's a suitcase. But our suitcases could hold two different things. And yours probably holds some other things but doesn't match. One of ours might hold food. The other might hold a plate. And he says what would you put in it. Your stuff. Well that's it? Whatever you have. Whatever you had you organized. Because you organize. And then I tell them that y'know organization of self. Ah, your family, your family's in a group. The group is in the larger group. And so, it's been really interesting and enjoyable doing this and putting that information to use. …And you're able to use it and not just the information but also may be organizing your group and telling them why they should be organized and stuff. And why you pay attention to these items. Because if you miss something, you might miss… something important.

H: You don't want to have to remake a pestle.

II: Yeah. (Laughter.)

H: That would suck.

II: Yeah, and who was it? They were just telling me today that they'd found a pestle in their yard up here. [Local Tribe] found it. They had one [pestle] coming out of the ground and this campsite is huge. It stretches from one end of the creek to the other and up and down the river. It's like that one archaeology man said at the university said, there's only two archaeological sites on the river. The north side and the south side. (Laughter.) And he's very right that. He was always very respectful of the culture and stuff. I always thought that was a neat insight that he had. And I thought about it and I'm going, yeah, you're right, y'know? You got it. We're all over the place. And having come into the park service one day they asked me and I'd actually gone back to school here. They asked me one day, they said… there's a position for a ranger over at [massacre site] National Battlefield. That's another park that is part of our story. Would you like to be a ranger? … Took me about 15 seconds to make up my mind that I was going to leave school and go work for the uh, national park service. And so my first job in the park service beside a cultural demonstrator was to be a ranger in another park.

H: What year did you become a ranger?

II: Oh honestly, 1980—jeez it's been so long! What is it? 26 years…1980… 1986 87, something like that, yeah.

H: So your journey to becoming a ranger you were—

II: It took a few years but all said and done

H: You weren't really looking for it. It's kind of found you?

II: It kind of found me one day. And at that point and time, ah, right now if you were to go out and look at natural resources and stuff they have jobs that will lead to being a ranger or something (indistinct) but at that time I never knew that. And I don't think they did either at school. But I had history under my belt most (indistinct) history. So I was kind of heading that way. And I got it. Out of the blue. I don't know. (indistinct) ranger and that is how I became a ranger at [massacre site] National Battlefield which has a very tragic story to tell about what happened to our people and literally I go over there—er had a really great experiences and one really weird experience ah, from a higher up over there. Who asked me one day: why don't you make a coloring book for the park? So all I can think of is I'm going to give them a blank piece of paper and a red crayon—to blood and that's all I saw was this. And they were trying to lead the story away from something else and I could kind of understand it now but I would have a hard time still doing it. But yeah, it was like, I—y'know I don't get this. I really don't.

H: How do we make this—ah fun—happy—

II: Happy Park. And this is not a fun happy story here. We do have a time here and if you think about it and when did come to be here before the war ah you had everything going on besides a massacre there. So I had to think y'know a pretty board aspect and think about even our culture today which is what our park is about over here. Over there it was about a set battle at a specific point in time. And not really alluding into the future for us or the way, way distant past. Not until it became part of our park would those ideas become something really function that could be of use over there. And now you do have some of that stuff. Hey we are still here. We survived here. We were here before then. We're here after that. *We do, do*

these things but we still remember [said proudly] And ah, so there's looking at a little bit different aspect and I'm okay with that. [We're] surviving.

American Indian Ranger III

III: uh…I was working in –with the tribe, I was working in finance. I did finance for 20 years. I was working in ah, payroll…I was a payroll supervisor. I'd worked my way up from all the different levels of finance. Basically was at a point where I wasn't going to go any higher without a CPA degree. And, uh…I hate numbers. (Laughter.)

H: That's why I went into anthropology…(Laughter.)

III: Yeah, my daughters were in college. And they knew I didn't …y'know, I didn't want to spend another 20 years until I retired doing finance knowing I was never going to go any higher. I was already a supervisor and I—that was it. That's all I could do. Ah, I could've stayed there. I was as tribal member working in a tribal job but y'know you…I would've been fine. My job was secure. But it was boring! (Laughter.) So, my daughters talked me into going back to school. I went back to school and …

H: How old were your daughters at the time?

III: oh, probably….19, 20. They were just in college themselves.

H: How old are you? Sorry to ask.

III: Uh, I'm 49.

H: Oh I thought you were more like in your 20s.

III: Oh bless your heart!

H: I thought you were like a really new hire here.

III: No. I am a new hire. But I'm a new—

H: New old hire?

III: New old hire. (Laughter.) So anyway, I went back to school. I had no idea. I mean, I have a degree in graphic arts but I only did that for a few years and ended up in finance. Don't ask me how that happened. But I ended up…going back to school so I had to start from the bottom all over. Get all my core classes and all that good stuff. Had no idea what I was going to school for. We'd always had this joke, y'know, what're we going to do when we grow up? Well I was going up (noise) I have no idea what I'm still going to do. So anyway…ah, I took a really good history class. I mean, I really liked it. And I ended up taking a lot more history classes and so I went with social science with an emphasis in history in LCSC—Lewis and Clark State College.

H: Who was your history instructor that really moved you?

III: Ah, [name excise] Anyway, so uh…I had heard that well, y'know the park service here is only 3 miles away from my house.

H: Perfect.

III: Yes. And they hire college students for the summer. So I applied for a college job. Well, at that point they had a…uh…y'know positions open so I applied, I got interviewed, got the job and they were all happy camper. So but they liked how I did—worked the first year

and so they offered me a SKEP position which is actually a contract position. Y'know how all that works? So I did that—

H: Sort of. (Laughter.)

III: It's not going to work that way anymore but—so I had to sign the contract saying I would graduate on time, I would keep my grades up, I wouldn't change my course schedules, I wouldn't blah, blah, y'know. Did all that, graduated last May…and became a full-time park ranger. Actually, I'm a park guide. I'm not a ranger.

H: Oh! I've never heard of that.

III: Yeah, I'm a guide. (Pause.) There's only so many uh, the budget only allows for X amount of rangers.

H: And is that less money for you as a guide?

III: Yes, I'm a less paid guide.

H: Are you GS…?

III: Ah, I don't even remember. (Pause.) Something like—I can find out –

H: Well I started out as a GS-5 in interp. And then I got moved to a VUA status which is the same exact job to a GS-4.

III: Boo.

H: Yeah…

III: So anyway, ah…(Pause.) I'm a guide.

H: Do you anticipate moving to ranger position?

III: Yes. They've already talked to me about it. They are uh, a couple people that are looking at moving on or retiring or whatever and I would move –hopefully—into a park ranger position.

H: Will you have to apply for that ranger position? Will they open it up?

III: Yes.

H: To all…

III: I'm not real sure—the way they made it sound is I would have to apply for it. But they're trying to…do what they can. (Laughter.)

H: Word it in such a way—

III: Yeah. (Laughter.)

H: "Must have experience doing cradleboard interpretive programs"

III: You must have…history with the [local] Tribe and y'know—

H: Speak [the local tribal language], yea (Laughter.) It's unfortunate that has to be how it is. [No Native preference]

III: So anyway, that's how I ended up as a park ranger.

Superintendent, Non-Native IV

H: Sorry. Okay. So the uh, wacky first question is: Could you please tell me the story of your journey to becoming a ranger and working for the National Park Service?

IV: Sure. My father is a retired park ranger and I was born in [a national park] and grew up in a [national park]. And my mom was the executive director of the History Association in [a national park]. So both my parents were involved in national parks. And…when I was a sophomore in college my dad retired. My parents moved out of [the park] and uh, when I came back from school that year and I was going to stay with them for a while until I had found a place to live. It was the first time that we didn't actually live in a national park. And that was ah, kind of an epiphany for me. That if you wanted to work and live in a national park you had to actually work for the national park service. (Laughter.) Oh, ya jeez. I just get to live in the park. So, I had finished ah, an Associate's degree at the Community College here and then uh, I decided I would pursue a resource management degree at the forestry school at the University to get some sort of degree that had something to do with the resource management –park management. So I got a degree uh, and it's called Recreational Resource Management back then, I think it's called –I don't know what it's called—Natural and Conservation Management or something now. And started applying for jobs. First with the Forest Service, I had a couple of summer jobs with the Forest Service and then with the National Park Service. My first job was in [a national park] Ah, I was on the road crew. I was a laborer. I worked seven years seasonally [there].

H: Wow!

IV: Yup.

H: So you didn't get the—sometimes nepotism is talked about people sort of (whoosh noise).

IV: Yeah, no. My dad had retired by then. (Laughter.)

H: He didn't have any pull then.

IV: Yeah, plus, y'know nepotism is a weird thing. I mean, I think it's one of places where the Park Service does actually—yes you probably have more advantage if people know you or know your spouse but you still have to have the qualifications for it. And while I was in [park] I got an opportunity to work with some of the guys ah, that live in the [local] Reservation and probably really my first introduction to the world of Indian Reservations and the disadvantages of people who grew up on some Indian reservations might have. And this idea that people had this culture that they were very proud of and were trying to preserve and protect and it wasn't easy. And then I got a job in [a park] A permanent job there as the roads foreman. And they don't do much with interpretation of Native Americans. The (indistinct) visitor center had a Plains Indian collection and that kind of stuff but it wasn't really a big piece of what they did. And then I got a job as the chief maintenance at [a park] in Wisconsin. And that park was carved out of an Indian reservation and there were two bands, one on each side of the park. One of them was Protestant and the other one was Catholic. It was very fascinating. Worked with some of the Ojibwa people there and then after that [a battlefield park] where all of a sudden that that because the world. The world became to talk about the [Local Tribe] people and what had happened to them and their lives which was very fascinating because I had had most of my career in a large natural resource parks. So now I was in a park that was about people.

H: What was your position at [a battlefield park]?

IV: I was the superintendent there.

H: Oh, great.

IV: Right.

H: How'd you go—you were the chief of maintenance to superintendent? Is that lateral—

IV: It was a lateral actually. Because the chief of maintenance at Apostles was a 12 and the superintendent at [massacre site] was a 12. And I don't know why they decided to pick me they just did. May be—

H: They've been watching you for years.

IV: Yeah, they had some projects that they wanted to have done and they thought, oh we'll get somebody with a maintenance background, I don't know. But it's great.

Chapter 3

Park Service "Interpretive Protocol" versus "American Indian Interpretation"

> I had to tell the people—especially the people who come in who thought they knew something and they talk about oh war whistles. Now that's a very generic term. There were power whistles used by the men and it's one of those things were this is a physical embodiment of a prayer about to happen at any time or at any time he feels he needs the protection. And that's a little bit more than maybe they should know but they need to know that at least. And then they ask, well how do you use them? Well…that would be dependent on the owner. And whatever guidance he's been given to use it, so…Ah sometimes, you have interpretation out here where people want to know something. Now the Park Service as y'know [wants you to] tell them everything. No, we don't. 'Cause it is our interpretation. It is, we the people.
>
> – American Indian Park Ranger

> There's value in diversity. And I understand that and I see that. By watching visitors—there were visitors for many years who would only tell the white ranger stuff but they wouldn't tell us and then it—it'd be the other way around. It's probably more the other way around now. But the other thing that happened, the only thing I can tell you is what other people tell me. And, like, I had the head of education at [the] College, he used to bring his classes to me, uh, for a number of years. They were potential teachers. And, he'd always describe the students to me and I believe his word was funnier but there were three from [a little town] which is way out in the boonies they're really scary there but, of all the times, that was the most receptive class. They just sucked it up like a sponge. You'd never believe it.
>
> – American Indian Park Ranger

The National Park Service requires all new Interpretive Rangers to take an online course entitled *Foundations of Interpretation Curriculum*, formerly known as *Module 101*. "This module combines the many skills and techniques required to be a competent public speaker with the philosophical interpretive base built in the competencies include Knowledge of the Audience, Knowledge of the Resource, and Knowledge of Appropriate Techniques." When I took the course I was amused when the module stated an easy way to remember the principles and techniques was an algebraic formula! Although I really didn't understand much of this online course, I managed to pass. Needless to say, I was very concerned and anxious when I gave my first interpretive program and my boss stood in the group to listen in (Foundations of Interpretation 2007:01).

I had set up a table with various artifacts, both historic and pre-contact. I had a quiz for the Junior Rangers (all parks have a Junior Ranger program booklet they must fill out if they

want that particular parks badge or patch). I also had photos of rock art that had been either vandalized or looted; in most cases the attempted looting, for example sawing off the face of the rock, had failed and ruined the art. Vandalizing of rock art generally entailed either spray painting or gun shots. I took this opportunity with the parents or adults to encourage volunteering with their home park, and to be vigilant for suspicious behavior or photos of vandalizing on social media.

After the group left my boss came rushing over excitedly, exclaiming I had done a great job by using both tangible and intangible interpretation, that I had certainly grasped the concepts of the module. I imagine I had a stiff smile on my face; I did not have the heart to tell her I did not know what the module or she was talking about. Of course I was also concerned with keeping my new job. Apparently, based on their own personal reasons many other rangers don't really grasp the 'fundamentals' either. The majority of the non-Native rangers I spoke with at the park I currently work (even one of my supervisors no less) secretly and somewhat devilishly reported they did not use the official Park Service interpretive protocol. As it turned out the Native rangers I interviewed did not use the park protocol either, but instead used what I refer to as "Indian Interpretation" or speaking from the heart.

American Indian Ranger I

H: Okay. So this is kind of a wacky question but when I first started they uh had me do this online thing where I had to learn to do the four step interpretive protocol. Where you use formal and informal all these different ah, sort of…almost like a …mathematic equation on how to do proper interpretation. And this made me more confused. And I didn't really follow it because I was just, like, and then my boss came over and watched me doing my first program she said, oh I can see that you're ah y'know, using all the four steps and you're using people's emotions and you're using their memory and your using their senses and I'm like, oh yeah, right! Good. (Laughter.) Well, she was like, I saw you got a high score on that module and I did a good test but it didn't make a lick of sense to me. But I just talked about place, and y'know I was talking specifically about rock art that was being destroyed. People were coming in and destroying rock art. She was so happy that I used that 4-step—do you use that 4-step paradigm?

I: Oh, God…

H: Do you know what I'm talking about?

I: Yes. Yes.

H: You can say 'pass' that question, if you want to.

I: Y'know what happened with us, we actually wanted to be rated better but we were grandfathered into the new the new system they rate park rangers with. We were already here when they started that so we were grandfathered into it. And we used to ask our former

supervisor—she's not here anymore to do it with us. She'd film us but she'd never do anything with it. I don't think she knew how. I really don't and ah…but the one who really made the most sense to me and all the years of park service training is David Larsen. Y'know, that—the tangible/intangible. That whole thing is very uh…y'know, it also says you know what you're talking about. Y'know when you can go from the tangible to the intangible. It says you're comfortable enough with your with your material that you're talking about that you're able to do that. Y'know, and that just comes from experience. Y'know, you can't expect a brand new ranger to be able to do that. It takes—it would take a little bit of practice but that to me is far more sensible and certainly not as confusing.

H: (Laughter.) To make it simple for you, we have an equation. Oh yeah, that's gonna—that was the reason I went to anthropology—no math. Y'know? Really. That's how I started out in it. Oh, only a couple math classes. I think I can do this.

I: It's like in psychology, all the math you have to have to figure out, y'know, about those—Oh! Of all the fields to put math into.

H: Are you responsible for creating your own interpretive program? Are you given guidelines to follow?

I: We were given guidelines but we were also given a lot of free rein. And in that free rein I think a lot of free rein…it caused us to be—never did we, never did we, y'know was there a thought to like stick to the books, y'know, or…y'know what I mean? It was always learning more about our culture always, y'know, with [my cousin] and I both, I mean, he went to the art world and I went more into, y'know, the treaties and politics and that sort of thing. Probably the best reward I've had here was when the Tribe, in our [excised], the lawsuit we had over [at the] River and we won that lawsuit but on one of the times, the battles with the state we used 7 testimonies that were—came out of the memorial of the [excised] Indians which is right here. And this was published in 1911; this is the 64th Congressional Record—62nd Congressional Record. And, they used seven of the testimonies because it had not been 100 years. And I was given a copy of this—one of my daughter's professors gave it to her. They won't even let you photocopy this anymore at [the university]. They're almost like extinct. And we were able to rise it up and the [local] Library published 300 of them. They're all gone now, y'know? (Laughter.) Y'know, what I mean? That, to me, was such a success and it was so rewarding to see. That looked like was fruitless back in 1911 still bearing fruit. And, it's also, we have an employee here, [excised] who is, hopefully will go into law and she just, she just gobbles this stuff up. Y'know, everything I give her on this stuff, it's just like, she's a sponge, y'know? But anyway, it's ah…that's the kind of stuff that's rewarding, y'know…anyway, yeah…I wish I could say I did a whole lot. I don't know. There's a whole lot to do (Laughter.) You do what you can. We've done a lot in the [traditional fishing] area. [archaeologist] and I worked since '94 and we have probably about 14 interviews of [the locals who] used to fish there. And I'm not going to see it during my time here but I'll probably have to work on it after retirement, I'd like to get a nice CD published where those interviews are intermixed with facts about the river and facts of who we are and how we all came from the river, and y'know and this was all under ice for thousands—probably millions of years, y'know? And as the Ice Age receded and people began to come up, y'know, so we're taught that—that our Native belief and everything came from the river. It's always Coyote and Fox or Coyote coming up the river, up the river, y'know? And so, it is the Mecca of the Northwest. It's like what Jerusalem is to the Jewish and Christian Nations. That's

what—that's how important [the river] is. And so that, that—There's still more to be done in that area.

H: Speaking of archaeology…

I: Y'know, there's something about those kind of positions in that area because not too many people go in there unless they're power hungry, aren't they?

H: They like to touch all that stuff and they like to horde it and they like to keep it—

I: And they get greedy. And they steal. They steal. And uh, yeah, it's real—it's a sad, sad field in a lot of ways.

H: I feel like most archaeologists I know are—have the collecting sickness. Well I took this one pestle just because y'know there was no way to determine its origin and you look—and this one [excised] opened his closet and he's got 47 pestles in there. And within 10 minutes, he's showing me all this stuff. To me! And I'm just like—send it back.

I: Yeah, see we told a guy that on the [Local Tribe] Trail in Yellowstone. The dumb idiot, he risked his life with bear to get—there was a marker. It was a directional marker stone. And the guy removed it. And he went on this trail telling everybody what—and when he got here we— everybody told him, you take it back. You put that back exactly where—how it was.

H: Also, you don't know what kind of little spirits are with those little things and they might cause you or your worse—well usually, your family. Not you. You won't get hurt by it. But the people around you start having bad problems.

I: There was a woman came in here one time, she was shaking so hard. She could not calm her hands down. She'd been in like, three wrecks since Boise. She'd bought this necklace at a yard sale for a dollar. And she showed it to me and I could tell there were human knuckles on it and stuff. And I told her to just bury it. I don't care if you have to go right out here—just don't let anybody see you but you get that buried. You get it in the ground. And you get it there now.

H: You have people send things back to the park?

I: Yeah.

H: That they've picked up and they're having problems. 'Course they don't know where they got it from so we really can't get it back. We have so many sites.

I: Or they just don't want to say where they got it from.

H: They send it back. They were having problems.

H: We kind talked a bit earlier but I'm curious to what extent you speak of personal or family history when you do your interpretive programs. Do you kind of avoid that? And try to stick with tribal history or—

I: Some of it I bring in. Not—and it depends on who to. Like, when I'm talking to Indian youth I tell as much as I can about how I was raised. Because—because I think it helps them. Ah, because I, y'know the fact that none of us feel like we were raised traditional, y'know 'cause we were raised in this world. And that that's a common feeling --that yeah, but look at what you did get, y'know? Start looking at what you did get and realize-- as you get older -- you realize that you got a lot more than other people did. But um—

H: You survived (Laughter.)

I: Yeah. But (Pause.) But then to other—strangers—y'know, it's totally different. Now and then you can get some real good dynamics were some people know how to pull it out of you. They really want truth and they want to hear your story or something but that's not every day. That's not an everyday experience, y'know? Normally, ah I draw from—kinda knowing where most people are coming from. We spent $15,000 once on a visitor survey and all of us interpreters could've told the park what people would've said. Well they want to pay $15,000 to read it officially. And sure enough they want to know more about Indian ways and what Indian people really thought, y'know.

H: When I worked at the Coeur d'Alene Tribe of Indians, I was the museum gift store buyer – I did all the books for that. I was kind of museum curator without title—I took care of the museum. Not one person walked through that door when I worked there for six months—a season and during high season and say, "Tell me about the Jesuits!" Not one. Not person asked about the Jesuits. They want to know about the Coeur d'Alene; language, beadwork—and so I started buying all kinds of Coeur d'Alene language books, all of Rodney Frey's books—and we were making money hand over fist in this museum. And you look, basketry, beadwork, where does beadwork come from and I said well I've been doing (Laughter.) But we had the same thing at the park. Almost a million dollar …ah research into what's wrong with the park? And they went through all these different--three or four historians, anthropologist came in and interviewed –Well, you don't mention Natives here. I—my first week on the job I had this Navajo guy come in here and he's says, where's the Indians? And I'm like—and he goes and pointed around the visitor center. They could've asked me in one second what the problem was and they'd spent almost a million dollars and they were all, man! At one of our visitor centers, we have five visitor centers. One had a little tiny case with some artifacts in it. It doesn't talk about the tribes that are still here. It's just, they were here once but we don't--

I: See, one time I was really proud of the Park Service and that's for them doing –interpreting the Native takeover of Alcatraz. They have other interpretations of Alcatraz but they do that one. And I just, y'know, I—I thanked them from the bottom of my heart. Uh, I gave them a letter uh I had my brother write about his experience there—real short –y'know, just page and a half and I donated it to them. And y'know, it was, uh, that's one time that—they went around and tried to find the graffiti that was on there—they put it back—

H: Wow.

I: Yeah. Yeah.

H: Can't remember who wrote the book. I did read a couple books that talked about a couple Indian AIM members wrote books about—

I: They published their own book on it. The park down there. They published their own book. And I think I gave—the original book I gave to my brother and I bought—I took a copy of it—I think I got it in my file cabinet. Yeah. I know I do. I won't bore you with it right now but—it's it's—that's what the Association should be doing. That kind of stuff.

H: Getting people—since we can't use oral traditions—er, we can but it's still sort of—it takes a lot to get that sort of stuff accepted. Like, where I work people read books by white people that write about the Indians. And I can't say I'm an expert about California Indians

but—I don't really know that much about it but I know up here, there are a couple experts and I remember one guy saying "The teme'yenwes is no longer being used!" And I'm like I talked to someone who said they used it for their uncle who was paralyzed. So, sorry! Don't rely on what white Indian experts say. But they would rather have you do that. Cite that as a reference rather than go talk to an elder because it's not written down.

D: I know, I know. That's really dumb.

American Indian Ranger Ii

H: Do you mind if I record our conversation?

II: Go ahead. Go ahead. One of those things that we have looked at around [here] is that…this is a park about the ongoing culture from way back in the beginning all the way [to now] and I've told a lot of people, this park has a resource that can talk back to you. It has its own mind. It's not like a tree…So it's one of those things where y'know what everyone is saying for the moment is right...And it's like, people come up and ask me…how do you say Sacajawea? And I tell them don't ask me because you've got that answer from some other tribe and claimed it was right. It's like you voted in a chief that wasn't a chief—you voted him in. Not us. And then you proceeded to take all our land from us through the use of that treaty right—and through the use of this guy as head of state—like a president. And we didn't have presidents. We had band leaders. There was no chief over all of us. So that's how, we kind of look at those things that we have—we have a say so in what happens in our interpretation (indistinct). Now if one day we say okay we like it because it's ah, blue. Good! Next day it might be green. But both of them are right. So some of it is things like that. That ah, a lot of people aren't (indistinct) One of the things they come through and how do you say ah, [excised] Perce. Well, I tell them it is—

H: PIERCE [purposely mispronounced Perce as "Pierce" a sore subject for many] (Laughter.)

II: That is the proper English mispronunciation of a French word. And they go okay okay I get it. I get it. It's a misnomer. So, ah…right off the bat. It's ah they wonder just about how to label—how to label things. It doesn't mean it. Y'know you call a parfleche? A parfleche when in terms of its original …ah ah parent language—where it came from that is a shield. Not a suitcase. It's just you use the term so much now that it generalizes. Ah, they've done quite a bit of that and I've had to look at it—had to tell the people—especially the people who come in who thought they knew something and they talk about oh war whistles. Now that's a very generic term. They were power whistles used by the men and it's one of those things were this is a physical embodiment of a prayer about to happen at any time or at any time he feels he needs the protection. And that's a little bit more than maybe they should know but they need to know that at least. And then they ask, well how do you use them? Well…that would be dependent on the owner. And whatever guidance he's been given to use it, so…Ah sometimes, you have interpretation out here where people want to know something. Now the Park Service as y'know [wants you to] Tell them everything. No, we don't. 'Cause it is our interpretation. It is we the people

H: Sensitive. Cultural.

II: Yes.

H: Like where sites are? Or—?

II: Things like that. The information and I need you to tell ah…some of the superintendents would come through here I tell them that I would actually give you an interpretation and a reason as why we don't tell them. That will have to be the interpretation whether or not we're giving them the information. We're still interpreting. I will fulfill my role but they're not going to get the information they thought they'd get.

H: Yeah, I had a big big fight with a visitor who came in once where our rock art sites were and I said well I used to work in cultural resources and the situation is we no longer share the information because 70 percent of the rock art has been damaged, looted, destroyed but there is one spot where you can see it. And the guy just—I pay taxes and I just paid an entrance fee and I'm just like, I'm sorry, sir. If you'd like to speak to the person that's the head of the archaeology department you're welcome to do so. I can't give you that information. So, I did have an interpretative program then an informal one where I set up a PowerPoint presentation showing the rock art but not anyway that you could tell where it was located. But people get—they think they have a right to know.

II: And there's a (indistinct) okay we want everything in scientific—we want scientific reasons for all this. And some (indistinct) can't spiritual aspects. Try to measure that.

H: There's no written—story about that.

II: So, I witness some of these things and I go and I have to catch these things and…flag them make sure people understand what they think they can do at this park they can't.

H: Do you have any problem ah, with non-native rangers wanting to talk about certain things that aren't meant to be talked about at a certain time of year or they just shouldn't be talking about period?

II: Yeah, there're some things like that. And ah, ah there's ah ranger who…likes to tell stories. But…that ranger wants to do them when it's not storytelling season. But then I have to go and look around and—it's kind of like I do make an excuse for it. I go look for snow and I'd say there's still snow [on the mountain] it's only supposed to be [told] when [there's snow] I have to go up a little bit further to see that.

H: Binoculars.

II: There's a little bit of snow up there.

H: There's something white up there.

II: At this point and time, you—and the thing is whether I do that or not she'd still do it. 'Cause she thinks that's within her right. And I'm going, not necessarily. Because I know the Salish-Kootenai have a—they ask if they're using their stories in some of the public schools that they only be used during the certain time period. Which is what I think usually is the schools season. Especially over there, y'know, during the summer time when it's beautiful out and no snow to be seen.

H: Yeah, we had a middle-aged white ranger who came in and pretended like she was a Cahuilla Indian down at the sacred spot—which it really was a sacred spot that the Cahuilla did use…I'd say a little watering area. Little oasis. And she would pretend like she was around the time of having her first moon she would talk about what I did today and I'm like,

did you run this past the Cahuilla?! I mean, I was offended. I would never even imagine doing something as ridiculous as that. And no one even had a problem with it. What do you—

II: That'd be. That'd be it—I'd say that's totally nuts. And that she would need to be …told what the boundaries were because when you bring two cultures together there are boundaries. And if you have the boundaries set up and you're not crossing each other than you do not have any clash of cultures. (Pause.) I've never used that term in a sentence before. (Laughter.)

H: Clash of cultures. (Using an adventure movie voice. Laughter.) Seems like, the park I'm at they don't even take a look at—they don't look where you get the information from. They do say that they want you to be using historical documents—it almost is that whole thing where you can't use oral tradition. It's not allowed because it's not a historical document, kinda of thing but neither has anybody ever looked at my bibliography or seen where I got my information from.

II: Yeah…ah information…there's a couple of pieces I use around here that I got from my elder cousin who was my informant. But I've never written it down but I have asked around to other (indistinct) so they would have that information too. In fact, I was going to pass on some information about ah…weddings and part of the (indistinct) rituals that go with an older style and ask them if they wanted—y'know do you want a flute and do you want (indistinct) but I just got a message that they may not be getting married so I'm not going to go with that right now.

H: So you do use some family stories in your interpretation?

II: Oh yeah. Oh you bet.

H: For everyone? Or do you kind of—?

II: No I use it because some of the information is already out there. I mean, the guy that that I use is…and his [excised] name [excised]

H: Can you say that slower?

II: His name is [excised]…and before that I think he was five…five times—the five was his name. And it might've been a spiritual name that he had obtained and his other names were names that (indistinct). Ah, but it was secretive because he was involved in the start of the [Local Tribe] War. He was one of the three [Local Tribe] who went out and raided. Went down looking for a revenge killing with one of the two elders—his uncle followed…and ah, they had paraded …war parade and they were riding at the end with two other uncles and one of them kicked over some (indistinct) and from what we know they were challenged as to their manhood by somebody else in the tribe and so—

H: Oh that was them goading—he was goaded into doing—

II: So they went out after him and they picked up my great great grandfather as their horse holder who was only 17. But before they came back into camp after they'd done this they'd taken his horse and guns ah…they sent him into camp…first. And he came in and told them what had happened and that's when somebody said, ah—you can stop this war. Y'know (indistinct) it's too late now. They've taken the horse and rifle. So he brought it back into camp. So that's kind of his little claim to fame in history is that little part he played there. But it's like up to that point…it might've been able to be stopped. And there's another point

that when the army came…the army had a chance to stop it. The [Local Tribe] brought out a white flag except their volunteer ah…a fired upon the white flag. And that is a no-no but the [Local Tribe] knew that the army used white flags for this (indistinct) the [Local Tribe] were attuned with (indistinct) so anyway ah…yeah that started the whole ball rolling right there and right up to that point they brought the white flag out they could've stopped…but then he shot. And it was, y'know the ball was rolling. There you go on that one.

American Indian Ranger III

H: Ah, Are you responsible for creating your own interpretive program or are you given certain guidelines to follow?

III: I'm responsible for giving my own interpretive program.

H: Do you develop it yourself?

III: Yes.

H: Okay. Great.

III: I talk about whatever I want. As long as I can back up whatever I say as true. I can't just make things up.

H: So ah (Laughter.) Do you have a [tribal member] who looks over your program to verify or whatever or do you have a non-native that does that?

III: I have a non-native that does that.

H: Is that awkward?

III: uhm… (Pause.)

H: Do you want to answer off the record? (Laughter.)

III: Well, no, it's not awkward. Ah, because a lot of people here that come listen to me—actually my supervisor he probably wouldn't've know if I'd said anything wrong. But they tend to—everybody comes listens to your first couple programs and so we have our archivists or the…ah…curator or the y'know and these are people that that know the history. And they've been doing this for 20 some years. They know what they're talking about. What they're y'know—and so they come in and they listen. And y'know they're not really critiquing but they say, oh you might…talk a little bit more about this or you might do that. And they're real helping about it. And so, uh, they've never really been –and they say oh there's some more information here. I didn't know you were doing a program on this but I have this or that, y'know? So they're real helpful that way.

Chapter 4

Cultural Resource Protection: Linking the Past to the Present

> You know we still get people at the [massacre site] who are y'know, well, they [The Indians] got what they deserved and then they come up against, a 19 year old ranger [Local Tribe] girl who says, well let me tell ya—[she shows] some pictures of the people who were actually there. And she shows them pictures of toddlers, babies, and old people. These are the people who died here. You really think they got what they deserved? And people are always like, well, yeah but the [Indian] soldiers didn't and it's like, so here's the people you're calling soldiers. Just guys… y'know, protecting these people.
>
> —Non-Native Superintendent

> I think that—that …in my opinion that it may—it has more creditability if it comes from somebody that has the heritage. But as long as they, y'know, somebody's not feeling guilty about it. And slavery's one of those big issues ah, that makes people feel guilty and they're kind of looking at their feet and kind of kicking the ground, y'know? (Laughter.) And ah, y'know the same thing happens when you start talking about the lost land, Trail of Tears and different things like that and y'know, people start feeling guilty. And—then they may not have any reason to feel guilty. They—y'know, they—they should know the history. Ah, they should know where it stands today and how it's got to where it is today. And y'know, how everybody can progress from here.
>
> —Non-Native Interpretive Lead Ranger

The only book I could find on the topic of cultural resource Interpretation was published in 1999 by three non-Native male university professors Douglas M. Knudson, Ted T. Cable, and Larry Beck. *Interpretation of Cultural and Natural Resources* is a text book obviously used in University classes offering an overview of the history of interpretation, the current principles, as well as future trends in interpretation. However, out of 488 pages I located only one third of a page dedicated to "Tribal Interpretation" and only four tribes were mentioned throughout, and in very little detail. If college students are planning careers in the Park Service (the BLM or other government, state, county, or city entities) that require interpretation it is no surprise that American Indian hiring and consequently interpretation of cultural resources is not on anyone's agenda.

According to former National Park Service director Russell Dickenson in *American Indians and National Parks*, "Resistance to Indian employment exists within the Park Service itself." Statistics from 1992 are consistent with Dickenson's opinion. Of a full time staff of

over 14,000 the National Park service employed permanently 309 American Indians. Currently, there are 401 units in the National Park system (Keller and Turek 1998:237).

In my interactions with park guests concerning cultural resource protection of archaeological sites, when I told them the Cahuilla Indians had a regular transhumance pattern through the current park boundaries and were still in the area coming to their sacred spots in the park, they were most often surprised. Many of children stated Indians were "extinct." Many of the adults were not aware that the whole of downtown Palm Springs (albeit "checker boarded" with non-Native plots of land) as well as the Aqua Caliente Casino were owned by the Cahuilla. There was a lot of tsk, tsk-ing by many over the "plight" of the "poor Indians." When I explained the Cahuilla were far from poor, not only in the past, but certainly not now in the present, again there was much shock and amazement. My intention was not to "educate" guests on the Cahuilla's success but to simply make folks aware that these cultural sites were *alive,* still being visited, prayed for, sang at. They were not meaningless objects or places that had no provenience or direct link to a people.

This was made clear to me on one of my first visits to a Cahuilla oasis. I was out hiking one beautiful morning on an old trail when I heard something unusual. I walked over to the embankment of the oasis and observed four Cahuilla, three men with gourd rattles and one woman, standing on rocks singing to the water. I quietly backed away.

And my question is, as a Native person (a ranger or not), does it make a more effective interpretive program, the act of talking about the lands their relatives walked on and the link to cultural resources? Does that help make people understand that there's a connection from you, that Native individual all the way back to the past?

American Indian Ranger I

H: One thing that I'm interested in—I may as well bring this up now but versus waiting is—I don't know if you can objectively compare an interpretive program you or another Native would give versus the same program a non-Native would give to an audience?

I: Well, well, I'll say it this way: There's value in diversity. And I understand that and I see that. By watching visitors—there were visitors for many years who would only tell the white ranger stuff but they wouldn't tell us and then it—it'd be the other way around. It's probably more the other way around now. But the other thing that happened, the only thing I can tell you is what other people tell me. And, like, I had the head of education at [the] College, he used to bring his classes to me, uh, for a number of years. They were potential teachers. And, ah, he'd always describe the students to me and I believe his word was funnier but there were three from [a little town] which is way out in the boonies—they're really scary there—but, of

all the times, that was the most receptive class. They just sucked it up like a sponge. You'd never believe it.

H: Isn't that funny?

I: Well they have signs in their town about no certain classes of people, y'know? No Indians, no Mexicans, and no dogs. And I've seen just similar. But anyway, he used to—because I used to suggest that—not being the head of interpretation, we had a supervisor. And I'd suggest to him, y'know, Leo, what about having some of the other rangers give the program? And he said, now Diane do you think they could give the program what you give? And I said, well no, but (Laughter.)

H: That was humble! (Laughter.)

I: Yeah, but the point was, y'know, the real part he was drawing from wasn't so much the fact that, that I was [Indian] as rather that I had raised a family in the school system. And my kids' experience over the years and y'know, being able to draw from all that and to tell teachers, hey this is really bad. This is what goes on with you guys, y'know? And this was how the kids see you, y'know? That sort of thing, y'know, was actually real valuable. Whereas, y'know, if you've never had like—[excised] didn't have children to raise, y'know—He had a couple of children but they were raised over in the Valley so he'd never related to kids like that. Y'know what? It's different. My life experience was different and because of my age, I was able to put that program—make it more meaningful. And then also, because I'd raised a pair in [local tribal town], I was able to draw from that, from that perspective as well. And so, anyway, then they hired a Native person in there and she doesn't bring her classes to me anymore but she—I'm sure she probably has a good program. I don't know—I'm not sure what she does but that was smart of Dr. [excised] to do that. Y'know, to come out, him not being Native but being in charge of that—it's actually a real small portion of their whole curriculum. It was under the guise of teaching Native children. (Pause.) But yeah, there's definitely drawbacks to…I mean, I mean, it's one thing to talk about the history, and about the people, but it's a whole 'nother thing to talk about it from personal experience. And like I told you, they, they want to hear that but they also want to hear the book stuff too. It's good to be able to have both. And so I encourage all Native rangers to learn both. Ah, I know we had a real sad negative comment from a …previous generation park ranger who – Native ranger who made a statement of well, we get—I can tell them anything because they'll believe anything I say. That was, that was really, really bad, y'know? I mean, you never quit. I mean, any student knows. You never quit learning. You're always—once you become a real student, you're always learning. You're always doing research, y'know? (Laughter.) Always. Even if you're not in college. Those habits just stay with you, y'know. It's like this file cabinet is full of, of content material. It's full. Y'know there's three colors in government. The green is for work stuff. Blue is for working files. It may look like I have a lot of work but—and then yellow is for your, for your content material. These files are full of different subject matter. And I keep having to add files. I had to ask for a bigger cabinet because—and then this is actually my contribution. Because—although they do this downstairs in the library, they don't do it to the extent that I do. This is on people. The top drawer is on people and oversize back here. And then all the, y'know you can read the labels better than this—like condors—this is a brand new one that has just come up. I got to know David Mullen who—he wants to start a deal like the wolf center but only for the condor. And then, where I met him was at a storyteller's workshop. He, he said a good scientist collects all

the data. Well, for how many years—decades in this country did they, did they not collect oral history? And so he found out that the thunderbird in all the legends is really the condor.

H: Wow!

American Indian Ranger II

H: Do you ever use any personal family history that's…really is...I mean, not…dumb term sacred—you ever share information from your own family to drive a point home about cultural resources or anything like that? Rarely? All the time? Sometime?

II: Yeah. There's a little piece I use and it is about arguing. (Pause) And what it was, actually my children, I had my son and daughter over at [a battlefield park] and…they were pretty young. May be five and six at that time. Ah…maybe six and seven. And they got into a fight. …and…[massacre site] was where the army had came in and attacked the camp in the morning and they killed everybody they saw. Men, women and children. And so I took my kids down to the battlefield and (indistinct) asked them y'know hey there were children down here. That were killed down here. They were shot. Now do you think they were fighting against each other? And they said no. So they were very sheepish after that for a while and quiet all the way back up to the house back up there. So I think I got the message through to them …on that one there. But that is a personal history thing and then you—they ask …what other context—y'know things you've had happen in the past. Well, I've had some (indistinct) I talk about how y'know how you should take care of people. And y'know, you should always be looking out for one and other and especially younger siblings because that's how it was. The youngest on down is how you took care of your family and you looked after each other. And if a young one got in trouble well everybody else got in …because somebody should've been watching out for her. And I telling them that this happened one day to my father who was one of the last people I know to ever get caught in a buffalo stampede. …It was on the Crow Reservation and actually—his dad had taken the family out on a camping trip and hunting. And while dad had taken off in the morning—granddad taken off in the morning ah…Mom and the rest of the kids stayed in camp and baby brother Bob was getting washed in a pail of water…taking his bath and a cow buffalo came into camp and took offense to their being there and started ripping everything up. So everybody ran to a tent. They realized that they had left uncle Bob out on the table in the bucket and my dad had to go rescue him—take care of his little brother. Y'know it's little fun things like that—y'know when you get those stories that are just too good to, y'know, put away. There some neat things…Ah there's one I don't go into the part about this lady's medicine but she did do something that was visible that pertained to her medicine. And…this lady ah, lived ah below our ranch and she had a little cabin down below our family's ranch and ah, my mom and aunt were walking back and forth er actually walking back up the hill one day and my—er say my mother told me it was August…it was about 110 out and she would always remember this 'cause what happened next—they were walking by this cabin and this lady came out—older lady older and she invited us in for tea. And it would be impolite to not go inside but we were scared of her 'cause we knew of her power. Well, they get inside and they follow her in there and I say by this time she was a little old lady. She was only five foot tall to begin with and I show 'em a picture to my mom—my mom was about 4'9" she was a tiny woman and my mom and aunt were behind this lady and she said but this time she was a little old lady, she has a little shawl on. She has a little dress on and she has a fire going in the stove in the cabin and has hot tea on. (Pause.) And she says (indistinct) and what happens next is that there was

a buzzing on the wall and this [Local Tribe] lady turned to the wall and said in [Local Tribe] "Shut up. I have company." What was buzzing in the wall was a rattlesnake she kept in a bag. …And, my mom says I'll never forget that. I remember that lady—everybody remembers that lady because of what she did. And then, uh…if she invited you in she was y'know doing her thing (indistinct) And excuse my little medicine piece over there. And so it was pretty public knowledge back then that what she did with this animal. And she did a couple things that were different I talk about. She rode ahead of the men which usually they wouldn't do. They'd wait behind. Because that was there place in the camp was for the men to be out front and the women behind protected with a male rear guard. And…she rode ahead of the men and she would remove physically off the trail rattlesnakes. (Pause.) So that the men wouldn't kill them. Because we take it upon ourselves when you see a rattlesnake to kill it. (Indistinct) own country in that they often would sometimes they don't announce that they are there. And they strike (indistinct) and they don't care if it's a little baby or

H: The non-rattling rattlesnake.

II: And so, ah they do get killed. And—I don't really don't mind that. Out here in the park, we should be protecting all the animals. But I have now and then had about three rattlesnakes have been killed here. Rattlesnakes have met their death here. And one good snake met his demise one day too. Just because people are afraid of snakes. And I saw something where—this was twenty or some years ago where somebody picked up a…snake and they were on staff and whirled it around their head and smacked its head against the tree until it was dead. And, it wasn't a poisonous snake. It was just how people reacted to a snake.

H: Some gut reaction to snakes?

II: Exactly and that was a purely gut reaction to me. Some person that I know of picks them up by the tail and gives them a little whip when they get really scared. I won't say who that person might be though (laughter).

American Indian Ranger III

H: […] What do you feel …well, ah, helps the visitor connect with the landscape or with the tribes so that—for me interpretation's about protecting cultural resources and getting people to understand and appreciate others. So which do you think is better? Informal or formal [interpretive programs]? (Laughter.)

III: I think it depends on the setting. Like, we go out to the petroglyphs out at on the river. That's obviously an informal setting. And I will, ah, talk to the visitors there about the petroglyphs about what you can see. What you can find. It's…it's an informal setting. Whereas if I were to do the petroglyphs here in the museum, that's a more formal setting. I'd have to do with pictures or…y'know, whatever so it just depends on where you're at. And what your audience is and…

H: Both can be effective?

III: Yeah. …I think the petroglyphs speak for themselves a lot. The area.

H: That gets people connected in and appreciating…

III: It's hard to talk about the swirls in the Eddy, y'know the water when you can't see it. (Laughter.) So, it makes a big difference.

H: This is a problem I had was ah, trying to understand the…park service four step protocol for developing interpretive programs using a uh…what'd they use? This mathematical equation will make it much easier to understand this and I was like—

III: Nobody ever told me anything like that.

H: What? I had to take this test online and—

III: They didn't do anything like that with me.

H: Oh good.

III: They gave me a form and said, you have to fill this form out. And it's like, (Pause.) What's your program? What do you want them to come away with? And then basically, what are you using? Y'know, you had to list like, all your books and your references, and what're you going to use as tools. Y'know, like the cradleboards and things.

H: That sounds a lot easier…it was an online test…I don't think math is going to help me understand this.

III: Yeah we didn't have anything—I didn't have anything like that.

H: Uhm…so, do you use a combined approaches including traditional storytelling, song, playing an instrument or include a demonstration?

III: Yes. I use, what—you'll, you'll see the cradleboards I actually talk about and show you, hands on. This is what I'm doing. This is how it works.

Superintendent, Non-Native Number IV

H: (Pause.) What do you feel is most effective in reaching and or influencing visitors to respect park resources—cultural resources, any resource in general?

IV: Talking with someone. Talking with a human being who can use all the different methods of communication, body language, y'know, inflections of speech…uh somebody who obviously really cares about the resource, about preserving, about protecting the resource. I think that does the very, very best for instilling in that visitor that, y'know, respect. Uh, we do a lot of impersonal waysides, brochures, websites, uh, that's information but that emotional connection y'know, where you're telling people, the reason that we don't let people dig is because y'know, people are buried there. And it's really important that that peoples…y'know descendants who are buried there that people are desecrating that grave. And they're happy to have you go down there but do not dig there.

H: There's been such a long history of digging being allowed through here, that people—I used to do outreach for the university. I was working for the anthropology lab I was a senior research assistant although I did clean the bathrooms quite a bit (laughter.) But we would have a thing at the fair every year. And one year we were doing 10NP102 [late 60s site of an archaeological excavation on the local Reservation] I think it was. And uh, there were still people who were like, well what's the problem with the digging?

IV: Ahunh. Ahunh. We'll y'know, if you can, y'know talk to people and relate it to, y'know so where are your grandparents buried? And what would you think about if, y'know, people regularly went into that cemetery or that family plot or that field and dug around to see if they could find some of the belongings that belonged to those people?

H: (Laughter.) With a metal detector.

IV: Yeah, with a metal detector. What would you think about that? Ahm and that's exactly what you're doing here. Just because—

H: Have you ever said that to someone?

IV: Oh yeah.

H: Do you think it's—this is kind of a side question. Do you think it's easier for non-natives sometimes to hear that kind of story from another non-native person? Where from a native it might be a little bit…

IV: From our experiences this summer, this is the first summer that we've had ah [Local Tribe] interpreters at the [massacre site]. Ahm, I actually think today—may be a few years ago people would have been kind of oh y'know oh who are you to tell me this? But today, for y'know, probably the last at least, ten, fifteen, twenty years if a Native American tell you, listen y'know, our ancestors are buried here. It's not a formal cemetery with headstones so you don't really know where they are. But thousands of years of people are buried on these lands and their belongings are here and that's why we don't want anybody to dig. And they relate that story oh a lot of people are like, (Pause.) Okay. Sorry. Didn't know.

H: "Didn't think of it that way…"

IV: And, and may be make it, uh, a little more personal to them.

H: So actually it's as good or better maybe?

IV: Like if I say it, I'm the park ranger telling them, don't do that. If you say it, it's like, (gasp) oh my gosh, her grandmother is buried out here somewhere! We'd better not dig her up. Y'know?

H: Actually, I—I uh had this talk with a lot of people that come in and…I work in a visitor's center not the gate. So gate people are just doing the best they can to (indistinct) get their money get them through—so what I'm doing is I'm saying is no metal detectors. What?! I pay taxes for these parks. I want to see the rock art or I want to be able to use my metal detector. And I always say, well y'know, people were buried with metal jewelry. And if you pull up somebody that's like a $50,000 fine for a first offense. (Laughter.) Not that I'm going to come out there and ticket you but…

IV: Right. Right. Y'know, I think a personal appeal to the people to say, so let me put it to you this way. You could be digging up my great grandmother and that would be very upsetting to me and my family. Even though they—yeah, I don't know. But you know what I mean,

H: My great grandparents are buried—

IV: Yeah. Right. They're not there. (Laughter.)

H: But you're right.

IV: Y'know that would be very upsetting. How would you like that? And you hear, well y'know, my grandparents aren't buried on public land and it's like yeah but the land is public for everyone and shared by everyone and that doesn't give an individual the right to do something that other people wouldn't like them to do. And that's why we have these rules.

Uhm, y'know we still get people at the [massacre site] who are y'know, well, they got what they deserved and then they come up against ranger [Local Tribe] girl who says, well let me tell ya—some pictures of the people who were actually there. And she shows them pictures of toddlers, babies, and old people. These are the people who died here. You really think they got what they deserved?

H: Oooo…I got to go out and see that in program.

IV: And people are always like, ooooo. Well, ya, but the soldiers didn't and it's like, so (Laughter.) Here's the people you're calling soldiers. Just guys. Y'know, protecting these people.

H: 12 and 13 year old boys protecting their grandma and little sisters.

IV: So you can make those personal connections better when—I think, in person. Plus resource protection, the reason we're here. Uh, better with personal contact. Unfortunately, we don't get to do that. Not as much as we should.

H: I understand that.

Non Native Supervisor Number V

H: Ah, so funding aside, in a perfect, fantasy land world would each park have a person from the local tribe there at all times—if not doing presentations, at least training people or…

V: I think they would either have somebody in the park working it's this—this kind of blend of—of…

H: Park elder? (Laughter.)

V: There a—y'know, they work for the park but they're out there doing, y'know—they got education folks working on—on the reservation. It would be great to have them either working for the park or working for the reservation at the park. Either way. To go out into the public and tell the story. And, y'know, I think on top of it—now in a perfect world—even in a perfect world, y'know, you couldn't—it—it would be very tough to have enough people. But if you had that one person every time. They could conduct programs. They could train others and they could audit other people. And say, say this, don't say that. Y'know, this is good. This would not be. This is actually…y'know, this would actually make it look like this and this is why. What if I said this and it was about your culture? You wouldn't want it to be relayed that way. Then you had the sensitivity training. You have the fact training. You have the cultural training. And y'know…ah, you mix that in with somebody who knows how to speak, who knows how to talk to people and I think that it would benefit also—one of the big benefits would be if a tribe actually had a person that was working on…in a park. Even if they work for the tribe or the park, it doesn't matter—

H: So the tribe has more money, if might make more sense to have the tribe take it—

V: And have that liaison but y'know, they're doing a program. What the best part is the—the person can also go back to the tribe and say, y'know, you—you do this a little differently when you're not on the reservation. Ah, your audience is going to be different. You're going to have people from y'know, people from all over the place in—and they're the ones that come back and say, don't make them feel guilty. Remember. (Laughter.) Y'know? John Smith in Ohio didn't take anybody's land. He doesn't know. He—he and right now he's

grown up in a small, little…ah factory town that half the factory's shut down and, y'know, ah he's went off to college. He's learned what he's learning. In high school they focused on local history and, y'know, he—he doesn't know. He—he may have a connection. He may not. And …you don't want to make him feel guilty. But you do want to know what happened. What happened. How it happened, y'know? And…and that it should be remembered as part of our history. And, ah then that way, that person's able to accept it. They're going to accept it more out of the mouth of a—a somebody that they're looking going, this person should know. Okay. They're going to accept it more as long as they don't feel like…ah, I'm sorry. (Laughter.) Y'know?

H: Can I go home now? I'm—just send you some money or go to a casino…

V: I didn't mean to do it. (Laughter.) And…but right now that's—the—that's probably the only time I think that—that…in my opinion that it may—it has more creditability if it comes from somebody that has the heritage. But as long as they, y'know, somebody's not feeling guilty about it. And slavery's one of those big issues ah, that makes people feel guilty and they're kind of looking at their feet and kind of kicking the ground, y'know? (Laughter.) And ah, y'know the same thing happens when you start talking about the lost land, Trail of Tears and different things like that and y'know, people start feeling guilty. And—then they may not have any reason to feel guilty. They—y'know, they—they should know the history. Ah, they should know where it stands today and how it's got to where it is today. And y'know, how everybody can progress from here. But, it's not a—it shouldn't be a guilty thing anymore. It should—it should—

H: It should be a dialogue.

V: Right. An educational thing that we all understand now and we're clear on. So…

H: I like, you mentioned before about this sort of interface between settlers and native peoples and how…Indians were here and then they were gone. But there isn't really a—a discussion of how they helped each other or how…uhm like back in Idaho, I worked for the Coeur d'Alene Tribe. And they had an exhibit called Sacred Encounters. And it really talked about how all these Jesuits came here from the Old World to see the New World …and along the way they had to some work. These are all kind of liberal guys and what happened was they came to the Coeur d'Alenes to try to convert them but what happened was the Coeur d'Alenes converted them. There was a lot of conversion to…some of Jesuits run off with Indian women ah, started to live off the land and not trying to, y'know, farm it. Ah, but the Coeur d'Alenes did pick up a lot of y'know, pots and pans and other mundane stuff—some did accept Christianity. Some did not. But it was very interesting how ah, this exhibit when it was finally approved was about the interface between the two. It wasn't about them then and these here. It was just—The coming together of these two cultures.

V: We had the same thing in the Smokies. The potato famines and religious uprisings in Scotland and Ireland drove Scots and Irish people to the United States. Well back—y'know—at that period in time, you get off the boats and you're up around New York there were signs up that said, Help Wanted Unless You're Irish, y'know? So they were not accepted people. They were—they were considered—there was a prejudice against them. They moved…out westward…looking for a place they could settle, ah and they got to the southern Appalachian Mountains –now the southern Appalachian Mountains all these hills and mountains looked a lot like their homeland. The English were like, there –there those are

creepy places. We don't want to go there. How could you possibly farm and build a town in the middle of a hill? And ah…but the Scots & Irish were ah…they were familiar with that type of land and they said we have to farm—they could farm corn up there. They knew how to do it. So they started plowing, farming, and…and they were seen as these kind of, oh don't go there. You got these hillbillies up there. But they were accepted…they accepted the Cherokee Indians there. And the Cherokee Indians were not…phased by these ah Scots, Irish people who came in and were real ah clannish, family—they settled in family groups. Ah, they traded with them. They, y'know, ah they didn't like the Europeans that were over on the coast any more than the Cherokee that'd kept getting pushed around and loosing land. And so, y'know, these mountains are ours. Was kind of the way it was. Ah (Pause.) y'know, the—the mountains people ah…the non-native mountains people even during the Civil War didn't participate ah, and take sides. They didn't …have any reason to. It's like, we can't afford slaves anyways (Laughter.) We got 13 kids and ah—

H: That's our slaves.

V: That's our workforce, right there. (Laughter.) And we're planting corn and we can't—we don't have the time to go off and fight this—

H: Fight your silly war. (Laughter.)

V: And ah, there was a lot of this stuff where they were isolated into an area …with people that they—they accepted each other. That part wasn't a major problem so—

H: So is that interpreted at the Park? The Irish and the Indians interface or whatever?

V: More verbally than anyway but I heard it more on the reservation then I did—

H: Was there a lot of intermarrying?

V: Ah, no. Both groups were pretty isolated, y'know. They—they worked with each other. They didn't—they weren't bothered by each other but there was some ah…intermarrying that went on. There was a monogroup that was kind of Scots, Irish, German ah Cherokee kind of group that was down in there. That was kind of mingled. But y'know, the funny thing was is that group actually…went to themselves outside of Cherokee and outside of (Laughter.) But they would work. They all lived around each other and they dealt with each other but—but ah, I think it was just so –each group—the—the Scots and Irish were really I think, y'know and the Cherokee, it really by that time become so shy of any outside group that they just blocked in. But they didn't mind …the—the Cherokee didn't mind so much that this group moved in. 'Cause they were keeping to themselves. They were, y'know, they weren't bothering. They kind of liked that. And they were like, they've got to have a history like ours, y'know? (Laughter.) They weren't accepted but they showed up here, y'know, fine. That's great. Then—but—but then they kind of (Indistinct.) each other off. There was a little bit of intermarriage, stuff like that but there wasn't a whole lot in the mountains there. Ah, but they were both shy of any type of government intrusion or ah—y'know, these ah kind of…English settlers and that type of thing wanting to come in. They—they didn't want anything to do with that because they came in and just changed everything. Y'know, build a city, level a mountain, do whatever you need to do. We need roads, y'know? And railroads and all that stuff and that—that changed the whole—the whole environment, so…

H: Okay, now I've got an official question here now. Ah, (Pause.) I think you kind of answered it but may be you (Indistinct.) What do you feel is most effective in reaching/influencing visitors to respect Park resources?

V: (Pause.) Person to person. Ah…I don't believe in—ah that a book and a stick isn't going to cure anything. If somebody stops and reads a wayside and believes what it says they are already ah—friends of the Park. You've not convinced them of anything. You've not –

H: Preaching to the choir?

V: You are preaching to the choir. (Pause.) I teach every one of my staff and I tell them, I do not need the smartest people. (Laughter.) I need the friendliest. That's it. If I smile and I talk to you enough and I …prove to you that I'm not going to say anything…and I'll tell you I don't know when I need to…but I'll have a conversation with you and I'll learn off you at the same time. And I'll tell you what I do know. Then…(pause.) I do have a chance of bringing somebody around to be a steward of the Park. They don't have to believe in climate change. They don't have to believe everything that ah…that is written or said but I want them to be stewards of our cultural and our natural history. I want them to want to preserve it. I want them to know that it's important to know who was here. (Pause.) Where they went to...even if I don't know all the details. It's important to know this. And that I've convinced them that it's important to know it. So, yeah. The bottom line is that uh…that one on one …situation is the best. The Park Service over the last few years has talked about ah may be the idea of our visitor centers becoming obsolete. And I do not want to hear that. I—I absolutely I—I think we were voted so many times as one of the most…beloved federal agencies, y'know? We get hot competition from the IRS and ah (Laughter.) y'know? And a lot of these other…but the thing is that the reason why people enjoy the Park Service is we greet them. You come here. We've got a visitor's center. We've got a ranger—and a friendly park ranger was seen at the visitor's center. Then you go out into the field and you see them. But you expect to see them when you come in here. And that one on one conversation, that ability to—to for me to tell you something face to face, that is much more powerful than anything we can do ah sometimes in writing, y'know? With the writing, stuff in writing is there for—after I get the people to become a steward…then they'll buy the book. Then they'll go out and walk the trail. They'll read the sign. And maybe they'll believe what the sign says because…it'll be—because I've made –created an inroad.

H: Well, let's ah…(Pause.) Talk a little about table talk versus ah out in the field. And it's been some…drama about this because certain…seasonal ranger who shall remain nameless…told me that table talk wasn't really interpreting but then when she saw ah that I had been talking to 60 to 100 people a day at my table and she was seeing 10 …all of a sudden she …started using my table!

V: Yeah…(Laughter.)

Chapter 5

American Indian Success in the Park Service

> [How do you personally define success?] Well, uhm, I think it has to do with a little bit of your own judgment and probably a little bit of the public's judgment and I think success in life is going to be the same way… […].Y'know I was sitting in [this interpretive program] thing and this guy was really selling his culture out, y'know? I—I was judging him in my mind. […] Well, I was just like looking at him and of course not knowing anything about him and thinking about what kind of a character is this guy? Y'know, I didn't—I was judging him. And, and by the time that ceremony was done I was so humbled and I had to ask forgiveness for judging him […] He was doing a ceremony. It could've been—it looked like a program but it touched you so much that—I'll say I was touched. And I just…it just humbled me, just lickety split. Later I realized what a covering that this man has in today's world. He was probably a healer in the old days. And here he is using the venue of a Park Service park ranger to do his work.
>
> —Native Ranger

> and into the '70s because I'm here. Ah, it's hard. It's emotional. We'll have set backs. But, with sort of this constant …ah, almost—this constant pressure—no we are going to move this story out of the 1700-1800s. We are going to move it into the 20th and 21st century. We are going to do this, y'know. And we're going to do it as respectfully and collaboratively as we possibly can ah we are going to do this. Before I got here…not so much. 'Cause it's hard.
>
> —Non-Native Superintendent

I was interested in whether my Native co-researchers' definition of success would differ from the Park Service definition of success. It seemed likely they would differ, but the Natives were not very adamant about the suggestion. What surprised me was to the extent the non-Native lead and superintendent readily acknowledged the Park Service policies they felt were not successful, problematic or had to be worked around; not only in this chapter but others as well. I believe this may show non-Natives having less fear of repercussion when critiquing those Park Service policies.

Two former Native rangers from two different parks had experiences with both wrongful firing and wrongful accusation of theft. One was actually told they would not be rehired the following year due to the fact the employee was "a trouble maker." When money was missing after a shift where several people were both working on one register the Native person was interrogated and threatened. Later, it was revealed a white male had misplaced the money. According Frank Greve in a Seattle Times article using a study from 1993 by Knight-

Ridder and a follow up study by the US Office of Personnel Management, minorities who worked for the federal government were fired at least twice the rate of whites. Women of color were fired at two times the rate of whites, men of color were fired at more than three times the rate of whites. The US report found "Only Native Americans seemed to be fired at rates comparable to blacks" that is at three times the rate of whites. Helen Duran, president of National Treasury Employees Union chapter 229, states "Managers may be racists but they're adequately sensitized on how not to act like racists" (Greve 1994:01).

I believe if you are a Ranger and you are good at your job, it is hard not to feel successful. Families are on vacation, they're relaxed and having a good time, and are generally in high spirits. But most importantly they count on you to keep them feel safe in an oftentimes challenging and sometimes dangerous environment they are not familiar with. Apparently being a Park Ranger is considered a dream job by many as throughout the day I had people telling me how lucky I was to be a Ranger, and after a little conversation they would inevitably ask how *they* could go about applying to be a ranger as well. For whatever reason, being desirous of your job or the fact that you wear a uniform, I was amazed at the never before respect I was accorded by both visitors to the Park and the Caucasian general public if I was off park boundaries in uniform. I wasn't followed in stores, or asked an inordinate amount of questions if I was returning an item to a store; things that happen frequently to people of color.

Could a ranger make a better living financially? Well, yes most rangers are frustrated with the low pay but the biggest frustration even before the pay scale, is the lack of security in not having a permanent position. A temporary or seasonal position means traveling from park to park every six months. If you're lucky in this arrangement it is always the same two parks but that is not always the case. Some rangers will start applying to as many parks as have openings just to be assured of a paycheck when their time at their current park runs out.

Another sad fact is that lack of employment security seems to make the secure somewhat insecure, and the already insecure oftentimes underhanded and or bellicose. I observed and heard stories of new seasonal temporary rangers coming on board who would attempt to undermine coworkers possibly in an attempt to secure another seasonal position in six months. These rangers were also apt to be combative with guests, which never helps your case with a superior. I don't know if it is a coincidence but the two rangers who were not

asked back who worked at my station were both ex-military and it got to the point that so many other rangers requested not to work with them scheduling became problematic for the lead.

I found myself becoming insecure after several episodes when I was told if student funding wasn't found I would be out of work shortly. On one occasion I was recruited for another division while at my permanent duty station. When I told this person jokingly I already had a job she told me, "Not for long." She had spoken with my supervisor earlier in the day and found out I was being laid off in two weeks. I had heard nothing about a lay off up until this point. Talking to a ranger friend I expressed confusion about why my division lead was not advocating for me as I did her job on the weekends when she was off. The other ranger said the lead will not help you get a permanent position because the lead was not permanent either! Everyone was fighting either overtly or covertly for a very slim piece of the permanent park position pie. From that time on while I loved being a ranger, I felt I had no real job security, no mentor to work on my offense or my defense; success seemed more and more elusive.

American Indian Ranger I

H: Okay. How do you personally define success?

I: Well, uhm, I think it has to do with a little bit of your own judgment and probably a little bit of the public's judgment. I wouldn't say all of any…and I think success in life is going to be the same way…ah I know I sure judged my mom wrong when she was alive. She was an alcoholic. And ah, boy she worked hard on her relationship with people and things in spite of her addiction. And she had, she had a very spiritual passing. And uhm, I never would've thought that would've been. Y'know, it is—it is—some people and things—it's kinda like…do you remember—did you ever hear Lenny Penola? He uh, he was a park ranger down at the Miwok Village in Point Reyes in San Francisco. Ok. He was a –he always looked like an elder. He was a little short guy and I –I think he died when he was like 65 or something. Not very old. But I remember the first time I got to know him ah…he was uhm…okay, let's see what year was that? I'd probably been in the Park Service about five years at that time. And uhm we went out there and he did ah a ceremony in the Miwok Village there. They have a—kind of like our pit houses. The roof is showing then you go down inside. They're really huge, really cool. Y'know I was sitting in the thing and this guy was really selling his culture out, y'know? I—I was judging him in my mind.

H: Like sharing too much?

I: Yeah. Well, I was just like looking at him and of course not knowing anything about him and thinking about what kind of a character is this guy? Y'know, I didn't—I was judging him. And, and by the time that ceremony was done I was so humbled and I had to ask forgiveness for judging him.

H: Was he doing a ceremony or interpretation?

I: He was doing a ceremony. It could've been—it looked like a program but it touched you so much that—I'll say I was touched. And I just…it just humbled me, just lickety split. Later I realized what a covering that this man has in today's world. He was probably a healer in the old days. And here he is using the venue of a Park Service park ranger to do his work. (Indistinct.) Yeah, and it was just amazing. And then I saw him about 10 years later, and I started to judge him again. I swear to God. (Laughter.) I don't know what made me do it. Something about guy's personality or something—

H: When people share things that you're not comfortable about you're just—well you can't say that!

I: Yeah. But then, again, I was like, the same thing happened. The power in that guy—his physical body was a covering for the powerful spirit in him. He was just a short, little goofball looking guy, y'know? And next time I go to know him a lot more and I told him, I told him what happened to me. I told him how I judged him both times and (Laughter.)

H: And I'm going to judge you a third time, too! (Laughter.)

I: No I never go to see him a third time but we got—became really good friends and then we saw this exhibit that was put together for Jewish children. I mean, this experience Jewish children had. That we were kind of laughing about that because we were saying that this looked pretty good compared to what Indian kids had. (Laughter.) And it was true too. They weren't that poor, y'know. But, but, here he was, y'know, a park service ranger. And he, they were having so much trouble the first time they tried to put that Miwok Village up because everybody was trying to use everything authentically and I guess when they hired he just said no we're putting wire here. They made it real sturdy. He made—he didn't mess around with trying to use twine or rawhide. He was just real practical but he died pretty young. But yeah, what a guy.

H: And it was Menny?

I: Lenny Penola.

H: I talked to an archaeologist about my thesis idea before I kind of got onboard with it. And she was telling me a story—she's—she's not Native—but she went on some kind of a park service training deal—she's an archaeologist but she went to an interpretation of a site and she said they brought out an archaeologist and he interpreted the site. She was like, oh my God, Heather, I was so embarrassed for my field. This guy was so dry. He actually said some things that made people uncomfortable about, sharing may be a little too much about—can we talk about bones and you should be really respectful and not even bring it up (Indistinct.) in the audience. And then she said, an actual interpretative ranger got up and interpreted the same site. And, she says, oh, it was really, y'know pretty good. And had a grasp of—it wasn't just 'and we went down three centimeters' the way that archaeologist did. She goes then they brought out this Native woman. And she started talking about the site and she was tied to the site through her family and she talked to the group and she said the whole time, the woman had her hand on her breast over her heart. And she said, by the time she got done, all these hardened people were in tears. And that's why I started thinking about how much more effective a Native person can do an interpretation from—purely from saving cultural resources. White archaeologists can't do that.

I: No.

H: Because he's digging up the ground! He's defiling it like everybody else is.

I: Well, that's cool to actually have three—one of our –one of our best programs we had was a—one of the rangers read about it. It was called uh, the History Tour. And we had him being an archaeologist and [excised] being the story teller and they go to the same sites. But it was complimentary, y'know. One told one way and then the other told the other way. It wasn't meant to compare but I mean you couldn't help but see the difference, but it was really good. Real successful.

American Indian Ranger II

H: So you feel your job in the park service is successful?

II: Oh yeah.

H: You feel successful.

II: I feel very successful here because I know who I am.

H: Is this like a family industry? You said that your wife is a ranger.

II: Yes, my wife is a ranger at [another national park] (Laughter.)

H: You say your uncle is Gerard—

II: Gerard Baker is my cousin [Former Superintendent of Mount Rushmore]. And Otis Halfmoon down in Southwest Trails is my cousin.

H: Do you have any younger generation coming up through the park service? Would you encourage them?

II: Ah…yeah. We have people here at the park ah…right here…

H: Your relatives?

II: Yeah.

H: Cool.

II: In ah one—she's not the program. She's actually out in college. We don't know if she'll come back or not but I'm pretty sure. Ah…some of these ladies up here are—if not relatives, friends and relatives (Laughter.)

H: Relatives in the Indian way.

II: Yeah. (Laughter.) And so ah you have all of this going on around here and it is kind of like a family because we start reaching out especially around here and y'know we have relatives east relatives over the west, north and south. And like I said, my wife was born in the [park] literally born in the office where she still works. She was physically born in the office—cannot believe that. (Laughter.)

H: Was her mother a ranger?

II: Her mother would've never made it over to the hospital—I guess she was working for the park at that time. But ah yeah, down there…my wife's first husband…ah…works in the park service and worked in the office (indistinct) he died. I met her down there when I went to

learn the skills from the (indistinct) and got to meet everybody. Met with [excised] (Pause.) And then I met this Indian lady down there and ah…the person who was heading up the ah…training for rangers down there had told her someday that the rangers are going to come by here and sweep you off your feet. (Laughter.) And…I did. So…married her ah literally had the kids—her kids are grown up in the park down there because they have schools down there. Ah through 12th grade. She brought the daughter back up here and put her in school up here in [local tribal town] and she graduated [from] here. And ah…then her son came up and graduated [local college] and got his ah… degree for let's see law enforcement—juvenile corrections—something out there. And he went back down south and got his way down there and had also worked with the park one summer when we had two out of the three kids in uniform plus my wife—four out of five in the family were in the park. And they were accusing us of trying to take over the park (Laughter.) And the daughter got married—

H: What do they call it, nepotism [jokingly]?

II: Yeah. And the son got married just like (indistinct.) She was the manager of all five of the stores in the park. And they would get on (indistinct). My wife worked over at the Watch Tower and they were saying that, y'know your family's starting to take over the park when does this (Laughter.) The kids they were working there. Yeah, the park has (indistinct) that I didn't realize that I was going to be around and then all of a sudden I am, and find family there and I've been around parks ever since.

American Indian Ranger III

H: How do you personally define success? And does your success …reflect what you believe the Park Service success to be?

III: How do I personally define success is…finding fulfillment within yourself and your life. Then you're successful. You don't have to make a million dollars or live in a fancy house. As long as you're happy with where you're at, you're successful. (Pause.) As far as the Park's idea of success…ah I did go to Ranger Fundamentals [ranger training generally at a large park] and ah, I think their success is ah a little different depending on where you are also. Because the nation's success seems to be different than…what I find the success is here. So…

H: So, here at this park, your success if the park's success but may be the higher-ups have a different view of it?

III: Yeah. I think, I think that nationwide their success idea is…more visitors, more people, more money kind of attitude.

H: Not quality time but quantity, sort of a thing?

III: Yeah. That's what I found in D.C. And…but when I but when you go to—parks, like say, ah, like Glacier. They're not—not all of them are thinking more money, more—they're looking at the park itself. What they're trying to preserve and that's what we're looking at here. And I think, we've had past administrators that that didn't see what we were trying to do here. But we have a current superintendent that sees that the importance of the park is the [Local Tribe] culture. It's not how many people we get in there. How much we buy or whatever we're doing. It's that we maintain and…preserve, and we do all this…keeping track of the evolving of the [Local Tribe] culture. And she sees that and she gets it. Which makes

working here a lot better than even when I first started…we had the other superintendent and…he was waiting to retire and he was just collecting a paycheck. And so, I see the big difference between working with a really good superintendent as opposed to a very bad superintendent.

H: One thing I asked [the superintendent] I interviewed and talked about some of these things. I wish I'd known that before—I wish I'd known that before I talked to [Ranger I and Ranger II) because I'd—I could ask them this question but…ah, two part question. I asked [her] I said, well do you think a woman superintendent may have a little bit more sensitivity to cultural and culture and cultural issues and maintaining those ties than a man? Or is that—you don't think it makes any difference? (Laughter.)

III: And what did they say? Or do you need to tell me?

H: Ahm…did they avoid the question? I can't remember…

III: I think it depends on how you were raised. As to…what you think your culture is. (Pause.) Because culture can be a lot of different things to different people. That's like [an audience member at this rangers interpretive program on the history and use of the cradleboard] was asking in the program ah, who [re-produced the cultural item]? And she knew the answer. She knew [a man] had beaded it. Ahm, [he's] the artist y'know, but ah, this one thought (Pause.) But he, ah (Pause.) He claims to be real cultural but a man had no business reproducing a woman's cultural item].

H: That's something that's not done?

III: Yeah. He didn't have any business doing that but it's like, dollar signs. They asked him to do it so [he says] "I'll do it." But if you're claiming to be cultural and being spiritual and doing all this then you should also act that way or do things correctly.

H: Yes. I hear a sigh. Believe me, I understand what you're talking about.

III: So…

H: Well I guess when I was talking to [the superintendent] my point was if you're a non-native and you're working with a tribe…like this situation…uhm, I was talking about some insensitivity by white males that my white male boss was talking about. He actually said, you have to forgive us. We're just a bunch of middle aged, white guys. And we were raised in a different way. Because the only reason I have any sort of sensitivity is I actually worked for a park that had a tribal liaison and she taught me how not to be stupid. So I was asking well did they think they have kind of…an upper hand being a woman and being more sensitive to these kind of things where if you had a white male here. Is it—I guess that was my main question. And you say…(Laughter.) What they also told me that got me super fired up—'cause I said, Look, ah, I go, me and my friends, y'know we have Facebook pages and we're kind of political and we say mean things sometimes. Like when the movie We Shall Remain started being advertised we were calling it We Shall Remain in the 1800s or We Shall Remain Forever—who can make the funniest title We Shall Remain Forever—We Shall Remain Forever in the Past blah blah and I said, y'know do you ever feel that, y'know, that's a problem for parks if you're trying to get people to respect cultural resources and blah blah blah. And they said, well actually, we're working on something right now. Trying to move into the future. And I was like, whoa! Oh my gosh, I'm so excited! And I got to follow the

story. (Laughter.) So, can we talk about that for a moment and how it was exciting for you to have someone coming in onboard, wanting to do this. As, I had?

III: Definitely. [excised] hasn't been here that long and dealing with some dinosaurs here. And so, ah, and—and I think, I think the move is…cause she's came in with a park that had a bad superintendent for a while. So [excised] like, putting out fires, and kind of storing things up but for those of us that are going to be here for a while and want to see things change. I told [excised]…nowhere in this building have we ever moved into the 20th Century. We don't have any people in cars. We don't have anybody [working with] computers, y'know. What happened to the Indian Rights Movement? Y'know, we had a major uprising in the 70s here.

H: All the exciting things with women that got y'know—fished against the law and go thrown in jail—their kids were taken away from them. When I heard those stories and I keep hearing them, I was like, no offense—in the museum—those are dynamic stories. These women are still alive today and they were thrown in jail for fishing!

III: Yes. And then, and then there's still people alive that remember being sent to the sanitarium during the TB era and stuff or went to the boarding school. None of that is here. And she wants to bring a lot of that in. And, we just, we did all the ah…everything at the [massacre site]. And so—

H: Signage and junk like that?

III: Yeah. They redid the whole thing. It was [previously] all more towards the military and they got rid of that and now it's the [Local Tribe] story not the military story. And so, ah, she's—I think she's waiting for a few people to retire—

H: There's this horrible saying in the park where I come from is like, some people you have to wait for them to die. It's like, I can't wait that long! I'm old. (Laughter.)

III: Yeah, so. I think that's what's going on.

H: There was a kind of meeting, everyone just got together discussed it and 'cause I know when I just got back from Crow and I have a—I think I told you some people over there. Jackie Yellowtail […] She actually runs the…Crow—she's in charge of the—I can't—I forget what it's called. (Pause.) Anything to do with ah, people coming to the battlefield or doing any kind of recreating—why do I always forget this—what's that?

III: Tourism.

H: Yeah. She's the director of tourism! (Laughter.) This is not the first time I've not been able to remember word tourism. Ah, she's the head of that. And she actually is our [ceremonial woman] And this particular Sun dance she sponsored so we were talking afterwards and she said you need to stay and come up to the battlefield. Because I told her about my thesis. And she's like, I'm the head of tourism. I'm like, what? She's like, yeah. I do all that. So the kind of cool thing with Crow is they have the national park which has all the tours and I mean there's some Crow there but there's also a lot of white Custer experts working there. Telling their stories…and then Apsaalooke tours which is run by the college and the actual descendants of the Crow scouts do the tours on the bus.

III: Oh, that'd be fun.

H: Oh, my god. It was so cool. So we went through the y'know, we drove through the whole park and on the bus tell us what happened here. Gave you a really good idea of what happened because I have read a lot of books about, y'know, the Indian view of the battlefield but not 'til I was actually on that bus that I saw that and—

III: We get people asking us if we do reenactments. It's like, *yeah*, right. Let's do one of [famous local battle]. (Laughter.)

H: They do! There's a family that owns that land right down, right below the Custer Battlefield. The Real Bird's have a reenactment. They have like a [stadium set up] And like, (Laughter) stadium seats with the river in front and they have the horses come running through. I guess, it's just crazy.

III: It's kind of like Happy Canyon at Pendleton.

H: Yeah, exactly. (Laughter.) But there's no saloon that opens up. So, I think it was a real interesting ah, partnership they have there. But there's still a lot of problems because a lot of the people that now work on that bus for Apsaalooke Tours used to be rangers and are no longer rangers due to some [things] they were saying some things upset people. (Pause.)

III: Gee. I wonder why…

H: People didn't want to—y'know they still want to call it the Custer Massacre and whatever. And so, there's still—I don't know—but there's some good things too. I don't know why I was rambling on about that but ah—Oh! There bookstore they probably have ten books on Crow women that follow them from when they were kids and their grandmothers didn't speak any English and they lived totally traditionally through the TB era.

III: Oh god, that would be excellent! There's nothing like that around here.

H: I think we need to get some people interviewing some elder women before—

III: I've got my mom just turned 70. You couldn't tell by looking at her.

H: Well, you look like you're 20. I don't doubt it. (Laughter.)

III: But, ah, she likes to write. She writes short stories and stuff. Y'know Mom, you need to—when I was doing my research because I did [Local Tribe] women I did Indian women in general. I couldn't find crap. The time frame from 1920 to present day is—there's just nothing there. And so, ahm, I did a lot of different interviews and stuff and trying to talk to people. I told her, you need to write down just stories that you remember. Just start writing. Just writing down. She was—you were in your 20s in the 60s. I mean, tell me about it. What was different from when you were 10 years old to the time you were 20. Tell me.

H: That'd be such a good book to read.

III: Yes!

H: I went through. I've probably read six of them so far. Because Jackie's like, that's our relations! That's our relations! This is my aunt. And this is…uh Lindeman interviewed Grandma. Then her granddaughter wrote her autobiography of her experience with her grandmother watching Lindeman interview her grandmother. And then she talked about her experiences. And she was the one that went through all the this—all this stuff. I'm just reading all these books now have all these linkages. I mean, I'm just reading like crazy.

III: It would be good. Mom's been starting to write. She's been writing here and there and different things.

H: May be you need to go around, start interviewing people? Write some little books. In your spare time. (Laughter.)

III: Anyway, you've got to get going here. We're going to run out of time.

H: So, yes, you work for your tribe's park […]

III: It's not my tribe's park. It's the nation's park about my tribe. It's a national park. It's a national park about the [my tribe]. People always think that I work for the tribe but I don't. It's a big difference.

Non-Native Supervisor V

H: Okay. This is kind of a wacky one. (Pause.) Ah...how do you personally define success? And does success for you…ah, reflect what you believe…the Park Service defines as success. Are they pretty much parallel? Or do you feel there's something that you'd like to see…y'know, different somehow?

V: Ah, the Park Service (Long Pause.) I don't know if the Park Service has one success definition, y'know? It has a branch by branch, division by division type of…idea that the law enforcement ah, the—the idea of success might be, y'know, slowing people down, ah getting the drunk drivers off the road, making, y'know, reducing the number of poachers. Ah, some of theirs might overlap with the resources because of the number of poachers goes down, y'know. And more of these species live or whatever but the resources also...ah, might find success in finding a new species of whatever and…labeling that. Ah, sometimes I think that resources thinks it's successful…in preserving a cultural site by completely shutting—shutting it down. Well, then how's that meet with the success of the interpretive ranger who want to go out and talk about it? And teach people what's out there. And have we preserved and protected something for the enjoyment of future generations if we don't even let them see it? (Laughter.) So, I don't know that the Park Service has one whole idea of success other than the mission statement. (Pause.) My…my definition—definition of success happens whether it's in my personal life or in my work life and that's why I'm an interpreter is because I feel…successful the more people that I'm able to help in one way or another. So, if I help somebody up front…ah…plan their trip, I'm successful. If I help somebody learn about something that they want to learn about, I'm successful. But if I help somebody become a steward of this Park, I'm successful. And, I've helped out the Park because of that. Y'know, if I help my staff get along, I'm successful. All of those are successful things. (Indistinct.) But yeah it is. It is. It's a big deal. Ah, or…we'll be making big changes in the year in my branch because not everybody got along and (Laughter.) so,

H: There's a lot of personalities here! (Laughter.)

V: There is. But, y'know, the line is—somebody I had to send a message to everybody that said it's not fair to the people who are getting along if somebody else doesn't. It's not because I don't like every single person that work for me…but I have to identify who's—who's making the effort…So, to me success—People are more successful that more people that they're able to help. That's my opinion. And so, or the, y'know, more things you're able

to help so if I feel like I'm helping the Park, helping the resources, helping the cultural resources, y'know, the more that I can help, the more successful I am.

Non-Native Superintendent IV

H: How do you personally define success? And does it reflect Park Service policies?

IV: So personal success or park success?

H: How do you personally define success—with your job?

IV: Uh… (Pause.) Helping…working with the staff in parks—I work in to define and understand what our purpose is. Not just the legislative purpose, not just the organic act but what we're really there to do. And then, (Pause.) Working to make sure that they have the staff and the tools and the experience and the—what they need to actually…achieve the goals to reach that purpose. That's really successful to me. Uh… trying to figure out where we're going and then getting everybody kind of moving in that direction. Instead of just, everywhere, doing whatever—because people do things they like to do. And they don't do the things that are hard unless it's the last resort or unless they have a lot of support in doing it. So, here it's easy to talk about the 1800s much harder to talk about the 1920s, 1950s, 1970s, today. Just, much harder. Because, when you talk about the 1800s it's almost an abstract. You talk about things that happen to people who remember them and were alive today and it's very, very real. And there's a lot more emotional connection to that then what happened in the 1800s as kind of an abstract historical thing. Uh, so …defining—helping people really clarify what it is they're there for, what it is we're supposed to be doing, where it is we're supposed to be going and then working on constantly giving people the tools and the support that they need to move in those directions is, to me, a very successful—what I consider a success in my uh, personal work life.

H: Yeah, there's—when We Shall Remain came out, [like I said before] there was a bunch of sarcastic things said about that –that we shall remain in the 1800s. (Laughter.) Things to that nature. Uh, because I think, y'know, a lot of the people really are kind of tired of it because that kind of keeps you in a head dress and I—and people are constantly, [one of her rangers] and I were talking about light skinned versus dark skinned—y'know you don't look Indian, y'know, and all this kind of thing because they expect things like this. And a lot of us don't want to look at that any more. ...So do you see the park…doing things more towards what happened in the '70s or is that something that's you're going to…I guess, we'll have to wait. I'm just picking the '70s out of there.

IV: Yeah, (Pause.) We are moving out of the 1800s and into the '70s because I'm here. Ah, it's hard. It's emotional. We'll have set backs. But, with sort of this constant…ah, almost—this constant pressure—no we are going to move this story out of the 17-1800s. We are going to move it into the 20th and 21st century. We are going to do this, y'know. And we're going to do it as respectfully and collaboratively as we possibly can ah we are going to do this. Before I got here…not so much. 'Cause it's hard.

H: That's part of your drive? Is "we're moving into the future?"

IV: Yeah, we.

H: Literally, figuratively

IV: Yeah, we have—we did the management retreat last fall. So I started about a year and a half ago so after I was here for six months—and because I worked with the [massacre site] I already knew the staff here or I would never have moved this quickly to make these kinds of changes. But I'd already worked with these guys here for a long time. So—

H: They trusted you.

Chapter 6

Park Service Policies that Limit Success for American Indians

> What would I like to say to my supervisors? We—the best thing that we could do to serve, right now, is to get out of the 1800s. We need to start talking about what happened between 1900 to present day. We need to start documenting that. We need to start compiling it. I mean, we've had some major events happen and I don't see anybody working on it. And those people are still here and we're going to lose it.
>
> —American Indian Ranger

> What policies? Well, let's see…made up ones. Okay, the [non-Native] ranger that's given me the worst time here, and one I described earlier—she works here in her own little corner […] The thing about it is—and I—it hinders me mentally. But she got the former supervisor—and I don't know where it sits right now—but there this ranger she got her to write a deal saying that that any speaker we could only spend $50 on getting them here. Now who in the hell are you going to get for 50 bucks? She did that because I was bringing in a lot of speakers here at one time.
>
> —American Indian Ranger

> I think that ah…with the regulations the changes in hiring –as far as the—they got away with SKEP and STEP [student hiring programs now dismantled] and all that. That it's going to be a lot harder to hire Native Americans…to work in the parks. I think, ah…we're going to be hard pressed to figure out a way to do that. Because if we have a…a blonde blue-eyed [ranger] employee standing right beside me with my long black hair y'know behind the desk…nine times out of ten they'll come ask me a questions…and I think, that's what you need. But it's going to be a lot harder to get.
>
> —American Indian Ranger

For me this is the most important question any employer should ask of an employee Park Service or not, Indian or not. One has to be prepared for those necessary, but possibly unpleasant conversations if we are to move past pretending everything is *fine*. I have heard versions of 'although _____(fill in the blank) is not perfect we *are* moving forward' or 'look we hired one person of color this year isn't that great!' It seems the Park Service has been in a very bad habit of congratulating itself when it really ought to be asking how can we be better? How can we hire more American Indians, people of color in general? How can we make sure the Park Service is a good fit for veterans and if it is we need to orient then away from "military" thinking and behavior and towards the Park Service mission.

Mission

> The National Park Service preserves the natural and cultural resources and values of the national park system for the enjoyment, education, and inspiration of this and future

> generations. The Park Service cooperates with partners to extend the benefits of natural and cultural resource conservation and outdoor recreation throughout this country and the world.
>
> To achieve this mission, the National Park Service adheres to the following guiding principles:
>
> Excellent Service: Providing the best possible service to park visitors and partners.
>
> Productive Partnerships: Collaborating with federal, state, tribal, and local governments, private organizations, and businesses to work toward common goals.
>
> Citizen Involvement: Providing opportunities for citizens to participate in the decisions and actions of the National Park Service.
>
> Heritage Education: Educating park visitors and the general public about their history and common heritage.
>
> Outstanding Employees: *Empowering a diverse workforce* [italics mine] committed to excellence, integrity, and quality work.
>
> Employee Development: Providing developmental opportunities and training so employees have the "tools to do the job" safely and efficiently.
>
> Wise Decisions: Integrating social, economic, environmental, and ethical considerations into the decision -making process.
>
> Effective Management: Instilling a performance management philosophy that fosters creativity, focuses on results, and requires accountability at all levels.
>
> Research and Technology: Incorporating research findings and new technologies to improve work practices, products, and services.
>
> Shared Capabilities: Sharing technical information and expertise with public and private land managers. (Park Service Mission Statement).

These are not unchartered waters. Many organizations have taken a hard look at their lack of diversity and changed the climate that was once chilly to “others.” They understand it is not only “the right thing to do” but from a business model perspective, having a diverse workforce is simply more profitable. Most young upstart companies such as Google and Zappos understand it is diversity that is their strength, not the lack of it. In fact universities in little towns in Idaho even have programs dedicated to the concept of Diversity and Stratification. If the heads of the Park Service were to read the *Diversity and Inclusion*

Handbook and work from a top down protocol things could be very different quite quickly. But it seems folks who really aren't that comfortable with change have a habit of insisting "change happens slowly." They certainly would never perceive themselves as gatekeepers, but in the act of slowing down change, that is exactly what they are.

I: The Park Service is a pyramid. It's a male dominated uh agency.

H: Mostly "middle aged white guys" that's what my white supervisor said (laughter).

I: [It's a]White male dominated agency and uh, the only reason we see diversity is because – is in the area of interpretation but all the rest of the divisions are definitely, definitely not looking for too much diversity. The lowest paid program in the Park –like at the bottom. The bottom level is where –in interpretation where you see, y'know, even, even if you aren't counting Native people –you see the most diversity in the classes of people and so forth. We see more open minded people. You see people with visions and dreams and want to see a better world. You see them on that bottom level, y'know? You don't see them at the top.

I had a similar experience with the chief of my division at the Park. The division lead asked me to come up with some gift ideas when the chief (Park Service) met with the local Tribal Chiefs. I sent him an email outlining a "giveaway." An Indian giveaway is held at various functions for a variety of reasons, for example at a memorial or a naming ceremony. The host of the event brings the gifts places them on a blanket and either will hand out the gifts or invite everyone to come up and take something. I explained to the chief gifts needn't be expensive but should be meaningful. I wrote a well-chosen speaker, preferably an elder, and by putting on a good feed was important. The idea is to take time to get to know each other before pushing business. I then closed by explaining that when I worked in the archaeology division I was asked if I would help out and act as a 'tribal liaison' and I was still interested in acting in that capacity. I attached my vitae so he could see I had experience in that area. His response:

> Hi Heather, Thanks for your thoughts. I had _____ approach you for suggestions because you are a park resource! I appreciate your insights and will endeavor to follow them to the best of my abilities (meaning other people listening to what you say through me).
>
> Cheers, _____

Now I don't know if it's just me but that letter seemed to say "stay in your place" and perhaps "don't be a troublemaker." I had a sense then that I was, and would not be considered for anything other than my current position. Even though I had high reviews, low error rates,

and plenty of positive customer comment cards, and frankly more education than any of my immediate supervisors, apparently I was not considered for advancement. This one incident while not dramatic did the most to quash my hopes of successful advancement in the Park Service.

H:[Question] number seven…to the juicy stuff. What Park Service policies get in the way of your success as a ranger, and/or your success at interpretation? Speak freely (laughter)

I: What policies? Well, let's see…made up ones. Okay, the ranger that's given me the worst time here, and one I described earlier—

H: And she's still here?

I: She works here in her own little corner [..] The thing about it is—and I—it hinders me mentally. But she got the former supervisor—and I don't know where it sits right now—but there this (Indistinct) —my mind now—she got her to write a deal saying that that any speaker we could only spend $50 on getting them here. Now who in the hell are you going to get for 50 bucks? She did that because I was bringing in a lot of speakers here at one time.

H: Isn't a typical honorarium at least a $100?

I: Oh, exactly. That was standard. We've gone up as high as $250. And so, it's like, y'know and even though that's—and even though that's nothing in writing , it's still something and I need to—I should let the Park know that that bothers me—I will. Because that's a real hindrance. That was wrong. It was wrong of her to do that—

H: A college course [American Indian Architecture] I was a teacher's assistant for… we had a friend of mine's father [an elder] give a presentation—I had a teacher that was like, 'What should I do? We're going to have this person come talk'—

I: That's a real attack.

H: I said, at minimum a hundred dollars. Preferably a Pendleton blanket and she was like, what?! And I said, he's taking time out from his day, he's at the sweat—to give a presentation [about the design and building of the sweat lodge structure to a bunch of —

I: Even talked about with this supervisor was the fact that for 15 years it's stayed at $100. $150 maybe and y'know, so that's still a good deal, y'know?

H: Yah!

I: So…that's a policy that's ugly–

H: That's like saying "We don't value you or your time." And once you find that out, you won't be back. And maybe that's the whole idea?

I: That's exactly it.

H: Oops. I'm not supposed to have an opinion here. (Laughter.)

I: There were also—let's see. What other policies did we have that were screwy? I got—I actually got some of them to change. They used to have—when we used to have the beadworker sales out here. They used to make—First of all, they used to make –They said that Indians couldn't keep their appointments so they'd all be sitting around in here just

waiting for whoever came first. Next, next, next, y'know? First come, first served. So [my cousin] and I changed that so they had appointments. The next thing that was there was that they drew their appointment time. So, it was all by chance. Okay, then, the next thing that happened was they used to—if we hired–when we used to have cultural demonstrators the Park would keep the stuff…the stuff we have here was made by cultural demonstrators who worked here as cultural demonstrators.

H: They didn't get to sell it or keep it themselves? They had to give it to the Park?

I: Yeah, the Park kept it. They didn't even offer—they weren't offered [money] at all. There's thousands—there's thousands of dollars' worth of material out here that we use in our program. And now—so we changed that policy that that if they didn't have the materials the things would belong here. But if it was their materials, they kept it and if they wanted to sell it to the Park at market value they could. Or if they wanted to donate it, they could too. That was up to them. So that was what we changed. There was –that was a horrible policy. In the Southwest, the same thing. They used to keep the Navaho rugs when they'd have weavers come in. They keep those. (Laughter.) Hired them as a demonstrator and then steal their goods. Ah…let's see what else we had…

H: Doesn't that discourage people from even applying? Is there anything that—

I: Oh for years, oh yeah there was a glass wall there. No doubt.

H: It's gotten better?

I: Yeah, it's got better. Yeah, this is the first year that I've seen so many applicants—tribal applicants. And I don't know if it's because the word finally go out—see we finally told the last—the acting superintendent for this—this last one before [him]. We just told him straight out, y'know how illegal it was—the hiring practice. And I was on a board here ah it was actually a hiring board—ah, position management board. And I got the board to see how illegal it was. And so then the superintendent disbanded the board.

H: (Indistinct) Oh dear.

I: Yeah.

H: Well, I would almost like to see someone who would go into the high school and start talking about careers in the Park Service.

I: We've done that.

H: And a mentor. Have somebody mentor somebody.

I: We've certainly worked hard at going to all the career fairs and stuff like that, yeah. Like [young ranger], she she's one that's ah she's out of a whole different world. I mean, I came in here dragging my feet, y'know but she—

H: Didn't want to wear the uniform (Laughter.)

I: Yeah (Indistinct). Then I'd convince them that this uniform wasn't necessary. (Laughter.)

H: —should be wearing traditional regalia, I think.

I: But anyway, yeah it was pretty (Indistinct) I look at it now and how crazy that was but that's what I thought I'd do.

H: I got busted wearing moccasins one day.

I: Oh, man.

H: I drive two hours to get to work every day so I put on moccasins when I'm driving as soon as I get off work. We have to wear these big nasty, clunky shoes. They're not like that. (points to their shoes)

I: Oh I know. See, they're not as strict with us here.

H: We have three choices. Oxfords, hiking boots, or these big, clunky, awful shoes. So anyway, I'm always late getting off work on time. I go to Headquarters drop off my key for my car and there's a white guy standing out front of the building. He's like, Oh my God, my savior! And I'm like, what? And he said, I locked myself out when I went out to my car. And I go, oh, okay. I'll let you in. And so we're talking a little bit and he goes, by the way my name is Joe [excised].

I: What?

H: [excised] He was chief of interpretation. He was my big boss. I'd never met before. 'Cause I work on the other side of park. I'm like an hour on the other side of the park. So we're talking a little bit and he says, oh thank you so very much blah, blah. Well a couple days later, my boss calls me in the office. She goes, I just have to, we've been—are you wearing moccasins to work? Oh man. While I'm working? And she goes, yea. And I go, no. And she goes, oh I knew you weren't. I knew you weren't but Dave, my boss, told me that Joe, his boss, saw you wearing moccasins. I said, I was off work. I was actually on overtime which I don't get paid for. She goes, well you can't wear anything but uniform with uniform. And I was like, okay, no problem. Well, when I interviewed Dave, the chief of interpretation lead—the guy that the chief went to talk to talk to my boss to talk to me, he was like, Oh my God, Heather. I have to tell you this story. He was sweating bullets because he didn't want to get into trouble with you getting an attorney 'cause you had the right to wear moccasins due to the 1972 Religious Freedom Act and all this stuff. And he goes, you really make him uncomfortable. Because he doesn't know how to talk to you, see. And that's why I started thinking about, what? Is this the reason that Natives aren't getting hired sometimes because they just make white people uncomfortable? Because they don't know how to talk to them? And all you had to do was tell me, hey those moccasins, you can't wear those I would've been okay but he had to go through four different people—

I: That sounds typical. That sounds typical. That's ridiculous.

H: And I didn't get hired back next season. And of course I couldn't prove that it was the "moccasins gate" and make a stink about it then I got picked up in Fees [as a VUA-visitor use assistant] And I'm doing the exact same job I was doing in the exact same visitor center. I'm working the Federal Register. And I'm doing interp. And I'm making $3 less an hour. Because Fee Rangers are a GS-4 and interpretation are GS-5. So actually there's a lawsuit right now by women against this guy. Not Native women but four women because he hired all seasonal male employees last six month season –seasonal round—whatever they want to call it.

American Indian Ranger II

H: Okay I have the unpleasant questions now at the end that we've gotten all relaxed. What park service policies get in the way of your success as ranger and or successful interpretation? If there are any, If not, halleluiah.

II: Okay. At one time there was one about cultural demonstrators. And they did find a way around that and one was that in doing that at that time as a cultural demonstrator, it was okay for the public to your take pictures. Now I had to talk ah with ah people they said we don't like this and we have this policy. (Laughter.) I have to tell my superiors that name of this position. We'll start from the ground. It's called cultural demonstration. Ah, we have people who in the culture do not like to be photographed. Would that be a cultural right and they have to hmm and haw around that. Find a way around it and so there are people who haven't come to work here because of that. This time we go around it, ah, and had cultural demonstrators because they were hired as contractors. And not necessarily Park Service but working in the Park Service, (indistinct) so they can work there show their stuff to the public [they] didn't have to have their pictures taken. They just found a way around them. And that's okay with me. I'm okay with that. 'Cause I know they have workers at ah…oh the Trading Post in Arizona? Down there they said 'No photographs.' At least the Park Service down there is doing cultural things [right]. And you may not have to talk to the person doing it. They're just demonstrating. And so, you have some of these ideas going around, that in some parks I can see working before and in my park working for a while. In my park here also, no we did have cultural demonstrators for a while. And only because I am able to bring it up. And I will bring it up. And we have our tribe right here. I will go to [tribal council].

H: In the house. It's gotta help.

II: Annnd…yeah, it's gotta help and the thing is then we can have dialogue. We can get together and have dialogue then we can bring up some of these grievance/agreement? And then they are being actually, ah, (Pause.) Some of the meetings we had, they were able to see these things and they started, well, we need to be culturally sensitive to this. And one of the big reasons is, is that we have people who have a stake in the stories because it was their relatives in the stories. …And that's when y'know, it's like, this park isn't about (indistinct) people. It's about the people within the people. And they're still here. And we have some of their items. I can see where this park has had to come through some of the stages it did. Because for a while, it thought it was just a park service. And not the face—literally, it become the face of our tribe. So I try to make—uphold them—make them uphold their ideals and stuff. So we look good. 'Cause we've gotta be this because you're the face of the tribe here. And people get a little confused—and y'know what? I don't mind them confused. Is it a tribal museum? Ah, kinda but it's a national park service but they do hold some of the tribal items. So, it's like taking the United States and making them uphold their treaties so we all look good, y'know? Because people know that they had broken a lot of treaties. And uhm, people are asking about this that one day were Russians. (Laughter.) Yeah, I know. Tell me about it. I try to make them uphold the treaties and ideals because they need to look good. They do. I need to have the Park Service look good because they are kind of our face out here. This is a very public spot. This is where we meet everybody else.

H: So, like resistance has gotten less?

II: Yes.

H: Since you started?

II:…There are some people out there—in my tribe—that still have problems with the Park Service and stuff and I don't blame them on that, y'know? Ah, nothing is ever perfect and nothing lasts forever. I think they do a fairly good job.

H: Y'know, the Jesuits or the Catholic Church gave the Coeur d'Alene Tribes the Cataldo Mission. Would you ever see a point where the government would just give the tribes back the park? Buildings or whatever just because they can't afford to run it any more. The tribes have more money than the government does?

II: It could conceivable happen. Ah…

H: What do you think about that?

II: Well, maybe I could have blue jeans instead of these green pants. (Laughter.)

H: You mean cotton instead of polyester?

II: Yeah, because I know the Navaho Tribal Park they have rangers in cowboy boots, blue jeans, and a uniform top on at least.

H: Really?!

II: Yeah. So I thought that was kind of cool.

H: That IS cool.

II: Those guys got to ride Harleys out there. I need a Harley here. (Laughter.)

H: Just so you have an excuse?

II: Yeah.

H: Jeans and cowboy boots and a Harley.

American Indian Ranger III

H: What—tricky here. Ah, what park service policies get in the way of your success as a ranger? And or successful interpretation or are there any policies that can get in the way?

III: Not anything that I've run across. But I haven't been doing it all as long as some others. The fact that you can't laugh at people and slap them upside the head when they ask you dumb questions. (Laughter.)

H: Can't do that anywhere.

III: Other than that, I'm okay.

H: What would you like to say anonymously to your supervisors or park decision makers on how the park service can better serve you or other natives?

III: What would I like to say to my supervisors? We—the best thing that we could do to serve, right now, is to get out of the 1800s. We need to start talking about what happened between 1900 to present day. We need to start documenting that. We need to start compiling it. I mean, we've had some major events happen and I don't see anybody working on it. And those people are still here and we're going to lose it.

H: Real sad. Ah, are there any park policies that can change to better serve its guests? Or visitors? Same? (Laughter.)

III: I think we should have camping. (Pause.) I think we have a gorgeous river and we have beautiful lands to park on and camp on. People can camp all around us but we can't camp out around here ourselves. So, I think that's a problem.

H: As far as the park goes, is there anything that you'd like to say without repercussions, ahm, to anyone? A head, Jarvis, your ex- superintendent, y'know. What I would like is to be real honest. This is what really hurt me. This is what really got in the way of my being successful. And this person, y'know, constantly undermined my authority or made me feel stupid—I mean anything that you'd just like to say that something has bugged you. And you think may be—

III: There is—there is a one thing that really bugged me. Ah, our tribe has been looking for land for—where to place a new long house. We have—I mean a long house is traditionally been along the river. The park is situated right along the river. We have a big section of land down here that's nothing but a big field. I think that's—we should have pictures of it and we go on and on about that's where the [Local Tribe] traditionally lived in their winter land and y'know that was their winter home. This—and the [Local Tribe] people were basically kicked out of there when it became a state park. And then it became a national park. I think if we're not using that land, it should've been offered to the tribe to put the long house on.

H: It's a nice gesture. It's kind of like a little bit of a thing—I'm sorry for stealing land.

III: We're not using it. It's a big empty field. Why not give it back to whoever it belonged to start with? (Laughter.)

H: Friend of mine just recently interviewed an elder and she kept asking him questions about this and that and the other thing on her thesis and he just kept saying, where's my long house? He just kept bringing it back to the long house and I think of his long house before he dies he must have a long house.

III: Yeah, our long house has turned into a joke.

H: Ah, let's see. Do you currently belong to a Native American ranger group or linked in or any kind of blog thing?

III: No.

H: Would you be interested in being—joining something like that?

III: …yeah, I would. I'm not the most connected person but I would check in.

H: Cause actually [ranger] and I said, too bad there's not something like a Native American park ranger get together once a year. Where everybody gets together and sort of camaraderie or whatever –however we would do that since we're all working. (Laughter.)

III: How we would tell our story in a way that…is okay with us. I mean, I don't know what—you said there's people doing reenactments. I don't think I would want to do reenactments.

H: It just seems kind of…dog and pony show and sort of…

III: Yeah.

H: it's kind of something for a white audience that isn't—that's keeping you back in the 1800s kind of…?

III: Yes! I think that would be kind of interesting to do. Somebody should create a Facebook page. (Laughter.)

H: Well, I did. I actually created a Native American park ranger Facebook page and nobody's joined it yet. So,

III: Well, I didn't know it was there. You'll have to give me your—write it down –

H: I'm going to get all your information so I can contact you (indistinct.)

III: Tell me what it's called. And I'll like you.

H: American….

III: You can

H: Indian…Park…Rangers…I think.

III: (indistinct.) I met a really nice Hawaiian girl over at Fundamentals in D.C. And she was uh, Hawaiian. And we had a lot of talks about different things like that and I can send that to her too. You got to look into this.

H: Okay, so last question. Is there a question I should've asked, in your opinion? Is there anything you'd like to add? Anything at all you'd like to add. Is there anything I'm missing?

III: I think that ah…with the regulations the changes in hiring—as far as the—they got away with SKEP and STEP and all that. That it's going to be a lot harder to hire Native Americans…to work in the parks. I think, ah…we're going to be hard pressed to figure out a way to do that. Because if we have a visitor [who has questions and] a blonde blue-eyed employee standing right beside me with my long black hair y'know behind the desk…nine times out of ten they'll come ask me a questions…and I think, that's what you need. But it's going to be a lot harder to get.

H: Yep. Like my boss and I had a long, long interview two hours long over military preference. He actually said that's what gets in his way of being successful. He would—Director Jarvis wants people of color running these parks. But he's like, how do I do that? All the people that apply are white, middle-aged—old middle-aged white guys that are retired out of the military. They go to the top of the pile. They get 10 extra points. So, he goes, this is a good thing to kind of be talking about because you can't ask one thing and then tell me I can't.

III: Yeah. And I think if you're talking about—if it's a park about a culture or y'know something along that lines you should get ten extra points for being that culture.

H: I agree. There should be a culture preference or tribal preference or…

III: But it's discrimination. But isn't veteran's [preference] discrimination?

H: I don't—well when they did away with the school thing. I lost my STEP program. I'm not quite sure what's going to happen with me. I thought I was going to be moving into SKEP but—that's kind of another reason I kind of got involved in this. Okay, I think ah that is everything. (Pause.) Thank you so very much. I appreciate it.

Chapter 7

"Military Preference" Versus Diversity

> They [Federal Government] change what my job certificates look like by putting more weight on veterans or whatever. That's a big deal to me. Ah, sometimes they conflict with each other. They want more …they want more diversity …yet …the pressure's been put on to hire more veterans. Most of my veteran's certificates are middle aged, white males…
>
> – Non-Native Supervisor

> That [Military Preference] has created a bit of an issue it's happened to me where I answered the questionnaire online… I was doing it correctly… but I didn't answer expert like I should have… I didn't even make the certification for the job I'm in… the job I've been doing for 3 years and I suddenly do not qualify for the job I was in?
>
> – Non-Native Lead

> Yeah that's it. Think if all the Indians that were in the military were to apply. Then they'd change their rules on the military [preference, to exclude Indians]
>
> – American Indian Ranger

> I think that ah…with the regulations the changes in hiring –as far as the—they got away with SKEP and STEP and all that. That it's going to be a lot harder to hire Native Americans…to work in the parks. I think, ah…we're going to be hard pressed to figure out a way to do that. Because if we have a…a blonde blue-eyed visitor—employee standing right beside me with my long black hair y'know behind the desk…nine times out of ten they'll come ask me a questions…and I think, that's what you need. But it's going to be a lot harder to get […] Yeah. And I think if you're talking about—if it's a park about a culture or y'know something along that lines you should get ten extra points for being that culture […] But it's discrimination. But isn't veteran's [preference] discrimination?
>
> – American Indian Ranger

It was at the end of my very first "practice interview" when the specter of "Military Preference" came up. I was not aware of the implications it had on hiring practices, especially for people of color. This was really when my original thesis on Native American Interpretive Rangers' success as well as an Indigenous research paradigm started to segue towards something else.

I was also unaware that military preference would rob two people in my families of jobs, my brother Rayburn and me. Most of my Park Service friends and co-workers, both Native and non-Native, fared no better. This interview was with a non-Native lead ranger who

was slogging away on an online AA degree just to keep her job. That is, if she was not in school and if that position was listed on Jobs USA (the federal online employment site) her position would positively be taken by a veteran. She explains below just how this policy has come about.

According to the white male supervisor I interviewed "Most of my veteran's certificates are middle aged, white males." Someone who has been in the military for most of their adult life or has just returned from war sometimes comes with a set of issues few leads or supervisors can adequately deal with. At my park one hire had PTSD, one hire had an anxiety disorder, and four had varying degrees of anger control issues; I worked with all of them generally in a ten hour shift. In a survey for *Half the Battle* one veteran states the hardest thing about leaving the military was "Fitting in and being understood. You feel like you're still in the military mentally but have to try and train yourself to think like a civilian" (halfbattle2013.org/survey).

This also may clarify the "problem with hiring vets" that I heard over and over again and why frankly I may have gotten my job. I was a student so the park did not have to run my position on jobs USA. It would be considered a double benefit; an immediate hiring, versus the work of listing, waiting, and interviewing. Most importantly by hiring students, park leads would not have to deal with the "insecure" that is a newly hired veteran fresh out of the military who just doesn't fit into the Park Service system. And unfortunately for student and seasonal hires, layoffs or firings are just as easy.

Non-Native Lead VI

H: my question to you is…can you explain military preference in all its shapes and forms helpfulness, problems, etc.?

VI: The Park service and hiring system for long as I've been working to the park system there's been something called veteran's preference…and that is a system where veterans get five points if you've served in the military during wartime doesn't necessarily mean you've gone to war, but you've served during war times you get five points if you're disabled vet you get ten points so basically five points for serving five extra the points for this disability which gives them preference in hiring…and so if you then…say I was a military vet at five points I can apply for position at say Yosemite national park and I'll get five extra points over whatever points I made for my resume and the KSA's that they used to do.

H: Uhmm…and the KSA's are?

VI: KSA's are knowledge skills and abilities system they used to have to the three questions to five questions depending for the job itself you answer that question using different skill levels you had using see you have writing and on a piece paper putting down everything that

you have learned all the skills you have that meet the requirements of that question…and so that used to be the system, but now the KSA's are gone…so veterans will automatically get say 80 points through the whole system you get five extra points because you're a vet that's 85 points or 100 points and you get 105 pts…well what happened is things of changed a little bit in the hiring practices the KSA I talked about actually been removed so they're no longer KSA, basically when you apply for job now you do it online using an online questionnaire that is providing with questions they can be 25 questions to 100 questions I'm not sure the exact number you answer those questions online there are multiple-choice ABC or D A meaning you know the least about a question, and D meaning your expert on that item that is in that question. So now KSA's are out so basically what you're doing is make a resume and answer questionnaire what's happening is many people of learned that if you have to answer D or expert on everything is a pretty much putting D down for everything because that will automatically put you on the list to be looked at or at least automatically forward you wherever it is that make decision on the cert list

H: So for instance we just had a big hiring in interp, or you did, uh or somebody did. Not we because this is anonymous…laughter…and it was for how many positions? I think this one position and I heard, do you know how many, I heard like hundred people applied?

VI: There was a position that we opened up…I think we had 100 people that applied or made it on to the list…30 were veterans, so what's happened is its gone from what it used to be about five or 10 people on the list who were veterans to now 30 people who are vets. And that's happened because of the war we've been in a lot more disabled veterans getting out of the service once they've served their time maybe less people doing a career in the military because of the war and everything… so then what they will do is apply for position…well now that people don't have to do KSAs they know how to answer the questions as expert its bringing in a lot more veterans and so now let's say the position they ran let's say everybody in the park applied for the position they were now in those people might qualify how than they might be on the list they might have 30 or 40 veterans above them so unless none of the veterans are qualified or something but many of them are [actually many veterans are encouraged by their Jobs USA mentors to check expert on the cert], as many veterans that are well-qualified to be park rangers or be part of the park system sometimes we cannot rehire the people that have been here for years because there's this long list of veterans and we have to go through them first so there's an advantages and disadvantages…there are many qualified veteran that are qualify for the job, unfortunately the other side of that coin is its harder to hire the people who have already been working here we cannot keep them because they were put at the bottom of the list because there's so many veterans above us…That has created a bit of an issue it's happened to me where I answered the questionnaire online. I was doing it correctly, but I didn't answer expert like I should have. I didn't even make the certification for the job I'm in the job I've been doing for three years, and I suddenly do not qualify for the job I was in? So there's that disadvantage to it. It's just really hard these days. I mean whatever things is the park service pushes diversity were trying to get more diversity in the park different cultures different races different people coming in and because of this veteran status its making it harder to try to be more diverse because unless that person is a vet they may not be able to get hired…and I don't know the exact statistics but I would say in the majority of cases the large majority of people applying are for ranger positions are white males we also get females too we also get other races and cultures however majority would be white males

and so the diversity looking for is also suffering a little bit because of that because our hands are tied in the way were able to hire people for the park system national parks.

H: okay so in a perfect world where we honor our veterans, and I have veterans in my family and I definitely want to see them get jobs but you also honor her people who either A- have previously worked here or B- going to college for X amount of years like certain people we know laughter…and we'd like to get jobs how ideally could you see this system working little better?

VI: well the questionnaire isn't necessarily a bad thing I mean the computer questionnaire… it used to be set up where there was a narrative after each question so once we got rid of KSA's when they went to the questionnaire there was an area where you could have a narrative about how you have the abilities for this q you just answered expert for…and so I mentioned so basically you're putting your KSA's in the narrative that also got removed so now it's just answering a question I think if they went back to KSA's where you have to write out the skills that you know or went back to that narrative where you have to put in under that question you just answered expert you put in the skills you know that do qualify you for as an expert I think that would help I think what it has been so simplified not just for veterans for anybody Applying for the park service it could be that student coming out of college it could be that person who is now the empty-nesters wants to have a job and is looking to work for the Park service, you could be the person like me who got out of the military many years ago I had kids and decided she wanted to go try to pursue her dream of being a ranger get anybody has the skills and you can learn the skills of your life you should still have do the KSA's or at least the narrative after the question in order to sort of prove what your skills are unfortunately what's happened is the whole computer system came about because made it easier….you didn't have to have a group of people going thru every cert every resume to make sure somebody was qualified but I think in long run it would still work out better if they were still doing it that way because that meant you had a committee that was choosing by qualifications and not choosing by the fact that someone said they were an expert at something so I think it would help if we could go back to KSAs it's kind of a pain to write you have to sit there down everything you know about something you also need to learn how to talk yourself up which is kind of difficult to do sometimes but I think it would be worth it to be chosen that way and not just because I served my country and now I get all of this special treatment and…. I just think that would I think going back to a little of the old way mixed with the new way would be better system

H: Let's say Let's say whoever's in charge is whole computer system was like no it's impossible to change that its too many you know people applying… is there any other way it can be done where you make sure you get a broader range of people versus just that majority white male that comes in from the service?

VI: well perhaps… that's as a good question…. I don't know how …that exactly could be done that's the question I don't know how am I was can be done Maybe if when we get that cert any of those people not certain if there's a better way weeding out the ones that are not qualified and including the ones that are qualified….start with a whole new list if you have a cert of 100 people 30 of them are veterans the top of the other 70 are people from everywhere else perhaps if you were able to weed out the ones that weren't qualified and then start without was still it might help you to …I don't be more diverse and picking someone… it's really difficult to answer our hands are really tied these days because we have to go through

veterans first maybe a lot of a veteran is automatically going I say “I want that job” even if they're not completely qualified Now a good supervisor is going to have good questions to ask those that he calls from the cert because that's also going to tell him that persons qualified vet or civilian doesn't matter. You certainly want to find out what their personalities are like, and how they feel about working with the public or how they feel about working in the field how they feel about different things last when we could meet people out by the questions you asked once reviewing them but there's no easy answer for trying to make sure that we continue being able to hire diverse group of people unless there's some kind of fix to the veterans preference thing

H: Like a percentage?

VI: I myself think veterans’ preference is a good thing it's just that unfortunately it is really tying the hands of supervisors and those that are hiring these days

H: I wasn't aware that much of military preference how it works I do recall that the time I found out what it was and realizing it was going to hinder me in getting s permanent position seeing an email coming in from Jarvis saying “we are dedicated to making the National Parks a representation of America!” in reference to diversity And I remember thinking at the time hmmmm.

VI: Yeah I know exactly what you're saying because that's the other thing that I talked about diversity know like they say they want more diversity in the park but then they tie our hands and not being able to create that diversity because now we have to hire veterans and it's not as diverse as it could be sometimes…so it's really kind of a Catch-22 we can’t win we have to hire veterans but were also supposed to be diverse at the same time…and it's making it very difficult and I don't know what the easy solution to that would be…I hope there will be a fix to it somehow but I hope someday they’ll come up with something that’s going to make it easier. I don’t have a simple answer to what that would be…

H: The only thing I can figure is if I get a chance to talk with Jarvis, I don’t know if he’s even in charge of this deal but for instance for every 5 white vets we hire one veteran of color at least until some sort of equity is reached then we wouldn’t have to worry about certs if all these people are military to me it wouldn’t be quite so lopsided. They only way I can figure without changing the whole system. When I first started working they tried to get me to come to the forest service was hiring only females until equity was reached something like 25% female to 75% males. It was ugly! Woman were being hired who didn’t have any experience, course the men that did who weren’t being hired were bitter- it was a big mess. I hope it doesn’t get to that point.

VI: Right yeah I do hope and answer is found we don’t want our hands to be tied as they are. We want to hire qualified people whether it be veterans or people who are not veterans we want to have qualified people to begin the jobs at the park service as everybody does any kind of job so we just hope that it some point we'll be able to come to some kind of compromise or way to make it more equal but right now it's just really difficult so I don't know what the easy answer will be

H: something we talked about earlier was you said if a cert got challenged that everything that we don't out and be restarted again?

VI: yes one of the things I heard and you might want to double-check on this to make sure was that say you got that cert of 100 people 30 vets you come across one that that their resume doesn't match matchup at all with anything they answered expert to or just doesn't match up their resumes doesn't show they're qualify for the job they applied for you can challenge that whether things I've heard is that they can make you Okay you'll take the challenge but then you might have to re-advertise the whole job all over again…so I don't know exactly how that works that might be something want to check with HR…that's another way that our hands are tied…here we are trying to hire someone.

H: So it takes a month put a search on…

VI: It takes maybe a month to advertise the job [on Jobs USA, government job search website] and you have to wait for the cert to come in and then if you challenge someone's qualifications and then you might as need to start that search all over again…and six months later the seasons over and you don't need a ranger and that's just want the rules I think there is I don't exactly how it works that would definitely something you wanted double check on them that's the thing that hinders that we do is

H: Definitely you don't want to challenge it because then you can't hire anybody, correct?

VI: Yeah, it's the point where now we don't need anybody because the seasons over you just end up being really shorthanded because you weren't able to get somebody hired at the time.

H: Ohhh this is giving me a headache…laughter

VI: Just…a little bit…[sarcastically] laughter

Non-Native Supervisor V

H: Is there any Park Service policy you feel is not helping you be successful? That you feel comfortable talking about? (Laughter.) On or off the record?

V: There's a million Park Service policies that don't help me become successful. Or don't help people succeed—because we're a government agency. Ah…when, y'know, the Park Service just doesn't necessarily do things because they don't—because they don't think they're—they do things that—and the idea that they're bettering things. But may be a lot of times they're slowing things down. They do it in reaction sometimes. Ah, we got students for this so now, from now on you have to do this. And now it's a longer process. Ah, they change—they change hiring processes. Ah, what used to take may be two months to hire somebody now takes me six months. Ah, they change ah what my job certificates look like by putting more weight on veterans or whatever. That's a big deal to me. Ah, sometimes they conflict with each other. They want more …they want more diversity …yet …the pressure's been put on to hire more veterans. Most of my veterans' certificates are middle aged, white males…

H: When they talk diversity are they talking about females or are they talking about people of color?

V: No, they're talking about all of the above. But, still, even the females or people of color or anything else, are just not well reflected. There are no –the people that are most reflected on ah certificate full of veterans are middle aged, white males. So they're not …now. Did the government do that—did the Park Service do that on purpose? No. (Pause.) They want diversity but they also have this big need because there's ah, these wars going on and these

guys coming home that have fought for the country and they want a …y'know, pay them back in some way. And they want to ensure that they have jobs after the government and they're doing something they think is …the right thing to do …but they're not leaving—of course, we're government so, 'got to be this way!' And then when we do, it's like, oh, we've just completely cut off everybody else. So, yeah, we do it all the time. We do it—and I say we, because I've been in the government for 22 years. I didn't get this job to be a government worker. I got this job to be an environmentalist and somebody to talk to you about cultural and history and everything else. And ah…I'm part of the bureaucracy because I work for one. I put on the same clothes every single day. And I have for 22 years. I don't have to choose what I wear to work but…

H: So do you want to say how you would change it to make it better? Do you feel comfortable saying that? Or…I mean—

V: I think the problem with it—is—is—I would do million things to change it to—to make it better. I think the issue is—is that the issue extends all the way up to our elected officials. Our elected officials can make a decision nowadays because you're either this or you're that. And you either vote this way or you vote that way. And I'll vote against that. It sounds like a good idea but I absolutely won't vote for it because you—it was your idea. And that type of issue has trickled down to the bureaucracies and the bureaucracies are in the middle of that. And then, of course, you have the very same thing going on in our own bureaucracy. (Pause.) We overprotect ourselves sometimes. And we lose our freedoms. We lose everything else based off of that. Ah…and we lock ourselves down to these corners where it's always very, very hard to work. (Pause.) We have—if I had to do things, I would probably deregulate a lot of the stuff that we do. I would ah, y'know, I would deregulate …ah, military hires and store—or lower it down to say okay they can make the cert but then they're equal with everybody else. And you can hire anybody. Ah, and then I can go through and see what the job is and who I've got out there, y'know? And then ah…when I'm in a park like this and then I find somebody who has the background, has the history, and then might even have ah…the cultural background—that I'd really love to reflect here in the park, y'know? May be I ask somebody from one of these tribes. They've always wanted to work in a park, has applied…and I would love to have this person standing out there doing a program. (Laughter.) And what was historically ah…their homeland and that would be a beautiful thing. (Pause.) Yeah—I—I think sometimes because of mistakes that have been made here and there that we over react to the mistakes and then we take away –We hire people …that should—that they should be able to trust to make the right decision. But then we don't let them make any decisions because somebody else made a bad one time. And so now there's a rule. (Laughter.) And that's the way it happens. So we've over regulated ourselves. We've regulated ourselves right in to a point where it's really hard to move. And I still come to work every day hoping to make the difference I can through all the regulations. And—and it slows everything down.

H: Well, I think it's interesting that—I just recently saw on the website about ah, mentoring for Native youth. Do you think that ah, people of color who are trying to break into Park Service jobs kind of need a mentor? May be because they …I don't know but you had your dad and you, y'know, knew that—you wanted to in the woods. But some—may be people of color who haven't gone to college or may be haven't worked for the government, don't really understand how it works, and they might benefit from a mentor?

V: Y'know, it's kind of funny, because a lot of people have the automatic perception—especially for—for—of certain groups. So for Native Americans, everybody just say ah, anybody who's Native has this closer relationship with nature around them because…that's kind of been the educational part of it that—that—Natives—

H: We use every part of the buffalo. (Laughter.)

V: We met closer to—y'know that they were closer to the world—the earth they lived on. Ah, and so it's always been my opinion that the Park Service should be full of people like that (Laughter.) because y'know, they should all want to work for the Park Service 'cause y'know, there's all these national parks. This was their land before it was ours. They were living here, looking over this scenery and it still looks like that in the Park. That, y'know—ah, we got—(Indistinct.) We love to take pictures of people that you could tell are Native standing with a scenery in the background—the Grand Canyon or something like that. You can only get that scenery now in parks. (Laughter.) 'Cause everywhere else—filled up. Because it just looks right. You don't get that with all the groups of color. Like, ah …(Pause.) I think too that—that the sad part is that oftentimes it becomes park by park. In Tuskegee, there were blacks who worked there. A lot of blacks—mostly it was blacks who worked there. (Pause.) But why not here? Why not the Great Smokies? (Indistinct.) Yeah. But I've gone to areas that're right up against or have a reservation as part of it and it's Native Americans working in the those parks. But how about the parks were they're not close by? (Pause.) The—that's where I think it needs to kind of spread and—and again, I think some of the hiring practices we got right now make it even more difficult for those folks. And ah, I think that a lot times it's their voice. That they have to say, 'Hey what about us? We do want to work.' So first thing is…let them know what's here and why they would want to work in a place like this—

H: Recruiting programs?

V: A yeah, recruiting programs are kind of funny because I've gone out to them…and …sometimes we're not the highest paid positions and stuff like that. (Pause.) I think that you almost have to take the intre—I think that—that liaison-ship has to take place so that…people of color are coming into a park teaching about their culture and how it relates to that site. But they're also going back into their community and teaching about the Park Service and what the Park Service is doing so that people around them get excited to come do the same thing. I think that has the biggest impact. When you—when you decide to do something because …it just—it, it appeals to you inside because people around you that you like, and you admire are doing it then that makes a big—my dad was my mentor. Y'know? It wasn't somebody that walked in cold from outside or anything. It was my dad. It was somebody within my family. It was somebody within my culture. So, to have the—the more people we have working in the Park Service and—and doing this type of work who go home to their…to—to their culture and talk about how great that is …then that word spreads and that becomes ah—ah something that spreads from person to person. I think more powerful than almost anything else. But…

H: I know—first when I came to the Park before I even thought of working here, I felt a real connection here. And I went, ooh! A friend of mine who's a Standing Rock [Sioux], she came up to visit me one time, And she was like, oh man!- there's a vortex here or something. You feel that? Yeah, I felt it. I didn't want to say anything. And she was just going on and on about how she felt here. She definitely felt something. When I'd found out how many tribes originally came through here, doing whatever shenanigans they were up to, I was like,

ah…maybe I've got a cultural memory …But when I came here, I'd never worked for a government agency. I'd worked for a state park. I worked with the Coeur d'Alene Tribe. So, ah, I did not know …anything other than …I talked to the Archaeology Tech and he wanted to bring me into cultural for my internship. And he told me, I'm going to get you a job here. (Pause.) Because his …he has an adopted mom. He has an Indian adopted mom and I found out later from his wife who is also Indian, that I reminded him (Laughter.) I reminded him of—of this woman. So, I think that's probably the reason why he helped me. Usually—sometimes you don't get help.

V: Right. Right. (Laughter.)

H: But—he specifically wanted to help me. Told me that this is how you're going to get a job here. You're going to come to work every day in this volunteer uniform thing. He goes, and make sure you're always well dressed and you look well put together and your uniform…that your uniform looks well pressed. I'm like, all right, whatever. I'm never going to get a job here—that's crazy. And he goes, I'm going to introduce you to everybody that you come in contact with. And sure enough, that's how I met…Leslie. Because I needed more hours for my internship and she actually ended up offering me this job. And if it wasn't for you, going… to my school and talking to them into sending my transcripts to prove I was a student so I could get the job—'cause they—they said to the gal in HR—"you're in line at that clearing house. When they get to you they get to you." And I'm like, I don't even understand. And I feel like, for whatever reason, you stepped in—you went above and beyond the call of duty in getting me my job. I mean, maybe you do that for every single employee that you want hired here but I felt like, you in your position, you actually—I'm honoring you because I think you really—had not been for you going to talking to them, because University of Idaho, it was a man asking these women in this office who are well, used to men telling them what to do, for whatever reason they responded to you.They were not responding to our gal in HR. But when you called, with your charming Oklahoma accent or whatever (laughter).

V: Now when I called them, I said, look …your school wants to be known for getting people jobs that help more people sign up for your school. I'm trying to give somebody a job just because they're going to school for you. (Indistinct.) Why would you not want that? It's just an agreement that says, yeah, our student's got a job! (Laughter.) It costs you nothing. And that was the idea was just to say, hey guys, y'know? And now, this student can run around and tell other people: 'You should go to school where I'm at they've got agreements with the Park Service and y'know, you might get—you might get a job.' And they were like, ooh. (Laughter.) So, but yeah—I would do it for anybody. But it—it yeah, it was important though that—that we do have the ability to be able to pick up people. And that was one of the—one of the ways that we could hire somebody that necessarily, we'd—we might not be able to reach on a cert. Ah, and it was a method that was out there and I'm like, y'know Leslie called me up and said, ah, I like her. She looks like she could do a good job here. Ah, it's fantastic. And then she goes, plus, she goes, diversity wise, she's going to add a lot to us. She's—she's ah Native, you can tell. And she's got—she's studying this area. That's going to be a big deal to us. And I said, oh yeah, I'm all for this. Let's—let's do it. And then she goes, well, she's a student. And I said, that's easy. We—we can make that happen. 'Course the schools don't always…do everything and our HR department, always isn't real patient with them so (Laughter.)

H: I'm sure those two women weren't helping. Ah, so this is—this is kind of …I don't know how to phrase this now. Ah, you like the idea of diversity. That's obvious.

V: Yeah.

H: Some people…subconsciously…I call it 'innocent ignorance'…because they don't feel comfortable around people of color or whatever. Maybe don't really want that but they don't think of it consciously. It's almost, like, I just feel more comfortable with a guy that looks like me or is from the same area as me.

V: Yeah. And there're—there're people who I guess that just—that raised—I lived all over. Now. Especially since—I move everywhere. Ah…y'know, and, y'know…I told my wife, it's impossible not to just sometimes get ideas that groups of people or places, y'know? I told her, I said…the northeast drives me crazy. Their attitudes, y'know? That's a group of people! It's—it's an area of the United States. They drive me crazy. I said, sometimes the West Coast drives me insane…with some of the attitudes out there. One of my favorite areas…was by the southeast. There's some attitudes that they have that I really don't like. But at the same part some of their friendliness…I've never seen anywhere else in the country. I said, but you can see, you're going to group people. It—it's just going to happen in your mind. I said, but, sometimes it—it's, y'know, but you can let it affect you negatively or positively. If I break down…in my car…and I'm in…ah, Beverly Hills, I'm probably not too scared. If I do it and I'm the only person with white skin, I'll probably start to get really scared. But, regardless, if I—well the color of the skin, if I look around at all the houses and the windows are broken out and people are sitting on couches on their front porch, I'm terrified. (Laughter.) Ah, and—and so it's going to happen that way, y'see?

H: I'm terrified of a group of white men in flannel shirts…with guns…(Laughter.)

V: I'm not exactly excited about those either. Because I've actually driven into areas where I sat, y'know, side by side with another white guy in a car and we were thinking about hiking in to this national forest area ah…outside the Smokies. And there's this particular little town …if you weren't from there you weren't from there. Ah, pulled up and I was in a sedan so I wasn't in a pick-up truck. I wasn't wearing a flannel and I'm sitting on the side of the road and they pulled in and—and he's saying, can I help you? For the most part, southern people are pretty friendly. He was—I thought, see how nice they are? If you're sitting alongside the road, they want to make sure that you haven't broke down. And that happens a lot of times. Can I help you? Are you alright? Do you need a ride?

H: He was saying, move along.

V: No. He actually told me after I said, I don't know. We're thinking about going hiking here. He said, he didn't think kindly of the gays. So…. (Laughter.) y'know, so I was not very comfortable with him. (Laughter.) And maybe a little nervous about pulling off to the side of the road in certain areas. (Laughter.) And I'm like, okay. But…that's not us. We're just going hiking but we were innocent and we weren't from there. We weren't in a pickup truck. We weren't (Laughter.) and we were sitting alongside the road debating on where we were going to hike and evidently that gave him a whole different visual.

H: Man was his mind somewhere else—

V: So, it happens but I think one of the things that ah, we've got to realize is that, okay that happened and you're not going to turn it off and on but the idea is…if the—if—if everybody

can just realize that we all want to reflect upon each other in the most positive way. Maybe it's not fAmerican Indian Ranger to me to think that just because somebody's Native American that they are closer to …to nature. Somebody else might be like, y'know, no. I like Nintendo and (Laughter.) And I like it when I live in the city, y'know, and I want to be a banker. And it's like, really? (Laughter.) Y'know?

H: Like "I hate the reservation life. I can't wait to move to the city!"

V: But—yeah, y'know, but at the same time I—sometimes you can use those as really powerful forces, too, y'know? And, and ah, y'know, I think, that we're missing the boat when we're not able to diversify our work force and to look out there, y'know…and I think that's …Regulations created it. We tried to regulate to make it happen. And regulation has actually created more of this …stalemate that—it's—it's like, okay that's not working.

H: And last month, I think I received something that was actually ah, the director…who's the head—who's the head of the Park Service?

V: Yeah, the Director Jarvis.

H: Director Jarvis sent something about…it was specifically I think about diversity hiring.

V: Right. And they send these out on a regular basis.

H: (Indistinct.) military thing. Now we're going to do—

V: Do it right. But ah, it's like, y'know the new Pathways Program with—with education. Ah, they closed down some of the methods we've been able to, y'know—to handpick you or handpick somebody else. We're a little nervous about that begin and when I say 'we'…I'm in particularly nervous about that because…I may have gotten a cert that had all…middle-aged, white males on it. But I always had that ability to hire some students. Where all of a sudden, I could hire…females, people of color, and everything else that. They have lived in the area and they were interested. They wanted to do this so bad but couldn't make that cert…and they had the education and everything else and—and I'm like, perfect! (Pause.) I can hire a little of each and then all of a sudden I've got the diversity that I need in the park. Now if you take that away from me, if you take either side of that away or if you—you make me only do one or the other—I'm a little nervous about where that's going to leave us, y'know? It's—if—if now the Pathways says that there's military preference and that there's points involved and there's all these military vets coming back and they got the GI Bill and now they're in school…makes them students…are they going to block out my ability to hire you?

H: Yeah, we don't want that.

V: Right. So, (Laughter.) and—and it's then you're taking away the fairness of the system. And my ability to go out and try to make the—and it is important, y'know? I …because I've travelled all over…and worked in so many parks…I think, y'know, sometimes just having somebody from the area's important—having, y'know so, that type of the cultural history is important. People that can tell you that that they're, y'know, their family history…developed around a park that developed there, y'know? Which is really kind of cool. And sometimes there's negative feelings in the community about a park because the park actually took land that used to be theirs.

H: ah, if do you think there's a question that I should've asked that I haven't? That would help illuminate my thesis which you have no idea what it's about other than ah…indigenous research paradigm…success of Native American park rangers, and etc….

V: No. No, I guess the big thing is—is (Long pause.) No, I don't think you didn't ask a question. I think one of the things that I think that people like you should understand and that you should relate to other people is that …People should take an interest in this. Everybody should take interest in this. Your idea of—of having indigenous people into the Park Service and people reflecting different heritages in the Park Service said that may be relate to them anyways in their areas…is extremely important and we don't want to lose that. We don't want to over regulate it or regulate it out. We need to know that those things exist. If people need to be ….concerned …that that could happen. Ah, you need to be concerned but other people need to be concerned that may be the practices and the things that we're trying to do that we think are right, right now…might actually be going the other way for, y'know—we may be doing the right thing for some of military vets but we may doing the wrong thing for some of our—for our diversity practices. And…may be we need to bal—maybe that balance needs to come back. Maybe the pendulum's going way too far. It needs to come back to the center that allows everybody—

H: Or vets of color?

V: Right.

H: Yeah we're going to have vets as long as we have color—

V: Right. It would be fantastic. And I think, unfortunately, we don't see a lot—I don't know why—'cause there's a lot of diversity in the military but you don't see it go from the—from when they leave the military to the Park Service. Now I can see people right out of school doing that. That's a different story. I get a lot of diversity out of school.

H: So is there anything you'd like to add?

V: No. No, I think…I think the best thing in the world is that people like you are taking an interest in this and that people are looking at it and being aware of it. And…I think that's what needs to happen.

H: Okay, no nothing I've asked you has made you feel uncomfortable? Or that I'm going into areas that are going to be ...upsetting to people?

V: Not at all. I think it's an area that people have to look at, y'know? Ah...because things are…have controversy doesn't mean that we should avoid them. Ah, because things have controversy we need to look at why and try to figure out how—how do you get past that so that you can get a job done? Because …y'know….I—I raised my kids, I told them …you don't get a view unless you walk up the mountain, okay? You've got to walk up the mountain. It's—it's a tough hike but if you walk downhill, you're not going to get a view. (Laughter.) Really, you've got to go up the mountain. You have to do the work in order to get the reward. If something that—the tougher something is you fight through it—that is usually the bigger the reward. You got to take the controversy and you got to face it and you got to work through it or you don't get the reward. And our reward in this part, if we don't get it, we're really going to suffer—is the idea that we get people for different cultures to come into the Park Service to try relay that cultural history and keep it alive. And make it important to everybody 'cause…if we don't have that it's—it's the power of that message is

just going to just die off. We have to do what's hard in order to make sure that we—that we get the better reward.

H: Okay. I'll keep that in mind when I'm typing up this transcript. (Laughter.)

V: I think it's important.

H: Thank you.

American Indian Ranger I

H: So—which brings me to the question about military preference. We talked a little bit earlier about how I wasn't even really aware how much of problem it was causing Native hiring. That even if –not here because you have Tribal preference but like in California that that's not—there's no tribal preference.

I: Yeah but they don't use tribal preference here. That's just the point.

H: They're supposed to but they don't.

I: Right.

H: Well, down there they don't because they don't have to. But my boss would like to. He actually wanted to see me hired. But all of military people get automatic 5-10 extra points and so if they say that they're experts 5 by 5 by 5 they go to the top and you or anyone non-military don't even get seen. So, I guess my question to you is how do you see that resolved? I mean, do we go to the military and make sure people of color are applying for the jobs? Or do we try and change it from inside? It's not that I don't want to see military people getting in but it's all –he says it's all white middle aged men that come in and get these jobs.

I: (Pause.) Yeah that's it. Think if all the Indians that were in the military were to apply. Then they'd change their rules on the military.

H: We're the highest per capita serving in the military. Natives.

I: I don't know. That's a tough one. I would not know how to resolve that without …

H: I don't know either. I don't want to see military people not getting positions but I don't want to see all the white males—why can't it be man, woman, man, woman? Or man, woman from—for lack of a better term, minority. Man, woman, minority.

I: Yeah, I don't know. Yeah, it's a tough one. The Park Service is a pyramid. It's a male dominated uh agency.

H: Mostly "middle aged white guys" that's what my white former boss said (laughter).

I: White male dominated agency and uh, the only reason we see diversity is because –is in the area of interpretation but all the rest of the divisions are definitely, definitely not looking for too much diversity. The lowest paid program in the Park –like at the bottom. The bottom level is where –in interpretation where you see, y'know, even, even if you aren't counting Native people –you see the most diversity in the classes of people and so forth. We see more open minded people. You see people with visions and dreams and want to see a better world. You see them on that bottom level, y'know? You don't see them at the top.

H: Well I started out at cultural resources. They told me there was no jobs for –people die in those positions. They are very hard to get and they also have the military preference problem.

So I went to interp. Then I got sent to Fees. And I said, next I'm going to be in Maintenance. (Laughter.) And I looked around. Y'know how many people of color are in Maintenance?

I: There's a lot, hunh?

H: Yeah. I'm just like, 'This is not right.' Now we're in California. These Mexican people lived here and the border crossed them. They're not illegal aliens. They've been here since time immemorial and they're working in maintenance, cleaning the toilets.

I: Yeah, yeah, that's ridiculous. You need to go to another park. Y'know (Laughter.) Seriously. (Indistinct.) You're in the right direction. You're getting more education.

H: Well my old [Interpretive] boss is, I wish I could hire you so bad—sometimes I feel like… I mean, I don't know for sure but I've had this sense before that I got hired because I was Native and they liked to trot me out periodically. And maybe they were getting money or maybe they were getting some kind of kick back. Or they wanted—oh, we have 3% Natives in our staff.

I: Yeah. They could count it.

H: But, they don't really want you to get ahead either [not my former boss in Interpretation if not for him going up against the ladies in admin at U of I, I would not have been hired]. They want you to be in there for getting the numbers –am I sounding too bitter here…?

I: No. I think you're probably right. (Pause.)

H: Did you ever feel trotted out, like that?

I: Well, I just know that that, like I was explaining to you –I'm glad you're doing what you're doing. And, but—my battlefield is now with my little grandson. Now I got to get him to be ready to go out in the world and fight those battles. I gotta go back to square one. Y'know, but that's—no that's really important what you're doing. Somebody's got to do it. And you've been put in this position to experience enough of it—to—if you don't experience it, you don't know it. If you've never been there, if things went smooth as silk you'd never believe that your brothers and sisters are out there going through hell. I'd say, well how can they be going through that? That's not been my experience.

H: See, I just had a conversation with "A" today. She's like, what are you talking about. I'm like they are treating me with prejudice. I love "A" but do I have to explain it to you one more time, "A"? She says, well why do you think you're being –what'd she say—why do you think those are being prejudiced against you? You're not even 100% Indian! I'm like, oh God. And I said, you just insulted me. She says, well are you not half white? And I'm like, yeah but white people don't see me like that…Indians may see me as a breed but white people don't.

I: I don't even see you like that. 'Cause I'm almost full blood and look what happened to me [referencing her lighter skin]. (Laughter.) Y'know, it's the truth. It's the truth. My my brother and sister were darker than K, the ones that I was real close to. And then, and then the two older ones were kinda in-between and I came out like this, and like what the hell. Anyway and I got a tan see, (Laughter.) I'm really tan today.

H: I get a little lighter in the winter myself.

I: I know what you're saying but no…

H: I also figure, may be they hired me because I was light and easily palatable [to the general public].

I: Yeah, see, that's exactly it. Y'know what it is when you travel with dark people. They get treated way different. See, it's the same way with black people. They have their—it's the same exact thing they go through—the real dark ones are always discriminated against. And the lighter skinned ones are always trusted and so on and so forth. Same damn thing.

H: I remember going out with my white family. My Mom's parents. [We'd] go out to dinner, it would be "oh where'd you get this one at- with the big brown eyes?" And my whole mom's side of the family is light, light and light eyed. When I was with my Dad's side of the family, nobody commented on how cute I was with my big brown eyes. We were just treated badly. I mean, looks, little comments, y'know? We weren't thrown out of restaurants. It wasn't that era but…

I: You couldn't win for losing. You couldn't win on either side, hunh?

When I asked this ranger if there was something they wanted to add to before we finished the interview this is what they said. The following has been copied from a section of the interview from the previous chapter. I have used this again as it relates to the question of military preference, especially since I did not bring up the policy.

III: I think that ah…with the regulations the changes in hiring—as far as the—they got away with SKEP and STEP and all that. That it's going to be a lot harder to hire Native Americans…to work in the parks. I think, ah…we're going to be hard pressed to figure out a way to do that. Because if we have a visitor [who has questions and] a blonde blue-eyed employee standing right beside me with my long black hair y'know behind the desk…nine times out of ten they'll come ask me a questions…and I think, that's what you need. But it's going to be a lot harder to get.

H: Yep. Like my boss and I had a long, long interview two hours long over military preference. He actually said that's what gets in his way of being successful. He would—Director Jarvis wants people of color running these parks. But he's like, how do I do that? All the people that apply are white, middle-aged—old middle-aged white guys that are retired out of the military. They go to the top of the pile. They get 10 extra points. So, he goes, this is a good thing to kind of be talking about because you can't ask one thing and then tell me I can't.

III: Yeah. And I think if you're talking about—if it's a park about a culture or y'know something along that lines you should get ten extra points for being that culture.

H: I agree. There should be a culture preference or tribal preference or…

III: But it's discrimination. But isn't veteran's [preference] discrimination?

H: I don't—well when they did away with the school thing. I lost my STEP program. I'm not quite sure what's going to happen with me. I thought I was going to be moving into SKEP but that's kind of another reason I kind of got involved in this. Okay, I think ah that is everything. (Pause.) Thank you so very much. I appreciate it.

III: Thank you.

Chapter 8

Camping While Brown, "Hiking While Black"

> There were words on paper saying these protected spaces were meant for everyone, but we know they weren't really meant for everyone.
>
> – Caroline Finney, *Black Faces, White Spaces*

> We walked in [to a trailer converted into a bar] and they [African American friends] were already nervous. And as we were going in, there were line dancing, somebody went 'yee- haaaw!' My [Black] buddy, Darnett, goes, "We're gone. Because— because that's not the sound I want to hear."
>
> – Non-Native Supervisor

> It's interesting, there's something primitive about the nostalgia or love of camping, right? You want to 'Go back to a simpler time.' [said in a mock white man's voice] Well, you know, for Blacks any going back in time, anywhere in the previous 400 years…it's gonna be hellish. You want to go forward, you do not want to go back at any point!
>
> – Black male from video on website Black Folk Don't

This excerpt is from a blog on The Mothers Movement Online called Camping While Black by Deb Pleasants. "A recent family camping trip drew me back to a phone call I had with my father ten years ago, during which I excitedly told him my husband Mike and I had bought a camper. My father, however, didn't share my enthusiasm; instead, he struck me with a response I did not expect."

Me: What do you mean I can't go camping?

Dad: Because it could be dangerous for you.

Me: I don't understand what you mean.

Dad: Because you're black and ***blacks -- don't -- camp.***

Me: WHAT! I can go camping if I want.

Dad: I know...but things happen. You never know what kind of people you might run into out there.

Me: Dad, I'm not talking about some "Deliverance" type back woods. Mostly we'll be in state parks, surrounded by lots of other families.

Dad: Well, you still could run into some rednecks out there.

Me: I think you're overreacting. Besides, I'll be with Mike.

> *Dad: Just because Mike is white doesn't make him safe either, especially since he's married to a black woman. Promise me you'll all be careful.*
>
> *Me: (Laughing) Relax, Dad…it's just camping*.
>
> "I must admit, when I had this conversation with my father I thought he was…well nuts (or at the very least, paranoid). I found his old school worries humorous. However, there was nothing funny when Mike and I took our son Jaden on a family camping trip earlier this year. No, there was nothing at all funny when another camper extended a 20-foot tall flagpole that proudly displayed the Confederate flag" (Pleasants 2007:01).

Cliff Spencer, who is African American and also one of the few superintendents of color, has worked for the Park Service for 27 years. "It's nothing I can prove, nothing I can bring into a court of law, but there's something else, beyond being an outsider. There's something there." In James Mills article for *High Country News* he states

> In today's allegedly 'post-racial' America, this uncomfortable sensation is almost impossible to define. While there are no official barriers like the Jim Crow segregation laws that once barred blacks from parks, there remain several un-codified cultural limitations that discourage people of color from spending time outdoors or pursuing wilderness-related careers (High Country News, 2011:01).

According to several sources, African-Americans make up less than 7 percent of visitors to National Parks. From the website *Black Folk Don't*... a video featured Black folks being interviewed about why they did not camp. While several said they did camp, the majority said they did not and for various reasons from the mundane no showers, too cold, bad food, hard ground, etc., to the serious. There were those who spoke to a historical trauma they may not be conscious of. One woman stated "Something about the sound of feet crackling on the twigs…I don't know, you just feel like The Master is coming after you!" A large man who didn't look like he would be scared of anything stated "I wouldn't do it… unless I had some protection on me. Another man interestingly said "Black folks camp, we just don't do it out in the open, we hide it." A light skinned woman told this story. She appeared to be completely conscious of historical trauma

> I camp…my African American husband who was an Eagle Scout […] and we carry everything in […] we hike into the woods like he was taught in scouts […] As African Americans doing that kind of camping, in that part of the south one of the things we

> do is to try to signal "We are friendly!" because many of the people we are around are White southerners and they might have assumptions about us. My husband who is a civil rights attorney also has a "camping cap" and on his camping cap is the confederate flag…he wears this to signal "We're friendly! We're here! We're with you!" in order to make camping safer for us in Mississippi (Black Folk Don't, 2012).

In my five years as a ranger I can personally attest to the lack of diversity of visitors to Joshua Tree National Park. The number of campers of color I witnessed, very few with the exception of Hispanic, Latina/ Latino groups of young adults. About once a month one of the group sites would be occupied on average of 5-10 of these young adults, generally from Los Angeles. I did some informal interviewing of one group that hung around the visitor's center charging their cell phones and camera batteries. I asked them if they ever felt nervous about being out of the city and way out in the high desert. For the most part they were not concerned, except maybe for snakes and scorpions. But they were in a group, I rarely saw a couple or individual of color camping by themselves.

In the spring of 2011, I was working in the Visitor's Center when a Black gentleman and his kids came in to purchase a car pass and camp. We exchanged pleasantries and he went on his way to the campground. The next morning he came back into the Visitor's Center demanding his money back for the next night of camping he had already paid for. He explained he and his children had gone for a hike and when they returned some other campers had squatted in his spot. When he went to the white campground host, the host told him he had to 'work it out' with the other camper. The gentleman explained he had a slip on the post with his name on it, he had children with him and the squatters were drinking and noisy, all to no avail. He stated because he was Black the campground host did not believe him and sided with the white squatters. We do not refund campground money that has already been dropped in the "iron ranger" so I offered to write up a card for free camping in the future. He replied he would *never* come back to this park, and refused to fill out a customer comment sheet on the incident saying "What good is that going to do?" I took money out of the register and after he left replaced it with my own money. It was only $15, but the damage done by this one incident is immeasurable.

Non-Native Supervisor V

H: People of color don't like to go camping?

V: Yeah.

H: They might get lynched when they're out in the woods. It's this weird thing like a historical trauma where you're out in the woods …anything could happen –

V: Hispanic groups I've seen because they—they like to do big family activities and I've gone to campgrounds and seen –ah great Hispanic families, yeah. Ah, I think, they've taken advantage of it. I haven't seen a lot of black families, all though, (indistinct.) for me. And—and I was just shocked to –again you get that perception in your mind. He walked down the Appalachian Trail four miles stopped at a shelter woke up before sunrise, walked back along the Appalachian Trail as a the sun came up. Got back to his car, drove down to his government house, showered and came to work for the day. He did that overnight on a work day. Because he wanted to go, to be up on the Appalachian Trail. I'm like, where're you from? (Laughter.) 'Cause, I—it was just so shocking. And he was one of the most –he was one of the most interesting guys. Here's a black guy in east Tennessee working in the mountains (Laughter.) I could—I could do a shelter back-- I mean, I bet you everybody walked by and was probably –their jaw probably dropped. Y'know, it was like, where's he going? Because they almost didn't expect it. I—I y'know, hopefully…he has kids and he tells his family and then they start doing the same thing and—and there becomes some sort of appreciation. I just think that's the coolest thing in the world. But you have to have that. You have to have somebody…that they respect come back and—and tell them why it's neat.

H: Y'know, one time I went up to some sun dance grounds I wasn't familiar with. I didn't get there 'til night and I—I was expecting to see tipi poles up and I didn't. I just saw tents. And I just kept driving by this one spot and going crazy all over the place. Try to find tipis. Try to find tipis. And finally I –a big, huge group of people …that I should've stopped at immediately. I finally went over, is this Leonard Bends' camp? And ah, they went, what were you driving all over for? I said, I'm from Idaho, you don't drive in to a camp you are unfamiliar with. I mean, there's a lot of areas up there that you don't go into if you're a person of color. And a lot of bad things happen to people up in those areas due to Aryans and white supremists. So…that's part of the problem. There is even this sort of perception that if, y'know…being around a just a group white people who are drunk going 'whooo!' makes you nervous (Laughter.) little joke.

V: Yeah. Where I went to school was southern Ohio. And you might as well been in the middle of the southeast. Ah, and it was in the middle of Wayne National Forest. Ah, and they were trying to recruit different diversity and then we had ah, …three…uh…three black guys that actually ended up coming into this class I was taking and it was a law enforcement class for ah park rangers. And ah…ah, I hung around with all three of them. We were having a blast but we went out to a little bar and we should've went straight into Athens. We didn't. We were outside of Nelsonville, Ohio (Laughter.) and we walked into a country bar (Laughter.) It was a converted trailer. (Laughter.) We walked in and they were already nervous. And as we were going in, there were line dancing, somebody went 'yee- haaaw!' (Laughter.) My buddy, Darnett, goes, "We're gone. Because—because that's not the sound I want to hear." (Laughter.)

Chapter 9

The Elders and the Ancestors Speak

> There's the case of the one Crow shaman that the Crows talk about. He fasted at the different warm springs what is now Yellowstone Park. They say he saw these great water beings which the Crow call B'looksa […] and so one time we were at the park with a Crow elder and we were talking about that [story]. I said does it make you nervous or afraid to be in these areas and he said no, wouldn't it be great to fast here and see those beings for ourselves? So, the difference tends to be I think when it comes to sacred sites is that maybe Christian societies teaches us we need to have distance from those areas, the way that we show that its sacred is by separating it, making it different. But for the Crow people they need to be interconnected with it, needs to be brought closer to them so they can experience that sacred quality.
>
> – Tim McCleary, Little Big Horn College

> Our stories tell us we were created on the Yellowstone River so we are the first caretakers of this land, and [now] the land has been polluted physically and spiritually. We are affiliated to the land, to nature […] The Crows used to own Yellowstone Park, our blood and bones are mixed with the land and that's why it is very special to us.
>
> – Grant Bulltail, Apsaalooke

In *The National Parks America's Best Idea: Homeland* Gerard Baker tells a story of his favorite moment in his early years working in the National Parks. He was working at *Awadi-xiue,* the Knife River Indian Villages in North Dakota walking among the depressions which used to be lodges. He had a copy of the Lewis and Clark Journals, going to a place where one of the lodges used to sit.

> And in my mind I could see the lodge standing up. I could see people moving around and I went to the front door and cleared my throat to announce myself, because I didn't know whose lodge it was. And my memory's going in there, sitting down where the men should sit, and reading the journals and trying to go back in time – and actually sitting there and closing my eyes and going back and coming to a point where I really believed that I had a veil left to go. And Had I crossed that veil, I would have been there […] It is a place that has a lot of ties and memories for family, and they can bring them back over and over. And my grandchild, I'm hoping can see the same thing that my great-grandfather did (Duncan and Burns 2009:59).

This cultural or collective memory, a memory of something you have not experienced yourself but has somehow passed been down, is a common one for Native peoples. The ancestors speak to you, oftentimes imparting teachings when you do not expect it. According to Gerard this is not a phenomena reserved for Natives "Now you can go in there and you can

walk as our ancestors did. You can go in there and see what the creator has made for us. And things are alive. You can feel it, you can feel the spirits" (59).

In *We The People of Earth and Elders by Serle L. Chapman*, N. Scott Momaday explains cultural or collective memory

> I believe that the sacred goes on and on as with ceremonies, stories or songs, just because they aren't practiced or heard anymore does not mean that they aren't still there. In *The Way to Rainy Mountain* I wrote of how my grandmother was present when the last Kiowa Sun Dance was held. I think that there is some kind of spiritual information in the Sun Dance which goes on. It is so in oral tradition. I know there are mysteries involved in the retention of things; you tell a story and it may appear to die away but in my experience some of these things, many of them, have come back – even across generations – which is something I don't understand. It's as if goes in the blood somehow and it crops up down the way (Chapman 2001:258).

Elders, medicine people, and their visions are highly regarded by Indigenous peoples. Many stories of the dreams and visions describe the saving of a people who, if they did not follow the prophecy by the seer, would have meant certain decimation. Take for instance the Story told by Apsaalooke (Crow Nation) Joseph Medicine Crow in *We The People of Earth and Elders.* An Apsaalooke prophet predicted long before the news, or arrival of the white man, "There are people with light eyes and bushy faces who are coming across the big water […] they are going to take our land. They will take everything but when they show up my advice is to work with them because there will be too many to resist." And for the most part the Apsaalooke have never fought any battles with the United States, and in fact have worked with the government. And the Crow nation has on occasion used the government to their advantage, as according to Medicine Crow states "Like in the Custer deal" whereby the U.S. Army fought the Crow traditional enemies' the Sioux and Cheyenne (Chapman 2001:15).

American Indian Ranger I

I: And so [condors] used to nest in Hell's Canyon. And we have a family story of a condor. My grandfather, he was 14 and one flew over him when he was riding his horse on the prarie. And he saw the tops of the trees moving, it was that huge. Can you imagine?

H: I've only seen one in a zoo. —actually, it was preening and plucked out one of its feathers and it fell out through the fence and I picked it up and it was almost as long as my leg.

I: Oh wow. Is that not amazing? Isn't that amazing? But we have legends on these like the little boy that was six years old, one time there was a land slide and he saved—his life was saved by a condor. Let's see I've got—Just down here. It goes to right here.

H: Are you sure you're dealing with—

I: Oh yeah. But that's all projects—not very many of them for 20 years. Anyway, but, yeah, and the other thing I really want to get done is—I've lately got into name places. There's like 500 name places—tribal name places in our area and I'd like to have like a big, big 5x7 sheet and it'll be a big map. And then as you go through the materials and you put—fill in the village or (indistinct)—because the best work we have done is by Billy Williams in 1894 and he worked with Alice Fletcher and just amazing the knowledge that was in that. And it was never published. It finally came out and…people who had traveled back east and go to the National Archives and I don't know exactly where her stuff's at there but that document was in there. And it had over--almost 400 village sites marked and it just didn't have village sites, he talked about which area was responsible for what and how they all moved together. They had lead villages in each band and all—all this stuff—

H: So you got your hands on that document?

I: Yeah we do, but it's rare. Only a few copies but the thing about it is every tribal member – that should be something that should have—

H: Have in a library

I: Yeah! I'd like to have a booklet where they fill in—but we have people sitting up here in cultural resources who—who don't want that to go out to the general public. Well, I mean, anybody who knows anything about archaeology knows that every single drainage that comes into a river comes was a village site anyway—I, y'know?

American Indian Ranger II

H: Did you have a mentor? Was there anybody that sort of either got you into it or helped you along at some point? It sounds like you did have someone who was at least watching out for you. And give you a heads up when things were happening. Because I think that a lot of times, we just don't hear—no one ever told me, hey! There's a piles of jobs in the park for you for you to have, y'know. No one ever came to my school and talked about this kind of stuff.

II: Nobody ever did, not to me. In fact I was told –I think I was told, y'know ah…(Indistinct) ditches. (indistinct) counseling in [local city], Idaho and at first I was going, y'know what? You're a bunch of b.s. And….the thing is, I knew I was going to go to art school. I knew I was going to do something else. I just didn't know where it was going to lead. …I didn't realize art was getting me into the park service. And the culture (indistinct) …Ah as for mentoring…(Pause.) I grew up here. [local city], Idaho and I was adopted by a Crow Indian who'd married a Pennsylvania Amish woman.

H: Wow!

II: He bought a car and had a business and they had to move to a Phoenix, Arizona because his sister had asthma. And my father—my adopted father who'd been a [Tribe] had gone into the American Indian Ranger Force—ended up, his last duty station [at a] Air Force Base. They had met at an Air Force dance. (Pause.) And…they got married down there. But he came back up here because he was looking for work and he went to work for the mill here. Ah, they actually adopted me and my brother and my sister –they ended up adopting me –my brother and sister took off and then they gave them back. But they were out around here—but Dad having grown up here was literally and had …[Local Tribe] trust around here—knew

everybody. And he worked the mill with the [Local Tribe] people who knew me. But, state law said that I couldn't know my relatives until 18. Well the thing is they didn't say—I couldn't have stuff from them. And so I—one family (indistinct) in the bottom of ah…oh my mom's refrigerator that were just mine. (Pause.) And I had those things come to me from people I didn't know [excised] and ah…so they were watching me. They just weren't going to say anything but they were watching me. And that's where I was wondering, why are these things coming?

H: Kind of guiding you with …with gifts.

II: Stuff's just coming in and then at graduation…they thought I was big enough thing I say, hey I know who you sister is who was adopted. And we got together we're best friends and still are to this day. And ah…the rest of the family is actually kind of jealous of us because we're really tight. And, anyway, ah…at graduation ceremony had all these [Local Tribe] people show up that I had seen but really didn't know and then I started getting introduced. So this is so-and-so's uncle. This is so-and-so's your aunt. And these are your sisters. I'm wondering (indistinct. Laughter.) And so, also from there a bunch of relatives just all of a sudden. I kind of knew about it but due to the dammed state law –couldn't say anything. So right then I had an aunt who kind of took me under the wing and was teaching me things. And I used to love the stuff. I tell ya she was working on [Local Tribe] and talking to [Local Tribe] and be talking to her. And she'd get, here have another peanut butter sandwich. You'd feel so much better with peanut butter in your mouth. (Laughter.) And that's a commodity thing. You'll recognize that out there—

H: Commod [Commodity aka government cheeses] Cheese. Delicious. Still delicious. (Laughter.)

II: So I had that going on. And I was asking about things and she taught me how to (indistinct) things about bows and arrows (indistinct) and then my dad and then I learned more information about to do that—you said it—living in it. Being inside of it, y'know. And what responsibilities are. So these things just started all adding up. You have to go from one to another. I talked to a friend about this, and he said, you reconstruct a culture from one item. If you can see it. And we started talking about it and you know what, you can probably tell a lot about the culture –like the raw hide. Well, you have to have the animal skin. What's involved in that? Getting the animal, using it up, finding all the bits and pieces, y'know and how they've been used. Before you ever get to the hide because that's the least thing …you can eat. The rest of—you still can't—then you have the hide to work with. You're going to know all these things and …what's going to make raw hide? Well, you've got go find the animal… Where do you find them? Well, you have to know where they are. And you have to have been in the country long enough that you know where everything is at. And so, we're going, where does this come from? Well, this is from so-and-so. Where does this –y'know you have to travel quite a ways to get all this stuff to put it all together. And ah…it's one of those things we're going from an item you can interpret a culture and talk about the use of things out there. A lot of things. [Not just] from one item. Because you have to put them all together. These are complex items…

H: This color came from here. And this color came from there.

II: I found this over here. It might attack you. (Laughter.) Things like that, y'know.

H: It might eat you.

II: It might eat you. You've got to have water. You've got mix it in a bag. You've got to have the tools to create the raw hide. …A whole series of things that people might take for granted. Now, you've got to know where these things are. I mean, you can be an artist go down and buy all the paints you want but what happens when your paint runs out when someone shows [up] What are you going to do then? Well at least I know where all the paints are.

H: Find some red rock.

II: Yeah. Well, then you talk about that. Talk about the culture or the refrigerator. Y'know, I'm going in …ah…you guys are nomadic—Well, we were never nomadic. (Pause.) We just grew up in a very large larder. You had to be able to know where to go get these and you had to pay attention to the laws and they were ones that were—they say when the salmon comes, you'd better be there. Because if you're not there, you're not going to eat.

H: The berries are ripe. (Laughter.)

II: These are the laws. And if ah…you don't abide by them, you don't survive. And ah…you kind of get that. (Indistinct) Reach over here, get it, pull it out. Reach over here, get it, pull it out. But back then we had to go over here—and then okay, we're going to travel 3 days over here to get this, pull it out. And then we're going to travel over here, pull it out. And this we have at home, y'know. And then they kind of get it. So you're (indistinct.) ideas on …the y'know, use of the culture and talking to people. At least they can compare and contrast for themselves at this point and the greater public. And so, sometimes we even have to teach the park service people about our culture because if not, they'll talk about it from their schooling point of view.

H: Are you talking about superiors or—

II: Yeah, yeah.

H: How do you feel about that? That you're teaching, I mean, I don't know if you want to talk—discuss that exact topic but…it seemed like almost every national park is on Indian land and all of the people that—mostly work there are non-native men—middle aged white guys as my boss—my white middle-aged boss calls it. We're just a bunch of middle-aged white guys!

II: And that has changed a bit too and it's one of those things where I've had ah—I've—I've talked with…y'know, the highest up person up there and talked about our culture and he…he's very glad we're here. He's very glad we have our people talking about themselves and our adventures through history. (Laughter.)

H: So better to have the natives out front than in an office in behind?

II: One of the things I've liked is –I've used my art…my ability to do things—create things, curatorial otherwise, working with material like that ah…to be out there. I'm—I'm kind of good at that. Building cases, designing cases, ah…may be even making some new items for cases ….y'know, illustrating, telling the stories…about these things—I like it. I'm able to put it all together. I'm not bored.

American Indian Ranger III

I have reiterated this small section from the previous chapter as it speaks to the importance of taking down the elders' stories before it is too late.

H: Oh! The bookstore at Little Big Horn Battlefield probably has ten books on Crow women that follow them from when they were kids and their grandmothers didn't speak any English and they lived totally traditionally through the TB era –

III: Oh god, that would be excellent! There's nothing like that around here.

H: I think we need to get some people interviewing some elder women before—

III: I've got my mom just turned 70. You couldn't tell by looking at her.

H: Well, you look like you're 20. I don't doubt it. (Laughter.)

III: But, ah, she likes to write. She writes short stories and stuff. Y'know Mom, you need to—when I was doing my research because I did [Local Tribe] women I did Indian women in general. I couldn't find crap. The time frame from 1920 to present day is –there's just nothing there. And so, ahm, I did a lot of different interviews and stuff and trying to talk to people. I told her, you need to write down just stories that you remember. Just start writing. Just writing down. She was—you you were in your 20s in the 60s. I mean, tell me about it. What was different from when you were 10 years old to the time you were 20. Tell me.

H: That'd be such a good book to read.

III: Yes!

H: I went through. I've probably read six of them so far. Because Jackie's like, that's our relations! That's our relations! This is my aunt. And this is…uh Lindeman interviewed (Pause.) Then her granddaughter wrote her autobiography of her experience with her grandmother watching Lindeman interview her grandmother. And then she talked about her experiences. And she was the one that went through all this—all this stuff. I'm just reading all these books now have all these linkages. I mean, I'm just reading like crazy.

III: It would be good. Mom's been starting to write. She's been writing here and there and different things.

H: May be you need to go around, start interviewing people? Write some little books. In your spare time (Laughter.

Chapter 10

"Telling Our Own Stories"

American Indian Guest: Where are they? (Pointing with his lips at the mining interpretive displays on walls)
Me: Who?
American Indian Guest: The Indians!

There's a story and we all have stories as Natives. And those stories need to be told by the Natives, indigenous to that area. And so [You don't want a non-Native Park Service employee starting to interpret this?] Exactly. Exactly. Ahm, and we have a lot of Custer buffs. I mean we have…millions of people that come here …and they already know the story of the battle. We have military troops that come here ah to see the battle site. Uh we have experts with the Park Service that know the battle. We also know stories that the Natives tell. But …and you'll see it I think as we get on the tour that when it comes from one of your own [A Crow/ Apsaalooke tribal member]—a Native person—it's more effective. Even though there are experts in the field, it's more effective.

– Jackie Yellowtail, Apsaalooke

We spent $15,000 once on a visitor survey and all of us interpreters could've told the park what people would've said […] sure enough they want to know more about Indian ways and what Indian people really thought, y'know?

– American Indian Ranger

I think that in the Indian world story is one of the principle creative elements in language. People address each other in terms of story, they tell stories – that's part of the conversational mode – and they explain the world in terms of stories […] In effect the storyteller says, 'I'll tell you a story and what I ask of you is that you believe it'. You have to invest belief in it because that's part of the vitality of the story. If you don't play that game there's no point in going on, but if you do, you will believe, then we can realize wonderful things.

– N. Scott Momaday

Telling our Own Stories in the title of this thesis was actually added to my first thesis proposal. When I read my title to a relative he proclaimed when I was finished "AND telling our OWN stories!" This theme, telling our own stories, has come up over and over in Indian country and to the chagrin of some non-Native folks. This is another one of those uncomfortable but necessary conversations that we must have. As has been brought up in earlier chapters by both Native and non-Native park rangers and staff, the majority of park guests want to hear Native history from Natives.

> *"Because if we have a visitor [who has questions and] a blonde blue-eyed employee standing right beside me with my long black hair (American Indian Ranger) y'know behind the desk…nine times out of ten they'll come ask me a questions…and I think, that's what you need."*

Although initially what non Natives hear about challenging topics might take a while to digest, that is what interpretation is supposed to do; make a visitor think about the topic after the presentation is over.

After listening to the most dynamic Crow interpreter on Apsaalooke Tours, I was shocked to hear her tell me one of the visitors refused to shake her hand as he exited the bus. She told me that it actually happened quite often and stated with a shrug, "*Custer buffs*." At the time I was annoyed someone would be so disrespectful. But now I know this person may have been so affected by what he heard he would be thinking about it long after he had left the confines of the Park. As N. Scott Momaday explains:

> I think that the sacred is something that is purchased through sacrifice. Actually, I believe that the words sacred and sacrifice are probably related in some important way. To me that which is sacred is earned. The obvious example would be a battlefield, land that is purchased at the cost of blood, which makes it sacred. Somebody has said that where words touch the earth there is the sacred, so I think it is possible to endow the earth with a sacred aspect by means of language, by means of words (Chapman 2001:257).

This interview took place after a Crow-Shoshone ceremony and before I took the "Apsaalooke Tour" offered through the Little Big Horn College in Crow Agency. The tours offered are approved by the National Park Service and the Little Big Horn Battlefield National Monument. I sat in on two amazing tours, one with Rose as previously mentioned and the other with Asa Looks at Pretty Things. Asa is a direct descendant of Ashishishe, aka "Curly" Custer's favorite Crow Scout. Tickets for Apsaalooke Tours are sold at a kiosk within the visitor's center at the Battlefield. Jackie Yellowtail is Director at Apsaalooke Nation Tourism Department and Granddaughter of Thomas Yellowtail Apsaalooke (Crow) Sun Dance Chief of over 30 years.

H: Jackie Yellowtail Interview…(laughter)

J: We have a history of tours began at Little Big Horn College back in the '90s and my big sister, Mardell Hogan Plainfeather ah, started the program. And the reason that she started it was so that the college students would be able to learn a business. And she was a Park

Service employee and had retired so uhm…she started this interpretive guided tour program and Little Big Horn College became the recognized concessionaire with the National Park Service.

H: So are the people that do the tours are they Park Service employees, tribal employees, or…

J: They're, well the contract is legally under…legally under the College and so uh, they are college students, Native American students, mostly Crow because obviously we're here. (Laughter.) And, so they are right now what's happening with the program—Let me back up. It is that the College no longer wants to run this program. They—they don't want to be in tourism. They are an educational institution and Dr. Yarlet wants it to—for a couple years now—has been wanting to relinquish it.

H: How do you feel about that?

J: So…uhm, well, because of my ah being the director of tourism for the Crow Tribe it's a natural. So, it choose—I took it on in earnest and what we're working on right now is the transfer of concessionaire contract from Little Big Horn College to the Crow Tribe. And this, we did this summer I took it on as a transition period uhm, and then we'll get the contract signed. And that was with the okay of the regional office in Denver and uh, previous to that I did work at Little Big Horn College and I ran the tours in 2008. So, I've had experience doing it. And was glad to take it on uh, with the Tribe. So that's where we're at so I've been running it under the tribe so the staff that I have—my guides, ticket agents, and my bus drivers are employees of the Crow Tribe right now.

H: And they get paid?

J: Yes, they are paid.

H: Do you ever see the possibility of the Park being involved to help pay? Or you do you want this to be strictly tribal run? So you have complete control over it.

J: Well, I think the way the contract has been run have been working effectively for almost 20 years so, ah I don't –I personally believe that the guides need to be separate from the Park [Service].

H: Can you give me your opinion why you think it should be separate?

J: Because of the stories that are told, of course, we know that there are (indistinct) we know that there are stories that each tribe has for whatever region or area they represent—represented as it ah—as it has to do with ah their particular park. There's a story and we all have stories as Natives. And those stories need to be told by the Natives, indigenous to that area. And so—

H: You don't want a non-Native Park Service employee starting to interpret this?

J: Exactly. Exactly. Ahm, and we have a lot of Custer buffs. I mean we have…millions of people that come here…and they already know the story of the battle. We have military troops that come here ah to see the battle site. Uh we have experts with the Park Service that know the battle. We also know stories that the Natives tell. But…and you'll see it I think as we get on the tour that when it comes from one of your own [A Crow/ Apsaalooke tribal

member]—a Native person—it's more effective. Even though there are experts in the field, it's more effective.

H: (indistinct) Park Service employee would have to pay or not?

J: I don't know. (Laughter.) I would think that you would get a pass. Well, let me, let me…'cause I'm a—I don't have to pay.

H: Y'know, it's funny my thesis title is: Native American Park Rangers blah blah blah Telling Our Own Stories. ...Because I did hear several stories before you—got this idea of people talking about hearing an archaeologist tell the story of a cultural resource, a non-Native ranger come out and tell a story, oh yes, that's interesting, and then a Native person actually, y'know, came from the land tell the story and it was—it would move people. And I think if you can move people to protect cultural resources why not use, y'know, those stories—just for a purely mercenary perspective. Y'know from the Park Service their biggest concern right now seems like is to protect rock art in California, to protect cultural resources.

J: Well, I think that's true all over.

H: So why would you have some white archaeologist come over and talk about (indistinct) arrow head blah blah, y'know that's not really gonna—(Pause.)Well ah [name withheld] I think you might've met him about 4 years ago. He's [local tribal town]—he's [Local Tribe] from [local tribal town]. He talked about telling some stories at a—it wasn't in a park but he found out later that the non-Native people were repeating his stories during—y'know, the wrong time of the year[after the snow melted]. And he was very, very upset about that.

J: Yeah, absolutely.

H: The ladies were like, what was the problem? He told the stories in public. And he's like, yeah but they're my family's stories and they are only supposed to be told during the winter time. And that never seems to be understood. (Indistinct. Pause.)

H: So do you know if any—so you said that there's a lot of ah Native park rangers that work here at Crow Park Rangers—are they seasonal only?

J: That's a big—that's kind of a big controversy with the Park is the assistant interpretive ah park guy is a Crow and he actually started on us all get tourists at the beginning—that's Mardell. He worked at the college in fact, he's the chairman of the board at the Little Big Horn College but he's been up here for years. (indistinct) next to Ken Woody? As head of all the interpretive guides, he's the assistant. He's Crow.

H: So he makes sure that possible Crows get interpretive positions? Ah, that's a big big deal.

J: That's why they have housing over here [for the Crow rangers].

Non-Native Superintendent IV

IV: Right. And so I said, okay. We're going to make some changes and they were like, okay. Here we go! Ah, 'cause I that is how my reputation is that I come in and I move people out of where they have been and we move into a place that we—in my opinion—need to be and to move—

H: For healings—I think.

IV: Yeah. Well, and plus if you've been to this park—come to this park five times in the past 10 years, you're not coming back. (Indistinct.) We're telling the same story we told five years ago, 20 years ago. Why? Why would you come back? What would be interesting about it? So we did a retreat. We came up with a vision. We came up with some goals to achieve that vision. And ah…We continue with our strategic planning. We continue to refine that. We continue to move forward with that, but it's relentless pressure. There's no going back.

H: Traditionalists, Christians, [various bands]—

IV: Right. The whole thing—

H: You don't have two bands. You have like four bands.

IV: And, y'know, so the way we've done that is we pick out people so we pick out someone like [famous tribal person]. Well there's a lot of information about him. We actually got a saddle of his just recently.

H: Oh, is that the one that was in the Spokane…I think there was one on display in Spokane—at the Campbell house or something.

IV: Yeah, we just got it from a private collector. I'm not sure it's ever been on display before.

H: Cool.

IV: And we can use [famous tribal person] to illustrate the transition between y'know the early 1900s into the middle 1900s, y'know to use him to sort of articulate what was happening with [Local Tribe] people during that time period. Ah, y'know we could use somebody like [spiritual leader of the Tribe] to tell the resurgence of a more cultural ah traditional kind of religion—religious practice with the [Local Tribe] tribe. Ah, so that's the way we've done it. Instead of trying to do this general, this is what happened with the [Local Tribe]—because who are the [Local Tribe] People? They're like everybody and they believe in lots of different things. We pick out people—

H: To tell the story?

IV: —to tell their stories.

H: Cool. I'm getting excited.

IV: And use that personal (Laughter.) Perspective so at the [massacre site] we tell the story of y'know, [warrior]. And we tell the story of [tribal leader 1800s] , and [tribal leader 1900s] people that we know more about then just the generic they were 700 [Local Tribe] and 2000 horses. Y'know, we try to find out—I mean, [local Tribe ranger] is related to people who were there. [spiritual leader] great grandpa, he knew her. He talked to her. She was there. Uhm, [medicine person] descendants are here. They know stories that he told them of about it. So we try to pick up those personal stories. We personalize the story of [local tribe] The man was an amazing Civil War hero. He wasn't just the military king, y'know? So we talk about who was he? What was his motivations? And why would he have done what he did here? That's the way we think we can tell these stories without running into the, kind of, y'know, well it's only Presbyterians or it's only the [tribal religion] It's only [one band or the other]. So, y'know, we pick and choose individuals and we use those to illustrate those time frames and those—those stories that we want to get out.

H: I'm going to have to tell you that I need to follow this story that you're telling me right now. Because I'm getting really excited about that fact that—I don't if you could tell me are there any other parks that are actually don't this sort of thing? I mean, I know that like some of the uh….Navahos, information about Code Talkers and but, y'know…

IV: I'm sure they are. I'm sure that people are y'know have, uh I don't know what they do over at Little Big Horn but I imagine that there's a pretty good information on uh, y'know… Crazy Horse. Or some of the individual Indians that were there. But whether that's used to talk more about culture or just that battle I don't really know. Uh, but y'know, we thought long and hard. How do you tell this…continuum—huge amount of time without generalizing or stereotyping? You find a few people to illustrate the time periods you want to talk about. You tell their story.

H: So you interview people like [spiritual leader] and [medicine person]?

IV: We have. We talked to [medicine person] a lot.

H: The other gentleman… So will there—will he be sort of featured in some sort of way. So he'll tell a story or?

IV: May be. If that—if his era is the story—the era we're looking at and…he is somebody who other people would say, oh yea. He would be a great person …to to talk about his life and to illustrate these times. Yea. And sometimes it's just we can't find anybody else who's willing to talk to us and tell their story. Uh, but you know [tribal artist] grandmother, she has this amazing history. She don't—she doesn't hardly ever speak English. Y'know, she speaks [Local Tribe]. But through people, younger people, y'know we can find out—so, who was a young adult in the 1920s that would be willing to talk to us about what it was like living around here in the 1920s. (Pause.)

H: Are there very many books written by [Local Tribe] women? I just, probably read just six Crow biographies—not autobiographies. I'm talking to Jackie Yellowtail and I'm like, I read that and she goes that's my great aunt. And she's like, have you read this one? This is my great aunt on my other side. And I went, no, like that. And they're really ah—one of gals talks about wanting to go to go boarding school but also coming home, staying with her grandmother. Ah, and also uh, I mean ah tuberculosis. Ah, working as a nurse. I mean all these different—and it's a really beautiful story. And it's too bad somebody can't get that down.

IV: Yeah

H: Before it's too late.

IV: We look and look and look to see if there are books written by Na—by [Local Tribe] and they're not that many. We just—it's really hard to find them. [Local Tribe] people are still very into oral history and oral tradition and I don't really know—there's lots of people who've written books about [Local Tribe] people who are not [Local Tribe]…ah…and then and we do try to collect oral histories. There are articles. There are papers y'know that can kind of compile and collect. No there are not a lot of books about [Local Tribe] written by [Local Tribe]. I don't know why.

H: Well, may be that'll be my PhD project. (Laughter.)

IV: Yeah! Fascinating. Because the Park Service chose the [Local Tribe] people to demonstrate the history of Native Americans in this country. I mean, that's what this park is all about to use the [Local Tribe] as the…uh, y'know representative of the history of how European /Native American relationships went in this country.

H: Pretty similar.

IV: Yeah. Just about everything that happened anybody happened to the [Local Tribe], y'know. It was so late in the…history of this country when the treaties came about and the war came about and the reservation came about that they had gone through y'know the very first white men to all sorts of things, the diseases, the sending away to boarding school—anything that happened that—almost everything that happened to a lot people in this country happened to the [Local Tribe]. And the Park Service just said, okay. Let's tell the story of Native American people in the United States through…the…filter of what happened to the [Local Tribe] People. And I think we also need to be saying, y'know and at this time when the [Local Tribe] were having these things done to them so were y'know the Sioux, and the Comanche's and y'know this is not just an isolated, single event. This was happening to people all over the country but we know a lot about what happened to the [Local Tribe]. Y'know, because [famous tribal leader 1800s] became very iconic.

H: Awesome. I'm excited about this story.

Chapter 11

My Park Story

This thesis originally was entitled *Interpretation as Ceremony: Using an Indigenous Research Paradigm to Examine Indigenous Ways of Knowing by American Indian Interpretive Rangers,* or telling our own stories in both worlds. It began as an indigenous research case study and exploration of the success of American Indian Rangers in the National Parks, speaking to their "interpretive protocol." That is – did Natives use the Park Service's rather rigid seven-step paradigm? Or did they use a more indigenous approach, similar to that of traditional story telling? Traditional American Indian storytelling is circular, often humorous, and sometimes bawdy with repeated themes, which can be told to listeners of all ages, yet interpreted by the listener differently depending on their stage of development or age. Traditional stories are never "preachy;" rarely are their characters black and white, good or bad, moral or immoral. Instead, for example, Coyote can save the animal peoples by slaying the monster, yet also send his penis across the river in attempts to furtively copulate with the duck maidens.

This all came about after I fulfilled my internship as an archaeological technician in the Cultural Resource Department at Joshua Tree National Park. My mentor, "Doug," Lead Arch Tech at Joshua Tree, told me with concern that I probably would not get hired after my internship as the Park (as with most National Parks at the time Fall 2010) was suffering through chronic underfunding. He did tell me, however, that I was "one of *them,*" as I was liked by most everyone and fit into the Park dynamics, so he would see that I got a job somewhere in the Park. He suggested I not wear Levis, t-shirts, or tennis shoes, but that he would get me the clothing the Park volunteers wore, and to keep them clean and pressed. A tan long-sleeved Park volunteer dress shirt, matching Park field hat, my own khaki pants, and field boots completed my "professional" field attire. Doug told me he would introduce me to every single Park employee we stumbled across in our duties, not so easy when the majority of our time was spent in the field doing archaeological survey and site reporting by ourselves.

At this point, I need to backtrack a bit. For approximately six months prior to getting accepted as an intern at Joshua Tree, I had contacted the Park's volunteer coordinator and sent her my vitae. She then gave me a contact of the woman in charge of the archaeology department. However, a "George" responded tersely when I called to give details about my

qualifications; he asked me how old I was and was quite dismissive. I assumed George was in charge of interns, volunteers, and the SCA (Student Conservation Association). Though I was somewhat discouraged, I went ahead and sent an email with my vitae expressing interest in an internship. I had experience with these types of people, the "Gatekeepers" in anthropology and archaeology, generally white males. These men, consciously or not, only want to work with others who share their backgrounds, mores, and unfortunately, also share their sex and race.

I didn't know how to proceed, since, as the Senior Research Assistant at the University of Idaho Alfred W. Bowers Laboratory of Anthropology, I also served as a volunteer coordinator of sorts and would be ecstatic if someone came to me wanting to volunteer at the lab, regardless of experience. Free labor! The first chore volunteers were given was to de-flesh a varmint down to the clean white bone for our burgeoning faunal collection. I am not ashamed to admit I myself cleaned a buffalo skull and consequently was unable to eat jerky or dry meat for some time after. So I had a sense John did not want me on staff, possibly due to my experience as per my vitae. Finally, I made the decision to drive down to Palm Springs from Idaho, to visit the very friendly volunteer coordinator I had spoken with six months prior, "Lolani."

When I got to Palm Springs I called Lolani and requested a meeting. The next week I was sitting in her office. Lolani has a great big smile, but is also no nonsense, smaller, buxom, woman with a thick head of unruly black hair. I first thought she was possibly Native or Mexican American (I found out later she is Hawaiian Native). Initially I was extremely nervous having to delicately tip-toe around my previous experiences with George. I immediately felt comfortable in her presence, she looked over my vitae and asked, "Haven't we spoken before?" I was reticent to tell her the whole story of "George;" so I just said I had been in contact with him and neither he nor his supervisor had ever gotten back to me. Laloni asked if the lead archaeologist contacted me; I told her George had said she was on vacation. Laloni looked pensive, and then said slowly, "Ahh…George no longer works in the Park." She then called "Doug" to come speak with me. Doug showed up, a middle aged retired cop, small and well-built with dark hair and moustache. As Doug looked over my vitae he commented laughingly, "Wow, I think I could learn a few things from you!" Laloni then explained to Doug my experiences with George. Almost word for word and with the same

expression as Laloni, Doug said cautiously, "…Well… John doesn't work for Joshua Tree anymore." I wanted to jump for joy, but I instead asked if Doug could use my help in the archaeology department. And he responded, "When can you start?"

Why was Doug so interested in helping me? After all, like George, he was a white male. In fact he was older than John so you might think he would be less open to have me work in the department, especially as he acknowledged that I might have a tad more experience than he in certain areas. Later when I met his wife, Betty, I instantly recognized a sister. We hugged, exchanged the Ndn (Indian) greeting: "Where are you *from*? And what do you *do*?" which means what tribe are you from? And are you trad (traditional)? Later when I asked her why she thought Doug took me in, she explained how Doug had been adopted into a Lakota family and that his Indian mom meant the world to him, and when she died, he was given the honor of taking her up into the hills. I asked Betty laughingly "So, are you telling me I remind Doug of his ol' Ndn mother?" She said, "Well, you *do* resemble her." Much laughter followed.

Before I accepted the internship, I explained to Laloni that I was willing to "do whatever it takes" to make this work, but I had some "issues" I had to discuss with her first. I felt comfortable explaining to her my need for time off in July for family ceremony. She said no problem that is your religion, and besides July is the slowest month; it just might work in our benefit! Then I told her I had some large visible tattoos which I would be more than happy to cover up with a long sleeve shirt (my volunteer shirt had short sleeves). She asked to see them so I removed my jacket. She held my arms, really looked them over, then finally said, "They are beautiful, and this is your culture. So if anyone gives you a hard time, send them to me." She continued, "When I was in interpretation one of my programs was on Cahuilla women's tattoos, one design showed you were a good potter, another showed you could weave, etc., A Cahuilla man would never marry a woman without tattoos!" This story speaks to the importance of an Indian (or indigenous) Pathways (student) employee having a mentor (or better yet two!) who understand the special needs of their employee, especially one who attends traditional events, or needs to leave at a moment's notice for family emergencies. Unfortunately, Laloni would leave the Park under duress due to harassment from a supervisor. She later filed a lawsuit but the outcome is at present, unknown. This same supervisor was the basis of another lawsuit brought on by several women. These women were not brought back

during their typical season and were replaced by inexperienced men. So, that season there were no female interpretive Rangers on staff, with the exception of leads. Again, the outcome of the lawsuit is unknown. However, the supervisor retired shortly thereafter.

I was nearing the end of my five-month internship, but I was short on hours. The archaeological field school I was going to help oversee with Doug was canceled. Doug and I went over to Laloni's office when I overheard a woman in uniform stating she could not find volunteers to come out to Cottonwood. Cottonwood was the Visitor's Center an hour away on the south side of the Park from headquarters in 29 Palms. I looked hard at Laloni and raised my hand high. To make a long story short, I met with the lead Ranger at Cottonwood, telling her my predicament. She asked excitedly, "You're a student?" Then immediately after, "Have you ever thought about being a Ranger?" I told her yes, I had been an archaeological tech and interpretive guide at the Coeur d'Alene Tribes Old Mission State Park. She asked for my resume, which I sent to her from my phone; she excused herself as the center was getting busy. By the time I got home, I had a job offer. And like several other of my co-researchers I "accidentally" became a Ranger.

At this time I was still intent on my first thesis on NAGPRA (The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act), which was one of the many hats I wore at the U of I anthropology lab. But pursuing this topic in California was proving difficult, if not impossible. One day while working at the Cottonwood Visitor's Center, a middle-aged Indian man came in. I observed him looking around with a somewhat quizzical look on his face; finally he stared at me and said "Where are they?" I honestly knew exactly what he was talking about, but smiling I played along, "Who?" and he said "The Indians!" I responded "You're lookin' at 'em!" we both laughed, introduced ourselves, with the where are you from and what do you do greeting. I showed him the table I had set up to interpret cultural resource issues the Parks were facing, but I acknowledged the Park had little interpretive information on the tribes that had subsisted in the locale, let alone that those same people had descendants living throughout the low and high desert on the outskirts of Joshua Tree National Park. I did tell him and his family (his wife and daughter were using the facilities while we had our little comedy routine) there was an important ceremonial spot five minutes away from the Visitor's Center and I explained its location and traditional uses. He said he wished he'd had some tobacco to leave at that spot. Unfortunately, at that time I did not carry tobacco to work and

so I could not accommodate him. I never made that mistake again. From there on out I always brought tobacco to give to Natives who wanted to say a prayer at that beautiful spot.

I tell this story because not having local tribes represented at least through displays or interpretive programs is inexcusable. Not having at least one local tribe represented by way of a local Indian Ranger is a real lack of foresight when cultural resource destruction either through looting or vandalism is rampant in the National Park system. And Joshua Tree National Park is no exception. In spring 2013 three separate incidents of rock art vandalism occurred. According to my co-researchers, linkage of the present back to the past is the most effective way to impress upon all guests that these cultural sites have meaning and belong to a living people. And the way to impress upon guests this linkage is to have a local tribal member speak to the meaning these sites have to their tribe and them personally.

This problem of the lack of Indian presence in the Park was described in detail in the *Scholar's Reports by Cindy Ott, Laura Watt, and Raymond Rast of a visit to Joshua Tree National Park June 10-12, 2008.* One area of emphasis in the report is the myth of the vanishing Indian. "I think visitors could leave with the impression that American Indians left the area in the nineteenth century upon white arrival, though Indian communities obviously still live in the Park's midst." And "One might consider tracing a couple of family histories and connecting them to Indian policies within and outside the National Park system." And further to "consult with members of the local Indian community about what they would like to see exhibited." And finally on the issue of lack of Indian presence in Park literature or interpretation the report states "Unfortunately, the tendency is to create cozy and nostalgic images of the past that actually communicate more about what present-day visitors and interpreters want the past to be or how they want to envision their ancestors, instead of its harsh realities." In the "recommendations" section, under highest priority number one, "Provide training and support for Rangers who conduct history-related programs." I believe this may be shorthand for bad or ineffectual interpretive programs, especially in reference to how Indians were presented, or lack of presentation (Ott, Watt, Rast, 2008:5). I had heard the story of a middle-aged, white Ranger whose interpretive program was a day in the life of a Cahuilla 'maiden.'

The following story was told to me by "Wendy," the former Joshua Tree Assistant Archaeologist. On a training program Wendy attended at Mesa Verde, the coordinator told the

class they were meeting at a pre-contact (Indian) archaeological site and they would have an archaeologist interpret the site. Wendy stated when the archaeologist was done "interpreting" the site she was actually "embarrassed for her field." He was so dry, and so boring, dates, levels, soil samples, etc. The presentation left her unmoved and wishing for the class to be over. But it was not over. A Park interpretive Ranger came over and started interpreting the site, the Park Service's history of the area, possible uses, both mundane and "spiritual" and so on. Wendy said it wasn't too bad, the presentation had a few interesting details, but she still felt a bit bored and unmoved. Then an Indian woman came over to the site, she introduced herself, what tribe she was from, where they lived now, and how this was the spot where the bones of her ancestors lay. At this point she put her hand over her heart and continued on to what I would call an "Indian Interpretation" of the site. Wendy still looked moved recounting this story. She said by the end of this woman's narrative of her people and the site, most of the class was in tears.

I myself had a similar experience when I attended two interpretive programs at the Little Big Horn Battlefield in Crow Agency, Montana. First was an interpretive program given by a white man who was a professor by trade and a Custer buff, working summers at the Battlefield. The second was two separate presentations on the Apsaalooke Tour bus. The Apsaalooke Nation (Crow Tribe of Indians) partners with the Park Service offering Indian views of the Custer Battle. Apsaalooke Tours is run by the Crow Tribe's Little Big Horn College in the summer months during high season. Apsaalooke Tours has a table set up next to the desk in the Visitor's Center, selling tickets for the tours, which run all day, every other hour. Little Big Horn College students give the tours, they get paid for their time, and the college gets the balance of the funds.

The first interpretive program by the white man was good. He was a competent and confident speaker; however, he did something I was trained not to do, which is known informally as "Interp-a-tainment." The presenter feels the need to entertain the guests versus drawing them in through the aforementioned seven-step interpretive protocol. The seven steps are comprised of tangibles, intangibles, universal concepts, identifying your audience. After writing a theme statement including a universal concept, you would then use interpretive techniques to develop links into opportunities for connections to meanings. The next step is to choose and develop tangible-intangible links that illustrate the idea or ideas expressed in your

theme statement into opportunities for the audience to form personal connections to the meanings of the resource. Finally, the speaker uses the theme statement to organize opportunities for connections and cohesively develop an idea or ideas. This is condensed from a 23-page National Park Service Interpretive Development Program called *Professional Standards for Learning and Performance*. I actually was required to take an online course called Eppley, which took several hours. My biggest concern was not absorbing the concepts, but getting a passing grade so that I could start developing interpretive programs. I did not really grasp much of the course. However, I do recall one thing – interpretation is not entertainment, nor is it simply facts. According to the interpretive guru Freeman Tilden, who wrote *Interpreting Our Heritage* in 1957, "The chief aim of Interpretation is not instruction, but provocation"

I might also change another of Wilson's lines from "If research does not change you, you're not doing it right" to "If interpretation does not change you, you're not doing it right." And I have been changed; I thought I would be a Ranger or maybe a Lead Ranger for the rest of my Park Service career. I love being a Ranger interacting with visitors, and especially Junior Rangers, exploring with them the importance of cultural resource protection. I feel it's important for kids and parents alike to understand that the Indians that created these sites are still here. However, due to current Park Service policies and lack of support or opportunity for advancement, I fear my Park Service career is coming to a close. I cannot bear the burden of paying back my student loans and general living expenses on $15 an hour. I'm one of the lucky ones. Living in San Bernardino County means a wage bump for the high cost of living. If I were living elsewhere my wage would be closer to $12 an hour. And like me, I wonder how many other good Rangers will leave only to be replaced by someone just looking for a *job.*

Unfortunately, my Ranger story does not have a happy ending as far as Joshua Tree National Park is concerned. When student funding ran low I was laid off and a long time employee's daughter who was working on her AA degree was moved into a SCEP i.e. permanent track position. This funding issue was debatable, the previous Chief of Interpretation had a hasty retirement and it was found he had unaccounted for, large sums of monies. This is also the Chief who told my supervisor to be careful how he talked to me about the "moccasin incident" in case I got upset and sued on the grounds of the American Indian

Religious Freedom Act. And it is also the Chief who was brought suit against by women Rangers when he failed to rehire them and instead hired all men. My supervisor explained to me that I made this particular Chief uncomfortable. When I returned from Idaho to take another Ranger position I found out my first day back I was dropped a grade, which meant a $3 an hour wage cut. More recently when I requested spring semester off to complete my thesis, I was sent an anonymous single piece of paperwork stating I had resigned my position. My option is to apply to other parks within two years of graduation under the Recent Graduates Program through the Pathways student program. Permanent position conversion is not assured at the completion of the program. The position must still be run though JobsUsa.org, and veterans may still apply with their additional five to ten points on the Cert.

Chapter 12

Methodology

> For many centuries the human mind labored under the delusion that the world was flat; and thousands of men have believed that the heavens were supported by the strength of an Atlas. The human mind is not yet free from fallacious reasoning; it is not yet an open mind and its deepest recesses are not yet swept free of errors […] But it is now time for a destructive order to be reversed, and it is well to inform other races that the aboriginal culture of America was not devoid of beauty. Furthermore, in denying the Indian his ancestral rights and heritages the white race is but robbing itself. But America can be revived, rejuvenated, by recognizing a native school of thought. The Indian can save America.
>
> – Luther Standing Bear, Lakota, 1933

When I first proposed *Interpretation as Ceremony,* the intention was to use an Indigenous research paradigm to interview American Indian Park Rangers. The questions I formulated were meant to gain an understanding of 'Indigenous Interpretation' of cultural resources and resource protection issues. Did Indigenous or Indian interpretation enhance the experience of Park visitors as well as job satisfaction for Native Rangers? I was also interested in determining if Park visitor's opinions and preconceived notions of Indians might be changed by experiencing an interpretive program by an actual Indian. I wondered if cultural resource protection might be enhanced if Park visitors understood the historical linkage of the 'people with their place' by attending a program by an individual whose ancestors were a part of that story.

This was important as many people I have spoken to or read about have no interest in cultural resource protection. These folks often cite the meaninglessness of cultural sites such as lithic scatters of projectile points and other worked stone, or increasingly violated rock art sites. It seems as if many visitors think of American Indians as at worst "extinct;" at best "somewhere else." Abject looters, amateur archaeologists, metal detector enthusiasts, rock climbers, or hikers, think nothing of picking up (or climbing on) culturally significant items and either take them home to their collections or bring them in to visitor centers. Those who bring the items in do so to "save them from someone else picking them up." This is something I would call 'innocent ignorance.' That is ignorance of the law, as it is illegal to be in possession of any culturally significant object according to The Archaeological Resources Protection Act of 1979 (ARPA) and the National Park Service. ARPA was enacted

> …to secure for the present and future benefit of the American people, the protection of archaeological resources and sites which are on public lands and Indian lands, and to foster increased cooperation and exchange of information between governmental authorities, the professional archaeological community and private individuals 9Sec. 2(4)(b)). The reason behind the enactment include recognition that *archaeological resources are an irreplaceable part of America's heritage and that they are endangered increasingly because of escalating commercial value of a small portion of the contents of archaeological sites* [italics mine] (The Archaeological Resources Protection Act of 1979, 2015:01).

When I explained the reason these objects should stay where they are most often the offender who brought the item in to save it would say "but don't *you* want to save it?" as if taking said object into a storage container in a back room filled with other storage containers filled with many more objects amounted to "saving it." I would then explain the law and the reasons we kept items "in situ," that is in their proper site. I spoke to hundreds of people every day, generally on the topic of cultural resource protection and no one ever once thought that descendants of those site manufacturers might come back to those places. This told me that there was not a link in people's minds that Indians maintained a spiritual, ceremonial, or physical connection to those cultural sites today.

In my cultural protection programs with children in the Junior Ranger Program I would always ask 'what would happen if each of us picks up the (for instance) arrow heads we see as we are hiking?' This conversation could prove to be much more difficult with adults. Oftentimes I was met with an angry response when I told a visitor we were no longer allowed to share with guests the location of rock art sites due to their eminent extinction. Also, I would explain why metal detectors were illegal in all national Parks and were in fact subject to seizure, due to the fact many burials contain metal objects. Oftentimes I received no response and I would go on explaining if one was caught disturbing a grave the penalties were much worse than simply picking up an "arrowhead." Sometimes I got the impression this had no resonance for them either. There is a theory posited by modern pagans that pre or non-Christian groups are subject to archaeological digging, yet digging up a Christian grave is a crime. This is a prime example of the general public having no understanding of the importance cultural resource sites have to living descendants of those who produced those sites. These sites are considered sacred as they are graves of those living descendants' ancestors.

The dilemma I encountered early on in the interview process was that the 'problem' American Indian Park Ranger's face is twofold. That is the issues all Park Rangers of any ethnicity, including white face, as well as the issues that are specific to American Indians, and other Rangers of color in general. Anecdotally, it appeared success rates were fairly low from speaking to a small sampling of American Indian Rangers in Idaho, Montana, and California. Obviously, I wasn't sure how the rest of the country was fairing; call it 'minority paranoia' but I found it hard to believe this was simply a west coast issue. A recent survey on federal government employee satisfaction placed the Department of the Interior 12th place out of 19 large agencies. Tellingly, "Effective Leadership" was ranked 17th out of the 19 agencies, and "Support for Diversity" was ranked 16th (Best Places to Work, 2014:01).

Originally my intent was to identify and quantify levels of job satisfaction of Indian Park Rangers throughout the country accessing 'co-researchers' from two websites, *SAIGE,* the Society of American Indian Government Employees Facebook page and the Park Service's internal employee forum *In Touch.* Much to my surprise not one person contacted me to be interviewed. I did have one director from *SAIGE* suggest I contact Otis Halfmoon Ranger and Park Service liaison on several issues I brought up on various threads. In retrospect I'm not sure why I was surprised. Would I want to complain about my job, bosses, or coworkers, while trying to get a permanent position in a white male dominated institution? I repeatedly asked for interviews with the caveat that interviews would be anonymous with no link to interviewees' state, Park, tribe, gender, or name. It was at this point that I grew concerned that I was not going to have a thesis, and not knowing how to get Indians to talk about success or the lack thereof, I decided to complete a practice interview.

My first interview was with the man responsible for my acquiring a Ranger position at all. I was hired immediately following a brief interview by the woman lead at the Cottonwood Visitor Center. The problem occurred when Park Human Resources could not verify my student status thorough the University of Idaho for two months when the Park needed me immediately. To make a long story short, this gentleman, a former Supervisor at Joshua Tree National Park, called the University stating

> Now when I called them, I said, look…your school wants to be known for getting people jobs that help more people sign up for your school. I'm trying to give somebody a job just because they're going to school for you. Why would you not want that? It's just an agreement that says, yeah, our student's got a job! (Laughter.) It

> costs you nothing. And that was the idea was just to say, hey guys, y'know? And now, this student can run around and tell other people: 'You should go to school where I'm at they've got agreements with the Park Service and y'know, you might get—you might get a job.' And they were like, "ooh… " (Laughter.) So, but yeah—I would do it for anybody. But it—it yeah, it was important though that—that we do have the ability to be able to pick up people. And that was one of the—one of the ways that we could hire somebody that necessarily, we'd—we might not be able to reach on a cert [due to military preference] Ah, and it was a method that was out there and I'm like, y'know Leslie called me up and said, ah, I like her. She looks like she could do a good job here. Ah, it's fantastic. And then she goes, plus, she goes, diversity wise, she's going to add a lot to us. She's—she's ah Native, you can tell. And she's got—she's studying this area [cultural resource protection] That's going to be a big deal to us. And I said, oh yeah, I'm all for this. Let's—let's do it. And then she goes, well, she's a student. And I said, that's easy. We—we can make that happen. 'Course the schools don't always…do everything and our HR department, always isn't real patient with them so… (Laughter.)

I really had no intention of interviewing non-Natives but he was a real 'character' as you can see, and I enjoyed hearing his stories in that Oklahoma twang he had—what the hell. Well, someone was certainly guiding me that day as this first interview was where I initially became aware of the implications of "Veterans /Military Preference." What I heard that day would change the direction of my thesis. The problem of military preference then became incorporated into my thesis. Using an Indigenous research paradigm was still of great importance to me. However, having my 'co-researchers' read each other's answers to my interview questions and comment seemed implausible. I had no luck in luring Natives throughout Indian country to be interviewed, so in desperation I reached out to family and friends for connections.

The second incident that occurred to change the direction of the thesis was a survey we Rangers were given to hand out to guests in the spring of 2013. During a lull in visitation I read the survey. On the back page I noticed the surveying agency was affiliated with the University of Idaho. My next day off from work I called the contact number for the Park Studies Unit. My initial interest was to see if I could use the Unit to survey guests on their satisfaction of interpretive programs. Firstly, if they had an interpretive program with an American Indian Ranger what the guests' level of satisfaction was versus if they had watched a non-Native Ranger give a program on an Indian topic. I found out this was not possible through the Park Service Unit, but I did find out they were actually working on a similar survey on a yet to be determined date (due to funding issues).

What I was told was that the Park Service had concerns over lack of diversity and as soon as funds were made available to the Unit several surveys would be started. One of the approaches would be a round table discussion with people of color to find out why they did not take advantage of National Parks (This would be reiterated in detail in the High Country News article *Parks for All? The National Park Service Struggles to Connect with a Changing America).* I started to laugh and the Unit representative asked me what was funny and I said, "Well, you can save a lot of money because I can tell you several reasons why people of color do not come to Parks in general and do not camp specifically." This includes what I have learned from diversity and stratification seminars, historical trauma theory, as well as my own personal experiences. Spearheading the effort with the Students for Progressive Change to rename Squaw Bay, belonging to the activist group Idaho Women of Color, interning with the director of North Idaho Human Rights Institute etc., I believe gave me a particular insight into others experiences with exclusion and racism.

Spending my teenage and college years in North Idaho, specifically in the mining towns of the Silver Valley and later in Coeur d'Alene and Hayden Lake, gave me and my friends personal experiences with rednecks, separatists' and all manner of Aryan Nation members. A missed opportunity I was not prepared to experience was to accompany my college boyfriend on his tour of the Aryan Nation compound to interview Richard Butler during the height of his reign in the early 1980s. However, I had plenty of incidents with his army of idiots, being repeatedly yelled at or called names such as Pocahontas, Salmon Nigger, or being told to "go back to the Reservation!" for instance. Being refused service, spit on, chased at high speeds through Farragut Park after stumbling upon a Aryan 'boy scout jamboree' cross burning, seeing my male friends of color getting beat up and spit upon. One North Idaho College Nez Perce school mate was spit on and attacked by a bare-chested, tattooed skinhead. When security arrived they tried to haul my friend off and would not listen to me when I kept saying, "He's a skinhead, look at his [swastika] tattoos!!" The saddest part of the story is my friend never returned to school. Having other students in class acknowledge they were proud members of the Aryan Nations, having Aryan Nation 'Storm Troopers' show up in classes to make sure teachers were "Telling the truth." Getting harassed by Storm Troopers at the Mall, and while at a buffet looking to my left and having a man in a full Nazi SS uniform right next to me. At 16 years old having someone leave a card under the

windshield wiper of my car while I was swimming up the north fork of the Coeur d'Alene River that read "KKK Racial Purity is America's Security." The quantity of these incidents statistically cannot be a coincidence.

At the current Park I work at a Black gentleman was not believed by the white campground security host when he complained a group of drunken whites squatted in his camp making noise all night. The next day he told me what transpired and that he would never come back to the Park to camp again. In *Nation's Parks Take Steps to Attract Minority Visitors*, Mieke H. Bomann and Audrey Peterman Park advocate "Blacks used to work the land […] It is in our souls, but because of the experience of slavery and segregation we have run away and gravitated to the cities and towns. The outdoors are associated with violence" (01). According to the article, while 30 percent of the U.S. population is composed of people of color, only 5 percent visit the Parks. H. Enoch Page is quoted in the article, "Historically, the Parks are the domain of white preservationists, and visiting one is similar to moving into a white community world." Page, an associate professor of anthropology at the University of Massachusetts is author of a study of the black history of 17 Parks in New England (Bomann 1991:01).

Most recently, I was driving past the campground a couple miles from my cabin and noticed a shade structure set up with a bevy of county police officers across the street. I stopped to ask them what was going on. They responded there would be a Nazi Parade the following day in Coeur d'Alene and that the Aryans would all be staying here at this campground and that I should move along. The following week I found out from a Coeur d'Alene tribal member some of her relatives had been attacked by the Aryans the night after the parade when their car broke down in Cataldo where my cabin is located. The police had told them prior to the attack to get out of there, that they "could not protect them." The fatal mistake the Aryans made occurred when two security men in a turret mistook car backfire for gunshot chasing it down and shooting into the car. The Indian woman and her son survived, hired Morris Dees, who sued the Aryan Nations and won the compounds and all its contents.

Due to these incidents I did feel my safety was threatened; on several occasions I did fear for my life. I could go on ad nauseam on 'minor' incidents I have experienced or was privy to due to my positions at the North Idaho Human Rights Education Institute, Coeur d'Alenes Old Mission State Park, the University of Idaho Native American Student Center,

and during public outreach for the University of Idaho Laboratory of Anthropology, be it a comment, a look, harassment, all on a continuum from annoying to devastating emotionally and spiritually, but never life threatening per se.

I do not share these stories of ethno-violence for sympathy or shock value. My sense has been when presenting on these issues or acting as an advocate for others while at the aforementioned positions, these incidents were often denied at worst, or minimized at best. This was a topic in a diversity and stratification round table; well-meaning white folks who don't want to hear or believe these incidents are still going on. For example a story was told of exclusion and racism and a middle aged liberal (or she wouldn't have been at this conference!) white lady responded with concern "Maybe you misunderstood what they meant?" We spent some time educating the group on the damaging effects of minimizing or questioning the validity of someone's experience.

The bottom line is the majority of these racially charged incidents occurred *at night, and in the country.* When there were actually police or security in the vicinity to enforce the law they failed to protect the innocent, the people of color. Maybe you're Black, no one in your recent family history was lynched, but your family tells you not to go camping or into the country where you are not familiar, it's not safe. That would be an example of historical trauma. For American Indians you go off the reservation and you chance getting spit on, jumped, beat to death by trolling white males. Or shot, sometimes by white police. That would be an example of reality. According to the Department of Justice Study in an article by Suzy Buchanan, *Violence against American Indians is a Pervasive Problem,* the violent crime rate among Alaska Natives and American Indians is 100 victims for every 1000 Natives. This rate of violence is two times higher than that of blacks, two and a half times higher than that of the white population, and four and a half times higher than that of the Asian population. Contrary to the common assumption that Blacks experience the highest percentage of violence, the study found "American Indians are more likely to than other people of other races to experience violence at the hands of someone from a different race, with 70% of *reported* [italics mine] violent attacks perpetrated by non-Indians" (Buchanan 2006:01).

According to Barbara Perry in *Silent Victims Hate Crimes against Native Americans,* American Indians are placed in inferior positions by white Americans due to historic as well as current negative imagery. She estimates that only 10% of hate crimes against American

Indians are reported. She blames the low reporting rate on "historical and contemporary experience with the police, and the perception they do not take Native American victimization seriously" (ebook). These negative images occur in four clusters that make Indians at risk for violence. First, American Indians are thought to be without a recognizable culture, second, are perceived to be incapable of progress, and third, are not thought to be self-sufficient but dependent on the government. And finally American Indians are considered to be morally and intellectually inferior. Perry speaks of boundaries, both physical and social, and how Indians are seen as a threat to these boundaries; that is, when members of the dominant group, for instance, shout "go back to reservation" to Indians' they encounter on the street. Perry states they do this to keep their favorable positions. Thus the "counter hegemonic" acts carried out by Native Americans, such as the ongoing protests against the XL Pipeline, are seen as a threat against social boundaries and privileges (Perry, ebook).

In areas of overt racism, such as North Idaho, or institutional racism, such as historically white run organizations, the social boundaries are threatened and attacks, either physical or against "all sorts of privileges," abound.

The third incident that influenced a change in the thesis occurred in Crow country. The Crow-Shoshone Sun Dance is held every July on the Apsaalooke reservation in Crow Agency, Montana. My (adoptive) sister Jackie Yellowtail just happened to be the director of tourism for the Apsaalooke Nation. After the ceremony I stayed at Jackie's home and on one trip to town we had a discussion on the topic of "Telling our Own Stories." I capitalize this as the concept is not mine (the addition of these words to my title was suggested by a family member) but is one that is a common topic throughout Indian literature. I had my phone with its recording app with me so I recorded our conversation. During this recording Jackie suggested I speak with friend of hers who was Crow and a lead Ranger, who made sure interpretive jobs at the Little Big Horn Battlefield were held by Crow tribal members not just 'Custer buffs'

> There's a story and we all have stories as Natives. And those stories need to be told by the Natives, indigenous to that area. And so [You don't want a non-Native Park Service employee starting to interpret this?] Exactly. Exactly. Ahm, and we have a lot of Custer buffs. I mean we have…millions of people that come here …and they already know the story of the battle. We have military troops that come here ah to see the battle site. Uh we have experts with the Park Service that know the battle. We also know stories that the Natives tell. But …and you'll see it I think as we get on the

> tour that when it comes from one of your own [A Crow/ Apsaalooke tribal member]—a Native person—it's more effective. Even though there are experts in the field, it's more effective.

Methods

My participants or co-researchers were selected on a volunteer basis; I conducted taped, personal semi-structured interviews with American Indian Park Rangers, leads and supervisors as well as non-Native leads, supervisors, and superintendents. I utilized an indigenous research design to interview Native American Indian/Indigenous interpretive Rangers who work, or have worked for, the National Park Service to gain an understanding of how "Indigenous Interpretation" of cultural resources and resource issues enhance the experience of Park visitors, as well as job satisfaction for Native Rangers. Park visitors' opinions and preconceived notions of both Indians and cultural resources can be changed by seeing, hearing, and finally, understanding the historical linkage of *the people* with *their place*. According to Shawn Wilson in his seminal dissertation "Research is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods," Indigenous with capital "I" is inclusive of all first peoples—unique in our own cultures—but common in our experiences of colonialism and our understanding of the world.

An Indigenous Interpretation is not only good for the Indigenous Ranger, but an Indigenous research and interpretation paradigm is better suited to the Park Service that is having trouble in general with all resource protection due in part to historical underfunding but owing largely to a lack of diversity in staff and Park visitor, a Park Service that must evolve out of necessity. According to Margaret Elizabeth Kovach in *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts* a tribal based approach with native knowledge as the guiding epistemology

> This work has a relevance to policy and practice outside academia. Policy and programming grow out of research, and while the influence of research and its methodologies is not always visible in the policy cycle, research is where it starts. Research creates policy and policy generates programs […] and invites us to consider the deep connections between knowing, story and research (Kovach ebook).

Before beginning the interview with my co-researchers I told each one the previously discussed story that was told to me by a Park Service Archaeologist. On a training program she attended at Mesa Verde, the coordinator told the class they were meeting at a pre-contact

American Indian archaeological site and they would have an archaeologist interpret the site. She stated when the archaeologist was done "interpreting" the site she was actually "embarrassed for her field." He was so dry, and so boring, dates, levels, soil samples, etc., the presentation left her unmoved and wishing for the class to be over. But it was not over; a Park interpretive Ranger came over and started interpreting the site. The Ranger explained the Park Service's history of the area, possible uses, both mundane and "spiritual" and so on. Wendy (not her real name) said it wasn't too bad; the presentation had a few interesting details but she still felt a bit bored and indifferent. Then an Indian woman came over to the site, she introduced herself, what tribe she was from, where they lived now and how this was the land where the bones of her ancestors lay. At this point she put her hand over her heart and continued on to what I would call an "Indian Interpretation" of the site. My co-worker *still* looked inspired and a little choked up recounting this story, she said by the end of this woman's narrative of her people, the ancestors and the significance of the site, most of the class were in tears.

We have all had experiences like this; a story or lesson told by one relative or teacher has no significance while the same story or lesson told by another resonates deeply. According to Rodney Frey in the *Tin Shed and the Wagon Wheel* the personal essay "seeks to evolve and engage the readers own experiences, helping bring meaning to our shared humanity." Or, telling the personal while alluding to the universal (Frey 2012: 81).

From a reflexive perspective the incidents I described before did shape my questions for my co-researchers. While some may suggest this brings a negative connotation to the work, I feel that with this story a line has been drawn in the sand so to speak, but not the half fish shape of the early Christian safely communicating one to another. Instead my line is a half circle inviting my fellow researcher to attempt to complete the circle, indicating it is safe here to speak of dominance and resistance, that in this space they will not be considered a "whining minority" as is so often the want. According to Shaun Wilson

> Part of the importance of developing an indigenous research paradigm is that we can use methods and forms of expression that we judge to be valid for ourselves. We can get past having to justify ourselves as Indigenous to the dominant society and academia. We can develop our own criteria for judging the usefulness, validity or worth of Indigenous research and writing. We can decide for ourselves what research we want and how that research will be conducted, analyzed and presented (Wilson 2008:14).

Margaret Elizabeth Kovack states

> Indigenous people have come to realize that beyond control over the topic chosen for study, the research methodology needs to incorporate their cosmology, worldview, epistemology and ethical beliefs. An indigenous research paradigm needs to be followed through all stages of research […] positions Indigenous inquiry as resistance research […]acknowledging the colonial residue inherent in Western educative and research processes will not bring the substantive change required (Kovacks, ebook).

This is not meant to be a critical essay on western research and theory; however the majority of literature on Indigenous research methods is rather critical of both. Wilson feels

> One of the great strengths that Indigenous scholars bring with them is the ability to see and work within both the Indigenous and dominant world views. This becomes of great importance when working with dominant systems academics, who are usually not bicultural. As part of their white privilege, there is no requirement for them to be able to see other ways of being and doing, or to even recognize they exist. Oftentimes then, ideas coming from a different worldview are outside of their entire mindset and way of thinking." (Wilson 44)

Kovach states

> To counteract the heinous reputation of Western research in Indigenous communities, one response has been to apply Western methodologies that are in alliance with the ethical and community dynamics of research with Indigenous peoples. However, there is a need for methodologies that are inherently and wholly Indigenous. (Kovach ebook)

As Wilson explains, in these paradigms knowledge in itself is not seen as the ultimate goal, but the change that this knowledge may bring about. Ethically "research is not seen as worthy if it does not help improve the reality of each participant." The problem as Wilson sees it, is the commonality that knowledge is seen as individual in nature. Whereby in an Indigenous research paradigm knowledge is communal and that "researchers are only interpreters of this knowledge" (Wilson 2008:37-38).

In the essay *Philosophy and the Tribal Peoples* Vine Deloria, Jr. explains Indigenous peoples include all forms of life from the very beginning of time, not just humans the two legged, but all the *peoples.* This, according to Deloria, is at the heart the basic difference between western and Native thought. Western *thought* places rights and individuals first to the detriment of the group. Native *belief* places the individuals' responsibility to the group first, even if it is detrimental to the individual (Deloria 2006).

Sets of beliefs that make up research paradigms are the interrelated concepts of Ontology: the nature of reality "What is real?" [landscape]; Epistemology: the nature of thinking or knowing "How do I know what is real?"[people]; Methodology: [stories/data] or theory of how knowledge is gained, "How do I find out more about this reality?"; and Axiology: or ethics that guide search for that knowledge, "What is ethical to gain this knowledge and what will it be used for? [Healing].

In order for me to understand these terms and their interrelatedness I used the tried but true medicine wheel approach. Using the definitions in *Research is Ceremony* and the four quadrants of the medicine wheel, I labeled the landscape, the people, stories, and healing; to me the nature of reality or what is real? The concepts of ontology spoke to me of the landscape, the nature of thinking or knowing or how do I know what is real? The concepts of epistemology spoke to me of the people, the theory of how knowledge is gained and how do I find out more about this reality? The concepts of methodology spoke to me of stories. And finally, the ethics that guide that search for knowledge and what that knowledge will be used for, the concepts of axiology spoke to me of healing (Figure 1.1).

Interpretation as ceremony places the 'story' or the data at the center of the circle. I liken it to the center pole of the Sun Dance. The dancers/readers run to the pole, each hearing messages they need to learn or to heal. What is not relevant to one reader may be of utmost healing to another. The circle of life, the medicine wheel, the sacred hoop, or dancing in the circle, inside the womb of sweat lodge, or running to the middle in the big lodge; Indigenous peoples know whether you either leave or fall out—you must come back to the circle. The circle is where all the peoples are equal; they are tiospaye—extended family. The circle is where one finds their balance. It is also where one may learn their purpose. As a medicine person once told me the secret is in getting one's mind calm so that the story can be *heard* and the healing can take place. "When you are challenged and over stimulated, that is when you most need to quiet your mind…then the medicine or teachings will come. And that is what Sweat Lodge teaches you, the reward is learning to listen to your mind and your heart, not your body."

As I understand epistemology, it is, as Cree professor and author Willie Ermine declares in *Aboriginal Epistemology,* the 'self-in-relation' and that "Aboriginal epistemology speaks of pondering great mysteries that lie no further than the self" (108). The writing style

used here is a research journey story with my ‘self-in-relation,’ and building on a foundation laid by Shawn Wilson, Margaret Elizabeth Kovach, Donald Lee Fixico, N. Scott Momaday, Vine Deloria, and back to Luther Standing Bear. Standing Bear exclaimed “America can be revived, rejuvenated, by recognizing a Native school of thought” (Fixico 2003:142). And I believe research methodology can also *“*be revived, rejuvenated, by recognizing a Native school of thought.”

Chapter 13

Recommendations

> Diversity may be the hardest thing for a society to live with, and perhaps the most dangerous thing for a society to be without.
>
> – William Sloane Coffin, Jr.

> The beginnings of AIM was sorta chaotic, no one would listen to Indian people until we got a little belligerent, you see.
>
> – George Mitchell, co-founder AIM

We drove up to Mount Rushmore. They weren't hiring Indians to work there, so we threw up a picket line for a while […] I started ranting and raving about 'how they didn't employ Indians, none of the people who worked in those stores were Indian, none of the Mounties [Rangers] were Indians, this is a damn disgrace this is our land, it belongs to us, and they don't have Indians working here!' I wrote out a press release. It said 'As of darkness we are going to take over Mt Rushmore today at 5:00 we're occupying it.' Within a few hours there were more cops there than people! I said get three white sheets and had the women sew them together I wrote in red paint 'Sioux Indian Power' next morning there's about five of us on top of George Washington's head one was [Dennis] Banks. We took out those sheets and with rocks put them on George Washington's head. It was the first time something like that had ever happened at a National Monument.

– Lehman Brightman, founder United Native Americans, *A Good Day to Die*

The following quotations are from a High Country News article "Parks for All? The National Park Service Struggles to Connect with a Changing America*"* written by Jodi Peterson in 2014. *High Country News* is a non-profit, award winning media organization covering the American west's natural resource issues. This article confirms what those I have interviewed have expressed pertaining to the lack of diversity in National Parks, and further the continual refusal of National Park leaders to acknowledge current diversity programs are at best, ineffectual. Jon Jarvis has been the Director of National Park Service since 2009. He states in *Parks for All?* that he "has been working hard to change the agencies priorities putting relevance, diversity and inclusion at the top of the list." But Jarvis also claims he has "limited power to turn this battleship" (13). I can personally attest that every couple of months Jarvis would send out emails *stating* the importance of the contributions of whatever ethnicity was being honored that month. Over and over again, every year, same email during Native American Heritage month, African American Heritage month, Hispanic Heritage Month, Asian American Heritage month, etc. And yet despite these statements, the National Park has the lowest percentages of those ethnicities working within its auspices (Fig. 2.1).

A battleship and war analogy is apropos for the battle of "diversity/inclusion" as we seem to be losing the war. For example, from the article according to The Cultural Resources Diversity Internship Program from its inception in 1999 to present, only 260 students were provided internships, and sadly a paltry 7 have been hired permanently. So, in fifteen years 17 students of color per year were included in the program which equates to only 0.46 students that have been permanently hired per year. *To be clear, less than half a student is hired per year.*

The Park Service Academy began in 2010 serving approximately 125 "diverse" college students annually. Since its inception "roughly" 25 students have obtained seasonal employment (translation: a "seasonal" can only work six months at a given Park, which means one is not a permanent employee, cannot receive benefits, insurance, retirement, and most certainly will work for a drastically reduced pay in comparison to a permanent employee). Only *one* single diverse student from the "Park Service Academy" in *four years* has fought the battle and won – that is, has been hired as a permanent employee. *To be clear one quarter of a student is hired per year*. That's a 0.25 percent success rate (Figure 3.1, 4.1). My question that has yet to be answered is *how much money does this program cost?* How much money do those who 'run' this program make? And finally, can we just use those funds to actually hire diverse employees? (Peterson 2014:13-14).

According to *High Country News* the Park Service has actually been actively addressing diversity concerns since 1962. These are not statistics to be proud of as commander of the Park Service, Jon Jarvis. And these sad statistics belie his claims of "putting relevance, diversity and inclusion at the top of the list."

Those concerned with the lack of diversity included Park Service employees I interviewed and National Park guests I spoke to and worked with on a daily basis, 10 hours a day (over 90% white), as well as the representative I spoke with from the University of Idaho Park Service Research Unit. Also, organizations such as SAIGE Society of American Indian Government Employees, and CIRCLE The Council for Indigenous Relevancy, Communication, Leadership and Excellence shared the same lack of diversity concerns as well.

CIRCLE was formed in 2013 and partners closely with SAIGE. Two SAIGE members, Karen Wilde and Dorothy Firecloud, and a past SAIGE president, Otis Halfmoon,

have been instrumental in developing and formalizing this National Park Service advisory group.

> By Sangita Chari Special Assistant to the Associate Director Workforce Relevancy and Inclusion [formerly National NAGPRA Program Grants Coordinator] November 25, 2013 The National Park Service has A new advisory group the Council for indigenous relevancy communication leadership and excellent (CIRCLE) serves as a resource for employees of the National Park Service to use to enhance their understanding of American Indian Alaska Native, Native Hawaiian issues. The central purpose of circle is to provide recommendations and guidance to NPS leadership regarding the hiring retention and improved visibility of American Indian Alaskan native, Native Hawaiians throughout the NPS. This includes but is not limited to guidance on ways to improve the NPS relationship with tribes, Alaska native corporations, native Hawaiian organizations, and other American Indian groups and organizations to improved communication and appropriate consultation. CIRCLE will also provide recommendations for creating a more inclusive environment within the NPS by working to ensure that managers and supervisors have the cultural competency skills needed to create a supportive environment for Indigenous employees in addition circle will serve as a forum for indigenous employees to come together and support each other through programs and resource sharing. CIRCLE is open to anyone in the National Park Service. Members of the leadership community represent many aspects of NPS workforce Indigenous affiliations (SAIGE Facebook page).

As Superintendent of Mesa Verde National Park, Cliff Spencer is one of the few African-Americans [or any other person of color] in the "upper echelon" of the National Park Service. According to the article Parks for All? although Spencer reached out to the Native communities whose ancestral lands on which the Park lies, only a "handful" of Native interpreters actually work in the Park. It is not clear whether they are NPS staff, be it permanent, seasonal, or term (generally a 1-4 year position) yet, Spencer "…seldom writes 'increase diversity' on his daily to-do list." He stated he "thinks about it occasionally, but there are just so many other things going on. That's not an excuse, but I don't think I'm doing a very good job of promoting it" (11).

Statistics are varied, but in 20 and 30 years, more than half the population will consist of people of color. Currently, California, the District of Columbia, Hawaii, and New Mexico populations are "majority-minority," meaning over 50% of the population was a "minority." Conversely the Park staff and visitors do not reflect this shift.

- At least 80% of the 22,000 Park Service employees are white

- Park Administration is over 85% white; this means people of color have no agency in changing Park policy, for the hiring or success, development of non-white staff or implementing programs that might appeal to non-white visitors
- In 2013 had 274 million visitations, however according to a 2011 survey:
  - Less than 10% of visitors were Hispanic
  - 7% of visitors were Black
  - 3% of visitors were Asia-American
  - 1% of visitors were Native American

(U.S. Census Bureau, "Table 1A: Projected Population of the United States, by Race and Hispanic Origin: 2000 to 2050," March 18, 2004).

Parks were, and continue to be, a microcosm of the United States, demographics, and attitudes towards immigrants or the people of color who were here first, such as the Indigenous peoples or brought here against their will through the slave trade, have not really changed. According to Ray Harvey in *The Truth about the Sierra Club,* early "fathers of conservation" President Theodore Roosevelt, Gifford Pinchot, and John Muir held racist views the Parks and the general population now conveniently ignore. Quoted in *The Contrarian* by Tim Stanley, Roosevelt stated "I don't go so far as to think that 'the only good Indians are dead Indians,' but I believe nine out of ten are, and I shouldn't like to inquire too closely into the case of the tenth" (01). Roosevelt's head of the Forest Service Gifford Pinchot was more accurately the father of the eugenics movement, writing speeches for, and influencing Roosevelt during his administration. Sierra Club founder John Muir considered more conservation "god" than father, wrote that the Indians of Yosemite Valley were "mostly ugly, and some of them altogether hideous. [They] seemed to have no right in the landscape" (Harvey 2014:12).

Current events such as the disappearing of hundreds of Indigenous women in Canada and the lack of provincial support in investigating their murders, the Keystone Pipeline XL debacle in both the U.S. and Canadian reservations and reserves, and the violence perpetrated against people of color in general by both civilians and police indicate ethno-violence is on the rise. These are just a few of the testaments that speak to the lack of real change in attitudes and behavior by the "majority" (Figure 5.1).

In 1962 the Outdoor Recreation Commission chaired by Laurence S. Rockefeller prepared *A Report to the President and to the Congress January 1962*, ironically the year and month of my birth. "The investigation involves the present and to some extent the past, but its principal concern is for the future—between now [1962] and the year 2000. It is a plan for coming generations, one that must be started now and carried forward so that the outdoors may be available to the Americans of the future as it has been to those of the past"(Procter 1960:77-78).

After reading the report on the National Park Service website the only referencing of "diversity issues" concerned "Outdoor Opportunities Are Most Urgently Needed Near Metropolitan Areas" by Charles Proctor. There was no mention of color. After wading through the full report on the USDA website, two graphs compared male and female "white" versus male and female "non-white," i.e. no breakdown by ethnicity. The analysis was conducted on 3,647 "unduplicated cases."

- Northeast Region a total of 1158 white to 81 non-white 14.3
- North Central Region a total of 1181 white to 89 non-white 13.3
- Western Region a total of 577 white to 31 non-white 18.6
- Southern Region a total of 1032 white to 260 non-white 39.7

If we add the percentages from the 1962 report and average those figures we see a 21.5 Park visitation rate. Now if we take the percentage of people of color from the 2011 NPS survey "fewer than 10 percent" Hispanic, 7 percent Black Americans, 3 percent Asian-American, 1 percent "Natives" and we do not know if this includes Alaska and/ or Hawaiian Natives. We have a total of only 21 percent attendance by people of color. So, in actuality Park visitation by people of color has fallen .5 percent since 1960 (Proctor 1960:77-78). However, non-government surveys found much lower percentages of Park visitation by people of color than the figures listed above.

In my abstract I stated that I would be seeking to identify the issues that encourage a Native Ranger in stay in the Park Service, what is essential for the development of the Native Rangers as well as benefitting the guest and inevitably, the Park Service. Furthermore, it is imperative to identify what has been said or done that discourages Natives from either seeking employment, or behaviors and policy that may eventually drive them away from careers in the Park Service. What I did not realize was the question was not what success strategies are

necessary at minimum to retain Native Rangers in the Park Service, but how do we manage to get into the Park Service in the first place? Through what miracle do we manage to turn that seasonal, student, or term position into a permanent one? It seems almost farcical to hope to advance to any level of authority in the current Park Service model. Will the white-male dominated Park Service change from within on its own accord? In *A Good Day to Die* a documentary on founding member of AIM Dennis Banks, fellow AIM member George Mitchell stated quite clearly, "No one would listen to Indian People, until we got a little belligerent, you see." Perhaps it is time to start picketing Parks demanding local tribal members get a percentage of jobs regardless of "Military Preference" policies. Or of those veterans hired, a certain percent must be Indian/Alaska or Hawaiian Native, a certain percent must be female, Black, Asian, Latina/o. For those who would decry such 'quotas' as affirmative action, what does one call a policy whereby military members (the majority of whom apply for Park positions being "middle aged white guys") who were not drafted but signed up for duty voluntarily, and once decommissioned could apply for any government job and land simply from their service not skill, at the top of hiring lists, kicking those with Park Service experience out of the running?

From these findings I do not believe the Park Service cannot continue to ignore the obvious connection between lack of Park visitation by people of color and the lack of diversity of Park service staff. *In Parks for All?* Since the early 60s the Park Service has "wrung it's hands about racial hegemony." In 1997 Robert Stanton the first and only director of color [black] made 'seeing the face of America in every park and every office of the NPS' and according to the article "the agency commissioned reports, task forces, implemented diversity hiring initiatives- all to no avail" (13). And who hires Park Service staff those in positions of power? It serves repeating that the head of the Park Service Jon Jarvis states he "has been working hard to change the agencies priorities putting relevance, diversity and inclusion at the top of the list." But remember Jarvis claims he has "limited power to turn this battleship." And yet again, sadly we have superintendent of Mesa Verde Cliff Spencer, one of the few blacks in a position to make a difference. He tells a story about a black family who wants to have a picture taken with him as he was the first black person they have seen in a uniform in any of the Parks they'd visited on their way from Atlanta to the Grand Canyon.

This is same man who stated in Parks for All? who does not feel he is doing a very good job of promoting diversity.

I can sort of, maybe, understand Jarvis playing the kind but ineffectual uncle, but when we have people of color acting even unconsciously as gatekeepers we have to look below the surface. Have the few people of color who have broken the white ceiling of Park Service upper echelon lost their stomach for the fight against that dual layer of white privilege and institutional racism? Or do they fear repercussions if they rock Jarvis' "battleship?"

I believe an outside organization such as CIRCLE is the only hope in unfortunately forcing diversity and inclusion on the Park Service. It may be time for quotas. Forest Service quotas in the early 70s caused derision and division, but ultimately a fairly balanced multicultural and gendered workplace became the norm (forestpolicypub/how-feminism-wrecked-the-us-forest-service/).

Like the Park Service, many other government and private institutions have expressed a sincere desire to change its ethnic makeup but decry it is too difficult, or it just takes time, or it will happen on its own in the future. Even our beloved Barack Obama believes "Racism, bias in U.S. will take time to tackle."

> Washington – President Barack Obama is prescribing time and vigilance to tackle problems as entrenched in American society as racism and bias. He also is urging patience, saying progress usually comes in small steps […] Obama said he told them that "this is something that is deeply rooted in our society, it's deeply rooted in our history." America has made gains, and that "gives us hope" of making more progress, he said. "We can't equate what is happening now to what was happening 50 years ago," Obama said, "and if you talk to your parents, grandparents, uncles, they'll tell you that things are better, not good in some places, but better." Obama said he is advising young people to be persistent because "typically progress is in steps, it's in increments." In dealing with something "as deeply rooted as racism or bias in any society, you've got to have vigilance but you have to recognize that it's going to take some time and you just have to be steady so that you don't give up when you don't get all the way there," (Associated Press, [local city] Tribune. Dec 8 2014).

According to Marilyn Loden, author of *Implementing Diversity,* "Underinvesting and Overpromising" is the first barrier to implementation of diversity. She states that rhetoric versus action is a common theme for an organization that desires to appear diverse when pressure from racially diverse clients motivates them. According to comments and statistics through time, this is certainly the case of the Park Service paying lip service to purportedly wanting diversity, as well as their desire to lure visitors of color to National Parks.

> Today valuing diversity is becoming a competitive advantage in the employment marketplace. It is a reason that more people now site for choosing on employer over another. Unfortunately, when an employer's rhetoric about valuing diversity far exceeds its action, employees can become cynical and demoralized. While the promise of diversity may attract some individuals to an organization, it will not convince them to stay unless this initial promise is fulfilled with appropriate ongoing action (Loden 1996:73).

Ineffectual diversity inclusion programs did not begin with the Park Service in the 1960s.

> There certainly can be no doubt in the public mind today as to the capacity of the younger Indians in taking on white modes and manners[…] However, despite the fact that Indian schools have been established over several generations, there is a dearth of Indians in the professions […] With school facilities already fairly well established and the capability of the Indian unquestioned, every reservation could well be supplied with Indian doctors, nurses, engineers, road-and bridge-builders, draughtsmen, architects, dentists, lawyers, teachers, and instructors in tribal lore, legends, orations, song, dance, and ceremonial ritual. The Indian, by the very sense of duty, should become his own historian, giving his account of the race—fewer and fewer accounts of the wars and more of state-craft, legends, languages, oratory, and philosophical conceptions […] Rather, a fair and correct history of the native American should be incorporated in the curriculum of the public school […] But Indian youth! They, too, have fine pages in their past history; they, too, have patriots and heroes. And it is not fair to rob Indian youth of their history, the stories of their patriots, which, if impartially written, would fill them with pride and dignity. Therefore, give back to Indian youth all, everything in their heritage that belongs to them and augment it with the best in the modern schools. I repeat, doubly educate the Indian boy and girl […] why not a school of Indian thought, built on the Indian pattern and conducted by Indian instructors? Why not a school of tribal art? [...] There were ideals and practices in the life of my ancestors that have not been improved upon by the present-day civilization; there were in our culture elements of benefit; and there were influences that would broaden any life. But that almost an entire public needs to be enlightened as to this fact need not be discouraging (Luther Standing Bear, Lakota, 1933).

In 1879 Luther Standing Bear was the first Indian student to attend Carlisle Indian School. He later expressed dissatisfaction with his education at Carlisle where Indians "went to school, to copy, to imitate; not to exchange languages and ideas, not to develop the best traits that had come out of uncountable experiences of hundreds of thousands of years living upon this continent." He lamented the lost opportunities, "While the white people had much to teach us, we had much to teach them, and what a school could have been established upon that idea!"(Fixico 2003:142).

Loden explains that due to historic patterns of discrimination it may be necessary to enact equal opportunity and affirmative action hiring practices, or what she prefers to call "profile improvement programs." Profile improvement programs look at "demographic trends in the workplace and society and try to more closely match an organization's employee profile to that of the external labor pool" (Loden, 1996:22).

The most effective implementation practices common to many organizations not only "value diversity," but promote a complete culture change. That is, diversity is not simply a "program" or patronizing emails sent out during African American, Asian American, Hispanic, and Native American Heritage Month. Diversity, according to Logan, is the creation of a culture that values diversity from the top, the executives, down to the workers; it is an expansive institutional transformation. Loden states there are ten best practices across organizations.

Practice #1: Setting the Context for Change. This is the fundamental first step in minimizing confusion and getting wide support from all employees, from the top down. Link the valuing of diversity to business goals and changing customer demographics, changing workforce demographics, and illustrating the complementary objective of equal employment opportunity/ affirmative action and valuing diversity.

Practice #2: Providing ongoing Communication. Rather than word spread through the rumor mill, core leadership teams manage communications as a part of the change process insuring implementation of the organizations diversity commitment.

Practice #3: Developing Knowledgeable and Committed Leaders. Leadership support is essential for implementation and continued culture change. Using the Diversity Adoption Curve (Figure 6.1) determine where members fall within segments within the bell curve of the valuing diversity continuum. From the left to right of the continuum fall first innovators at 2.5%, then change agents at 13.5%, then pragmatists at 34%, then skeptics at 34%, and finally traditionalists at 16%. The left of the continuum first the innovators perceive an increased opportunity and decreased risk with the diversity adoption process. The far right of the continuum fall the traditionalists who conversely perceive a decreased opportunity and increased risk with a diversity adoption process. According to Loden

> In study after study of real life situations in a variety of organizations, adoption or full acceptance of innovation among individuals replicates this curve. Therefore, one can anticipate that in any company, government agency, law firm, university, and so on,

> where diversity implementation occurs, this curve will represent the predictable pattern of adoption that will occur among employees (Loden 1996:43).

In essence, Logan states taking advantage of the strengths of segments who perceive little to no risk in implementing diversity to mentor those in the middle, and to use those in the middle to mentor the segments who perceive risk in implementing diversity.

Practice #4: Focusing on Data Driven Change. For successful implementation demographics and data help convince those that are suspect of the importance of diversity from a business or marketplace perspective.

Practice #5: Providing Awareness and Skill-Based Training. Once an organization has implemented the Diversity Adoption Curve, it is understood training cannot be a one size fits all approach. Formal training and informal participation groups should be as diverse as an organizations employee base.

Practice #6: Encouraging Ongoing Learning. Promote and support continuing cross-cultural education and conflict resolution. This is essential for actual culture change within an organization.

Practice #7: Multicultural Mentoring. The rewards are two-fold; diverse employees are given opportunities by being more visible, and an invaluable opportunity for understanding between mentees as well as mentors.

Practice #8: Providing Flexible Benefits/Scheduling. The objective of flexibility is to "create a culture that supports greater employee diversity, partner benefits, dependent care, wellness and work/life balance" (Loden 1996:170).

Practice #9: Linking Rewards to Effective Diversity Management. This is essentially positive versus negative reinforcement in encouraging managers and leadership to implement diversity until culture change is adopted by the majority.

Practice #10: Building Common Ground. Through a multicultural representative group to build support, successful organizations continue their commitment to valuing diversity among all employees and customers. Furthermore, these organizations communicate that commitment repeatedly through words and actions (Loden 1996:166-172).

Loden closes "…diversity implementation is complex, to succeed, a comprehensive, long term systems approach to change is required […] it will be up to committed managers and implementers of diversity to develop new practices that accelerate change and thereby,

chart the yet-to-be-discovered path to full adoption" (Loden 1996:173). Our leaders of color need to stop insisting that diversity implementation "takes time" or "we've come a long way." It is unfortunate when those we look to for advocacy and change agents instead become part of the problem when *they* finally get their privileged positions.

It seems the non-Native Park leads and superintendents do not comprehend or wish to acknowledge the skills and information Native employees hold. More than one Ranger spoke to this issue. Ignoring an American Indian Ranger's opinions on cultural demonstrators' desire to not have their photo taken while creating an art piece, or refusing to pay an elder a worthy honorarium for speaking or demonstrating at the Park speaks to a continued lack of respect for both Native Rangers and the Native community. Or spending $15,000 on a study only to find out yes, just as the Native Rangers told their supervisors white guests want to hear about the tribe the Park represents from that tribe's people.

I will let these Rangers tell their story or speak to that important and possibly uncomfortable dialog which must happen to resolve these issues. Below are quotations I have taken out of the interview transcript to reiterate those issues.

American Indian Ranger: What would I like to say to my supervisors? We—the best thing that we could do to serve, right now, is to get out of the 1800s. We need to start talking about what happened between 1900 to present day. We need to start documenting that. We need to start compiling it. I mean, we've had some major events happen and I don't see anybody working on it. And those people are still here and we're going to lose it.

American Indian Ranger: I think, I think that nationwide their [Park Service] success idea is…more visitors, more people, more money kind of attitude. […]That's what I found in D.C. And…but when I but when you go to—Parks, like say, ah, like Glacier. They're not—not all of them are thinking more money, more—they're looking at the Park itself. What they're trying to preserve and that's what we're looking at here. And I think, we've had past administrators that that didn't see what we were trying to do here. But we have a current superintendent that sees that the importance of the Park is the [Local Tribe] culture. It's not how many people we get in there. How much we buy or whatever we're doing. It's that we maintain and…preserve, and we do all this…keeping track of the evolving of the [Local Tribe] culture. And [name excised] sees that and gets it. Which makes working here a lot better than even when I first started, we had the other superintendent and…he was waiting to retire and he was just collecting a paycheck. And so, I see the big difference between working with a really good superintendent as opposed to a very bad superintendent.

American Indian Ranger: Yeah! Take advantage of why you hired that person, y'know? And so we had—when him and I were here—we had to fight for—it was a struggle, a power struggle because the ones who'd been here already—one in particular who's still—didn't like the idea of this happening [Indian hires making suggestions to superintendents] and so we

always had opposition. Everything that we'd say was—the public would be told that we were unqualified. We were this. We were that. Y'know, all kinds of stuff and that—so it wasn't without struggle at all. And actually, I was the only one on the staff who had a background in history. The only one. But yeah, we were qualified—so anyway, there was a lot of jealousy. And as a matter of fact, that first superintendent I had, he said this, he said, you just happened to be at the right place at the right time.' And that's, y'know, that's the way it is. It's too bad, y'know?

American Indian Ranger: These are the laws. And if ah…you don't abide by them, you don't survive. And ah…you kind of get that. Reach over here, get it, pull it out. But back then we had to go over here—and then okay, we're going to travel three days over here to get this, pull it out. And then we're going to travel over here, pull it out. And this we have at home, y'know. And then they kind of get it. So you're using ideas on…the y'know, use of the culture and talking to people. At least they can compare and contrast for themselves at this point and the greater public. And so, sometimes we even have to teach the Park service people about our culture because if not, they'll [supervisors] talk about it from their schooling point of view.

Non-Native Supervisor: It would be great to have them [tribal liaison] either working for the Park or working for the reservation at the Park. Either way. To go out into the public and tell the story. And, y'know, I think on top of it—now in a perfect world—even in a perfect world, y'know, you couldn't—it—it would be very tough to have enough people. But if you had that one person every time. They could conduct programs. They could train others and they could audit other people. And say, say this, don't say that. Y'know, this is good. This would not be. This is actually…y'know, this would actually make it look like this and this is why. What if I said this and it was about your culture? You wouldn't want it to be relayed that way. Then you had the sensitivity training. You have the fact training. You have the cultural training. And y'know...ah, you mix that in with somebody who knows how to speak, who knows how to talk to people and I think that it would benefit also –one of the big benefits would be if a tribe actually had a person that was working on…in a Park. Even if they work for the tribe or the Park, it doesn't matter.I think that—that …in my opinion that it may—it has more creditability if it comes from somebody that has the heritage […] And slavery's one of those big issues ah, that makes people feel guilty and they're kind of looking at their feet and kind of kicking the ground […] the same thing happens when you start talking about the lost land, Trail of Tears and different things like that […]They—y'know, they—they should know the history. Ah, they should know where it stands today and how it's got to where it is today. And y'know, how everybody can progress from here.

Non-Native Superintendent: We still get people at the [massacre site] who are y'know, well, they got what they deserved and then they come up against [Local Tribe young woman ranger] who says, well let me tell ya [here are] some pictures of the people who were actually there. And she shows them pictures of toddlers, babies, and old people. These are the people who died here. You really think they got what they deserved? Here's the people you're calling soldiers. Just guys. Y'know, protecting these people […] So you can make those personal connections better when—I think, in person. Plus resource protection, the reason we're here.

American Indian Ranger: [I had] one really weird experience ah, from a higher up over there. Who asked me one day: why don't you make a coloring book for the Park? [This Park is the site of an infamous Indian massacre of this Rangers' people] So all I can think of is I'm going to give them a blank piece of paper and a red crayon—for blood and that's all I saw was this. And they were trying to lead the story away from something else and I could kind of understand it now but I would have a hard time still doing it. But yeah, it was like, I—y'know I don't get this. I really don't.

Non-Native Lead: There's a million Park Service policies that don't help me become successful […]they change hiring processes. Ah, what used to take may be two months to hire somebody now takes me six months. Ah, they change ah what my job certificates look like by putting more weight on veterans or whatever. That's a big deal to me. Ah, sometimes they conflict with each other. They want more …they want more diversity …yet …the pressure's been put on to hire more veterans. Most of my veterans' certificates are middle aged, white males.

American Indian Ranger: I think that with the regulations the changes in hiring that it's going to be a lot harder to hire Native Americans to work in the Parks. I think we're going to be hard pressed to figure out a way to do that. Because if we have a visitor and a blonde blue-eyed [Ranger] standing right beside me with my long black hair behind the desk…nine times out of ten they'll come ask me a questions…and I think, that's what you need. But it's going to be a lot harder to get. Yeah. And I think if you're talking about—if it's a Park about a culture or y'know something along that lines you should get ten extra points for being that culture. But it's discrimination. But isn't veteran's [preference] discrimination?

Now is the time for the National Park Service to recognize that until full adoption of diversity practices, people of color will not adopt the National Parks as their own. The National Park Service must "get out of the 1800s" both figuratively as well as literally. Each Park must tell the full story of its inception through interpretation, including the people who were displaced, starved out, and murdered. Movies, displays, and programs that begin in the 1800s should also include the recent past as well as the present. Each Park should have *at minimum* one American Indian Ranger that is from that area to tell that story. A "Park elder" would be the ideal, one who could act as a tribal liaison between the Park and the tribe, making sure inappropriate interpretation is stopped before it becomes publically disseminated. If the Park interprets other ethnicities' stories such as slavery or internment camps, for example, that Park should have Black or Japanese Rangers, preferably ones with community links to those stories. If, as the Park Service claims, effective interpretation provokes and makes emotional connections, nothing could be more emotional and provoking than having direct descendants speak of their relations struggles and achievements.

I have the utmost respect for our men and women in uniform, I have both friends and relatives in the military and want to see all of them reenter the workforce successfully. According to the Veterans' Administration statistically American Indian males serve in greater proportion to other ethnicity, including white. I believe American Indians and Alaska Natives' as well as other people of color are also deserving of Park Service positions. Again, if Military Preference is to be equitable and successful, veteran hiring should be done on a percentage basis. For example half the veterans hired must be persons of color and percentages of each ethnicity. And further, there is a need to redress the Park Service gender demographics of 38% female vs. 62% male (Figure 3.1). The unintended consequence of military preference is that it has undermined the policies set in place since the 1962 Outdoor Recreation Commission study, and on through to the various failed diversity programs of the 1990s and 2000s.

If Jon Jarvis cannot "steer this battleship," it is time he step down as captain. A director who cannot direct the Park Service into the future is doomed to repeat the mistakes of the past. Perhaps it is time for a person of color to become director of the Park Service, one who is committed to implementing diversity and a long term culture change by any means necessary, including employee "profile improvement programs." The National Park Service has thrown untold sums of money at diversity programs for 17 years that are ineffectual, as well as hundreds of studies and surveys that go nowhere. What exactly is the point of park surveys to determine why people of color don't go to parks, when there are no people of color in the park to survey? All the money for positions to implement and supervise "diversity programs," as well as ethnicity surveys, could simply be pooled into a fund for full time positions for Rangers of color.

It is time people of color feel acknowledged as members of this nation, and also feel they are an integral part of *their* National Parks as well. The best practice would be to see others who look like themselves working as Rangers, telling their stories. People of color have the right to feel safe in *their* National Parks. The best practice would be to see others who look like themselves working as law enforcement Rangers. Interpretive and law enforcement Rangers of color = a feeling of safety for visitors of color = more visitors of color supporting National Parks both emotionally and financially when the "minority" becomes the majority. Most importantly, a best practice would be for those Rangers to feel a

sense of hope that they too can implement change in the future by seeing others that look like themselves in lead, supervisory, and superintendent positions.

Until full adoption of culture change is implemented, an outside group such as CIRCLE composed of Indigenous individuals, should not only oversee the diversity adoption process, but have the power to ensure diversity practices are implemented and remain current. Only then will we see the rebirth of Luther standing Bears vision "of a place" or Park Service of no "missed opportunities;" a vision of a "school" or Park Service to "exchange languages and ideas" and "to develop the best traits that come out of hundreds of thousands of years living on this continent." I believe if these recommendations are followed through with the respect and heart of a ceremony, people of color and *their* National Parks can be healed.

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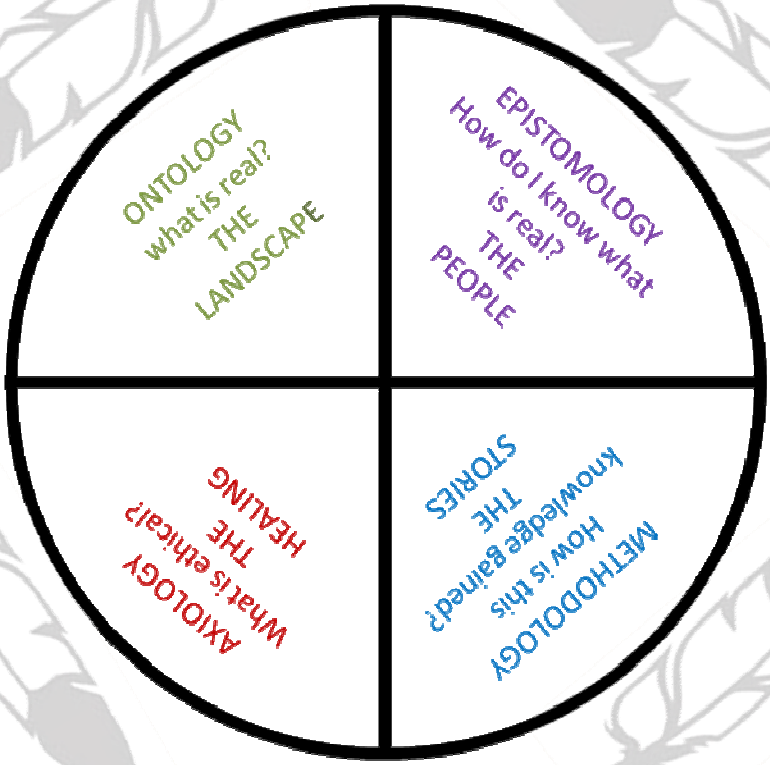
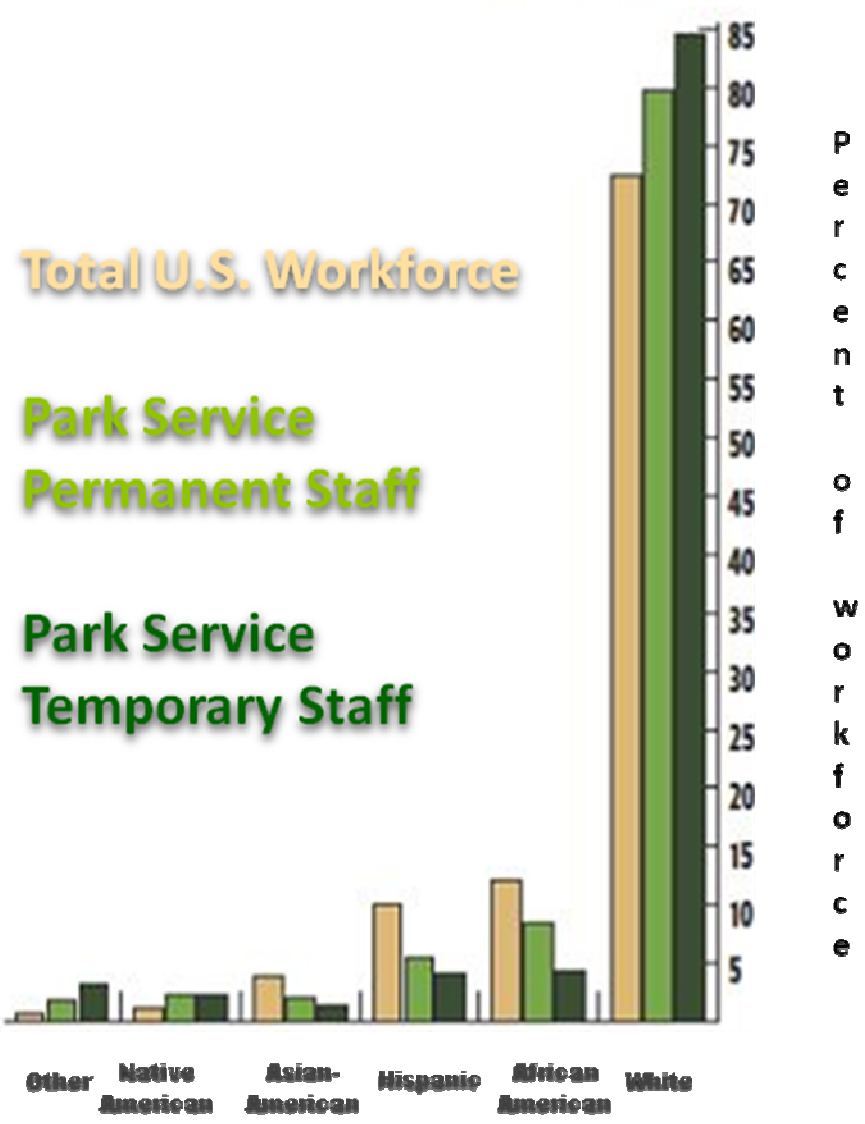


Figure 1.1

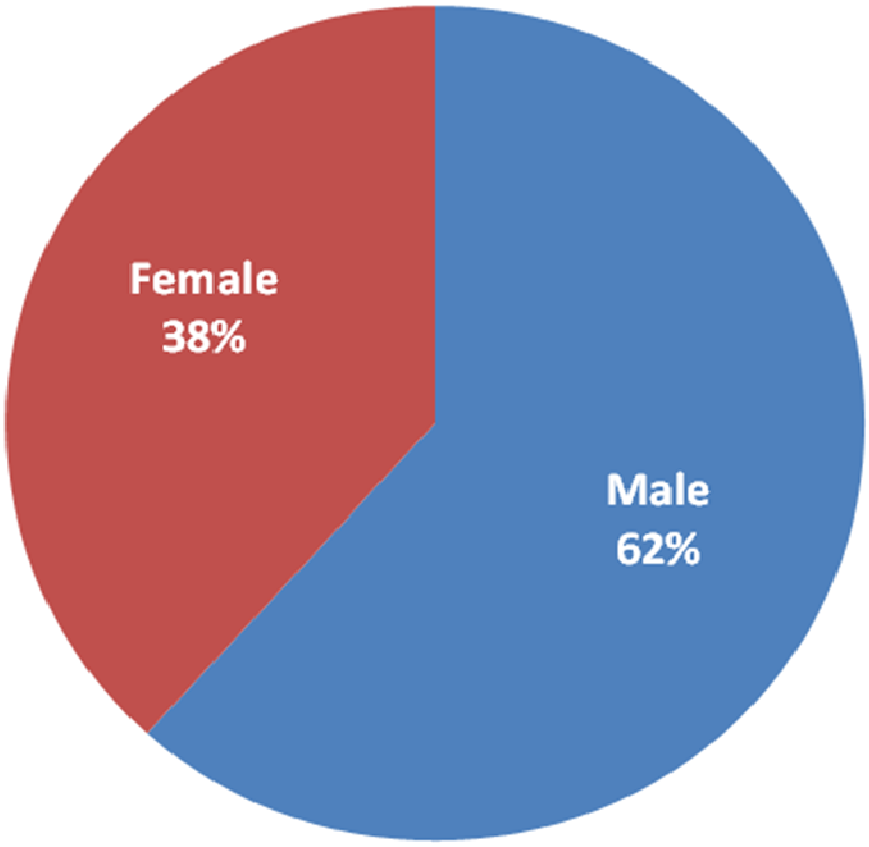
Racial Diversity in the National Workforce vs. the National Park Service



Data courtesy of the National Park Service Figure 2.1

National Park Service

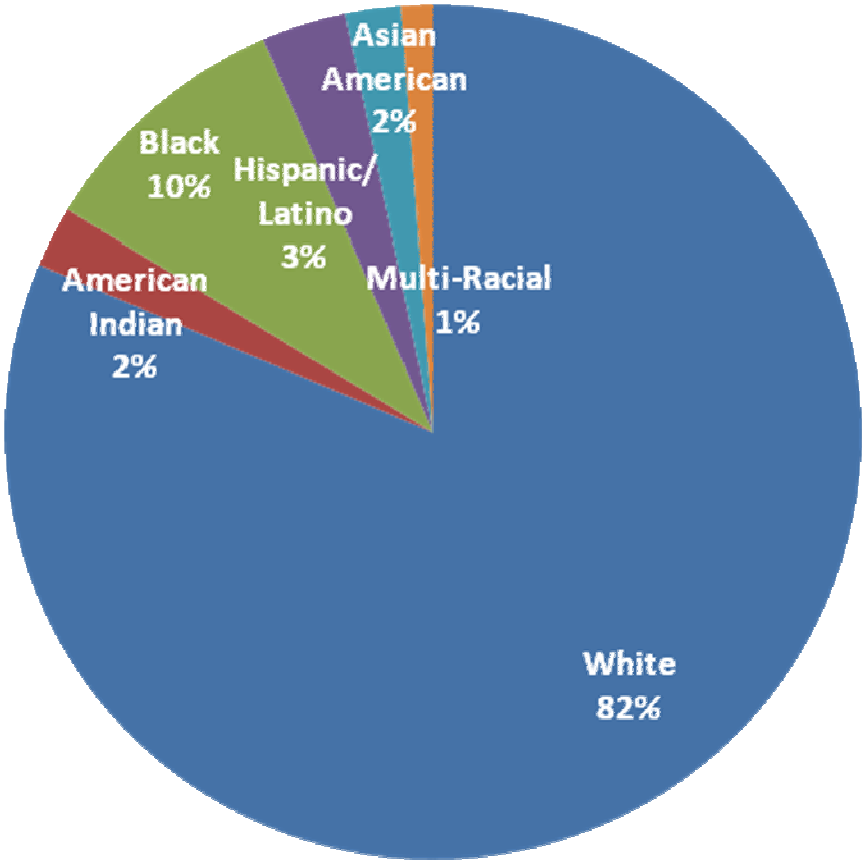
Gender Demographics



Data Courtesy of Bestplacestowork.org Figure 3.1

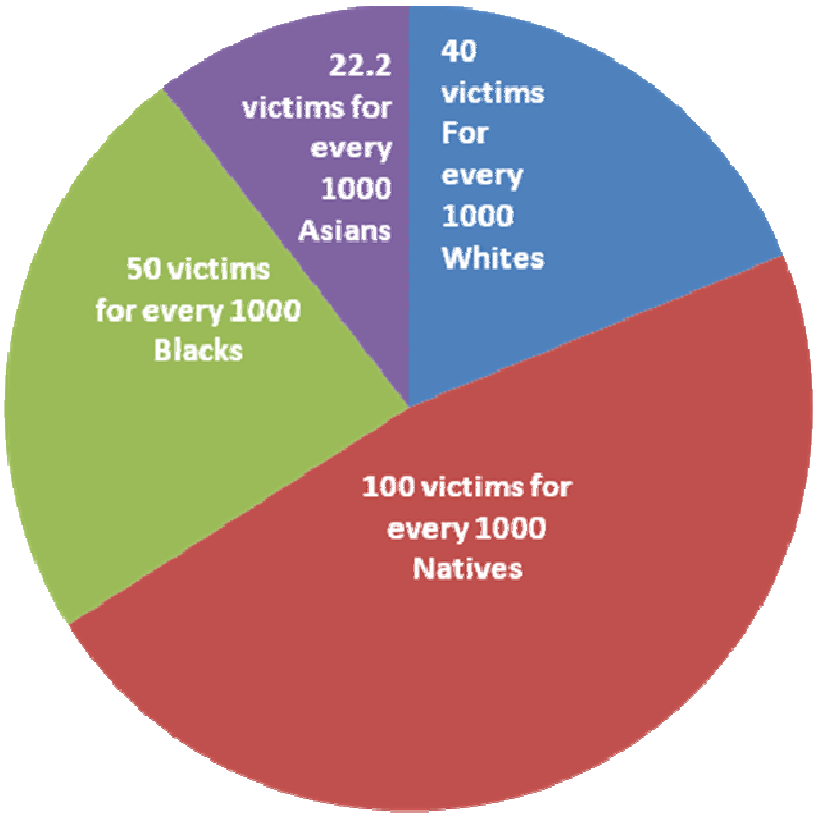
National Park Service

Ethnicity Demographics



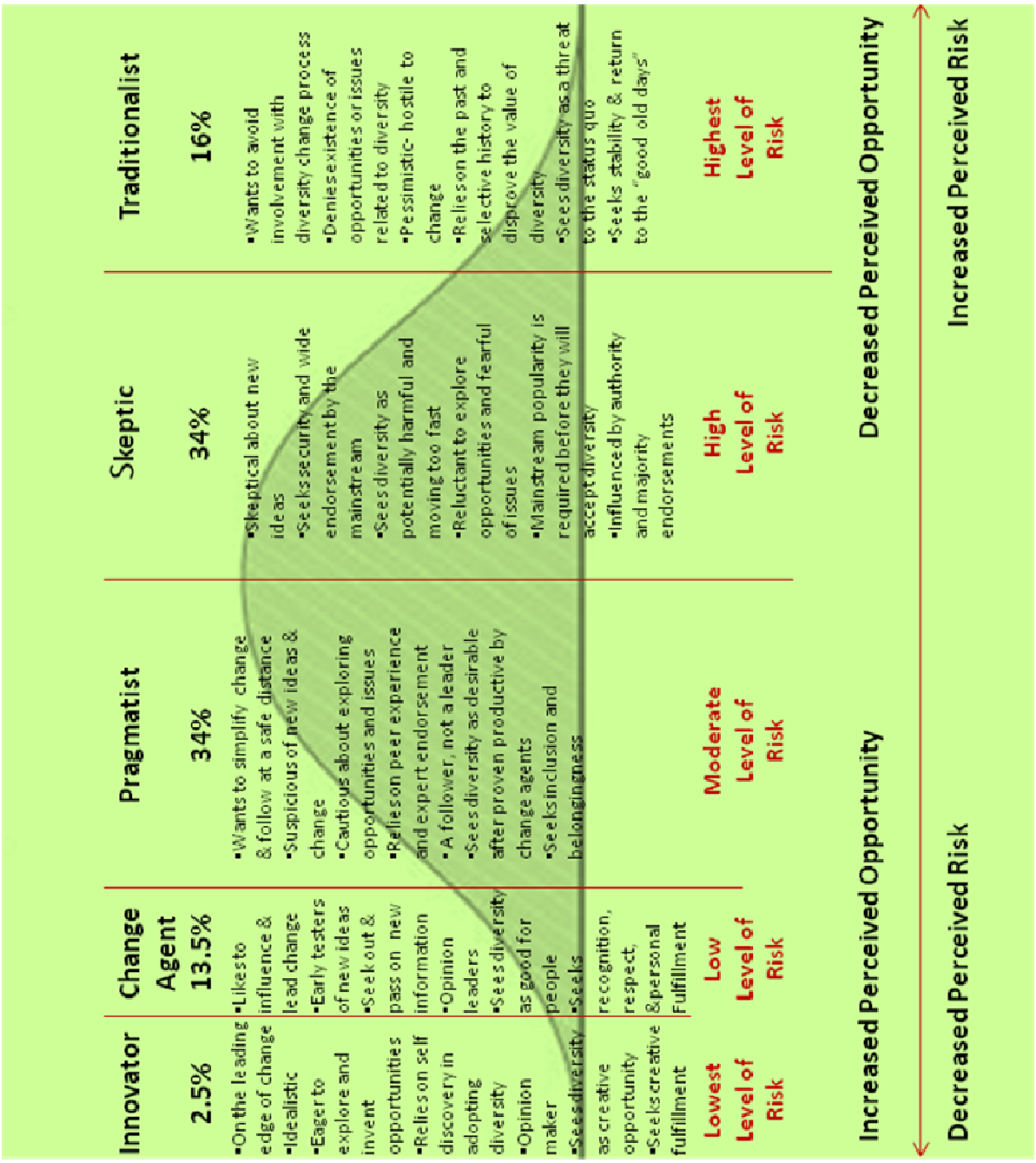
Data courtesy of Bestplacestowork.gov Figure 4.1

Violence against American Indians in Comparison to Other Ethnicities



Data courtesy of the Southern Poverty Law Center Figure 5.1

The Diversity Adoption Process



Data courtesy of www.Loden.com

Figure 6.1