Oneida Tribe of Indians of Wisconsin: Food Sovereignty, Safe Water, and Tribal Law

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“Food sovereignty, like “community food security,” is that state of being in which “all community residents obtain a safe, culturally acceptable, nutritionally adequate diet through a sustainable food system that maximizes community self-reliance and social justice.”

-Drs. Michael W. Hamm and Anne C. Bellows

I. What is food sovereignty?

Native Americans were the first fishers, farmers, hunters, and gatherers in North America. Many tribes retain a rich knowledge of prosperous, healthy food systems that existed well before Europeans arrived. However, Native American communities have endured countless diet changes since European contact due to warfare, conquest, removal, and assimilation.

Many Native communities also suffer from historical trauma and a loss of community connection. Government assimilation policies have impaired tribal cohesiveness and individual autonomy by restricting native religion, language and cultural practices. To add to these challenges, most Native American reservations are geographically isolated with a lack of public transportation.

This isolation along with Native American's dependence on government food aid makes

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1 First Nations Development Institute, Food Sovereignty Assessment Tool, NATIVE AGRIC. & FOOD SYS. INITIATIVE 4 (2004).
2 This article will use the terms “Native American(s)”, “Indian(s)”, “Nation(s)”, and “Tribe(s)” interchangeably to refer to the variety of indigenous people of North America.
3 Supra, Note 1, at 35.
7 Id.
8 Supra, Note 1, at 7. This geographic isolation is often referred to as "checkerboard" reservation layout. Margaret Rose Stevens, Restoration Through Culture-Based Education and Community Outreach (Dec. 31, 2011) (M.A. dissertation, University of Kansas), http://kuscholarworks.ku.edu/dspace/bitstream/1808/9701/1/Stevens_ku_099M_11814_DATA_1.pdf. Checkerboard layout is a term that is often used to describe the blend of both tribal and non-tribal land within the reservation borders. Id. The Oneida Nation is a tribe that has a checkerboard reservation layout, and thus, has major regulatory issues because they can only implement and regulate activities within their jurisdiction. Id. Since water has the ability to run off the reservation, the Oneida people are limited as to how they regulate this water runoff. Id.
it challenging for Native Americans to have access to fresh produce.\textsuperscript{9} Low-fat, healthy foods are typically unavailable to Native populations or if they are available, they are expensive in reservation-based stores.\textsuperscript{10} Many Native Americans now obtain their food through the global food system.\textsuperscript{11} As a result of placing food production and distribution power in the hands of others, many communities have been disrupted, especially within isolated and impoverished communities.\textsuperscript{12} When communities are self-reliant with food sourcing, they are much more likely to return to native traditions; rebuild their local economies; and have healthier residents.\textsuperscript{13} In addition to Native Americans becoming more food self-reliant, they will likely better reconnect with their cultural identity.

A number of Native Americans understand food not only as a means of physical survival but also critical to their communities’ psychological well-being.\textsuperscript{14} In many Native American communities, foods are “capable of symbolizing the manner in which people view themselves with respect to insiders and outsiders in society.”\textsuperscript{15} Thus, the disruption in diet has cultural consequences. Food is an expression of cultural identity.\textsuperscript{16} Ceremonies, stories, songs, and language are some of the examples of traditional culture in which Indians have rooted in the system of food production.\textsuperscript{17} Most Native Americans’ survival depends on maintaining their cultural identity:

Each culture has its own song, a song, which can be neither copied nor replicated. Preserving these different cultures is important to maintaining the balance of life. They are important for understanding who we are, where we came from, and what path we

\textsuperscript{9} Id.
\textsuperscript{10} Id.
\textsuperscript{11} Supra, Note 4, at 598.
\textsuperscript{13} Supra Note 1, at 25.
\textsuperscript{14} Supra, Note 1, at 19.
\textsuperscript{15} Id.
\textsuperscript{16} Id.
\textsuperscript{17} Id. at 21.
want to choose for the future. If we allow any culture to die out, we create a sad void in
the chorus of humanity.\(^\text{18}\)

This article considers how tribal law can cultivate a tribe's connection to their land and
food, while at the same time meeting a tribe's physical need for food.

\textbf{a.) Defining Food Insecurity and its Consequences}

The United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) defines food security as “when all
people at all times have access to enough food for an active and healthy life. Hunger may
accompany food insecurity but not necessarily and not consistently; food insecurity may be
either temporary or chronic.”\(^\text{19}\) Food insecurity began for most Native Americans when
reservations were established because the Native Americans had to adapt.\(^\text{20}\) Most Native
Americans were not well prepared for the geographic isolation of their reservations; they were
used to seasonal movement when the food supply was low.\(^\text{21}\)

Many Native Americans have become increasing dependent on “the arrival of [welfare]
checks and distribution of governmental commodities.”\(^\text{22}\) Yet, despite efforts to provide food to
many Native Americans, the food aid is often insufficient, of low quality, and does not
incorporate traditional native foods.\(^\text{23}\) The highest cause of death in the United States is
cardiovascular disease, which also holds true for tribal members.\(^\text{24}\)

The prevalence or cardiovascular disease among Native Americans is a “relatively new

\(^{18}\) Brian Patterson, \textit{Preserving the Oneida Nation Culture}, 13 St. Thomas L. Rev. 121-126, 126 (2000).
\(^{19}\) \textit{U.S. Action Plan on Food Security: Solutions to Hunger}, Interagency Working Group on Food Security and Food
\(^{20}\) \textit{Supra}, Note 1, at 6.
\(^{21}\) \textit{See generally Id.}
\(^{22}\) \textit{See, e.g., Mary Allen Owen Bass and L.M. Wakefield, Nutrient Intake and Food Patterns of Indians on Standing
Rock Reservation, JOURNAL OF AMERICAN DIETETIC ASSOCIATION, 1980 at 64, 36-41.}
\(^{23}\) \textit{Supra}, Note 1, at 7.
\(^{24}\) \textit{Id.} at 15; Laurie Chan, et al, \textit{Impacts of Mercury on Freshwater Fish-Eating Wildlife and Humans. 9 HUM. &
phenomenon.” This is true partly because most Native Americans have become assimilated to the American lifestyle and adopted the dominant lifestyle of a high-fat, high-calorie diet with low levels of physical activity. In addition, Native Americans are three times more likely to suffer from diabetes than the national American average.

Fish is a traditional Native American food source. Fish, especially freshwater fish, have many advantages. Eating local fish results in "better nutrient density, the availability of key essential nutrients, [more] physical activity during harvesting, lower food costs, the prevention of chronic diseases by consumption of more nutritious food, [as well as celebrating] multiple sociocultural values that contribute to mental health and cultural morale." Traditional fish in many the Native American diets have a plethora of "energy, protein, minerals such as iron and zinc, and multiple vitamins such as niacin and pyridoxine." One way for Native American tribes to restore their reservations' access to food is to consult a tool created by the First Nations Development Institute called the food sovereignty assessment tool (FSAT).

b.) Addressing Food Insecurity in Tribal Communities

Some Native American tribes use a food sovereignty assessment tool (FSAT), a “collaborative and participatory process that systematically examines a range of community food assets, so as to inform change actions and to make the community food secure,” which is a solution-oriented approach to balancing resources and problems. The FSAT begins by an

26 Id.
27 Id.
28 Supra, Note 5, at 615.
29 Id. at 617.
30 Id. at 1.
31 Id. at 6. FSAT was produced by the First Nations Development Institute with assistance from the W.K. Kellogg Foundation. See generally Id. One of the First Nations Development Institute's focuses is the intersection between food systems/food security and maintaining tribal sovereignty through economic development. See generally Id. First Nations undertakes a great deal of research projects to later suggest ideas to the Native communities about
individual evaluating the types of foods currently available in their community. Then, the Native American tribal members select individuals who determine which foods are available in the community. In other words, community members need to understand not only current food system problems but also evaluate the positive aspects and potential for improvement of their food system, “in order to get where we want to be, we need to know where we are.”

An example of a Native American community working to achieve food sovereignty not only with physical nutrients but also with social elements is the Oneida Tribe of Indians of Wisconsin. This article analyzes the strengths of the Oneida Tribe's approach to preserving water quality and fishing habitats.

Tribal governments face a variety of challenges in developing programs to protect access to healthy food and clean water. However, the Oneida Tribe’s struggles and successes will aid other tribes in creating their own culturally-relevant tribal scheme to improve their food security.

The Oneida people have used tribal ordinances to protect their food supply and drinking water. Tribal ordinances are a straightforward approach because they can be implemented by a tribe’s authority and do not rely on federal or state approval. Other approaches such as creating a tribal regulatory agency are possible, but more complex to implement.

Section one will include an introduction. The second section will describe a short history of the Oneida Tribe. Section Three will explain how the Oneida people understand their water responsibilities. Section Four will outline the key steps tribes must take in order to protect their water as well as providing a checklist of factors to consider when drafting a tribal water

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1. See generally Id. Not only does First Nations research and inform, but the organization also participates in policy forums to assist in legislative and regulatory initiatives. See generally Id. The W.K. Kellogg Foundation has a Food and Society Initiative (FAS). See generally Id. FAS supports environmentally-sound and health-promoting locally owned community-based food systems. See generally Id.

2. Id.

3. Id at 5.

4. Id at 4.
ordinance. Section Five will provide a checklist for drafting a water resource ordinance.

Section Six will suggest practices for developing a tribal fishing ordinance. Section Seven will examine how water and fishing ordinances connect to tribal food sovereignty. Section Eight will discuss the Oneida Tribe's collaboration with the United States. Section Nine reviews at Oneida's wetland restoration program. Section Ten will briefly review other Oneida projects supporting food sustainability.

II. Oneida Tribe Short History & Introduction

The Wisconsin Oneida Reservation is located near Green Bay, Wisconsin. This Reservation covers about 65,400 acres. The Tribe or tribal members own about 11,500 of those acres. Approximately 4,000 of the 12,000 tribal members live on the Reservation. The Oneida Tribe exercises jurisdiction over four major bodies of water: Duck Creek, Dutchman Creek, Ashwaubenon Creek, and the South Branch of the Suamico River. The Oneida Tribe’s most prized body of water is Duck Creek, a body of water that divides the Reservation in half. Duck Creek is actually a watershed, not just a creek, within the Lower Fox River Basin, which includes Green Bay. Duck Creek became valuable to the Oneida Tribe when the nation agree to move to northeastern Wisconsin after being forced to leave New York State in 1822. By 1838, more than 650 tribal members had moved to the Duck Creek Reservation in Wisconsin, "planting corn, potatoes, and turnips on about four hundred cleared acres."

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35 ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY, TRIBAL WETLAND PROGRAM HIGHLIGHTS, 35. There is still an Oneida reservation in New York, but this article focuses on the Wisconsin tribe. Id.
36 Id.
37 Id.
38 Id.
40 Id.
41 Id.
43 PATTY LOEW, INDIAN NATIONS OF WISCONSIN 107 (Wisconsin Historical Society Press, 2001).
Aside from the plentiful supply of clean water, the Oneida Tribe’s new reservation in Wisconsin boasted a variety of berries (blackberries, blackcaps, blueberries, wild highbush cranberries, and raspberries), nuts (hazelnuts, butternuts, hickory nuts), birds (partridge, bobwhite, and pigeons), and several types of edible plants, (pigweed, dandelion, cowslip, and milkweed) that supplemented hunting, fishing, and corn diet.\(^{44}\) The Oneida people used these berries, nuts, and plants for not only physical nourishment, but also for medicinal and spiritual purposes.\(^{45}\) The Oneida people fished and ate northern pike, suckers, bass, sunfish, blue gills, and perch.\(^{46}\) In a 1997 survey, the Oneida people report they most commonly today eat various sunfish species, yellow perch, white suckers, pike, bass, and walleye from their Reservation's waters.\(^{47}\) In this same survey, an overwhelming majority of tribal members claimed that they remember more reservation fishing in the past than today.\(^{48}\)

The Oneida Tribe has exercised food sovereignty since time immemorial; it is not a new concept for the tribe. “Subsistence farming and gathering from the environment provided the Oneida Tribe with the means to sustain their community, and they thanked the Creator every day for all of these things.”\(^{49}\) Unfortunately, from 1860 to 1970, off-reservation farmers used heavy fertilizers/chemical pesticides, which polluted the Oneida Reservation's streams.\(^{50}\) Overtime, these pesticides have significantly deteriorated of the natural environment.\(^{51}\) Chemicals found in

\(^{44}\) Carol Cornelius & Loretta Metoxen, A NATION WITHIN A NATION 27-30, 27 (L. Gordon McLester III & Laurence M. Hauptman, eds., 2010).
\(^{45}\) Supra, Note 8, at 29.
\(^{46}\) Id at 27.
\(^{48}\) Id. at 18. (120 of the 131 respondents) Id.
\(^{49}\) Supra, Note 44, at 28.
\(^{50}\) Id.
\(^{51}\) Id. at 28-29. Because of freshwater fish's lipid (or fat) solubility, the most substantial contributor of polychlorinated biphenyl (PCB) to northern Native Americans are through freshwater fish. Id.
freshwater fish include polychlorinated biphenyl (PCB), mercury, arsenic, and toxaphene. These chemicals have poisoned and/or killed fish in Oneida waters. The Oneida Tribe witnessed “a sharp decline of fish from the 1950s to the 1970s when the water was no longer clear and fertilizer would run-off into the ditch and drain into the creek.”

Beginning in 1999, The Oneida Nation has done substantial research on fertilizer run-off and pollution through a partnership with the U.S. Department of the Interior on a water resource report. When the Oneida people were surveyed for the report, the majority stated that they did not utilize Duck Creek because of water pollution. This water pollution is confirmed by the aquatic-biology studies and data reports that showed "fairly poor" water quality on the Oneida Reservation. Tribal members were also asked in this same survey whether the Tribe should spend additional money to improve the water quality within their Reservation and the response was overwhelmingly affirmative.

In order to combat their burgeoning water pollution problem, the Oneida Tribe has enacted numerous ordinances to protect and maintain their waters. In addition, the Oneida Tribal government includes “an environmental department that continually monitors and tests the waters of Duck Creek,” along with the other streams and wetlands. The assertion of maximum authority over water and fishing has the potential to restore the Oneida Reservation to a cleaner, healthier environment along with healthier Oneida members. An elder Earl Jordan who has lived

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52 Id. at 600 & 605.  
53 Id. at 29; The Wisconsin logging industry surrounding the Oneida people severely impacted the Oneida Tribe. Supra, Note 8, at 31. Not only were the forested cleared, but the "non-Indian use of chemicals, including pesticides and fertilizers, commercial farming and land use practices...The most severely impacted areas were our waterways." Id.  
54 Supra, Note 47, at 1.  
55 Id. at 1.  
56 Id. at 14.  
57 Id. at 17. (172 of 181 respondents). Id.  
58 Such as the Water Resource Ordinance: Chapter 48; and Hunting, Fishing and Trapping Law: Chapter 45; which are both analyzed later in this article  
59 Id. at 30.
on the Oneida Reservation all of his life said:

[Around 1990] it got better. Today there’s trout and salmon in the creek when there never used to be. People hunt rabbits now. There would be a lot of trout but the Pamperin Park dam stops the fish. Hunting is good. The coyote is coming back [indicating that small animals are plentiful]. The water is way better than it used to be. I can see the bottom now through the ice.  

III. How the Oneida Understand Duck Creek & Water Responsibilities

The Oneida culture exhibits a deep respect for water; “Our society treats and cares for the waters as a sacred element so that water remains pristine.”  

In fact, the Oneida language does not conceive of “water rights” but rather “responsibilities with respect to water.” The root word for “rain” in Mohawk (a language similar to Oneida) means “expensive, or precious, or holy.” This reflects the sacredness and value of water. Responsibility in the Oneida culture combines moral behavior “towards other people and towards the natural world…it is left to responsible individuals acting on their own good judgment rather than on the basis of legal prerequisite to behave morally and responsibly.” Essentially, it is the Oneida Tribe’s responsibility to care for their water and not the duty of the water to care for them.

The Oneida people in Wisconsin have consistently sustained their cultural affinity for water through their efforts to restore and cultivate the water in Duck Creek. These efforts date back to the earliest interactions with the water in their new, adopted homeland. “The Oneidas

60 Id. at 27 & 30.
61 Joyce Tekahnawiaks King, The Value of Water and the Meaning of Water Law For the Native Americans Known As the Haudenosaunee, CORNELL J.L. & PUB. POL’Y, 449-472, 452 (Summer 2007).
62 Id.
63 The Haudenosaunee people that included the Oneida Tribe originally lived in the Lake Ontario/St. Lawrence River basin. The French colonists referred to the Haudenosaunee people as Iroquois. The Haudenosaunee people began as five individual nations: Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca. Id. at 450-451. The Mohawk language is similar to the Oneida language.
64 Id. It is "rainy" in Oneida is: WEATHER, http://www.oneidanation.org/uploadedFiles/Departments/Language/Sub_Pages/Language_Lessons/Unit09/Vocabulary/PDF/weather.pdf (last visited Aug. 31, 2012).
65 Id.
66 Id. at 470.
understood the interaction and reciprocity of all things with the main waterway of Duck Creek. Not only was Duck Creek a means of food sustenance and economic goods for the Oneida Tribe, it was also “a community meeting place.” The Oneida people have always seen food as a way to physically sustain the people but also as a means for emotional and cultural stability; “No activity on the reservation has more potential for significantly affecting the economic and political integrity and the health and welfare of all reservation citizens than water use, quality, and regulation.”

Ohneka'shon:'a

_Ehtho nitohtona'k ne onkwa'nikon:ra._

The Waters
We give thanks to all the Waters of the world for quenching our thirst and providing us with strength. Water is life. We know its power in many forms - waterfalls and rain, mists and streams, rivers and oceans. With one mind, we send greetings and thanks to the spirit of Water.

_Now our minds are one._

One of the cultural practices of the Oneida people is refraining from taking all of the available “catch” and instead leaving enough for others. The Oneida people believe in taking only what you need to sustain yourself and your family. There is also a moral component to this practice of leaving some “catch” “for the future, ensuring the future of seven generations for

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67 Id. at 28.  
68 Supra, Note 42, at 21.  
70 Id. at 449-450. This quote is from an article that describes the value of water and the meaning of water law for these Native Americans. Id. The writer is a member of the Mohawk Nation and the director of the Haudenosaunee Environmental Task Force. Id.  
71 Id. at 457.  
72 Id.
your family and the species’ survival.” These practices embrace the concept of food sovereignty and sustainability. The Oneida Tribe strives for food independence.

IV. Keys Steps Tribes Must Take In Order to Protect Their Waters & Key Aspects of a Tribal Water Ordinance

Tribal governments can and do protect water as a community to create goals and later follow specific steps to reach those goals and draft protective tribal laws.74

a.) Historical Context

The significance of water has been historically recognized in treaties.75 One of the first agreements between the Europeans and the Native Americans included, “[a]s long as the grass is green, as long as the water flows downhill, and as long as the sun rises in the east and sets in the west.” However, these agreements conflated two concepts for the Oneida Tribe, who saw water responsibilities as different from water rights. In the Oneida Tribe’s view, they “never gave away [their] collective right to access, use, and enjoy the waterways, nor to hunt, fish, trap, or gather…rights to land and water have always followed from responsibilities…” In order for tribes to protect the future of water quality for future generations, they must protect themselves by taking specific actions and by drafting tribal laws.

Before analyzing suggestions for drafting tribal laws, this article will briefly explore notable federal water cases involving tribes. As previously mentioned, tribe are encouraged to find ways to bolster their sovereignty. Using federal case law along with Native American tribal law can encourage tribal self-sufficiency.

73 Id.
75 Id. at 459.
76 Supra, Note 69, at 463; Two Row Wampum Renewal Campaign -- Two Row History (Aug. 15, 2012, 4:00 PM), http://http://honorthetworow.org/?page_id=9
77 Id. at 463.
The seminal case on Indian water law is *Winters v. United States, where the Supreme Court analyzed reserved water rights.*\(^7^8\) Under *Winters*, tribal reservation water rights are typically favored over other water right claimants such as a state, the federal government, or non-tribal members.\(^7^9\) Unfortunately, the broad, general doctrine articulated in *Winters* did not give much direction to the courts.\(^8^0\) In *Winters*, the Court determined that when Congress set tribal land aside, it also “implicitly” reserved tribal water.\(^8^1\) In other words, the Court did not interpret these tribal rights as arising from the Constitution or explicit statutory language, but rather by inferring Congress's intent as evidenced by treaty.\(^8^2\) Even if the tribe does not actively use the water, the tribe still maintains the reserved tribal water right.\(^8^3\)

The Department of the Interior (DOI) acts as trustee for tribal water rights, but also maintains legal obligations to greater national interests, sometimes resulting in a conflict of interest.\(^8^4\) This conflict of interest within the DOI is one of the many reasons why tribal governments have chosen to adopt and enforce their own tribal laws to protect reservation waters.\(^8^5\)

Since *Winters*, the courts have concentrated on a tribal reservation's perceived purpose and then determined how much water is needed to fulfill that purpose.\(^8^6\) For many years, courts determined that the purpose of most reservations was agricultural, keeping in line with official federal policy to encourage Native people to become farmers and ranchers.\(^8^7\) Under the agricultural framework, the Supreme Court held the calculation of tribal water needs determined

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80 Id. at 52.
81 Supra, Note 79, at 53.
82 Id.
83 Hackford v. Babbit, 14 F.3d 1457, 1461 (10th Cir. 1994).
84 Supra, Note 79, at 53.
85 Id.
86 Id.
87 Id. at 56.
on the physical capacity of the reservation land using a standard of "practically irrigable acreage" (PIA), not calculated based on the number of Native Americans living on the reservation. Later, the courts augmented the general rule that the “purpose” of a reservation is to encourage agriculture, and subsequently changed to create a "permanent home and abiding place." While the Court has established a record for Native American reservations for agricultural purposes, it has left open the purpose of a reservation for nonagricultural purposes. Furthermore, even though the court found the purpose of the reservation to be agricultural, this does not mean the reservation needs an agricultural purpose in order for the tribe to have rights to water access, especially if the tribe is more focused on fishing.

In *Colville v. Confederated Tribes*, the Ninth Circuit recognized tribes, not states, should regulate their own waterways, because of how critical water is to the tribes. Often states will "emphasize consumptive uses and ignore conservation-type uses," whereas tribes have the exact opposite goals when determining priorities for water ordinances. However, before a tribe drafts its own water code, the tribe should weigh the cost of effective enforcement against the need for a tribal water code. A tribal water code may not be advantageous in the following situations:

(1) where water is not being extensively used by members or non-members, (2) the tribe does not foresee development of its water resources in the near future by members or non-tribal members, and (3) the tribe's sovereignty will not be eroded if it does not enact and enforce a water code.

This article focuses on successful tribal statutory schemes for protecting water by analyzing

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90 Supra, Note 79, at 58.
91 Id. at 59.
93 Supra, Note 74, at 566.
94 Id.
95 Id.
specific goals and suggested guidelines.

b.) Tribal Statutory Suggested Guidelines

First, a tribe ideally should establish clear goals regarding what they want to accomplish by preserving their reservation's waters.96 A tribe may protect its reservation's water for fishing purposes or to maintain healthy drinking water. Second, with this goal in mind, the tribe ideally should brainstorm steps to reach that goal.97 As a starting point, the tribe should consider testing water quality on the reservation to pinpoint what particular threats exist.98 Also, the tribe should inventory all the reservation water types, such as oceans, lakes, rivers, streams, creeks, canals, dams, swamps, and/or ponds. All bodies of water within a single watershed interact. Thus, tribes should pay attention to whether they have one watershed or multiple watersheds to address.

While there are several approaches to enforcement, one approach is for the tribe to identify tribal officials who will be responsible for fulfilling the tribe's goals.99 Then, the tribe ideally should decide how to empower these officials and how to hold these officials responsible if they do not carry out their duties. All of this should be addressed in the course of drafting a tribal water law. The tribe should identify any experts they can draw upon (such as universities, non-profits, federal or state agencies) and materials they may need in order to fulfill these goals (such as water thermometers, water quality test strips, and even a lab willing to help test these water samples, if the tribe does not have access to their own lab).100 Third, the tribe should inform the community about their efforts to maintain the reservation water by holding meetings

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96 See generally Id. at 564.
97 See generally Id.
98 See generally Id. at 565
99 Id.
100 Id. Often tribes will develop water departments to monitor water users within the reservation and the quality and quantity of the reservation's waterways. Id. A hydro-geologist or firm may help a tribe better learn how the water moves through the reservation along with precipitation gauging and stream gauging. Id.
and by issuing a yearly water resources report. When tribal members are informed, they can better support their tribe's goal to preserve tribal waters. After these preliminary steps have been accomplished, the tribe can move on to other important aspects of drafting a tribal water law.

c.) Practices for Customized Tribal Water Laws

In order to provide a clear statute, a tribe may include their reasons and intentions for a water ordinance. In addition, the ordinance should establish tribal leaders responsible for carrying out the water ordinance. Third, the law should include rules regarding how changes and/or corrections may be made to the water resource ordinance. Fourth, the law should flesh out terminology for a reader to understand the law. Fifth, the law should establish the tribal leaders specific responsibilities for carrying out this ordinance. Sixth, the law should outline a plan to handle water emergencies. Seventh, the law should include an appeals process. Eighth, the law should require all tribal members to disclose to water regulation officials if any person is discharging substances in the reservation's waters. Ninth, the law should include information on sanctions and penalties for individuals that violate this water resource law. Tenth, the law would include information on how non-tribal members will be treated when he or she violates a tribal water ordinance.

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101 Supra, Note 8, at 43, "creating such a cooperative network is to build relationships and share information at the local level, which empowers community members and allows them to realize they can generate input, which can lead to decisions and policies based upon census." Id.
102 Id.
103 Supra, Note 74, at 564.
104 Id. at 565.
105 See generally Id. at 565.
106 Id. at 572.
107 Id.
108 Id. at 579.
109 Id.
V. Oneida’s Water Resource Ordinance Analysis

Ka’nekalunyuhsé Olihwá’ke

the matters of the different kinds of waters

The Oneida’s water ordinance meets all of the standards established above. First, the tribe clearly establishes the purpose and policy in section one (48.1).110 The second section is authority (48.2).111 This is where the Oneida Tribe addresses other controlling legal sources relevant to this ordinance as well as the tribe’s policies on adoption, amendment, and repeal.112 The third section includes definitions (48.3).113 The fourth section covers powers and duties (48.4),114 powers and duties refer to the responsibilities of the Oneida Environmental Department (“Department”).

The ordinance then describes the water quality standards incorporating references to the United States Code, which make these federal statutes binding on the Oneida Tribe, as well as special/emergency orders.115 The fifth section provides for judicial review (48.5), in which “any person can request a review of the necessity for and reasonableness of any order of the Department under this Ordinance” by following the established guidelines.116 The sixth section is the permitting and reporting section (48.6), which “requires all persons discharging any substance to the waters of the Reservation requiring a permit under the Federal Water Pollution Control Act.”117 Finally, the reporting section includes procedures for public hearings dealing with environmental pollution as well as the enforcement mechanisms and penalties associated

110 ONEIDA TRIBE OF INDIANS OF WISCONSIN, Water Resources Ordinance Chapter 48.
111 Id.
112 Id.
113 Id.
114 Id.
115 Id.
116 Id.
117 Id.
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with environmental violations.\textsuperscript{118}

This article will examine each section of the code and explain its strengths. Most of these strengths compare the water resource ordinance outlined earlier.

\textbf{a.) Purpose & Policy}

The purpose section of the Oneida water law (48.1-1) conveys power to a tribal water department to protect and enhance the quality of all waters of the Reservation, ground and surface, public and private.\textsuperscript{119} This purpose section lists a variety of water source pollution including but not limited to “residential, farm, recreational, municipal, industrial or commercial that is needed to protect human life and health, fish, and aquatic life, scenic, and ecological values and domestic, municipal, recreational, industrial, agricultural, cultural, religious, and other uses of Reservation water resources.”\textsuperscript{120} The tribal law also encourages a liberal interpretation of all rules and orders, “in favor of the policy objectives set forth in the Ordinance.”\textsuperscript{121} The Oneida law ties all sections of the water ordinance back to the policy objectives, which encourage any additions, adoptions, or revisions to this ordinance to be focused and centered on the Oneida's policy goals.

The first section of the ordinance introduces and describes the relevant agencies that enforce its purpose and policy.\textsuperscript{122} It identifies two entities: the Department and the Board.\textsuperscript{123} The Oneida Environmental Department “serve(s) as the central unit of the tribal government to protect, maintain and improve the quality and management of the waters of the Oneida Reservation, ground and surface, public and private.”\textsuperscript{124} Then, the ordinance describes the

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\textsuperscript{118} \textit{Id.} \\
\textsuperscript{119} \textit{Id.} \\
\textsuperscript{120} \textit{Id.} \\
\textsuperscript{121} \textit{Id.} \\
\textsuperscript{122} \textit{Id.} \\
\textsuperscript{123} \textit{Id.} \\
\textsuperscript{124} \textit{Id.} The Department generally has judicial duties of enforcing ordinances as well as legislative duties. \textit{Id.}
\end{flushright}
Oneida Environment Resource Board (“Board”) (48.1-3) as the group that serves the Department in an advisory capacity develop and administer programs related to this ordinance.\textsuperscript{125}

b.) Authority

The water resource ordinance has a delegation of authority section (48.2-1), which references the Oneida Tribal Constitution.\textsuperscript{126} The Constitution provisions that directly relate to this ordinance include Article IV, Section 1(f), which focuses on enumerated powers to promulgate ordinances and Article IV Section 2, which deal with future powers.\textsuperscript{127} The water resource ordinance also lists the federal laws applicable to water resources that apply to this Tribe.\textsuperscript{128} This reflects the value of water to the Oneida Tribe.\textsuperscript{129}

c.) Definitions

The third section of this ordinance includes definitions (48.3-1) and there are several interesting aspects to the definitions section.\textsuperscript{130} First, several definitions directly compare terms used in the ordinance so the reader can understand the difference between the two terms.\textsuperscript{131} Second, other definitions reference United States laws and regulations.\textsuperscript{132} Third, one definition references the Oneida Tribal Constitution.\textsuperscript{133}

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{125} Id. The Board has more generally legislative duties to serve as an advisor to the Department as well as conduct public hearings regarding alleged or potential environmental pollution. Id.
\bibitem{126} Id.
\bibitem{127} Id.
\bibitem{128} Id.
\bibitem{129} In addition, the ordinance addresses adoption, amendments and repeals (48.2-2). Id. This section is specific and references protocols for a constitutional amendment. Id. For example, in order for the water resource ordinance to be amended, one must follow the instructions set forth in the Oneida Administrative Procedures Act by the Oneida Business Committee or the Oneida General Tribal Council. Id. This section of the ordinance also addresses that when a provision becomes invalid, the remainder of the ordinance remains valid with the exclusion of that invalid provision. Id. In addition, this ordinance states that any other laws, policies, regulations, resolutions, or ordinances the conflict with this ordinance are repealed unless they were explicitly reenacted after this ordinance. Id. Furthermore, it claims that the more stringent law shall control when related laws purport to regulate the same activity. Id.
\bibitem{130} Id.
\bibitem{131} Id.
\bibitem{132} Id.
\bibitem{133} Id.
\end{thebibliography}
For instance, section 48.3-7 "non-point source" compares "point source" in this same section. "Non-point source" is distinguished from "point source" in the definition of "non-point source," “a land management activity which contributes to runoff, seepage or percolation which adversely affects or threatens the quality of waters of Reservation and which is not a point source as defined in Section 3-10 (emphasis added).”134 This underlined distinction is helpful for readers to understand the difference between non-point source and point source. Section 3-10, specified as 48.3-10, “Point Source,” is defined as:

[A] discernable, confined and discrete conveyance, including but not limited to any pipe, ditch, channel, tunnel, conduit, well, discrete fissure, container, rolling stock, concentrated animal feeding operation, or vessel or other floating craft from which pollutants may be discharged into waters of the Reservation.135 ‘Point Source’ specifically includes any discernable, confined and discrete conveyance of storm water.136

Other definitions that incorporate references of the two definitions include Section 48.3-12 “Pollution” which references Section 1-1, which is not a definition section but the purpose and policy of the ordinance.137 Another definition that distinguishes terminology is Section 48.3-20 “Water of the Reservation,” which references Section 3-21, “Wetlands” at Section 48.3-21.138

Second, the definition section makes note of United States laws and regulations such as with 48.3-11, “Pollutant,” when it includes the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, codified at 42 U.S.C. § 7412.139 In addition, the Oneida Tribe coordinates with the Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources (DNR) to preserve the Oneida Reservation and its natural resources.140 By

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134 Id.
135 Id.
136 Id.
137 Id.
138 Id.
139 Id. See infra: The Oneida Tribe has a close working relationship with the United States government as seen through references such as this, as well as through explicit agreements such as the United States Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) approving the Oneida Tribe as “treatment of a state” (TAS) for regulatory purposes under the Clean Water Act. Id.
140 Id.
mentioning federal laws in their tribal codes, the Oneida people are utilizing their maximum authority. Other definitions that reference United States laws and regulations include section 48.3-15, “Solid Waste,” which refers to the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, 33 U.S.C. 1251 et. seq.\footnote{\textit{Supra}, Note 110.}

Third, the definition section mentions the Oneida Treaty of 1838 in section 48.3-14 under “Reservation” with a citation to the Statutes At Large, 7 Stat. 566 (1838).\footnote{\textit{Id.}}

d.) Powers & Duties

The fourth part of the Oneida Water Resource Ordinance describes its powers and duties (48.4-1).\footnote{\textit{Id.}} This section begins with explaining the Departments’ duties:

The Department shall have general supervisory authority over the waters of the Reservation. It should carry out and coordinate the planning, management and regulatory programs necessary for implementing the policy and purpose of the chapter. The Department also shall formulate plans and programs for the prevention and abatement of water pollution and for the maintenance and improvement of water quality.\footnote{\textit{Id.}}

As noted earlier, the Department has “legislative” type duties such as planning, managing regulatory programs, and formulating plans and programs for prevention.\footnote{\textit{Id.}} The Department also has “judicial” type duties in that the Department has the general supervisory authority over the Reservation waters.\footnote{\textit{Id.}}

It is essential the Department accommodate to the different Oneida Reservation waters and their functions while also addressing water degradation caused by forces outside the Reservation's boundaries.

The powers and duties section is divided into a general section of the duties and

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{141} Supra, Note 110. \\
\textsuperscript{142} Id. \\
\textsuperscript{143} Id. \\
\textsuperscript{144} Id. \\
\textsuperscript{145} Id. \\
\textsuperscript{146} Id.}
responsibilities of the Department (48.4-1), then by a more specific section on water quality standards (48.4-2), and finally a section dealing with special circumstances and emergency orders (48.4-3).  

First, the water quality standards are set by the Department, “recognize that different standards may be required for the different waters or portions thereof.”

Second, the powers and duties section covers the purposes of the water quality standards (48.4-2). These purposes in many ways reflect the purposes and policies indicated at the beginning of this ordinance. The purpose of the water quality standards:

..shall protect the public interest, which includes the protection of (i) the public health and welfare, (ii) the present and prospective future use of such waters for public and private water supplies, (iii) the propagation of fish, aquatic life, and wildlife, (iv) domestic and recreational purposes, and (v) agricultural, culture, religious, commercial, industrial, and other legitimate uses.

Compare this to the purposes at the beginning of the ordinance, which is broad to incorporate many potential sources of water pollution such as, “residential, farm, recreational, municipal, industrial or commercial that is needed to protect human life and health, fish, and aquatic life, scenic, and ecological values and domestic, municipal, recreational, industrial, agricultural, cultural, religious, and other uses of Reservation water resources.” Most of these present and potential sources of water pollution are the same, which indicates the ordinance is strong because this synchronization shows the drafters had an eye for the future.

In addition, the powers and duties section explains the process for adopting or revising water quality criteria. The Department is responsible for reviewing water quality standards at

\[\text{Id.}\]
least every three years.\textsuperscript{154} Tribal members use public notices to access these water quality standards. The powers and duties section stresses statistical techniques, further elaborated in its own “subsection,” which references 40 C.F.R. 132, Water Quality Guidance for the Great Lakes System.\textsuperscript{155} In addition, according to 48.4-4, the Department is permitted to issue “general orders” to prevent and reduce water pollution.\textsuperscript{156} These orders are authorized after the interested parties have had the opportunity to be heard. This safeguard promotes fairness and prevents the Department from making arbitrary decisions because all affected persons are given opportunity to establish reasons for their actions. The Department adds a further “safeguard” by permitting the Department to consult other tribal departments and entities for needed information.\textsuperscript{157}

Finally, the powers and duties section covers special/emergency orders (48.4-5).\textsuperscript{158} First, the Department may direct other persons to control tribal water pollution.\textsuperscript{159} Should the person not be able to fulfill his or her responsibilities as provided by the Department, he or she may request a time modification.\textsuperscript{160} This flexibility, again, prevents the Department from making arbitrary decisions and also gives people accommodations when they request them. In addition, the Department may give temporary emergency orders without a prior hearing when the Department decides immediate action is necessary.\textsuperscript{161} The Department also has the right to investigate and/or inspect to ensure compliance with general or special orders (48.4-6).\textsuperscript{162}

1. \textbf{Collaboration with the Board & Oneida Business Committee}

This section discusses the Department’s collaboration with the Board and the Oneida
Business Committee (48.4-7). This agreement prompts other groups to control water pollution on the Reservation. The powers and duties section also addresses the authority the Department has to: address nuisances (48.4-8), address noncompliance orders (48.4-9), establish the safe water drinking program (48.4-10), give priority to certain bodies of water such as the Duck-Apple-Ashwaubenon Creeks—the Tribe’s priority watershed (48.4-11).

e.) Review

The next section of the Oneida Water Resources Ordinance is review (48.5-1), which establishes that “any person in interest may secure a review of the necessity for and reasonableness of any order of the Department under this ordinance.” The review section establishes procedures petitioners must follow for an order to be modified or changed. These procedures are detailed and precise.

The final section is reporting (48.6-1). This section addresses both tribal and non-tribal members under the term “persons,” which are defined under the definitions section as 48.3-9 as “…an individual, owner, operator, corporation chartered under federal, state or Tribal law, limited liability company, partnership, association, municipality, township, interstate agency, tribal agency, county agency, state agency, or federal agency.”

1.) Authority over non-tribal members

The Oneida Tribe is unclear on how much authority they have over non-tribal members. Perhaps the Oneida Tribe could reference another ordinance or law to show that non-tribal members are affected if they discharged harmful substances into Oneida Reservation's waters.

\[163\] Id.
\[164\] Id.
\[165\] Id.
\[166\] Id.
\[167\] Id.
\[168\] Id.
\[169\] Id.
In *Montana v. United States*, the Supreme Court held that a tribe may manage the on-reservation activities of nonmembers on non-Indian lands within the reservation in two specific circumstances. First, the tribe may regulate the activity if the nonmembers had a consensual agreement with the tribe. Second, the tribe may regulate the activities of a nonmember if he or she "threatens or has some direct effect on the political integrity, economic security, or health or welfare of the tribe." In other words, a tribal government can exercise authority over non-tribal members if their actions would poison or contaminate the tribe's waters.

VI. Oneida’s Fishing Ordinance Analysis

Our laws concerning hunting, fishing and trapping

A tribe would have a water resource ordinance to maintain healthy waters for fishing. Again, the Oneida people are a role model to other tribes because their fishing ordinance incorporates the Tribe's culture with a creative approach starting with the purpose and policy.

The relevant sections of the Oneida's Hunting, Fishing, and Trapping Law, Chapter 45 include: purpose and policy, (45.1) adoption, amendment, and repeal, (45.2) definitions, (45.3) administration and supervision, (45.4) conservation wardens, (45.5) licenses and permits, (45.6) hunting, fishing, and trapping restrictions, (45.7) fishing, (45.14) conservation code violations and (45.15) sanctions (45.16).

a.) Purpose & Policy

First, as seen in the Water Resource Ordinance Chapter 48, the purpose and policy

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173 ONEIDA TRIBE OF INDIANS OF WISCONSIN, Hunting, Fishing, and Trapping Law Chapter 45.
section is clearly established by the Oneida Tribe in the Hunting, Fishing, and Trapping Law
Chapter 45. The Tribe’s goal is to “conserve and preserve wildlife on the Oneida Indian
Reservation, to respect each other as sportsmen, and to continually improve the law.” This
section further fleshes out their policy goals (45.1-2). This section is again similar to the
Water Resource Ordinance policy section because both are broad enough to include protection
for wildlife and natural resources. Likewise, the policy is specific not to be construed as
arbitrary. For example, the policy is to provide “(a) an adequate and flexible system for the
protection and conservation of all wildlife and natural resources on the Reservation.” Thus,
this policy includes wildlife needing protection as well as the adaptability to add more
wildlife. Moreover, section (a) includes both wildlife and natural resources, which go hand-
in-hand because wildlife are dependent on natural resources and natural resources are dependent
on wildlife.

Another strength relates to “(b) for the establishment of rules and regulations relating to
the harvest of wildlife and the use of recreational areas on the Reservation.” This language
preserves both practical uses of water such as food sustainability as well as for enjoyment or
recreational reasons. Then, “(c) for the general management and supervision of all wildlife on
the Reservation,” is essential because it specifies on the Reservation. Finally, (d) “for the
establishment of enforcement systems, license requirements, and prohibited acts and penalties
relating to hunting, fishing, and trapping on the Reservation” is critical because maintaining
natural resources and wildlife involve enforcement, which is a majority of this statute.\textsuperscript{184}

The Oneida Tribe addresses sovereignty rights and self-governance under (45.1-3).\textsuperscript{185} This section exists to further their purpose of promulgating unique rules and regulations within the Oneida Reservation boundaries.\textsuperscript{186} This ordinance indicates in section 45.1-4 that it applies to all persons, including tribal members and non-tribal members.\textsuperscript{187} In addition, under section 45.1-5, the ordinance indicates that specific changes such start and end fishing season days as well as limits on specific fish per season will be made each year in order to maintain healthy natural resources and wildlife.\textsuperscript{188} The Oneida Tribe has made it explicit that these laws should be “considered civil in nature, rather than criminal.”\textsuperscript{189}

There may be a number of factors for why the Oneidas chose to punish civilly rather than criminally. One reason may be that the Tribe has few resources in the area of criminal law for law enforcement, police officers, jails, and prisons.\textsuperscript{190} Thus, the Tribe opted for civil enforcement of the law.

Finally, section (45.1-7) permits the Oneida Police Department to enforce this ordinance.\textsuperscript{191} Unlike the Water Resource Ordinance, this ordinance did not include an authority section with information about the Oneida Environmental Department and the Oneida Environmental Resource Board.\textsuperscript{192} The Tribe did not include a fishing ordinance authority section because all the ordinances are intended to be read together under the canons of statutory

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{184} Id.
  \item \textsuperscript{185} Id.
  \item \textsuperscript{186} Id. It is interesting that this self-governance section was included in the Hunting, Fishing, and Trapping Law Chapter 45 and not included in the Water Resource Ordinance Chapter 48 because tribal sovereignty issues are always a forefront issue for tribes.
  \item \textsuperscript{187} Supra, Note 173.
  \item \textsuperscript{188} Id.
  \item \textsuperscript{189} Id.
  \item \textsuperscript{190} The United Supreme Court claimed it is much more difficult to assert criminal jurisdiction over non-Indians. See Oliphant v. Suquamish, 431 U.S. 964 (1977)
  \item \textsuperscript{191} Id.
  \item \textsuperscript{192} See generally Supra, Note 173; Supra, Note 110.
\end{itemize}
construction. Thus, there would be no reason to incorporate the water ordinance authority section in the fishing ordinance.\textsuperscript{193}

b.) Definitions

Section 45.3 contains definitions and is helpful when referencing various ordinance sections.\textsuperscript{194} This ordinance is different from the Water Resource Ordinance in that it includes language to broaden its scope and gives the introduction, “This section shall govern the definitions of words and phrases used within the law.”\textsuperscript{195} All words not defined herein shall be used in their ordinary and everyday sense."\textsuperscript{196} This provisions dictates that if a word is not included in the ordinance’s definition section, one may reference to the ordinary, everyday definition. This definition section, unlike the definition section in the Water Resource Ordinance, does not directly compare with other definitions.\textsuperscript{197} In addition, this ordinance references other tribal legal documents as well as United States laws under the section (g)

\textsuperscript{193} The second section, adoption, amendment, repeal (45.2) is similar to the Water Resource Ordinance Chapter 48, but different in a few respects. \textit{Id.} Both ordinances include that the Oneida Business Committee adopted the law under section (45.2-1). \textit{Id.} However, the Hunting, Fishing, and Trapping Law Chapter 45 include the respective resolution numbers as well as their amended resolutions. \textit{Supra, Note __} (Hunting, Fishing, Trapping Law). Second, the two ordinances establish that laws may be amended in the same manner under (45.2-2). \textit{Supra, Note __} (Hunting, Fishing, Trapping & Water Ordinance). The next two pieces of this section (45.2-4 & 45.2-5) include similar language. \textit{Id.} First, under section (45.2-4), the ordinance addresses that when a provision of this ordinance becomes invalid, the remainder of the ordinance remains valid with the exclusion of that invalid provision. \textit{Id.} The other similar language is section (45.2-5), which states any other laws, policies, regulations, resolutions, ordinance the conflict with this ordinance are repealed unless they were explicitly reenacted after this Ordinance. \textit{Id.} In addition, both ordinances note the more stringent law shall control when related laws purport to the same activity. \textit{Id.}

Finally, this ordinance includes a statement about sovereignty, namely “(45.2-6) “The sovereignty of the Oneida Tribe of Indians of Wisconsin is not waived by these laws. Where state law is referred to it is solely for the express purpose of providing minimal guidelines.” \textit{Supra, Note __} (Fishing Ordinance). This ordinance would likely be stronger had it included the relevant sections of the Constitution that apply to Hunting, Fishing, and Trapping Law Chapter 45 like the Water Resource Ordinance Chapter 48 noted. This ordinance would be made stronger by including sections from the Constitution because the Tribal Constitution is the Oneida Tribe’s foundational document. The directly relevant Constitution sections of the Oneida Tribe include Article I-Territory/Jurisdiction of the Tribe, Article IV-Powers of the General Tribal Council, Section 1(f), which deals with promulgating ordinances, and Article IV, Section 2, which deals with future powers. \textit{Supra, Note __} (Constitute and By-Laws).\textsuperscript{194} \textit{Supra, Note 173.}\textsuperscript{195} \textit{Id.}\textsuperscript{196} \textit{Id.}\textsuperscript{197} \textit{See generally Supra, Note 173; Supra, Note 110.}
“Endangered or threatened” definition. The ordinance also included the definition (ii) “Take or Taking,” which is important because the word may be construed very broadly, “pursuing, shooting, shooting at, hunting, fishing, netting (including placing or setting any net or other capturing device), capturing, harvesting, snaring or trapping any fish, wildlife or plant or attempting any of the foregoing.” Perhaps this definition would be stronger with the language “including but not limited to” in order for the Tribe to best protect their wildlife and natural resources, especially if a person attempts to cause harm in some non-codified way. The definition section also distinguished between “member” in section (q) and “Non-Indian” in section (s). The Water Resource Ordinance did not have these definitions. “Member” is defined as “any person who is an enrolled member of the Oneida Tribe.” “Non-Indian” is defined as “a person who is not a member of any federally recognized Indian, tribe, band or community and is not the spouse or the dependent of an enrolled Oneida Tribal member.”

c.) Administration & Supervision

The fourth section, administration and supervision (45.4), is similar to the authority section of the Water Resource Ordinance Chapter 48. The Board and the Department collaborate to manage and protect the fish and wildlife species within the Tribe’s Reservation. This distinction, described under section (45.4-1) is that the Board is “primarily responsible for the establishment of the regulations required under this law” while the Department “shall have the responsibility for the enforcement of this law.” Similar to the Water Resource Ordinance, this ordinance includes language under section (45.4-2) about collaboration between the Board,

198 Supra, Note 173.
199 Id.
200 Id.
201 Id.
202 Id.
203 Id.
204 Id.
205 Id.
Department, and the Oneida Business Committee or General Tribal Council. The remainder of section (45.4-2) describes the authority of the Board after consulting with the Department about opening and closing fishing season, opening and closing lakes, establishing and/or changing the maximum amount of fish that may be caught, describing the approved methods for taking the fish, establishing fees, license and permit costs, and establishing boat rules and regulations.

**d.) Conservation Wardens**

The fifth section, conservation wardens (45.5), helps improve and maintain Oneida Tribal sovereignty, which adds to Tribal food sovereignty. A Tribal conservation warden must have an associate degree and a minimum number of political science credits or a degree in a closely related field. The Tribe does not require a ‘hard’ science background, since this is closely related to the conservation warden’s duties of observing persons engaged in hunting, fishing and/or trapping, as well as investigating wildlife and environmental law violations. A conservation warden must also pass a background investigation, a physical examination, and a psychological evaluation. The Oneida Tribe’s collaboration with the State of Wisconsin is apparent because a conservation warden is required to “obtain a State of Wisconsin Law Enforcement Certification within six (6) months of employment and maintain certification during employment.” Finally, the Oneida Tribe requires the conservation warden “(f) reside within a twenty (20) mile radius of the Reservation within three (3) months of employment.”

Requiring conservation wardens to live within the reservation helps the wardens perform their

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206 See generally Supra, Note 173; Supra, Note 110.
207 Supra, Note 173.
208 Id.
209 Id. The ordinance does not describe why political science is a relevant background for a conservation warden.
210 Id.
211 Id.
212 Id.
job because they can develop an understanding of the land, its resources, and the people.

e.) Licenses & Permits

This ordinance also lays out provisions for receiving licenses and authorized methods to take fish.\textsuperscript{213} Section 45.6 governs licenses and permits. This section distinguishes between non-members and Non-Indians.\textsuperscript{214} The ordinance requires all persons, non-member spouses and dependents of members and Non-Indians to have a valid sportsman license issued by the Department.\textsuperscript{215} The current cost for a Non-Indian sportsman license is $500, as compared to the Members Sportsman License, which costs $10.\textsuperscript{216} The Non-Indian elder-sportsman license costs $250.\textsuperscript{217} These sportsman licenses expire August 31\textsuperscript{st} of each year.\textsuperscript{218} Clearly, the Oneida Tribe intends for tribal members to have easier access to licenses than outsiders.

f.) Hunting, Fishing & Trapping Restrictions

The seventh section is section 45.7, which governs hunting, fishing, and trapping restrictions. This section discusses general restrictions and prohibitions with licenses.\textsuperscript{219} This ordinance explicitly establishes fish handling.\textsuperscript{220} For example, fish should not be wasted as set out in section 45.7-1(b).\textsuperscript{221} Individuals are not permitted to sell, purchase, or trade the fish they catch without meeting one of the exceptions according to section 45.7-1(d).\textsuperscript{222} This shows the Oneida people do not want commercial incentives to drive the Tribe's fishing. Also, it can be inferred that the Oneida Tribe does not want anyone selling Reservation fish. This supports food sovereignty because the Oneida Tribe is able to maintain control of their fish as a food source.

\textsuperscript{213} Id.
\textsuperscript{214} Id.
\textsuperscript{215} Id.
\textsuperscript{216} Id.
\textsuperscript{217} Id.
\textsuperscript{218} Id.
\textsuperscript{219} Id.
\textsuperscript{220} Id.
\textsuperscript{221} Id.
\textsuperscript{222} Id.
when individuals are not allowed to sell, purchase or trade the fish, meaning more fish will stay within the Reservation for Tribal consumption. Other provisions within this section promote Oneida fish control. Particularly, to promote food sovereignty, it includes a prohibition of exceeding the possession limit as set by the annual regulations, possessing any wildlife without permission from the Department, and taking wildlife during closed seasons.223 Furthermore, this ordinance section, specifically, (45.7-1(e)) prohibits an individual taking another person’s wildlife without that person’s consent.224

**g.) Fishing**

Section 45.14 governs fishing. Generally, persons are not allowed to injure fish, and/or disturb fish eggs except for “normal recreational or fisheries research practices” authorized by the Board and the Department.225 The fishing season is year-round unless one of the regulatory divisions set restrictions.226 Curiously, no individual is to discharge firearms into the Reservation's waters pursuant to section 45.14-6.227 Also, the Tribe allows fish trading only “between members on the lands and waters of the Tribe” per section 45.14-8.228

Because a healthy and robust stock of fish in the Reservation’s waters increases the food security of Tribal members, the code discourages commercial trade in fish. Another important piece of this section governs fishing on Duck Creek in section 45.14-9.229 This is important because Duck Creek is the Oneida Tribe's most valuable water source both spiritually and economically to the Tribe.230 While the Tribe permits ice fishing and night fishing pursuant to sections 45.14-10 and 45.14-11, respectively, the Tribe does not permit motorized boats on

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223 Id.
224 Id.
225 Id.
226 Id.
227 Id.
228 Id.
229 Id.
230 Supra, Note 43 at 21.
Tribal waters. More specifically, individuals are restricted to electric motors or human-powered watercraft. This restriction on internal combustion engines preserves and maintains the fish and water quality. The fishing section also includes information about transportation.

Section 45.14-17 functions as a health advisory. This section includes this warning in a bolded font: “Warning: Fish Caught in Duck Creek, ducks, geese, and other wildlife may contain PCB’s. Women and children are most at risk for health defects. Detailed information is available from the Oneida Conservation Department.” This warning demonstrates the collaboration between various tribal organizations, specifically, the Oneida Conservation Department.

h.) Conservation Code Violations

The next section governs conservation code violations and details charges that can be levied against individuals who violating the ordinance. The Board serves as a court, hearing the individual charges. This section empowers the conservation warden to issue citations for violations of this ordinance. Examples of violations include: fishing without a license or permit, unlawfully possessing a special permit, possession of fish without a license or permit, and waste of wildlife.

i.) Sanctions

The final relevant section is section 45.16, Sanctions that lists all of the possible violations and their ramifications. In addition, all persons, not just the conservation wardens, are

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231 Supra, Note 110.
232 Id.
233 Id.
234 Id.
235 Id.
236 Id.
237 Id.
238 Id.
encouraged to report violations.\textsuperscript{239} The ordinance provides that “all fines and/or forfeitures shall be paid to the Conservation Department.”\textsuperscript{240} The ordinance does allow sanctioned individuals to complete community service by discretion of the Board at a rate of one (1) hour per ten dollars ($10.00) of the fine.\textsuperscript{241} This provision seeks to maximize community self-reliance and social justice. Examples of violations include: fishing without a license or permit, unlawfully possessing a special permit, possession of fish without a license/permit, waste of wildlife.

1. \textbf{Culturally Specific Elements of the Oneida Water Code}

One of the unique violations includes “Fail[ure] to deliver harvested wildlife to designated elder, disabled person or person in need of nourishment.”\textsuperscript{242} The penalty for violating this provision is high compared to other penalties. The first violation of the ordinance is penalized at three hundred dollars ($300) and the second violation is penalized at six hundred dollars ($600).\textsuperscript{243} This penalty section enshrines the Oneida Tribe’s traditional value of providing for elders and disabled persons. This is another instance of the Oneida Tribe enhancing its food sovereignty, by encouraging catching tribal members to catch fish for Tribal consumption rather than re-sale. In this way, the Oneida Tribe crafted their fishing policy in order to sustain the Tribe, bolstering their food sovereignty.

\textbf{VII. How Water and Fishing Codes Connect to Tribal Food Sovereignty}

For the Oneida Nation, water is an indispensible part of their cultural identity and spiritual life.\textsuperscript{244} Since the Oneida people arrived in Wisconsin, Duck Creek has provided not

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{239} \textit{Id.}
\item \textsuperscript{240} \textit{Id.}
\item \textsuperscript{241} \textit{Id.}
\item \textsuperscript{242} \textit{Id.}
\item \textsuperscript{243} \textit{Id.}
\item \textsuperscript{244} See generally, Jessica Owley Lippmann, \textit{Tribal Sovereignty Over Water Quality}, 20 J. LAND USE & ENVTL. L. 61, 67 (2004).
\end{itemize}
only a means of food sustenance and economic goods but also "a community meeting place." Duck Creek brought and held the Tribe together. For nearly all tribal nations, waterways provide means for drinking water, fishing, and religious ceremonies. Each tribe ideally should incorporate their culture values and possibly even parts of their own language to these tribal ordinances. The Oneida Nation and other tribes with similar tribal ordinances are able to become food independent while also assuring their water and fishing ordinances will be appropriate not only for physical nutrients, but also to satisfy their religious and cultural needs. Tribal water and fishing ordinances form the foundation of food sovereignty, allowing tribal nations to protect a multitude of interests such as sovereignty, nutrition, cultural vitality, and religious autonomy.

VIII. Oneida Tribe’s collaboration with the Wisconsin and the United States

By drafting a tribal water and fishing ordinance, the Oneida Tribe is asserting their maximum sovereignty, while at the same time collaborating with the State of Wisconsin and the United States Federal Government in ways that enhance their sovereignty. The Oneida Tribe is involved in cooperative policy-making with the United States both on and off the Reservation. This Tribe was one of the first Native American Nations to be approved for “treatment as a state” (TAS) for regulatory purposes under the Clean Water Act. The Oneida Tribe has a lot of water, “There are approximately 233 miles of rivers, creeks, and streams; 78 lakes and ponds covering approximately 112 acres; and about 100 wetlands covering approximately 1,450 acres.” The United States Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) approved the Oneida Tribe’s Water Quality Standards (WQS) and thus, the Tribe assumed authority for activities on

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245 Supra, Note 42, at 21.
246 Supra, Note 244, at 67.
247 Supra, Note 68, at 21.
248 Id.
the Reservation relating to the water quality. However, a lawsuit commenced shortly after the Oneida Tribe was approved for TAS, and the Oneida Tribe subsequently lost their TAS status. The EPA has worked to revise their strategy for TAS approvals by “improv[ing] legal defensibility of [their] decisions regarding tribal programs.”

The Oneida Tribe has also worked with the Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources (DNR) in order to help regulate their natural resources. On May 8, 1998, the Oneida Tribe signed a Memorandum Agreement with the Wisconsin DNR. This agreement, however, does not mean that the Tribe or the EPA, acknowledges state environmental regulatory jurisdiction the Reservation for federal environmental programs. For example, the EPA issues and certifies Clean Water Act permits of the Reservation. Nontribal permittees generally apply for and receive both federal and state permits on the Reservation to ensure that they are in compliance. Environmental regulatory jurisdiction on the Reservation is an increasingly complex issue; meanwhile, the environment continues to suffer adverse impacts.

While this collaboration with the United States is helpful in some respects, “it became painfully clear that federal policy was not going to help Oneida reach [their] environmental goals.” The Environmental Health & Safety Division began to look inward to pursue [their] goals, and the Oneida Tribe continues to take control of their own interests at stake.

One of the ways the Oneida Tribe has taken more control of their natural resources is by providing their own funding for clean water restoration from their gaming revenue. The

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249 Id.
250 *Supra*, Note 69, at 545. EPA officials altered documents to boost Oneida's TAS approval. *Id.* at 546. This information was revealed during the *Wisconsin v. EPA* trial. *Id.* Currently, the Oneida Tribe does not have a TAS status. *See APPLICATIONS & APPROVALS FOR TRIBAL WATER QUALITY STANDARDS (WQS) PROGRAM AUTHORIZATION*, http://www.epa.gov/r5water/wqs5/wqstripes.htm (last visited Aug. 31, 2011).
251 *Id.* at 546.
252 *Supra*, Note 42, at 21.
253 *Id.*
254 *Id.*
255 *Id.*
256 *Id.*
257 *Supra*, Note 44, at 562.
Oneida Tribe's Reservation waters require a great deal of maintenance in order for this resource to be preserved.\textsuperscript{258}

Numbers demonstrate how the Tribe has aggressively worked to rebuild and maintain their waters and fish. 'In the past decade, 288 acres of wetland have been restored, 29 miles of waterways have been buffered, 488 feet of stream have been re-created, 2,100 feet of trout stream habitat have been enhanced, and 670 acres of hardwoods have been planted.'\textsuperscript{259}

\textbf{IX.\quad Oneida Wetland Restoration}

The Oneida Tribe has focused on wetland restoration especially because conversion to cropland destroyed 90 percent of the original Reservation wetlands.\textsuperscript{260} The Tribe strives to maximize wetland mitigation by having a “policy of a 2:1 replacement ratio (two wetland acres are restored for each wetland acre impacted)” for existing and upcoming developments.\textsuperscript{261} The Tribe has developed National Water Quality Standards (WQS) to “protect, preserve, restore, and enhance water quality” and aquatic habitats of the Oneida Reservation.\textsuperscript{262} The wetland and watershed section exists to maintain the wetland plants and aquatic wildlife by “protecting food supplies, reproductive and nursery areas, and preventing the establishment of nuisance species.”\textsuperscript{263} By monitoring the Oneida Reservation waters, the Oneida Tribe collects water quality information for analysis and research as well as to modify the Oneida Water Resource Ordinance when needed.\textsuperscript{264}

The four major streams the Oneida monitor for drainage include: Duck Creek and its tributaries (nearly 70 percent of the Reservation), Dutchman Creek (20 percent of the Reservation), and finally, the headwaters Ashwaubenon Creek and the South Branch of the

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{258} Id.
\textsuperscript{259} Id.
\textsuperscript{260} Supra, Note 4, at 43.
\textsuperscript{261} Id. at 37
\textsuperscript{262} Id. at 36.
\textsuperscript{263} Id.
\textsuperscript{264} Id. at 37.
\end{flushleft}
Suamico River (the remainder of the Reservation). The Oneida Tribe is working on the Duck Creek Fish Passage program, which involves two dam Duck Creek removals as well as improving the third dam fish passage barrier. The goal of this project is to improve the Green Bay fishes' access, “approximately 1-mile of spawning habitat upstream of two dams have prevented fish passage.”

The second major stream, Dutchman Creek, has been one of the most impacted watersheds from agricultural pollution. Accordingly, the Oneida Tribe developed Agricultural Best Management Practices (BMPs) to protect the Dutchman Creek. Finally, the Oneida Tribe has worked to restore and protect the South Branch of Suamico Watershed by enhancing the northern pike spawning habitat. To enhance the pike-spawning habitat, the Oneida Tribe is planting native vegetation along the stream channels.

Other components of the Oneida Water Resource Program include: monitoring stream health, regulatory actions, community education, wetland and stream restoration, and finally, invasive species monitoring consistent with the ordinance. The Oneida Tribe conducts routine fishery surveys, as part of monitoring stream health, from the late spring through early autumn. By using traps, the Oneida Tribe monitors the young Northern Pike.

The Resource Program engages with young people, understanding that the responsibilities to water must be passed to new generations. As part of the community education, the Oneida Tribe organizes outreach to various Oneida Tribe Elementary School...
classes to learn more about the watersheds on the Reservation. In addition, the Oneida Water Resource Program seeks to integrate Oneida language and culture into their events and outreach materials.

X. Other Oneida Projects Towards Food Sustainability

Finger Lake (osnusha kanyatalay^), a five-acre lake, was restored with the help of the United States Fish & Wildlife Service. The restoration goal was to provide an outlet for the Oneida to teach their children to fish and eat the fish they catch. Additionally, the seventh annual Youth and Elder Fishing Days were held in 2006, with nearly 200 participants. To maintain sustainable natural resources, the Oneida environmental staff works with teachers to increase Oneida students' awareness of their Reservation’s environment by working in the “field.”

Not only is the Oneida Nation engaging their youth, but they also have been creating reservation committees. The Oneida Community Integrated Food Systems (OCIFS) is one of the committees working to help the Oneida Tribe become more food sovereign. “We find this vision of people living well and responsibly with each other and with the land on which they are placed to be deeply appealing.” While not all of the achievements relate directly to water and fishing rights, they relate directly to food sovereignty.

Some of the achievements from the OCIFS include the falling Leaves 4-H Club, Oneida Farmers Market, Tower Foods Coop Grocery Store, Cannery, and the Oneida Farm and Apple Orchard.

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274 Id.
275 Id.
276 Supra, Note 44 at 21.
277 Id.
278 Supra, Note 1 at 32.
279 Id.
280 Id.
Oneida Tribe of Indians of Wisconsin: Food Sovereignty, Safe Water & Tribal Law

XI. Conclusion

The Oneida Tribe has worked tirelessly to implement its own environmental programs by incorporating unique perspectives from their cultural community identity.\textsuperscript{281} It is clear that neither policy nor science alone is sufficient to become food sovereign.\textsuperscript{282} Tribal governments have suffered through relocation and destruction of water and land resources.\textsuperscript{283} Part of restoring cultural and food sovereignty requires a revitalization of traditional values that work in concert with tribal statutory law. The Oneida Tribe's laws are an example of a tribal statutory scheme that has resulted in improved water quality and improved quality of life.\textsuperscript{284}

\textsuperscript{281} Supra, Note 44 at 21.
\textsuperscript{282} Id.
\textsuperscript{283} Supra, Note 12 at 34.
\textsuperscript{284} Supra, Note 46, at 3-4.