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Stream: Aboriginal Territory and Management Rights

Hunter-Gatherers in Late Modernity: Is Survival Becoming Easier?

WORKING DRAFT

Reading about the close connections and knowledge that some First Nations people have to their land, I sometimes wish I were not from such a modernized tribe as that of the Salish and Kootenai Tribes of the Flathead Reservation in Montana. I gathered berries and fished with my family when I was young; but much of the cultural depth described for other hunting and gathering peoples was gone by the time I began to learn about our landscape. Some in my tribe may know the wisdom of our places (as in Basso 1996) but all I learned was where to find berries and fish both on and off reservation. My family is still rooted in our place; we own the house in which my father was born. We don't need to go fishing, since we have many fishponds on our land. The berry patches are picked over before we get there by professional huckleberry pickers.

This essay is motivated by a realization about how much has been lost to my generation about our place, why this happened, and how it is being fixed. How do we descendants of the hunter-gathering peoples deal with the characteristics of late modernity which have removed us from our places? My brothers and I identify with our tribe, but we are definitely modern Indians, less connected to the land than our parents and grandparents. I conclude with some examples of how the reconnection is proceeding; the middle part is a theory about why these examples make sense.

This disconnection from our places has two parts, the old story and the new story. My tribe survived the old story--the impact of early modernity--fairly well, as I will explain. It may have done less well with the new story, the impact of late modernity; but we are handling that to an extent as well. The old story is that of reservations, allotment and the BIA, roughly named "colonialism." The new story is harder to name: I call it "late modernity." Beck (1992) and Giddens (1990) call it "reflexive modernization" with "individualization" as a main result. We may succeed in fighting colonialism but succumb to individualization. On the other hand, maybe reflexive modernization provides some opportunities as well. With changes in strategy, our way of life, world view, and the management goals they give us for our land can survive.

Although Beck and Giddens use the term somewhat differently, they describe reflexive modernization as a process by which modern society acts upon itself to radically change its character. Beck emphasizes the role of cumulative side-effects in undermining the modern order;

ecological crisis is clearly caused by industrialism. Since the ecological crisis is caused by uncontrolled technology, the belief that more technology can solve it is too paradoxical to believe.

Giddens emphasizes the development of self-identity and the examination that people bring to themselves through self-help advice and the examination they bring to their organizations. Modern organizations need well-trained people, and those trained in analytical thought naturally can analyze the organizations themselves, as well. Were you surprised when the Soviet Union collapsed? Reflexive modernization did it. I suggest similar surprises might occur here, and that tribes can position themselves well.

A. What are the elements of tribal ways of life?

Tribes in the US and First Nations in Canada share some general characteristics that are undermined by both early and late modernity. Before examining the undermining process, I want to recall these five characteristics.

First, place is fundamental to a way of life. We name the parts of our place, we develop great knowledge about it. We care for it and it cares for us. It tells us who we are, and we use it to live the way we are.

Second, knowledge about the place is based both on experience with it and upon stories about it. Knowledge is specific; generalities are suspect, since they may be contradicted in a particular circumstance. Stories, however, reach back a long way in time.

Third, place is sacred; the many forms of spirit inhabits all places, as well as us. Spiritual sanctions, enforced by the group, protects the place.

Fourth, our group is very important, starting with family and extending to all relatives. Within the group, elders receive the most respect for their knowledge and wisdom. But although the group is important, one should not tell individuals what to do. Individuals are due considerable respect and autonomy. They will do what they should because they have learned well the rule so of the group. Generosity and sharing is important within the group and for identifying leaders of the group.

Fifth, time moves in cycles, especially as applied to the natural dynamics of place. The nature of these cycles differed among tribes, just as characteristics of places differ.

I have listed these in very short form; they are common observations about aboriginal peoples, especially in self-descriptions. Vine Deloria (1994) has articulated them well. Howe (1998) applies them to issues in cyberspace.

B. The Old Story: Colonialism of Early Modernity

The four major components of the colonial story are (1) the taking of land through treaties and through land allotment; (2) the control of education of children; (3) the spreading of Christianity and suppression of aboriginal religion; and (4) the imposition of new forms of government within

the system of colonial bureaucratic control. Each of these components attacked and changed the original aboriginal ways of life.

1. Survey the land: Treaties and allotment

Treaties sometimes followed the shape of the land, as one can see by examining the shape of reserves in the United States; but many reserves have straight lines or are rectangles. The straight lines indicate imposition of the Cartesian rectangular grid which categorized land by range and township. Space was divided into mile-square sections. The consequence was to define land in abstract, place-irrelevant terms. Policy followed laying out the grid with distribution of the public lands to railroads, states, and individuals. On reservations, individual Indians alive at that time were given parcels of land, and promises that only Indians would reside there were broken with the remaining “surplus” lands opened to homesteading. Within a few years, allotments became commodities which could be sold. The consequence of all this was penetration of reservations by the market economy.

We know that Indian leadership opposed making land a commodity, and the consequences have justified the concern (McConnell 1991). A market for land creates fragmentation of the landscape. Land becomes managed, not cared for. Decisions about use of the land are determined primarily by market considerations. Absentee ownership is possible, both by individuals and by corporations. Application of private property rights doctrine removes land from the control of government; only regulation that does not conflict with the fifth amendment and taxation is allowed. Land is known not by its history, but by its coordinates.

2. General Knowledge: Formal Education

A second part of the colonial policy was to remove education from control of parents and turn it over to control of a non-Indian system of formal schooling. The reason for this was clearly stated: to teach the children the values of the colonizing society and to weaken the teaching of the parents. This was a direct attack on the authority of elders in Indian society. One cannot say that the new schools encouraged open-mindedness or gave what is now called a liberal education: Indians were educated to become workers in the industrial economy, not managers and owners.

3. Mobile Religion: Christianity

Policy was to convert Indians to Christianity, and to suppress traditional forms of religion. Christianity is not a place-based religion. Sacred spaces are defined by churches, and churches can be built anywhere. The idea that a place could be sacred conflicted with the grid defining space discussed above; it was also not consistent with the universalist precepts of Christianity. Protestant Christians were encouraged to have a personal relationship with their new god, rather than a personal relationship with the land of their birth.

A consequence of such conversions was to reduce the force of spiritual sanctions to protect place. Those with traditional spiritual power became less influential. Respect for land and concern for its health often remained; but the sanctions used to enforce environmental ethics lost power.

4. Manage the land: Bureaucracy and Its Councils

The allotment policy did not remove all Indian land from ownership; forested land and arid land generally avoided allotment. The remaining land came to be governed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs under its interpretation of trust responsibility. For forested lands, trust responsibility meant managing the land for financial return, which meant harvesting the trees. Old trees were particular targets for harvest.

Similarly, the colonial power was interested in access to minerals--coal, oil, gas, uranium, and so forth. To extract the minerals, approval was needed and in some cases the tribal governments were set up expressly for this purpose; Hopi and Navajo are prime examples. Other reasons for setting up governments included concern over poverty and lack of control that had resulted from the allotment policy. The Indian Reorganization Act ended the allotment policy and suppression of indigenous religion while it also set up governments that the Secretary of Interior retained control over through constitutional provisions.

Another consequence of tribal governments was the reduction in the day to day authority of traditional leaders. Some tribes, such as the Arapaho, devised ways in which the traditional system could fit into the new system. Elders selected the people who served on the tribal council, which was consistent with the age-grade system the Arapaho had used for a long time. (Fowler 1983). For other tribes, federally-organized governments had open conflict with traditional leaders; again, Hopi is a well-known example.

5. Resistance

Each of the four policies was resisted to the extent possible. Indians held on to a residual land base which they held in common, ruled by the governments they were allowed to have. Education and training at home continued to exist, and many tribes continued to use their native language at home as well. Native religion went underground; if a priest looked for it, he was told it has disappeared. Secrecy was a good protection policy. Tribal governments could be incorporated into traditional governance systems in some cases; in other cases such action was very difficult.

As self-determination became the policy of the land in the United States, tribal governments were able to act to reverse only the fourth of the four parts of the Old Story. A tribal government could take over caretaking for tribal land, to the extent that long term leases, the need for revenue, and other influences prevented such caretaking. But it was more difficult to reverse the loss of land, the loss of control over education, and the conversion to Christianity. The fishing tribes of the Northwest Coast in the United States, the Taos Pueblo, and a few others got resources returned to their control. Some tribes created their own schools, and traditional sacred ways still exist. Individual Indians can return to sacred ways.

C. The New Story: Expert Systems and Universal Symbols

I have sketched the old story quickly, because it is well-known. In this section, I want to

emphasize some other very important influences that are the province of the twentieth century rather than the nineteenth. Three of the four parts of the old story originated in the nineteenth century, and were based on ideas of that century. Even tribal government was an outgrowth of the idea of “domestic dependent nations,” a term from the early nineteenth century provided by Chief Justice John Marshall.

But the twentieth century brought new changes, based on technology and its application to everyday life. Railroads and the telegraph of the late nineteenth century had affected time and space; the railroads caused time zones and a universal measuring of time. The railroad intensified the western migration and allowed markets to penetrate more deeply into reservations.

But much more was on the way: (1) further developments in transportation and communication; (2) Print media, radio, and television as a growth of media flowered, (3) science came to structure the understanding of the natural world, replacing religion, and (4) individuals came to have a whole different set of problems to solve. These expert systems changed the role of space and time (Giddens 1990). They also made place less important by structuring social relations at a national level rather than a local level. Indian reservations, while remote from the center of things, did not escape these new developments, and their impact continues even as self-determination proceeds.

1. Transportation and Communication

The rectangular land grid and the railroad had started the transformation of time and space from locally determined to nationally determined. This transformation become more intense with the development of cars and airplanes, which made travel easy. Electricity grids removed the role of day and night in structuring people’s lives, a change in the meaning of time. The telephone allowed long distance communication and cellular phones allow offices to travel, too. E-mail on the Internet is a continuation of this transformation of space and time.

2. Media

Newspapers used to be local, opinionated and biased. In the twentieth century, news magazines, radio, and television developed, leading to the professionalization of news reporting. This lead to a homogenization of public knowledge, such that local papers ran national news first. Radio and then television continued this trend, and entertainment also become national. Movies are national events. Records made music into a national event as well. With the arrival of stationary global satellites, television became global (CNN) or at least national (HBO, MTV, and associated channels).

The World Wide Web is a continuation of this internationalization of information. On the Web, time and space are totally irrelevant. Home pages are always on, E-mail can be retrieved when desired, discussions can occur anonymously (Howe 1998). Time and space are gone--but also is any privileged role for particular knowledge. Revolutionaries can establish their home page. The sexual side of this outrages people; but the political and social equality of this new medium is something quite new. Public knowledge and public discourse is undergoing a new change. That a Web posting sent national media into a tailspin over Bill Clinton’s private life may be a signal of

further change.

3. Science

As the application of technology to transportation, communication, medicine, construction, the kitchen, and almost everything grew, the basis of technology, science, questioned religious ideas. All origin myths were challenged. How many centers can the earth have? Christianity suffered under this assault as much as Indian ideas of the sacred did. Then science and Enlightenment reason turned on itself; Wittgenstein showed even objectivity to be grounded in moral choice (Cavell 1979).

A result is that reasons must be given to justify moral and ideological positions. Since there are many religions, many cultures, many viewpoints, one cannot just appeal to some authority to define what is true. Although some religious and educational leaders would wish the matter to be otherwise, belief systems based on the ideas of a particular traditional way of thinking have to be justified in public debate. Everything is subject to scrutiny, even science itself.

4. Careers

A result of all the technical developments, as well as the growth of bureaucracies to administer the systems or build the equipment, was the development of a new type of individualism (Giddens 1991). In the nineteenth century, the ideology was that individualism mattered. But individualism was reserved for white men as they built ideological edifices justifying industrial growth as an outcome of it. Women were left at home, Indians and Blacks were left out of the political system nearly completely. Technological developments changed this. The automobile allowed Blacks to leave the South. Indians became mobile, also. Women came to have more options. Schools and welfare systems reduced parental authority over children.

At the end of the twentieth century, any student entering college is planning a career. Indian students I talk to are worried over what to major in, what expertise to learn. The traditional roles at home have shrunk to small considerations, it would appear. Many want to work on their reservations, but with a career in a tribal bureaucracy, or with another government, or in business for themselves.

This increase in individual opportunity has grown outside of Indian society as well. Parents are worried about their lack of control over their children. Generation X shocks employers by interviewing them about the opportunities for personal growth in the job under consideration. They make it clear that they will leave if conditions aren't right. Docile workers they aren't; the radio is full of the amazement on the part of bosses. In my generation, a job was a privilege, not something to question so closely. It's actually quite amusing, when you think about it. The champions of individualism are shocked when it actually happens!

Of course, the ability to benefit from such individualism is not evenly distributed. The young and racial minorities have fewer choices than the more privileged of their generation. Income inequality is becoming worse, not better. My point, following the lead of Beck and Giddens, is that the character of the choices have changed for those who have choices. The choices involve

work in organizations that are poorly moored in space; people measure time by their own lifespan, not by that of a greater group.

Careers and life course involve more than job skills. People are more open about lots of things; gays and lesbians are making much news about life choices; closet doors are opening. But the making of such choices is widespread. What is true? Individuals have to decide which of the many assumptions that are available they will believe in. Some make religious choices, others make scientific choices. Others return to their homelands.

D. New Opportunities: Reflexivity

The individualism and questioning of authority that has developed at the end of the twentieth century presents problems to tribal leaders as well as to all others in authority positions. Individualism in its current form breaks up kinship relations, a challenge to one of the basis of aboriginal society. The challenge of science would seem to present problems of the sacredness of particular sites. Apparently, the New Story just continues the bad consequences of the Old Story for native peoples: place become less important, time becomes unconnected to place, spirituality is questioned, the group undermined.

There are great opportunities, however, for aboriginal leaders to redefine and defend their traditions. They can rebuild group identity. They can extend tribal sovereignty even as other sovereignties are under attack. Why is this? In general terms, the new story poses more problems for the post-colonial society than it does for its victims. Fragmentation of landscapes has created ecological crisis. Side-effects from industrial chemicals, burning fossil fuels, and nuclear energy creates scary Domesday scenarios. Individualization undermines systems of domination as women, ethnic and sexual minorities assert themselves. False advertising makes people distrust all media. Corporate leaders and political leaders are expected to mislead. People start to understand how domination works; they can read manuals about it.

The following lists some of the opportunities created by each of the four categories of the New Story described above.

1. Cumulative effects and ecological crisis

First of all, the triumph of industrial use of technology is the production of ecological crisis. Ulrich Beck, a German sociologist, calls this the age of side-effects, or the “risk society.” Because the uncontrolled use of technology was something that worried Indian leaders, they made a prediction that has been correct. Everything is connected, they warned; be careful as you manipulate the natural environment when you don’t know the consequences.

Examples of the results are everywhere. Exclusion of fire has increased its danger; people living in the “rural-urban interface” have to be worried, as does anyone living near the forests with their large buildup of fuel. The ozone hole threatens everyone with skin cancer. Global warming has meant more powerful storms, larger floods. Bacteria are becoming resistant to antibiotics. No one wants nuclear waste in their backyards, and every place is someone’s back yard. The list is

long.

Tribes who control their land, however, can take care of it. The Menominee are making excellent headlines with their sustainable forest management. Indians in the Northwest are gaining allies as they defend the salmon. On the Flathead Reservation, we are protecting our grizzlies and addressing fire risk. Isleta Pueblo is defending water quality in the Rio Grande.

As the world becomes more concerned about sustainability, many people think to turn to those who understand and practice it for some advice. Even more important, our children realize that the lessons of aboriginal tradition are correct. The land can remain a source of identity, as it once was, in a new way.

2. Defense of World View requires Public Discourse

Many tribes in the Northwest and Northern Plains of the United States joined the Navajo Nation some years ago in establishing tribal colleges. One motivation for this movement is articulation and defense of the aboriginal world view. The leaders of Navajo Community College have been particularly insistent in articulating the Navajo Philosophy. The tribal colleges provide an institutional basis for explaining the philosophical and cognitive bases of world views, even though the colleges are also focussed upon basic educational goals.

We have moved from the oppression of formal education systems controlled by the dominant society to a budding movement of aboriginally-controlled educational institutions. Tribes have newspapers and web sites articulating their views.

The old style education system tried and succeeded in reducing the influence of elders and the old ways. My tribe has created the Salish Culture Committee and the Kootenai Culture Committee. Both have authority to review environmental actions; their signatures are required as part of the environmental review process. This restores some authority.

3. Scientists need to be responsible for consequences

There is a new debate raging about the usefulness and appropriateness of incorporating traditional ecological knowledge in the review of environmental impacts. In Canada, some defenders of traditional science have objected to traditional knowledge because it has a spiritual component (citation of the debate needed here). How can matters of spirit be questioned? This is the old story's objection to native knowledge. But scientists, in defending their right to be objective, have also defended their right to pursue knowledge without ethical constraints. Discard spirit, discard ethics: and without ethics, who will prevent Frankenstein? Who stopped the atomic bombs? Movies have made millions depicting scientists as dangerous creators of Jurassic Parks.

All knowledge has an ethical component, and in late modernity people are becoming quite concerned about science out of control. Aboriginal attitudes of respect for nature and humility in the pursuit of knowledge has become highly relevant. That some things should not be known is

plausible. But is this enough for a return to the level of spirituality which constrained American Indian land use to sustainable levels?

After years of languishing on bookshelves unremarked, Aldo Leopold's *Sand County Almanac* has become popular, followed by a flow--not a flood--of other books on environmental ethics. Examples are Callicott 1989, Nabhan, 1997, Nash, 1988, Rolston 1992, and Taylor 1986 Many of these works seek to defend environmental ethics in rationalist terms; this is a secular time and spiritual appeals are easily rejected. Stephen Kellert fails to emphasize spiritual reasons in his recommendations that close *Kinship to Mastery: Biophilia in Human Evolution and Development* (Kellert 1997: 204-209).

4. Tribal politics respects the individual

Tribal political systems, we know, were extremely democratic. There were rules that respected the rights of everyone to speak, for instance. Interruptions were not allowed. Direct criticism was not allowed. Decisions could not be made by surprise; only the agenda of the meeting described what issues were ready for resolution. Everyone had to agree; if agreement was not reached, discussion continued.

These same rules are now used by facilitators of groups composed of the new modern individual. They take different and similar forms: 'Use only I statements.' 'Show respect for everyone; let them speak.' 'Decisions will be made by consensus.' 'Find common ground.' 'Include all the stakeholders in the negotiation.'

These principles of small-group governance are different from the public rules: 'Majority vote decides.' 'You can only vote if you qualify and are registered to vote.' 'Only those invited to testify before the committee will be allowed to speak.' 'If the floor is open, testimony by each individual is limited to five minutes; written statements will be accepted.' 'We determine the agenda.'

The impulse to be decisive, to get on with it, has been replaced by a desire to be careful, to consider all viewpoints, to worry about minority views and the concerns they articulate. This is a big change in political processes that is only starting to have an impact. We hear complaints already about the lack of unity which results. We might have more than two political parties; factions may develop, and so forth. It all sounds like tribal politics to me. Our communities are used to all this argument; we still get along if our ways of reaching compromise have not been removed by the old-style imposition of governmental forms. This presents another opportunity; Indians know how these 'new' (to the general society) political processes work.

E. Reconstituting Tribal Ways in the presence of Reflexive Modernization

The old story and the new story both contained ways of disassembling tribal ways of life. Time and space became disconnected from place, and place was fundamental. Social systems have come to exist in ways disconnected from place, as corporations, professions, federal agencies, political parties and other modern organizations dominate life. All of these are profoundly

threatening to old ways, and indeed we have seen old ways disappear among many tribal groups. Maintenance of the old ways was best carried out by disengagement; secret spirituality could survive where public ones had trouble.

But the new story has some elements of opportunity for tribes. I would like to review them in the same order as I presented the basic characteristics of tribes in part A.

First, place and way of life. As the ecological crisis grows, each place has become vulnerable to degradation caused by global impacts. Someone has to step forward and defend the places. Native people can do that. They can care for their own place and they can defend the places they used to own. I am impressed by the occurrence of a First Salmon ceremony on the Seattle docks. I am impressed by the alliances the Nuu-chah-nulth people have made in defending Clayoquot Sound on Vancouver Island. I am impressed by the efforts of the California Indian Basketweaver's Association in defending plants growing under trees in forests. Surely there are more examples.

People are sorting themselves into groups based on identity rather than interest. Tribal identity can be constituted in terms of loyalty to particular places as well as land in general. This point was articulated early on by the occupation of Alcatraz. Urban Indians use land as an organizing symbol, even if they were separated from it in fact. World individualization creates a basis for the support of human rights, and the right to a way of life is a choice individuals can make. Although nation-states want to protect "people;" indigenous advocates want also to protect "peoples." Through advocacy and protection of their current and ancestral places, Indians can defend themselves.

Second, experience with place. This is more difficult as individual tribal members pursue careers and develop their own life-plans. They grow up in cities, or in villages in which recreation consists of watching TV, dancing to rap and country music, and renting movies. This is not experience with the habitats of their parents and grandparents. An insufficient but helpful way to address this is to record the old knowledge and offer it in modern form: books. This changes the knowledge but does preserve it. Another action is summer camps and facilitation of recreation experiences on the tribal lands. My tribe has a whole area that is reserved for use by tribal members, and weekend picnics rather than summer-long gathering seems to be the modern use. Conscious action needs to be taken to reconnect all peoples and especially Indian peoples with place. The choices can be offered to youth as they set out planning their careers and may be chosen.

Third, place is sacred. As individualization proceeds, religion is not going away. Some religious fervor is backlash, a retreat to religious fundamentalism and a refusal to be tolerant of other religious views. Scientific findings are rejected rather than incorporated into better analysis of spiritual meaning. Other religious and ritual activity, however, is genuine continuation of old traditions with new, modern meanings (Fowler 1987). In the presence of scientific sensibility, spiritual positions would appear to be hard to promote; but they are promoted nonetheless. Philosophers' environmental ethics is spirituality in rational clothes.

Spiritual sanctions were always enforced by public action as well as by spirits themselves.

Leaders who did not show respect for the land were deposed. Individuals who misused land were refused access to it in the future. Showing lack of respect makes animals and plants go away for spiritual reasons; but one can point to secular reasons also.

American Indian religions have had many prophetic revivals: Handsome Lake, the Ghost Dance, the Native America Church are examples that come to mind. Such revivals continue and preserve the meaning and ethics of the old practices. They can easily continue within the domain of the new individualization, which is not all that different in form anyway from the autonomy of the individual in hunter-gatherer societies.

Fourth, the group is important. Since groups are now spread out over many places, it is not surprising that tribes have done this as well. Members go to cities to work for a time, and return also for a time. The old seasonal round within the tribal territory is replaced by a different type of migration and a different way of managing the time of residence away from home. Tribal celebrations and pow wows help create a new round in which urban workers return home for renewal. Scholarships that require a period of service to the community help also.

The nuclear family model of industrial capitalism has declined in importance as individualization proceeds. This individualization is a problem for larger kinship groups as well. How can tribes retain their group identity? Much as people dislike bureaucracy, tribal administrative structures provide a way to create organizations in which careers can be pursued in the service of community as kinship weakens as a formal organizing principle. Another possibility is to maintain and revitalize kinship relationships, as those who continue giveaways do.

Fifth, time is circular, not linear. Linear time is discounted time in industrial society; the future has little value. But there is a world-wide increase in concern for sustainability and preserving the earth for future generations. Incentives are not in place to do this, however. Part of protecting place--point one above--involves restructuring time, and indigenous peoples can lead in this effort, thereby protecting their own way of life while seeking other allies who dislike the tyranny of compound interest.

F. Conclusion

Within this context of reflexive modernization, I would like to comment briefly on some of the strategies employed by the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes. We were fortunate to retain over 600,000 acres of land at the end of the allotment period, including title to the site of a major hydroelectric site, Kerr Dam. We are protecting the land in many ways. We set up a tribal wilderness area to protect the Mission Mountains. We protect the grizzly bears during their seasonal migrations near humans. We have successfully advocated environmental mitigation of the effects of Kerr Dam, including a change in operation. The new forest plan reorganizes forest management into ecosystem management, based on the fire regimes of the forest.

To promote experience with place, we have a tribal recreation area. The annual pow wow has grown in importance. Music at the powwow may save the language, which is in real trouble. The music sounds healthier than ever. Frequent treaty celebrations remind our neighbors of the history of the place.

We have a tribal college with a publication program and an extensive library. Our tribal government as a large bureaucracy in which tribal members pursue careers under the direction of the tribal council. Constitutional changes are under consideration for the tribal government, since we have problems with the IRA constitution.

Environmental review of land management activities includes a formal sign-off by both the Kootenai and the Salish culture committees; this is more than consultation--veto power is involved. The culture committees hold annual spring feasts in which we learn the taste of the old foods, although to live off of them would threaten some endangered plants. Other aspects of environmental review have much public participation.

There seems to be a renaissance of give-aways. I recall very few when I was growing up, and none in my immediate family. I am invited to one in June by my cousin; a first in my memory.

Maybe my tribe is not as modern as I think; or maybe it is super-modern and up to date on the latest opportunities.

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