

# Best Cultural Heritage Stewardship Practices by and for the White Mountain Apache Tribe

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As is true for most indigenous programmes concerned with cultural heritage management, the White Mountain Apache Tribe Historic Preservation Office (THPO) operates at dynamic and contested intersections of expanding populations and economies, shrinking budgets, diversifying international interests in heritage issues, and increasing indigenous demands for self-governance, self-reliance, self-determination, and self-representation. Faced with limited funds, large mandates, and land users having variable support for cultural heritage protection, the White Mountain Apache THPO has harnessed long-standing and emergent community heritage values as authentic foundations for ‘actionable’ rules promoting consultation, identification, documentation, and protection for tangible and intangible cultural heritage. Developed on the basis of a decade of interactions with elders and other cultural experts, foresters, hydrologists, engineers, and planners, the Tribe’s *Best Cultural Heritage Stewardship Practices* illuminate challenges and opportunities faced by many THPOs and illustrate the crafting of appropriate institutional frameworks for community-based historic preservation initiatives.

**KEYWORDS** White Mountain Apache Tribe, tribal historic preservation officers, community participation, best practice

## Introduction

Tribal historic preservation officers (THPOs) were the last parties invited to join the federal historic preservation partnership envisioned ‘to give a sense of orientation to

the American people' under the US National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) (US Congress 1966, Downer 2003). Because of the codification of participation in the historic preservation dialogue by contributors with very different points of view, the admission of the sovereign rights of federally recognized tribes to govern historic preservation on their trust lands may prove to be the most momentous of the 1992 amendments to the NHPA. Compared to the other partners — i.e., the President's Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, the State Historic Preservation Officers (SHPOs), federal agencies, the National Trust for Historic Preservation, and certified local governments — THPOs come to the preservation table with diverse and distinct perspectives and goals grounded in both varied cultural traditions and recent historical experiences, some of which have included conflicts with other partners.

THPO approaches to historic preservation planning, inventory, education, and compliance efforts and priorities on tribal lands typically flow *bottom-up* from local elders, leaders, and political and socio-economic realities. In contrast, federal, state, and local partners generally accept the *top-down* framework of federal statutes, regulations, policies, and administrative customs. Aspects of the differences between THPOs and other partners are reflected in our adoption of the term *cultural heritage stewardship* to emphasize the sorts of community-based roles and do-no-harm principles many THPOs embrace as caretakers, advocates, and collaborators. The term is distinct from the more widely adopted and technocratic *resource management* approach, in which governments and markets are the primary determiners of cultural heritage values.

Because THPOs typically employ culture- and place-based definitions, priorities, and operating principles, their innovative stewardship rules (i.e. institutions) and organizations are often ignored beyond reservation borders (see Welch 2000, Capriccioso 2008). Despite federal trust responsibility for tribal advancement, increasing tribal potency in state and national politics, and administrative demands on THPOs to rapidly create organizational capacities on par with those that SHPOs and the other partners have built over decades, THPOs remain marginalized. THPOs operate on disproportionately small budgets compared to SHPOs (NATHPO 2008). Only where individual tribes divert funds from other programmes or other funds are available are THPO budgets minimally adequate. Underfunded by Congress and excluded from federal programme decision-making, THPOs have heretofore had little encouragement to publicize our distinctive programmes. This is a shame. Tribal heritage stewardship initiatives in general, and THPOs in particular, are wellsprings of inventive approaches to the intrinsically human and fundamentally important quest to carry forward the best and most important elements of inheritance from previous generations (Anyon *et al.* 2000, Welch *et al.* 2009, Welch 2009).

Our purpose here is to examine one aspect of the White Mountain Apache THPO, the initial effort to codify relevant Ndee (Western Apache) values, beliefs, and interests in terms relevant to day-to-day work in cultural heritage consultation, identification, documentation, and protection. Our goals are to summarize the approaches, processes, and rules reflected in the *Best Cultural Heritage Stewardship Practices* (BSPs) (adopted by the White Mountain Apache Tribal Council in 2004 per Resolutions 10-2001-271 and 06-2004-120) and to examine the policy as an example of crafting appropriate institutions for the stewardship of common pool resources

(see Ostrom 1992). We pursue these goals by briefly describing the White Mountain Apache Tribe Heritage Program and reviewing the contents and implications of the BSPs.

### White Mountain Apache Tribe lands and heritage stewardship

The roughly 13,000 members of the rapidly growing White Mountain Apache Tribe occupy the 6734 sq km (1.7 million acres) Fort Apache Indian Reservation in the uplands of eastern Arizona (Figure 1). Ranging in elevation from less than 800 m above sea level to more than 3300 m, the reservation's diverse landforms and ecosystems are paralleled by extraordinary arrays of tangible cultural heritage. Nearly 2500 historical, archaeological, and paleontological sites — including the remains of pueblos, cliff dwellings, fortresses, farmsteads, shrines, and engravings and paintings on rock faces — have been documented. Our acceptance of place naming as a signal of Ndee cultural significance indicates that hundreds, even thousands, of additional localities require respectful consideration and protection (Basso 1996).

Although Ndee maintain active engagements with ancient traditions involving both tangible and intangible cultural heritage, White Mountain Apache involvement in



FIGURE 1 White Mountain Apache Lands, Arizona.

externally driven cultural heritage projects began in the 1930s with Tribal Council reviews of archaeological proposals and tribal member employment as excavators (Welch 2007, Welch & Ferguson 2007). In 1969, the Tribe opened the Cultural Center in the last remaining log cabin at Fort Apache under director Edgar Perry, who prioritized the recording of Ndee cultural and oral traditions. In the 1970s and 1980s, Ray Palmer, Ramon Riley, Mark Altaha, and other tribal members began working toward the protection of tangible heritage threatened by logging, housing, and infrastructure projects. Beginning in 1987, John Welch served as a consultant to the US Bureau of Indian Affairs to develop protocols and capacities for protecting cultural heritage (Welch 2000, Nicholas *et al.* 2007). Encouraged by the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990 (NAGPRA) and the 1992 NHPA amendments, White Mountain Apache Tribal Council chairmen Ronnie Lupe and Dallas Massey promoted cultural heritage stewardship programmes to enhance and expand tribal sovereignty through self-governance, self-knowledge, self-representation, and self-determination (Welch *et al.* 2006). Full-time employment with the Bureau of Indian Affairs allowed Welch to boost federal NHPA and NAGPRA compliance and assist in the establishment of the new Nohwike' Bágowa Apache Cultural Center and Museum, the Fort Apache and Theodore Roosevelt School Historic Park, the nonprofit Fort Apache Heritage Foundation and, in 1996, the THPO (Welch 2000, 2007, Welch *et al.* 2009).

Participation in NAGPRA and the need for elders' guidance provided additional catalysts for Heritage Program development. In 1997, the Tribe named Riley as the Cultural Resources Director and authorized him to establish repatriation and cultural revitalization programmes. Ancestral Hopi and Zuni cultural heritage occurs across of most of the Ndee homeland, and family and cultural relationships link the four tribes of the Ndee nation. Accordingly, Riley and Welch initiated collaborations with the Hopi, Zuni, San Carlos Apache, and Tonto Apache tribes and the Yavapai-Apache Nation (Welch & Riley 2001). Impressed by the tribes' authoritative advisory teams, Riley established a Cultural Advisory Board to oversee the stewardship of Ndee cultural heritage.

Among the distinctive characteristics of the Tribe's Heritage Program is the emphasis on the conservative use of cultural heritage to guide governance, to create healthy communities, to represent Ndee heritage to visitors, and to foster employment. The Heritage Program includes Riley's office of the Cultural Resources Director (CRD), Altaha's THPO, and Hoerig's museum and Fort Apache Historic Park operations. The BSPs require regular participation by the THPO in conjunction with project planning, tangible heritage site documentation and inventory, and federal agency compliance. The CRD must participate whenever issues arise concerning intangible cultural heritage, repatriation, or sacred sites.

Each of the three programme areas involves collaborations to maximize scarce funding and attend to Ndee ambivalence about the past. On the one hand, Ndee teachings mandate respect for all ancient places, objects, and intangibles, affirming avoidance as the highest form of respect. The past is often treated as a closed subject, and those evincing interest in the knowledge and possessions of the dead are often viewed with suspicion. On the other hand, active and even hands-on involvement with sacred and ancient sites and objects, as well as with individuals who may not

share Ndee values and behavioural norms regarding respect for cultural heritage, is required in pursuit of the overarching Heritage Program mandate to restore Ndee control over Ndee heritage.

## Best cultural heritage stewardship practices

This section describes the intentions and effects of the *Best Cultural Heritage Stewardship Practices*. Because the BSPs have been endorsed by and represent the views of the White Mountain Apache Tribal Council and Cultural Advisory Board, we make liberal use of the policy language. This is not to suggest that the current BSPs will persist unchanged. The BSPs are explicitly organic and must be updated and upgraded to reflect evolving Ndee values, interests, and institutional configurations. Our review includes comments on the policy's five parts and fourteen sections (Figure 2). We highlight those elements of structure and content distinctively linked to Ndee heritage and those potentially useful in policy deliberations in other place-based communities.

### ***Background, definitions, and guiding principles***

Part 1 (Sections A and B) lays foundations and sets parameters for the BSPs. Because White Mountain Apache tribal lands include much of the Ndee homeland and tribal members have inherited ancient traditions, rights, and responsibilities, the prerequisites are in place for ongoing Ndee territorial stewardship. Cultural heritage is defined to include all places, objects, and intangibles having significance in the culture or history of the Ndee or the Fort Apache Indian Reservation — all landscapes, sacred

#### PART 1: GENERAL PLANNING GUIDANCE

- A. Background & definitions
- B. Guiding principles

#### PART 2: REQUIREMENTS FOR ALL PROJECTS

- C. General
- D. Project planning & consultation
- E. Cultural heritage identification & documentation
- F. Cultural heritage protection, monitoring & mitigation of adverse effects
- G. Inadvertent discovery of cultural heritage sites or objects

#### PART 3: ADDITIONAL REQUIREMENTS FOR SPECIFIC TYPES OF PROJECTS

- H. Wildfire & fire use (prescribed natural fire)
- I. Fuels treatment, prescribed burning & thinning
- J. Transportation projects & roads maintenance

#### PART 4: ADDITIONAL REQUIREMENTS FOR SPECIFIC SITUATIONS

- K. Monitoring
- L. Treatment of cultural items (human remains, funerary & sacred objects)
- M. Reporting standards
- N. Projects affecting cliff dwellings

#### PART 5: APPENDICES

- Agreement for nondisclosure of White Mountain Apache Tribal information
- Cultural heritage site documentation form
- Project tracking form

FIGURE 2 The contents of the *Best Cultural Heritage Stewardship Practices Policy*.

sites, customs, traditions, ceremonies, beliefs, stories, songs, language, arts, crafts, artefacts, sacred objects, funerary objects, archaeological, and human remains. Preservation of cultural heritage, much of which is fragile, finite, and irreplaceable, is intended to serve social, educational, aesthetic, scientific, land restoration, and economic interests. Ndee communities and individuals depend on cultural heritage for everything from raw materials required for religious practices to senses of place and individual and tribal identity.

Ndee Customary Law, Tribal law and policy, Federal law and policy, and natural law or common sense provide the bases for the BSPs. The BSPs seek to harmonize these authorities with intrinsic ecosystem processes, necessary land modifications, and economic initiatives. The cultural and operational principles guiding the BSPs include:

- respect animals, plants, and minerals as parts of a seamless whole
- maintain balance between resource use and resource protection or enhancement
- protect sacred sites and places of cultural importance, as well as archaeological and historical artefacts and structures
- manage cultural heritage to blend into surrounding ecosystems
- employ non-invasive and least-impact treatments and methods
- recognize that most cultural heritage is embedded in landscapes; changes to plant communities, soil systems, or ecosystem functions may entail cascading consequences for cultural heritage and human communities
- assure that Ndee people receive all or most of any benefits from resource uses and activities
- prioritize quality of visitors and authenticity of visitor experiences over quantity of tourism
- invest in the creation of sustainable jobs and long-term opportunities
- recognize that individuals acting in good faith and within the scope of their job descriptions are not personally liable for a project's adverse effects to cultural heritage; on the other hand, those who fail to respect graves, objects, or other heritage sites invite hardship upon themselves and their families, and may be subject to civil and criminal penalties (Figure 3).

Similar to the Best Management Practices to Protect Water Quality, Habitats, and Ecosystems in Nonurban Areas of the Fort Apache Indian Reservation (White Mountain Apache Tribe 2000), the BSPs are mandatory for all land modification projects and programmes operating in areas that may contain or have significant ties to cultural heritage. Compliance is assured through the Tribe's Project and Plan Review process, which requires the CRD, THPO, or both to review every tribal, federal, state, and private party project proposed on the Tribe's lands. The draft *Heritage Code* under consideration by the Tribal Council includes enforcement authorities and penalties for non-compliance.

### ***Project planning and consultation, and cultural heritage identification and protection***

Part 2 (sections C–G) establishes protocols for minimizing conflicts between cultural heritage and land modification projects. Building on the principles listed above, the

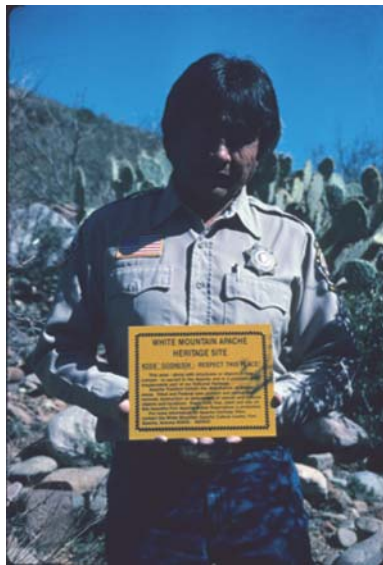


FIGURE 3 Tribal Wildlife Ranger Louis Zospagh holds a heritage site sign that integrates educational and warning messages.

*Photo: J. R. Welch, courtesy of the White Mountain Apache Tribe*

protocols seek to balance the twin truths that land modification projects may benefit Ndee individuals and communities (e.g., housing and agricultural development) while also adversely affecting people and communities by compromising cultural heritage. The BSPs combine cultural, practical and legal mandates, thus moving beyond single-issue management and minimalist compliance, toward community-oriented planning and stewardship.

The Consultation-Identification-Documentation-Protection process central to the BSPs is similar to but broader than that NHPA's 'Section 106 process' regulations familiar to many in the US (36 Code of Federal Regulations, part 800). Unlike NHPA, the BSPs (1) apply equally to federal and non-federal actions, (2) ignore the spurious boundary between cultural and natural resources and employ an expansive definition of phenomena requiring respectful consideration, (3) entail individual (rather than organizational) responsibility for administrative compliance and heritage protection, and (4) reflect Ndee preference for avoidance of all effects on cultural heritage, except in compelling circumstances involving significant community benefits. Although the BSPs require fewer information exchanges between the project sponsor and the THPO or CRD, an individual must accept responsibility for the project and make the case that any cultural heritage losses are outweighed by benefits to the Tribe and tribal members. This personalization of the process is a response to the harms that Ndee individuals and families may experience when cultural heritage — especially sacred sites and graves — is disrespected and the reality that interpersonal rather than organizational relationships are the bases for community.

To assist project sponsors in the efficient design of beneficial projects that minimize impacts to cultural heritage, the BSPs discourage all use or modification of stream corridors, springs, wetlands, caves, habitats for sensitive wildlife and plant species, and other critical environmental areas. For timber harvests and other landscape-level projects, the BSPs require provisions for restoration of ecosystem conditions and

functions, including re-grading for proper drainage, re-vegetation using plants native to the area, and so forth.

THPO and CRD project endorsements must be obtained prior to Tribal Project and Plan Review. The BSPs require the project sponsor to consult with the THPO in mapping the project's area of potential effect (APE), including all terrain that will be directly or indirectly disturbed or altered (e.g. all maintenance yards, borrow or gravel pits, access routes, work camps, log decks, skid trails, staging areas, and other disturbance areas, regardless of intended size or duration). For visually intrusive projects such as clear cuts and communications facilities, the APE may be defined as the project viewshed — all places that will witness the land modification.

The BSPs also require project sponsors to consult with the THPO or CRD to ensure that all potentially affected cultural heritage is identified, documented, and protected in accord with Ndee principles, professional standards, and the project's direct, indirect, and cumulative effects. Identification often involves consultations with the elders most familiar with the APE, pedestrian inspection of affected land surfaces, or both. Sponsors must ensure that the BSPs and any project-specific stipulations are incorporated into planning, compliance, and contract documents, and that all project personnel are trained to (1) be alert for hidden or embedded cultural heritage, (2) suspend work around any discovered cultural heritage then notify and cooperate with the CRD or THPO to protect the cultural heritage, and (3) employ 'leave no trace' principles.

Once the heritage sites or values requiring protection have been identified, the standard protocol for cultural heritage protection includes four specific project sponsor responsibilities:

- establish and maintain a high-visibility perimeter around the outside boundary of heritage sites using red engineer's tape affixed to vegetation or other landscape features
- enforce the keep out requirements of the red flag perimeter
- assure adherence to agree-upon project operations, protocols, and stipulations
- remove the red flag perimeter immediately following completion of project operations in the vicinity of the heritage site.

In cases of intended or planned adverse effects to cultural heritage, stabilization, restoration, or compensation must be negotiated as elements of a 'Cultural Heritage Treatment Plan'. Depending on the situation, treatment and mitigation options include, but are not limited to:

- surface mapping, sample excavations, and collections to determine heritage site extent and significance and to rescue the material and research values of the cultural heritage prior to project impacts (this step also requires compliance with the Tribe's *Collections Policy*, including financial support for the perpetual conservation of all collected materials)
- stabilization or restoration treatments of cultural heritage not threatened by project operations as compensation for project damage to comparable cultural heritage.



The BSPs also include broad criteria for assessing land modification proposals. Does the proposed project:

- respectfully disclose and seek to minimize the direct, indirect, and cumulative impacts to landscapes, places, objects, traditions, and communities?
- strengthen families and enhance their ties to lands and cultural heritage?
- sustain or enhance trust assets, as determined by beneficiary (Ndee) standards?
- improve integration and collaboration among resource managers and land users?
- assure non-degradation and facilitate re-establishment of ecosystem processes and resource conditions?
- expand or enhance the Tribe's sovereignty by facilitating self-governance, self-reliance, self-determination, and self-representation?

These questions deliberately transcend CRD and THPO jurisdictions and technical expertise, thereby affirming that designing broadly beneficial projects is more important than strict compliance with BSPs and other authorities. A negative response to any question is grounds for either project redesign or rejection through Tribal Project and Plan Review.

The BSPs prohibit cultural heritage research, collection, or alteration, except as permitted under separate authorities. All information relating to the Tribe's lands is privileged and confidential and may not be copied, retained, or released for any purpose without permission. All copies of all cultural heritage documentation must be returned to THPO. The THPO and CRD have the authority to suspend project operations in response to violations of BSPs or project-specific stipulations. The White Mountain Apache Tribal Council has ultimate discretion over project reviews, the BSPs, research activities, and related matters.

### ***Guidance and requirements for specific project types and circumstances***

Parts 3 and 4 (sections H–N) build upon previous sections to establish protocols for problematic project types. Because of regional residential expansions into forests and the increased risks of catastrophic fires linked to climate change and previous fire suppression policies, mechanical forest thinning and prescribed burning projects are increasingly large and common in the upland West (see Field & Jensen 2005). Prescribed burning in particular poses landscape-scale threats to cultural heritage. These threats are particularly difficult to mitigate using the pedestrian inventory surveys employed to identify tangible cultural heritage in less extensive APEs. Instead of obliging the forestry offices to fund contracts for professional surveys, the BSPs promote the identification, documentation, and protection of cultural heritage in conjunction with the expansion of local organizational and individual capacities. This means the THPO and CRD conduct frequent workshops to provide cultural heritage training to tribal members, employees, and contractors. Workshop completion is required for individual placement on the THPO's roster of certified 'para-archaeologists', a certification required to serve as a forestry project sponsor, to be dispatched for wildland fire assignments to protect cultural heritage from fire line and staging area construction, or to participate in prescribed burning and timber stand marking.

BSP guidance for roads projects is necessary because the Bureau of Indian Affairs has constructed a number of roads through cultural heritage sites, thus making it difficult to maintain these roads without causing additional damage. The THPO and Tribe have notified the Bureau of ‘no maintenance zones’ and affirmed mandates to avoid additional damage to heritage sites.

The BSPs also provide guidance in the rare instances in which human burials are disturbed. Ndee, Hopi, and Zuni cultural traditions concur in the view that human remains and funerary items must be treated with the utmost respect and should not be exposed, disturbed, or subjected to viewing or documentation except in satisfaction of legal requirements or compelling tribal interests (Welch & Ferguson 2007). Accordingly, the BSPs specify that:

- exposure, disturbance, documentation, and treatment of human remains and funerary items shall be minimized and shall not — without the express written permission of the CRD or lineal descendant — include photography, contact with women or children, destructive analysis or sampling, applications of chemicals, or publication or public discussion
- if the human remains and funerary items are Ndee, the project sponsor and CRD shall make a good faith effort to identify and consult with the lineal descendant
- lineal descendant preferences for respectful disposition shall be followed by the sponsor, or the remains and items remanded to the descendant’s custody
- if the human remains and funerary items are ancestral pueblo, the sponsor shall solicit and follow guidance from the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office and the Zuni Heritage and Historic Preservation Office concerning disposition. In the past, Hopi and Zuni have endorsed prompt re-burial as close as possible to the original resting place but out of harm’s way, by a Hopi tribal member familiar with customary procedure
- all known resting places shall include, wherever possible, a minimum 50 foot radius buffer and shall be documented and entered into the THPO’s FAIRsite inventory, the carefully safeguarded site file and map system that exists to provide perpetual protection for heritage sites on the Fort Apache Indian Reservation. Documentation includes location and sketch maps and a description of the remains and items, including distinctive characteristics that would allow identification in case of theft.

The BSPs conclude with specifications of reporting standards and copies of the forms to be used to document heritage sites and the process of project compliance with the BSPs.

## Discussion and concluding thoughts

Shanks and McGuire (1996) have examined archaeology as craft — involving the creative mediation of clients, materials, markets, and fashions. The broader field of cultural heritage stewardship may also benefit from this approach to finding unity in purpose amidst diversity in approach, process, and outcome. What is being crafted by the BSPs, and by THPOs more generally, is culture itself. Preservation, language, history, and museum programmes are actively shaping contemporary culture and its

representation in many tribal communities. At least as importantly, our programmes are addressing crucial questions about what humans shall carry forward: which of the objects, places, and intangible ways of thinking, doing, and relating that we have inherited will be accessible to future generations? Such questions are answered daily on household, organizational, community, national, and international levels, but nowhere are the questions more prominent or the deliberations more explicit and highly charged with politics and emotion than in indigenous contexts. Concerns with ecological and cultural system decimation, and broader efforts to replace colonial impositions are prompting the White Mountain Apache Tribe to join indigenous peoples around the world in developing capacities to effect community-based conservation (e.g. Berkes 2004, Smith & Wobst 2005, Bell & Napoleon 2008).

Capacity development happens, at a minimum, through training people, developing organizations, and crafting systems of rules or other arrangements that comport with the values, interests, and needs of affected parties. The art and science of crafting institutions has received intensive investigation in the context of common pool resources and means for avoiding the ‘tragedy of the commons’, in which the susceptibility of a resource to damaging overuse and the difficulty of excluding users lead to resource degradation (Ostrom 1990, 1992, Dietz *et al.* 2003). Although common pool resources are typically thought of as ‘natural’ resources (e.g. forests, streams, pasturelands, fisheries), cultural heritage may be examined as a commons because it is subject to damage by misuse (‘subtractable’) and is difficult but not impossible to control access to and use of (‘excludable’).

The White Mountain Apache Tribe BSPs meet, at least in part, criteria for ‘robust governance’ of common pool resources distilled from the analysis of dozens of case studies (Dietz *et al.* 2003). The BSPs:

- are congruent with the types and conditions of cultural heritage associated with Ndee lands
- define the limits of cultural heritage and user groups
- provide accountability mechanisms
- establish low-cost mechanisms for conflict resolution
- involve interested and affected parties in the informed discussion of the rules
- allocate authority to allow for adaptive governance at multiple levels
- provide information necessary to promote the process and effect good decisions
- activate social and technical infrastructures and
- encourage adaptation (all adapted from Dietz *et al.* 2003, 1910).

Although clear and reasonable, these standards nonetheless challenge our industry and inventiveness as cultural heritage stewards. Many dozens of projects, some of which affect thousands of acres and involve hundreds of personnel, require individual attention each year, and the two of us with specific responsibilities under the BSPs cannot always dedicate the time required to assure that all cultural heritage receives respectful identification, documentation, and protection. The BSPs may never be perfected as vital links among ancient inheritance, current land management, and desired futures, but the effort to bring Ndee values and interests to bear on these issues and concerns has facilitated important examinations and revitalizations of Ndee philosophies and practices.

In a more general consideration of heritage site stewardship, Kristiansen (1989) reaffirms the legitimacy of different national visions for cultural heritage stewardship and the reality of change in the ‘conception of what is important’ through time, contingent on politics, economics, and intellectual currents, among other factors. Empowered by favourable shifts in laws, public opinion, and renewed interests in the expansion and enhancement of sovereignty, White Mountain Apache is among the tribes working to sustain sophisticated programmes dedicated to regaining control over and resuming responsibility for the places, objects, and intangibles that connect American Indian history, culture, and group identity (see Nicholas 2008). The realization that Native Americans — as intellectually potent, politically astute, and increasingly organized groups endowed with substantial rights and privileges in the United States — have significantly divergent, though equally valid views concerning the goals and processes of the national historic preservation programme, is driving diverse developments in the international field of cultural heritage stewardship. The White Mountain Apache Tribe is likely to continue to create opportunities for the stewardship of Ndee cultural heritage in accord with Ndee cultural principles and contemporary interests. THPOs are likely to continue to press the view that, regardless of current ownership or control, American Indian cultural heritage should be protected and conserved in accord with American Indian values, beliefs, and interests. THPO organizational and institutional developments merit attention as a means for discovering alternative views of the past, values of cultural heritage, and ways of taking care of one another and the planet.

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