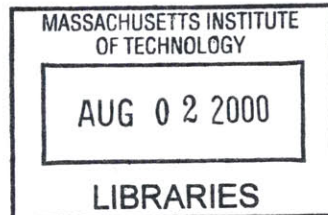


**U.S. Forest Service Policy in
Northern New Mexico:
A Case Study of the Hassell Report
-- 1967-2000**

by Lou Baker

B. A. Organizational Psychology
The College of Santa Fe
Santa Fe, NM, 1996

ROTCH



Submitted to the Department of
Urban Studies and Planning
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree
of
Master in City Planning

at the

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

June 2000

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ABSTRACT

As a result of a court house raid in Tierra Amarilla, New Mexico, on June 5, 1967, these actions of local land-grant activists made national headlines and elicited high-level interest in the land management practices of the United States Forest Service (USFS) in northern New Mexico.¹ These actions were instrumental in convening the Mexican-American Conference in El Paso, Texas in October 21, 1967. After attending the Mexican-American Conference, Southwest Regional Forester William D. Hurst initiated the study that resulted in the Hassell Report and led to the subsequent creation of the Region 3 Policy.

The Hassell Report was an assessment of the needs of the rural forest-dependent communities and as such, was not based on data and statistics but rather on qualitative community input. The subsequent policy implemented by Hurst on March 6, 1972, "...summarized and embodied some of the recommendations of the Hassell Report."

Since its creation a century ago, the Forest Service has recognized the effects of forest management on local communities and has rhetorically embraced populist ideals to serve people and communities. But the strategies adopted by the Forest Service for meeting local

community needs – Region 3 Policy - has failed to achieve this goal. This approach conflicts with ideals of and trends towards participation, posing a question of whether it remains viable in contemporary society. This managerial posture suggests why the USFS has experienced escalating conflict and eroding public confidence in its management of the national forests in northern New Mexico.

One of the lessons of this case study is that attempting to address economic and cultural issues and actually implementing study recommendations into actions is two entirely different things. "A brilliant policy can easily flounder on the rocks of bureaucratic inertia, but such a policy, as in the case of northern New Mexico, may also acquire a life and constituency of its own and continue to influence the affairs of a region."²

¹ Wilmsen, 1997.

² deBuys, 1997.

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Thesis Supervisor: Professor Frank Levy

Title: Daniel Rose Professor of Urban Economics

Cover Map: Location of National Forests in
northern New Mexico. See legend on page 18.
Source: Bureau of Land Management

Editor: Vicky Ragsdale Boulrice

DEDICATED

To my husband Paul
My daughter, Cari and my son, TJ

and

William D. Hurst.

"...I have never met William Hurst, but I feel that I know him. I have relied on and argued over his words with forest rangers, environmentalists and politicians who come to our region without fully understanding its history and uniqueness.

The Hurst northern New Mexico policy is an insightful forest vision that sees beyond board feet and bottled wilderness. It understands the historic relationship of mutual dependence, respect and potential that has grown between our mountain communities and the forest. His deep passion for what he believed is evidenced by the uncompromising clarity of the policy.

Moreover, he had the courage to challenge the goals and the purpose of the Forest Service at a time when such words must have seemed close to treason.

Most importantly, because of his vision and the few people in the Forest Service courageous enough to keep it alive, the Truchas community has been able to start *La Montana*, a wood lot and restoration program which is an embodiment of his vision. We continue to learn from Hurst and expand on his ideas as we move forward to develop a policy which truly serves the people and cares for the land."

-- Max Cordova, Truchas, NM, 2000

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS and my sincere thanks

Honor and Praise to the Lord Jesus Christ. In my life, and the lives of my family, You have taken care of the most fundamental human need, and through my faith in You, I have been given understanding and my family's blessed health.

My beloved Mother, Odilia Baker, your uncompromising spiritual support is a model of faith. In addition, your faithful care packages of *chile*, sustained me while traversing through my academic endeavor.

My father, Dwight Baker, I miss you every day.

My handsome husband, Paul Flaherty, you are a consistent source of emotional support, especially at times when it was most trying, you were there and are truly the source of my strength. You tolerated my moments of despair and believed in me every single moment. Through your hard work, we have been able to live at a higher level of comfort than that usually afforded to graduate students. In addition, you made a significant intellectual contribution to this thesis. For example, our many discussions about various topics challenged me to continuously look at my interpretation of social processes in new ways, in addition, to your technical expertise. PBC.

Greg Lukenbill, you always encouraged me to spread my wings and fly. You will always have all of my respect, affection, admiration and undying devotion.

My adored daughter, Cari Mace, you grew up without a mother so that I may pursue an academic endeavor. There is no greater sacrifice.

My adored son, T.J. Mace, you also grew up without a mother so that I may pursue an academic endeavor. Once again, there is no greater sacrifice.

Professor Antonio Delgado, my appreciation and respect to you, for your willingness to mentor my entire academic career without hesitation.

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Gil Sanchez, without your financial support, during the early stages of my academic endeavor, I could not have been able to achieve such an accomplishment.

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All of the individuals that took time from their busy schedules to accommodate me with an interview.

To the numerous people that are significant in my achieving such a milestone, I gratefully thank you all. May the Lord Jesus bless you as you have blessed me.

All of the above named individuals influenced my thinking about the U.S. Forest Service and its role in northern New Mexico. While I have tried to accurately portray various viewpoints I encountered during the course of my research, I alone am responsible for all interpretations presented in this thesis and for any inaccuracies it may contain.

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A NOTE ON PURPOSE AND BIAS

There are no unbiased researchers; there are likely few unbiased readers. By including a brief note on my background and purpose in writing this paper, I hope to provide honesty to my findings.

I grew up in northern New Mexico, a region rich in *herencia* (heritage), culture, and natural beauty. Raised with a wood stove for heat and the subsequent seasonal task of harvesting wood for the pending winter, I considered wood-chopping to be simply a normal aspect of life.

At MIT, my interest in the U.S. Forest Service (USFS) and its policies was developed during my first semester. I found myself missing northern New Mexico. What I missed most was the sweet smell of *piñon* wood burning in the stove. During those moments of reflection, in addition, to my newly developing skills in policy development and analysis, I came to realize the major role that the USFS plays in northern New Mexico.

Why did I need to come to New England for this epiphany? It's analogous to native New Yorkers who have never been atop the Empire State Building. Environments, places, institutions and people become so intertwined into the daily fabric of our lives that we fail to see the "forest for the trees."

My bias, my passion, is for the people who live in the rural forest-dependent communities in northern New Mexico and are affected by the policies of the USFS.

Therefore, I selected this thesis topic for several reasons:

- 🌲 First, to answer the following questions; Did the Region 3 Policy achieve its intent to change the attitude of the USFS personnel and to contribute to economic development and, by extension reduce poverty in northern New Mexico?
- 🌲 Second, to develop analytical skills in regard to the process and development of policy, specifically in regard to the USFS in northern New Mexico.
- 🌲 Third, to give voice to the believers of this policy.
- 🌲 Fourth, to fulfill an academic requirement.

An examination of policy is necessarily an examination of the actions of individuals working within institutions. Therefore, based on my research, I believe that USFS personnel genuinely believe in the sustainability of natural resources in tandem with the needs of forest-dependent communities, both today and in the future. But, forces such as institutional mission, leadership, and laws, are beyond the reach of any one individual in the agency and create a constraining, conflicting and frustrating environment, for even the most optimistic soul. Acknowledging this, I have tried to write a coherent study, to answer the previously posed questions.

L.B. 2K

SCOPE

The scope of this research project is a case study focused on "The Region 3 Policy", a USFS policy developed in 1972 for northern New Mexico. Its development was a consequence of local land-grant activism, violence and civil rights organizing that caught the nation's attention.³

As a result of a court house raid in Tierra Amarilla, New Mexico, on June 5, 1967, these actions of local land-grant activists made national headlines and elicited high-level interest in the land management practices of the USFS in northern New Mexico.⁴ These actions were instrumental in convening the Mexican-American Conference in El Paso, Texas in October 21, 1967. After attending the Mexican-American Conference, Southwest Regional Forester William D. Hurst initiated the study that resulted in the Hassell Report and lead to the subsequent creation of the Region 3 Policy.

On January 29, 1968, Hurst drafted a memo (Appendix E) to his staff. In this correspondence he was cognizant of the unrest in northern New Mexico, "...all things were bubbling and there was real turmoil up there. I was very concerned that we could lose some of our forest officers or they would shoot someone." In the

³ Wilmsen, 1997.

⁴ Wilmsen, 1997.

same memo, he solicited his staff to recommend someone who "...could spend some time with the people, not with the agency, but with the people to see if he could isolate their concerns and to see if we could do something about them."

On February 12, 1968, Hurst drafted a second memo (Appendix F) and announced the selection of Jean Hassell, from the Department of the Division of Range Management in the regional office. Jean Hassell, "...was a unanimous choice because of his relationship with the Spanish community. We have to have empathy for the culture, before you can really go beyond it."

On May 13, 1968, Hassell completed his study titled, The People of Northern New Mexico and the National Forests. (Appendix G) The report came to be known as the "Hassell Report" and calls for: 1) changing the attitude of the USFS; and 2) management of the national forests' needs to make stronger efforts in economic development and poverty reduction in northern New Mexico⁵. It contained ninety-nine recommendations to achieve those goals.

On May 4, 1970, Hurst drafted the third and last formal follow-up of the Hassell Report. According to Hurst, "...we just about exhausted all our efforts in regard to the ninety-nine recommendations."

⁵ Wilmsen, 1997.

On March 6, 1972 (Appendix H), Hurst sent a memo to his forest supervisors and district rangers urging them to become "intimately familiar" with the contents of the Hassell Report. In addition, in the same memo, he officially implemented the "Southwestern Policy on Managing National Forest Lands in the Northern Part of New Mexico," aka Region 3 Policy.

According to Hurst: "The creation of policy goes through a great detail review by attorneys for the Department of Agriculture, the attorneys for the Department of Justice and they say yes or no."

"...the reason for the time gap of three years is because we were attempting to get it into the USFS manual. In the Hassell Report, there are some things that can't be implemented because they are contrary to the law. The Department of Justice would never approve it. The Chief felt that this was an isolated situation and as such felt it didn't need national implementation. I finally signed this [Region 3 Policy] as Regional Forester, gambling that it would float, and it has for over 30 years. Policy doesn't come lightly, someone doesn't just say ok, this is going to be our policy. It's a very complicated procedure."

"What I was trying to do was tell the guys up there to 'get with it'. Here's a culture that we're dedicated to preserve and to preserve it we've got to think like these people."

"While the policy is philosophical in many respects, it does involve certain changes in regulation and procedures. Some of these have been made to the extent this can be done under the law and in harmony with the perpetuation of the land and its resources. Its philosophical aspects are extremely important, however, and may be the most profound element of the policy statement."

-- Hurst, 1999

In sum, the Hassell Report was an assessment of the needs of the rural forest-dependent communities and as such, was not based on data and statistics but rather on qualitative community input. The subsequent policy implemented by Hurst on March 6, 1972, "...summarized and embodied some of the recommendations of the Hassell Report."

Hurst implemented the "Southwestern Policy on Managing Forest Lands in the Northern Part of New Mexico" on March 6, 1972. Therefore, for the purpose of this study and to maintain continuity and clarity, I will refer to the "Southwestern Policy on Managing Forest Lands in the Northern Part of New Mexico" as the "Region 3 Policy" and "The People of Northern New Mexico and the National Forests" as the "Hassell Report."

"In my opinion, the Hassell Report was a landmark study."
-- Hurst, 1999

STRUCTURE of the THESIS

The structure of the thesis is as follows:

Section One describes the study area of the tri-county region in northern New Mexico; a historical background of land tenure issues in the region; the actions of local land-grant activists needs in response to the insensitivity of the USFS to local tenure and other considerations; and the subsequent assessment in the Hassell Report.

In Section Two, I discuss policy process, development and implementation of the Region 3 Policy.

In Section Three, I give an overview of the USFS and its management style.

In Section Four, I use census data to present a profile and socioeconomic trends in the tri-county region. I looked at this because part of the responsibility of the USFS should be to help promote sustainable development and one of my questions is whether any economic development took place. Based on the findings from this sections, I attempt to answer one main question: If the USFS had implemented the Hassell Report, what USFS policies would need to have been changed and what impact would this have had on economic development in the region. To answer this question, I need to ask; Why

wasn't this report adopted; and what difference did it make that it wasn't adopted.

In Section Five, the conclusion, I will review the preceding sections and suggest recommendations.

The appendices discuss the quantitative and qualitative implementation and the assessment of my research methods and techniques. In addition, it contains copies of the Hassell Report and the memos relevant to its formulation.

GOAL

The goal of this thesis is to assess whether the Region 3 Policy achieved its intent to: 1) change the attitude of the USFS personnel; and 2) whether the USFS has been a strong influence in economic development, and by extension, has helped reduce poverty in northern New Mexico. To find the answers to these complex questions, I employ a mixed-method approach.

The quantitative phase employs decennial census data from 1950 through 1990 to assess economic and social changes and trends. Census data for planning purposes is an initial necessary step toward understanding social and economic shifts over time. It gives us valuable quantitative information. But, drawing inferences about the spatial and economic relationship of the studied tri-county region from the past forty years of census data is limited by the methods and constraints employed by the US Bureau of the Census.

Since census data omits qualitative information, the qualitative phase of this study encompasses interviews to assess if the attitudes of the USFS have changed in regard to conducting business in northern New Mexico.

"The way I viewed it when it was written, is that there are two aspects to it:

1: Change the attitude of our people, and that's what I thought was the most important thing we can do. Our USFS peoples, from the Chief on down.

2: Besides the philosophical, what can we [USFS] do within the law and regulations to make it easier for the people to utilize what resources they have and those that exist in the national forest?"

-- Hurst, 1999

PRIOR RESEARCH

There is a considerable body of work that provides a valuable framework for assessing and understanding the economic, social, and cultural role of the USFS in the rural forest-dependent communities of northern New Mexico.

Since the 1970's, there has been increasing research on land grants and land grant problems in northern New Mexico. In addition to anthropological community studies,⁶ numerous land grant studies⁷ have been undertaken. These works describe land grant history, examine the role of community grant lands in village subsistence practices, and explore the economic effects of land grant laws. A summary discussion of land grant studies ordered by legal, historical, anthropological, or political orientation is given in Briggs and Van Ness (1987) and Ebright (1994).

There are specific studies of public land operations by economists, rural sociologists, and anthropologists. They look at ranching, grazing, timber harvesting, etc. and examine the economic benefits of small farms and ranches, the attitudes and values, and the economics of

⁶ Kutsche and Van Ness 1981,

⁷ Briggs and Van Ness 1987.

community dependency on both private and public lands.⁸

These studies provide background to understand land tenure disputes and public policy process development in northern New Mexico. This is vital given that much of the federal land is former grant land.

"...at different times over the years this issue of legitimacy of ownership of these land grants had been through the courts, the Supreme Court and everywhere else. But still, in the hearts of these people, whose folks lived in up in these little mountain villages in northern New Mexico, still felt that the land belonged to them, and I'm sure they still do."

-- Hurst, 1999

⁸ Briggs and Van Ness 1987.

SECTION 1

THE HASSLE

"I didn't know there are problems in the woods."

"That 's the problem with planners, we have an urban-centric view of the world."

Discussion overheard between a student and professor,
respectively, after 11.522 presentation @ MIT
-- Fall 1999

STUDY AREA

The land area of New Mexico is 121,365 square miles (Figure 1). It is the 5th largest state in the union. New Mexico has three topographic zones. The Rocky Mountain zone extends through the north central section of New Mexico. The Plains extend from the eastern border west to the first range of the mountains that extends from the Sangre de Cristos south to the Guadalupe Mountains. The Intermountain Plateau includes the remainder of the state.

Mountains are New Mexico's most notable natural characteristic. They are present in or visible from all but a few counties on the extreme eastern border. They impact the climate and provide a watershed for most of the state.

The climate is high, dry and relatively unpolluted, providing the brisk air of high altitudes, the low humidity of the Southwest, and year-round sunshine. Temperatures vary from very hot summers in the lower elevations to mild, almost snowless, winters. In the high elevations, the summers are mild and the winters snowy and cold.

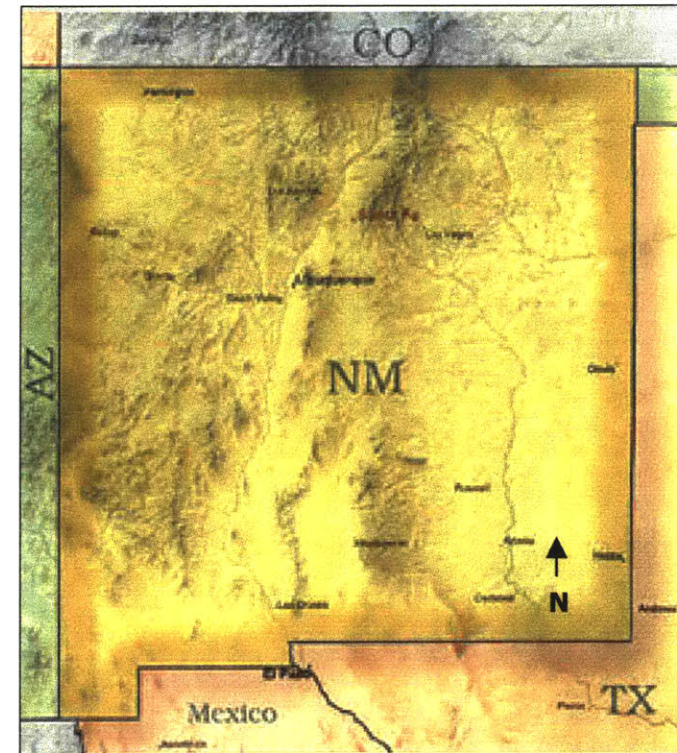


FIGURE 1
Map of New Mexico

In the tri-county region of Rio Arriba, Santa Fe, and Taos counties in northern New Mexico (Figure 2), more than one-half of the land in Rio Arriba and Taos County and slightly more than one-fourth in Santa Fe County are in the public domain (Table 1).

In these three counties, extensive sections are in the national forest. For instance, the Carson and Santa Fe National Forests are comprised of more than 3.1 million acres⁹ and straddle county lines (Figure 3). In addition, the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) manages substantial acreage.

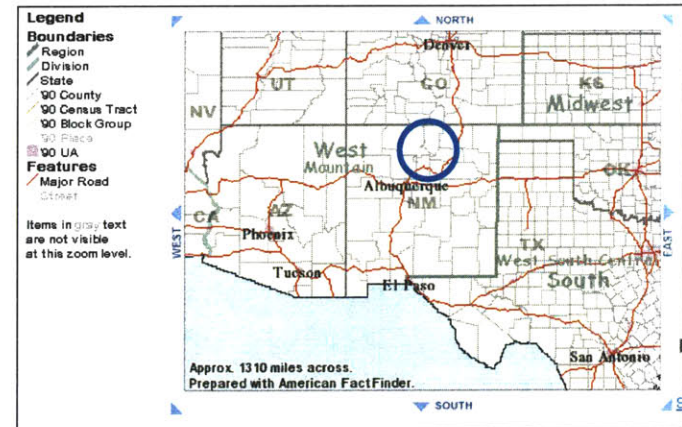


FIGURE 2
Location of Tri-County Region of Rio Arriba, Santa Fe, and Taos Counties in northern New Mexico

COUNTY	SURFACE LAND OWNERSHIP BY COUNTY			
	PRIVATE	STATE	NATIVE-AMERICAN	FEDERAL
RIO ARRIBA	22.8%	4.7%	19.9%	52.4%
SANTA FE	59%	6.7%	7.0%	26.8%
TAOS	33.1%	4.9%	8.2%	53.1%

TABLE 1
Location of Land Surface Ownership

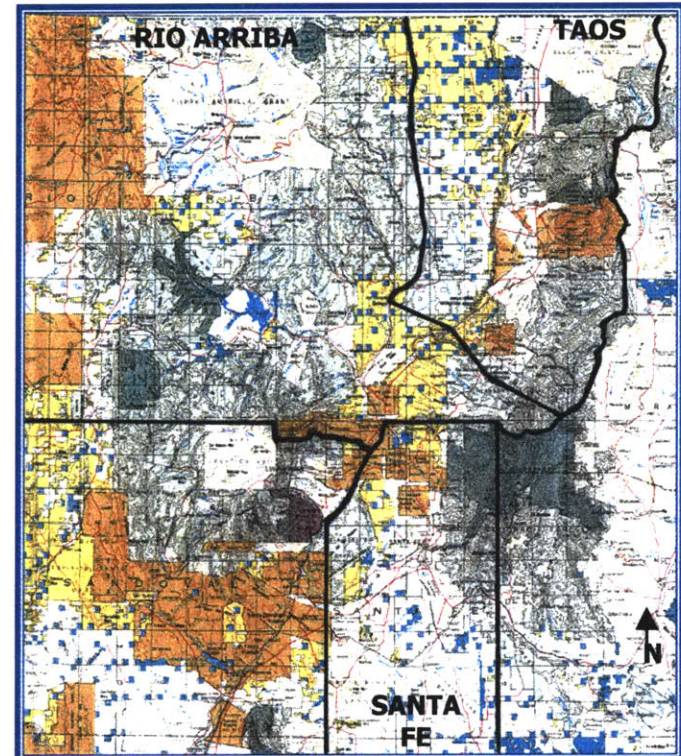
Note: Federal includes USFS and BLM
Source: Williams, 1986

⁹ Carson National Forest
http://www.fs.fed.us/r3/carson/html_main/general_welcome.html
Santa Fe National Forest
<http://www.fs.fed.us/r3/sfe/>

NORTHERN NEW MEXICO NATIONAL FORESTS

The Carson National Forest is one of five National Forests in New Mexico. It covers 1.5 million acres and has elevations that rise from 6,000 feet to 13,161 feet at Wheeler Peak, the highest in New Mexico. There are 54¹⁰ communities within the boundaries and adjacent to the Carson National Forest.

The Santa Fe National Forest is another of the five National Forests in New Mexico. It covers 1.6 million acres and has elevations that rise from 5,300 to 13,103 feet at the summit of Truchas Peak, located within the Pecos Wilderness. There are 12¹¹ communities within the boundaries and adjacent to the Santa Fe National Forest.



LEGEND




-  National Forest
-  Bureau of Indian Affairs
-  Bureau of Land Management

FIGURE 3

Location of National Forests in northern New Mexico
Source: Bureau of Land Management

¹⁰ USFS District Office in Taos, NM.

Figure is based on product permits by community.

¹¹ USFS District Office in Santa Fe, NM.

Figure based on visual count on visitors map.

More than one-fifth of these two forests consists of patented Spanish and Mexican land grants (Figure 4) that were acquired by the federal government through purchase or exchange – mostly from timber companies and land speculators. As a result, “these vast public holdings represent something far different to the area’s Hispanic population than they do to other Americans.” (deBuys, 1997) These entities acquired the grants from the descendents of the original Hispanic grantees, but most involved practices of questionable legality, if not outright chicanery¹². “The result has produced a painful legacy in northern New Mexico.” (deBuys 1985)

In northern New Mexico, the percentage of housing units that use wood as a source of heat is much higher in Rio Arriba and Taos counties. The figures for the tri-county region are; the State of New Mexico (NM) is 7.6 percent, 25 percent in Rio Arriba County (RAC), 7.1 percent in Santa Fe County (SFC) and 34.4 percent in Taos County.

TABLE 2 Source: 1990Census STF3A

1990 HOUSE HEATING FUEL DISTRIBUTION				
Universe: Occupied housing units	NM	RAC	SFC	TAOS
Utility gas	70.1	48.3	70.3	35.0
Bottled, tank, or LP gas	11.9	21.8	9.5	23.6
Electricity	9.1	3.4	10.1	4.9
Wood	7.6	25.0	7.1	34.4

¹² deBuys, 1985.

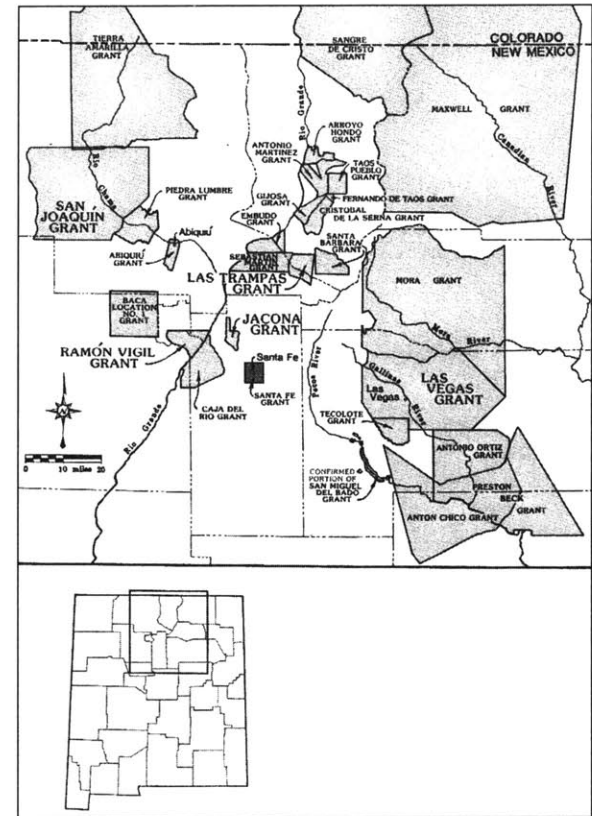


FIGURE 4
Location of Land Grants in
Northern New Mexico

Source: Land Grants & Lawsuits in
Northern New Mexico, Ebright, pg. 89

THE HASSLE

Land tenure

Tenure is the set of rights that a person or some private entity holds in land.¹³ It addresses questions of both ownership and access.

Tenure relations in rural communities are often more complex than those to which urban planners are accustomed. For example, local tenure systems may incorporate aspects of official legislation but they may also incorporate traditional or customary tenure systems.

Particularly in this modern, high-technological age, there is a tendency to view traditional tenure systems as anachronistic and thereby fail to recognize and respect the adaptability and vigor of local systems. Recent émigrés to these areas, or "outsiders," have a tendency to promote more rigid, legalistic tenure systems that may appear appropriate, but are unable, or unwilling, to respond to social and cultural conditions.

Land tenure is a critical issue in the equitable management of natural resources. The situation in northern New Mexico epitomizes this issue.

¹³ Bruce, 1989.

" I was born and raised in Truchas, a forest-dependent community. Forest-dependent means that we use wood to heat our homes, cook our food and use the resources the forest provides to survive, like the logs to build our homes and the wild life to sustain our families. It's a way of life that's been here basically since 1598. My family has been in this area since 1759 on the European side, and on the Native-American side, since the 12th Century."

-- Cordova, 1999

LAND TENURE INTERPRETATION and IMPLICATIONS

The 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ended the Mexican-American War. Mexico ceded to the United States more than one-half of its northern territory, including New Mexico. Ebright (1994) summarized it best; "...the United States looked at the Treaty as an enormous real estate deal." The Treaty guaranteed the property rights of former Mexican citizens.

"The depressed economic conditions in northern New Mexico are the result, for the most part, of the complex interplay of economic, political, and cultural factors unleashed in New Mexico by the 100 years or more of American occupation. Poverty in this region has not been caused by Spanish-American racial, cultural or emotional characteristics. It is rather the end product of American colonization of New Mexico" (Knowlton, 1964)

The loss of the land base began when, prior to ratification of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the U.S. Senate deleted Article X. "Article X provided a fair standard for adjudication of land grants; unfortunately it was deleted from the treaty by the U.S. Senate." (Ebright, 1986)

By not implementing this provision of the treaty, Congress eliminated a transition that fairly mediates conflicts and inconsistencies between the Spanish and Mexican law

FIGURE 5
Flags over New Mexico



Spain 1598



Mexico 1821



Republic of Texas 1862 (briefly)



United States 1846



New Mexico 1912

on the one hand and the legal traditions of the U.S. on the other.¹⁴

These institutional measures set the stage for the systematic loss of the Hispanic land base. With the loss of the land base, traditional village self-sufficiency was no longer viable and dependence set in. By the end of the 1930's, "the stubborn attempts of the Spanish-American to maintain their cultural integrity and their economic independence had finally collapsed." (Knowlton, 1964)

Many confirmed and patented lands grants were unfairly alienated from their rightful owners and vast additional areas, which were claimed as grants, were never confirmed. In the case of unconfirmed grants, much of the forest and range land, which the Hispanic settlers of the region considered to be "theirs", became incorporated in the public land holdings of the federal government.¹⁵

Acquisition of these lands came with adverse baggage. "The USFS inherited much of the discord and bitterness that the genuinely and sordid business of land grant speculation generates." (deBuys, 1985) Additionally, grazing regulations and other restrictions imposed by the USFS on the use of the former grant lands added measurably to regional tensions.

¹⁴ Ebright, 1994.

¹⁵ deBuys, 1997.

"...there was this feeling among many people, particularly among the poorest of the poor, and the young people who felt that they had been deprived of 'their' land, unjustly over the years. When I say their land, the land grants given to them by the King of Spain or Government of Mexico."

-- Hurst, 1999

Periodically, those tensions erupted in violence – never more dramatically than on June 5, 1967, in Tierra Amarilla, Rio Arriba County, New Mexico. The county courthouse experienced an event that had not occurred since the American Civil War. Around three o'clock that afternoon, four cars and a pickup truck rumbled into the *plaza* and twenty men piled out. Intending to make a "citizens arrest" of the district attorney, this group took control of the courthouse and, after less than half an hour, the raid was over. Two law enforcement officers were wounded and a jailer killed.

The raid was led by Reies Lopez Tijerina, who was the president of the *Alianza Federal de Los Mercedes*. The Alianza was formed in 1963 to regain Spanish land grants in New Mexico. According to Wilmsen (1997), Tijerina's activism got him recognized by national civil rights leaders. For instance, Martin Luther King invited Tijerina to a planning conference for the Poor People's March on Washington. King also appointed Tijerina as mobilization director for New Mexico, and included him among his three choices of leaders to represent Chicano demands in Washington.

In the aftermath of the raid, three hundred and fifty National Guardsmen were called out by the lieutenant governor to round up Tijerina and other *Alianzans* who fled to the hills. National Guard tanks and infantry were deployed across a sizable portion of northern New Mexico. Rio Arriba County saw what

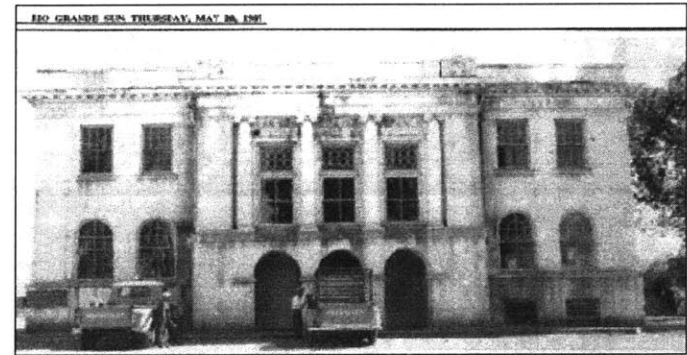


PHOTO 1
Rio Arriba County Courthouse
As it appeared at the time of the raid.



PHOTO 2
National Guard Tank near Canjilon, NM

Source of photos: Rio Grande Sun,
20 Year Anniversary Special Edition 1987

looked like martial law as guardsmen broke through residents' doors and arrested forty to fifty *Alianza* members and sympathizers.¹⁶ In addition, the most intense manhunt in the history of New Mexico was mounted for Baltazar Martinez the last man out of the courthouse. He kidnapped a Rio Arriba County sheriff's deputy in a bid for safe passage after Tijerina deliberately left him behind.

Repercussions of the raid included highly publicized criminal trials, congressional hearings, inquiries by the Secretary of Agriculture,¹⁷ and subsequently, the Mexican-American Conference in El Paso, Texas on October 21, 1967.

"The Hassell Report came at a time of the human rights issue, when the Black folks were scrambling for recognition and Spanish people on the coast under Cesar Chavez were scrambling for recognition and Tijerina in the southwest. It came in on that kind of a tide and culminated in the Mexican-American Affairs conference in El Paso in the fall of 1967, which President Johnson, Vice President Humphrey attended briefly and the Secretary of Agriculture attended the whole thing."

--- Hurst, 1999

"Baltazar Martinez was a tough guy. He was a mean man I don't think he would kill, but he was a terrible harassment factor and he would go around with his rifle and parade up and down in front of the ranger station. The ranger and his wife didn't want to provoke a killing but they didn't want to get killed. They didn't want to shoot Baltazar. But Baltazar and a few others really made it difficult to live up there."

-- Hurst, 1999

¹⁶ Rio Grande Sun, 1987.

¹⁷ DeBuys, 1997.

SECTION 2

POLICY PROCESS, DEVELOPMENT and IMPLEMENTATION

"Policy is always initiated as a result of a need. Region 3 Policy was developed because a lot of people in northern New Mexico did not agree or accept what the USFS was doing."

-- Hurst, 1999

"The forest plan process is a long, drawn-out process, lots of data, lots of statistics, lots of computers, making trade-offs, developing adversarial relationships."

-- Dumas, 1999

"SOUTHWESTERN POLICY on MANAGING FOREST LANDS in the NORTHERN PART of NEW MEXICO"

aka

Region 3 Policy

In 1968, Regional Forester William D. Hurst, commissioned a study "...to dig to the bottom of the issues and the feeling of the people and not how the forest service felt." (Hurst, 1999) The intent of the study "The People of Northern New Mexico and The National Forests" was to understand the rural communities.

This study, which has come to be known as the "Hassell Report," called for management of the national forests to support small local industries and to otherwise better meet the needs of the local people. It stated:

The objective of the study is to determine possible ways of making the resources of the National Forests in northern New Mexico and the work they generate contribute more effectively to the people who reside there. The study findings are based on personal interviews, discussions with people both within and outside the Forest Service, and research in books and papers on northern New Mexico and related subjects.

"Region 3 Policy states that the Native-Americans and Native Spanish-Americans need to be protected and considered a resource like the wilderness. Because of the way we live and the land issue. The USFS needs to be attuned to the needs of the people. If they need pasture, wood or anything, keep the people happy. But, they interpret it the other way around, the way they interpret everything."

-- Morales, 1999

Thus, this was not a report in the sense that it came about as the result of an in-depth study and analysis but rather as a collection of ideas.¹⁸ The Hassel Report is a paper oriented toward people and does not deal with resource management objectives.¹⁹

The study was based on the premise that the only way to solve the problems of poor residents of northern New Mexico was to have them "enter the mainstream of American life."²⁰ This could be accomplished only by ameliorating the atmosphere of mistrust which existed between the USFS and the local people. The report graphically illustrates a strategy of how the USFS could change the climate of mistrust to trust (Figures 5 and 6). Furthermore, it outlined ninety-nine recommendations for how the USFS should conduct business in northern New Mexico.

This attitude change is outlined in the first nine recommendations of the study. The following is a summary (Appendix G):

1. Develop an attitude which:
 - a. Recognizes that a unique situation, which requires special attention, does exist in northern New Mexico.

¹⁸ Hassell, 1968.

¹⁹ Hassell, 1968.

²⁰ Hassell, 1968.

FIGURE 6
CYCLE OF COMMUNITY DISTRUST
What causes the mistrust?

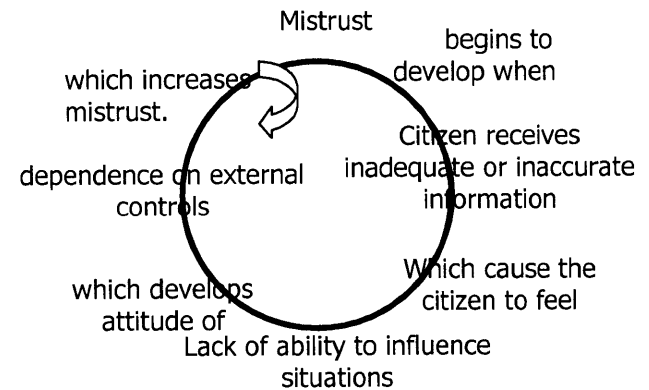


FIGURE 7
CYCLE OF COMMUNITY TRUST
A more desirable situation would be one in which trust in relationships exist



Source: Hassell, 1968.

b. Recognizes that we are not trying to change the culture of a people but only to contribute to their advancement economically by making rural America a better place in which to live.

c. Creates an understanding that the National Forests can contribute to the needs of the people.

2. Increase seminars between Districts and Forests in northern New Mexico where exchange of successful ideas can take place and problems can be aired.
3. Give special attention to selecting experienced men with the temperament needed to do a good job in northern New Mexico. Individuals must be strongly people-oriented as well as resource oriented. Tenure on the District must be held to the maximum.
4. Increase special training to those who serve in northern New Mexico, which will provide learning opportunities about local history, culture, land ownership history, problems, and the language.
5. Establish a Human Resource Staffman on the Santa Fe and Carson National Forests.
6. Strengthen the District Ranger organization by fully financing the base load and adding staffing which will free the Ranger from technical and administrative details so that he can make more personal contact with

"We had a lot of disciples of this philosophy within our organization despite the special effort and training. For example, our rangers were sent to Phoenix for special training to learn Spanish, and awareness meetings."

-- Hurst, 1999

"I come out and drive around here and I see someone out there stuccoing* their house or working on their garden I stop and talk with them. Not about any issues because that's what we've always done. We don't talk with people until there is an issue and it's usually an adversarial one. So, you start off with an adversarial relationship, digging your way out of that is really tough."

-- Dumas, 1999

*The term "stuccoing" is analogous to "plastering" a home.

individuals and take an active role in community activities. (This recommendation is directly related to recommendation number five as this would also contribute to the needed attention and participation in poverty programs.)

7. Establish working hours which will allow weekend manning so that individuals can make contact with the Forest Service on their days off.
8. Personal service should be pushed to the fullest extent. This should be done on the spot rather than requiring travel to the District Office.
9. Avoid long delays in rendering decisions or in implementing approved changes. Delays often cause undue concern, which continue to grow with passage of time.

The remainder of the ninety-nine recommendations varies. For example;

- ✎ Recommendations ten through thirteen look at improving public relations. For example, USFS make facilities available for public meetings to the fullest extent possible, because USFS facilities at field stations are often the best in the village. Almost all villages lack a suitable place to hold community meetings.

"Rangers relay info to D.C. and then it loops back, that's where the decisions are made. The Ranger doesn't make any decisions."

-- Morales, 1999

"...the forest service is a big bureaucracy it is an easy thing to blame for problems. And sometimes it richly deserves that blame, but on the whole it's people are trying to do a very good job. They are under a lot of stress because of budget cuts. They are asked to do more with fewer resources and that is very difficult."

-- deBuys, 1999

Recommendations fourteen through twenty-two address: (1) what the Forest Service can contribute directly in the way of jobs by force account and by small contracts, and (2) indirectly through small business, which could be totally or largely supported by the Forest Service programs and the resources from the National Forests.

Recommendations twenty-three to forty-two are related to grazing.

Recommendations forty-three through forty-eight are related to public awareness in regard to range management and conservation.

Recommendation forty-nine is related to disposal of refuse. For example;

There are 19²¹ communities within the boundaries of the National Forests in northern New Mexico. In almost all of these communities, disposal of refuse is a problem because of the limited land available for dumps and because of the difficulty and expense encountered in caring for the dump.

Recommendations fifty through fifty-two address land line location.

Recommendations fifty-three through fifty-seven are related to recreation development.

Recommendations fifty-eight through sixty-four look at timber products and economic development strategies. For example, use of timber products, primarily as posts and firewood, is mentioned by the people of northern New Mexico as being in great need.

Recommendations sixty-five through seventy-four are engineering-oriented. For example, one of the basic problems in northern New Mexico is lack of suitable roads to small villages, some of which are within the National Forests.

Recommendation seventy-five looks at fire control activities.

Recommendations seventy-six and seventy-seven look at wildlife issues.

Recommendations seventy-eight through seventy-nine address watershed issues.

²¹ This number differs from the numbers I received from the Carson and Santa Fe National District offices as previously discussed.

- ✦ Recommendations eighty through eighty-nine are related to personnel and USFS careers.
- ✦ Recommendations ninety through ninety-nine look at public relations.

In essence, the study emphasized changing the attitude of the USFS and its personnel. The attitude change that the study envisioned was a recognition that the USFS was not trying to change the culture but only contribute to the "advancement economically" of the people in the region.²²

Hurst summarized and embodied the intent of the study in his 1972 memo. The Hassell Report and the Region 3 Policy were unprecedented and revolutionary, in that they acknowledged and responded to the local culture and the need to be sensitive to its values.

²² Hassell, 1968.

POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

The policy was officially implemented by Hurst on March 6, 1972, "...I actually typed the memo myself. I really agonized and hate to take all the credit because I had a wonderful staff, but I felt urgency back in those days to do something. I put a lot of my personal thoughts in this document."

The four-page memorandum, dated March 6, 1972, with subject line "Region 3 Policy on Managing National Forest Land in Northern New Mexico," was distributed to forest supervisors and district rangers Hurst urged them to become "intimately familiar" with the contents of the policy. It is summarized as follows:

First, the uniqueness and value of Spanish- American and Indian cultures of the Southwest must be recognized and efforts of the Forest Service must be directed toward their preservation. These cultures should be considered "resources" in much the same sense as Wilderness is considered a resource with Forest Service programs and plans made compatible with their future well being and continuance.

Second, the attitude of people in the Forest Service, especially those who work in the Southwest, must be attuned to the land and its people and to the unique values involved. Forest Service employees at all levels of the organization must have a burning desire to

"... here's a culture that we're dedicated to preserve and to preserve it we've go to think like these people. If anything this policy statement does, is to change attitudes."

-- Hurst, 1999

"In this same memo he expanded the policy to cover not just Hispano culture, but the Native American cultures of the region as well.

-- Wilmsen, 1997

"Region 3 Policy is a good thing, if people would practice it. Walk the walk and talk the talk. If you go to court no one wins."

-- Dumas, 1999

perpetuate these unique values. An attitude, which embodies this philosophy, will become part of every employee's training.

Third, Forest Service objectives and policies must be altered to the extent possible to recognize and be responsive to the culture and peoples.

The Region 3 Policy advocated by Hurst in represents an important experiment in a bureaucratic effort to address issues of cultural and social diversity.²³

"...the USFS had to understand, there's a culture in northern New Mexico that all of us agree that we want to maintain and I likened it to wilderness. Wilderness is philosophical, it's a big piece of ground that we want to maintain as near as possible to its original condition, untrammelled by man.

-- Hurst, 1999

" It is a great document, great document for our employees, young or old employees. Implement it on the ground. As I recall the items are very basic. If we can show some respect to how the communities function, their culture, and their needs. With me it's fairly simply, if I can develop on employee to adopt and implement this philosophy."

-- Vigil, 1999

"...the Hassell Report had a tremendous amount of power 20 years ago. Now you can't get any energy out of it. It's too late."

-- Salinas, 1999

"...it is dead, dead, dead. It was written at a time when we were shedding blood. Beautiful for its time. A chapter in our history."

-- Swetnam, 1999

"Never meant to be a policy. It was a requirement that came out of the court house raid, a PR tool because of the national publicity."

-- Hitt, 1999

²³ deBuys, 1997.

Hurst adhered to "...this policy until I retired in 1976." At that time Jean Hassell assumed the position of Regional Forester for the Southwest Region--Region 3. In 1981, Hassell instructed forest supervisors to incorporate the central message of the policy into the mission statements of the management plans of the Santa Fe and Carson National Forests.

Management of public lands in northern New Mexico cannot escape the influence of the region's troubled history, for the tensions that produced the courthouse raid and led to the Hassell Report and subsequent Region 3 Policy remain strong. According to deBuys, "...the history of virtually every place where different cultural and social groups compete for the enjoyment, use, and ownership of places being held in public trust thus, the legacy of history will help to shape the premises and politics underlying contemporary issues."

"This is not a document for northern New Mexico, but for the entire U.S. for all the communities that are forest-dependent and are affected by the USFS"

-- Cordova, 1999

"The injustice that has been done by this American Institution [USFS] makes me wonder how we can get involved fighting for human rights all over the world when the federal government violates the human rights of the native customs and cultures and makes them prisoners on their own land. This land doesn't belong to the U.S. government, it belongs to the people."

-- Morales, 1999

TODAY

Knowledge of this policy and its inclusion of the local dimension is sketchy and unclear. For example, deBuys states that currently, some USFS employees on the Carson and Santa Fe National Forests profess that they have no knowledge of the existence in the forest plans or elsewhere of a "special policy." Others say that the 1972 policy remains in force in a *de facto* sense "Because the public won't let us forget about it." (Dumas, 1999; Defler et al. as quoted in deBuys, 1997)

According to Wilmsen (1997), the success of the Region 3 Policy is a matter of open debate. For example, "...after the events of the late 1960's, two important trends began to emerge in the Carson and Santa Fe National Forests: the decline in the number of permittees began to ease, and the commitment of forage to grazing permittees began to increase." (deBuys, 1985, quoted in Wilmsen, 1997)

Despite these trends, as well as the elimination of some petty bureaucratic practices such as billing residents for trespass fines as small as twenty cents.²⁴ Wilmsen suggests that many Hispanos complain that the Region 3 Policy has never been implemented and that the USFS is still regarded as being insensitive to the needs of the local

²⁴ deBuys, 1985.

"The Hassell Report came out in 1968, the Hurst memo in 1972, and we found it in 1996. We were astounded by its vision. We then approached the U. S. Forest Service and said, you have the mechanism here to deal with the issues we have in northern New Mexico, why haven't you done anything with it?"

First they said we didn't know the document was there. Then they said the document doesn't have authority. The local ranger told me it's just a paper.

-- Cordova, 1999

"Application is extremely varied. There are some of us in northern New Mexico that certainly buy into the spirit of it. It does as a document define the essence or the way to approach local people in the delivery of our agency's program and solving local problems in general."

-- Onken, 1999

"What's odd is that the report with the ninety-nine recommendations is what we are finding out today. They have not changed. The issues we looked at that provide socio-economic growth are issues currently on the Natural Resources Agenda produced in 1998, give the same insights."

-- Salinas, 1999

people. In addition, he found that the perceived failure to implement this policy results in its frequent "revival" at public meetings on various resource management issues, in regional newspapers, and in discussions and correspondences with New Mexico's Congressional delegation.

According to Raish:

Problems remain in the area today, however, and many of the conditions highlighted in the Hassell Report have not been improved. Severe poverty, disappearance of traditional lifeways, and environmental degradation are still major concerns. Many current USFS employees are unaware of the report and the situation that led to its development. They receive no special training in the culture and traditions and social values of northern New Mexico.

The potential for conflict still exists. For example, in August 1994, four New Mexico environmental groups filed suit against the USFS, claiming the agency did not properly study alternatives to a timber sale. Then in 1995, a complete shut-down of the forests as the result of an injunction against logging and fuel-wood-harvesting forced many northern New Mexico villagers to beg for firewood to survive a harsh winter. Two of the Santa Fe-based environmentalists were

"The interesting thing in Truchas, a few years back, there were a lot of complaints from the environmental community about the USFS cutting timber. So a judge in Arizona placed a moratorium on cutting in all the National Forests. It encompassed a winter that was coming on and the USFS had to adhere to the judge's decision. That placed a hell of a hardship on those local people. They have been going up there and getting their wood for years, and years and years.

The irony of this thing is that it placed the USFS and the people in such a difficult position that it was almost intolerable. Do you know what the environmental group, did? They went out on private land where they could get some wood to try and improve their image. They bought wood from private lands and hauled it up to Truchas. To try to make themselves look like good guys. Strictly a PR move. They would drive up and say, "since the USFS won't let you cut any trees, here's some wood." It made me furious, I just couldn't believe it. At the same time, the USFS was working desperately to get the judge to relax his decision, or to exempt local people. . . I just couldn't believe it."

--Hurst, 1999

hanged in effigy at a protest rally.²⁵ In addition, a bomb exploded at the Espanola Ranger District office early in 1996. Fortunately, no one was injured, only minor external damage occurred and no one was arrested.²⁶

In the next section, I examine the history, particularly in relation to public involvement, decision-making and policy development of the USFS.

²⁵ McClellan, 1995.

²⁶ Raish, unpublished.

"In regard to minorities, studies have shown that if you throw the metaphorical bone at them, they'll be satisfied. Minorities are not going to stand up. "Region 3" was a bone to the people of northern New Mexico after the TA courthouse raid. Tijerina would have been successful if he would have looked at the process instead of the land grant issue. The USFS would have reacted differently. The ninety-nine recommendations could have been made into ninety-nine actions. He could have been very successful. He had everything he needed. He had the support of the Hispanics but he backed down. I suspect no one told him of the Hassell Report. If he had used it, he could have put the feet of the USFS to the fire. The Hispanics would have been better off in northern New Mexico than they are today."

-- Salinas, 1999

"To most of the people, who have been aware of this policy through the years, to them, this is somewhat of a sacred promise by the agency. In some cases they seem to feel they have been betrayed, sometimes justifiable so, perhaps sometimes not. Sometimes it is used as a lever. The general spirit of the policy and its effectiveness as a tool to successfully work with local people to achieve specific objectives is still relevant and valuable." -- Onken, 1999

NOTE

Ranger Crockett Dumas allowed local residents access to the forest to obtain fuel wood in 1995, after local environmentalists obtained a federal injunction. The injunction was the result a lawsuit that used the Endangered Species Act in regard to the Mexican Spotted Owl. The winter was the harshest in many years and local residents almost froze to death As a result of this action, in addition to conducting a door to door customer survey that resembled the methodology of the Hassell Report, he and his staff were awarded, "The Hammer Award" for reinventing government.

deBuys (1999) offers a perspective on Ranger Dumas' actions:

"When you have people that are really interested in their jobs, interested in the people, and their needs, and have the kind of openness displayed by Ranger Dumas where he and his staff went door-to-door. Good things happen as a result of that. That district received a national award from the Ford Foundation and from Harvard University for breaking through new management models. It's wonderful. There was a "love fest" for the USFS in Truchas as a result of this. The village of Truchas held a party for the USFS. It's amazing things can go right once in awhile. Career forest people at that meeting were so choked up they could not speak because theywercryingbecause all their careers they hoped something would happen and finally it did. These were people who had been working hard for a long time in an organization where its hard to get the right thing done."

Hurst also commented on this incident; "That ranger broke the law. He was a lawbreaker. The law said you couldn't cut. That was a superior, a federal judge said that. It wasn't a regional forester or anyone else but when a federal judge says you don't do things, you don't do things. He violated the federal judge. I think if they wanted to, they could have prosecuted him but if I had been the ranger I would have done the same thing he did. We can't let people go without wood, I would have found some way to get those people some wood.

The other rangers obeyed the judge's orders, as they were supposed to, but the rightness of the thing was so obvious that I don't think even the federal judge would have prosecuted him. The judge didn't know what he was depriving these people of when he said the people couldn't cut. Dumas was so right."

SECTION 3

NATIONAL FOREST MANAGEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

"The history of the agency is that we started out as a military organization based on authoritarian and autocratic concepts. That worked for 70 years. The USFS has been slow to change. For example, in 1984 the USFS was recognized as one of the top ten business organizations on the U.S., including private industry. We were blowing and going, a highly respected outfit, we had convinced everyone that the world was flat and we were headed west. Well, along about 1986 we fell off the face of the earth. We didn't even see it coming because we troop along in the same mode."

-- Dumas, 1999

DECISION MAKING and OPERATIONS IN THE USFS

On July 1, 1905, the Forest Service was established from the earlier Bureau of Forestry.²⁷ The new name was meant to emphasize "service" as the agency objective and to remove the taint of a "bureaucracy."²⁸ Gifford Pinchot, who was the Chief Forester, stated: "I never liked the name 'Bureau,' so when 'Bureau of Forestry' disappeared from the Agricultural Appropriation Bill and 'Forest Service' took its place, no one was more pleased than I." (Pinchot 1947: 258)

According to Williams (1987), prior to 1908, the administrative decisions were direct between each Forest Supervisor and Washington, D.C. With the advent of the Regional Offices and later the Ranger Districts, the decision-making and "line" authority was spread from the agency headquarters to the various field divisions. This dispersal of authority diminished the direct links between the top levels of the Executive Branch and Congress with the field units of the USFS, with the intent to enhance the cooperation between the Supervisor's Offices and Ranger Districts with the local populations.²⁹

²⁷ 33 Stat 861,872-873.

²⁸ Dana, 1956.

²⁹ Steen, 1976.

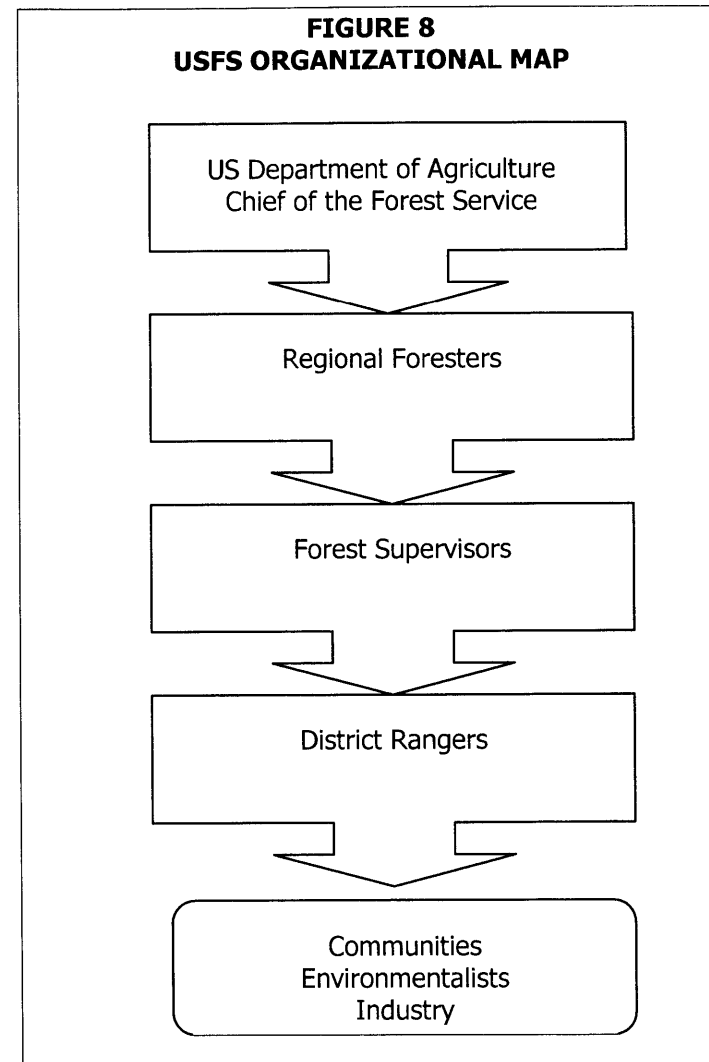
"...it would be helpful from my perspective to have a little more flexibility at the local level."

-- Onken, 1999

The USFS has four distinct management levels:

- 🌲 the US Department of Agriculture administers the USFS in Washington, D.C. where the Chief of the Forest Service and his staff are based,
- 🌲 the Regional Offices (nine nationwide) where the regional Forester and regional staff are stationed,
- 🌲 the Supervisor's Offices (over 150 offices, usually found in mid-sized towns or cities) where the Forest Supervisor and national forest or national grassland staff are located, and
- 🌲 the Ranger Districts (over 600 offices often located in small rural communities) where the District Ranger and his or her staff work.

Most of the USFS employees who work at the Ranger District level usually live in the rural forest-dependent communities.



Currently there are nine national regions, one of which is located in Albuquerque, New Mexico. Region 3, which is called The Southwest Region. The Southwest Region has 10 (Table 2) National Forests that are in the states of New Mexico and Arizona.

The USFS has approximately 30,000 employees, with the majority of these stationed in the West and "on the ground" at the Ranger District levels.³⁰ It manages 191.5 million acres located in 44 states, including Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. The management goal is multi-use including: recreation; timber harvesting; fish and wildlife habitat, and livestock grazing; employing the multiple-use and sustained yield standards. There are 156 individual forests and 20 grassland units. The operating cost is \$1,345,112,000³¹ annually.

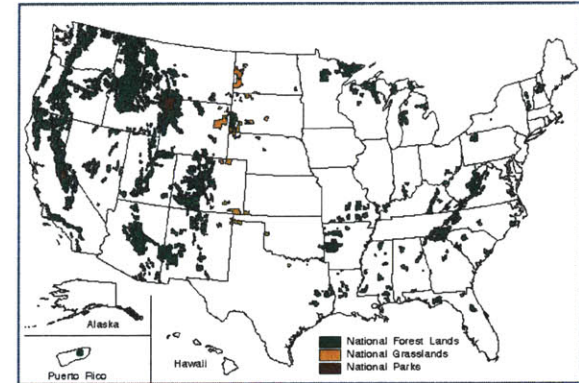


Figure 9
Location of National Forests

Table 3

Region 3 National Forests
New Mexico
Carson NF
Cibola NF
Gila NF
Lincoln NF
Santa Fe NF
Arizona
Apache-Sitgreaves NF
Coconino NF
Coronado NF
Kaibab NF
Prescott NF
Tonto NF
Source: USFS

³⁰ Williams, 1987.

³¹ Total FY95 appropriated amount.

HISTORY OF THE USFS MANAGEMENT MODEL

Following independence from Britain, the U.S. Government did not feel the need to establish forest conservation or management institutions for nearly a century. Forest resources were perceived as inexhaustible, indeed their abundance was regarded as an obstacle to agricultural and infrastructure development. As a result, many of the fundamental concepts that shaped the political organization and management objectives for forests in the US derive from forest tenure and management in feudal Europe.³²

According to Henderson and Krahl (1994):

Through establishing forest reserves and granting authority of their management to professionals in the service of the state, the U.S. adopted a European model for forest management. There was one substantial difference, however: on to the European paradigm for management of government-owned forest, American forestry grafted populist ideals.

The Creative Act directed that forest reserves should be "managed for the people." The Organic Act stated that forest reserves must be managed "to furnish a continuous supply of timber for the use and

³² Henderson and Krahl, 1994.

HISTORY of U.S. FORESTRY POLICY³³

- 1691 Broad Arrow Policy embodied and expressed basic tenets of forest tenure and management in feudal Europe: that the state's rights to and interests in forests hold primacy over those of local people, and that the state's objectives for forest resources need not be determined by - and may run counter to - the interests of local people. The policy was immediately unpopular and proved unenforceable.³⁴
- 1870's Rapid and extensive logging and destruction of forest resources, particularly in the East and the Lake States led to the rise of a conservation movement that campaigned for public ownership.
- 1891 The Creative Act, the first policy directed specifically at forests, granted authority to the President to "reserve... public lands... as public reservations..." The act did not specify the purpose of the reservations.³⁵
- 1886 Division of Forestry established as part of Department of Agriculture.
- 1905 President Roosevelt creates USFS and appoints Gifford Pinchot as Chief.

³³ Swetnam, 1999.

³⁴ Dana, 1956.

³⁵ Dana and Fairfax, 1980; Robbins, 1982.

necessities of citizens of the United States." In 1905, a policy was established whereby, "in the management of each reserve local questions will be decided upon local grounds," but the same directive provided that "where conflicting interests must be reconciled, the question will always be decided from the standpoint of the greatest good of the greatest number in the long run" (Wilson, 1905).

Although not reflected in the record of the legislative debate,³⁶ support for passage of the Creative and Organic Acts was in part a concern for communities, many of which had suffered from boom-and-bust economies created by the rapid logging and destruction of forests in the East and the Lake States.³⁷ The Organic Act also recognized the needs of local people and communities in its provisions for settlers' rights of access to privately owned land within forest reserves and for the use of national forest land for schoolhouses and churches.

Pinchot, the first Chief of the Forest Service and principal architect of early U.S. forest policy, was clearly concerned with local communities. In a 1907 publication aimed at informing the public about national forests, he wrote:

³⁶ SAF, 1989.

³⁷ Schallau and Alston, 1987; Wear, Hyde and Daniels, 1989.

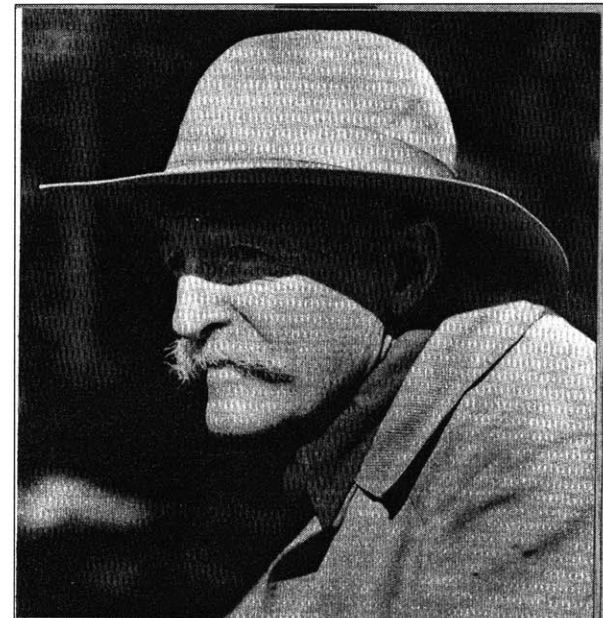


PHOTO 3

Gifford Pinchot, First Chief of the USFS 1898-1910. Founder of the Society of American Forestry and co-founder of the Yale School of Forestry. He was twice governor of Pennsylvania. Source: Stevens, 1958.

"National Forests are made for and owned by the people, the people should also manage them. They are made, not to give the officers in charge of them a chance to work out theories, but to give the people who use them, and those who are affected by their use, a chance to work out their own best profit. This means that if National Forests are going to accomplish anything worth while [sic] the people must know all about them and must take a very active part in their management. The officers are paid by the people to act as their agents and to see that all the resources of the Forests are used in the best interest of everyone concerned."

This was a vision of community forestry, motivated at least in part by a recognition that many local communities depend on national forest resources.³⁸ Pinchot failed, however, to reconcile the incongruence between European-style forestry and his populist commitment to management by and for "the people."

The conceptual assumptions and institutional models of European-style forestry were ill adapted for encouraging participation or for responding to community needs. Modeled directly after the management of forest estates in Europe, the USFS's mission was to manage national forests - emphasizing the application of silviculture and other

³⁸ Henderson and Krahl, 1994

technical strategies aimed at the production of timber and other commodities - over which it had exclusive authority.³⁹

The USFS did not establish mechanisms for public participation in national forest decision-making or for sharing decision-making with local communities and forest users. While policy encouraged the consideration of the interests of local people and local communities, managers of federal forest lands had no specific responsibilities or obligations to local communities, and local people did not share in decision-making for national forests. The USFS retained all formal decision-making authority in a model that might be termed "benevolent technocracy."⁴⁰

By the early 1970s, an expanding environmental community became increasingly outspoken and critical about national forest management. In 1973, it won a court injunction against clear-cutting on the Monongahela National Forest in West Virginia. This injunction raised the possibility of a court-ordered prohibition of clear-cutting in all national forests, a specter with such tremendous ramifications for national forest

³⁹ Henderson and Krahl, 1994

⁴⁰ Henderson and Krahl, 1994

management that it led to the passage of the National Forest Management Act (NFMA) of 1976.⁴¹

The NFMA directed the USFS to establish mechanisms for public involvement in national forest planning. In the NFMA, public involvement is primarily viewed as a mechanism to involve environmentalists in forest planning and avoid future "Monongahelas", although it also provides an avenue for other users to express their concerns.⁴²

According to Henderson and Krahl (1994), the NFMA shifted the USFS's aim in relation to local communities from community stability to public involvement in national forest planning. In theory, expanded mechanisms for public involvement should enable local communities - as well as other public constituencies - to assert greater influence and control over national forest management. This, in turn, should result in increased cooperation, improved confidence and reduced conflict between these constituencies and the USFS over national forest management. In practice, however, conflict over national forest management continues unabated, which suggests that the approach to public involvement is not proving very effective.

The approach to public involvement adopted under the NFMA has been characterized as consultative rather than participatory⁴³ because it does not fundamentally alter the

⁴¹ Schallau and Alston, 1987.

⁴² Henderson and Krahl, 1994.

⁴³ Behan, 1988a; 1988b.

USFS position as a hierarchy of expert decision-makers with exclusive authority over national forests. Under the NFMA, the USFS is required to inform the public of its plans, the public is invited to respond and the USFS must hear the public response. However, the USFS does not have to incorporate ideas raised by the public into its plans and decisions.

More important, it does not have to establish forest management mechanisms by which the public, including local communities, can participate beyond commenting on the USFS's plans or seeking redress through the courts if the USFS does not follow its specified planning process or planned actions. While some national forests have established ad hoc advisory committees, these committees have no binding authority over the USFS's decisions. Formal mechanisms to provide local communities with decision-making authority - such as governing boards or management teams with local community representation - do not exist.

Although reduced in importance, community stability and its corollary, industrial stability, have not completely disappeared from USFS management. In 1963, the USFS adopted an even-flow timber policy "to facilitate the

stabilization of communities" which was then incorporated into the NFMA.⁴⁴

In the 1980s, the USFS used community stability as a justification for below-cost timber sales.⁴⁵ However, while community stability was once a primary objective of national forest management, it is now a justification for USFS policies or a component of the social analysis required of the USFS's proposals.⁴⁶ And although it has been redefined to mean a community's "capacity to handle change without major hardships or disruptions,⁴⁷" the USFS has not formulated specific guidelines for managing national forests to avoid hardships or disruptions in communities. Thus, the USFS still has not operationally defined its fundamental relationship or responsibilities to local communities or found an acceptable mechanism for integrating local and national interests and social and technical criteria.

Therefore, the fundamental approach to managing the national forests, which vests the USFS with exclusive authority for national forest management, remains as it was established in the late 1800s. This managerial posture suggests why the USFS has experienced escalating conflict and eroding public confidence in its management of the national forests in northern New Mexico.

⁴⁴ Parry, Vaux and Dennis, 1983.

⁴⁵ Hyde and Daniels, 1987.

⁴⁶ Hendrson and Krahl, 1994.

⁴⁷ USDA Forest Service, 1988, sec. 30.5.

NOTE

USFS personnel identified a number of weaknesses of the USFS. These are summarized as follows:

- 🌲 "Too much of an narrowness."
- 🌲 "Some of us lack social and communication skills."
- 🌲 "Some of us lack the ability to step back from our own biases and our natural resource education and view an issue or a problem or proposal from the perspectives of people having a different perspective and a different need."
- 🌲 "It's very in-bred, very closed-minded and very close knit. So if you're not in the group you don't bring any outsiders in. The group is white male, certain age group, republican and conservative."
- 🌲 "Under staffed at the local level."
- 🌲 "Traditional we put people in place who can function very well in the arena of following regulations, making decisions as per regulations etc. What we lack is having people out there who can use that process, but again be able to recognize the needs of the communities. To be able to do that has to come from inside, you have got to mix your heart with your intellect to come out with good decisions out there. We're still lacking that in our people."

USFS personnel suggestions on how to improve the USFS and its delivery of services. These are summarized as follows:

- 🌲 "...see more diversity in the educational programs of individuals going into the natural resource field. Some core curriculum with regards to social sciences communication, sociological values and more of the social sciences."
- 🌲 "Diversity in the curriculum, diversity in the student body, I believe that the diversity in a work force in any community should reflect the diversity in that community and should be balanced."
- 🌲 "Equity in the planning process from everyone, the employees have never really been involved, communities etc., we don't use any data, this is very inexpensive. They have to have ownership, if you don't have ownership you're not interested."
- 🌲 "Follow-up with action fast so people have something tangible. It's so important, to start walking before you run."

Interviewees other than USFS personnel identified a number of weaknesses of the USFS. These are summarized as follows:

⌲ "The weaknesses are of bureaucracies all over the world. They are more interested in procedure and results. It comes down to people, the trouble with the USFS is that it is like American society at large it has about the same proportion to really good people."

⌲ "I have to give them a "F" on everything. Because the only strength they have is when we put pressure on them."

⌲ "The forest service in a sense let the toothpaste out of tube [with Region 3 Policy] and it cannot get it back in. They try though, saying that the policy has been incorporated into forest management plans."

⌲ There is an ethic, "...you can never get in trouble for doing nothing. When in doubt, don't ask, you can't get in trouble for doing nothing. That's a civil service mentality but for those of us outside who have to scramble a little bit more for our living in the open market we know we get in the most trouble when we do nothing. We don't get paid unless we do something. There is a real cultural difference. The civil service bureaucracy where you collect your check it's hard that environment to maintain a sense of mission and a hunger for results."

⌲ "There's a resistance from the USFS to acknowledge the document [Region 3 Policy] and it's hard for us to understand why. It's been an issue."

⌲ "It's their tendency to use the agricultural model to manage the national forests."

⌲ "We should have more community input, the local communities should have more power. Everyone in DC wants your input but don't want to give you power, they don't really want your input because they have already made their decisions."

⌲ "People should have the power, economic emancipation is the power but the USFS is depriving the people economically."

SECTION 4

DEMOGRAPHICS, NATURAL RESOURCES, PUBLIC LANDS AND THE IMPLICATIONS

"The national user's interest with the forest, are the folks that want to keep the national forest intact, without doing nothing to them. Leave the national forest alone, don't cut a tree, put a fence around it and lock it up. That interest is pretty strong"

-- Vigil, 1999

THE NEED FOR DEMOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS

The spatial relationship of the tri-county region in northern New Mexico that encompasses Rio Arriba, Santa Fe, and Taos Counties is distinct in that each county has its own cultural and social character. Yet, their shared regional relationship with the USFS is dynamic.

Careful attention to underlying trends, combined with an inter-disciplinary analysis will articulate more clearly the divergent and the mutual characteristics that place a demand on the national forests and the USFS in northern New Mexico.

Census data analysis is an initial necessary step toward understanding the social and economic shifts within a community. Demographic shifts and their implications on economic and social transformations and how they affect the day-to-day life of the regions' residents require an in-depth analysis. Specifically, in regard to the unique relationship the tri-county region has with the USFS. Therefore, to understand the regions' future we need to know its past.

The purpose of this section is to describe some of the salient social and economic trends that have implications on the management of the national forests in northern New Mexico.

Understanding the demographic trends in northern New Mexico is valuable for several reasons. First, to know the constituency in terms of basic characteristics such as age, sex, and race. Second, the impacts of regional economic trends, such as the relation between job growth and net migration and mobility. Third, as the region's residents provide a large portion of its labor force, it's helpful to know work-relevant attributes, such as years of education and type of industry.

PROFILE of NEW MEXICO and TRI-COUNTY REGION

State of New Mexico

New Mexico (NM) was ceded to the United States in 1848. The State of New Mexico currently has 1,739,844 citizens,⁴⁸ the fifth largest state in area size. New Mexico has a tri-cultural heritage, which is evident in its cuisine, architecture, languages, and cultural events. Native Americans, Hispanics, and Anglo-Americans each contribute to the unique culture that is New Mexico. In 1990 some 73 percent of the state's inhabitants were classified as living in urban areas. The remainder, classified as rural residents, live on isolated farms and ranches, but the majority live in small villages, especially in the north. New Mexico's rural population tends to live in or around settlements related to its tri-cultural history.

Most of the villages and towns are small, and relatively stable, adhering to traditional cultural values. Yet, there are often too little employment opportunities and too little agricultural potential to provide steady and secure income to their residents. Long distance commuting for employment at federal or state government facilities, or local employment in extractive industries such as mining and lumbering or tourist services provide the economic means for these settlements to continue.

⁴⁸ 7/1/99 Estimate, US Census Bureau.

The demographic profile of New Mexico and the tri-county region is summarized in Table 4. The total population increased 15.6 percentage points between 1970 and 1980. From 1960 to 1970 the slowest growth rate for the century occurred. Table 4 shows that in the decade between 1980 and 1990, Santa Fe County (SFC) was 9.8 percentage points ahead of the State of New Mexico for total population growth. SFC has continually led the state in total population growth since 1950 with a steady decennial increase that peaked in the period between 1970 and 1980. SFC experienced a 4.9 percentage point decrease between 1980 and 1990. The table also reveals that the (non-farm) rural population for SFC peaked in the period between 1970 and 1980.

Table 4, shows that Rio Arriba County (RAC) experienced a 10.1 percentage point increase population in the decade between 1970 and 1980. SFC increases can be attributed to the rise in employment in tourist oriented industries and state government.

TABLE 4

POPULATION: RATE OF CHANGE					
	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980
	to	to	to	to	to
	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990
Total Population					
New Mexico	21.9%	28.4%	6.4%	22%	14%
Rio Arriba	-1.4%	-3.3%	3.9%	14%	14.8%
Santa Fe	19.2%	15.2%	16.3%	28.7%	23.8%
Taos	-8.1%	-7.6%	9.0%	10%	15.8%
Urban Population					
New Mexico	48.4%	45.4%	11.6%	24.6%	14.9%
Rio Arriba	0	0	?(3902)	31.1%	32.1%
Santa Fe	27.4%	19.3%	17.0%	21.4%	25.3%
Taos	0	0	0	? 3369	17.1%
Rural Population					
New Mexico	-4.5%	-4.5%	-5.6%	15.3%	11.5%
Rio Arriba	-1.4%	-3.3%	-13.8%	9.9%	9.3%
Santa Fe	-3.4%	1.4%	14.0%	46.1%	19.9%
Taos	-8.1%	-7.6%	9.0%	-8.9%	15.6%

SOURCE: U.S. Census Bureau

Note: [?] This indicates the first enumeration of urban population and used as a baseline.

The revenue generated by the collection of federal income tax from the citizens of New Mexico makes it a "federal deficit state to Congress."⁴⁹ This is a result of the numerous military bases, national labs, public lands, etc. The only other state to receive more federal monies is Alaska.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Vacker, 1999.

⁵⁰ Vacker, 1999.

Local governments receive payment from federal agencies such as the USFS based on acreage. Payment in Lieu of Taxes (PILT) is a federal statute that mandates that the USFS render to local governments a percentage of revenue payments (receipts) from grazing, timber, etc.

As a result, New Mexico remains one of the poorest states in the country, and funding is particularly weak in areas such as health and education. Agriculture, ranching, mining, and timbering continue to be displaced by high-technological manufacturing and tourism. The rapid fall of oil prices in 1986 hurt the state's petroleum industry, causing unemployment and a sharp fall in oil and gas tax revenues, to the detriment of state funding for education. In the early 1990s immigrants from California fueled a housing boom in Albuquerque and Las Cruces, while wealthy visitors stimulated the market for second homes in SFC and Taos County. Despite the immigration, per capita income in the state continued to decrease, and fewer city residents were able to purchase homes.

Migration and mobility are powerful forces that shape the tri-county region. Migration involves transitions between

locations, and differing lengths of stay. This spatial and temporal complexity leads to questions about cyclical or permanence. The dividing point between migration and mobility is not always clearcut⁵¹. Migration is often dictated by the search for new jobs, whereas residential mobility is directed by quality-of-life reasons. The following table is tabulated from decennial census data derived from the question asking *where the person lived five years ago*⁵².

Santa Fe County blossomed with out-of-state immigrants attracted by the historical and natural amenities of Santa Fe (Table 5).

⁵¹ Myers, 1992.

⁵² Comparability Note: In 1950, data on residence were derived from the question: residence one year prior to census date and enumerated total persons one year and over. In 1960, the census bureau changed its definition about residence to five years prior to census date and enumerated total persons five years old and over.

TABLE 5

Geographical Mobility and Migration:				
PREVIOUS RESIDENCE	Rate of Change			
	1950 to 1960	1960 to 1970	1970 to 1980	1980 to 1990
NEW MEXICO				
Different house, same county	58.5%	-4.1%	26.5%	20.3%
Different county, state or country	67.7%	-24.5%	34.5%	3.1%
RIO ARRIBA COUNTY				
Different house, same county	55.5%	10.5%	15.4%	41.5%
Different county, state or country	25.6%	18.8%	40.9%	0.6%
SANTA FE COUNTY				
Different house, same county	92.5%	7.8%	34.6%	27.9%
Different county, state or country	46.4%	13.9%	52.2%	22.8%
TAOS COUNTY				
Different house, same county	68.2%	10.2%	21.0%	39.6%
Different county, state or country	13.7%	45.0%	39.5%	-1.9%

SOURCE: U.S. Census Bureau

High unemployment rates in RAC and Taos Counties (Table 6) cannot be associated with a decline in any particular employment sector. These rates can be associated to a subsistence level rural life style that does not fit a standard criterion for employment as either wage earning or cash earning.

TABLE 6

	New Mexico	Rio Arriba	Santa Fe	Taos
Civilian labor force (BLS) - unemployment rate, 1996	8.1	15.2	5.5	18
Civilian labor force (BLS) - unemployment rate, 1990	6.5	13.5	3.3	15.1

SOURCE: U.S. Census Bureau

Historically, the economy of New Mexico has been "boom or bust," reliant on the demand for mining, timber, petroleum and other cyclical needed resources. New Mexico had a work force of 923,300 people in 1997. The largest share of the workers—37.8 percent—held jobs in the service industries, which includes tourism oriented occupations, computer programming or working in restaurants (Table 7). Another 26 percent were employed in wholesale or retail trade; 20 percent by federal, state, or local government, including those in the military; 7.9 percent in construction; 5.8 percent in finance, insurance, or real estate; 8.4 percent

in manufacturing; .7 percent in farming (including agricultural services) or forestry; and 3 percent in mining. In 1997, 8 percent of New Mexico's workers were members of a union.

There is no real dominance of the manufacturing sector in the tri-county region. As the county distribution of employment (Table 7) indicates, the tri-county region has minimal employees involved in primary resource development (agriculture and mining). Most of the regions' labor is associated with the tertiary industries of retail trade, services, and government, which recycle new money that enters the economy. In order for these tertiary functions to grow, there is a need for expansion in the employment sectors that generate export productions that generate new money.

TABLE 7
SOURCE: U.S. Census Bureau

1997 County Business					
Patterns		Percent Distribution			
SIC	INDUSTRY	NM	RAC	SF	TAOS
	AGRICULTURAL SERVICES,				
07--	FORESTRY, AND FISHING	0.7	0.3	0.8	0.3
10--	MINING	3.0	4.4	0.2	4.5
15--	CONSTRUCTION	7.9	4.4	7.3	6.4
20--	MANUFACTURING	8.4	5.0	4.2	3.3
	TRANSPORTATION AND PUBLIC				
40--	UTILITIES	5.2	4.2	2.2	2.8
50--	WHOLESALE TRADE	5.0	5.4	3.5	1.3
52--	RETAIL TRADE	26.0	29.8	30.5	32.0
	FINANCE, INSURANCE, AND				
60--	REAL ESTATE	5.8	4.0	7.1	5.6
70--	SERVICES	37.8	40.8	44.0	43.8
	UNCLASSIFIED				
99--	ESTABLISHMENTS	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0

A discernible pattern of median household income (*med_hh_inc*) is evident in the studied tri-county region. The sharp contrast of the region: SFC with a high *med_hh_inc*, is juxtaposed with RAC and Taos counties that have a low *med_hh_inc* (Table 8). This contrast reflects varying employment opportunities that are available in SFC for instance, the many federal and state employment opportunities and tourism. RAC and Taos counties illustrate a low *med_hh_inc* because; 1) they lack major private employment and 2) there is a dependence on state and local government resources for income.

There is an associational relationship between *med_hh_inc* and the percentage of households below the poverty level in the tri-county region. SFC with a high *med_hh_inc* has a smaller percentage of households below the poverty level. While, RAC and Taos counties, have lower *med_hh_inc*, they also have a large percentage of households below the poverty level (Table 9).

A comparison of 1970 and 1980 census data show that New Mexico and the studied tri-county region experienced improvements in *med_hh_inc* (Table 8). For example, *med_hh_inc* almost doubled between 1970 and 1980; but since it increased at a similar rate, the 1980 distribution pattern for *med_hh_inc* in New Mexico and the tri-county region closely resembles that of 1970.

TABLE 8

	MEDIAN HH_INC				
	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990
NEW MEXICO	12172	23740	26451	23300	24087
RIO ARRIBA	7052	13189	18683	16633	18373
SANTA FE	12320	22904	27021	25205	29403
TAOS	6152	9742	17888	17040	16966
	1990=100				

SOURCE: U.S. Census Bureau

TABLE 9

POVERTY LEVEL	NM	RAC	SF	TAOS
Percent persons below poverty, 1993	21.6	25.3	13.2	26.6
Percent persons below poverty, 1989	20.6	27.5	13	27.5
INCOME				
Median household income (dollars), 1993	26,802	21,178	33,011	19,005
Median household income (dollars), 1989	24,087	18,373	29,403	16,966

SOURCE: U.S. Census Bureau

New Mexico is essentially tri-cultural, as native-American, then Hispanic and finally Caucasian peoples found the area attractive for settlement (Table 10). The distribution of these ethnic groups clearly falls into enclaves of single group dominance. The high incidence of native-American people in Rio Arriba County is a direct result of the previously discussed land grants. A large area in northwestern New Mexico was granted to the Navajo Indians during the late nineteenth century as a resolution of conflict between the U.S. government and the Navajo peoples.⁵³

⁵³ Williams, 1986.

TABLE 10

	NEW MEXICO	RIO ARRIBA	SANTA FE	TAOS
POPULATION				
Total, 1997	1,729,751	37,780	121,791	26,556
Total, 1990	1,515,069	34,365	98,928	23,118
Total, 1980	1,303,302	29,282	75,519	19,456
Percent change, 1990 to 1997	14.2	9.9	23.1	14.9
Percent change, 1980 to 1990	16.2	17.4	31	18.8
RACIAL DISTRIBUTION				
White, 1996	87	83.8	95.2	91.8
Black, 1996	2.5	0.5	0.9	0.5
American Indian, Eskimo, or Aleut, 1996	9.2	15.4	3.1	7.1
Asian or Pacific Islander, 1996	1.3	0.3	0.8	0.6
Hispanic (may be of any race), 1996	39.5	73.2	50.4	65.8
AGE DISTRIBUTION				
< 5 years, 1996	12.1	14.3	9.9	11.1
5 to 14 years, 1996	24.9	27.1	19.9	23.5
>=65 years, 1996	16.8	15.9	14.6	17.1

Source: 1998
USA Counties
General Profile

SOURCE: U.S. Census Bureau

Historically, land grants became protected areas for Hispanic descendents. This partly explains the high concentration of Hispanics in Rio Arriba and Taos counties. The African-American population is very small in the tri-studied tri-county region.

Native Americans, comprise 8.8 percent of the population. They reside on six reservations and in nineteen pueblos. They are the fourth largest Native American community in the United States. Traditional arts and crafts are a source of income for the pueblos and are sold to both tourists and local residents. Two groups of Apache, the Jicarilla and the Mescalero, live on separate reservations. The Jicarilla reside in northwestern New Mexico, on land rich in oil and gas. They also derive income from lumbering and ranching. The Mescalero occupy land in south central New Mexico and are engaged in lumbering and ranching. They also own and operate the Ski Apache resort, the only ski area in the southern part of the state. The newest source of income for many reservations in New Mexico is gambling. Large casinos have been built on these lands and are becoming a significant contributor to the Native American economy. Currently, New Mexico's Native Americans, face cuts in funding from the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) and the Indian Health Service. As a result of their efforts to diversify their economies, Native Americans have bought shopping centers, built resorts and gambling casinos, and invested in real estate.

Rio Arriba County

The geography of Rio Arriba County presents a variety of challenges in an economic endeavor. Table 10 shows that the county has a total of 3,749,120 acres, but only 855,323 acres are privately owned or developable. This results in a density of 28.3 persons per mile. Most of this density is concentrated within the Espanola area. Espanola is the largest community in Rio Arriba County with a population of 8389 (1990).

TABLE 11

Acreage	
Private	855323
State	175542
Native-American	744432
Federal	1965167
Total	3,740,464

SOURCE: U.S. Census Bureau

Overall, the county is immense, mountainous, and often semi-arid. Water is the most important location factor in New Mexico. Rio Arriba County is not easily accessible to transportation. For example, there are no major interstates or railroads. The nearest airport is in Albuquerque, approximately eighty miles south, and most of the roads are two-lane. The lack of transportation infrastructure

retards the growth of manufacturing and industry.

The oldest European settlement in the present day United States is in Rio Arriba County. It was founded in 1598 and preceded the founding of Santa Fe, some 30 miles south of this location. Rio Arriba county shares many of the same, if not identical natural resources. In Santa Fe, the USFS has been assisting and continues to economically assist Santa Feans with favorable business arrangements in leasing land for the popular and very lucrative Santa Fe Ski basin which is 15 miles from the Santa Fe Plaza. No efforts have ever been made for the USFS to pursue any similar business venture in Rio Arriba County.

In the 1920's, Rio Arriba had the largest population of sheep in the U.S. Sheep are a historical legacy of both the Hispanic and Indian experience. Large tracts of land are required to graze the sheep that over hundreds of years are ideally suited for the climate in northern New Mexico. They were successful, yet the USFS never made attempts to re-introduce this industry that produces wool for local weaving and that can be marketed internationally. Organically raised mutton would also have a lucrative market.

Santa Fe County

Santa Fe became the territorial capital in 1851; it remained the capital when New Mexico achieved statehood in 1912. During the American Civil War (1861-1865), Santa Fe was briefly occupied by Confederate forces. Santa Fe is

the capital city of New Mexico and seat of Santa Fe County, located on the Santa Fe River in the north central part of the state. Currently, the county has blossomed with out of state immigrants. It is a destination for year-round tourism, the city is particularly noted for its Native American and Spanish-style handicrafts.

The city's economy benefited from the establishment, in the early 1940s, of major U.S. atomic research facilities at nearby Los Alamos. According to the 1990 census, whites constitute 81.2 percent of Santa Fe's population; Native Americans, 2.2 percent; blacks, 0.6 percent; and people of Asian origin, 0.6 percent. Hispanics, who may also be counted among other groups, represent 47.4 percent of the population. Population 48,953 (1980); 55,859 (1990); 67,879 (1998 estimate).

Taos County

The town of Taos is the seat of Taos County, it is in the foothills of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains; incorporated 1934. It is a commercial, light manufacturing, and resort center. Manufactures include leather footwear, clothing, and wood products. Since the end of the 19th century, Taos has been an artists'

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colony. The many art galleries and tourist services are the largest employers in the town. Taos was first visited by the Spanish in 1540, and by 1615 a substantial Spanish colony was situated here. Population 3,369 (1980); 4,065 (1990); 5,389 (1998 estimate).

Of particular interest is the Taos Pueblo, an ancient Native American village with multi-storied adobe dwellings that have been occupied for the last eight hundred years. In the early 1990s it was inhabited by some 2100 Tiwa-speaking Pueblo, noted for their ceremonial dances. Also of note in Taos are the Millicent A. Rogers Museum, featuring displays of Native American and Hispanic art and artifacts; the Kit Carson Home and Museum, containing possessions of the American frontiersman; the Harwood Foundation Museum, with exhibits of paintings by Taos artists; and the Governor Bent Museum, with collections relating to Charles Bent, the first governor of New Mexico Territory, and to the Southwest in general. Located in the area are San Francisco de Asis Mission Church (18th century), the D. H. Lawrence Ranch and Shrine, and ski resorts.

TOURISM and the USFS'S ROLE IN A CHANGING ECONOMY

Since 1989, travel and tourism has evolved from an emerging sector to an established leader in a modern services economy. Growing from a \$26 billion industry in 1986 to a \$90 billion one in 1996, travel and tourism's export contributions to the U.S. economy have grown nearly 250%. In that time, travel and tourism has taken its place as the number one services export producing a trade surplus every year since 1989.

In attempting to assess the status and potential of New Mexico's tourism, one immediately encounters several challenges. The first is how to define tourism. Metelka (1989) defines tourism as an, "...umbrella term for the variety of products and services offered and desired by people away from home. Included are restaurants, accommodations, activities, natural and manmade attractions, travel agencies, government bureaus and transportation ...people traveling primarily for leisure and recreation ...industries and activities that provide and market the services needed for pleasure travel."

A plethora of alternative definitions can be found in the literature, in part because tourism is such a multifarious concept. But the existing multitude of alternative definitions is commonly attributable to issues involving measurement of tourism. To quantify tourism, one must define it in measurable terms. When the theoretical definition of tourism

is in conflict with the realities of quantifying it, an alternative definition is developed to bring the definition and measurements into congruence. Thus, since no generally accepted definition of tourism exists or could be derived that meets varying feasibility requirements for measuring it, most tourism-related statistical series are not directly comparable because they are built on definitions of tourism that vary, often considerably.

Most definitions of tourism are based on a travel experience outside of one's daily routine whose purpose is for pleasure. This would include recreational travel, which, when connected to use of natural resources, is most central in assessing the status and potential of New Mexico's natural resources in a tourism context.

Only limited information exists to support a direct assessment of New Mexico's natural resources' role in this state's tourism industry, however, so the task must be approached indirectly, drawing on and extrapolating from census data. Because specific information about tourism does not exist, resources are not available to fill the voids, and extrapolating from related secondary data is problematic, most tourism-

related institutions, programs and policies subsume tourism under the even broader umbrella of travel, or link travel and tourism to form a single category.

In summary, assessing the status and potential of New Mexico's natural resources-based tourism in a theoretically correct and completely objective way is not possible. Analysis must conform to the data available, and these are primarily aggregate measures of the overall economic impacts of travel activity.

But, most policy is not made in accordance with the rules of theoretical correctness based upon complete and indisputable information. Thus, though what follows is less than a complete assessment, it does convey the essence of the information that can be derived from census data and the role that the USFS plays in it.

THE ROLE OF THE USFS

The evidence suggests New Mexico's economy is heavily reliant on tourism. It is the largest employer in the state, generating over \$2 billion a year in gross receipts. Therefore, a theoretical framework is necessary to interpret and make inferences about the trend of tourism in terms of demands on the national forests in northern New Mexico. Tourism is a key variable and often, as a first approximation, it can be assumed that demands on the national forests have a one-to-one relationship with tourism. That is, if total tourism increases five percent, the demand for the national forests will increase by five percent.

Economic development = f (tourism)

For the purpose of illustration, I use tourism as a vehicle to economic emancipation for the local residents. Let's assume the trend continues in regard to tourism in northern New Mexico and the USFS adopts the spirit of the Region 3 Policy, which is "contribute to economic development and, by extension reduce poverty in northern New Mexico." What difference will this posture make? Or how many new jobs could be created by increasing opportunities five percent?

Employing Metelka's (1989) definition of tourism, "...the variety of products and services offered and desired," Table 12 illustrates the number of tourism oriented product and service establishments for RAC, SFC and Taos County. I

used the minimum value in the tabulations in an effort to establish a baseline.

TABLE 12

SERVICES	COUNTY		
	RAC	SFC	TAOS
Eating and drinking places	711	5099	1121
Hotels and other lodging	224	2434	1028
Passenger car rental		A[0]	
Recreation services	E[250]	1216	F
Total	1185	8749	2649

Source: US Census 1997 County

SOURCE: U.S. Census Bureau

Note: Employment-size classes are indicated as follows

A--0 to 19, E--250 to 499, F--500 to 999

Table 13, shows the total labor force. If the USFS would be catalyst for economic development and used tourism as vehicle, 767 new jobs would be generated for Rio Arriba County. Return to Table 12, the number of tourist oriented product and service establishments in Rio Arriba County is 1185. For the purpose of illustration, assume that three-quarters of the individuals enumerated in the unclassified services industry (Table 7) are employed in tourism; therefore, an increase of 767 new entrants into the tourist industry, will result in a sixteen percent increase in new jobs, and a reduction in the unemployment rate by 4.2 percentage points. In Taos County, 544 new jobs would be generated and subsequently reduce the unemployment rate by 4.5 percentage points.

TABLE 13 SOURCE: U.S. Census Bureau

	COUNTY		
	RAC	SFC	TAOS
Civilian labor force, 1996	18,099	61,681	13,209
Civilian labor force employed number, 1996	15348	58289	10883
Civilian labor force unemployed number, 1996	2751	3392	2377
Civilian labor force unemployment rate, 1996	15.2	5.5	18
5% increase:			
# New jobs	767	2914	544

Is this action plausible? Yes, the action is plausible because the tourism industry has grown within the last decade. But for any potential will not solely by the efforts of the USFS. The USFS needs to develop a committed and flexible relationship with residents, local non-governmental organizations (NGO) with a mission of poverty alleviation, local government, and businesses.

"But will these be quality jobs?" this is one of the more perplexing questions encountered under the rubric of economic development, especially when the focus is on tourism. Tracking employment trends to include salaries and benefits paid is complicated by government data collection systems developed decades ago to reflect then dominant manufacturing and extractive industries. Lack of objective information and the prevalence of misinformation about the tourism industry employment combine to handicap informed planning and policy development involving the service sectors of the tri-county economy.

Existing tourism industry literature suggests that the employment issue of the future for this industry is an impending shortage of labor. Though it has not been the

subject of extensive study, employment turnover in the tourism industry appears to be exceptionally high. This is usually a result of low wages or seasonal employment. The climate and variety of amenities available to tourists in northern New Mexico would allow for year round employment. The basic product delivered by the tourism industry is dominated by a highly important service dimension. Service quality and consistency are very important when competing in the tourist market.

In conclusion, to the casual observer who travels, the most visible travel and tourism industry employees are those holding entry-level jobs in restaurants, hotels, service stations, airports, car rental outlets, etc. Wages earned by these employees may indeed be below average. However, one must note that wage statistics published by the government are not fully reflective of actual earnings by many employed in this industry, given that underreporting of earnings from tips is a global phenomenon. Also, behind these front-line service employees are people employed as their supervisors; owners of businesses and their lawyers, accountants and a host of other professionals who provide services to travel and tourism businesses; banks, construction companies and others who benefit from travel and tourism businesses' investments; aircraft and auto repair; and so on.

"... a culture that didn't necessarily think like we did. Here's a culture that we're dedicated to preserve and to preserve it we've got to think like these people. We have got to understand and appreciate their values, and their values are much different than our values. For example, they like to live in small rural communities, they like to have cattle, horse and sheep around. They like to socialize with each other in the small communities. But they're not, interested in getting out and having all the influence of the Anglo. They have a deep feeling and a love for the land that we [the USFS] have got to appreciate. We think we love the land but they love it with a deeper feeling. That's why they're there, their ancestors lived there."

-- Hurst, 1999

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY

The preceding has been an enumeration of salient trends for the State of New Mexico and the studied tri-county area. Most of these trends could be considered exogenous to policy making as regards to the national forests in northern New Mexico; that is, outside of the ability of the USFS to influence the emerging scenario.

Yet, careful planning and proper execution of policy programs can make a difference. To some degree, the future can be what we want it to be. A major task is obtaining consensus on goals and objectives. Even if we can agree on "what is," we may have more difficulty in agreeing on "what ought to be." What should be the strategy for the next ten years for northern New Mexico's national forests?

If preserving the current natural resources and creating a pristine environment is the goal, then economic development should be put on hold. The challenge would be how to accommodate the culture, lack of land, and expanding population (over which we will have little control) without encroaching on use of land, water, air and other natural resources.

If capitalizing on northern New Mexico's potential for economic growth is the objective. Clearly, some "mutual gain" approach is the only realistic alternative.

For example, Wilmsen (1997), found that the Hispanos of northern New Mexico do not ride the tide of economic ebbs and flows, "the central goal ... is to remain on the land and to maintain the Hispano way of life" and "it is clear that remaining in the area is a major concern, and having to look for a job in the city is an undesirable outcome"

In addition, Wilmsen argues that as a result of this posture to maintain a connection to the land, local residents make it clear that any public land management must be structured in such a way that they are a part of the paradigm change. For example, the local residents want guide positions, or ranger positions. They also ask that financial resources be made available so that they can participate in the shift to a tourism paradigm, for example, bed and breakfasts, rentals etc. As a result of the loss of land base, local residents can't borrow money to become entrepreneurs and thus participate in the tourism industry because the lack of clear title to land is an obstacle to obtain working capital.

RURAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY

Presuming that an objective of the USFS is to enhance economic development with strong regard for the culture and environment in northern New Mexico, certain strategies should be considered. After reviewing the exogenous influences, we should ask ourselves, "What is our comparative advantage?"

William Galston, former Deputy Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy, provided some insights on the changing rural scene. He believed that the success of rural economic development must be built on a realistic assessment of rural comparative advantage.⁵⁴

Early in U.S. history, the development of rural America rested primarily on place-specific resource advantage: land, timber and minerals. The central rural disadvantage—the obstacle of distance—was overcome in part by natural locational facts (for example, long navigable rivers), and in part by publicly guided development of communication and transportation systems. These advantages have not disappeared, but their significance has been steadily eroded by changes in technology, relative factors of production, and the composition of final demand.

⁵⁴ Galston, 1993.

In the 1960's and 1970's, the primary basis of rural comparative advantage shifted from resources to factors such as cheap land, low-cost labor, relatively relaxed regulations, and weak or nonexistent unions.

Combined with a new burst of public investment in transportation (the interstate highway system), these advantages spurred a significant expansion of routine manufacturing in rural America.

But these advantages, too, have been eroded by economic change. The importance of land costs in plant siting decisions has diminished, and in a global marketplace with fully mobile capital, cheaper labor can be found and employed outside the borders of the U.S.

During the 1980's, rural America appears to have entered its third major phase. The kinds of natural characteristics regarded as "amenity values" by retirees, vacationers, and certain businesses have emerged as the chief new source of rural comparative advantage. Rural places with substantial locational assets have commanded the lion's share of rural population and employment gains. This is not observed in either Rio Arriba or Taos County.

Galston (1993) also points out that some of the negatives for rural areas and their lower population densities and inability to achieve local diversification; 1) the higher costs of communication and 2) transportation accessibility. He could have also added that rural areas have difficulty in achieving economies of scale.

Of course, there is the dilemma that "successful amenity-based development may eventually erode the original advantage, as population size and density increase and amenity values decline." He suggests that "a central challenge for U.S. rural development will be to conceptualize and put in place new kinds of linkages between urban areas and rural communities. Absent without such innovations, the prospects for rural communities without significant natural amenities can only be regarded as bleak."

Galston's assessment of which rural areas have promising development possibilities has to be a plus for northern New Mexico and specifically for Rio Arriba County, which indeed has the combination of rural amenities and the proximity of a growing population.

While the growth rate in Rio Arriba County's urban population is projected to outpace Taos and Santa Fe Counties, most likely because of migration of residents from these two counties. Therefore, strategies for northern New Mexico's national forests should be developed with the recognition that population will continue to be concentrated in a few counties. Because of the close interface between

the tri-county region and the USFS, pressure will continue to be intense, thus, it is important to develop balanced policy and programs between natural resource conservation, sustainable agricultural production, and economic growth for local rural communities.

Not to be overlooked is the important role of public and private leadership in northern New Mexico in capitalizing on the tri-county's comparative advantage and removing barriers to sustainable economic growth and preservation of natural resources. While comparative advantage is important, entrepreneurship is a prime mover that can make a difference. The combined efforts of those in public and private institutions can help to make Rio Arriba, Santa Fe and Taos County an attractive place to live and to work. Such leadership and cooperation can make a difference in the future.

SECTION 5

DISCUSSION

FINDINGS

The major findings of this thesis are the following:

- ⌲ Clarification about the ambiguity between the role of the Hassell Report and the Region 3 Policy. Existing literature was unclear about the chronological events and which was actually the policy.
- ⌲ The Hassell Report is an assessment of the needs of the communities of northern New Mexico, while Region 3 Policy embodies and summarizes some of its recommendations.
- ⌲ This revolutionary policy remains a noteworthy model of an attempt by individuals in a federal agency to integrate the preservation of cultural and social diversity into the administration of land management programs and policy that is responsive to the established needs of a local community, which preceded the USFS by several hundred years.
- ⌲ This landmark policy became and is still a rallying cry for Hispanic activists seeking greater USFS attention to economic needs of rural communities, especially in regard to the competing claims of preservation-oriented environmentalists.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ deBuys, 1997.

- ⌲ The USFS has not formally addressed the policy since 1981. It is debatable whether the spirit of the Hassell Report currently informs and shapes management plans or is neutralized by them.⁵⁶ Thus, contemporary implementation of these few but powerful recommendations remains ambiguous.
- ⌲ The Hassell Report and the subsequent Region 3 Policy acknowledge the local culture and the need to be sensitive to its values. Even today, many local folks believe it is a statement of vision.
- ⌲ The design of the USFS management model perpetrates community dependence.
- ⌲ The community is often uninformed or under informed about the planning process.
- ⌲ The natural resource planning processes and, in general, the USFS models fail to incorporate traditional home-building needs, fuel-wood necessity and local culture into the development and implementation of policy.

⁵⁶ deBuys, 1997.

- ⌲ There is non-or under participation by local communities in the decision making of the national forests.
- ⌲ Under participation of local communities in the management of national forests is not a new phenomenon but a historical constant embedded in forest policy and practices dating back to the nineteenth century. There is not a specific law or requirement for the USFS to maintain community stability. The USFS needs to consider the impact on communities of changing its policies, programs, or alternatives for Forest management and provide the information to the public for review and comment.
- ⌲ USFS actions can affect community stability in many ways: By changing the levels of forest outputs and products; by reducing or increasing the availability of economic opportunities; and by public participation in the planning and decision-making processing. Each of these actions will have an effect that is important to the local communities.
- ⌲ Addressing issues of cultural and social diversity in resource management is not a new concept. At times, the necessity of it has been forcible impressed upon resource management agencies, as was the case in

northern New Mexico in the late 1960's and early 1970's.⁵⁷

- ⌲ The road to conflict resolution in regard to land tenure in northern New Mexico will be long and challenging. After all, rural forest-dependent communities in northern New Mexico have been in existence long before the creation of the USFS.

While these findings are important, they are not conclusive. In order to tease out further findings, there needs to a comparative study, which would specifically target community residents who are affected daily by the policies of the USFS. After all, my thesis primarily queried USFS personnel.

However, I think that the purpose of this thesis has been accomplished, that is, to assess if Region 3 Policy has achieved its intent to change the attitude of the USFS. The findings suggest that there is a long way to go and much room for improvement on the part of the USFS. For any tangible change to occur, there needs to an overhaul of the USFS's institutionalized managerial model.

⁵⁷ deBuys, 1997.

Intentionally or unintentionally, the implementation of the Region 3 Policy was aborted. The timely opportunity for the USFS to serve as a catalyst for economic development didn't occur. This policy that is sensitive to local needs is an obscure document in the USFS archive and is known to very few people in northern New Mexico -- including local USFS personnel.

Northern New Mexico and Rio Arriba County in particular, as the statistical data has demonstrated, is one of the most desperately poor counties in the region. It is cruelly ironic that Rio Arriba County abuts Santa Fe and Los Alamos counties, two of the wealthiest counties in the US. That comparison is an excellent topic for a future comparative study.

As indicated earlier, the USFS and Bureau of Land Management (BLM) manage a combined 48% of the landmass in northern New Mexico. While it is true that national forests next to economically depressed areas are not unique to the spatial largesse of the USFS, but in northern New Mexico it cannot be ignored because of the numerous villages literally within the boundaries of national forests. Also, the USFS has never experienced the powerful magnitude of land grant turmoil as it has in northern New Mexico. The largest mobilization in the history of the New Mexican National Guard was in the in pursuit of land grant activists who were instrumental in getting national and international attention in northern New Mexico.

This is policy that was developed during a time when such a managerial approach was neither in one's job description or would benefit their personal career. Hurst is truly a role model. Hurst, during the course of our interview, mentioned that there has been minimal interest in his views on this historical document. That is a shame. The theoretical, analytical and procedural lessons I learned from this thesis project are minimized by the ethical lesson I learned from a man who is neither a native of northern New Mexico nor sought personal gain from such a revolutionary management approach during tumultuous times.

The challenge now is how can the spirit of the Region 3 Policy be internalized by USFS personnel whilst they operate within institutional constraints and/or personal biases. Because, if they can internalize the unique culture and values of northern New Mexico, the residents of the rural forest-dependent communities will recognize the effort and respond accordingly.

In conclusion, one of the lessons of this case study is that attempting to address economic and cultural issues and actually implementing study recommendations into

actions is two entirely different things. A brilliant policy can easily flounder on the rocks of bureaucratic inertia, but such a policy, as in the case of northern New Mexico, may also acquire a life and constituency of its own and continue to influence the affairs of a region.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ deBuys, 1997.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Several characteristics of successful community forestry have been identified.⁵⁹ Five of these appear to be critical to success.⁶⁰

The first is the willingness by the USFS to enter into partnerships with local people to respond effectively to their needs. This requires establishing and maintaining effective communication between the agency and local people. It places the agency in the role of listener and service provider to local communities, rather than that of expert and decision-maker.

The second characteristic is a change in the internal culture of the USFS, reflecting a shift from a focus on trees to a focus on people - to enable the USFS to understand what people want and to work in partnership with them to help them achieve their objectives.

The third characteristic is a shift from centralized, line-command agency management to decentralized management and the sharing of decision-making responsibility with local forest users and local communities.

⁵⁹ Gregersen, Draper and Elz, 1989; Hoskins, 1991; Perl et al., 1991; Arnold in FAO, 1992; Wells, Brandon and Hannah, 1992.

⁶⁰ Henderson and Krahl, 1994.

The fourth critical characteristic is the reorientation of technologies to focus the benefits from forest management on local communities in ways that are desired and supported by these communities. This characteristic also often results in managing forest resources for products other than timber.

The final critical characteristic is cooperation and coordination with community-based organizations that represent local constituencies and interests. Many of the development components of community forestry may be better managed by non-governmental organizations (NGO's) based in the communities.

Many aspects of these characteristics mirror successful extension programming in which effectiveness results from good communication and a service orientation rather than insistence on the "technically optimal solution" (of course, from the point of view of the government agency).

Not all of these five characteristics are present in every successful community forestry program. But successful programs have at least focused on people, re-oriented land

management technologies and cooperated and coordinated with community-based NGOs. For example, strategies for reducing fuel-wood dependency should assist local communities and residents with weatherization programs, efficient wood burning stoves, solar improvements, and other methods to reduce fuel-wood dependence in conjunction with other State and Federal agencies.⁶¹

This suggestion mirrors Hassell's fifth recommendation:

- ⌚ Inter/intra agency cooperation through the creation of a "Human Resources" staff position on both the Carson and Santa Fe national forests to coordinate "with other agencies and individuals who are interested in one way or another in the poor of northern New Mexico."

⁶¹ Cordova, Max.

"By finding creative ways to integrate development and environmental protection, we hope to strength our self-reliance, avert future crisis, and create prosperity. As forest-dependent communities the USFS must walk hand in hand with us to achieve success of any economic development strategy."

-- Cordova, 1999

"In the end, to have "teeth", [Region 3 Policy] needs top-down advocacy and commitment."

-- Cordova, 1999

FURTHER RESEARCH

It seems clear that policy, if it is to influence programs meaningfully over the long term, requires periodic articulation.⁶² But, Region 3 Policy is a policy mainly with a philosophical nexus, it doesn't need reinterpretation in the context of subsequent environmental laws, like the Endangered Species Act, which embody values that may conflict. The morality of process in the public realm needs to embody distinct moral principles - for example, impartiality, equity, equality, reciprocity, harmony, and fairness. The Region 3 Policy gives priority to all of these principles in the relationship between local residents and the USFS. Therefore, the "rightness" of this policy will endure the test of time, regulations and studies.

What needs evaluation, assessment and articulation is the dysfunctional management model employed by the USFS.

While this thesis attempts to contribute to the existing breadth of knowledge about the USFS and its policies in northern New Mexico, the findings were constrained by time and resources. In order to ferret further findings, I suggest a comparative study, which would specifically target community residents who are affected daily by the policies of the USFS.

⁶² deBuys, 1997.

HURST'S FEELING TODAY

When I posed the question to Hurst about how he felt thirty-one years later, his response was;

" I feel quite satisfied with what we did. We didn't solve the problem by any means, the people who believe they have been unjustly deprived of the land and that's the basic issue, I don't think they can ever be satisfied. The resources are just not there for everyone who wants a piece of the pie."

Should there be a new study conducted? Hurst replied;

" ... The basic concerns of the people are still there. I doubt if you put another Jean Hassell up there you'll come out with anything much different, and it might not be as favorable to the local people as the Hassell Report was. I say that because economic conditions have changed. It will be more difficult to do things than it was back in 1967, because of the environmentalists, laws and regulations, etc. Therefore, it would best to leave the report as it is. It's advantageous to the local people."

Did the USFS learn from the uprising? As per Hurst the USFS learned "...a lot, policy came out of it for one thing. We learned that people up there were quite unhappy. The thing that has been troubling to me over the years is, I think that there is a perception that all the Spanish-American

community thought the USFS were the bad guys. I don't think that in any of those communities that the majority of them thought the USFS were the bad guys. If that had been the case, I couldn't have visited all the homes that I did. The media blew this up to be a big issue. I'm not trying to minimize that, but I don't think that in the local communities the USFS was hated to the extent that the media portrayed it. I just can't believe it."

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SECTION 6

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: IMPLEMENTATION AND ASSESSMENT OF RESEARCH METHODS AND TECHNIQUES

QUALITATIVE METHODOLOGY

I chose the Region 3 Policy as a case study to illustrate policy development and its implications. Region 3 Policy represents an interesting case of a potentially good policy falling short of the needs of the people and the region because of ambiguous directives, partial implementation, and little or no active enforcement. The Region 3 Policy offered an opportunity to explore the way in which intention, perception, and interpretation are manifest in response to the unique blending of cultural and social diversity in a specific spatial and temporal setting.

Using a combination of primary and secondary sources, I employed the following three-pronged strategy to conduct the research for this study:

- ‡ Examined the history of land ownership in the region
- ‡ Traced the development of the Region 3 Policy
- ‡ Conducted field interviews in regard to the assessment and implementation of the Region 3 Policy.

Interviewing and archival research were the two major techniques I used in conducting the qualitative phase of the research.

Due to the importance of history in the development of present environmental, social, economic, and political conditions, this study contains a significant longitudinal component. Numerous historical factors shape the nature of the struggle over control of land in northern New Mexico. Chief among these are the region's legacy of conquest and the way in which it has influenced articulation of ethnicity and race⁶³; the legacy of unrestrained environmental exploitation which occurred in the late 19th and early 20th centuries⁶⁴; and the transformation of the region from one of economic self-sufficiency to one of endemic rural poverty⁶⁵.

Understanding how these factors shape the history of land ownership in the region is crucial to understanding the present situation regarding local land management issues. A great deal has been written regarding the history of land ownership and social relations in

⁶³ Spicer, 19620; Rodriguez, 1987; Barrera, 1979.

⁶⁴ Rothman, 1989; deBuys, 1987.

⁶⁵ Carlson, 1990.

the region⁶⁶. Therefore, I relied largely on secondary sources to gain a general understanding of the history of land tenure in the region in addition to tracing the development of the Region 3 Policy. The Hurst interview and the manuscripts on file with the USFS were invaluable aids in this effort.

Interviews were my main source of information for exploring how implementation of the Region 3 Policy has affected the attitudes of USFS personnel in northern New Mexico. To assess if the Region3 Policy achieved its intent to change the attitude of USFS personnel, I interviewed USFS personnel, community organizers and an environmentalist who have an interest in the national forest of northern New Mexico.

The qualitative data that I generated is "top-heavy," that is; it derives from interviews with USFS officials and community activists, but few community residents. Notwithstanding these limitations, these two sources combined can help us better understand the interpretation and implementation of the Region 3 Policy and its effects on the affected communities.

First, I will discuss the interviews, followed by a discussion of the tabulation of the quantitative material. The general context in which I conducted the interviews was focused on the assessment of the Region 3 Policy.

⁶⁶ deBuys, 1986; Deutsch, 1987; Quintana, 1991; and Carlson, 1992.

I began with a general question to elicit their understanding of the process in the development of policy for the national forests. Then I queried what the USFS perceives as the strengths and weaknesses of the communities. I then followed with questions about their assessment of the Region 3 Policy and how successfully it has been at achieving its intent. These questions were designed to elicit information on how the interviewees perceive their relationship with local residents, environmentalists and their views on what constitutes social and cultural diversity.

In my interviews with area activists an environmentalist, county planners, historian/author and a local resident I used techniques of oral history interviewing to learn about the influence the USFS has had on their lives. I employed a three-fold strategy for these interviews:

- ♣ What has it been like,
- ♣ What it is like now,
- ♣ The efficacy of the Region 3 Policy and strategies to improve the relationship.

First, I queried the interviewees about their career history to gain an understanding of their rationale used in making their statements. My objective in doing this was to ascertain what influence, if any, the Region 3 Policy and the national forests have on such statements. Second, I asked questions concerning how the interviewee felt about a variety of issues concerning the national forests such as economic opportunities, their understanding of the process in the development of policy, and how the community has fared throughout the history of the Region 3 Policy. The purpose of this line of questioning was to learn about the interviewee's relationship with the land and how the Region 3 Policy Report affects it. Third, I asked questions about what activities the interviewee engaged in attempting to affect management of the national forests and what the goals were. These questions were designed to elicit information on how local residents organize themselves, what resources they had access to in so doing so and how is organizing had affected their relationship with the USFS. Fourth, to gain an understanding of the perceptions of the activities of environmentalists, I asked questions about how they felt about the preservation goals of environmental groups.

Since I was conducting oral history interviews, not ethnography, I did not reside in any of the communities. As a graduate student at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, I maintain a residence in Massachusetts and traveled to the field study site. I contacted people by telephone and scheduled interviews for three weeks in April

1999. I explained that I was doing a study of the Region 3 Policy and I would like to talk with them about their assessment of it. This technique worked quite well in that everyone contacted agreed to be interviewed. However, I discovered three weeks was not enough time to interview more individuals, especially community residents.

As in any research involving human subjects, there were several issues that bear on the quality of information gained in the interviews. For that reason, sampling bias, rapport, and validity are closely tied to my research design.

Confidentiality is important not only because it affects the quality of information, but also because a failure to assure it can have serious repercussions in the communities where research is conducted. I began each interview with an explanation of the research I was doing, and why. I then assured each interviewee of confidentiality and explained that they were free to refuse to answer any question. Therefore, I was careful to hold all information given to me in interviews in the strictest confidence if the interviewee preferred to remain anonymous. I also assured them that

their names would not be used without their permission. No one chose anonymity.

During the analysis of the data and writing of the thesis, I treated every piece of information, written and oral, as well as my interpretation of it, as problematic. I tried to be cognizant of as many sources of bias as is possible, and interpret the data accordingly. One technique I used is Rapid Appraisal (RA). RA is a family of methods designed to get practical information on issues in local communities quickly.

Certain characteristics are common to all the methods in the RA family. For example, triangulation is used in all types of RA both to reduce bias that can distort the results of research, and also to increase the richness of information obtained in the study. I used census and archival data and interviews as cross checks against one and another. Clearly one cannot expect oral history to correspond exactly to documented history⁶⁷ but using a variety of techniques to address a problem helps assure the validity of the results⁶⁸.

One source of bias in my interviews is my inability to secure women for interviews. I interviewed men and for perspective respondents, they named other men. Although men have been the principal "actors" in northern New Mexico, as USFS personnel, environmentalists, and as community organizers, interviewing women may have given further insight into the perception of the Region 3 Policy.

⁶⁷ Lummis, 1987.

⁶⁸ Kirk and Miller, 1986.

Wilmsen cites as a source of bias in his interviews with local residents that he had to overcome distrust. As I am a native of northern New Mexico there was no "distrust of outsiders" obstacle. All interviewees agreed to talk with me.

It is important to treat interviewees with respect, to listen more than talk, and to keep the interviews informal. In an effort to be engaged in the conversation, I used a list of interview questions and a tape recorder. I was always at pains to keep the interview as conversational as possible. My purpose in doing so was to try to decrease the social distance between the interviewee and interviewer to create a more egalitarian encounter⁶⁹. At the same time, however, I also tried to maintain a certain distance that would allow me to pursue certain issues more analytically than ordinary conversation would allow⁷⁰.

In addition, as Olson and Shopes have done in their studies, I freely shared information about myself with the interviewees. For example, I took every

⁶⁹ Olson and Shopes, 1991.

⁷⁰ McCracken, 1988.

opportunity to let people know that I have a husband, children, and am a native of northern New Mexico. I also shared other information about my family whenever the situation warranted. Sharing such commonalities of experience was my way of helping interviewees feel more at ease. Despite taking measures to put interviewees at ease, the status of the interviewer clearly does affect the kind of information that one is likely to elicit. Briggs has pointed out that outsiders in northern New Mexico obtain quite a different range of responses than do natives of the community.

The final issue that bears in the quality of information collected is that of validity. Assessing the validity of the data involved requires understanding how various factors and circumstances bear upon their meaning. As experience in anthropology has demonstrated, the use of informants in research can produce distorted or entirely wrong portrayals of social groups. For example, the problems of accurate representation and uneven power relations exist in oral historical research. Borland (1991) relates how her interpretation and her grandmother's interpretation of the latter's life story differed so radically that her grandmother no longer felt the story was hers. Borland concludes that if we are not sensitive in the representations of oral testimony, our interpretations "may constitute an attack on her collaborators' carefully constructed sense of self" (Salazar, 1991) discusses how the editors significantly transform an American Indian woman's oral history to observe editorial conventions.

During the interview with Hurst, his ability to recall dates, names, and his feelings of about events that unfolded in northern New Mexico almost 33 years earlier was striking. In addition, when Cordova was queried about his assessment of the Hassle Report, he quoted the last paragraph of the Hurst memo [March 6, 1972] verbatim.

Briggs (1986) suggests that inaccurate results from interviewing are due to a failure to recognize the interview as a "metacommunicative" event. He suggests knowledge and attitudes evolve out of complex relations that exist between interviewee, interviewer and the interview setting. The task of interviewer, therefore, is "one of interpreting the subtle, intricate intersection of facts that converge to form a particular interview" (p.22).

This analysis includes carefully considering the social roles of both interviewer and interviewee, how they each interpret interview situation, and how they might interpret the communication that passes between them. This involves analysis of the social situation in which the interview takes place. For example, the location, time, and season of interview, as well as other people that might be present. For example, during

the interview with DeVargas and Garcia, Garcia insisted that the interview not be taped while DeVargas indicated that he was comfortable with the interview being recorded. [A note, Garcia is the Planning Director for Rio Arriba County and is the lead associate of DeVargas, and he insisted that I interview them both at the same time. Therefore, the interview was not taped and the responses I received may have been different had I interviewed them individually. DeVargas has been a long-time community activist and is intimately familiar with the relationship between the rural forest-dependent communities and the USFS.]

Briggs's (1986) argument is that interviewing northern New Mexico Hispanos is further complicated because interviews are not a part of their repertoire of speech events. I found that all of the interviewees were familiar with the interview protocol.

The fact that interviewees had previous interview experience does not, of course, eliminate the need for analyzing the context in which the interviews occurred. Rather, such experience needs to be taken into account as forming part of that context. I therefore followed Briggs advice and did include in my analysis a consideration of the role context plays in shaping the character of each interview. I tape-recorded each interview, and as soon as possible after its conclusion, I wrote down notes about the interview situation. I used these notes when reviewing the interview transcripts to analyze how the interview situation affects the meaning of what was said.

What all this suggests is that interpretations of interviews are themselves socially and historically constructed. What Clifford has written of ethnographic writing holds true for oral histories as well. They are determined by social and historical context, rhetorical conventions, institutional constraints and opportunities, unequally shared authority to represent cultural realities, and protocols of oral historical research itself. Thus, it is important to recognize that language, and interviewing, is imprecise, and to treat our interpretations accordingly⁷¹.

I transcribed the tapes myself, since three interviewees declined to have their interviews recorded I had only my notes from the interviews.

I was careful to include interview identifiers and page numbers with each of the quotes typed into my quoted text. Thus, when necessary, I could easily return to the original interview text or recording to review the context in which the statements were made.

Organizing the data in this way enabled me to identify commonalties and differences

⁷¹ Wilmsen, 1997.

among the respondents within each group. That also permitted me to identify relationships between conceptualizations of social and cultural diversity in the implementation of the Region 3 Policy.

Nevertheless, as with all interviewing, the choices I made in the coding, and the particular ideas I chose to explore in detail reflect my own personal worldview and political orientation. Thus, what I offer in this thesis is an interpretation of the stories of the people who live in northern New Mexico and/or worked with the USFS and have experienced or witnessed the implications of a revolutionary forest management policy. Their perception and experiences are central to the assessment of the Region 3 Policy.

APPENDIX B: Interview Template and Questions

Spring-Summer, 1999

I'm researching the planning and decision making process of the US Forest Service and its policy in northern New Mexico. This is an academic project in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master in City Planning in the Department of Urban Studies and Planning at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Thirteen participants were asked to contribute to this research. They include; officials from the USFS, either currently employed or retired, one former US Congressman, author and historian, county commissioner, county planner, one resident an impacted rural community, land grant official, land grant activist, an environmentalist, and former state land planner.

These interviews constitute the qualitative database for my research.

1-- What is your understanding of the federal process in the development of policy for the national forest?

2-- What are the strengths and weaknesses of the citizens and leaders of Rio Arriba County in trying to obtain a balance in policy that is fair and equitable to national interests and local needs?

3 -- What are the strengths and weaknesses of the representatives of the USFS in trying to obtain a balance in

policy that is fair and equitable to national interests and local needs?

4 -- From your interaction/observation what appears to be the local USFS representative's priority/ies in making decisions in regard to the national forest?

5 -- From your interaction/observation what appears to be the national USFS priority/ies in making decisions regarding the national forest?

6 -- What strategies would enhance this decision making process?

7 -- How effective is the USFS in contributing to the quality of life for the local northern New Mexico populace?

8 -- What type of economic opportunities does current forest policy provide for local folks?

9 -- What is your assessment of the application of the "Hassell Report"?

10 -- What is your understanding of the process that Rio Arriba County government follows in making land use decisions?

11 -- How effective is the county in maximizing resources to leverage national forest opportunities?

12 -- What is your understanding of national forest economic diverse initiatives beyond firewood, *latillas*, *vigas*? What economic diversity strategy/ies does the county or private entities have? How is the US Forest Service involved in these strategies?

13 -- What is your perception of the process by which the U.S. Forest Service resolves policy conflict/disputes?

APPENDIX C: LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

Atencio, Leonard. Current Forest Supervisor for Santa Fe National Forest. April 26, 1999, San Jose, California.

Cordova, Max was born and raised in Truchas, NM. He has previously served as president of the Truchas Land Grant, one of the few surviving Spanish land grants in northern New Mexico. He is a fifth-generation weaver, a member of the National Network of Forest Practitioners and the Land Grant Forum. April 20, 1999. Truchas, New Mexico.

deBuys, William. Historian and author of "Enchantment or Exploitation" and many other books about northern NM. He also represents a conservation fund that bought a ranch that allows the fund to receive a grazing permit. It's allotment is 36,000 acres, and has the capacity of 325 mother cows year-long. The intent is to create a place and some slack in the system where those cows can go for a while and to expand the resources. April 8, 1999. Santa Fe, New Mexico.

DeVargas, Ike. A local activist and Rio Arriba County assistant planner and resident of rural forest-dependent community of La Madera. April 7, 1999. Espanola, New Mexico.

Dumas, Crockett. Camino Real District Ranger in Carson National Forest. He was awarded the Hammer Award for Reinventing Government, the brainchild of Al Gore. Since our

interview, he has retired from the USFS. April 14, 1999, in the Carson National Forest.

Garcia, Patricio. Rio Arriba County chief planner. April 7, 1999, Espanola, New Mexico.

Gurule, Manual. A resident and logger from the rural forest-dependent community of Vallecitos. April 16, 1999, Espanola, New Mexico.

Hitt, Sam. President of Forest Guardians, Santa Fe based environmental group. April 12, 1999, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Hurst, William D. is a thirty-nine veteran of the USFS. He started to work for the organization on June 1937 and has served as a forest ranger, forest supervisor, and regional forester. In addition, to a number of staff positions on the Intermountain, Southwest Regions and in the Washington, DC office. Before his retirement in 1976, he was Southwest Region 3 Regional Forester for ten years. It was during his tenure as regional forester that the Region 3 Policy was formulated and implemented on March 6, 1972. He retired in 1976 and currently resides in Albuquerque, NM. April 13, 1999, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Morales, Mosies. Current Rio Arriba County commissioner and former activist who participated in the June 1969 *Rio Arriba* county courthouse raid. April 6, 1999, Tierra Amarilla, New Mexico.

Onken, Gene. Current Espanola District Ranger. April 22, 1999, Espanola, New Mexico.

Salinas, Jose has worked in 7 of 9 regions of the USFS. Currently, he is special assistant to Deputy Chief of Programs and Legislation in Washington DC. He answers directly to the second in command of the USFS. April, 26, 1999, San Jose, California.

Swetnam, Fred, retired forester and current instructor at Northern New Mexico Community College. April 9, 1999, Espanola, New Mexico.

Vacker, David is the General Manager for the 600,000-acre Vermejo Park Ranch in northeastern New Mexico, a Ted Turner property. Previously, he was involved in policy and legislative analysis for several New Mexico agencies, including the State Land Office, where he served as Assistant Commissioner, and the Environmental Protection Division, which he directed in the early 1990's. Much of his work emphasized environmental and natural resource policy and legislation. He is a member on the board for the New Mexico Endowment for the Humanities. Telephone interview March 18, 1999.

Vigil, Gilbert. Current Forest Supervisor for the Carson National Forest. April 22, 1999, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

APPENDIX D: IMPLEMENTATION AND ASSESSMENT OF RESEARCH METHODS AND TECHNIQUES

QUANTITATIVE

Census data for planning purposes is an initial necessary step toward understanding social and economic shifts over time. They tell us valuable quantitative information. But they are deficient in any qualitative information. Drawing inferences about the spatial and economic relationship of the studied tri-county region from the past forty years is limited by the methods and constraints employed by the US Bureau of the Census. While you can get a good picture of the local economy from census data, there were several pitfalls that this study encountered. For example;

‡ Series breaks -- changes in the way data were defined, classified, or collected from one decennial count to the next.

‡ The federal government abandoned the Standard Industrial Classification (SIC) Code used to classify businesses according to the industry for the North American Industry Classification System (NAICS). The premise is that the NAICS will more accurately classify economic activity based on the way the economy now operates. With the aggregate data at the county level for the industry

classification was evident between the 1980 and 1990 analysis.

‡ Published socioeconomic data often are statistical estimates based on a population sample. Samples, rather than a full count, usually are carried out in order to save time and money. Familiar data series based on samples include those derived from the Current Population Survey, the long form of the Decennial Census, and the Current Employment Statistics (CBS) Program. For the nation as a whole, sampling a tiny fraction of the population can generate extremely accurate estimates. However, for geographic areas smaller than the nation, any particular point estimate is based on fewer observations and has a wider margin of uncertainty. In general, the greater the level of geographic detail, the less likely any point estimate is to be accurate. A similar observation can be made regarding industrial, occupational, racial, or other detail

‡ Confidentiality -- most of the aggregate statistics that are reported by the census are records based on individual persons and as a result persons submitting surveys to the Bureau of Census are guaranteed that the information submitted will be kept confidential.

While confidentiality is not breached when data are aggregated in large groupings, there are levels of aggregation, which it is possible to discern information about a single individual or business. As a rule, most statistical agencies suppress the publication of information about businesses when a SIC category would include fewer than three firms or when the employment contribution of any single firm exceeds 80 percent of the total. In these cases, data were reported only at the next higher level of aggregation, say in the total for all manufacturing.

‡ The smaller the geographic area, the more likely one is to run into the confidentiality problem. Few data points are suppressed at the national level, but many are suppressed or combined with other categories at the county level. As a result, when a single firm is the dominant force in an industry locally, it is often hard to get published data on that industry.

‡ Record retention was a major obstacle after finally locating the decennial census data in the Boston Public Library on microfiche, it was old and scratched. Not to mention the deplorable condition of often inoperable microfiche copiers.

‡ Differing Definitions and Methods -- One particular problem was that seemingly similar concepts were defined and applied differently in different decennial series, producing apparently conflicting results. Another problem is that, while the definition may be the same, the collection

methodology and the results differ. Employment data series provide the largest number of data conflicts due to differences in definitions and methodologies.

‡ One of the aspects of economic development hardest to track is the increasing role that self-employed, sole proprietor businesses with no employees play in the economy. With corporate downsizing, and the advent of personal computers and advanced telecommunications technology, many more people are working as self-employed contractors and consultants, often out of their homes. Because so much of the federal statistical system is geared to gathering data about wage and salary employment, these workers fly below the radar of many statistical series. In general, though, it can be very challenging to estimate the number of self-employed workers, particularly for small areas and by industry.

‡ Due to time constraints, I was unable to exercise the opportunity to triangulate using data from various sources, which would have contributed to the richness of the study. For example, using employment data from various sources, taxes as an indicator of local business activity, and Bureau of Labor Statistics to

develop an articulated story about the region's economy.

RATIONALE

Employment data by place of work is valuable as descriptor of economic performance and structure. Change in the overall number of jobs is a key measure of economic performance. Further, analyzed through tools such as time series and cross sectional analysis and location quotients, job data are critical for understanding industry-specific job trends in a region's economic base, or traded sector. The traded sector is composed of those portions of the regional economy (e.g., manufacturing, tourism) that compete in markets that extend beyond the region itself and so generate the income that supports the non-traded portion of the economy (e.g., movie theatres, beauty salons). Review of trends in a region's economic structure will allow me to understand the reasons for recent economic performance and decision makers to take actions that promote a strong traded sector.

In some sense, regional economic analysis is about the money. At one level, we want to know about income trends - the standard of living people can afford, and the extent to which living standards varies from person to person. We are particularly interested in the extent to which people are living in poverty. More than any other type of data, income data tell us how we are doing economically.

Money has another level of data as well – earnings from work, usually by industry or occupation. For the purposes of regional economic strategy, we need to understand how well various industries pay, and how wages in one region compare to those for similar work elsewhere.

Income has three sources - earnings from work, investments (yielding dividends, interest, and rent), and transfers payments (such as Social Security, pensions and welfare).

Income data, which are by place of residence, can tell us how much regional income is generated in aggregate, per capita (aggregate income divided by population), and per household (aggregated income divided by households). Per capita income is often used as a proxy for a region's overall standard of living.

There are several sources of income data including BEA (the Regional Economic Information System), and several from the Census Bureau (Consumer Income series, Small Area Income and Poverty Estimates Programs, Decennial Census, and American Community Survey). BEA and Census income series also differ significantly in terms of the

unit and purpose of analysis. BEA personal income data are provided in aggregate and per capita, and aim to describe a region's overall level of income. Census money income series largely focus on household median income and poverty rates. The Census Bureau's use of the median, rather than the mean, and the poverty rate reflects its interest in giving a sense of the standard of living across households in an area. As they measure different aspects of a region's income, BEA and Census income data are complementary in combination. I employed the definition for income as defined by the U.S. Bureau of Census.

Employment Earnings

Employment earnings are the largest component of personal and money income. Earnings data by industry are available in two forms –total earnings and average earnings. Through time series, cross sectional, and location quotient analyses of total earnings by industry. An analytical approach is to analyze the contribution of each industry to region's income, trends in the health of that industry over time.

Examining industrial structure in terms of jobs but not earnings can be misleading, as sectors with high-paying jobs contribute much more to regional income than they do to the job base (and vice versa for low-paying jobs). All jobs are not equal. As economic development in large part is about getting money into people's pockets, knowing how the

money flows, or might flow, is key to effective analysis and strategy.

APPENDIX E:

MEMORANDUM 1 – Dated January 29, 1968

TO: Deputy Regional Forester,
Assistant Regional Forester and
Forest Supervisors - -
Carson, Cibola, and Santa Fe

FROM: Wm. D. Hurst, Regional Forester

SUBJECT: Planning – Northern New Mexico

FILE NO: 1310

REPLY DUE FEBRUARY 2, 1968

The impoverished condition of many of the rural inhabitants of northern New Mexico is known to all of us. Unrest during the past summer, which erupted in several acts of violence, has brought the situation sharply before the public. National recognition has been given to the area by Under Secretary John Schnittker's visit in July, Senator Joseph M. Montoya's Subcommittee on Public Work hearings in August, and the Mexican-American Affairs Conference in October. The Forest Service, being the largest landowner in the area and inseparately tied to the rural population, has been the focal point of many discussions and has been subjected to considerable criticism, some of which was warranted, much

of which was not. Irregardless, the Forest Service and the National Forests are an important and vital part of Northern New Mexico, and the products from these lands and the employment they generate should be made as helpful and beneficial as possible to the local people.

The record of the Forest Service in Northern New Mexico is impressive. Testimony before Senator Montoya's Subcommittee hearings shows that the National Forests are contributing substantially to the economy of local communities, and many of the products of the land are being used by local people. There is reason to believe, however, that improvement can be made in the operation and the policies of the Forest Service which will result in an even greater contribution from the National Forests to the people of Northern New Mexico, especially those in the rural communities adjacent to and within the National Forests.

Secretary Freeman urged the Chief to "...make an even stronger effort to work in rural development and poverty programs to help those Mexican-American people." In response to this, Chief Cliff has asked me "...to consider Northern New Mexico as a special situation and

to make a considered analysis of land use priorities.”

Up to now, we have attempted to fulfill our responsibilities in Northern New Mexico on a rather functional basis, giving special attention to range management. It is time now, however, to make a comprehensive analysis of the Northern New Mexico situation and determine how the resources of the National Forests and our work on the National Forests can most effectively contribute to the needs of the local people. To this end, a Forest Officer will be assigned full time to this task for a 4-week period, beginning February 12. His analysis, along with recommendations for an action program, will be ready for staff review with the Forest Supervisors concerned by March 11, 1968.

The Forest Officer selected for this assignment will obtain information from the Forests and Ranger Districts concerned, from the local County and State TAP Committees, from the various Divisions, and from sources outside the Forest Service as he deems desirable. To be successful in his efforts, he must have your complete support and cooperation. Most of all, he must have your thoughts. I am asking each of you to give this program your attention and contribute to it in a substantial way.

In making this analysis and recommendations, we are not bound by existing policy or procedures. If a new approach is needed, let's go after it, even though this requires a policy change at the Secretary's level. We must, I am convinced, break with tradition in some areas to make the National

Forests and the Forest Service programs as effective as they can be in contributing to the well being of rural Northern New Mexico.

Listed below are a few ideas that merit our attention. There are many others, which I am sure you will bring forward.

1. Ways to get more Spanish-Americans into the professional ranks of the Forest Service.
2. Ways to give local boys a better opportunity to join the local Job Corps Centers.
3. Ways to give the local poor people more work on the Forests.
4. Ways of making contract work more attractive to local people.
5. Ways to bring the really poor people into our programs – give them a voice.
6. To the extent possible, gear the Forest Development Roads to the needs of local people.
7. Ways to keep local people better informed of development work on the National Forests (maybe through TAP).

8. Make the grazing resource more attractive:

- a. Association permits.
- b. Coordinated management plan with BLM, Private, State, and National Forest land.
- c. Special permit transfer policy.
- d. Special free-use policy.
- e. Special policy for distributing grazing from acquired land (San Diego and Rio Grande Grants).
- f. Special commensurability policy.

9. Develop special procedure to handle occupancy trespass of long standing. (Identify problem but arrange acceptable way to handle).

10. See if Forest Service can assist in solution of land title problem.

11. Make Timber resource more helpful to local people.

- a. More jobs in established industry (training).
- b. Make timber by-products available:
 - (1) Fuel wood

(2) Fencing material

c. Make Forest Service work in thinning, slash, and erosion control contracts so local people can handle them.

12. Perfect procedure for reaching the local people with the Department's program (through TAP)

13. Consider need for a special study of relationship of Ranger to the people. Does the Forest Service have the proper organization to meet its needs in Northern New Mexico?

14. How to make effective use of other USDA agencies, State agencies, and other Federal agencies.

With this background, please give me, By February 2, your recommendation on the Forest Officer to carry out this analysis. In this connection, the person selected must be fully financed and able to leave his present assignment without a special replacement because money and ceilings are not available to create a new position.

An individual to conduct the analysis will be selected in staff meeting on February 5, 1968,

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and the analysis outline will be finalized immediately thereafter.

Additional thoughts for inclusion in the study outline will also be helpful. In addition, each of you must begin at once to develop ways of accomplishing our objectives in Northern New Mexico. We need to put our best thinking into this undertaking.

WDHurst:ab

APPENDIX F:

Memorandum 2 – Dated February 12, 1968

TO: M. J. Hassell through Frank J. Smith,
Assistant Regional Forester, Range and Wildlife
Management

FROM: Wm. D. Hurst, Regional Forester

SUBJECT: Planning – Northern New Mexico

DATE: February 12, 1968

FILE NO: 1310

During staff meeting on February 5, 1968, you were selected to make a rather comprehensive analysis of the Forest Service program in Northern New Mexico and recommend ways of making this program more responsive and helpful to the people of this area. The objective of the study, as I visualize it, will be finding ways of making resources of the National Forests, and the work they generate, contribute most effectively to the people of Northern New Mexico, particularly those in impoverished smaller communities. I think that a study of this nature must devote special attention to the really poor people, groups of which are found in most of the smaller communities.

My letter of January 29, 1968, outlined, in general, what we are seeking. We are not asking you to put together a work program. We are asking that you carefully examine all facets of Forest Service activity in Northern New Mexico, relate them to the resources available, and come up with

recommendations on how we can improve our performance in achieving the objective outlined above. Some of the areas you will want to consider are listed in the January 29 memorandum. There are many others. Supervisor Proctor's memorandum of February 1, 1968, contains many excellent ideas. Don Seaman has also advanced thoughts that need careful consideration, as have others. These are enclosed for your study and consideration. In addition, I am asking, by cop of this memorandum, that all Assistant Regional Foresters and the Forest Supervisors concerned, along with members of their staff and District Rangers, give this assignment first priority and be as helpful and as responsive as possible to you.

To the fullest extent possible, the work of the Forest Service should be tied in with the Department of Agriculture's efforts in Northern New Mexico. We need to remember at all times we are working as a Department team. This team can accomplish much more by working together than they can by each agency working alone.

As stated in the January 29 memorandum, we should not be bound by tradition in making this analysis and recommendations. We should not, however,

sacrifice the productivity of the land. In other words, what we do in Northern New Mexico should be compatible with the health and long time productivity of the land. The Chief has asked us to consider Northern New Mexico as a special situation and to make a considered analysis of land use priorities. This we must do. To this end, I would be hopeful that your recommendations could be placed in four broad categories:

1. Those which we can, within existing authorities, implement immediately.
2. Those which will require a change in Regional policy to be placed into effect.
3. Those that will require a change in the Chief's policy before they can become effective, and
4. Those requiring a change in Department policy or a change in the law before they can become effective.

There is some urgency in making this analysis. I would be hopeful that you could devote four weeks to this job, beginning February 19, so that we could consider your findings at our staff meeting on March 18, 1968. If, after devoting a week to this assignment, you find it is not realistic to complete the analysis in this length of time, please let me know so that proper adjustments can be made.

Members of my staff, Forest Supervisors Seaman, Latimore and Proctor, and I feel you have outstanding qualifications to handle this assignment. We appreciate very much your willingness to assume this responsibility, and we all want to thank Assistant Regional Forester Frank Smith for making your services available for this important undertaking.

As additional background information, a copy of Secretary Freeman's memorandum to Mr. Cliff dated October 28, along with Mr. Cliff's reply of November 16, are enclosed.

In addition, correspondence between the Chief and Mr. Al Edwards, Deputy Assistant Secretary, is enclosed. This is primarily a follow-up on the Mexican American Affairs Conference last October.

If you have any question concerning this assignment, I will be please to review them with you.

Enclosures

WDHurst:ab

Cc: Carson
Santa Fe
Cibola
Division Chiefs
Deputy

APPENDIX G:

THE PEOPLE OF NORTHERN NEW MEXICO AND THE NATIONAL FORESTS

M. J. HASSELL

Original on file in the
U.S. Forest Service, USDA, Southwestern
Region, Albuquerque, New Mexico

The following is word-processed verbatim from
a copy of the original study.

🌲 Due to MIT thesis format specifications,
a copy of the original could not be
included, for example, the rule of 1"
margins, pagination and acid free paper.

THE PEOPLE OF NORTHERN NEW MEXICO
AND THE NATIONAL FORESTS
M. J. HASSELL

INTRODUCTION

This report was made at the request of the Regional Forester and in accordance with the instructions, which are contained in his memoranda dated January 29, 1968, and February 12, 1968. Both are enclosed.

The objective of the study is to determine possible ways of making the resources of the National Forests in northern New Mexico and the work they generate contribute more effectively to the people who reside there. The study findings are based on personal interviews, discussions with people both within and outside the Forest Service, and research in books and papers on northern New Mexico and related subjects.

This is not a report in the sense that it came about as the result of an in-depth study and analysis. To call it a collection of ideas is more accurate. Studies will be needed before some of the ideas can be adopted. An attempt was made in all personal interviews and requests for information to get unvarnished opinions.

The conclusions reached are influenced by personal philosophies. In some cases, they conflict with ideas and philosophies of those directly connected with National Forest programs. To meet the objective of the study, I have, to the best of my ability, stated the facts as I see them and recommended program direction that will be most effective in making the resources of the National Forests of northern New Mexico most helpful to the local residents over a long period of time.

Only the Santa Fe and Carson National Forests are discussed, but findings apply equally well to the parts of the Cibola and Gila National Forests where the problems of the people are the same as those found in the northern part of the State.

This paper is oriented toward people and does not deal with resource management objectives. There was a conscious effort made, however, to weed out ideas which were obviously at odds with sound resource management practices. To do otherwise would result only in short-term benefits at the expense of future generations.

Many suggested changes involve departure with tradition. Some will even call for limited reorganization, and many will cost money. If the problems, which the Forest Service faces in northern New Mexico, are not unique and important enough to merit departure from tradition and financial attention, then possible answers will not be found here.

THE BASIC PROBLEM

Many of the people of northern New Mexico, who are of Spanish extraction, are behind the rest of the State socially and economically; standards of living are often lower and, in some cases, dire poverty exists. This basic problem has political and cultural aspects, which involve the Forest Service.

THE BASIC SOLUTION

The basic solution is entrance of the people of northern New Mexico into the American mainstream of life. This solution will require education, training, money, time, and work by many organizations. The Forest Service can contribute to the solution.

THE FOREST SERVICE RELATIONSHIP TO THE BASIC PROBLEM

About 25% of the land area in northern New Mexico are within the National Forest System. Consolidation of private lands and increasing population has caused more and more attention and demand to be directed toward the National Forests. The demand for use of the land, especially for grazing, exceeds the available capacity. Many of the people believe they still own much of the land in New Mexico including at least parts of the National Forests. Resentment of other Forest users is present. The beliefs and resentments of the poorer, most backward people have been encouraged to the point where they have fought to regain something, which they believe, is rightfully theirs. The people's effort and that of their spokesman has attracted much attention. This has brought questions to bear on the Region concerning Forest Service policies and management objectives.

WHAT CAN THE FOREST SERVICE CONTRIBUTE TOWARD THE BASIC SOLUTION?

The Forest Service employs many local people in northern New Mexico. Better than 50% of the total Forest Service employment is made up of people with Spanish surnames. Through the two National Forests, the Carson and Santa Fe, approximately 4.7 million dollars were spent in F. Y. 1967. In addition, many local people use the resources on the National Forests for grazing, lumbering, and recreation. Even so, the National Forests can contribute more substantially to the welfare of the people of northern New Mexico through better resource use and development. Possible ways to do this are set down farther on in this paper. It is likely, however, that the largest contribution that can be made is to recognize the great need for personal contact, participation in community affairs, and cooperative programs of other agencies, and then organize and reorient thinking to meet these needs.

As stated, the objective is to find ways to make the resources and the work they generate more meaningful to the people of northern New Mexico. A secondary objective is to achieve public understanding and acceptance of Forest Service management goals, policies, and

procedures. This is essential, because much of the criticism leveled at the Forest Service stems from a lack of understanding, not only of Forest Service goals but also of the value and far-reaching influence of National Forest resources.

To be reasonably assured that changes in policies and procedures will result in public understanding and acceptance, it is necessary to examine relationships with the public. If harmony is achieved with local people and agencies, relations with the broad public (insofar as northern New Mexico is concerned) will be good. The immediate concern then is with local people and agencies. Before looking at proposed changes, the first step must be taken. The stage must be set so that the changes discussed later will have the best chance of getting the desired results.

The hard facts are that many of the villagers' understanding of Forest Service management objectives, regulations, and policies are harshly at odds with their own concept of how things should be. The psychologists call this "cognitive dissonance." When people experience this situation, they attempt to reach a state where their concept of how things should be matches the way things are or "cognitive consonance." Whether people attempt to reach this balance through beneficial means such as participation and learning or delusions of persecution, grandeur, and finally conflict with society can be influenced by other members of society. Obviously, mistrust is a sign of cognitive consonance. What does this have to do with resource management? It has been found that one of the biggest difficulties to overcome in communities is the mistrust between (1) elected officials and professional leaders, (2) community government and private enterprise, (3) local and state government, (4) one organization and another, (5)

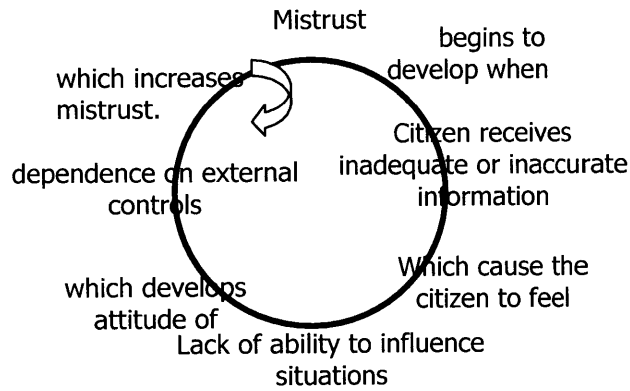
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volunteers and staff, (6) local unit and Regional or National office.

What causes the mistrust? This is illustrated graphically as follows:

CYCLE OF COMMUNITY DISTRUST

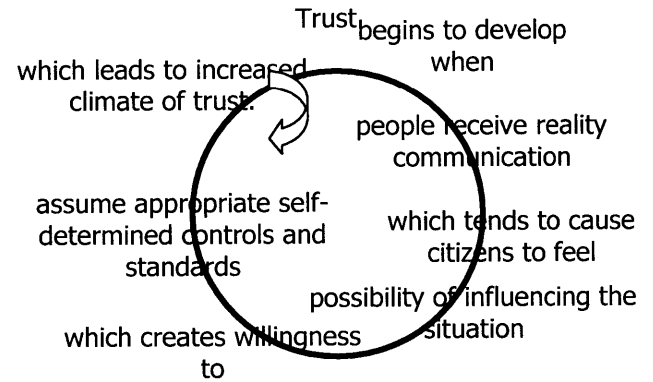
What causes the mistrust?



A more desirable situation would be one in which trust in relationships exist as shown graphically below:

CYCLE OF COMMUNITY TRUST

A more desirable situation would be one in which trust in relationships exist



How can the Forest Service change the situation if mistrust, in those places where it does exist, to one which will be more acceptable? This can only be accomplished through enlightenment and gaining the understanding of local people.

The following recommendations are advanced for consideration as a means of gaining public understanding and acceptance as well as a means of making the resources of the National Forests and the work they generate most helpful to the people of northern New Mexico. The first nine recommendations are considered to be extremely important. I urge their study and adoption at the earliest possible opportunity.

1. Develop an attitude which:

- a. Recognizes that a unique situation, which requires special attention, does exist in northern New Mexico.
- b. Recognizes that we are not trying to change the culture of a people but only to contribute to their advancement economically by making rural America a better place in which to live.
- c. Creates an understanding that the National Forests can contribute to the needs of the people and that the Forest Service has the responsibility to see that they do within the broad management objectives for the National Forests.

The adoption of such an attitude is prerequisite to any program change if meaningful results in assistance to the people and favorable public attitudes are to be realized.

2. Increase seminars between Districts and Forests in northern New Mexico where exchange of successful ideas can take place and problems aired.

3. Give special attention to selecting experienced men with the temperament needed to do a good job in northern New Mexico. Individuals must be strongly people-oriented as well as resource oriented. Tenure on the District must be held to the maximum.

4. Increase special training to those who serve in northern New Mexico, which will provide learning opportunities about local history, culture, land ownership history, problems, and the language. Possible texts might include "Forgotten People" by George I. Sanchez, "The Public Domain in New Mexico 1854-1891" by Victor Westpholl, "The *Guadalupe* and Gadsden Treaties" by Bill Tate, "About Land Grants in New Mexico" by Gilberto Espinoza, and selected psychology texts.

Another people aspect, which must be considered, is the Forest Service relationship with other agencies and individuals that are interested in one way or another in the poor of northern New Mexico. The number of agencies concerned is large. All are potential opportunities for cooperation to help the poor of northern New Mexico. Many offer opportunities for accomplishing needed research work. All are a potential source of direct and lasting problems if their understanding and cooperation are not solicited.

The Chief's Office has directed special attention to the OUTREACH activities. The Regional Forester emphasized this. The Chief's Program of Work for 1969 has one paragraph, which is quoted as follows:

In determining your priorities, I want to make sure that strong emphasis is given to meeting our responsibilities in the development of natural, human, economic, and social resources in rural America: helping to overcome rural poverty; providing jobs for disadvantaged people
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and members of minority groups, rural areas development and improving outdoor recreation and natural beauty. Your Program of Work should include tangible accomplishment goals in these areas of social and economic concerns—goals that are people oriented.

The present Forest Service approach to redeeming its human resource responsibility has been on a more or less fractured basis with the responsibilities shared between individuals, all of whom have other duties. This is a highly specialized and fast moving field, which deserves and demands more attention than can be given as presently handled. The Region has recognized a need in this area and a job description for an I&E zone position for northern New Mexico has been prepared. Because of the great number of highly specialized people working from many different angles in the human needs field and because of the great opportunity and need to do more in this area, it is believed that the zone position would not be adequate.

5. Establish a Human Resource Staffman on the Santa Fe and Carson National Forests.

The individuals selected to fill these jobs should have full knowledge of Forest programs and, through study and contacts, be able to pinpoint and arrange for coordinated programs with the poverty agencies. These staffmen should be of great assistance to the District Rangers and Forest Supervisors and the people by permitting better planning and hence more participation in work study and poverty assistance programs. Most Rangers, in spite of the responsibilities most of them recognize in these areas, are hard-pressed for time and knowledge to participate to the extent required. Those who have made progress have done so largely on their own and at times with inadequate understanding and guidance.

Making the individuals and small communities within and immediately adjacent to the National Forests a real part of Forest Service programs can better be accomplished by taking a more active interest and part in their affairs. To do this, the Ranger must have the Freedom from traditional measures of accomplishment to permit him to spend time in contact with people as assume an active role in community affairs and

programs. Secondly, he must be equipped to meet people's needs to the fullest extent possible in terms, which they understand. This approach is not new to the Forest Service. In past years, personal acquaintance accompanied by personal service was the rule. The need for this kind of service may have declined on most Forests. People's needs have changed. The Ranger deals largely with a more sophisticated public than he did a few years ago. Although there are definitely elements of the "new public" which the Ranger in northern New Mexico must be in tune with, there is also a large element of the old. Fuelwood to many is still a necessity as are poles, posts, and other forest products. Forest Service policies and procedures, and overall way of doing business has changed to reflect the modern concept of business and industry. While these changes are appropriate in most localities, the Ranger in northern New Mexico often finds himself caught between the 1968 way of doing business and a 1900 situation. The clock cannot be turned back, but some adjustments must be made to permit participation and the personal contact and service which are needed and expected by the typical resident of the small villages in northern New Mexico. To fill this most urgent need, I recommend:

6. Strengthen the District Ranger organization by fully financing the base load and adding staffing which will free the Ranger from technical and administrative details so that he can make more personal contact with individuals and take an active role in community activities. (This recommendation is directly related to recommendation number 5 as this would also contribute to the needed attention and participation in poverty programs.)

7. Establish working hours which will allow weekend manning so that individuals can make contact with the Forest Service on their days off.

8. Personal service should be pushed to the fullest extent. This should be done on the spot rather than requiring travel to the District Office. As an example, permits for wood or stone should be issued in the field where needed rather than requiring a trip to the Ranger's Office.

9. Avoid long delays in rendering decisions or in implementing approved changes. Delays often cause undue concern, which continue to grow with passage of time. (Example, failure to resolve occupancy trespass after land line location.)

All of the above recommendations are a direct part of a badly needed grassroots I&E program. Gaining acceptance of Forest Service objectives by the broad public cannot be done if they are not accepted at the grassroots level. Failure to take this or some similar action will prolong problems. In fact, to this point this paper has dealt with grassroots problems and cures. From here on, recommended action treats symptoms, which applied alone can effect no cures.

GENERAL

The first series of recommendations dealt with setting the stage so that desired results would be more likely to occur when and if resource procedural changes were made. The next section deals directly with possible changes or enlargement of existing programs which, in my opinion, would contribute to the welfare of the citizens of northern New Mexico.

Most GII's do not adequately explore or advise on human problems or measure progress in this area. This is not usually a weakness of the inspectors. There may be a weakness in the inspection system, itself. Present guidelines direct inspectors to examine organization, expenditure of time, money, and the physical plant to determine if all are adequate to accomplish service and resource jobs, and whether this is being done within established procedures, laws, and policy. No guidance is given to

questioning whether or not policies and practices are meeting people's needs as well as resource needs. The same weaknesses may be inherent in the uniform work planning and accomplishment reporting systems.

10. Study GII and work planning and accomplishment reporting guidelines to determine if they give adequate attention to human needs as well as resource needs and make changes as needed.

During the recent past, Forest and many Regional Office personnel have been connected in some way with the conflict in northern New Mexico. This conflict involved serious criminal acts. Some of the individuals involved reside in communities within the National Forests. Some are permittees. Others have worked for the Forest Service. Part of the aftermath of the conflict has been severe criticism of the Forest Service. The adverse publicity has caused anxiety and, in some cases, reluctance to take action against individuals who violate rules, regulations, or laws for fear of additional criticism. Others, although they may take no action, seem to feel that all who live in northern New Mexico are criminals or at least sympathize with the criminal element. Both attitudes are erroneous and dangerous. Failure to act against the lawbreaker causes loss of faith by the remainder of the people in the community. Failure to see and know the difference between critical citizens and the criminal element can lead to faulty action and unacceptable attitudes.

11. Field personnel must continue, as in the past, to take immediate action to enforce rules, regulations, and laws pertaining to the National Forests. Assure them that they have full support in this at all levels of administration.

Forest Service facilities at field stations are often the best in the village. Almost all villages lack a suitable place to hold community meetings.

12. Forest Service make facilities available for public meetings to the fullest extent possible.

Many times, local community projects are hampered by the lack of specialized equipment which the forest Service has. Much good will could be gained if means were available to meet these needs as they arise.

13. Provide on a loan or nominal charge basis specialized equipment needed in community projects. Where equipment is surplus, transfer ownership to the village.

The first step toward solution to many individual's problems in northern New Mexico lies in finding opportunity for work at tasks which are rewarding in both personal satisfaction and salary. In considering this area, it is necessary to examine (1) what the Forest Service can contribute directly in the way of jobs by force account and by small contracts, and (2) indirectly through small business, which could be totally or largely supported by the Forest Service programs and the resources from the National Forests.

The primary objective in all work projects should be to encourage the initiative of the people to work for themselves. Work should give them the opportunity to gain confidence and knowledge needed to eventually secure jobs, carry on small businesses and contracting concerns independent of the Forest Service.

14. In establishing priorities for projects in northern New Mexico, choose those projects, which will employ people and/or contribute to the local economy rather than those, which are totally resource, oriented, all else being equal.

15. Return to force account where practical. Rather than creating a

permanent work force, use crews as a means to train individuals to manage men, money, and materials so they can eventually leave the crew and work for themselves.

16. Split projects such as fences, campground construction, trail construction, thinning projects and other suitable projects into units small enough to be within the grasp of small local contractors.

17a. On contract which cannot be practically split into smaller jobs, such as road construction, buildings, etc., require in the contract that a specified percentage of the labor be hired locally.

17b. Waive bonding requirements on small contracts.

18. Design toilets which can be prefabricated in northern New Mexico and transported from there for use on the other Forests in this Region and wherever else they may be needed and acceptable. (If the volume is sufficient, a small contractor should do this work. Some prearranged agreement on price and numbers would have to be reached with the contractor initially.)

19. Prefabricate wooden tables for installation in Forest Service campgrounds throughout the Region. (As in the recommendation above, this would be by contract if volume would justify and, if not, by force account.)

20. Forest Service, in cooperation with other interested agencies, conduct contracting

seminars to help prepare individuals to compete for available jobs.

Supporting local industries should be a primary aim of the Forest Service. The Forest Service presently uses steel in many areas where wood might serve as well or better. This detracts from the possible use of local Forest products. Wooden fence posts along right-of-ways and in other suitable places such as fenced campgrounds would be entirely appropriate. Wood, rather than concrete, may be entirely suitable for use as cattle guard bases. Traffic control barriers is still another example where wood might be as effective and more attractive than concrete.

21. Support the two small treating plants in New Mexico by using wood products where these will serve as well or better than other materials. (The State Forestry Department is presently attempting to get the State Highway to use native pine posts along highway right of ways.)

At some out-of-the-way stations, such as *El Rito*, the Forest Service maintains gasoline pumps. If the bulk supplier is a local business, nothing is lost. If not, Forest Service gasoline purchases could be a significant contribution in a small village.

22. Abandon Forest Service gasoline pumps and utilize local garages, as the source for needed fuel and services where and to the extent this is practical.

There are more cattle grazing on the National Forests in northern New Mexico now than there were in the days of the Spanish colonies. Marauding Indians, limited mobility, fewer people, and the need for fewer livestock are some reasons for this. Livestock which were needed in the economy of that day were concentrated around the farming communities, or *rancherías*, as they were called.

As the better grazing lands near the *rancherías* became overgrazed and insufficient to meet forage needs, livestock use extended out from the communities. As the population increased, livestock raising began to take on the aspects of a commercial enterprise. Livestock numbers

probably reached their peak on the areas now in the National Forests not too long after the area became the territorial property of the United States.

In the face of the increasing need for additional grazing land, other forces were at work which were making it difficult for the native to establish a commercial livestock operation. Some large landholdings were consolidated and removed from public or semipublic grazing use. Increasing population caused other private holdings to be subdivided again and again, partly through sale, but mostly through inheritance. The squeeze in which the forage resource in northern New Mexico was caught fairly early in the territorial days continues today. In an unpublished Forest Service report written in 1938, it was estimated that demand for grazing on the portions of the Carson and Santa Fe National Forests within the Rio Grande drainage exceeded potential by 111 percent.

With establishment of the National Forests, early in the Twentieth Century, came ever-increasing control of grazing use on these public lands. This control has resulted in a range condition which, although often less than satisfactory, is relatively much better than land under other ownership's. The relatively better conditions on the National Forests, coupled with increasing population and attendant demands for grazing, has caused much attention to be focused on these areas. Individual efforts, as well as the efforts of some well meaning but misinformed organizations and groups, have been directed toward securing additional grazing use on the National Forests. In the face of these demands, Forest officials have pointed to fully and, in some cases, overstocked ranges, as well as deficiencies which exist in range conditions and management practices. This has contributed to a false conclusion that once these deficiencies are corrected, great increases in
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grazing use can be expected. Present estimates show grazing obligations on the two northern New Mexico National Forests to be for 21,637 cattle and 32,203 sheep, as compared to an estimated capacity of 14,370 cattle and 25,237 sheep. In a study conducted in 1966 by the Forest Service, it is estimated that full development of potential and implementation of the best management practices would result in only enough increased capacity to meet 88 percent of the current obligation in cattle and horse permits and 80 percent of current obligation in sheep permits. New Means of reclaiming some rangelands (the Bates Tree Crusher) from invading species of low forage value have undoubtedly made it possible to gain more capacity than was estimated in the 1966 study. It will not be possible, however, to make the large gains which would be needed to meet even a part of the ever-increasing demand for forage. This is true even when possibilities for increased forage production through such expensive and questionable means as range fertilization are considered. Moreover, if it were possible to greatly increase capacity on the National Forests, this would increase the grazing load on winter ranges, which are already severely overused, and, in some cases, already declining rapidly in productivity.

The attention which has been focused on the grazing lands in the National Forests of northern New Mexico is at least partially responsible for an accelerated range development program for that area. On a moderate and even keel, this is desirable. Proper levels of financing meets the needs of land use management; it makes additional grazing capacity available; it averts deteriorating range conditions which, if left unchecked, would eventually reduce the conditions of the National Forests to a level commensurate with those of adjacent lands of other ownership's. Probably most important of all, a good even level of financing in range development and management can be of help in supplying gainful employment to many of those who need and desire to work.

Values resulting from greatly expanded financing, as now being experienced in the range development and management area, aimed at immediate and large gains in grazing capacity are questionable. This does not lead to a true understanding of the natural limitations of the

land to produce forage. It is creating false hope in those who need a place to run their livestock. Eventually, it will lead to the embarrassment of the responsible agency when the hope kindled in these people is not realized.

In contrast to the accelerated program in range management in northern New Mexico, it appears the PPBS will almost certainly require that the benefits of range management be measured on a commodity basis. Northern New Mexico is an example of the human values and considerations, which are connected, with management of small farms and ranches everywhere on the National Forests. Disregarding the human values and measuring benefits in terms of meat produced will undoubtedly result in sharp reduction or curtailment of the range, watershed, and wildlife habitat improvement. It will mean the loss of employment dollars to the small communities and their poor. Probably most important it will be another example to the local people of how their problems are neglected by the Federal Government.

In light of the foregoing discussion, I recommend:

23. De-emphasize grazing use as a means to solve the problems in northern New Mexico. Carefully begin to set the record straight at all levels from permittee to highest political levels on just what can be expected from the range resource.
24. Continue a high level of financing for correcting and improving the range resource in northern New Mexico but discourage crash programs.

25. Generally choose range improvement projects which will improve or facilitate management and

furnish jobs over those designed to greatly increase forage or create or reclaim range.

26. Undertake a special study to pin down the real value of small cattle and farming operations (human values) in areas such as northern New Mexico. This should involve sociologists and experts on the subject of northern New Mexico.

There are indications that Forest Service policy on nonuse for the convenience of the permittee draws individuals back to northern New Mexico, even though they may have left and found gainful employment elsewhere. Between 1956 and 1967, there were 36 cases where permits were reduced because of excessive nonuse for convenience of the permittee. Of these 36 cases, 31 were total revocations. In addition to this, the Carson National Forest within the past year has discovered two cases where permittees who worked elsewhere had tried to lease their grazing permits to other rather than to lose them, transfer them, or to return home and care for them. In addition to these two cases, there are 12 other cases where permittees have been notified they must stock their ranges next year or lose their grazing permits.

27. Extend the number of years to six in which a permittee can take convenience nonuse. Should the situation be reached on any allotment where the nonuse received would no longer be beneficial to the range, fill in behind the absentee permittees with temporary permits. These temporary permits would preferably be to people who do not hold a permit.

Forest policies for free use by livestock has evolved over a long period of time on both the Carson and the Santa Fe National Forests. The only similarity between the two policies is they both sharply curtail free use, except as needed by the larger individual permits and/or association permits for the working of livestock operations. Pursuit of these policies

has appeared to the public to place emphasis on the elimination of free use permits rather than on the lack of range forage to support these permits. In almost every case throughout the recent controversy, the Forest Service has been on the defensive because their actions in connection with free use permits appeared designed to do away with the permits as such rather than adjust grazing use because of unsatisfactory range conditions. Even though this is not true, the situation suggests a need to reexamine the free use policy.

28. Eliminate the special free use policies on the Santa Fe and Carson National Forests. Issue free use permits to those who are qualified within the conditions outlined in the Forest Service Manual.

There has been some thought that small grazing permits, below 10 head for example, should be permitted free of charge. Since many holders of small permits are poor, this would be of direct cash benefit to them. People who are not privileged to have grazing permits on the National Forest and who must seek grazing elsewhere pay as much as \$3.25 and more per AUM. Many of these individuals are just as poor as those who have grazing permits. Forest permits without charge would further handicap those without permits. One theory for the great demand for National Forest permits is that the grazing fees are so low.

29. Grazing on the National Forests should not be free other than as presently specified in the Forest Service Manual.

Reasons often given as to why unauthorized livestock are on the National Forest is because fences between Forest and private lands are poor or nonexistent or
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because gates are left open. Two estimates place the number of cases, which happen this way at 80% of the total range trespass cases. It has been the policy in this Region to place National Forest boundary fences, which do not contribute directly to better management, at a lower priority. In one case, between the Carson National Forest and the Costilla Grant which lies adjacent, the Forest Service recognized and assumed some obligation in helping to prevent trespass by agreeing to contribute to fence construction.

30. On the northern New Mexico Forests, give boundary fencing on those grazing allotments where needed highest priority for fence construction.

Two other areas of the livestock trespass procedure were criticized. The first of these involved billing for forage charges in amounts which were, in many cases, as low as .20. The billing action in these cases is viewed as petty harassment. Billings are, of course, costly to the Government.

31. Waive collection of the fees in trespass cases where amounts due will not justify the expense of the billing.

The other area of concern is the way people are treated or made to feel when involved in unauthorized forage use on the National Forests. There, is no person so irrevocably upset as one who is unjustly accused. First, there are two kinds of people who are involved; those who trespass in the true sense—that is, willfully and intentionally – and those whose live stock get into the Forest through no intent of the owner. Even though these are two totally different situations, Forest Officers often don't know and can't determine the difference. Hence, these cases are handled in the same manner. To those who didn't intend to have their livestock on the Forest, it appears they are being considered in the same light as their neighbor whom they know is dishonest and trespasses in the true sense. This is considered as an insult and causes hard feelings.

32. Do not be so quick to take impoundment action. Where possible and where the cost will not be great, place livestock back where they belong or hold them for the owner so that he can pick

them up with minimum cost and delay to him. In cases involving chronic trespassers, take the severest action warranted by the case. Use of injunctions and criminal action should definitely be standard procedure when willful and intentional trespass is known to exist.

When it is necessary to impound livestock, five days' notice is given in the case of known owners. If a weekend is not involved in the five days' notice period, this requires the owner to leave his job, if he is fortunate enough to have one. If work is lost, it is a hardship to the person and his family. If he doesn't remove the livestock himself, the Forest Service will do it for him, usually at quite an expense. Either way, it may cost the owner a sizeable sum. For some, taking off from work could mean the loss of their job. Under such circumstances, they have no choice but to pay Forest Service costs.

33. Where necessary to start impoundment action, set period allowed for pick up so that two weekends is included in time given. When necessary to impound, include only those charges, which were caused by the trespass. Salaries of RDMG group go on whether trespass is committed or not and should not be charged for as being a part of the damages connected with the trespass.

There are two cases where the Forest Service recently acquired large acreage's of land through the land exchange procedures in northern New Mexico. Grazing use by nonpermittees was being made of one of the areas at the time of acquisition. On the other, no grazing was permitted at the time of the acquisition. The Forest Service has, in the past, used grazing capacity on acquired land to add to adjacent grazing

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allotments which need additional grazing capacity to meet stocking obligation. In both cases, great resistance has been encountered to the application of this policy. In another case, on the Cibola National Forest, similar resistance has been met in the application of this policy. Under this policy, 21 individuals who grazed a few head of livestock on the San Diego Grant, which is now a part of the Santa Fe National Forest, will lose the use they had enjoyed either with or without the benefit of leases or permits of some kind. On the other hand, there have been large acquisitions of State and private land by the Forest Service where a provision of the acquisition agreement was that the Forest Service would honor those individuals who grazed there prior to the exchange. This has almost always been an individual who enjoyed a relatively large-sized grazing operation. This makes it appear to the uninformed that those who are large enough to defend their rights maintain use of the forage, and those small individuals who cannot successfully speak for themselves lose out.

34. On all future land exchanges, which involve significant acreages, make determination of those using the area and number of livestock involved. Compare this with the estimated capacity and make indicated action known to the individuals involved. Plan to take these individuals as grazing permittees to the extent proper use of the available forage will support them.

As with grazing permittees most everywhere, the permittees on the Carson and Santa Fe National Forests are often reluctant to make changes in their traditional livestock and range management practices. This condition may be more pronounced in northern New Mexico. The chances for an improved system of range management failing are much greater here than in other parts of the Region. This is because a large number of permittees are involved on each allotment, and, as a rule, no one person is really responsible to see that the cattle are handled in the correct way. Calves are dogged, some die, other complications, which are always present the first year or two after a rotation system is started, become more pronounced under conditions which exist in northern New Mexico.

Rangers interviewed feel that it will be almost impossible to get by this first difficult rest-rotation period on allotments such as Alamosa, Jarita Mesa, Mogote, and others. They believe the permittees will pull back at the first trouble and more damage than good could result from efforts to convince the permittees to undertake the new system.

35. To assure that the improved system of management works most effectively, Forest Service provides assistance to the association rider periodically through implementation period. This assistance would require at least two grazing seasons.

Until recently, the town of Penasco, like many other small communities in northern New Mexico, had no facilities for holding, weighing, or feeding of cattle preparatory to sale. Buyers either came to the town and, based on guessed weights, offered prices which were often one to two cents lower than elsewhere. The other alternative for the small livestock producer was to haul to the nearest sale ring, suffer the weight losses incurred in the hauling, and take his chances on the prices he would get. With the help and advice of a Forest Officer, the town of Penasco organized and worked together to secure a loan from the OEO and are not in the process of building livestock handling facilities which will permit them to weigh their livestock on the spot. This, of course, will result in fair weights and prices and will attract more buyers because they will be able to contact enough small livestock operators in one spot to make their efforts worthwhile.

36. Forest Officers work with local livestock associations in all communities within their districts in northern New Mexico to determine the need and *U.S. Forest Service Policy in northern New Mexico* 122

possibilities for similar facilities. Where need exists, assist these groups in making the proper contact to secure loans for construction of the needed facilities.

There is a special grazing transfer policy in effect on the Carson and Santa Fe National Forests, which has as its objectives the consolidation of small grazing permits and, to a lesser extent (although probably most important) retention of the permits with existing, local livestock operators. This special permit transfer policy has the approval of the grazing associations and advisory boards on the Carson and Santa Fe National Forests. The policy prohibits transfer of a grazing permit of less than 25 head to one who does not already hold a grazing permit. A side effect of this policy has been that it has made it difficult for "outsiders" to acquire grazing privileges on the National Forests because those ranches which are for sale most often involve permits of less than 25 head.

This transfer policy fails to do anything about the rootcause of excessively small, ineffective grazing permits, which are largely the product of the inheritance system in northern New Mexico. The family head can spend a lifetime putting together a reasonably well balanced ranching operation only to have it splintered among his children after death.

37. In cooperation with FHA, arrange for a meeting with heirs and let them know that low interest loans can be arranged so that the livestock operation can be held intact and can continue to be an effective operation.

Many have realized the total answer to the problems of northern New Mexico do not lie in the area of small, inefficient subsistence ranches and farms. Dr. George Sanchez in his book, "The Forgotten People," concludes that the final answer will be achieved when the New Mexican fully enters the mainstream of American life. He stresses, however, the part which small ranches and farms must play toward the total objective. They can be a means of keeping some of the people from being forced into cities or into the migrant labor market. Dr. Sanchez further concludes in his book that the first step to bringing the native northern

New Mexican into the American mainstream of life is to regain the use of more land. Dr. Sanchez' views seem to be shared somewhat in the objectives of the Department of Agriculture's small ranch and farm programs.

38. In cooperation with the FHA, repurchase ranching operations from those individuals who wish to sell. The purchase should include the dependent ranch property. The dependent ranch property should be fully rehabilitated through the support of the SCS, ACP, and other appropriate organizations and eventually resold under terms which can be met by the poorest of the poor in northern New Mexico. The Forest Service should then reissue the grazing permit to the purchaser of the commensurate property. In cases where commensurate property cannot be acquired and only a National Forest grazing permit is involved, the permit should be reissued by the Forest Service to those who have less than the 30 head of cattle or 100 head of sheep, which is the lower limits specified in USDA small beef and sheep programs, which are now under preliminary consideration.
39. Where larger permits are acquired by the Government, these should be broken into units of 30 head in the case of cattle and 100 head in the case of sheep for reissuance to those who could qualify for the permits.
40. Where reductions for range protection are necessary, they should be taken from permits acquired by FHA and not from permittees still on the allotment.

41. On large land acquisitions, which are not used by the poor for grazing purpose, acquire the grazing capacity free and clear for reissuance to new applicants. Permits granted in this manner generally should not exceed 30 head of cattle or 100 head of sheep, whichever the land would be best suited to. (This recommendation conflicts to some extent with a previous one, but the difference is that this recommendation applies to cases where one or very few larger ranches are involved.)

The above recommendations should not be taken to mean that small grazing permits (one head on up) are wrong and will be discouraged. On the contrary, the value of these subsistence permits must be recognized. If nothing more, they provide meat which frees money for the purchase of other necessities of life. What the recommendations are intended to do, however, is to move the subsistence operation toward one which will accomplish a little more for the farmer and rancher without displacing anyone who doesn't want to sell. The President's National Advisory Committee on rural poverty recommends moving toward viable size farms. Farm and ranch programs being considered in USDA also are aimed at more than a mere subsistence operation.

A great deal of effort has been exerted in trying to organize formal grazing associations in northern New Mexico. This approach would solve many of the problems, such as distribution of permits, handling of grazing trespass, and other troublesome situations. To date, it has not been possible to get one of these associations organized. These people do not want to lose their identity in corporation even if it means economic advantages. Lack of success does not make the objective less desirable. Until a formal grazing association can be established, other ways to achieve the desired objectives should be sought. There are 43 informal grazing associations in northern New Mexico. These informal associations have weaknesses. They do not permit sharing in the routine administration of the allotment. By not being incorporated under State law, they cannot take advantage of low interest loan opportunities which would otherwise be available to them and, through this medium, participate to a greater extent in range management. To be very

practical, though, they are the best that is available in the foreseeable future.

42. Continue efforts to organize a formal grazing association in northern New Mexico but, in the meantime, strengthen the position and relationship with the informal grazing associations now in existence. This can be accomplished by the following:
- a. Make special rules and management clauses, agreed to by the majority of the association, a part of the grazing permits issued to the members. Secure authority to enforce these rules and special clauses.
 - b. Involve the association members more fully in the formulation stages of management planning and implementation of management plans by soliciting their help and advice.
 - c. To the fullest extent possible, involve membership in the administration of the allotment by turning over to them as many administrative details as they are willing to accept and can competently handle.

The Forest Service has not fully succeeded in all cases to educate or convince the people of the needs for improved ranges and range management. This is displayed through some permittees' complete disregard for the condition of the range. Some of them have not concept even of what plants are good forage and which are not. This situation is due, in large part, to the small
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operator who does not have time to devote to his range management responsibility. Nonetheless, a massive effort must be made to create understanding of the range resource and, hence, the needs for improved management practices.

43. Translate basic range management information into Spanish for use in northern New Mexico. If Spanish sound track on Ranchers and Rangers film proves satisfactory, plane Spanish sound tracks on other pertinent movies. Include films from other than just the field of range management.
44. Rangers make every effort to invite associations (not just officers) to accompany them on range inspections. Conduct these inspections on days when most permittees can attend. (This would be on weekends in the case where permittees have employment elsewhere.) On these trips, devote much time and attention to pointing out the basic factors of good and bad range management.
45. Cooperate to the fullest extent with the County Extension Agents in teaching good conservation practices through the 4-H program. This should be accomplished by the Ranger and his staff participating in the teaching of 4-H classes. County Agents should be contacted to let them know of our willingness to participate.
46. Enter into cooperative agreements with high school classes, 4-H groups, scouts, and other suitable groups for small conservation projects to build a feeling of understanding and partnership in proper management and use of the National Forests.
47. In cooperation with BLM, SCS, and Extension Service, conduct two-day courses on vocational range management. These courses should be patterned after the range management short course presently taught each year at New Mexico State University. These short courses should be taken directly to the villages.

A direct contribution could be made to permittees if the Forest Service assumed the responsibility for all or a larger part of range improvement

maintenance. During the Montoya hearings this past summer, this was an item which was mentioned frequently as being a hardship on grazing permittees, especially when the additional fence needs for rotation grazing are considered. Taking on this responsibility would give a large advantage to National Forest grazing permittees over those individuals who do not have grazing permits but do have their own private holdings and must maintain as well as build their own range improvements.

Taking over the maintenance would lessen the problem of trying to get someone to maintain these improvements when many small permittees are involved. It is difficult to get a man with only a few heads of livestock to take time away from his job to do maintenance work.

48. Keep the permittees involved in the maintenance responsibility for their grazing allotments. Give them the option, however, of depositing cooperative funds with the Forest Service rather than doing the actual work themselves. Where this option is taken, exempt funds from assessment.

There are 19 communities within the boundaries of the National Forests in northern New Mexico. In almost all of these communities, disposal of refuse is a problem because of the limited land available for dumps and because of the difficulty and expense encountered in caring for the dump. As a result, most towns have no formal dump area, and promiscuous dumping of garbage causes unsanitary and unsightly problem areas which often are on adjacent Forestland. The towns of Penasco and Pecos have designated dumps, both of which are used by the Forest Service. Both are unsightly, ill-managed problem areas. The one in Penasco, which is
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on Indian land, is threatened with closure because low standards presently followed are not acceptable to the Indians.

49. Grant permits for sanitary fill or other suitable type garbage disposal areas to the communities who need them. Where Forest Service makes direct use of garbage dumps, contribute to the care of the area through payment or work to the responsible authority.

Knowledge of land line location in northern New Mexico is far from satisfactory and has been since first settlement. Because of inadequate lines and surveys, lost and destroyed corners and monuments, lands have been and are yet being used by people who do not own them. Ancestral homes and even churches are found to be on National Forest System land as property boundaries are accurately located. As these cases are found, special-use permits are issued, fees charged as required, and inspections for home permits conducted annually. In most cases, the homes do not meet the standards required, and the permittees are notified accordingly. This has caused hard feelings and is developing into a trouble area. Attempts are being made to consummate land exchanges which would permanently clear up these situations. Progress has been slow and field personnel question whether results will ever materialize or will be satisfactory. Their pessimism stems from two major areas, (1) it is unlikely that these people have the understanding and money required to consummate an exchange themselves, (2) they feel that a tri-partite arrangement with private realtors will not help those who cannot raise the money, and (3) in some cases, it could appear that the Forest Service is placing the poor at the mercy of a private real estate operator.

50. Where it is necessary to issue special use permits to cover long established residences and public buildings, do so free of charge. Exempt such permits from the annual inspections, which are required normally for residence permits.

51. Redouble efforts to convey land parcels, which have homes and public buildings to private ownership through existing authorities for disposal. Where disposal through present authorities is not practical

or will result in severe hardships, seek legislation on a case basis for transferring the land to private ownership.

There are several large tracts of land in northern New Mexico which are in private ownership. At present, many of these lands are closed to entry by the public and therefore do not contribute to the economy through the wildlife, fishing, or recreational aspects contained therein. Grazing capacity on these areas is used by relatively large ranch operations involving few people. The timber resource on most of these areas has been cut over in the past but could contribute materially to future additional mills and other timber based industries. The possibilities for recreational development should be equal to that of adjacent National Forests. Undoubtedly, demand will eventually justify recreational development, which would be of great economic benefit to all of New Mexico.

52. Either through outright purchase or through exchange of lands acquires the land grants in northern New Mexico suited to National Forest purposes. Acquisition should not be limited to the rougher, steeper areas but should include all such land within the grant area.

Winter sports development on the National Forests of northern New Mexico is keeping up with the demand. Plans include new developments as well as expansion of existing facilities. Although the need beyond present expansion plans for winter sports area does not exist, there is a need for related services.

53. Encourage the establishment of auto courts, service stations, rental cabins, and other services needed in connection with present level of recreation use.
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Where needed, furnish National Forest land under special-use permit for these establishments.

Elsewhere in this report, a recommendation is made to build fishing lakes in cooperation with the State Game and Fish Department. Should this materialize, it would demand recreational developments along with lake development.

54. Give priority to campground planning and construction at new lakes which may be constructed in northern New Mexico Forests.

There may be some opportunity for recreational development on private lands belonging to some of the poor. Special assistance is available for setting up these kinds of operations. If a successful recreational development could be established on private land, it would be of help in breaking down the current resistance to recreational development.

55. Forest Service take the initiative in locating a suitable area for a recreational development on private land. Help build interest and furnish technical assistance to the extent needed.

In Colorado and other states, guide service is big business. It appears that more could be done in this area on the National Forests in northern New Mexico. This is a specialized business which requires substantial "know-how" and investment in equipment, animals, facilities, and insurance.

56. On a carefully selected basis, encourage development of guiding and riding service into the National Forests. This should be through someone who live adjacent or within the Forest who already has suitable animals on hand.

Considerable hard feeling has developed over recreation area charges to local residents. In this area, some people may be deprived of the use of developed campgrounds because they lack money for the fee.

57. At campgrounds used largely by local residents, discontinue charge status.

Next to the grazing of domestic livestock, use of timber products, primarily as posts and firewood, is mentioned by the people of northern New Mexico as an area of great need. Unlike grazing, there are some opportunities to help the people with their timber needs without damage to the resource. The largest overall benefit, of course, would be to develop new industries in the private sector of the economy. There are raw materials available. Marketing possibilities need to be explored.

58. With the assistance of State and New Mexico Forestry Department, develop interest in small material. To further this interest, Forest Service use wood posts, wood bases for cattleguards, wood campground barriers in all cases where wood will serve as well or better than other materials. This will help support the two wood treating plants already in northern New Mexico.

There is a possibility for small logging operators to sell logs at mill decks. There are usually small pockets of salvage and other timber which would not fit into larger sales operations where this practice may be practical.

59. Where small pockets of timber are available, offer these to small operators only.

There has been considerable interest in getting a paper mill in New Mexico which would utilize timber from the northern Forests as a part of its raw material supply. The benefit to the State and particularly the northern part would appear to justify some commitment by the Forest Service toward a pulp mill.

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60. The Forest Service take the initiative in preparing a joint prospectus which would include commitment of timber from the National Forests, BLM, and from private timber sources. A commitment from R-2 would strengthen this proposal.

There may be other possibilities for new timber based industries. A chip and sawmill is an example. Insufficient information is available to move in this direction.

61. Initiate pilot projects and studies to get factual information, which can be used to interest appropriate industries.
62. Through use of small contracts and force account crews, train people in Christmas tree and wilding culture. Through cooperation with State, encourage individuals to undertake this practice on suitable private lands.

Firewood, vigas, and posts are necessities of life for many in northern New Mexico. Some of the products needed can be taken from logging and thinning slash and from juniper control areas free of charge for personal use. All products other than deadwood are sold for a set price with a minimum total sale. In the case of personal use sales, the minimum is \$5, and, in the case of commercial sales, the minimum is \$10. This often requires that \$5 be paid for a cord of wood, which on a unit basis would cost .50. On pinyon-juniper control projects, the charge is still made even though the intent of the projects is to rid the area of this material. Every District man interviewed listed these as major public relations problem areas.

Christmas trees are not sold to individuals, public schools, and churches. There is a regulation which permits free timber products to public welfare agencies. (The OEO and HELP have secured wood and mineral products under this regulation and, in turn, used them in projects with schools, churches, and towns where the Forest Service could not permit them free directly.) The charge to individuals is accepted but charging

public services is not. Pursuing this course is damaging to the Forest Service image with nothing gained for the resource, either.

63. Reduce the minimum sale for personal use to \$1 and minimum sale for commercial use to \$5. This involves little money, no damage to the resource, and will create much good will.

Permit free use of wood products on pinyon-juniper control areas as soon as control plans become firm and before actual control measures are applied.

64. Secure authority to permit Christmas trees and other Forest products free to schools, churches, hospitals, and other public service agencies in northern New Mexico. This will provide the District Ranger with a needed I&E tool which will be effective.

One of the basic problems in northern New Mexico is lack of suitable roads to small villages, some of which are within the National Forests. There is a sizable road and trail development program presently on the Carson and Santa Fe National Forests which is on help, mostly in an indirect way. The roads which directly benefit the villages by improving access to them are not usually the responsibility of the Forest Service.

65. Provide enough additional funds and engineering personnel to permit acceleration of FR & T programs.
66. Where the authority for doing so exists and conditions justify, enter into suitable cooperative arrangements for improving access to villages. This would also require additional funds and personnel.

The Carson and Santa Fe National Forests are favorite recreation areas for many New Mexicans and out-of-state sportsmen. This has been of benefit to the State and to the local economy. To those individuals who reside within these areas and who are not in tourist connected businesses, the benefits are not always apparent. It is hard to convince a resident that he is benefiting when all he seems to get out of the increased tourist business are headaches, one of which is open gates. There are a great many fences in the area, and, when the gates are left open, this permits cattle to drift onto the National Forests and other areas where they are not supposed to be. Individuals who are found in trespass on the National Forests often claim gates were left open. Some of these claims may be false, but, on the other hand, many are true.

67. Undertake an aggressive program of cattleguard installation where fences, which are known to be on property lines, intersect with Forest roads. As the land line location effort progresses and fences are constructed on property boundaries, install cattleguards at road and fence intersections.

Most agencies, which furnish money for community developments, are inadequately staffed with experts who can provide technical engineering assistance. Specific examples include new water systems and sewage treatment plants which were inoperative or which operated unsatisfactorily after completion because no one knew how to make them work.

68. Offer technical engineering assistance which is available within the Forest Service to communities or agencies who might need these talents.

Lack of suitable surveys, loss or destruction of land corners and monuments, and a more or less informal manner of marking, describing, and recording land transactions have resulted in extremely difficult landownership problems. These problems erupt into open conflict at times between neighbors and even within families. Private surveyors, BLM surveyors, and USFS surveyors, in cooperation with the BLM, have made progress in marking property lines and corners. Progress has been

slow. However, the work invariably uncovers problems such as houses on the wrong side of property lines. Unless handled astutely, this program can lead local people to suspicion the intent of the Forest Service and thereby withdraw from us. Yet, for their future betterment and well being, this program must go on.

Loans with real estate as security are not available to many in northern New Mexico because they lack clear title to their property. The first step to title is locating and describing the land.

Forest Service land line location projects makes it easier and quicker and, hence, more economical for private surveyors to locate and describe property for individuals. The following recommendations are intended to help create a better image, which is essential, if this important work is to proceed.

69. Allow plenty of lead time. Do a better job of preliminary I&E work. Explain to the people what is being done and what the advantages to them will be. Do not rely on Forest Service personnel to do the job entirely. Use all available sources, including newspapers and religious papers (Catholic digest is printed in Spanish and has wide distribution in northern New Mexico). Mr. Alex Mercure, State Director of HELP, has stated that the land line location program being carried on by the Forest Service is of real and immediate concern to many villagers. He has offered the help of his organization in creating understanding of this program. This assistance should definitely be accepted.

70. To the extent possible, use the two positions on the land line location crews not requiring technicians as

an I&E tool. Hire local help, preferable the landowner, himself, on a temporary basis.

71. Give a different twist to the LLL program by offering it as a service rather than pulling up in someone's yard and telling him what we are going to do.
72. There are two Forest Service signs left at each located monument. One reads "Forest Service land behind this sign." The other one reads "\$250.00 fine for disturbance, etc." A third sign should be developed to show concern for the private property owner such as "This survey monument is established at the original location of property and is intended to serve and protect the interests of landowners, etc."
73. Establish a procedure for expeditious handling of problems brought out through LLL program. Finding a problem and letting it set is like holding an axe over someone's head and is definitely viewed as such at present in northern New Mexico.
74. Discontinue the LLL program until the above recommendations are implemented. Accelerate the LLL program dependent upon the following:
 - a. Have established effective communication with people and have their approval;
 - b. Have established a satisfactory program for expeditiously resolving problems and have results;
 - c. Have fully coordinated with BLM and they are in favor and can handle the acceleration.

Fire control activities have been a source of considerable income for both the Spanish American and Indian people who reside in northern New Mexico. As welcome as the "new money" must be to these people, a check of the roster of the number available for firefighting is indicative of the unemployment problems of the area. The towns of El Rito and Penasco list 100 men each available for firefighting. This means that at

least 100 able bodied men in each of these villages are without full-time employment at least part of the year. These crews have been of value to the Forest Service, and they will continue to be. Every opportunity should be taken to increase the work available for them and give them an element of security. There is an estimated \$5,500,000.00 of work needed in the fire control area on the two northern New Mexico Forests. This work consists of building fuel breaks, hazard reduction, and the construction of helispots and heliports. This work requires a good deal of hand labor and is ideally suited to small contracting. Contracts could be written so these crews would still be available to fight fires, both within and outside this Region.

75. Go after funds from OEO programs such as mainstream to be used to undertake opportunities in fire control for getting new jobs into the area. Emphasize fire control needs as an area to undertake in the Four Corners Development Program.

Added benefits in wildlife can be obtained by increasing the resource. Developing more fishing water and possibly some shooting preserves on private lands offer possibilities.

76. In cooperation with the State, undertake lake development programs in the northern part of the State.
77. Division of Range and Wildlife determine which, if any, of the available assistance programs for developing fisheries and wildlife could be applied in northern New Mexico on a practical basis. The process for gaining assistance should be determined

and made known to Forests and TAP representatives.

It has been said that all that stands between mankind and his extinction is a six-inch layer of top soil and an occasional rain. In northern New Mexico, healthy watersheds are of importance to not only this State, but to parts of Texas and Mexico. Basic soils information of the type gathered in soil and watershed surveys is mandatory as a basis for range rehabilitation and seeding work which is being done in the area on a large scale. The basic information so badly needed from soil and watershed surveys is often lacking because of limited financing. Soil surveys and watershed restoration projects offer new possibilities for employment. Watershed restoration projects are particularly well suited to contracts. To date, watershed restoration work has not been undertaken on a large scale because funding has been limited.

78. Emphasis should be on watershed restoration projects for financial consideration because of the good that can be done and the work which can be supplied. The Four Corners Development Program may be a good opportunity to do this.
79. Because of the basic importance to so many other programs, Forest Service accelerate soil and watershed surveys in northern New Mexico. Increased funding should be used to hire subprofessionals to be used to gather and tabulate data under supervision of professionals. This would increase the value and range of the professionals now in the Forest Service.

The Civil Service Commission requires seasonal employees to be hired for 180 days in areas where other employment possibilities exist. This requirement can be maneuvered so that two 180-day appointments can be run end to end. There comes a time, however, when the employee must be laid off. Espanola, New Mexico, is an area that is classified as a 180-day area. Even though there is probably more employment opportunity in Espanola than in other small villages, it is doubtful that many jobs are laying around loose. The Espanola District has hard working, industrious people who have returned year after year to

nonpermanent GS-3 job which nets them very little more, if any, than the \$3,000 poverty wage level. At a time when antipoverty efforts are trying to put people to work, this is impossible to understand and difficult to accept; especially when the District has the work and the money to pay the labor.

80. Take steps necessary to have all of the northern New Mexico area removed from the 180-day hiring limitation and placed in longer employment period category.

Personnel ceilings, which are in effect Government-wide, appear to be at cross purposes with the efforts to employ people in northern New Mexico and give them some kind of security and job satisfaction. All Ranger Districts have work but cannot put full-time people on the payroll. On the other hand, crash efforts in the poverty prevention area are continually hiring people. This is confusing and is a morale factor to seasonal employees. It is realized that probably little can be done, but the conflict is so apparent that at least a try must be made.

81. Remove personnel ceilings from northern New Mexico National Forests.

One of the real potent tools which to old time Ranger had at his disposal was his ability to hire people. The hiring process has become more complicated and the Ranger's employment authority has been reduced. Along with this loss of authority has gone one of his strongest tools.

82. Delegate employment authority back to District Rangers, especially on those Districts where staffing will be adequate to handle increased work.
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There has been concern expressed because more people of Spanish extraction from northern New Mexico were not within the professional ranks of the Forest Service. It is believed that one reason for this is because few, if any, are aware of the career benefits or how to go about preparing for a career in the Forest Service. In connection with this, the Division of Personnel Management is preparing a packet to be used by high school counselors in New Mexico. This packet will explain employment opportunities and hopefully create interest. There is more that could be done, however, at the field level. The next two recommendations are possible ways to do more in this area.

83. Take an active part in career day programs. Stress the wide range of opportunities for a career in the Forest Service. Participation in 4-H Conservation Classes is an excellent way to meet and encourage interested youngsters in forestry, wildlife, or range management careers.

84. Give likely students a change to learn about the Forest Service close-up through summer work experience.

After a young man has become interested in seeking a professional career in the Forest Service, he must have some way to meet the expenses needed to stay in school. There are many scholarships and loan possibilities. A pamphlet listing some of these possibilities is being sent to Rangers and Forest Supervisors.

85. Forest Supervisors and Rangers bring possibilities for financial assistance to the attention of individuals who could be helpful to students.

Title 1 of the Economic Opportunity Act and Title 4 of the Higher Education Act permit the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to make grants to institutions of higher education to assist students from low income families to stay in school by providing part-time employment. Employment can be provided either by the institution or by private or public agencies. Under the Act, HEW will pay 90 percent of the working

student's wages. The private agency or public, as the case may be, pays the remaining 10 percent. With the research facilities located at Forestry schools throughout the country, the Forest Service could provide labor for deserving students with 90 percent of their wages paid under this Act.

This program also provides for 40 hours per week of summer employment. This work could also be provided by the Forest Service with 90 percent of the wages paid by HEW.

86. In cooperation with HEW, encourage college work-study programs at appropriate colleges and universities. If there are already programs in effect, direct prospective students toward this assistance.

There are opportunities for the Forest Service to give direct supporting action for some deserving individual. This could be accomplished by providing part-time employment at Forest Service installations in college towns. Examples are the Coconino National Forest in Flagstaff and the Rocky Mountain Station in Fort Collins and also in Flagstaff. Summer employment could be on one of the northern New Mexico National Forests.

87. Beginning now, locate one student who is capable and interested in a professional career in the Forest Service. Seek the assistance of school principals and other interested individuals in finding the right student. Give him employment on one of the northern New Mexico Forests this summer and arrange part-time employment (15 hours/week) on the Coconino National Forest. To the fullest extent possible, guarantee employment each summer.

88. Forest Service initiate cooperative arrangement directly with Forestry schools at Flagstaff and Fort Collins which will make possible a work student program. In this arrangement, a student would work one semester and go to school a semester. This usually requires two individuals; while one is working, the other is at school.

There is another possibility through education to develop skilled technicians in the fields of engineering and forestry. This would only be practical if job opportunities were reasonably available upon completion of schooling. This is believed to be doubtful.

89. Through the El Rito School and available assistance programs, establish curriculum which will develop suitable forestry and engineering technicians. Since the Forest Service is the dominant conservation agency in northern New Mexico, they should take the leadership on this and try to create interest in the other agencies, such as the BLM, Park Service, State, and possibly in private industries where these kinds of technicians could be used.

This section deals with possibilities for improving conditions in a wide range of problem areas in northern New Mexico in which the Forest Service is not necessarily the dominant force or agency. In some, the Forest Service could have an active part; others are not within the Forest Service area of responsibility, and the Forest Service probably could not influence them directly. Forest Service TAP representatives, however, through the USDA "Outreach" function, could contribute substantially to some of these areas of concern.

As a general recommendation, the Forest Service must take every opportunity to strengthen efforts in cooperative programs. The importance of TAP and full participation in its "Outreach" function cannot be overemphasized in northern New Mexico.

The President's National Advisory Commission on rural poverty, in its report of September 1967, stressed moving away from farming operations which did not produce enough income to be above poverty

levels. Instead, they stressed development of recreation as an possibility which would be more desirable.

In northern New Mexico, this should be a valid suggestion because the area is naturally endowed with scenic attraction. At the same time, we will not want to replace the rural resident – only make the area more productive for him. At present, there is a widespread feeling against further recreational development because of the "outsiders" that are attracted. The only way this attitude will change is for the "locals" to receive some tangible, direct benefits (meat on the table).

90. TAP, through its "Outreach" function, stress programs available for recreational development on private lands. Camping, picnicking, farm fishing ponds, and shooting preserves all seem likely possibilities. The USDA is studying a special recreation loan projects proposal which should be beneficial.

Al though the National Advisory Committee stressed other developments, they also recommend that farms, where they are to continue, be viable. In northern New Mexico, making a farm viable might involve increasing its size or implementing improved practices.

91. Initiate a project to establish a model farm which would demonstrate the full range of conservation development, including recreation and timber use, all aimed at making the farm pay.

Most of the potential for developing grazing capacity in northern New Mexico is not on National Forest System lands. Expense required to rehabilitate rangelands is great. Although the ACP can cooperate in approved practices, the amount of money required for the
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remaining share still, in most cases, exceeds the ability of the small ranchers and farmers of northern New Mexico to participate.

92. Encourage ACP program which will take on a greater share of the costs involved in application of improvement practices.

There are presently many small farms lying idle because they will not support a family. If these small farms could be managed as one, they could possibly return some value to the owners. Many of these places involve ancestral homes and are not for sale at any price.

93. Possibly through TAP contacts, propose to
SCS and other interested and responsible agencies that small farmers either
- a. lease farms outright to competent individuals or
 - b. Cooperatively hire a manager on a percentage basis with his job dependent upon production and marketing

What the Four-Corners Economic Development will do as far as the National Forests programs are concerned yet is unknown. It is certain that the National Forests will become heavily involved.

94. To the greatest extent possible, direct interest within the Four-Corners Economic Development Region toward new areas of work and improvement on the National Forests and away from grazing. Roads, watershed development, timber stand improvement and presuppression needs are examples of vast amounts of work which needs to be accomplished.

There are young men in northern New Mexico who would benefit from the training and experience which could be gained at Job Corps Centers. Few of these young men are presently taking advantage of the opportunity available to them in this regard. Recruiting efforts have not been entirely successful, and some of those who were recruited dropped out soon after they started the program. The strong family ties is apparently a major reason they leave.

95. Seek provisions from the OEO which would save 25 berths each at the Luna, Grants, and Mountainair Camps to be used for residents. These boys could return home at least on weekends and would still gain some environment change and other benefits. These men could also be moved as a group where fly camps are used and gain further experience away from home.

96. Using schoolteachers and schools, undertake a summer Job Corps program for local young men in the 14 and 15 year old bracket.

97. Present recruiting practices are aimed at individuals. Recommend to OEO that effort be made to recruit groups of young men, all from the same village, and send them as a unit to a Conservation Center.

The State of New Mexico Department of Forestry and the Forest Service work closely together. There are opportunities to do more for local citizens if people are fully aware of the Clarke-McNary Cooperative Programs. There also appears to be a need for additional cooperative programs which would permit fully integrated fire presuppression activities such as fuelbreak construction and hazard reduction on private and state lands, intermingled with National Forests.

98. Provide training material to the small farmers on the Clarke-McNary Cooperative Programs. This could be prepared as a programmed instruction package.

99. Take any opportunity in Four-Corners Economic Development Program to undertake fire presuppression projects which would include lands of all ownership's.

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APPENDIX H:

MEMORANDUM 3 – Dated March 6, 1972

DATE: March 6, 1972
FILE NO: 1030 Objective and Policy
SUBJECT: Region 3 Policy on Managing National Forest
Land in Northern New Mexico
TO: Forest Supervisors and District Rangers

For several years we have followed a policy on managing the National Forests of Northern New Mexico that is different in certain respects from that applied to other National Forests. While this policy has been in writing since 1967 and was time used in field orientation, it has not been distributed. Consequently, many Forest Officers now in place do not have knowledge of it.

While the policy is philosophical in many respects, it does involve certain changes in regulations and procedures. Some of these have been made to the extent this can be done under law and in harmony with the perpetuation of the land and its resources. Its philosophical aspects are extremely important, however, and may be the most profound element of the policy statement.

A Southwestern Region Policy on Managing National Forest Lands in the Northern Part of New Mexico is given below. I urge you to become intimately familiar with this policy and return it in your open file for ready reference.

Southwestern Policy on Managing National Forest Lands in the Northern Part of New Mexico

One of the great challenges facing the Forest Service in the Southwest is to provide a means by which resources of National Forests and the Forest Service as an organization can contribute most effectively to many of the economic and social needs of the people of Northern New Mexico.

Inhabitants of the area, measured by standards in other portions of the Region, are below average in income.

Resources of the area, in terms of commercial products, are scarce and they do not provide adequately for the people.

Most of the inhabitants are long-time residents. Pueblo Indians, of whom there are at least 19 distinct tribes, have their roots deep in antiquity. Their pueblos were in place, many in the exact spot where they now exist, when Coronado penetrated the area in 1540. Spanish American, the dominant, culture stems from the Coronado expedition and those who later followed him. These native people love the

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area and the rural environment it provides. They intend to stay.

Rural people in Northern New Mexico, both the Indians and Spanish Americans, live close to the land. It is a part of them – a part of their heritage and culture. To many inhabitants of this area, the land supplies a substantial portion of their living regardless of the economic level involved. Spanish is spoken throughout the area and local rural people more often than not converse with each other in Spanish. Indian pueblo inhabitants have their own dialects, and these are used within the tribal community.

The Forest Service becomes inextricably involved because of the large land area administered by this organization in Northern New Mexico. Many local people live within and adjacent to these public lands. Their economic well being is often tied closely to resource of the National Forests and the manner in which they are utilized. The fact that 22 percent of two northern National Forests, the Carson and Santa Fe, were at one time grant lands emphasizes the close ties local people have to the land. In the minds of many, rightful owners were unjustly deprived of these properties. To some degree or another, unrest and discontent of local native people over their lot in life have been prevalent since 1848 when the United States gained control of the area. This has manifested itself in periodic uprisings. Some have been violent in nature. Others, less spectacular but perhaps more effective, include thrusts made by local people through civil rights organizations, both National and local. Efforts by

native people to gain recognition and consideration can be expected. The Spanish Americans are being encouraged to make their feelings known to the rest of America, and they are doing this in many ways. Since many of their objectives are tied to landownership and use, National Forests will continue to be a prime target until the local people are convinced it is in their best interest to live in harmony with public ownership of much of the area.

The Forest Service can and must continue to be a viable, helpful, and effective arm of Government in Northern New Mexico. To continue such a role during the years ahead when there will be pronounced economic and social changes, philosophies and policies of the organization must be adjusted as required to meet the challenge of the time. First, the uniqueness and value of Spanish American and Indian cultures in the Southwest must be recognized and efforts of the Forest Service must be directed toward their preservation. These cultures should be considered "resources" in much the same sense as Wilderness is considered a resource with Forest Service programs and plans made compatible with their future well being and continuance.

Second, the attitudes of people in the Forest Service, especially those who work in the Southwest, must be attuned to the land and its people and to the unique values involved. Forest Service employees at all levels of the organization must have a burning desire to perpetuate these unique values. An attitude, which embodies this philosophy, will become a part of every employee's training.

Third, Forest Service objectives and policies must be altered to the extent possible to recognize and be responsive to the culture and peoples.

Recently some adjustments in National Forests administration have been made in an effort to make resources of the National Forests more responsive to needs of local people. Other opportunities are recognized. Many require legislative action of major changes in Department or Service-wide policy to effect. Contracting requirements, personnel ceilings, and traditional philosophies of management and organization need adjustment. For example, Northern New Mexico contains many people who need work. The people love the forests and ranges lands and enjoy working in them. Large contracts are not generally compatible with their needs. Types of jobs that provide work for local people are desirable and more of these would be helpful.

In livestock management, small permits are desirable. Adjustments in some traditional concepts and policies in range management need revision, to best serve local people

and the resource. Many of these have recently been made. More are needed.

Likewise, availability of dead wood: small-diameter trees for poles, posts, and vigas: and relaxation in advertisement policies will make the timber resource more valuable to the local society. Here again, progress has been made. More can be done.

A number of Indian ceremonial areas and religious shrines are located on National Forests. These locations will be recognized and the need of the Indians incorporated into the multiple use planning system.

Other opportunities have been identified. Most important is the attitude of Forest Service people toward the uniqueness of Northern New Mexico. To make National Forests contribute most effectively to people of Northern New Mexico, their culture, both Indian and Spanish American, and their traditions must be recognized and treated as special and unique resources. If these unique resources are recognized, they become an asset to the National Forest System. We are determined to make the Forest Service a viable, helpful and productive force in maintaining and improving

the many posts values inherent in the Southwest and its people.

The Forest Service has an opportunity to become an essential and highly respected influence in Northern New Mexico if it but arise to the challenge. On the other hand, there is no middle ground. Failure to meet the challenge will mean conflict, frustrations, and a loss of prestige that will adversely affect the entire Forest Service and Department of Agriculture. Our course is clear and should be pursued with vigor and determination.

WM. D. Hurst
Regional Forester

APPENDIX I:

A Brief History of National Forests

Source: Swetnam, 1999

1848

American title to New Mexico was made official in 1848 by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (ending the Mexican War).

1864

George Perkins Marsh publishes "Man and Nature," which warns that if logging is not reduced, forests in the U.S. will disappear as those in Europe and Asia.

1873

First legislative attempt at forest protection. Franklin B. Hough and Columbus Delano, Secretary of the Interior, draft a resolution declaring forest growth and preservation to be "of general practical importance." Later passed as a rider to an appropriations bill, this establishes the need for management and conservation of forests and timber. Hough appointed chairman to newly created federal forestry commission, the first entity to oversee the logging and management of forest lands.

1886

Division of Forestry established as part of Department of Agriculture.

1891-92

President Benjamin Harrison authorized to set aside forest reserves from public domain. Designates 15 reserves containing more than 13 million acres, including the Yellowstone Forest Reserve.

1897

Organic Act passed as part of Sundry Civil Appropriations Act with the intention of protecting watersheds and forests while still supplying timber.

1905

President Teddy Roosevelt creates U.S. Forest Service and appoints Gifford Pinchot as chief.

1907

Forest reserves renamed national forests. Roosevelt adds 99 million acres to system.

1912

New Mexico Territory becomes state

- 1922 Secretary of Agriculture authorizes selling of national forests in exchange for private land of equal value, signaling shift in Forest Service paradigm from conservation of forests to commodity logging.
- 1925 Forest Service begins authorizing 10-year grazing permits in national forests, furthering private sector profit on national public lands.
- 1931 Forest Service declassifies wilderness corridors and builds road through former Gila Wilderness, setting precedent of undoing wilderness protection to increase timber output.
- 1944 Sustained-Yield Forest Management Act authorizes Agriculture and Interior secretaries to establish sustained yield units for private interests on federal lands. Forest Service invites timber companies to build mills throughout the West.
- 1950 Cooperative Forest Management Act authorizes Secretary of Agriculture to work with state foresters in assisting private landowners to log national forests.

Late 1950s-1960s

Following World War II, private forestlands are exhausted. Cutting and road building in national forests surges.

1967

Echo Canyon occupation, Tierra Amarilla Courthouse Raid, Mexican-American Conference in El Paso, Texas convenes

1968

"The People of northern New Mexico and the National Forests" aka the Hassell Report outlined how the USFS needs to conduct business in northern New Mexico

1970

National Environmental Policy Act requires environmental impact statements for major federal actions that have a significant effect on the environment, allowing for legal challenges of timber harvests and forest management.

1972

Hurst drafts memo urging forest supervisors and district rangers to become "intimately familiar" with the Hassell Report and implements Region 3 Policy

1973

Endangered Species Act passes, giving forest advocates a legal tool to challenge logging when it threaten endangered species and their habitat.

1976

National Forest Management Act requires land planning process and management plans for national forests, which must be evaluated periodically for their future environmental impacts.

1980

Logging roads built in national forests now exceed 350,000 miles--eight times more than the interstate highway system.

1990

U.S. District Judge William Dwyer of Washington issues injunction against all logging in northern spotted owl habitat. Significant use of Endangered Species Act to stop logging in national forests.

1994

Northwest Forest Plan announced by President Clinton in effort to slow logging in the last old-growth forests.

1995

Clinton signs budget bill with "salvage logging" rider allowing clearcutting of healthy trees in national forests under the guise of "salvage." Suspends environmental laws and public appeals process. As a result, more than 3 billion additional board feet are logged in national forests.

1997

Less than 10 percent of old growth remains in U.S. national forests.