ADVANCES IN INNOVATION EDUCATION

Indigenous Innovations in Higher Education

Local Knowledge and Critical Research

Elizabeth Sumida Huaman and
Bryan McKinley Jones Brayboy (Eds.)

SensePublishers

Indigenous Innovations in Higher Education

ADVANCES IN INNOVATION EDUCATION

Volume 4

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Aims and Scope

Industry, government-sanctioned research and development and the private sectors have historically been the champions of fostering innovation with the aim of addressing changing human needs as well as economic gain. The connectivity of the 21st century coupled with advances in information systems and the unchecked advent of globalization have resulted in challenges to existing institutional structures in place as well as a greater awareness of inequities within and across different regions of the world. Innovation and innovation education are the new buzz words increasingly inundating popular discourses in different media. The aim of this avant-garde book series is to unfold the conceptual foundations of innovation from historical, socio-political, economic, scientific and ethical perspectives, as well as apply these foundations towards issues confronting education, science and society in the 21st century.

Indigenous Innovations in Higher Education

Local Knowledge and Critical Research

Edited by

Elizabeth Sumida Huaman and Bryan McKinley Jones Brayboy
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Cover photo: Gia Khun (Mother Corn) with Gia (Mother) and Uncle Manual, c. 1918. Photo provided by Dr. Tessie Naranjo (Santa Clara Pueblo) and imaging assistance provided by Tewa artist, Jason Garcia (Okuu Pin).

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SERIES FOREWORD

The present book, *Indigenous Innovations in Higher Education: Local Knowledge and Critical Research* is the fourth volume in the series Advances in Innovation Education (AIIE), and co-incidentally heralds the fourth year of the series. The series was founded in 2013 with the purpose of bringing to the community the conceptual foundations of innovation from historical, socio-political, economic, scientific and ethical perspectives, as well to apply these foundations towards issues confronting education, science and society in the 21st century. The first volume, *Raising the Alarm* (Robert Este) presented a philosophical basis for a discussion of innovation and science; the second volume, *Indigenous Innovation: Universalities and Peculiarities* (Sumida Huaman & Sriraman) examined Indigenous perspectives to innovation through the lens of different Indigenous communities in the world; the third volume, *The Road to Independence* (Gunnarsdóttir & Jónsdóttir) laid the foundation for practical work on innovation – namely the building blocks and steps to pursue entrepreneurship from an idea to a viable, marketable product in a grass roots fashion applicable to poorer communities that constantly innovate to survive!

The present volume by Elizabeth Sumida Huaman and Bryan McKinley Jones Brayboy addresses Indigenous innovations in higher education by reporting on a collaborative project focused on Indigenous graduate education, and specifically on a partnership between an institution of higher education and tribal education. The book features the work of Pueblo Indian peoples writing from within their own communities, who were part of one of the largest graduate education cohorts in the United States, earning terminal degrees at Arizona State University. The lead editor of the book, Elizabeth Sumida Huaman also edited the second volume in this series, with me as the co-editor. Her work is innovative because it examines critically the relationship between Indigenous lands and natural resources, languages, cultural practices, and educational development, policy and practice, through both small scale and large scale collaborative partnerships with Indigenous communities in North and South America. While the previous edited volume brought into attention local knowledge systems from different parts of the world, this book draws specifically on the Pueblo Indian peoples of New Mexico. The innovative aspect of this book lies in ways the local knowledge of Pueblo Indians were supported by an institution of higher education leading to diversity in critical research applicable to their communities, and resulting in knowledge sanctioned by the academy. Although the project is geographically located in the South-western part of the United States, its innovative aspects serve as an example that is worth emulating in other regions of the world.

The series also welcomes numerous new members into the editorial board – namely Rósa Gunnarsdóttir and Svanborg Rannveig Jónsdóttir both from the *University of*

Iceland; Andrew Penaluna, *University of Wales – Trinity Saint David, UK;* Larisa Shavinina, *University of Quebec, Canada, and* last but not least Elizabeth Sumida Huaman, *Arizona State University, USA*.

I am hoping the series will continue to bring volumes that push a diversity of notions of "innovation" to relevant contexts and situations we are collectively facing in an increasingly polarized world governed by inhumane corporations and institutions. In doing so, we challenge dominant perceptions and ways of thinking that permeate the notion of "innovation" – beyond the marketing of a product to a gullible public.

Bharath Sriraman (Series Editor)
Missoula, Montana
April 4, 2017

CHRISTINE ZUNI CRUZ

FOREWORD

Does it matter how
one
uses language
and
for what purpose?
(Cook-Lynn, 1996, p. 74)

FOREWORDS/FORWARD/*FORWARD*/FOUR WORDS

Complexity and multiplicity are emblematic of Pueblo worldview and consciousness. To provide a foundation to engage and address the work of the Pueblo doctoral scholars presented in this book, I employ the complexity and multiplicity of English homonyms. Drawing on different meanings of foreword, forward, and four words, I explore the deep roots from which, and *for* whom, Pueblo scholars emerge and write.

This book features the writings of members of the first Pueblo doctoral cohort emerging from Arizona State University's School of Social Transformation. This first cohort produced doctors in Justice Studies in May 2015 trained in Pueblo and Indigenous theoretical frameworks, broader discourse analysis of imperialism and globalization, critique of historical inequalities, and building Indigenous justice through domestic and internationally relevant research.

The expression of Pueblo intellectualism through the English language brings to mind the preference many Indigenous language speakers have for communicating in their native tongue. Robert Cruz, a Tohono O'odham speaker and linguist, says he prefers his native language because "…when I use English, I feel as if I am lying because there is no feeling in my utterances in the colonists' languages" (2012, p. 97). Orality and literacy in the colonists' languages by Indigenous Peoples are at once, challenging and profound. Profound because they bridge the divide between primary oral cultures and literate ones and allow Indigenous Peoples to express and exchange ideas across multiple Indigenous language groups. They are challenging precisely because of the struggle in matching feelings and profound understandings across primary oral cultures and literate ones whether in speech or in writing.

C. ZUNI CRUZ

FIRST, A WORD ON *FOREWORDS*

Anishinabek scholar Professor John Borrows selected four words to organize his memorable "fourword" for the inaugural issue of the Indigenous Law Journal (Borrows, 2002). Similarly, I have selected four homonyms as the organizing device for this foreword. From Elizabeth Hill Boone's foreword to *Indigenous Intellectuals: Knowledge, Power, and Colonial Culture in Mexico and the Andes,* I consider the connections between the precolonial definition of the Aztec intellectual and the modern work of Pueblo scholars.

Boone's foreword begins with a "description of [the] sage in the Preconquest society of the Mexico Aztecs" (p. ix). Of especial significance is that the Nahuatl term tlamatini for the sage is gendered neutral.[1] Likewise, Pueblo peoples have always possessed *male* and *female intellectuals*. The tlamatini is wise, exemplary; possesses writings, owns books; the tlamatini is the tradition, the road; a leader, a rower, a companion, a bearer of responsibility, a guide. The description of the tlamatini as "the road…" is particularly meaningful (p. ix): Knowing the good road, and to lead along a bright path are apt roles for, and descriptions of, Pueblo Indigenous intellectuals.[2]

Scholarship of Indigenous Peoples, particularly scholarship reflective of the Indigenous knowledge frames is of immense importance to Indigenous Peoples and to all humanity. One of the benefits of diversity (as opposed to homogeneity of all types, i.e. race, gender, age, and yes, tribal affiliation) is the cognitive diversity and group thinking that enriches any space as a result of bringing diverse peoples together (Page, 2008). We see this reflected in the scholarship of the diverse group of the first cohort of Pueblo men and women. All are at different st/ages in their careers, in different disciplines, and from different Pueblo communities, including Isleta, Laguna, Tesuque, San Ildefonso, Jemez, and Cochiti.

Whether called an intellectual, tlamatini, sage, or wise one (Boone, 2014), in the past or in the present, Indigenous intellectuals existed, exist, and will continue to exist. Two decades ago, Indigenous scholar Elizabeth Cook-Lynn called out the challenges for the modern Indigenous intellectual, including stereotypes and invisibility. She commented that "American Indian intellectual" to many people, is a "bizarre phrase" and that no image of an American Indian intellectual exists amide predominant stereotypes, including the "primitive figure…[or] worse, the drunk" (Cook-Lynn, 1996, p. 57). Akimel O'Odham scholar David Martínez further recognizes that "intellectual" is inadequate, evocative of ivory towers, scholarly culture, an intelligentsia, all of which are non-Indigenous, yet "necessary for affirming that Indigenous writers are as capable as their European or American counterparts of profound insights expressed in eloquent prose" (2010, p. 30).

Pueblo knowledge is ensconced in orality and in an oral tradition. The tlamatini is described as one "possessing writings and owning books" (Boone, 2014, p. ix). It is a description that fits the tlamatini with their pictographic script and the Pueblo intellectual schooled in the modern university. Indeed, the relationship between

orality and literacy is worthy of deep reflection (Ong, 2002). However, writings and books of symbolic or syllabic recordings of words need not be thought of as the only "texts" with which Indigenous scholars are familiar. Of importance to any Indigenous knowledge frame is an understanding of other alter/native "texts" (Zuni Cruz, 2006, p. 898)—the land, the cosmos, the patterns, the weather, animals, plants, relationships, the ecosystem (Cajete, 2000). For example, stories are embedded in place and in the landscape itself. Of equal significance in the Indigenous knowledge frame is the embedded meaning in symbols, colors, story and narrative, and performance (Hibbetts, 1992). Cook-Lynn observed that Indian scholars suggest that, "ideas, in general…are to be generated from the inside of culture, not from the outside looking in" (1996, p. 70). This is a hallmark of the contributors to this book. What they have in common is the understanding of their place within, and their connection to, Pueblo peoples. As Cook-Lynn warned Indigenous intellectuals,

> [i]f that work becomes too far removed from what is really going on in Indian enclaves, there will be no way to engage in responsible intellectual strategies in an era when structures of external cultural power are more oppressive than ever. Moreover, no important pedagogical movement will be made toward those defensive strategies which are among the vital functions of intellectualism: to change the world, to know it, and to make it better by knowing how to seek appropriate solutions to human problems. (Cook-Lynn, 1996, p. 71)

Represented here are Pueblo writers aware of "*what is really going on,*" engaging in responsible intellectual strategies, and moving toward defensive strategies. Each contributes to the functions of intellectualism – to *change*, to *know*, to *make the Pueblo world* better.

SECOND, ON BEING *FORWARD*

Possessed of voice, made louder, more prominent, and permanent by print and electronic reproduction, Indigenous intellectuals and scholars can be viewed as *being* forward within their own communities. Boldness is required of the intellectual to assert a position, a thought, or an idea. Boldness can conflict with community expectations of modesty and humility from leaders. Yet we need the strident, the ardent, and the eager to stir consciousness. It takes strength and perseverance to state the unpopular, to sound the alarm, and to get others to take action. This is an aspect of leadership. The tlamatini was described as "a leader" (of "men," in the English translation), a "bearer of responsibility" and a "companion" (Boone, 2014, p. ix). A leader and bearer of responsibility, who is also a companion, must balance boldness with continued relationship.

The tlamatini was also known as "the tradition" (Boone, 2014, p. ix). Addressing tradition, in the present and moving into the future, takes boldness. Cook-Lynn describes Indigenous intellectuals as exploring traditional values, revealing truth and falsity about those values from a framework of *tribal realism*. It is diametrically

opposed to fantasy, which often evades or suppresses moral issues (Cook-Lynn, 1996, p. 72). As such, the Indigenous intellectual must also possess courage. Tribal realism recognizes the paradox of tradition as connected to the past, yet not rigid in past form. Tradition exists in the present. A living tradition requires constant alignment to true values, as pressures shift or sway tradition from true values over time. As Lorenzo asserts in respect to Pueblo women, the comparison of historical-contemporary analysis helps to appreciate the process of negotiation between Pueblo peoples and Spanish colonists when [their] two legal traditions met and is helpful in understanding the past. As Pueblo peoples move into the future, "comparison can assist in determining traces of the Spanish colonial, often patriarchal systems that may exist, to our detriment, among our Pueblos (Lorenzo)."[3]

AND *FORWARD* – AS IN BEING AT THE FORE OR FRONT

Related to *being* forward, Indigenous intellectuals often find themselves in front, literally or figuratively, at the head, scouting, forward looking. They are to help us understand our future (Cook-Lynn, 1996).[4] Cook-Lynn poses a series of questions about Native intellectualism and intellectuals, specifically poets and novelists, but equally applicable across all disciplines.

> [Are they] articulating the real and the marvelous in celebration of the past… presenting ideas, moving through those ideas and beyond? Are they the ones who recapture the past and preserve it? Are they thinkers who are capable of supplying principles which may be used to develop further ideas? Are they capable of the *critical analysis* of cause and effect? (Cook-Lynn, 1996, p. 74, my emphasis)

With these questions, Cook-Lynn probes not only who Indigenous intellectuals are, but also what they are doing. Her questions capture the work and the purpose of the Pueblo cohort—as senior scholar Dozier Enos writes in this volume, "looking into the past is part of looking forward, and that research, like time, is not really linear," because the future is connected to the past and the past to the future.

FOUR WORD(S) TO GUIDE INDIGENOUS SCHOLARS AND INTELLECTUALS

In answering the question as to whether a traditional Pima knowledge bearer, is an Indigenous intellectual in comparison to his contemporaries in the progressive Indian community, Martinez considers four principles "one ought to bear in mind" in defining an Indigenous intellectual (2010, p. 2). Based on these principles, I suggest four words that mark or define the understandings and characterize the work of the Indigenous intellectual that are present in the Pueblo authors' work – *mental sovereignty, Indigeneity, humility, and narrative*. These key words capture the attitudes, characteristics, and positionality of Indigenous intellectuals *in relationship to* their communities (Martínez, 2010).

Mental Sovereignty

To knowingly engage in the war of words and ideas, is to assert mental sovereignty (Zuni Cruz, 2008). Martinez's first principle recognizes that "each indigenous community in its own way [is] capable of addressing the most poignant issues of the human condition: life and death, human nature, origins, community, and the like" (Martínez, 2010, p. 2). Understanding this is to recognize the existence of a distinct Pueblo mentality, knowledge system, and intellectual tradition. To value it as the starting place in research and analysis and to seek to preserve it are exercises of *Pueblo mental sovereignty*.

Pueblo mental sovereignty exhibits itself as the authors in this book speak of Pueblo worldview, Pueblo core values, Pueblo cultural terms, and strengthening Pueblo tribal self-determination and sovereignty (Lorenzo, Sanchez, Luarkie, and Abeita). It asserts itself as a push against convention to explore why mainstream research is problematic from a Pueblo Indian standpoint, so that relevant research and educational approaches grounded in Pueblo thinking can emerge (Suina).

Indigeneity

Indigenous identity and relationship to community are crucial aspects of indigeneity. Martinez's second principle describes an Indigenous intellectual as "an indigenous person first and foremost, which includes valuing one's people and their relationship with their homeland, language, kinship, and sacred history (Martínez, 2010, p. 2)." Authors in this book also address valuing Indigeneity and its relational ethic of care. Chosa speaks of migration and youth engagement and re-engagement with their Pueblo communities. Ericson identifies as critical to cultural and "ecological survivance" the engagement of Indigenous youth in establishing place based solutions to environmental and social problems "outside of, and in spite of, external state impositions or interference."

Humility

Third is the principle of humility, which recognizes "being an intellectual is not limited to being college educated and speaking and writing in a European language (Martínez, 2010, p. 2)." Humility rejects the elitism of the academy and proficiency in non-Indigenous languages and turns Indigenous intellectuals inward to the knowledge bearers proficient in the alter/native "texts" and the mother tongue. The third principle instructs humility and reminds us of the limitations of western knowledge. In her chapter, Naranjo describes the knowledge bearers who transmit core values and practices to illustrate how life was lived and to explain the reasons we lived our lives as we did, reminding us of the critical work of intellectual forebears. Further, to underscore the need to engage Indigenous knowledge bearers

directly, Dozier Enos explains that there are very traditional Indigenous people whose research will never be included in publication.

Narrative

Narrative is at the core of oral tradition (Ong, 2002). The fourth principle asserts, "while indigenous communities possess an intellectual tradition, they do not have a theoretical one; instead, philosophical and religious ideas and insights are conveyed primarily through *narrative*, be it in the form of a story, song, or speech (emphasis added) (Martínez, 2010, pp. 2–3). Naranjo highlights the messaging in everyday speech. She states:

> To the generation in which I grew up, the community was the whole world, and Tewa, the language spoken at Santa Clara Pueblo, captures the core values held dear in that world. For example, everyone in the community was your ko-o, your aunt, your mae-mae, your uncle. In other words, we are all related.

Likewise, Sanchez, drawing largely from Tewa oral tradition, including story-sharing, describes Tewa Women United's methodological framework in both research and practice and Suina, in her effort to understand her own relationship to research employs autoethnography. The authors' use of narrative in its different forms: to convey principles, as a frame, and as a method of study demonstrate its centrality to the conveyance of ideas and insights.

A FINAL THOUGHT ON "FOR/E/FOUR"

The prefix of foreword is also a homonym, with homophones and homographs: for/fore/four. These homonyms provide powerful connections between the writers and their Peoples and to core Pueblo principles. The work in this book is *for* the community, emerging from the work of intellectual *fore*bears, *for* those to come, arising from *four* critical principles: mental sovereignty, Pueblo indigeneity, humility, and narrative.

And
ah'um, Elder Sister (Elizabeth),
how
and
for what purpose
one
uses language
does matter.

Her'kem

C.Z.C.
University of New Mexico

NOTES

[1] In Nahuatl, "tlamatini-In tlamatini tauilli ocutly, tomaoac ocutl apocio, texteatl, coiaoac texcatl, necoc xapo, tlile, tlapale, amuxoa, amoxe, tlilli, tlapalli, utli, teiacanqui, tlanelo, teuicani, tlauicani, tlalacanqui." (italics removed) In a Spanish to English translation, the tlamatini becomes "The Wise Man-The wise man [is] exemplary. He possesses writings; he owns books. [He is] the tradition, the road; a leader of men, a rower, a companion, a bearer of responsibility, a guide" (Boone, 2014, p. ix).

[2] In *Tiwa*, *Pae kui*. The good road. "Once we are born into this world, we have a chance to make it back to our Creator, but whether we do or not depends on the choices we make in life. Thus, we set upon our life journey…As we travel the road of life; we come upon a place where the road goes in opposite directions. The horizon in one direction appears to be cool and shady while the horizon in the other direction is bright and sunny. The road that goes in the direction of the cool and shady horizon gets darker and darker as one travels until it is completely dark. So dark that the traveler must open the eyelids with the fingers to make sure the eyes are open. As one travels in the other direction, the road gets brighter and brighter as one goes on until one sees the brilliant glory of our Creator. The traveler steps right into that brilliance and the spirit is reunited with the Creator. That is the good road. (Tiwa translation and commentary by Edward Fernando Lucero)"

[3] From here forward, I reference the essays in this book by the author's last name parenthetically or in text.

[4] Cook-Lynn specifically asks, "If it is true that writers are the intellectuals of any nation…Is anyone doing the intellectual work in and about Indian communities that will help us understand our future? (Cook-Lynn, 1996, p. 74)

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SECTION I

ESTABLISHING LOCAL CONTEXT AND LOCAL KNOWLEDGE

ELIZABETH SUMIDA HUAMAN AND
BRYAN MCKINLEY JONES BRAYBOY

1. INDIGENOUS PEOPLES AND ACADEME

Building Learning Spaces through Innovative Educational Practice

INTRODUCTION

In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* first published in 1968, Brazilian educator-scholar Paolo Freire discussed what he referred to as the "absolutizing of ignorance," among other myths invented and perpetuated by oppressors for the purposes of maintaining power over the conquered, the colonized, "the oppressed." Freire argued that the inhumanity of oppressors and revolutionary humanism, which are—on their surface—contradictory, both made use of science and technology that would either reduce the oppressed to subjects of scientific interest if the former, or promote humanization in the case of the latter (2005, p. 133). Freire (2005) claimed that the very definition, categorization, and certification of knowledge by those in power elevated the perceived intellectual superiority of the oppressors who would ultimately come to believe completely in the ignorance of others. He wrote:

> This myth implies the existence of someone who decrees the ignorance of someone else. The one who is doing the decreeing defines himself and the class to which he belongs as those who know or were born to know; he thereby defines others as alien entities. The words of his own class come to be the "true" words, which he imposes or attempts to impose on others: the oppressed, *whose words have been stolen from them*. (pp. 133–134, our emphasis)

While the absolutizing of ignorance is applied to science, where Indigenous peoples have indisputably been constructed as subjects (Deloria, 1997; LaDuke, 2005; Smith, 1999; Whitt, 1998) this myth applies widely to diverse fields that make up higher education today, including the social sciences and humanities. In academe, knowledge tends to remain situated by—and through—Western traditions and rigidly defined and managed by dominant society shaped through colonialism (Brayboy, 2005; Dei, 2002; Leonard & Mercier, 2016). Similarly, education as the method of knowledge transfer (and validation) is rooted in Eurocentrism and accepted only as schooling, despite the myriad ways societies teach and learn.[1] However, over the past several decades, Indigenous researchers have challenged dominant definitions of knowledge and mechanisms of transmission and their colonial underpinnings while bringing

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to the forefront Indigenous knowledges from diverse regions around the world as crucial for human, intellectual, and ecological diversity and survival (Aikenhead & Ogawa, 2007; Cajete, 2000; Johnson, 2012; Kawagley, 1995; McGregor, 2004; Pierotti & Wildcat, 2000). Indigenous peoples have engaged these conversations by using approaches to research and discourses that transcend characterizations of our peoples, homelands, and ways of knowing as victims of colonization rather than as actors who have disrupted, resisted, negotiated, adapted, and innovated subjugating agendas and oppressive conditions. In this regard, Mi'qmaq scholar Marie Battiste reminded us of not only our abilities, but also our responsibilities to push limiting characterizations as scholars who "move beyond the existing Indigenous experience of colonization by liberating Indigenous thought, practices, and discourses rather than relying on existing Eurocentric or colonial theory" (2000, p. xix).

Our responsibility in this chapter is to therefore share work we chose to do with our students and to situate this work in a broader context across space and time. We expose pervasive myths regarding dominant constructions of knowledge and education and interrupt them by highlighting local Indigenous knowledges and epistemologies reflected in the work of the authors in this volume. Drawing from Indigenous scholarship and with explicit conscientiousness of ourselves as Indigenous community members, we hope to contribute to the iterative (re) framing of education by describing our experiences within academe that address resistance in and through education, including discussion of anti-colonialism (Dei, 2002; Simmons & Dei, 2012) and mental colonization (Zuni Cruz, 2008). We revisit the conscientious uplifting of Indigeneity through education redefined and co-constructed by Indigenous peoples (Lomawaima, 1999; Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006). We discuss the power of Indigenous narratives in education while underscoring Indigenous presence and scholarly contributions in higher education before introducing the authors and the significance of their work independently and as a collective to Indigenous and local discourses of self-representation and giving (Romero, 1994; Smith, 1999). In this way, guided by the work of Ojibwe scholar Scott Lyons (2000), we seek to re-set "the terms of the debate" (p. 452).

As educational researchers, we aim to follow Battiste's example to continually work alongside our community members, Indigenous colleagues, and allies to identify and create spaces where Indigenous knowledges and epistemologies can be cultivated—including those where they have not been seen as valid or welcomed. As educators, we also take up Freire's call to consider how our interactions with multiple knowledges and the rich and varied sources from which they come can be used for humanistic purposes, such as rebuilding educational opportunities towards Indigenous self-determination (Brayboy, 2004; Brayboy & Sumida Huaman, 2016) and where "stolen words" are reclaimed by their rightful speakers. Moreover, as Indigenous peoples, we have an obligation to hold close and defend our Indigenous communities, knowledges and epistemologies, which remind us of where we come from, who we are, and what we bring to this world.

(RE)FRAMING (HIGHER) EDUCATION: INDIGENOUS VIEWS FROM WITHIN ACADEME

> Indigenous educational systems—in and out of school—are consciously and often elegantly designed to perpetuate peoplehood in very focused and particular ways. Resistance to authority that threatens individual and group autonomy, cultural ways of being, and knowledges are necessarily precipitated by a quest for survival. To *not* resist is to acquiesce to forces of an assimilationist agenda, whether through formalized schooling, federal policy, or societal norms that have become normalized. And yet resistance is only one part of survival because the strength and motivation to persevere *against* are fed by the desire and need to move *toward*. To become stronger in the fight, we need to understand what it is we are fighting for and where we will be as a people when we succeed. (Brayboy et al., 2007, p. 233)

In higher education, we have been besieged with statistics focused on "deficiencies"—mostly quantitative figures that demonstrate low percentages of Indigenous peoples attending and graduating higher education programs. Based on a clear understanding of imperialism and colonial (exploitative and extractive) histories, we expect to see marginalization, silencing, and subjugation of Indigenous and colonized peoples. But we also understand that this is not our only story. And, we need to understand that there are multiple destinations possible; failure or deficiency is not the only choice or outcome. In considering alternative stories, less popular and in some ways more challenging to do, is comprehensive, collaborative, transparent, and participatory research that focuses on Indigenous strengths in facing dominant institutions and structural violence. Thus, our task here is not to cite statistics on the scarcity of Indigenous peoples in higher education and more specifically at graduate degree levels, but rather to offer what we, as Indigenous education stakeholders, are moving *toward*. We do not deny that much of what we envision today responds to generations of colonial experiences that appear to intensify or slow based on broader policy impacts *du jour*; however, in our resistance and envisioning work, we remain continually informed by the knowledges, cultural practices, languages, fears, priorities, and hopes held by tribal community members of all ages and that are communicated to us.

Of Indigenous knowledges in academe, Ghanaian-born scholar George Sefa Dei wrote that his tasks included challenging normative definitions of knowledge while expanding critical approaches towards knowledge and knowledge acquisition, critiquing false binaries (i.e. Indigenous knowledges as "good," Western knowledges as "bad"), and questioning how prevailing imperial ideologies and colonialism continue to inform knowledge production evident in current educational practice (2002, p. 4). He also put forward ideas regarding anti-colonial education as a theoretical framework for rebuilding educational practice that "allows us to dialogue with important questions of identity affirmation, yet at the same time

bring to the discussion relevant issues specifically concerning interconnections of power, difference, and resistance as augured in colonial geographies" (Simmons & Dei, 2012, p. 68). Anti-colonial education is particularly significant as we consider the ways in which colonial ideologies, institutions, and other assertions of power have not disappeared over time; however, they have been reconfigured for current dominant purposes and contemporary mainstream desires (Simmons & Dei, 2012).

Historically, policymakers external to Indigenous communities shaped what education at all levels has become for Indigenous people—formalized systems almost completely foreign to the Indigenous environment, cultural practices, and languages. Dominant schooling contains what Fuller (1991) referred to as "sacred rules" and "sacred knowledge" based on Western standards and ideals, silencing the potential for a rich diversity of alternative ways of constructing education and understanding one's world.[2] So powerful is the Western system that mass schooling has spread throughout the globe and is often viewed as synonymous with mass opportunity. Schools in Indigenous communities continue to be established upon a basic, and now taken-for-granted premise—that a Western education will provide access to social and economic benefits for Indigenous peoples that previous generations have not enjoyed. As much as there is a need to address overarching policies and their linkages with historically oppressive ideologies, there is also a need to address local Indigenous agency and policymaking, which has strong influence on the direction of educational design both in and out-of-school for Indigenous community members. We believe there is urgency to establish new and participatory educational systems that directly address issues in local knowledge, define cultural practices clearly, and innovate educational structures and pedagogies while also advocating at social, political, environmental, and economic levels for those elements that make up who we are as distinct Indigenous peoples. Our feelings of urgency became a focus of action.

In 2011, we entered into formal discussions with The Leadership Institute at the Santa Fe Indian School in New Mexico in order to work with tribal partners to build a framework for doctoral education—one model that we hoped to grow as part of our felt responsibility to Indigenous peoples and not just our own community members. While we view our part in this work, from within academe, as adopting an anti-colonial stance, we did not necessarily believe that all knowledge must serve to challenge colonial imposition (Simmons & Dei, 2012). Rather, our work and the work of our students does question colonial underpinnings of knowledge production and validation while also maintaining reflexivity regarding the channels through which knowledge flows (i.e. our own experiences in educational systems) and that Indigenous knowledges also refer to knowledges and learning practices that stand on their own within the tribal communities that are responsible for them without need for validation by the outside world. In other words, we can also delineate appropriately between spaces of knowledge (re)production and transmission by deferring to Indigenous peoples and communities. Likewise, the work of our students is not necessarily to explicate all of areas of Indigenous knowledges and related cultural practices but is motivated by community-minded priorities for developing educational

experiences and research skills in order to protect knowledges at home while creating opportunities for community members themselves to take on the work of examining them critically. Our work as educators and learners alongside our students in higher education (Sumida Huaman & Abeita, forthcoming) is then to deconstruct binaries between the traditional/modern and Indigenous/Western and to employ pedagogical approaches that encourage empirical observation and cultivation of Indigenous theories that are dependent upon/related to/respectful of Indigenous knowledges and epistemologies. What this also means is at times pushing our thinking regarding "the invocation of the 'traditional' or 'community' realm" that "brings a regime of knowledge authorization tied to the assertion of ancestral, spiritual, authentic, and distinct Indigenous identities grounded in claims to time-tested, collectively agreed-upon forms of truth-making" that are "assumed as evidence of emancipation from Western inscriptions and practices but do not provide methods for critical examination of such assumptions or their limits in the contemporary space, which remains circumscribed by ongoing intrusions of Western meaning and logic" (Nakata et al., 2012, p. 127). These are tough conversations, but part of our engagement and exploration of our own participation within higher education requires us to consider what we know and want to know in relation to our accountabilities as Indigenous community members.

RISKS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

> Sovereignty involves the idea of absolute authority within separate spheres and autonomy or freedom from outside control. Mind or mental sovereignty is a powerful concept; it takes the concept of sovereignty inward where it operates internally and is personal. Mental sovereignty speaks to me of the ability to be able to think in a different manner; it is more than thinking independently, though that is a part of it. It represents the idea of being able to maintain an autonomous way of "knowing," without having that way eradicated or compromised, even in the face of constant bombardment or immersion in another way of thinking, while maintaining the ability to operate accordingly. (Zuni-Cruz, 2008, p. 632)

We cannot emphasize enough our regard for Indigenous nations that are pushing back against colonial configurations evident in educational institutions today—fighting for culturally responsive schooling, for example. We believe that this very spirit and energy towards cultivating multiple educational processes within formal institutions that speak to Indigenous lands, cultures, languages, issues and priorities is effective in higher education as well. The presence of Indigenous peoples as a historically underrepresented population in graduate education, for example, demonstrates opportunities built by many people, Indigenous and non-Indigenous, who champion access, equity, and equality in relation to social justice driven by Indigenous peoples. The persistence of Indigenous peoples in graduate

education also speaks to individuals working to maintain an autonomous way of knowing, their mental sovereignty, as put forth by Isleta/Ohkay Owingeh legal scholar Christine Zuni Cruz. In this dynamic there are important roles for Indigenous stakeholders—faculty, students, community members, family members, tribal leaders, administrators, and others—to build partnerships with each other and across learning spaces, in and out of Indigenous communities. Importantly, there is an exercise of power when these processes in higher education move toward creating self-determined (the operationalization of the concept of sovereignty) futures.

In our own experience working with the first of two iterations of a program of Indigenous doctoral training in the School of Social Transformation at Arizona State University and partnered with Pueblo peoples, we considered our own roles carefully. As bridges between a tribal institution and academe, we became faculty advisors, Principal Investigators, dissertation committee chairs and members, liaisons to the university, and colleagues to our students who entered the program with extensive leadership and community-based experience. In many ways, our work became that of first learning from our students—learning about their prior knowledge and rich epistemological and ontological heritages—and then facilitating training and guidance through a program of doctoral education that we co-created with tribal partners within an evolving Justice Studies and Indigenous Justice framework. We were conscientious about forging a new pathway that would not force Indigenous students to "fit into" and accommodate themselves to a system of dominant education even (or especially) at the graduate level. Based on prior research in this area (Brayboy, 2003) and perhaps more importantly, our own graduate education training at different elite institutions and our experiences of being one of the few Indigenous peoples represented with fewer (if any) Indigenous faculty—let alone having our communities consulted for what would be most beneficial *to them* through our training—we knew we wanted to support distinct classroom and overall doctoral education experiences.

> I maintain that within Euro-American institutions of learning conventional/ traditional paradigms, differential social locations and the relative positioning of intellectual subjects constrain many of us from being subversive, resistant and challenging of dominant and/or 'stable' knowledge. Thus, to speak about Indigenous knowledges and the decolonization of the Western/Euro-American academy *is to take personal and collective risks*. (Dei, 2002, p. 3, our emphasis)

Social sciences training like Justice Studies makes sense in educational and community development. We built a curriculum and its concomitant preparation to establish and strengthen critical thinking, theoretical and global knowledge acquisition towards action, as well as hands-on research skills in order to meet the need for informed and intellectual leaders. While we stand by the training we offer in our teaching, we also acknowledge that the usefulness and purposes of education *for* historically marginalized populations, ethnic minorities, and Indigenous peoples served by colleges and universities has not routinely been explored *with*

our peoples. Part of building programs like ours therefore involves engaging these conversations with students, educators, Indigenous community stakeholders, and policymakers wherein we seek to name and deconstruct the troubling and complex relationship between educational institutions and the forces that historically governed them (and those that drive them today) and Indigenous peoples. We also think it is important to interrogate what educational institutions currently represent and enact; that is, we think it is crucial to acknowledge that our institutions continue to uphold Western knowledge and standards of achievement fixed in Eurocentric design. In this process, we all "take risks." In our case, risks involved negotiating our social capital within the university in order to advocate for approaches to doctoral education that involved sustaining caring relationships with our students, faculty continuously traveling to New Mexico where our students live and work, and working with faculty to rethink core courses as culturally responsive, sensitive, and meaningful. Perhaps most importantly, we exercised our respect for tribal sovereignty and student mental sovereignty by acknowledging that there are different ways of knowing and by advocating for space in our school that was consistently mindful of Indigenous purposes of research and education, where higher education seeks to give back to tribal communities and asks for nothing more.

Generating these kinds of programs in academe reshapes academe, perhaps if only for a time. But in that time, we can capture a glimpse of what a future where Indigenous presences, knowledges, and the commitment to sustain and protect Indigenous ways of life—whatever that is for students and communities—is clear and advances transformation within historically closed spaces. Leonard and Mercier (2016) delved into this vision with regards to Indigenous knowledges in coursework. While theirs was a study of the scientific and ecological aspects of Indigenous knowledge systems in a comparative classroom setting between Alaska and New Zealand, we find their assertions useful—that Indigenous knowledge has a "rightful home" in Western academy. We extend this to say that Indigenous peoples have a rightful place in Western academe and agree with their statement that, "If institutions are to meet their goals in terms of Indigenous recruitment, retention and improved graduation rates, additional reforms and adaptations in program philosophies and pedagogies, as well as power sharing in collaborative ventures will be necessary" (p. 113). They moreover argue that some important ideological and practical considerations on the part of academe need to take place, including the following,

1. The entire academy is potentially a space for reclamation: our point that universities were built on Indigenous lands reminds us of that spatial continuity;
2. In spite of *uni*-versal epistemological tendencies, the academy has (albeit sometimes begrudgingly) allowed Indigenous peoples to carve out space, and considering current strategic planning statements, the university appears to be moving to a stated position of active support for increasing numbers of Indigenous students, and inclusion of Indigenous content and teaching;

3. Kaitiaki/Indigenous stewards must continue to occupy and claim space in the academy, and to inform and decide upon how initiatives such as "1000 more Māori students" can be achieved in practice (pp. 113–114).

This type of work across the globe and in different learning contexts builds hope. We also think it is important to name the fact that for many of us, our institutions sit on the ancestral homelands of the original inhabitants of the land. To suggest then, that Native peoples have a place in our institutions is imbued with a deeper sense of responsibility and thoughtfulness.

In our own program throughout their doctoral studies, students engaged in intensive coursework, partnered with research sites where they had long-term relationships (including their own communities), and produced work meaningful to Indigenous peoples for its potential practical application. We also observed that the following aspects characterized this program:

- Direction and instruction by Indigenous faculty and support and advocacy from non-Indigenous faculty allies and administrators;
- A program linked with Justice Studies core curricula but embedded in unquestionable regard for Indigenous knowledges and epistemologies and critical anti-colonial debates—interested in building a model for Indigenous Justice pedagogy and research;
- Faculty situated in different spaces that were made Indigenous-friendly spaces (expanding the ASU campus beyond state borders in order to recognize the intellectual and tribal confluence that is the Southwestern U.S.);
- Encouragement of crucial questions in classroom and through research that challenge trajectories of colonization and their current reconfigurations while also considering questions that challenge our own constructions of Indigeneity—who we believe ourselves to be and why;
- Creative class formats with hours and personal attentiveness based on our shared experiences as Indigenous scholars having come through our own programs of study, provoking the question of what it means to have a doctoral seminar dominated by Indigenous students;
- Purposes of work situated in service to community—students and faculty always concerned with how this work can be viewed from multiple angles and how (not if) it will serve tribal communities locally and beyond.

We present these characteristics in order to demonstrate that we not only take ideological and practical individual and collective risks in shaping experimental programs of graduate study, but we also take ideological and practical leaps with tribal institutions, students, and our colleagues in order to move us all closer towards our own equivalent of "1000 more" Indigenous students comfortable and confident in their roles within academe as a site that recognizes them and their communities on their own terms, how they desire to be seen and heard. In the process, space for Indigenous students is created, acknowledged, enacted,

and nurtured in what has traditionally been a hostile, colonizing space for our ancestors.

THE POWER OF NARRATIVES: CONTEXT AND CONTINUITY

> I am part of the people of my concern and research interests. (Medicine, 2001, p. 3)

Reflecting on her work spanning several decades, renowned Lakota anthropologist Beatrice Medicine reviewed some of the conundrums she had faced throughout her career as a "student of my own culture." In 1978, she had written in "Learning to be an anthropologist and remaining 'Native,'"

> For example, how much could I write that would pass my own people's scrutiny without casting me (in their eyes) as an "informant" to anthropologists. Addressing that dilemma caused me to clarify in my thinking and orientation to my life's work. The problem is common to those who have been subject to studies by European and Euro-American anthropologists for generations. (2001, p. xxiv)

As an Indigenous anthropologist working within academe and on behalf of her people, Medicine challenged scholars and researchers to do work of benefit to Indigenous peoples while sharing her own internal conflicts. She wrote of "reciprocity, responsiveness, and responsibility" in research and talked about learning these in different settings, including during some time spent in a New Mexico Pueblo: "There I learned to eat hot, spicy foods and to leave the pueblo along with the non-Native teachers on special ceremonial occasions. I learned, too, that I would never write about this pueblo" (2001, p. 5). She was admirably conscientious about how her own work was presented—for example, in her selected writings, she devoted each of the three sections of the book to diverse audiences: Indigenous non-academics, academics in a wide range of disciplines, and policymakers. This structure is similar to what our tribal institutional partners and faculty purposefully identified and negotiated as dissertation work for our students, demonstrating the like-minded processes that community-driven scholars and researchers as change agents have with regards to accessibility of their work to wider audiences. Like Medicine, as a whole, we collectively provoke examination of critical issues being experienced today by Indigenous peoples, and we do so in different ways. And, like Medicine, we seek to work toward the strengthening (as defined by them) of communities for whom we work.

For each of the Indigenous authors in this volume, the conditions under which they write are pivotal to their scholarship: They live and/or work in and for their ancestral home communities. They participate actively in community ceremonial, daily, or special cultural activities. Their proximity to their lands and their peoples makes them ideally connected to the needs and priorities of their communities,

privy to discussions not typically shared with non-community members, but also vulnerable to a community gaze that like Medicine's tribal members, can be viewed with skepticism through publications and research deemed inappropriate. They need to be careful with how research is conducted and designed, meticulous with the types of questions that are asked, and protective with the data they cultivate and receive, yet transparent with tribal leadership and fellow community members.

Mindful of an overtly exploitative past where Indigenous informants were created by anthropologists extracting information from communities, the warning signs and potential dangers for Indigenous peoples are arguably ongoing. In Indigenous communities, research and dissemination of so-called findings by outsiders seeking to explore our peoples as subjects rather than intellectuals, change agents, collaborators or beneficiaries of research was viewed through the Western non-Indigenous academic lens. For example, photos and collection of archival materials were tools through which our people were partially defined, understood, and preserved as fixed objects rather than dynamic individuals and communities. Thus even the use of photos in this volume by Pueblo authors and their choice to allude to their languages and some cultural practices represents a critical departure from historical academic oppression and subjugation by providing space for Pueblo people to determine where and how they will use resources like publications and photos to illustrate what they believe is important about their home communities—taking accountability and responsibility for their lenses.

This volume is divided into four sections: *I. Establishing local context and local knowledge*; *II. Re-examining local histories, Indigenous research, and policy*; *III. Reconceptualizing local political identities*; and *IV. Envisioning hope through local knowledge application*. In section I, local Tewa scholar, Tessie Naranjo,[3] describes the importance of place in Pueblo communities—both community as a whole and especially culturally significant landmarks. She provides detailed examples of place stories focused on her own northern Pueblo of Santa Clara and recalls lessons learned and experiences shared with her Gia and Gia Khun, while also paying homage to her sister, the beloved Rina Naranjo Swentzell, one of the first Pueblo women scholars. She draws narratives from community members in order to situate living, learning, and storytelling—which she calls "life lived like a story"—in the Pueblo where values were nurtured and responsibilities to the land and to fellow family and community members were routinely exchanged and enjoyed. She offers her own memories of learning in comparison with the experiences of community members who were forced to attend government schooling towards assimilative goals and ultimately reminds us that, "Storytelling helps us move from one generation to the next, carrying the stories of our past with us…Through stories, there is always the hope that the young ones will become responsible for and carry on the cultural knowledge of the elders." Through her work, we are able to step into the community momentarily and to journey with her through time and across the places she so loves.

Also in Section I, Anya Dozier Enos is tasked with laying the foundation for Pueblo research—its definitions, practices, history, and hopes. In "With respect," she uses the metaphor of a spider web to skillfully craft a rich description of Pueblo researchers and their work, which she affirms contributes to expressions of Pueblo identities and always with respect to Pueblo ways of life. She writes, "That the spider creates and modifies her web in response to environment and need demonstrates relationships—human and other—is embedded in this framework, which also becomes flexible and adapts to the research need. As one thinks about how even the empty spaces create form, one becomes aware of the importance of what is visible and explicit and what is invisible and implicit. Thus the web is simultaneously a theoretical framework, a tool to organize the research process, an approach to analysis, and a way to display/share findings." As a researcher ever balancing her own reflexivity, she is honest about the "messiness" of research and with the tensions complicated by Western education and expressions of knowledge and Pueblo being. Using different points of entry into a discussion of Pueblo methodologies, she is able to reify space, language, and education in Pueblo research all while drawing from personal experience and memories of Pueblo researchers, including her own father, renowned Pueblo anthropologist, Dr. Edward Dozier. In the evolving tradition of considering local epistemologies, methodologies, and place-based research, Dozier Enos offers an exquisite tapestry of these that easily compliments and enriches the vital work on Indigenous research methodologies being done around the world. We are grateful to the work of Tessie Naranjo, Anya Dozier Enos, and Christine Zuni-Cruz (Foreword) who as senior Pueblo scholars took the responsibility of setting the tone for the research and writing of newer Pueblo scholars and establishing the significance of people, place, and the history of local research.

Section II of this volume begins with the critical analysis of June Lorenzo, Laguna Pueblo/Diné attorney, tribal judge, and United Nations consultant whose research on Pueblo chthonic law is compared and contrasted with the impacts and legacies of Spanish colonial law in New Mexico's Pueblos. Lorenzo makes clear the distinctions between subtle and overt impacts of law on the daily lives of Pueblo people, thus challenging Pueblo and Indigenous community members to consider historical data in order to consider both colonial oppressive laws and those carefully crafted for the well-being of Indigenous peoples and emerging from within Indigenous communities. Of major significance to this work is her ability to formulate questions that deserve attentiveness from all Indigenous populations attempting to ask "what is ours" and what may have been adopted from the colonial and to the detriment of our populations today. She challenges the impact of colonial ideologies of patriarchy on the status of Pueblo women and notions of the female and states, "What is evident today is that patriarchy, based on value systems and legal systems not our own, has privileged some members of our Pueblo societies over others, to the detriment of all community members." Her work provokes us to rethink what we have been handed and what we have learned by seeking to better understand the sources while diligently remembering the power of our own knowledge and governance systems.

In “Research is a pebble in my shoe,” Michele Suina of Cochiti Pueblo draws from an autoethnographic study to provide an account of her journey through discomfort with research in the health sciences rooted in positivism. She offers a frank account of observations and fears regarding research and its potential impacts in the Pueblos and writes, “The thought of being associated with the exploitation of Pueblo knowledge or harm caused by research terrifies me. I would rather be blacklisted within academia for being perceived as uncritical or uncooperative than from my own Pueblo for breaking a sacred trust.” She also introduces the notion of “Pueblo thought” as a response to labels of Pueblo people as “colonized,” which she rejects: “The colonized label commonly attached to Pueblo people is questionable as it implies something done or completed, yet we still maintain our connection to ancestral life ways which include what I refer to as our ‘Pueblo thought’—that is knowledge and use of heritage languages, traditional ceremonies and traditional governance, and connection to place.” Her findings indicate some important considerations for those interested in conducting useful and respectful research with Pueblo peoples that moves away from histories of harm while also asking Pueblo people themselves to identify and defend their own standpoints while building Pueblo research methodologies grounded in Pueblo thought.

The final chapter in Section II is authored by Corrine Sanchez of San Ildefonso Pueblo. Drawing from her professional work and research with Tewa Women United (TWU), a community-based organization in northern New Mexico working on interrelated issues affecting women, children, and the environment, Sanchez outlines the A’gin project. By describing the innovation and Pueblo epistemology required to build a healthy sexuality and body sovereignty project with and for Indigenous youth, Sanchez is also able to outline a foundation for how we must reshape the language of evidence-based research and its approaches. She provides important local context regarding conditions of women and children in New Mexico while powerfully weaving in her own story as a community member, daughter, and relative. Using language common to TWU—as in “beloved” individuals, families, and communities—she structures her work simultaneously as narrative, research description, story, and prayer. She writes, “I ask critical questions that relate to culturally-based program development and standards, individual and social transformation, and a return to using Tewa/ Pueblo epistemology as a foundation in sovereignty…I believe we must challenge dominant institutions and ourselves to ask more pressing questions that (a) *critique dominant assumptions*…(b) *revisit local cultural ideologies*…and (c) *consider practical application of our culture as a strength*.” As an equitable leader of TWU in her role as Executive Director of the organization, she is mindful of the invaluable essential voices and participation of the co-founders of the organization, her staff, and of their beloved communities, and this comes across clearly in the philosophies of knowledge that she shares with us.

Starting Section III in a chapter entitled, “Pueblo Interpretations of Data,” former Governor of Laguna Pueblo, Richard Luarkie, examines the relationship between data and Pueblo peoples bringing together historical, cosmological, and cultural

perspectives. He calls for a reclaiming of "Pueblo data," which is directly related to Pueblo knowledge and the survival and well-being of Pueblo peoples on the one hand, and on the other hand, serves as a response to the positioning of Indigenous peoples as subjects of statistical analysis. Merging his background in economics with his leadership role in Pueblo governance and his own ideals of Indigenous justice, Luarkie discusses Pueblo peoples' ways of collecting, processing, analyzing, and utilizing information from the world around them. Describing Indigenous relationships with data as comprising a "holistic world data-view," he writes, "Indigenous nations across the Americas and globally have cultural teachings, political histories, and their own ancestral technologies that may be recorded and passed from generation to generation using oral-based data sets, most commonly referred to as the oral tradition, which is distinct from the primarily European-introduced written or literary tradition. What I refer to here as Indigenous data sets are bodies of information held in stewardship by Indigenous peoples themselves. These sets can be physically situated and identified in the oral tradition and located in Indigenous languages, natural sites, and stories." He ultimately argues that Pueblo control over the definition and use of their own data can both address historical injustices while also serving as a tool for Pueblo advancement on multiple fronts.

Section III also features Shawn Abeita's work on the relationship between economic development and citizenship. A tribal member from the Pueblo of Isleta, he problematizes dominant notions of membership and citizenship while outlining the trajectory of Western-based practices and ideals of economic development in Pueblo and Indigenous communities. His work grows out of a concern for the ways in which tribal policies (and federal restrictions) deal with Indigenous peoples resulting at times in internal identity tensions felt intensely by vulnerable community members, including women and youth. He writes, "I do not speak for all Pueblos or Pueblo people but only offer a reflection on meanings of tribal citizenship in today's local and global economically-driven environment where federal policies that are tribally regulated, including blood quantum, drastically changing the makeup of Pueblos and compromising Pueblo worldviews." Woven into his discussion are Pueblo narratives, analysis of historical and more current policy pieces, and one international example of how Pueblo nations might consider the balance between cultural sustainability and protection, economic viability, and citizen "happiness."

Section IV is launched by Carnell Chosa of Jemez Pueblo. Chosa's work on "Pueblo community engagement" offers culturally and linguistically-based ways of thinking about the connection between individuals and their Pueblos, despite distance and migration away from community places. Chosa also draws from his research on a summer youth employment program implemented in Pueblo communities in order to bring to bear Pueblo youth perspectives on community and opportunity and in their own words. He provides an example of organic Indigenous theorizing by citing a commonly spoken Towa phrase about participation in community and cultural events in Jemez—"attaching my heart." He exemplifies the compelling nature of storytelling by sharing his narrative of family and migration away from

his Pueblo for the purposes of higher education. He writes, "Migration has only grown, and in my own experience leaving for college and finding work nearby my Pueblo has me contributing from outside the community. This reflection has ignited my interest in expanding what it means to be 'home' and to broaden how we think of engagement; that is, how youth and others contribute to our Pueblos while physically away from community. My intentions have further motivated me to create opportunities for youth to engage through new means facilitated by innovative programming. Throughout my undergraduate and graduate work, I was intentional about exploring how community shapes an individual and how an individual has the potential to shape community. This chapter is a small and ongoing exploration into this relationship."

The second chapter in Section IV is authored by Tesuque Pueblo scholar Anthony Dorame. In a memorializing narrative about family and place, Dorame depicts learning in the Tewa world. He expands on epistemology, ontology, and axiology, but distinguishes this work clearly through a Tewa-languaged perspective and includes pedagogy. He cultivates comparison between decisive Tewa philosophies and Western concepts in order to carve out space where both intellectual stances can view each other. In this work, the intricacy of Tewa language and worldviews is shared. He writes: "Although posing a difficult exercise to describe the values of all Pueblo Indian peoples and communities due to variation among individuals and from community to community, I believe that there are some fundamental similarities between what we are taught and the basic principles that are defined in Western academic settings as epistemology. As a Pueblo educator, my constant work is to examine those similarities, particularly among concepts of land, Indigenous language, notions of stewardship, Pueblo spirituality, and the relationships between these and to Pueblo people. My goal as a scholar has also been to identify how all these things that are important to Pueblo people relate directly to the creation and sustainable growth of an educational foundation that can benefit Pueblo students and their communities."

The final chapter in Section IV is authored by long-time teacher at the Santa Fe Indian School, Mark Ericson. Ericson has devoted over thirty years of his life's work to Pueblo Indian and tribal students at the Santa Fe Indian School as a sciences teacher specializing in environmental studies. Based on his collaborative, co-constructed, and co-pioneering work in community-based education and drawing from analysis of historical and scholarly work, Ericson proposes "Indigenous ecological survivance" whereby youth in particular engage in "the sustainable protection, preservation, and promotion of their lands and waters and through the nurturing and practicing of respectful relationships with co-inhabitants of the natural environment that are integral to culture." He establishes evidence regarding current environmental crises, as well as the educational, societal, and self-described needs for youth to be recognized and provided opportunities as change agents. He writes, "In response to this crisis, my work seeks to (1) explore watershed and landscape

assessment and management as an epistemological and pedagogical framework that bridges important western educational objectives with Indigenous cognitive systems; (2) strives to honor, support and strengthen Indigenous values while empowering Indigenous youth to play active roles in aspiration-based forward planning and preparation towards long-term cultural and environmental survival in a rapidly changing world; and (3) addresses youth agency that prioritizes learning from and honoring communities that hold inherited knowledge and wisdom manifested from generations of adaptation and survival in unique and beautiful landscapes." Through his work, Ericson advocates for the synthesis of Western and Indigenous knowledges towards solutions that engage youth with communities towards sustainable environmental futures.

CONCLUSION

Originally published in 1955 in his *Discourse on Colonialism*, Cesaire argued for a systematic defense of societies destroyed by imperialism, asserting that these societies "were the fact, they did not pretend to be the idea" (2000, p. 44). In this volume, we bring forward examples of "our fact"—the stories and experiences of local scholars who recall what they were taught as Indigenous peoples raised in their own communities, providing insight into Pueblo communities and "Pueblo thought" and how and where this knowledge operates, including its "rightful" place in academe. Authors demonstrate knowledge and epistemology drawn from family and community life, which can inform innumerable ways of thinking about education—using both Western and Indigenous/local knowledge. At the same time, we also explore how Pueblo people in graduate education have accessed Indigenous knowledge or the desire to nurture their knowledges in order to reclaim educational practice for Indigenous purposes through experimentation, collaboration, innovation, and creativity.

Collectively, as Indigenous peoples writing, we take the opportunity explore why and how Indigenous peoples are working to reframe—to reset the terms of the debate, as Lyons argued—dominant limits of our power and to shift educational efforts from the colonial back to an Indigenous center. These efforts reflect a conscientious practice to maintain Indigenous worldviews, which involves valuing Indigenous knowledge for the sake of maintaining Indigenous mental sovereignty, thus combating the conviction that the colonizer is superior (Zuni-Cruz, 2008). These efforts also reflect diverse yet unified approaches towards giving back within Indigenous contexts. In her research on the relationship between the Keres language and giftedness in southern Pueblo students, Cochiti scholar Mary Eunice Romero described the first places of learning that Pueblo peoples encounter—within Pueblo communities. She and her research collaborators and participants found that gifts in individuals are multi-dimensional and multi-faceted, but that they are always situated in the ideal of giving back to community, for the sake of the whole. Romero's work

offered refreshing ways of thinking about how Pueblo peoples live in community in relationship with each other. We believe that this volume exemplifies gifts that Pueblo scholars share with each other, with their communities, with the world. Furthermore, they do this while *redefining academe* by caring for knowledges that make us better human beings. Like other scholars before us and community members who have worked to preserve, grow, promote, and protect the knowledge systems from which we come, we strive to serve those who create and sustain spaces that honor Indigenous knowledges and epistemologies (Oliveira & Wright, 2016). We are immensely heartened by the work in this volume and hope that you will be too.

NOTES

[1] One way that this is commonly addressed is by noting the differences as schooling and education. Schooling is institutionalized in a particular place, guided by the Eurocentric frameworks. Education is broader; it happens both in and out of schools. We recognize, of course, that some may see education as somehow inferior to schooling; we fundamentally disagree with this assertion. "Education," Inupiat scholar Leona Okakok (1987) notes, "means equipping [children] with the capability to succeed in the world he or she will live in" (p. 253). And, while we understand that schooling is often viewed as the norm, we believe that this concept should be contested.

[2] And, these sacred rules and sacred knowledges are very different than the ways that our relations think about "the sacred." In Fuller's sense, sacred indicates rigid, free of questioning ideals, whereas, our notions of the sacred include cosmologies that are embedded in our values.

[3] We are grateful to Dr. Naranjo for sharing her photo of Gia Khun, which serves as the cover photo for this volume.

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TESSIE NARANJO

2. STORIES OF PLACE AND INTERGENERATIONAL LEARNING

Examples from Santa Clara Pueblo

ABSTRACT

I was born in Santa Clara Pueblo, one of six Tewa-speaking Pueblos in Northern New Mexico. I live in the home of my Gia (mother) and my great grandmother, Gia Khun (Mother Corn). My great-great grandmother also lived in the same home, an adobe house, which has nurtured several generations of my extended family. My sense of place is embedded in this home with its tangible evidence of the continuity of my matriline. My house, and my matriline give me the source of my organic or personal center. It is through these connections that I am fully nurtured by the past, which is also my present. Furthermore, these connections also extend my identity beyond my personal center to the whole of Santa Clara Pueblo. In this chapter, by focusing on family and Tewa stories of place, I explore significance of place and ideas of intergenerational learning in my home community in order to demonstrate the power of our stories and the richness of Pueblo lands and natural resources to our identities as Pueblo people.

FROM PUJE TO SANTA CLARA PUEBLO

Santa Clara Pueblo is my home. It is the place that I long for whenever I have been away for even a few days. It is the place I return to over and over again. I was born here, still live here and hope to end my life here.

The marker on the side of the road, before turning into Santa Clara Pueblo states that we have lived in this location since the 15th century, although sources differ regarding the date when the village was established. Archeological explanations say that my ancestors moved from Puje, ten miles away, and joined those already living in our present location. At the same time, archeological evidence suggests that ancestral people were living in the areas of present day Santa Clara Pueblo and within the mountainous community of Puje before the 1200s: "The earliest known Anasazi occupation of the Pajarito Plateau dates back to Pueblo II (A.D. 900–1100). It is represented by scattered small house units with pithouses. The Pueblo II population appears to have been sparse on the plateau" (Cordell, 1979, p. 137). Extant ancestral

E. S. Huaman & B. McK. J. Brayboy (Eds.), Indigenous Innovations in Higher Education, 21–39.

sites within our homeland show this to be true as do personal observations made during walks through the hills and sites with my sister, Rina. In other words, groups of people lived within the boundaries of Santa Clara Pueblo even before Puje and present day Santa Clara Pueblo were settled.

Archeologists also say that we lived at Puje until the late 1500s, "Glaze potters at Puye ultimately abandoned their mountain home—by about A.D. 1577, the latest tree-ring date for that site—and moved down to Santa Clara by the Rio Grande" (Peckham & Olinger, 2008, p. 203). Movement from one place to another is evidenced by the number of sites seen today on the landscape. Stuart Peckham made mention of movement of prehistoric and early historic Pueblo peoples to Puje (1987). Among the Tanoan speakers of that time were the Tiwa, Tewa, Tano, Towa (Jemez-Pecos), and the Piro (Parsons, 1939, 1996, p. 923):

> Now extinct, Tano is considered by some linguists to have been a southern Tewa dialect. Although its influence on the Tewa at Puye may have been slight, it may have been enough to cause today's people of Santa Clara Pueblo (who claim Puye as an ancestral village) to speak a dialect noticeably different from that spoken by the other Tewa pueblos (so different that the people of the latter pueblos make fun of the way the Santa Clarans speak Tewa. (Peckham, 1987, p. 281)

Puje is better known to the public and pronounced as "Puye." We Santa Clarans use the "j" sound in our language and insist on calling our homeland "Puje". The "y" sound is familiar to the other five Tewa communities who are the neighbors of Santa Clara Pueblo in northern New Mexico: Ohkay Owingeh, Tesuque, San Ildefonso, Pojoaque, and Nambe. The word, "Puje" in our Tewa language can mean "gathering of rabbits" or "brain-tanned leather," depending on how quickly the word is spoken or where the emphasis of the sound of the word is placed.

Puje today sits on a mesa top, nestled in the canyons of Santa Clara Pueblo tribal lands and overlooks the Rio Grande Valley in what is now the state of New Mexico (see Figure 1). Individuals could have easily walked by foot from the mesa top having intimate knowledge of their landscape. Among the ruins of my ancestors' homes are remnants of things they used in their everyday lives. These days, we visit and revisit our ancestral home to connect with the past and with the spirits of those who have passed on.

When we lived at our ancestral home at Puje, we took care of the land, planting and cultivating Indigenous foods (corn, beans, squash) and harvesting the many wild plants and animals. Life was difficult because of the dry and harsh climatic conditions in the mountainous area of Puje; nonetheless, my ancestors survived. We had survived for hundreds of years caring for and living off the land. When we completely moved down from the mountains and joined the villagers at present day Santa Clara Pueblo, many of the traditions developed in our ancestral homeland continued from generation to generation as we practiced the new ways of a hydraulic irrigation agrarian society.

Figure 1. Puje

Today it takes us mere minutes to get into our cars whenever we choose to visit Puje. And for some of us (my relatives, especially), when we visit Puje many questions about the lives of our ancestors come to mind. Among the questions I ask myself are: Was moving from the mesa top to the plains an easy decision? What reasons prompted the move? We can only guess what was on their minds at the time when the movement began. Were there new people coming into the area from different directions threatening their lives? Was the move done in delayed sequences? According to archeologists, during the late 1500s a severe drought drove my ancestors down from Puje to join their Tewa kin living at Kha P'o Owingeh or Santa Clara Pueblo: "This event roughly coincided with a period of severe drought (A.D. 1577–1587) that affected the Puye district and further substantiates the Santa Clara tradition that Puye was its ancestral village" (Peckham & Olinger, 2008, p. 211).

The Tewa of Puje came down from the high mesa to present day Santa Clara Pueblo very close in time to the arrival of the Spaniards who came with intentions to colonize New Mexico in 1592. The Tewa they joined had been living at their village ten miles from Puje near the Rio Grande, for 200 plus years (Hill, 1982, p. 1). Residential and work sites still found along the Rio Grande were built by the village ancestors to make adjustments which coincided with needs of a hydraulic irrigation agrarian society (Dozier, 1970, p. 39). The Puje ancestors began to practice hydraulic irrigation in the fields alongside the River when they moved from Puje.

Spaniards had already begun their exploratory expeditions into northern New Mexico and immediately began to impose their religious practices and customs on people living at Santa Clara including the recent arrivals from Puje. Spanish oppression of Pueblo lifeways was experienced by the villagers for almost 100 years until 1680 when we had no choice but to join the Pueblo Revolt. According to oral tradition, Santa Clarans recount that during the time of the Pueblo Revolt ancestral Santa Clarans moved back to Puje to stay away from the turmoil. In spite of the horrific assault on our lives, we did the best we could to stay true to our own religious practices and beliefs. The Spanish Catholics (especially the clergy) eschewed our dances, prayers, songs, and all things that were part of our naturalistic

lives and beliefs. Reflecting on my ancestors' past, I also often consider how we manage daily life in the present and will manage our lives in the near and far future at Santa Clara Pueblo.

Family Structures and Loyalties

Today there are differences of opinion about social, linguistic, and ceremonial changes occurring at Santa Clara Pueblo. Elders in the community say changes are too rapid while others say things are 'okay'. Certainly, when the Puje ancestors lived on top of the mesa, there must have been varying opinions about how life should be lived. For example, when the ancestors chose to leave their homes at Puje, it must have been a tremendous change for all. They had to adapt to a different lifestyle from a mountainous hunting-gathering and nominal agrarian existence to more of a sedentary horticultural lifestyle. Now as practically full-time farmers they had to manage their days differently; for example, now they had to pay close attention to the changing of the seasons and the effects of these changes on their crops and the availability of water:

> Changes in the late 1300s up to the mid-1500s were rather dramatic. With a more dependable water source and the protection offered by aggregation into larger villages riverine farmers increased varieties of standard crops (including gourds) and also raised cotton and tobacco and turkeys (mostly for feathers). The canal system expanded as the population increased along the Rio Grande and its tributaries. Correspondingly, forms of government to control the use of these ditches had to become more sophisticated. With the advancement of their farming program came more craftwork and further religious ceremonies from planting season to harvest time
>
> By 1540 the pueblos and their Anasazi ancestors had experienced approximately 3000 years of agricultural tradition. The very fact that they survived and expanded from their rather humble beginnings in the arid and unpredictable Four Corners region is a tribute to their inner strength, work ethic, innovation, resourcefulness, tenacity, and adaptability. (Vlasich, 2005, pp. 7–8)

Change is inevitable, and yet generations later many of the core values that existed then are still consciously practiced today. For example, *respect* is a key value, and the claim is that we owe respect for all things on earth and in the sky, the living and the dead, the movements of the clouds, the changing of the seasons—all of life. The everyday and the spectacular events are given the same attention and response as is the attention to work ethic, innovation, resourcefulness, tenacity, and adaptability.

One summer when I was nine years old, I remember sitting on a branch of a fruit tree across the road from our family home. It was late afternoon, a quiet afternoon, when I heard my mother calling me. I quickly came down from the tree and walked to the house. Inside the house, my mother said, "Na pava paa" or "make tortillas". I do not remember anything else about that late afternoon, but I do know that I

complied with my mother's request to make tortillas for the family. Early on, we children in the community were asked to participate in adult tasks. Rina Swentzell, Santa Clara Pueblo scholar and my sister, made the following comment in her 1982 dissertation:

> There is no "waiting to grow up" for an individual to help build a house, care for the fields or cook for the extended family. Expectations to participate in all serious activities of the group are felt as soon as the individual is seen to be capable. Young girls of eight years may be expected to feed a crew of five to ten field workers, which is as serious a task as any "mature" person is expected to perform. Learning is through doing, and children are encouraged to understand and figure out real-life situations. The thinking is that if a child is to become a responsible person, he not only must be exposed to adults engaged in demanding tasks but also must participate in such tasks. There is a trust that the child is capable of real responsibilities. (Swentzell, 1982, p. 28)

My older brother who is 79 years old made a similar statement about children and youth who are requested to do adult tasks (personal communication, 2016). He recalled, "When our great grandmother wanted things done it was her way and, you know, everything was work oriented, "Weh se bo" or "right away." This was a command that was sharp and clear and there was no questioning that. Our mother was like our great grandmother."

I interviewed another male elder years ago when my older brother and my sister, Rina, were working on a book project, *Sacred to Secular: Transformation of a Gendered World*, at the School of American Research in 1996 (unpublished). A male elder involved in this book project said the following regarding children and work in the community:

> Hard work applied to both boys and girls. The families, the girl's side will look at the boy's side and say, "He's not lazy." They'd look at it that way. On the girl's side, they'd say the same thing…Down here, "nice girl" is all they say, "Hiwodi-namu. Hae-wi-tehki-naha", she knows how to do everything, make bread, she knows how to cook. (Male elder, 1996)

Still today one can still see children in the community being given tasks that in another society would seem inappropriate for a child. In our community, though, we are all seen as being capable of assuming adult responsibilities. Imitating a task usually performed by adults is demonstrated in numerous ways. Young children work with clay because they see their mothers, aunts, and grandmothers making pottery at the kitchen table. During our ceremonial dances children make the same steps as adult dancers. With continued participation the dancing steps, awkward at first, become equal to the steps of adult dancers. Swentzell following Pearce's writings introduced the notion of imitation in this way: Pearce referred to preliterature cultures as dependent upon what was referred to as "willing imitation," whereby imitation

is both play and incorporation of the child into the adult world of action and where children gain their sense of reality through this play (Swentzell, 1982, p. 28).

To the generation in which I grew up, the community was the whole world, and Tewa, the language spoken at Santa Clara Pueblo, captures the core values held dear in that world. For example, everyone in the community was your ko-o, your aunt, your mae-mae, your uncle. In other words, we are all related. Other elders who also participated in the *Sacred to Secular* book project explained,

> When I was growing up, I felt related to everybody whether they were related or not. You called them aunt or uncle even if they weren't your aunt or uncle. You were more respectful to them than now. We learned to work together, care for each other, to work for the good of the community. In Tewa there is no word for family because we are all related. Instead, "matuu" or "relative" is the word used when we talk about our relations. Individuals and families were part of the communal group. Santa Clara values came out of this collective understanding. That's what community is – a group of people who are bound together by a set of values not just living together but where you have strong bonds not only within family but inter-family. (Female elder, 1996)

> Community? Community always meant Oweh-neh or Santa Clara to me. When the drums start beating we dropped everything and started running, as children, into the Bupingeh (plaza) and it was the most exciting thing about being a Pueblo child. It brought all the people, it just called everybody. The next symbols of community to me are mae-mae, uncle and ko-o, aunt. Everybody was either mae-mae or ko-o in my mind. Oweh-neh was totally like being in a womb, totally in a place where you belonged. (Male elder, 1996)

Exercising these relationships in everyday life and during special times remains visible in Santa Clara. For example, we lived and still live according to the changing of the seasons: spring, summer, fall, winter. In the early 1940s, springtime for men meant cleaning the farm field ditches, which would be used for irrigation. They also made rows for planting and cultivating crops. Crops such as corn, beans, and squash would be planted in the fields south of the village. During this time, women and children gathered wild, natural plants such as whaa or Rocky Mountain Bee plant. We also collected t'simahaa, a celery-like plant. Whaa is eaten as a vegetable dish and t'simahaa is used as seasoning in bean dishes and other stews.

Summertime meant that male members would be in the fields tending the growing plants. Water from the Rio Grande was the main source for irrigating these plants. Water for cooking the vegetables and stews came from the Santa Clara Canyon creek that feeds into the Rio Grande, which it still does today. Women and children made daily treks to take lunches to the men working in the fields. Elderly community members recalled that as children in the early 1900s, they walked to the fields with emptied lard buckets now filled with food for male relatives working in the fields. One elder woman remembered those times. She said, "Men were hard working.

The women or children would carry lunches to them. For myself, I would carry my tortillas on my back and two little lard pails with food in them for my father." When time allowed, men and older boys would walk to the Santa Clara Canyon ponds or to the Rio Grande to catch fish. During this time, women kept busy doing home chores, tending children and making pottery. At the end of summer, the community would come together to celebrate the community's harvest.

Fall season meant continued harvesting of foods such as chile, apples, peaches, and apricots. Young and old were kept busy helping with tasks that included peeling, cutting up, husking, storing, and grinding (see Figure 2). Mothers, aunts, and grandmothers were especially busy braiding corn for drying, braiding chile into long strands, and drying corn to make t'si-kho (chicos) in the outdoor beehive ovens where bread would be baked all year long. Children were included in these activities. One elderly community member remembered how she helped in corn preparation:

> As a child I remember mounds of cornhusks in front of homes and people sitting in the middle of these piles. I remember feelings of energy and purposeful activity. Families, of course, were husking the corn, drying them for their family and animals. During my lifetime, I remember various times spent braiding corn, preparing it to be hung to dry. I also remember, as a child, seeing corn being dried in hornos [outdoor ovens]. A bushel or two of wet corn would be placed over a thin bed of ashes inside the horno. The door to the horno would be sealed with mud so that no heat would escape. The next day the corn would be taken out, braided and hung to complete the drying. We would say, "Eh tsii-ko paa or, we made chicos. Kernels from the corn would later be made into chico stew. Another corn soup called posole was a big favorite. All dried foods were stored until needed. (Female elder, 1996)

I grew up in the early 1940s, and as a child, during winter, I remember my father bringing home wild game, especially deer and elk. He was a skilled fisherman also. Often, we ate trout for breakfast, noon meal, and supper. Much of the deer and elk was dried and prepared for storage by my mother, me and my sisters. The meat would not last an entire winter because we found it too delicious. Another activity for the men was to gather and chop wood for winter cooking and heating inside of our home. Once winter came and all the food stuffs were stored it was time for storytelling, a time to reinforce our values through stories. It was generally a time for bracing against the cold elements, a time for quietness allowing the earth the time it needed to replenish itself. Winter dances consisted of animal dances such as the deer shadeh and the buffalo shadeh.

Throughout the whole cycle of the seasons, all of our lives were bound by activities that would ensure our survival in ways similar to what our Puje ancestors had to do. Through working together–individually and with extended family and other community members–our lives would come together as a whole, whatever the activity. The ideal was for each community member to subsume himself or herself

Figure 2. A " teaching moment" to Santa Clara Pueblo youth: Dalien K'u-sunu P'in Naranjo (seated on ground); Julien Ogowi Naranjo (with glasses); Ezra T'on Naranjo Smith (seated to left of Pueblo elder), Gilbert Muwae T'sae Naranjo

for the good of the community. We survived as a collective rather than as individuals. In order to and function together we had to work and contribute.

Life Lived Like a Story

Stories have been part of Pueblo life since the beginning of our time. In the Pueblo world, stories help us remember our past. Through stories we remind ourselves about who we were and what we must become to be good citizens of our community. Storytelling helps us move from one generation to the next, carrying the stories of our past with us. We gave power and meaning to stories told in the many places where they were situated. Through stories there is always the hope that the young ones will become responsible for and carry on the cultural knowledge of the elders. As a child in the 1940s there were various ways to pass on stories—inside the kiva where the men gathered; at home where extended family members came together for storytelling sessions; and, in our everyday lives as we went about performing daily tasks. We found every possible reason and situation in which to tell stories.

Through stories we heard about current community happenings, about our collective past, gossip about the outcome of relationships and about standards of behavior. Stories held us "close to the earth" as Acoma Pueblo scholar and community member Simon Ortiz stated in the narrative script for the film, "Surviving Columbus." In the preface of his book, *Men on the Moon: Collected Short Stories,* Ortiz also wrote about stories in this way:

> Story speaks for you. Story speaks for one. Simply put, story speaks for us. There is no other way to say it. That's a basic and primary and essential concept. Story has its own power, and the language of that story is of that power. We are within it, and we are empowered by it. We exist because of it. We don't exist without that power. As human beings, we, as personal and social cultural entities, are conscious beings because of story, no other reason. (1999, p. viii)

I have lived with stories all of my life. As children we were taught about appropriate behavior through stories. As a child, storytelling gatherings at my great grandmother's home were memorable evenings. In the early evenings, my family, as well as additional extended family members, would walk to Gia Khun's adobe home located in the center of the village. We would sit and wait for the stories to begin. Often, stories continued late into the night. During times of late evening storytelling, we children would fall asleep while adults continued the stories. Gia Khun, the oldest person in the room, remembering how life was lived at an earlier time, held everyone's attention during these special gatherings.

Memories of these gatherings are clear and locked into my mind even after 60 plus years. In the late 1940s, television was not a common fixture in homes at Santa Clara, so telling stories was our community's way of gaining information about the community, teaching through stories, and warning of witchcraft (including those caught transforming himself or herself into an altered form). We believed that individuals who transform themselves usually have intentions to cause harm. These stories were the ones most disturbing to us. After an evening of witch stories, walking back home in the dark with family I would feel my back tingling. I was certain a witch was trying to grab me.

Storytelling was not only reserved during evenings when extended family came together. Stories were also told in our everyday lives. A Pueblo elder male recently asserted, "Our daily life was in story form. The Pueblo was a virtual grapevine. We talked about what was happening ceremonially and what was happening in the community…Everything was a story" (personal communication, 2016). As a teenager, this elder remembered walking to the fields with his cousins where a variety of stories would be told between them.

Stories continue at unexpected times, and the values embedded in them continue to be shared. For example, while eating at the Santa Clara community Senior Center on any day, conversations with other Tewa speakers at the table will invariably include core values. Not too long ago, I spent time at one table with a female elder. The stories began from the time we greeted each other until we finished eating. The particular story that she told me was about my great grandmother, Gia Khun, Mother Corn. When my lunch partner was a young child she had a high fever that reached dangerous levels. Gia Khun was called to help lower the fever. Gia Khun got particular herbs she kept in her back room, walked back to the child's home, and rubbed her body with herbs made into paste. The female elder at the table said, "I

remember to this day how the fever went away. It is because of your Gia Khun that I am still alive." This female elder is now in her mid-eighties.

Gia Khun was an herbalist. As children we would go with her to gather plants that she would use for curing. I remember walking into her back room and seeing various plants hanging from the ceiling. I never asked her what they were but somehow knew they were part of her treatment supply.

Gia Khun, born in 1867 lived in an adobe house where her mother, Martina Cahete (born 1843) and grandmother, Tani-povi, Parrot Flower (birthdate unknown), and great-grandmother lived. Gia Khun was mother to eight biological children and raised seven more children who needed nurturing. I recall my older sister, Rina, most strongly describing Gia Khun. She said once that "Gia Khun was of the world view and lifestyle that fostered the nurturing ideal." Gia Khun was also one of the midwives who served the entire community during her adult life. She delivered me and my three older siblings. In the late 1930s and into the 40s, community members were afraid to use Indian Health services in Santa Fe. When Gia Khun delivered me, she was 74 years old.

Besides being a midwife, Gia Khun had other important responsibilities in the community. The community recognized and responded to her strong female presence. She was capable and rational. Gia Khun's principal language was Tewa. She could talk a smattering of Spanish but almost no English. When the U.S. Government first introduced Western education into Santa Clara Pueblo in 1891, Gia Khun attended school less than one week. Many years later we children would tease her by asking her to recite the alphabet. If she was feeling silly and playful she would say, "aah, beh, seh" (a, b, c), then quit because this was as far as she could go with the alphabet. We all laughed at the game we played. We learned Tewa because this was how she would communicate with us. Gia Khun's Western education was non-existent but her community cultural education could not be matched. Men from the community respected her community knowledge and would pay her regular visits. Her cultural knowledge and commanding presence always held the attention of the males in the community. In those days it was men who talked about issues affecting the community but here she was giving advice when it was sought. There was high value placed on elders and since she fit into this category, it only added to the regard community members held for her.

The world that Gia Khun grew up and lived in, between 1867 and 1952, was truly lived in story form. Stories were told throughout each day as the teller remembered to tell a story appropriate to that moment. A story could be told when males were going by wagon to the agricultural fields to work, when a woman thought of a story while cooking in the kitchen area, or while making pottery. In my mother's case, I remember many stories she would offer while she was at work or at rest. Once, when my mother was quite old, I put her in the car and drove her to town. The afternoon was warm and clouds were visible. With her trembling finger she pointed toward the sky and said, "Deh waa k'won deh" or "They are making eggs." I was stunned by

her prediction of cloud formations that would bring rain. I have never forgotten that moment when my Gia, my mother, and I were in town and she simply said, "Deh waa k'won deh." To this day, when I look at particular cloud formations I remember her words. Like these moments, I have more *story memories* given to me from my mother, more so than my father because as a female I naturally spent more time helping my female relatives wherever we were together.

Another story that remains with me to this day is the story my Gia told about our ancestral movements to find a place to build our homes, to make a community. The story goes this way:

> We were coming from the direction of Santa Fe. Some were stopped. First they were going by Oga-P'o-geh. There they buried Kha-je (sacred objects) that will bring soft rain. From there they traveled and got to Te t'su-geh (Tesuque). Some were left at Te T'su-geh (Cottonwood tree place). From there they traveled to Nambe (Pueblo of the roundish earth). They traveled again and stopped near P'osuweh-geh (Drinking water place) and from there they went to P'owho-geh (where the water slides down or San Ildefonso Pueblo). From there they came to O-weneh (Santa Clara Pueblo), singing. Then the leaders went to Ts'i kumu (Santa Clara's western sacred mountain). There a Kha-je was planted and so if a cloud appears, a very heavy rainstorm will come, make mean clouds. It's because the Kha-je are angry. From there some of the people went to Ohkeh (San Juan Pueblo). From there others went to Picuris and Taos. Taos is called P'insuu because the mountains are so tall in that area. They went to Blue Lake and that became the place with the most P'in-nung (to have great power) because that's where the Kha-je which have the P'in-nung were left. (personal communication, 1992)

Not only were stories told in narrative format, stories were also built into song, verse and dance, and contained important themes for our community. A children's song provides an example:

> Tunjo kwaje na povi saa, tunjo kwaje na povi saa, ts'e okhi t'a gi wagi na povi saa, p'in povi, p'in povi, do muu dang kuun, kanyi na nang dang ku, di si dte deh (On top of Tunjo there are flowers, on top of Tunjo there are flowers, I see them so far away, I cry).

In English, Tunjo is called Black Mesa, which is an important site for Tewa people in northern New Mexico. Black Mesa also serves as the accepted visual and physical divide between Santa Clara and San Ildefonso Pueblos. My Gia would sing that song often. As a child my Gia was taken to the Santa Fe Indian School. Whenever I sing this song I imagine Tewa children being taken to the Indian school, staying away from home for months at a time and singing this song whenever they felt lonesome for home. This song tells not only of significant places, but also of our past, recounting that time when the U.S. Government took Pueblo children away

from their homes in an attempt to groom them into "acceptable" citizens of the United States. My mother has been gone for twelve years, yet every time I pass Tunjo I sing the song all the while remembering her.

Another verse that my Gia taught me is a teaching story about being industrious, being responsible, and sharing in household tasks. The verse goes like this,

> Phinini-ae ang ba deh t'a, deh t'a, giin (corn children they grind, grind, like this) Saja-vi-ae ang ba deh t'a, deh t'a giin (Grandmother's children they grind, grind, like this)
>
> Huu chenu, huu chenu (Huu, throw, Huu, throw)
> Huu huu huu

We no longer grind corn to make flour but Gia Khun would have had to work at this task given to her by her mother. Even though we no longer grind corn, the core value of being industrious remains. In other words, being productive is what was passed along generationally, from Gia Khun's mother to Gia Khun, to Gia, to me.

Celebrations of Life in Nature and Homes

I have eight biological brothers and sisters (two more were added making the count ten siblings). There were many of us in the home and as youngsters each one of us had to help. The boys would go fishing and bring home trout to feed the family. They would also go out with our father during the fall season to the Santa Clara Canyon and elsewhere to bring home two to three deer so that we may have food to eat. I remember Gia calling our names as we slept. She needed extra hands to help cut meat. I was a child, but I knew when she called I had to respond to her call for help. She was adept at making jerky and storing food from cuts of the deer meat.

Community for people in Santa Clara did not just include other people, but also the plant, animal life, and other beings. While our men hunted to feed their families, they also gave great respect for the lives of the creatures feeding us. This regard and reciprocity was expressed through community ceremonial practices such as animal dances, corn and harvest dances.

Ceremonial dances have been an important part of our lives for many generations. Dances occur throughout the seasons. There are harvest dances in the summer and animal dances in winter. Reciprocity, a basic core value, is a big part of any dance. For example, we dance to give appreciation for our blessings, for the food that is grown and harvested and for the animals who sustain us. In the case of the deer (See Figure 3), it gave up its life so that we may have life and so we are compelled to honor and pay respect to the deer through dance.

The deer dance is a winter dance. When the dance is petitioned and danced in the plazas we create a drama where the deer come from the mountains, enter the center of the village and are with us for the day. When the deer came in 2016, it was early Sunday morning, February 14th, Valentine's Day for the rest of the United States.

Figure 3. Deer dance

For us, it was time again for the deer dance, planned and performed by the Summer Moiety (one of two units into which the community is divided based on unilineal descent). My niece and I left my small adobe home at sunrise wearing colored Indian blankets around our shoulders. We walked toward the sounds of singing and drumming, a short distance away from the main village. My older brother, his daughter, and granddaughter were already waiting at a small knoll where the singers and drummers called through song the deer, rams and antelope to come down from the two hills, a short distance away. Many other villagers wearing colorful blankets waited anxiously for the animals to make their trek down from the two hills. The crisp early morning air, singing by the Summer Moiety men and the anticipation of everyone who waited brought about feelings of a blessed day. Adding to the magic of the moment, a group of geese suddenly swirled above the men while they were singing and drumming. The flock of geese swirled and swirled ever so gently and silently for several minutes. After making their presence known, the flock of geese quietly flew away until they were no longer visible.

When the one hundred plus animals, in stately fashion, made their way down the base of the two hills and inched towards the singers and drummers, reverence for the deer filled the air. With blackened painted faces, the deer were dressed in kilts and white shirts, deer antlers fastened atop their heads and each holding two sticks to help them walk on all fours. The deer pranced forward bringing with them two

antelopes and two pairs of male and female buffalo dancers who joined them. As the hundred plus animals came closer and closer the singers and drummers separated to allow them to continue their walk into the village's large plaza. All onlookers slowly followed behind the deer, the other animals, drummers and singers. The singing continued until all humans and animals reached the plaza. As soon as the animals reached the plaza area they formed two straight lines to begin their first dance of the day. Soon after the animal dancers started their dance, amazingly, a different flock of geese appeared as if by magic and circled the animal dancers. The geese also became onlookers swirling around and around. In that moment, we all, animal dancers, singers, drummers, geese and humans became locked into a common moment. The geese swirled around the dancers for several minutes before they flew away and were no longer visible. We who were watching felt blessed.

It is easy to imagine stories being told to listeners generations ago at *Puje* as they collectively gathered to hear stories or when a story was told while they worked at their daily tasks. Like our ancestors, we believe that all things have life such as the clouds, the trees, and the clay from which pottery is made. My Gia was a great potter and would make big bowls and jars from micaceous clay that was collected in the mountains of Northern New Mexico, a number of miles away from Santa Clara Pueblo. When she went for red clay, closer to our village, I would also go with her. Before she began gathering clay she would ask permission of the clay to bring it home. Here is her plea to the clay, "Nang ochu quijo, we have come here to see you. We have come to take you. Just as you will eat us, you will feed us and clothe us so please do not hide…please don't cry."

Documentation of Our Practices and Beliefs by Insiders and Outsiders

Many people who are not Tewa have been interested in telling our stories to the outside world including Ruth Benedict, Elsie Clews Parsons, Mabel Dodge Lujan, Clara True, Mary Dissette, Margaret Jacobs, John Peabody Harrington, W. W. Hill, Charles Lange and many others as the years passed. Most recently, the book, *Ladies of the Canyon*, by Lesley Poling Kempes tells the story of the early women's fascination with the Tewa world.

Most of our stories remain in the community, but a few stories have been published. The first person to recount stories of Santa Clara Pueblo was Elsie Clews Parsons, a Euroamerican anthropologist from New England, as were many women who wandered into our world in the mid-1800s to the end of WWII. Parson's book *Tewa Tales* (1926) became both popular and professional reading in the U.S. and abroad. Although she gained popularity outside of the Pueblos, present day Santa Clarans do not remember her, even though she stayed at Clara True's ranch, located between Santa Clara and San Ildefonso Pueblos. Recently, an elder Santa Clara male said about Parsons, "I don't know of anyone who remembers her. I am sure that individuals met her, but it was too long ago, at the turn of the century, to remember who she was."

Well known storyteller and enrolled member of Santa Clara Pueblo offered a local perspective from within community: Pablita Velarde published a story about "Turkey Girl" in her book, *Old Father Story Teller* (1989). In the story, Turkey Girl lived with her unkind foster mother at Shupinna, an ancient pueblo site across the canyon from Puje. Each day Turkey Girl was sent out to find food for the turkeys she was responsible for. One day she managed to get to the celebration at Puje and with the help of her turkey friends was transformed into a beautiful young woman. When she arrived at Puje everyone was stunned by her transformation. Even her foster mother gasped at her beauty. The jealous foster mother told the young men who were fighting over her that she was a "black-hearted witch." Turkey Girl felt fear so she shortened her time at Puje and went back to her home where she felt safe with her turkeys and away from the pursuing young men. She ran as fast as she could to get away from them. She ran into the mountains. As the young men came near her the turkeys spread their wings to hide and protect her. This allowed Turkey Girl to escape safely into the mountain that came to be called Turkey Track Mountain or P'in di ang and there she lived out her life with her turkey friends.

I have known about this story most of my life. To this day, when I see P'in di ang or Turkey Track Mountain, I remember Turkey Girl. To me, this story carries a reminder that sometimes relatives are not kind, even when a child is industrious and enjoys participating in community events. In this case, Turkey Girl's desire to participate was thwarted by young men who were pursuing her so she dashed home to be in the safety of her turkey friends who ultimately saved her from the pursuers. More deeply, within this story we learn the name of the village where Turkey Girl is from, its location, the place the people go for ceremonies and why the people named the mountain, P'in di ang. Telling stories that are part of the mythology or folklore of the Tewa world is a deliberate attempt to place in the minds of others the mechanisms whereby Tewa people tell the stories of their past and present, how they tie meaning of everyday events to instructions for the children, cautions for adults, information about the importance of the place names in our landscape and so much more.

In 2000, my sister Rina Swentzell published a book titled *Younger-Older Ones*. She needed to write this book for herself in response to certain archaeological explanations that had been given about migration of our ancestors and the establishment of our villages. Only 50 copies were printed by a very small press, Weaselsleeves, in Santa Fe, New Mexico. The story is a captivating tale of a Tewa Pueblo set in the early 1400s. The Pueblo was experiencing great upheaval, having to contend with many social uncertainties that had thrown the community out of balance. Among the most serious was a voracious gossiper who was telling tales and causing suspicions about other individuals and whole families and many unexplainable deaths occurring in a short period of time, the cause of which was ultimately attributed to the one the gossiper accused of witchcraft. Her name is Ojegi. Ojegi wanders through the hills on seemingly personal whims causing villagers to suspect ulterior reasons for her behavior.

In the story, Ojegi is the daughter-in-law of Gia-Cah, the matriarch of one extended family. She is asked to come back for a funeral. Now a conversation takes place between Ta P'in (head of the Winter people) and Gia Nang Owing and Gia Cah (Ojegi's mother-in-law). In a small room, Ta P'in speaks: "Ojegi is fiercely independent and goes on many walk-abouts leaving her children and home behind as she explores ways to settle her restlessness. Ojegi's mother died when Ojegi was small, so another woman, Gia Nang Owing, raised her. At a certain point, Ojegi is told by elders to leave the village.

> Sometime past, we asked that Ojegi leave our Owingeh [our village] because things were not right. She and Sokhuwa (her husband) are here now because our child's breath has left and no one objected to their coming. However, there is much talk and disturbance out there because Ojegi has been seen chasing through the trees. That is not good. Her actions are causing turmoil in our midst. We should all be of one mind this night and not torn apart among ourselves with the fear that she has brought into our hearts. (Swentzell, 2000, p. 19)

The elders were concerned this night because of the need to help the soul, the breath of the deceased child to move more easily on its journey. Sorrow captured everyone's mind in the meeting as they did strive to honor the breath of the child. Some felt greatest sorrow because of the insinuation that Ojegi was causing all the problems of the Owingeh, the village. Even Ojegi had to leave from this situation because of her own sorrow. Still, as she left, she wondered why she always "chose not to be a part of the people" (p. 22).

In the whole story there is emphasis on interpersonal relationships between women of various kin and non-kin as Rina explored the origins of power in the community. It is ultimately the matriarchs (or individual women) who decide on ways for dealing with major issues. Here is an example of a matriarch gently mediating the current problems: The matriarch, Gia Cah, (or "leaf mother") has traveled to one of the major pueblo shrines near the village with the gossiper "Povi Cah" ("leaf flower") and prays at the shrine].

> We come here to share our thoughts with you. Listen to us and care for us. Help us to care for each other. Sometimes it is so hard but that is all we have of importance. Our Owingeh, our village is not right because we do not care for each other. There is too much talking and not enough listening. There are many unkind words being said. Those words make us uncaring. Our breaths are being taken away because of our unkindness to each other. Another is about to leave us, and, yet, we do not change our thoughts and hearts. Help us. (Swentzell, 2000, p. 36)

As time moves along, Ojegi convinces her husband and some of their children to join her in a place by a river in order to set-up a new household where she has moved. Her grown daughter (now a mother, herself), Okhuwa Povi, cloud flower, visits Ojegi in her new center-place. Okhuwa Povi returns to the Owingeh of origin and

tells everyone about Ojegi's new place. Soon a meeting is held in which the merits of staying or joining Ojegi are debated. Finally, all listen as Ta P'in, the elder, speaks:

> My children, we have heavy hearts. We have been many days to talk with [the spirit] Wind-Old-Woman. What she has to say takes courage. Our corn seeds that we have placed in our Gia (Mother) Earth are not being received by her. Wind-Old-Woman hears their crying and comes to sing their song with them. The Cloud-Bearers have also heard the song of the corn seeds as well as the stories of those who have gone to them from our Owingeh, our village. They talk about our uncaring. They talk about how we have each gone into ourselves and do not clearly feel our Gia Earth, the clouds, the wind, the birds, each other. We must again listen with our whole being to the sounds around us to know that we are all younger-older ones, that we are all women-men. We are to leave this center place and go south as all the people before us have done. We must go with good thoughts and hearts of kindness so that we can hear where to go. But there is much to do before we leave. (pp. 81–82)

Time passes, and little by little, all the villagers have joined Ojegi and her family in their new "center-place." Eventually, this movement of the village people to a new location, down from the Mesa to a river site, establishes P'osongeh Owingeh, Santa Clara Pueblo, in Rina's story.

From this story, we are left with a clear understanding that within this world, one woman, made a difference. The power of women is confirmed. In our communities, we have always known about the power of women in all domains of life. On the other hand, anthropologists and dominant Western scholars, in their writings, do not seem to notice the gendered world that our ancestors and we have created. Yet, because of the activities recounted in our stories we can see the gendered world around us where complementarity of roles remains critical to holding our culture intact.

CONCLUSION

An elder Santa Clara man talked with me recently, and he said that we do not write many of our stories. We live in a culture that primarily maintains order through the oral repetition of metaphors represented by aspects of our performances, songs, verses, stories, and prayers (personal communication, 2016). We pass the culture on and interpret it to our children the way we understand and perceive it, and this is best done orally in the form of stories.

If we revisit the story of "Turkey Girl," we understand that she is shielded from the boys who are chasing her by the turkeys for whom she has been caring. The narrative sets the stage for learning why she can get home without harm—her goodness towards the turkeys is returned to her. She runs away with the turkeys who then put up huge beautiful wings to hold her back from her persecutors. At the right moment, the wings pops up, giving Turkey Girl and her flock a chance to escape to "the cave of shrines, into a better land" (Velarde, 1989, p. 36).

Others who study us have their own ways of searching for answers to the migration of Pueblo Peoples, of their movements. However, we do not concern ourselves with Western scientific proof of our movements. Through our many oral stories—some told, others not—we resurrect our memories, and within these memories are the elements of our cultural and community values. Through this process, some present-day Pueblo communities are still able to recount the ancestors' steps along the way to their current homelands. We know then where we belong and how we came to be. To Pueblo people, many have told the stories when asked for them; others among us respect and hold close those stories we choose to reserve for ourselves.

Hae heh. That is all.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is my pleasure to acknowledge the generations before me who have shared their memories of growing up in our community who have by example and spoken words taught me the important aspects of being a gentle pueblo woman. I also want to acknowledge the trust and curiosity that have come from the younger generations giving me the stimulus to talk with them at school, in the playground and when they come to my house to visit and learn.

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ANYA DOZIER ENOS

3. WITH RESPECT…

ABSTRACT

Pueblo research as practiced by Pueblo people is multifaceted and multidimensional. At its heart is the protection, maintenance, and continuance of Pueblo traditions for our own people and our own communities. To get at how we understand ourselves and our place in the world requires identifying and being aware of not only Pueblo research methodologies, but also where and how those methodologies intersect with other Indigenous and Western research methodologies, and for what purposes. I define "Pueblo researcher" broadly to include Pueblo people who have shaped Western academic research through interaction with Western researchers, while acknowledging there are very traditional people whose "research" will never be included in publication. This glimpse into interconnections of Pueblo researchers gives insight into a context to which the Pueblo Cohort contributes. The connections and relationships between and among these examples and the work of Pueblo Cohort members ensure that looking into the past is part of looking forward, and that research, like time, is not really linear.

WITH RESPECT…NON-LINEAR CONCEPTS WITHIN A LINEAR FORMAT AND SPIDER WEB AS METAPHOR

To honor both the multi-dimensionality – time, connections, the seen and unseen–of Pueblo research, as well as the Western convention of an essay-style, I offer this introduction to a chapter that I have assigned several starting points. Research is inherently "messy" and non-linear, and I ask the reader to keep a few key questions in mind and to consider interacting with the text of this chapter. What is Pueblo research? Who are Pueblo researchers and when, and by whom, are they defined as such? What roles does research play in Pueblo communities? To illustrate thoughts about these questions, I use metaphor, language, and art. I acknowledge that each of these concepts has a hidden element that works almost as a code to keep some information accessible and other information inaccessible.

I explore an interaction of Pueblo methodology with Western academic methodologies. Although I do not strictly define Pueblo methodology, by using metaphor, language, and art, I try to give insight into how the interplay of research theory, research tools, and use of research findings can be one and the same. Inherent in this is understanding that relationships among people, families, time, and so

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forth co-construct knowledge and understanding. In order to fully articulate this, I use the visual of a spider web to set forth these multi-dimensional approaches to understanding and as metaphor for a framework. That the spider creates and modifies her web in response to environment and need demonstrates relationships – human and other – is embedded in this framework, which also becomes flexible and adapts to the research need. As one thinks about how even the empty spaces create form, one becomes aware of the importance of what is visible and explicit and what is invisible and implicit. Thus the web is simultaneously a theoretical framework, a tool to organize the research process, an approach to analysis, and a way to display/share findings. Using the visual of the spider web to think through gathering information, how relationships and concepts interrelate and then how those ideas are shared and used, means going back and forth between how to gather information, and then how to analyze, present, and use the findings with the goal of benefitting Pueblo community. This is not neatly predictable or organized; it is the messiness of research that results in something powerful. It is the spider web.

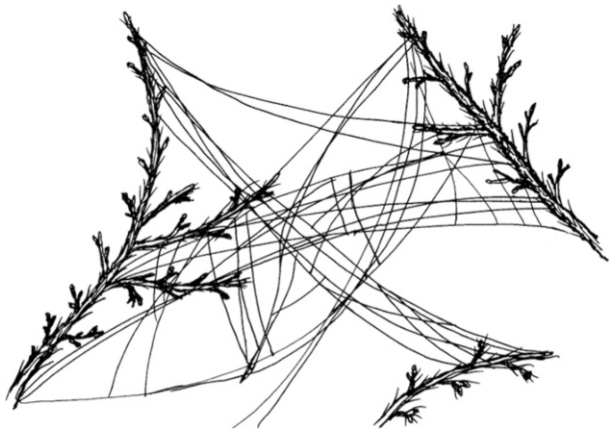

Figure 1. Spider Web 1. Drawing courtesy of and printed with permission of Terry Enos

This chapter starts, as does research, in many places. Each time I start a section, I envision a strand, segment, or intersection on a multi-dimensional spider web. Here is one place to start, with the acknowledgment of the multiverse, non-linear aspect of Pueblo research.

There are a variety of Native American stories about grandmother spider that speak to this concept. In *Old Father Story Teller*, Pablita Velarde (Santa Clara) told a snippet of grandmother spider's story: "… Long Sash saw Old Spider Woman, busy weaving, and he asked permission to enter. Replied Old Spider Woman, 'You are welcome to pass through my house. Do not destroy anything and I will help you …'" (1989, p. 12). Michael Kabotie (Hopi) was quoted, "The spider woman is

the wisdom keeper, the grandmother figure, the female figure. When I wanted to get out from my illness, there was a spider woman in my mind who spoke to me, and she became my strength and my courage to pull me out."[1]

Imagine a spider's web: Each segment is separate yet connected in order to create a whole. The spider feels any contact with even just one thread or segment of a thread, again demonstrating the interconnectedness. As I think about Pueblo researchers and Pueblo research, I keep coming back to the spider's web. Sometimes the web is a microenvironment – an individual Pueblo or a snap shot of time in history. Sometimes the web is a macroenvironment – worldwide Indigenous communities or time immemorial. The web can be a multiplicity of these concepts. Thinking beyond a stylized drawing of a spider web and acknowledging the variety and often the messiness of spider webs helps me think about the "messiness" of Pueblo research concepts. Spider webs can appear chaotic or neat or vary in their dimensions, just like the variety of webs found in and around my adobe home on the edge of my home reservation of Santa Clara Pueblo. (We have enough spiders that when they lived at home, my daughters would give them names and watch over their homes.) Throughout this chapter, the complex, interrelated concept of web is always present—in my thoughts on Pueblo research; in my own experience doing research from the 1990s to the present and in the promise being actualized by the 2012 Pueblo Cohort whose chapters form the heart of this book.

While this book showcases the work of Pueblo scholars' rich, brave, intriguing research, and the promise of their work will continue to develop and unfold, informing methodological approaches and how findings are presented, in this chapter, I try to provide a backdrop by giving a peek into my personal and professional experiences. These experiences are informed by my own family, by intersections with other Pueblo researchers, as well as interactions with others. In my personal and professional life within and outside Pueblo communities, a variety of researchers (a few of whom are woven into this chapter) have inspired me, helping me to understand that inspiration is an element as well as part of the gift of research. But I am also always mindful of how research can present flawed findings, and that the researcher's intent is always under scrutiny. This is why I find the Pueblo Cohort to be not only inspiring, but also brave. In Santa Clara, we are told to love and care for each other. Through their loving embrace of their communities, by looking deeply at what each of them brings to their community, the Cohort members fulfill that mandate to care. To be this introspective for the good of the whole takes courage, as it can also open one for personal critique; however, the Cohort members move forward with heart. I am excited not only for myself, but also for other practitioners and researchers. We now have a body of research from the Pueblo Cohort to read and reference.

I think of research as how we understand ourselves and our place in the world, and I define research and researchers broadly as that which and those who help us to understand ourselves in ways to usefully move us forward. I also acknowledge, as my father's daughter, I am both a Pueblo woman and the daughter of an anthropologist. My father, Edward P. Dozier (Santa Clara), did his academic research and writing

from the late 1940s through the early 1970s. He was at the height of his university career in the 1960s, a time when Native people entering the academy were extremely critical of anthropology.[2] However, during his lifetime, my father's work was respected within his home community to the extent that Santa Clara would ask him to speak on their behalf at Congressional hearings. My father passed away when I was 12, so my memories of him are little-girl memories. But because of the person my father was, a man who wanted his family close, I was often in his university office, where his professional books were my only option to stave off boredom. During the summers, I was in the audience of the lectures he gave in field schools and have memories of diagrams with "ego" as a triangle to show how relationships work.

On the many car trips from Tucson to "home" (Santa Clara) that we took every year, he played the harmonica, told us traditional stories, as well as stories of growing up in Santa Clara as the youngest of 11 children. In the summers he shared with us ways to be Pueblo people through our time in Santa Clara Canyon and with extended family. When people from home, which could be any Pueblo in New Mexico or Hopi, were in Tucson, they stayed with us. In terms of Pueblo people who are known for their research, it is from a child's heart that I remember Joe Sando (Jemez) and Dave Warren (Santa Clara) talking with my father around our kitchen table in Tucson. As an adult, Joe always recognized me with warmth and welcome. And this is how I read his books—with warmth and welcome. Dave's humor and humanity are so reminiscent of my father that it adds an extra dose of pleasure to see him. I struggle to read academic literature, mostly because the jargon and structure is off-putting (Dozier Enos, 2001). The inaccessibility of some academic styles of writing carries implicit and explicit messages that privilege information to those with specialized training in Western concepts—it is their code to make some information accessible and other information inaccessible. However, Dave has the unique gift of sharing books from a variety of authors, like Clifford's (1989) *Predicament of Culture*, with pivotal research and emerging methodologies and critiques that not only inspire but that I can actually read and understand. Dave's own work with Native communities, colleges, museums, and curriculum development is awe-inspiring as I now work as the curriculum director at Santa Fe Indian School.

As becomes apparent later in this chapter, there are many who have inspired me either through personal interactions and/or stories of who they are, perhaps more so than the actual written research findings they did as academics. This started, literally with childhood, but those inspirations sometimes come in a snapshot, as the experience with Lloyd Kiva New is described in a later section.

In graduate school at the University of Illinois in the 1990s, my own training in qualitative research resonated with my experience being a Pueblo woman, which includes valuing the ability to listen with a goal of consensus, rather than of argument or getting one's own agenda to be at the forefront; understanding that it is only what I have direct knowledge of is what I can speak to without reference; and anchoring myself within my family – those who have passed, those who are

here, those who have yet to come – all at the same time (Dozier Enos, 2001). I am trying to write with those uppermost in mind, and so my family and those Pueblo researchers whom I have met take the forefront, even when not explicitly mentioned. I must also note that in my formal education and reading, several White men had methodological approaches that I still value: constant reflection to identify but not "control" bias (Peshkin, 1988), coupled with embracing lived experience as a path to knowing (Denzin, 1994). The highly personal narratives of Harry Wolcott (1994, 2002) continue to haunt me, making educational research ever present in my mind as I work in a school setting. But it was Linda T. Smith (2001), the acclaimed female Māori researcher/author, who articulated for the world that Indigenous research is the hallmark of qualitative research.

As I go to my bookshelves to re-read the work of these people who inspire me, I find other books. Some of these were my father's books, both books he owned and books he wrote. The researcher part of me is always looking for new ways to make sense of my world, and in my house that means re-categorizing books to find a system that allows me to find/reflect on an eclectic collection that includes anthropology and psychology books that belonged to my parents; art and archeology books that my husband brought with him when we married; qualitative research methodologies, anthologies of Native creative writing, and education for my academic collection. Then there are our daughters' children's books that hold poignant memories I cannot throw out, and the various novels my husband and I have kept for one reason or another. A few years ago, as fires burned the Santa Clara Pueblo watershed and canyon, I was forced to think about evacuation. If one had time, what to take? What cannot be replaced? So I re-organized again, based on what could be packed in the car first. Naturally, our traditional Native items, important papers, and photographs. But then I realized scattered among the different collections were books someone in my family had written in part or in whole. So, those books now have their own shelf, for easy access.

Before going to the family shelf, the books closest to those on qualitative research methodology are about ethnology/anthropology, including some biographies and early attempts at combining reader-friendly narrative with anthropological insights, like *Maria: The Potter of San Ildefonso* (Marriott, 1952), about Maria Martinez. The books by Joe Sando on Pueblo history and biography (1998a, 1998b) are on this set of shelves, near Ohkay Owingeh author Alfonso Ortiz's *Tewa World* (1969). These books remind me to go to that special shelf, the one with my family members' writing. My father has the most real estate there. His book, the *Pueblo Indians of North America* (Dozier, 1970), is still in print, and many of the Pueblo Cohort members have used it as a resource. That my father earned a Ph.D., was a professor at major universities, and wrote academic books makes him a researcher in the Western/mainstream convention. However, he also honored the empty spaces on the spider web that I talk of later. As the close relative of very traditional people, he understood the boundaries; as someone who loved his family and community, he honored constraints. He never felt his research was "missing" anything by

only sharing what was appropriate. After his death, for over 40 years, his former university students/colleagues still share stories of how his inclusivity as a professor who honored graduate students' thoughts alongside the ideas of ranking professors made for an exciting and dynamic environment (see d'Azevedo & Bledsoe, 2009; Wilmsen, 1989).

It is an earlier experience I had with the family books on this shelf, though, that hints at the Native-as-researcher concept I am trying to articulate to contextualize the recent history of the Pueblo academic experience to which the Pueblo Cohort members contribute. My mother-in-law also has work represented on the family shelf. Although she was not Pueblo, the questions her work engenders are questions raised as I think about Pueblo researchers in the 20th century. Susie Ignacio Enos was a member of the Tohono O'odham (Papago) tribe, which is located in the Sonoran Desert in the Southwestern United States and Northern Mexico. I only saw her a few times when she was already quite ill, so I really only know her through my husband and his sisters' memories. They remember her as a woman deeply devoted to family, community, and church, who also worked with the linguist Dean Saxton and his wife, Lucille, on the Papago/English dictionary (Saxton & Saxton, 1969; Saxton, Saxton, & Enos, 1983). As I was placing the books with her work on the shelf several years ago, I realized that the first edition (Saxton & Saxton, 1969) names her in the acknowledgements, while the second edition (Saxton, Saxton, & Enos, 1983) lists her as the third author. What changed between 1969 and 1983? Did her contribution increase, was it changing political/social climate to encourage recognition of Indigenous collaborators, or was it to honor her memory? Although I do not mean to answer those questions (perhaps they do not have a clear answer), the questions lead to: Who are Indigenous researchers and when are they recognized as such?

WITH RESPECT…SPACES

In thinking about the variety of Pueblo researchers, I acknowledge there is a space of importance that cannot be articulated well in words. Lloyd Kiva New, an artist and first president of the Institute of American Indian Arts (IAIA), spoke to my Two-Dimensional Design class when I was a freshman at IAIA in the 1970s. He shared his thoughts about Australian Aboriginal art, which helped him to make a point about the importance of "negative space" in viewing the world and as an artist. Artistically, negative space is the space around an object. If one stops looking at the object, there are forms and patterns, sometimes even hidden pictures, that are revealed. It is important to note that "negative" used in this term has no judgement attached – it is neither good nor bad, it is just another way of seeing. Looking at the space between the spider's silk and extending the metaphor, there are spaces in Pueblo research that are important but are the places completely private within each Pueblo. The importance of respecting those boundaries is vital. There are those whose work is completely internal; that is, it is only practiced within by people who

hold specialized roles within a Pueblo. It is not my place or intent to delve into this way of knowing; however, it is important to acknowledge there are types of research that exist completely outside of Western knowledge. As I present Pueblo researchers in this chapter, it is always those whose work can be understood from a Western, as well as an Indigenous, lens.

There are stories of people who have not respected Pueblo boundaries and of how their lives and the lives of others were adversely impacted. As a result, I find research to be fraught with danger, and find myself fearful about writing – neither wanting to be a source of harm nor to be hurt myself. This is another reason I believe the work of the Pueblo Cohort to be brave: As my father did, they know and respect the spaces and move forward. I leave those spaces now to focus on other strands and segments of the metaphorical spider web.

WITH RESPECT…LANGUAGE AS STRUCTURE

I needed to start this chapter simultaneously in three places—by grounding in respect through language, with an organizational introduction, and with an explanation of the spider web metaphor. Given the multi-dimensionality and non-linearity of Pueblo research, imagine that I start this chapter here, with language as a strand on the spider web. Language structure gives insights into research methodology, analysis of findings (that is, understanding), and as a way to maintain who we are implicitly. Before speaking to a group, in my home community and other Tewa speaking villages, the person lays down respect and awaits acknowledgment before continuing. In this way, I think both the speaker and those listening are reminded to speak with the intent of doing so with respect on multiple levels – to the place, to those who listen, to those who disagree, to those who agree. Before, during, and after such an utterance includes the need on the part of the speaker to listen with an open heart. Instead of a pause, I asked several people from home to review this chapter before publication.

Opening with respect is an example of how "the way our language is structured teaches us how to be" (Santa Clara Pueblo, 2005). Another example is that in Tewa, if one does not know something from one's own direct experience, that is acknowledged. A word is added if one knows something without direct experience, and without that term, the listener assumes the speaker knows from personal experience. This makes me comfortable with the research convention of citation as a way to show I have learned something from a specific author; however, it can also make me sound tentative and unsure—what do I really *know* from my own experience? It seems to me all my knowledge is co-constructed, which also makes the Western concept of owning an idea problematic. So, while I understand giving respect through citation to the thoughts, ideas, and concepts of others, the idea that an individual person can hold ownership to an idea is odd from my perspective as a Pueblo woman. I do understand intellectual property as a collective, and therefore am cautious about what I say, how I say it, again adding to the tentativeness of my

verbal and written assertions. This struggle is more apparent in the section on Pueblo Community Based Education, where I reference "my" research.

Most of the important adults in my life when I was growing up spoke Tewa. Although I do not speak Tewa, I carry with me some second language tendencies, such as sometimes being tentative in my speech or misuse of some English parts of speech. I saw second language structures in many of my students' writing when I was teaching high school English at Santa Fe Indian School – even among those whose first and primary language is English. In the classroom, my fellow English teachers and I would see grammatical structures that mimicked pieces of the Native language structures, even for those monolingual English-speaking Native students. I wonder if this is an unconscious way to keep our languages alive in English. It appeared as a problem, since these students often struggled with standard English, but it seems also to be a form of rebellion against the oppressive nature of English and Western thought. It is a way to keep who we are alive, almost as a code.

As I think about the Pueblo researchers, I think they too include hidden messages or codes, which only Pueblo people can see, in their work. As with my former students who spoke non-standard English, perhaps these messages are also included without a conscious plan but understood by the right people at the right time. Certainly, there are overt messages/findings/products that are accessible to the world at large. But I also see underlying concepts that I realize non-Natives are missing. It is there, as a gift to Pueblo people, and a foundation upon which current and future Pueblo researchers are building and will build to make the implicit explicit with the goal of supporting and enriching their own communities. That this work applies and is useful to other communities is an unintended benefit, because their work is for their people.

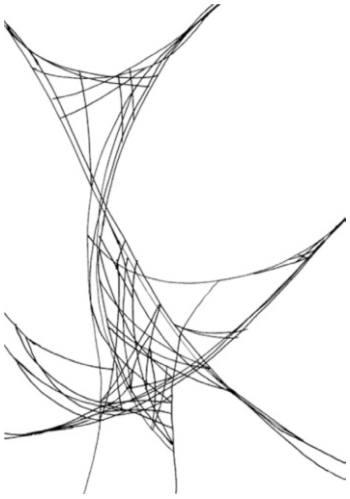

Figure 2. Spider Web 2. Drawing courtesy of and printed with permission of Terry Enos

WITH RESPECT…WHO ARE INDIGENOUS RESEARCHERS (AND WHEN ARE THEY DEFINED AS SUCH?)

This could be yet another starting point for this chapter, another segment in the spider web. Looking again at my bookshelf, I am reminded of Poveka (Maria Martinez) of San Ildefonso, who made pottery from the early 1900s until her death in 1980. She became famous and brought renown to Pueblo pottery worldwide. Poveka is the great-great grandmother of Pueblo Cohort member Corrine Sanchez (San Ildefonso). Early in the first decade of the 1900s, my grandmother lived in San Ildefonso and developed what would be a lifelong friendship with an older sister of Poveka, giving those women a connection even though they were from different, albeit neighboring, Pueblos.

There are many stories, with many conflicts, about Poveka and her life. I do not claim this one is "right". One story goes that the archeologist E. L. Hewett was excavating an abandoned, pre-contact Pueblo as part of his extensive research in Northern New Mexico. He had a group of men from San Ildefonso Pueblo help with the digging. Hewett became interested in some shiny black potshards and asked the local men about it. One of them, Julian Martinez, said his wife, Maria (Poveka), might be able to replicate the total luster in the black pottery. Poveka, as did many women in the Pueblos, made black and red pottery for utilitarian purposes. She practiced the extensive communal process that depends on participation of extended family to gather materials from various sites, mix the clay and temper with the proper proportions, form symmetrical pots, use a clay slip and stone to polish, and fire the clay outside on Mother Earth to the correct temperature with the correct materials. A few potters in both Santa Clara and San Ildefonso were still making the shiny black ware, and they may have shared techniques amongst themselves, supporting Poveka as she refined the process to produce a higher-gloss sheen. Grounded in those traditional values to share talent and expertise, Poveka shared her knowledge with other women in San Ildefonso.

Poveka, as an artist, captures Pueblo thought and reflects it back in ways simultaneously accessible and inaccessible to an audience outside of Pueblo communities. I am reminded again of my former students, whose non-standard English was both a way to communicate outside their communities, but also a way to keep alive their languages' structures, and with it, Pueblo thought. Like the web, there are times when the strands are almost invisible, and times, when the sun shines just right, that those strands pop out, glistening into view.

Poveka was a Pueblo researcher. In response to a request from a Western researcher, she did research that included a reciprocal sharing with other potters and extended family to refine a traditional form of pottery. It is in the sharing of her knowledge and skill to benefit community, and in the heart of her artistry, that makes her a 20th century *Pueblo* researcher. Her hard work and "commitment to respecting her inner-self pride seen to others as excellence," (Kathy Sanchez, personal communication, October 11, 2016), coupled with her generosity, is the

hallmark of Pueblo expertise (Romero, 1994). Poveka's "lifeway in clay relations or art, as expressed in pottery" (Kathy Sanchez, personal communication, October 11, 2016), speaks heart-to-heart to all peoples of who we are as Pueblo people. As is the research of the Cohort, her work is grounded in her Pueblo and it has a unique contribution to her home, and that it is also appreciated and benefits the broader world community is an example of the gift Indigenous researchers give the world. To bring this back to the personal, one of my uncles, at least once a year, would go to Bandelier National Monument for a hike and to view a video of Poveka gathering clay and making pottery. As he became old, he would take me with him to share this intimate treasure. It gave him a deep joy—inspiration. By sharing the experience with me, he gave me a gift that is both deeply personal and also reinforces the respect I have for Poveka and her work.

Although I focus on a couple of Cohort member Corrine Sanchez' family members—Poveka and later Corrine's mother, Kathy Wanpovi—as examples of Pueblo researchers who intersect with my family, I acknowledge that each of the Cohort members has researchers in their families and those connections are interwoven throughout not only my family and the Cohort, but also intersect with other Pueblos, Indigenous peoples, and academics.[3] This is the complexity and, yes, the apparent messiness, of the spider web. To honor the need for multiple levels of understanding and articulation, and to attempt to do justice to complexity, I rely heavily on visual metaphor. As yet another example of the interconnection among time, space, and relationships, as I explain later, Corrine's mother, Kathy, helped to bring to my consciousness that this is a common strategy.

Pueblo research methodologies incorporate a variety of approaches that include, but are not limited to, art as research, metaphor as research, and even Western academics as research. In the field of Pueblo research, Western researchers have always relied on internal Pueblo researchers, like Poveka's husband, Julian, who helped archeologists not only dig, but also to expand upon his findings through the artwork he created with Poveka, and like my father, who began his research career through a small study commissioned by an ethnographer who was worried Pueblo youth were not talking to their elders. That project was about Pueblo plants, and my father and an artist from Tesuque Pueblo worked with older male relatives towards a never completed children's book with common Western, biological, and Tewa names for local plants with flowers. What I think the ethnographer did not understand was the complex way intergenerational relationships can play out in Pueblo communities. Younger people are tasked with respecting and taking care of older people, but older people are also tasked with respecting and taking care of younger people. Because of the variety of traditional roles, sometimes someone who is young in years may be "old," that is, an elder. In the spider web, this is an example of a non-linear intersection that helps us understand how even time is not a predictable way to organize concepts.

WITH RESPECT…PUEBLO COMMUNITY BASED EDUCATION

I have reached a part in the spider web where twisted strands move us from mid-20th century Pueblo research to my own 21st century experience. As such, another format for Pueblo research currently comes in the form of research and evaluation in response to grants supporting K-12 education. I have focused most of my own research efforts on gathering and reporting on Indian education initiatives that are centered around projects that may increase Pueblo high school student motivation to not only learn academic content, but to also excel in that learning. Since youth voice is vital in these efforts, but youth perspectives are fleeting, having young research interns has been an important part of this process. In their current positions mentioned below, some of my former research interns give insight into how in Pueblo communities, the "younger as elder" engenders pride and respect from those who are older in terms of age as measured by years.

Toward the end of the 20th century, after working at Santa Fe Indian School (SFIS) for several years, I earned my Ph.D. Around the same time, SFIS was awarded a grant from the Annenberg Foundation called Circles of Wisdom. The original proposal was written by a non-Native consultant, and included a component for a researcher on the East Coast to study Indian students' brains to see if they worked differently. The SFIS superintendent appointed Louise Naranjo (Cochiti), a Pueblo teacher/administrator with ten years of experience at the school, as the Project Director. She and I both live in Santa Clara and often carpooled and, in discussion about the project and my new degree, Louise pulled me in as the Senior Researcher. Longtime visionary SFIS superintendent, Joseph Abeyta (Santa Clara), grounded his educational philosophy in Pueblo concepts. He was delighted when Louise suggested changing the original proposal and encouraged us to use Pueblo approaches to understanding the world as foundational to both the curriculum development and the research components in the grant. The Annenberg Foundation graciously allowed Louise and me to re-write the proposal with a heavy focus on community based curriculum development and qualitative research that allowed for several research interns to help uncover emerging findings on Pueblo community based education (CBE). Pueblo elementary and middle schools, whose students often go on to Santa Fe Indian School (which serves students in grades 7–12), as well as SFIS, were encouraged to develop and implement Pueblo CBE curricula.

Over a five-year period, through several grants, I had eleven research interns. The interns were all under 30 years old, most were in their late teens/ early twenties. Almost all were from Pueblo communities; some were SFIS alumnae or former students of either Louise's or mine. They had a range of talents—from charming, talkative, relationship builders, to artists who could summarize complex concepts in a single visual, to highly analytical, organized recent college graduates –that came together to give multiple viewpoints informed by youthful energy and vision. The interns have gone on to varied, important roles. In relationship to this book, two examples of the web of interconnections of knowledge and responsibility stand out

immediately. One of the editors of this volume, Elizabeth Sumida Huaman (Wanka/Quechua), was one of those research interns. In the second Pueblo Cohort is also a former intern, Curtis Chavez (Cochiti). Curtis is a current member of the SFIS Board of Trustees, and so has gone from being my 8th grade English student to being my intern and is now one of my bosses.

For guidance and validation of the research process for the grant, analysis, and presentation of findings, it was important to have an advisory group of Pueblo people who were grounded in their communities and Pueblo knowledge, but who were also comfortable expressing Pueblo concepts in English, which was the common language for interns, researchers, and advisory members. With this goal, Louise and I reached out to our Pueblo leadership at SFIS to recommend advisory members. All of whom were recommended and asked agreed to serve, including people who had touched our lives with inspiration in the past. While we agreed to keep the members as anonymous as is possible in Pueblo country, with respect, I acknowledge that each of those advisory group participants has impacted at least one – sometimes several – Pueblo Cohort members in profound ways.

In addition to supporting and capturing CBE curriculum development and analyzing the patterns we were seeing in successful CBE approaches, Circles of Wisdom also funded some community-based projects. One such project was Kathy Sanchez' Butterfly Model, which I had first become aware of when Kathy and I were part of a small group of Tewa women imagining Tewa Women United (TWU) in the late 1980s. At the time, Kathy was working on several projects, including a video on her great-grandmother, Poveka the potter, which overlapped and informed our TWU work. In her Butterfly Model, Kathy used the visual metaphor of a butterfly to help articulate differences in Western and Native education, and as she worked the concept, other ideas and projects informed her thinking, and the metaphor inspired and enriched those other projects. I was fascinated with the interplay her process allowed, and I realized I had done something similar though far less complex when I was working on my Master's Degree at St. John's College, which focused on the Great Books; at the time, only texts from the Western tradition, but now is inclusive of other traditions' writings, as well. To articulate how I understood the complexity of such foreign concepts embedded in Aristotle's *Metaphysics,* for example, I resorted to sketches and then metaphor, and then back to sketches to show the various relationships and intricacies. This, Kathy helped me see, is the metaphorical thinking that is one of our strengths as Pueblo people to aid us in understanding and organizing the world – bringing it to my full awareness. It is now one of the most important research tools for me, as the spider web, of course, makes clear. Kathy's strength as a researcher is evident, and it impacts the Pueblo Cohort through her daughter, Corrine Sanchez, who brings her own unique lens that inspires me and others, showing that the strand of the spider web that is her family intersects and overlaps with that of other Pueblo researchers.

As Circles of Wisdom was completing the work for the Annenberg grant, our team applied for and received several other grant opportunities. One was from National Science Foundation's Rural Systemic Initiative, which coupled nicely with

the Annenberg grant that was morphing into the Rural Trust. Alaska and Navajo sites also had both grants, and so we were inspired and learned from those initiatives as well. In Alaska we learned from Ray Barnhardt's thoughtful connections and relationship building, Oscar Kawagley's (1995) articulation of "teaching through [not about] the culture", and understanding that their success was also thanks to a gifted "silent" partner at an Alaska Native corporation. They shared with us a variety of Native Hawaiian approaches to teaching language and culture, as well as literally introducing us to Linda and Graham Smith. At Navajo, the Star School was a concrete example of using Native ways of knowing and leveraging resources from both state public schools and the Bureau of Indian Education (BIE) to better serve Native children. These relationships initiated our awareness of concepts from the diaspora of Indigenous peoples, enriching our work with our own communities.

From Circles of Wisdom, I became intrigued with a couple of things that continue to shape my work. One is "deep sovereignty" (Dozier Enos, 2002), which resulted from consistent themes that surfaced from the CBE curriculum, conversations with tribal leaders, and through Pueblo community-based projects. Those interrelated themes – religion, language, resources, wellness –each with their own categories within, were always grounded in protecting our way of life, which also served as a definition of a sovereignty more foundational, more complex than the political ideas usually associated with the word and thus, "*deep* sovereignty". This is the core of life that reaches into an individual, honors that person's role, commitment, and contribution to community – indeed, it *is* the community. In some ways the concept answers why sovereignty is important but goes further by articulating who we are and our responsibilities. Deep sovereignty is our beginning, our world, how we must live and honor, and is the foundation of education for Pueblo people (Dozier Enos, 2002, 2015). Here again is the spider web of interconnection and relationship; here again is the importance of what Pablita Velarde and Michael Kabotie reminded us about grandmother spider.

To be clear, and as an example of what I mentioned earlier in this chapter, the themes and ideas discussed here are embedded in Pueblo ways of knowing; they are not "mine", but they seem to provide a useful place to ground Pueblo education. Indeed, through various programs, including years of community institutes, the Leadership Institute at the Santa Fe Indian School (LI), under direction of Regis Pecos (Cochiti) and Carnell Chosa (Jemez) (instrumental in the development of the Pueblo Cohort concept) identified priority areas that complement deep sovereignty. These priorities are being operationalized for school curricular use by Patricia Sandoval (Laguna), Director of Planning and Evaluation at the Santa Fe Indian School (and who also played a role in the Pueblo Cohort concept development).

The other Circles of Wisdom "aha" moment was about the efficacy of Pueblo community based education. While my dissertation work showed a variety of successes for the Native youth, families, and communities who participated in my research, it did nothing to uncover a path for more students to succeed academically. However, as the Circles of Wisdom research looked at a variety of approaches

schools, teachers and communities took to community based education (CBE), a path did emerge. Those programs that motivated Pueblo students to learn academics had four components in common: (1) tribal leadership set the learning priorities; (2) students had a concrete experience in a Pueblo community to address those learning priorities; (3) students used mainstream (Western) academics to help understand the experience; and (4) students' learning was used by the community in a real, meaningful way (Dozier Enos, 2002, 2015).

During the 1998–2002 Circle of Wisdom research project, which supported many Pueblo CBE projects, the stellar program was at Santa Fe Indian School, with Cohort member Mark Ericson and Regis Pecos' brother, Matthew Pecos (Cochiti), as vital educators. Moving forward in time with the SFIS CBE program, for the past six years, Matthew and Mark were joined by Pueblo Cohort member Anthony Dorame, Jr (Tesuque). That web of research, understanding, and intergenerational interconnections is visible once again. In the early 1990s, Anthony was a student in my English and Mark's science classes, and his father, Anthony Dorame, Sr. (Tesuque), often presented to the SFIS faculty to help us ground our work in Pueblo perspectives. Anthony Sr. invited us to challenge the concept of "two worlds". As with Lloyd Kiva New's invitation to see the literal world in a different way, Anthony Sr. posed a concept that continues to influence how I "see" my work: We live in one world, grounded in who we are as Pueblo people, and we can access those strengths anywhere, anytime. Through SFIS CBE, with people like Matthew, Mark, and Anthony Jr. as guides, students build upon and realize the strength of who they are as Native people. Anthony Jr., like his father, provides a way for students to understand how what they know as Native people can lead not only to understanding Western academics, but to applying a range of knowledge to serve and continue community: stewardship and sustainability. This is a perfect example of deep sovereignty.

Identifying the successful components of CBE in 2002 led to another research project and has fueled and sustained my passion for Pueblo education, even as I struggle with whether or not to do and/or write about research. The research project to use Pueblo CBE, which incorporated the four components above, was based on a proposal encouraged by a former Circles of Wisdom research intern, Kimball Sekaquaptewa (Hopi). Kimball and I wrote the proposal to National Science Foundation's Information Technology Education for Students and Teachers (NSF-ITEST), with Kimball taking the lead. She pulled together not only key research points, but also photographs to illustrate each component, and graphics to articulate how the project would use information technology, specifically geographical information systems, to give students tools to address Pueblo leader identified projects in communities, while teachers developed curriculum demonstrating the connection to New Mexico State Standards. As with the exemplar SFIS CBE program, Mark and Matthew again played major roles in conceptualizing, guiding and implementing the program. The research component was to validate (or not) the effectiveness of Pueblo CBE that included the four components identified earlier. I proposed to NSF that we use outcome indicators, rather than standardized tests, to assess the success

of the ITEST project. Indeed, the vast majority of ITEST students went directly from high school into either college or important jobs in their communities focusing on environmental science and/or information technology. In an ever-widening sphere, the former ITEST students, for the most part, continue to demonstrate the efficacy of CBE. Through the ITEST program, starting the summer after his sophomore year in high school, Nathan Riley (Laguna) began interning with Santa Fe Indian School's IT department. Nine years later, he became the director of that department.

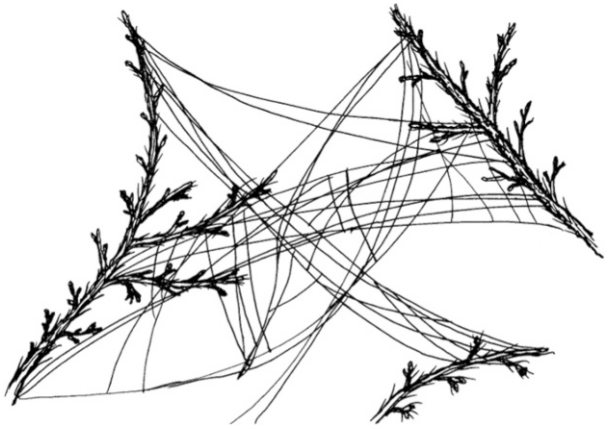

Figure 3. Spider Web 1. Drawing courtesy of and printed with permission of Terry Enos

WITH RESPECT…BACK TO THE WEB

Here the web wraps back around to end near the beginning. I draw inspiration from not only Indigenous academics—through their published work, through their in-person presentations, and through the times our lives have connected—but also from Indigenous researchers who are not academics: Pueblo people who are able to articulate in English how Pueblo concepts relate to education are valuable researchers, artists who capture, summarize, and convey Pueblo knowledge are valuable researchers, youth who reflect and work to inform emerging concepts are researchers. And those Indigenous people who have helped non-Indigenous academics, like Poveka's husband, Julian, and my mother-in-law, are valuable researchers. Like the strands of the spider web, these researchers often play overlapping roles that intersect and touch on others in the past, the present, and one guesses, into the future. This chapter is full of such examples in Pueblo country, which is a microcosm within a larger web of Indigenous research. I close this chapter with another book on my family shelf to illustrate how the research web intersects. I spent a year as an undergraduate at the University of Arizona (U of A) to sort through my interests in art history and creative writing. Larry Evers, the editor of Sun Tracks, an American Indian Literary Magazine at the U of A, hired me as a student aide to

help edit a volume titled *The South Corner of Time: Hopi, Navajo, Papago, and Yaqui Tribal Literature* (Evers et al., 1980). A few years later, when the man who would become my husband, Terry, and I started spending time together, Terry saw the book on my shelf. While looking through it, he discovered that his mother, Susie Ignacio, had a short story in the volume, which she had written when she was a student at U of A in 1945. Her story simultaneously honors Indigenous concepts while presenting "a literary, rather than word-for-word translation of the Papago story" (Evers et al., p. 176) that is accessible to a non-Native audience.

In one of the beginning places for this chapter I mentioned my mother-in-law was a linguistic researcher for the Papago language. Prior to that, though, this story shows to me that she was exploring research through the lens of storytelling. By our marriage, through our parents, Terry and I touch strands within researcher webs; in most of my published writing, Terry has done sketches to help articulate the metaphor I use to explain non-linear concepts, thus touching the artist-as-researcher and academic researcher strands of the web. My intent is not to marvel at the ways lives interconnect in Indian country, but to demonstrate that the researcher web is constantly evolving. The work of the Cohort expands the complexity of the web, and, in doing so, enriches our world.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In writing this chapter, I am reminded of how blessed I am to know/have known the people referenced and/or cited. I am humbled and hope the esteem I have for each is evident and appropriately honors Pueblo/Indigenous researchers. Behind the scenes, many Pueblo researchers – again I use the term broadly to include educators, community leaders, artists, academics – reviewed and shared insights on earlier drafts. As always, my family indulged and encouraged me as I pestered them with endless thoughts, memories, and agonized over minutia. At SFIS, leadership, including Superintendent Roy Herrera, was supportive of my writing this chapter; William Pacheco provided technical support for transferring the drawings into an electronic format. My husband, Terry Enos, and local spiders are responsible for the web drawings. Bryan McKinley Jones Brayboy and Elizabeth Sumida Huaman provided needed guidance to help make for a clearer, stronger chapter. I am deeply grateful to all.

NOTES

[1] See the American Museum of Natural History's website: http://www.amnh.org/exhibitions/totems-to-turquoise/native-american-cosmology/the-spider-woman/

[2] I am indebted to Beverly Singer (Santa Clara) for reminding me that those early Pueblo university professors, like my father, were also mindful of positively impacting the academy and Western thought with Pueblo-influenced approaches to doing and knowing.

[3] As an example of the intersections and variety of research methodologies, I chose to focus on the Poveka, Kathy, Corrine thread because much of their story has already been published in a variety

of formats. I am grateful to Kathy Sanchez's (San Ildefonso) review and reminders to move Pueblo worldviews to the center of the summary of Poveka's research. All lapses are mine.

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SECTION II

RE-EXAMINING LOCAL HISTORIES, INDIGENOUS RESEARCH, AND POLICY

JUNE L. LORENZO

4. USING A PUEBLO CHTHONIC LENS TO EXAMINE THE IMPACTS OF SPANISH COLONIALISM ON NEW MEXICO PUEBLOS

ABSTRACT

For the Pueblo peoples of New Mexico, the foundation of our Mother Earth and our relationship with her is key to our Indigenous legal tradition, and this relationship is both defined and shaped by Indigenous laws. These laws—guided by our values—set forth rules for multiple interactions: between humans, humans and the environment, and non-human beings. Further, how we live in this environment, how we nurture our relationship with our Mother, and how we emulate the original instructions for treatment of one another are integral to our Indigenous legal traditions. And yet, in contemporary discussions among Pueblo peoples about Spanish colonialism and decolonization, we often fail to discuss the significance and impact of the meeting of different legal traditions—Pueblo and Spanish. In this chapter, I propose a comparison of the Pueblo chthonic legal tradition with the colonial Spanish civil legal tradition as a useful approach towards fuller understanding of the impact of Spanish colonial laws on Pueblo peoples. Such comparison helps us to appreciate the process of negotiation between Pueblo peoples and Spanish colonists when the two legal traditions met and is not only helpful in understanding the past, but also instructive as Pueblo peoples move into the future.

INTRODUCTION: THE NEED FOR A PUEBLO ADDENDUM TO CONVERSATIONS ON DECOLONIZATION

In contemporary Pueblo conversations about governance and other sectors of our societies, debates often emerge on the topic of what is truly "traditional" Pueblo or Indigenous, vis-à-vis Spanish, Mexican or American, in our beliefs and practices. While we may not always use the language of decolonization, we are asking to what extent we have been able to resist colonization after centuries of imposition of non-Indigenous world views and ways of being. Coextensively, we often present our Pueblo views to the outside world, masking our internal debates. Two decades ago, in a wave of the American legal profession's heightened interest in alternative dispute resolution, Native American attorneys and court personnel were encouraged to share our 'traditional' forms of justice under the broad heading of "traditional dispute resolution" (Melton, 1995; Zuni-Cruz, 2000). While this recognition of

E. S. Huaman & B. McK. J. Brayboy (Eds.), Indigenous Innovations in Higher Education, 61–82.

Indigenous legal systems was encouraging, conversations tended to follow a format of comparing English/American common law to Indigenous law. Most if not all Native American attorneys in the United States are trained in the common law tradition, so this was understandable. However, this is limiting for Pueblo peoples because we also experienced Spanish civil law tradition for centuries before the common law entered Pueblo country.

In addition, outside of the court setting and dispute resolution are myriad Indigenous laws that are not formalized in written form, but take shape in the *daily lives* of Pueblo people. These laws integrate our core values, customs, beliefs and protocols, which are rooted in our Pueblo epistemologies. Until recently, we did not honor this knowledge as "law," measuring up to so-called 'modern legal systems,' arguably because our laws remain blended into the fabric of our daily lives. Isleta Pueblo legal scholar Zuni-Cruz describes this attribute of Indigenous law in the following manner:

> If one looks at law through a western lens, then the indigenous legal tradition is practicably unrecognisable. But if one looks at "law" from an indigenous perspective, it is in operation everywhere—even in those places where law is not supposed to be, not expected, because it is intertwined with everything else. That is the nature of indigenous knowledge, and the indigenous legal tradition is an aspect of that knowledge. It is to be found in indigenous communities, even where it is declared to be non-existent. (2009, p. 318)

Such recognition is critical because it places Indigenous legal traditions on an equal footing with other legal traditions of the world. Using the frameworks of chthonic or Indigenous, and civil law traditions to examine the impacts of the Spanish colonial legal tradition on Pueblo peoples is useful to conversations on colonization. First, this analysis supports Pueblo contributions to a growing body of literature that validates chthonic law traditions as one of the world's major legal traditions; and second, it helps us to understand the process of moving from a purely chthonic legal tradition to one impacted by the Spanish civil law tradition and to appreciate why some sectors of Pueblo life were perhaps more influenced than others.

Literature on the impacts of the English common law system on Indigenous peoples—especially as interpreted and implemented by the United States—is abundant, while less explored are the impacts of the Spanish civil law tradition. At this time of intensified interest in deconstructing the Doctrine of Discovery by Indigenous activists and scholars, this is problematic for Pueblo peoples. The Spanish Catholic Papal Bulls, which are central to the doctrine of discovery, arose from a Spanish civil law context. In 2012, the theme of the eleventh Session of the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII) was the Doctrine of Discovery and its enduring impact on Indigenous peoples and the rights to redress. However, in the written and spoken interventions given at this session, no analysis was presented on the specifics of the Spanish civil law tradition and resulting systems as applied to Indigenous peoples, much less on New Mexico Pueblo peoples. Yet in the three and

a half centuries between issuance of the Bull Inter Caetera of 1493, which provided one source of justification for the Doctrine, and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, Pueblo peoples were forced to contend with Spain and its exercise of the Doctrine of Discovery under a civil law tradition.

Such an information and analysis gap has created a need to reach beyond the common law in order to examine the Spanish civil law tradition as it was established in New Mexico during Spanish colonial years. In this chapter, I begin to address this need by discussing the Spanish civil law tradition and its impacts on the chthonic or Indigenous legal traditions among Pueblo peoples. Because Indigenous legal traditions relate to our *daily lives* as Pueblo people, this work transcends a narrow legalistic look at our colonial past. Rather, Spanish colonialism altered the sociocultural and political landscape for Pueblo peoples in ways that we continue to address; we were raced, gendered and sexualized as part of the colonial agenda—facilitated by dominant institutions like the military, civil government, courts and the Catholic Church.

Analyzing two distinct legal traditions—Chthonic and Civil—while highlighting Pueblo legal traditions therefore becomes a method for understanding these processes and how their impacts might be addressed to correct current inequalities. For example, a distinguishing characteristic of Indigenous legal traditions is the status of the female in Indigenous epistemology, which manifests in the role of women in Indigenous societies. This point alone represents some important philosophical departures in how legal traditions understand worldview and citizenship. As such, in examining the impacts of the Spanish civil law tradition on Pueblo peoples, multiple insights can be gained, including gendered analysis as a tool for Pueblo interrogation of colonial paradigms (Denetdale, 2009; Green, 2007; Jacob, 2013; Kauanui, 2008; Smith & Kauanui, 2008). This analysis uproots the sometimes-hidden locations of patriarchy in our midst supplements, rather than replaces, current considerations of race, class and the lenses through which we examine colonialism.

This chapter is part of a larger and ongoing research project on the impacts of the Spanish colonial civil law tradition on New Mexico Pueblo peoples. I draw from interdisciplinary literature that combines the legal field with history, ethnohistory, anthropology, religious studies, and colonial and women's studies. I reference the recent work of anthropologist and ethnohistorian Brown (2013), who surveyed numerous comprehensive narratives of pre-contact Pueblo peoples, together with examination of the ways Pueblo peoples negotiated challenges posed by Spanish colonial power, especially in 18th century New Mexico. I build on Glenn's (2010) discussion of chthonic legal traditions, supplemented by legal scholars like Zuni-Cruz, while also considering the work of Cutter (1995) regarding implementation of Spanish civil laws in New Mexico during Spanish colonial years. I briefly discuss the status of Pueblo peoples under pre-contact chthonic legal traditions, and then provide a summary of the Spanish civil legal tradition as it emerged in Pueblo country in the form of laws directed at Indigenous or "Indian" peoples. In offering selected (translated) texts of the Recopilation laws, I provide examples of laws that

directly confronted Pueblo Chthonic traditions. Laws both explicitly and indirectly addressed Pueblo women, affecting their status as well as that of the family. I also discuss the process by which the Spanish civil law tradition began to replace or undermine the Pueblo chthonic traditions. Since the Catholic Church was integral to Spanish colonialism, I briefly describe the impact of the Church on the status of Pueblo women.

PUEBLO PEOPLES IN A CHTHONIC LEGAL TRADITION

We cannot fully know the impacts of Spanish colonial values and law on Pueblo peoples without knowing what was in place before the imposition of the Spanish civil law tradition. There are several ways we can explore this. We can look to the literature, which is largely anthropological; we can reference what exists today in Pueblo epistemologies and ontologies; and we can observe what is practiced and lived by Pueblo peoples today since written and oral histories reveal Indigenous beliefs and practices that survived Spanish, Mexican and United States colonialism. In this exploration, a foundational understanding of the Pueblo chthonic legal traditions sets context for understanding Pueblo encounters and negotiation with a Spanish civil legal tradition.

In addition to chthonic law, comparative law theorists also identify Talmudic, Civil, Islamic, Common law, Hindu, and Asian as major world legal traditions (Gagnon, 2013; Glenn, 2010; Perry, 2011; Tobin, 2014). Here, I adopt Merryman's (1985) use of 'tradition' as "a set of deeply rooted, historically conditioned attitudes about the nature of law, about the role of law in the society and the polity, about the proper organization and operation of a legal system, and about the way law is or should be made, applied, studied, perfected, and taught" (p. 2). Tradition is broader than a legal system, which Merryman defined as "an operating set of legal institutions, procedures and rules" (p. 2).

Chthonic legal traditions are ancient traditions created by Indigenous peoples that preceded the legal systems created by nation states. Chthonic peoples have been incorporated into the nation states that were constructed from European empires in the Americas, Asia, and Africa (Gagnon, 2013), and legal theorists believe that no pure Chthonic tradition exists in the world today (Glenn, p. 84). Characteristics of a chthonic legal tradition include (a) orality—that which is taught or preserved "through the informal, though sometimes highly disciplined, means of human speech and human memory" (Glenn, 2010, p. 58); (b) the idea that "the law is vested in a repository in which all, or most, share and in which all, or most, may participate" (p. 65); (c) that it is "inextricably woven with all the beliefs of chthonic people and is inevitably, and profoundly infused with all those other beliefs" (p. 65); and (d) that it is "internal to a particular community" (Zuni-Cruz, 2000). Being community-focused, chthonic law does not protect solely individual interests, and there are no individual rights as we know them in the Western sense (Glenn, 2010, p. 67). The chthonic tradition is an "unstructured

one, seeking to blend into the surrounding landscape" (Glenn, 2010, p. 73). Zuni-Cruz (2007–2008) described the chthonic legal tradition as "grounded in specific ecological orders" (p. 635).[1] Pueblo epistemologies, which intimately connect Pueblo peoples to the land and environment, provide numerous illustrations (within community and in literature) of this characteristic. Many sacred deities and sacred places and landscapes are known by feminine names to Pueblo peoples, and appear in publications on Pueblo peoples.[2] In our Laguna Keres language, words used to describe "our land" or "territory" are the words for "Our Mother." The female is venerated as giver of life and symbolized as such in the Pueblo world. Scholars of anthropology (Parsons, 1939), history (Gutierrez, 1991), women's studies (Allen, 1992), and other disciplines have also written of the importance of the female in Pueblo epistemologies.[3]

The Role of Change in a Chthonic Legal Tradition

Where do these aspects of a chthonic legal tradition place chthonic peoples in the face of change and challenges from other traditions? Glenn opined that the chthonic legal tradition, "while the most democratic, or open, of all forms of social organizations…has not avoided differentiated and permanent roles" (p. 76), and thus, over time, some will find a static role intolerable. Glenn appeared to believe that the connectedness of the chthonic legal order with religion was the reason for its resistance to change:

> So the best view appears to be that the tradition has a fundamental core—the sacred character of the world—which cannot change. If this changes, by change of word or by change of deed, then chthonic tradition and chthonic people no longer exist. It is not that the tradition is immutable; it is simply vulnerable. (p. 82)

However, Zuni-Cruz contended the opposite in support of a more dynamic and less static characterization of chthonic law:

> There are some who feel that traditional law, such as that contained in creation narratives, for example, can never change. Both these positions [i.e. that indigenous law can be dynamic and yet never change] can be reconciled. For new rules to be accepted by the members of an affected group, they generally must build upon, and indeed, extend existing rules. That is, the fundamental principles of customary law… do not change. They are simply extended to cover new situations. (2000, p. 2)

For Zuni-Cruz, the "constant presence" of the spiritual in a chthonic tradition was precisely what allowed for dynamism rather than stasis.[4] As for challenges from other traditions, Glenn argued that because the chthonic tradition lacked precise institutional definition and exclusive sources of information, it was "unable to define itself in a way as to preclude entry of non-chthonic information" (p. 85),

and that it has no other means of protecting itself from the influence of outside influence than simply transmitting information. So, would this mean that Pueblo chthonic tradition was especially susceptible to Spanish civil law influence, or did fundamental principles of Pueblo chthonic law extend to cover new situations, as Zuni-Cruz might argue?

SPANISH CIVIL LAW IN COLONIAL NEW MEXICO

The Civil Law Tradition of Colonial Spain

If the chthonic tradition is an "unstructured one, seeking to blend into the surrounding landscape" (Glenn, p. 73), which in this case would be Pueblo environmental, sociocultural and political realms, how did this tradition respond to Spanish colonialism impacting all these realms? By the time of contact with Pueblo peoples in the sixteenth century, Spain had experienced in its own legal tradition a shift from community, corporate thinking of chthonic peoples to centrality of the person. Human rationality took precedence, and as Glenn argued, "this place for explicit rationality follows from the necessity of ensuring that humanity would subdue the world and not be subdued by it" (Glenn, 2010, p. 132). In contrast to the wholistic sense of the law in the chthonic law tradition, legal positivism that dominated thinking in a civil law tradition meant that the only sources of the law could be statutes, regulations and some customary law (Merryman, 1985, pp. 22–23). As well, certainty was a "supreme value, an unquestioned dogma, a fundamental goal" (p. 48). This contrasts with the chthonic flexibility, in which "the laws of nature are neither descriptive nor positive; they are normative, and there is a moral duty to obey the law."

As an instrument of human rationality, the civil law tradition introduced posited law grounded in a presumed norm (Glenn, p. 140). These norms were written into the books of the *Recopilación de Leyes de Los Reynos de las Indias* (Tyler, 1980). These *leyes,* laws, contained the norms of seventeenth-century Spanish colonial society and not Pueblo Indigenous or chthonic norms. The Spanish civil law tradition also brought with it a construction of states and citizenship. A national identity was forged in the process, over regional and other identities. According to Glenn: "Identities get protected in the civil law world, particularly the constructed ones. They're the most fragile. They depend on formal law, and have to be protected by formal law" (p. 150). Given the hierarchical class and caste or *casta* system,[5] which Spain imported into "New Spain," the importance of a civil law system to support these identities is easily understood.

The civil legal tradition also included a separation of church and state, so that by the time of contact there was a different set of laws for the church (canon law). This would also represent a departure from the chthonic connectedness of the secular and the religious or spiritual.

JOURNEY OF CIVIL LAW TRADITION FROM SPAIN TO PUEBLO TERRITORY

Most of the references to Spanish civil laws in this chapter are provisions or laws in the *Recopilación de Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias* (1841), published as a compilation of laws in 1681. However, there were precursors to this body of law. By the time of contact with New Mexico Pueblos in 1539, Spanish colonists and clergy had already debated over the treatment of Indians or Indigenous peoples in the New World. The first comprehensive Spanish code, which specifically addressed Indigenous peoples of the New World, was the Laws of Burgos, promulgated on December 27, 1512, and revised in 1513 (Simpson, 1960). Edicts or instructions issued by Queen Isabella regarding treatment of the Indians in the New World became the basis for these laws (Simpson, 1960, pp. 10–11). In an oft-quoted codicil to her will, she called upon Ferdinand to order that the Indians "be well and justly treated." Nonetheless, historians opine that any attempts to legislate for the protection of the Indians were always done without sacrificing the good of the Crown or the colonists. After her death in 1503, King Ferdinand sanctioned the laws.[6]

The Laws of Burgos were followed by the New Laws of 1542 under King Charles I after the return from New Spain of Bartolemé de las Casas, a Dominican friar and social reformer who documented atrocities committed upon Indigenous peoples in Hispaniola in the early 1500's. Convinced by de las Casas, King Charles I was determined to end the use of Indians as slaves and to improve conditions for the Indians under the *encomienda* system. Until 1549, the *encomienda* was essentially a labor grant that gave its (Spanish) holder the right to require local (Indigenous) labor and tribute (Dunbar-Ortiz, 2007).[7] However, after King Charles attempted to curtail the system, serious revolts occurred in the Americas; this included the killing of officials by landowners vested in the *encomienda* system in Peru, and a delegation of attorneys to Spain to present arguments for maintaining the *encomienda*. These actions delayed the process envisioned by the New Laws of 1542–1543. In the famed Valladolid debate in 1550, de las Casas argued the humanity of Indigenous peoples against Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, who argued that Indians were less than human and required Spanish masters to become civilized. Hanke (1949) characterized this debate, referred to as the Valladolid Controversy, as the last important event in the controversy on Indian capacity that bitterly divided Spaniards in the sixteenth century.

The Decree of 1549 forbade new conquests, in part due to the efforts of de las Casas; however, it was revoked in 1556. Phillip II then replaced the 1556 decree with an ordinance that changed the mode of "discovery" to one of "pacification" for conquests. This codification became Book IV of the *Recopilación de leyes de los Reynos de las Indias*, an impressive 100-year-long compilation, published in four volumes in Madrid in 1681 (the year after the Pueblo Revolt). The stated purpose of the laws in the *Recopilación* was protection of rights for the "Indians,"[8] although its effectiveness is debatable.

Some sectors of Spanish society did recognize that "Indians" or Indigenous peoples had some preexisting forms of law. In 1583, Francisco de Vitoria, jurist and theologian, wrote "there is a certain method in their affairs, for they have politics which are orderly arranged and they have definite marriage and magistrates, overlords, laws and workships, and a system of exchange, all of which call for the use of reason; they also have a kind of religion" (Vitoria, 1917, p. 86). Noted Latin American historian Clarence Haring explained that because of the difficulties encountered by the Spanish government in forcing an Indian population to be reduced to Spanish norms, "the Crown tried to incorporate into its American legislation some of the juridical customs of the aborigines" (pp. 110–111). Hence Book 2, Title 1, Law 4 of the *Recopilación* provides that,

> the laws and good customs that the Indians had in antiquity for good government and general welfare, as well as the uses and customs observed and retained since they became Christians, shall be respected and enforced as long as they do not conflict with our Sacred Religion, nor with the laws of this book of the new laws which have been ordered and commanded.

In practice, Spanish colonizers interpreted the "do not conflict" language to give Spanish law norms greater status where conflicts in law surfaced.

Select Laws from the Recopilación and Enforcement in New Spain

Tyler (1980) described much of the law for New Spain as Spain's response to misdeeds and atrocities committed by subjects of the King and Queen of Spain. Thus, by analyzing 16th and 17th century Spanish laws, we can speculate about events that led to enactment of these laws.[9] A reading of the *Recopilación* then becomes an exercise in reading the subtext. For instance, Book VI, Title 1, Law 48 forbade navigators and travelers from taking Indian women with them; the law was prefaced with a finding that they "were accustomed to taking married and single women with them." This law was originally dated 1541, which likely indicates that Spaniards were kidnapping Indian women by the mid-16th century.

In general, Book VI of the *Recopilación* contains laws that addressed "Indians" in New Spain. Book VI Concerning the Indians contains 19 titles, Freedom of the Indians (Title 2), Reducciones and Towns of Indians (Title 3), Tributes and Taxes (Title 4), Caciques (Title 5), Service in Farms, Vineyards, Olive Plantation, Workshops, Mills, Pearl Fisheries, Inns, Pack Trains, Wagon Trails, Homes, Livestock, and Rowing (Title 13). According to Cutter (1995), who provided an overview of the daily workings of the Spanish colonial legal system in New Mexico, colonial magistrates "drew from a system that sought justice somewhere in the convergence of written law, doctrina (the opinions of jurists), custom, and equalidad (a community defined sense of fairness)" (p. 34). Additionally, there was a "never ending stream of *cédulas*, orders and decrees sent to all jurisdictions of New Spain" (p. 37), and local officials had the duty to make proclamations

of new laws. A peculiarity of the Spanish legal system forbade local magistrates from issuing a written explanation of their decision; thus the historical record does not provide much in the way of legal reasoning (p. 36). This is not unusual for a civil legal system, as opposed to a common law system in which case law is central.

Encomenderos and Repartimiento

By act of February 22, 1549, obligations of the Indians were limited to tribute only, and personal service or labor was forbidden. However, because a demand for labor persisted, the *Repartimiento* came into existence as an institution. This entailed the right of Spaniards to use Indians for forced but paid labor in mines or for agriculture and other public works (Jenkins, circa 1983, p. 6). The abuse of this institution in New Mexico was evidenced in part by an order from the viceroy to Governor Juan de Eulate demanding that he work more closely with the religious sectors and stop abuses of Pueblo Indians (Jenkins, p. 8). The *Repartimiento* was to be used only for tilling and cattle herding by Indians close to the Spanish lands and only two percent of the Indians of any Pueblo were to be used at any time.[10] In further reference to Indian labor and abuses, in the *Recopilación*, Title 9 of Book VI, "Concerning the Encomenderos of Indians," contains 37 laws and is filled with descriptions of past abuses against Indians:

- Law 12 forbade compelling Indians to build houses for Encomenderos;
- Law 16 required Encomenderos to be responsible for "damages caused to the Indians by their children, relatives, guests, servants or slaves," including interest;
- Law 18 forbade Encomenderos from having workshops within their encomiendas, where they "used the Indians for personal service" and took undue advantage of their possessions;
- Law 21 prohibits Encomenderos from preventing the marriage of Indians;
- Law 22 prohibits Encomenderos from forcing Indians to serve in mines;
- Law 23 prohibits Encomenderos from "hir[ing] out his Indians or lend[ing] them as pledges; and
- Law 37 requires that Encomenderos "make a judicial oath … that they will treat the Indians well and in accordance with what has been resolved and ordered by law.

Some laws clearly signaled that Pueblo women, many of whom were conscripted to servitude in Spanish homes under the *Repartimiento*, were not safe outside of their homes. Since heads of household in the Spanish civil legal system were men, Indian women were often subjected to abuse. Book VI, Title 9, Law 20 of the *Recopilación* provided that "[t]he Encomenderos shall not have in their houses Indian women of their repartimientos; nor shall they make use of them for another purpose;" the subtext appears to be abuse of Pueblo women servants. Greenleaf (1985) chronicled an Inquisition case that began in 1729 against Pedro de Chavez, a wealthy settler. He faced charges that he "took [sexual] liberties with Indian women of his household"

(p. 37), and one of his Indian women servants complained that, "he forced her to give him sexual favors in order to protect her younger sister from him" (p. 37). Title 10, Law 15 also outlined, "No Encomendero or other person shall force Indian women in any situation or in any way to be confined to enclosures or other places to spin and weave cloth for purposes of tribute." Further, Book VI, Title 13, Law 15 purported to provide protection against forced servitude of married Indian women: "No married Indian woman may agree to serve in the home of a Spaniard, nor shall she be forced to do so, unless her husband serves in the same home. Nor shall single Indian women serve in the home of a Spaniard, if they wish to remain and reside in their towns." The subtext of these laws is that Indian husbands were probably needed to protect their wives from abuse in Spanish households, and that single Indian women were particularly vulnerable and therefore could not serve in the home of a Spaniard.

Marriage and Family

Laws in the domestic realm constituted an area where Pueblo chthonic laws were especially challenged. *Recopilación* laws provided detailed prescriptions for marriage and family. Here too, the subtext describes abuses likely leading to passage of the laws. For example, Book VI, Title 1, Law 3 provided that "Indian women not be permitted to marry unless they have reached legal age." The law is prefaced with justification that some *Encomenderos* forced young girls to marry in order to collect a tribute, which was not required from unmarried Indians until they reached the appropriate age. Additionally, Book VI, Title 1, Law 7 outlined that married Indian women were to live in the town of their husbands until their death, upon which "she may remain in her husband's town or return to her own, whichever she wishes, so long as she leaves her children in her husband's town, if they have been raised there for at least three years." This law first forced the institution of a Spanish colonial marriage on Pueblo peoples and second, worked against Pueblo chthonic laws that determine that children belong to their mother, and a man who marries must go to live in the house of the woman (Brown, 2013, pp. 145–146). Such a shift also upsets the economic status of a Pueblo woman who was taken outside the economic unit of her clan. Law 10, under Title 1 went further by providing clear patriarchal dictates:

> We declare that the children of married Indian women shall be presumed and are considered to be those of her husband, evidence to the contrary not being admissible; that, being the children of the said Indian man, they shall remain in their father's town, even if it is claimed that they are the children of a Spaniard; and that the children of unmarried Indian women shall remain in their mother's town.

The subtexts here and assaults on the Pueblo family through imposition of these laws are many: Contrary to Pueblo Indigenous traditions, which determined identity from the mother's side or clan, this law would have bestowed more status on "legitimate"

children than on "illegitimate" children, a concept foreign to Pueblos before Spanish contact. Placing them in different towns would break up a family unit. Additionally, this law appears to provide cover for situations in which Spanish men raped Indian women and children were born as a result. They "legally" became the children of a Pueblo husband.

PUEBLO/ CHTHONIC RESPONSE TO SPANISH COLONIAL LAW TRADITION

Since much of Spanish colonialism was about state-making in New Mexico and ostensibly creating new identities, Pueblo peoples were expected to become citizens of Spain and were considered vassals of the Crown as well as wards (Jenkins, circa 1983). They were also forced to leave their chthonic identities in many cases as even the flexibility of the chthonic legal tradition could not accept or withstand the demands of the Spanish civil law tradition.

Pueblo peoples resisted these Spanish impositions, and in 1680, Spanish imposition, and in 1680, one historic Pueblo response to Spanish colonization was the Pueblo Revolt. However, little or no written Spanish government documentation exists for New Mexico for the period between 1539 and 1680, as much was destroyed during the Pueblo Revolt. After the return of Spanish colonists to New Mexico in 1692, there appears to have been more room for negotiation between Pueblos and Spaniards. Scholars have theorized about Pueblo responses post-1692, using various methodologies and arriving at different conclusions. Brown (2013) reviewed methodologies of early ethnographers about Pueblo response to Spanish colonial authority and observed, "compartmentalization paired with upstreaming is not an adequate theoretical and methodological basis upon which to explain how Pueblo people responded to Spanish domination" (pp. 14–15). Relying on eighteenth-century Spanish documents, Brown also argued that Pueblo peoples used many tactics, other than compartmentalizing, to negotiate Spanish colonial power and authority, including secrecy of beliefs and practices; expansion of political, economic, ritual and other social traditions; feigning loyalty to Spanish authorities, and accommodating Catholic beliefs and practices, as well as circumvention and resistance (p. 19).

Similarly, of colonial Mexico, Yannakakis (2013) described the Spanish legal system as providing "an arena for cultural encounter in which Spanish and native forms of law and knowledge were circulated and constructed" (p. 931). Cutter argued that geographic reality and political ideology both "confronted one another" and helped to shape the legal culture of New Mexico (1995, p. 30). As the northernmost area of New Spain, New Mexico was geographically isolated from the center in Mexico City, so remoteness, scarcity of trained legal personnel, and cost of the legal books influenced the way the law was implemented.

Despite differences, most historians agree that the post-1692 Pueblo-Spanish relationship was markedly different from the years leading up to the Pueblo

Revolt. However, a major caveat is that the historical record remains written from a Spanish colonial perspective, and there is scarce written record of Pueblo deliberation and decision-making as Pueblo peoples negotiated new relationships with colonial Spain. This leaves a critical information gap. What, for instance, were the deliberations on form of governance among Pueblo peoples? Pueblos were initially forced to adopt a Spanish style of governance in the 17th century, but many maintained elements of traditional forms of leadership, and at times the two clashed in power struggles (Cutter, 1995, pp. 62–64). Was the chthonic legal tradition of New Mexico Pueblos so static that the civil legal tradition took over, or was the chthonic legal tradition dynamic enough to respond in a way that allowed Pueblo peoples to maintain their fundamental values? Did Pueblos meld the civil legal tradition with their own or was there some degree of compartmentalization so that Pueblos kept their chthonic legal systems separate? Did they perhaps reserve the civil law system for external relations and maintain their own chthonic traditions for domestic affairs?

Status of Pueblo Women: One Indicator of Impact

Earlier, I established that one distinguishing characteristic of Pueblo chthonic law traditions is the role of the female. Since women have always been contributing and important members of our Pueblos, and the female is central to many of our belief systems, including gendered analysis is critical for looking at impacts of the Spanish civil law tradition. As Pueblo epistemologies, and therefore chthonic traditions, evolve over time, they would necessarily include an examination of the role of the female. In Pueblo governance, for example, there is no separation between the sacred and the secular—often asserted by Pueblo leaders today—so conversations about governance will always include consideration of the role of the female.

Socioculturally, Pueblo women have exercised roles in traditional Pueblo religions, in decision-making about food sustainability, and even in governance in some cases. In many Pueblos, women are the primary caretakers of traditional homes, which are often passed down from female to female (Lorenzo, 2016; see Figure 1). Additionally, it is commonly understood in Pueblo communities that clan mothers and women's societies exercise influence over family and community decision-making. Most importantly, Pueblo oral histories tells us that these roles and women's' status have existed since before contact with Spain.

PATRIARCHY AND PRIVILEGE AS POINTS OF INQUIRY

In this work, "patriarchy" goes beyond mere sociological or anthropological categorization for societies organized into kinship groups and governed or dominated by the elder male (Wilson, 2000, pp. 1493–1494). Instead, gendered analysis

Figure 1. Photographer unknown, Courtesy Palace of the Governors Photo Archives (NMHM/DCA), #031961

expresses the totality of oppressive and exploitative relations that affect women as well as their systemic character (Mies, 1986, p. 37).

One (not *the*) feminist definition of patriarchy is,

> [T]he manifestation and institutionalization of male dominance over women and children in the family and the extension of male dominance over women in society in general. It implies that men hold power in all the important institutions of society and women are deprived of access to such power. It does *not* imply that women are either totally powerless or totally deprived of rights, influences, and resources. (French in Wilson, p. 1494)

At the same time, in Indigenous circles, the term patriarchy has tended toward more systemic definitions, especially in analysis of colonialism and decolonization (Denetdale, 2009; Green, 2007; Kauanui, 2008; Luther, 2010).

According to the literature and Pueblo oral history, patriarchy in both historical and systemic senses would not describe the social organization of most Pueblo chthonic peoples before contact.[11] In the Pueblo context, it is therefore important to examine roots of patriarchy embedded in and originating from the Spanish civil law tradition, particularly as implemented by the government, military and Catholic Church where patriarchy undergirded the Spanish colonial systems and created numerous conflicts with Pueblo chthonic legal traditions.

At this point, several working assumptions should be set forth. First, patriarchy is essential to establishing colonial rule, because it naturalizes social hierarchy (Smith & Kauanui, 2008). Second, Pueblo peoples, like other Indigenous peoples, were not entirely able to resist the impositions of colonial patriarchy, so we must consider the presence of patriarchy in Pueblo communities today. Third, the continued presence of patriarchy is part of the legacy of colonialism, most often to the detriment of Indigenous peoples, including Pueblo peoples. Fourth, as racism can be harmful to whites in the United States, patriarchy can be harmful to males as well (Scott-Samuel, Stanistreet, & Bambra, 2005).

What is evident today is that patriarchy, based on value systems and legal systems not our own, has privileged some members of our Pueblo societies over others, resulting in eventual harm to all community members. Seeking out the various locations of privilege in our Pueblos and asking whether these continue to harm our people is an important task even as patriarchy and privilege may not always be recognizable. Robert Williams (1989–1990), described this phenomenon, an American dominant system of privilege rooted in four centuries of white patriarchy and a legacy of racism, colonialism, sexism and homophobia, in which "its hidden and overt traces in all aspects of our contemporary social life distort our very ways of seeing and knowing the world" (p. 1021).[12]

In the United States, privilege primarily alludes to White privilege (Caliendo, 2011), such that we do not often speak of privilege as benefitting Indigenous peoples. However, Spanish colonialism imposed a civil law tradition that accorded privilege to heterosexual Catholic males. In addition to gender stratification, Spanish colonialism also "raced" Indigenous peoples, constructing identities through fixed characterizations. As Williams explained, those who hold privilege often do not have the ability to see other perspectives. This may apply to those in our own Indigenous communities who exercise privilege in contemporary Pueblo life yet do not identify these as privileges or believe that they distance us from our traditional Indigenous laws. For example, one frequently cited example of patriarchal privilege is the law or rule in some Pueblos that when women marry non-Pueblo members, their children are not eligible for enrollment, whereas the same is not true for men. Does this rule have Spanish colonial roots?

Relatedly, in 1986, Allen set forth four objectives essential to "effecting the social transformation from egalitarian, gynecentric, systems to hierarchical, patriarchal systems" (p. 41): (1) displacing the primacy of the female as creator with male-centered creators; (2) destroying tribal governing institutions and the philosophies that are their foundation; (3) pushing the people off their lands, depriving them of their economic livelihood, and forcing them to curtail or end altogether pursuits on which their ritual system, philosophy and subsistence depend; (4) and replacing the clan structure if not in fact, in theory by the nuclear family, and thereby replacing women clan heads by elected male officials (pp. 41–42). Using a chthonic lens, we might inquire beyond social transformation and ask how a transformation of legal traditions was attempted.

Impacts on Pueblo Women

Most of the literature on accounts of change in the power and status of Indigenous men and women in response to colonialism is focused on common law, not civil law traditions. Beyond this, most scholars tacitly agree that the documentation on status of Indigenous women is scarce (Mihesuah, 2003; Allen, 1992). In the case of Pueblo women, the only written documentation in existence appears to be post-1692 Spanish records for New Mexico, written of course from a Spanish colonial perspective.

While there may have been some changes in the status of Pueblo women before contact with Spain, under Spanish colonial influence, their status was considerably diminished. They experienced an erosion of power, as "conquest by a patriarchal society meant that Pueblo women lost their exclusive rights to land, to child labor, to seeds, and even to children" (Gutierrez, 1991, p. 79). Though criticized for over generalizing about Pueblos, Gutierrez's speculations challenge us to consider that if the same laws were applied to all Pueblo women in Spanish colonial New Mexico, impacts on Pueblo women were most likely consistent, depending on their ability to resist Spanish intrusion. There were some caveats to this as Brown (2013) and others have surmised that the Western Pueblos, being farther away from Santa Fe than the Eastern Pueblos, were more able to resist Spanish intrusions.

Some anthropologists also maintain there was a loss of status for some Pueblo women before contact due to the development of "intensive production and heavy investment in agricultural improvements", in a transition from hunting and gathering to agriculture (Brown, 2013, p. 59), among other reasons, including the increasing size of Pueblo communities. Citing anthropological and archaeological evidence, Brown also noted increasing violence against women in the eleventh through fourteenth centuries. Studies of the imagery employed in petroglyphs and rock art She interpreted the disassociation of kivas from Pueblo households from AD 1100 to 1300 as loss of access (to these ceremonial spaces) to women. (pp.60–61) Even so, she maintained that "pre-contact gender relations were inherently ambiguous and complex, making it difficult to generalize about them" (p. 58). Despite a possible loss of status before contact, the fact that Pueblo chthonic legal traditions (which held the female in an important status) remained intact through these periods is important. The foundation of the chthonic legal traditions was not fundamentally challenged until contact with a Spanish civil law tradition that clearly placed Pueblo women in a diminished status.

Regarding women's roles in governance, Brown argued that the choices Pueblo individuals and "elites" made in response to pressures from Spanish pressures to change their lives and adopt Spanish practices resulted in "an expansion, segmentation, and, ultimately, reinforcement of male-dominance and class segregation of the political sphere" (p. 21). In most Pueblos where corporate-based leadership strategy dominated and consensus building was key, women had at least a consultative role as either matriarchs or members of the community in decision-making. This would appear strange to the Spanish who believed that the proper sphere of the woman was the home, and it was clear that women in a Spanish civil law regime were not to

participate in corporate decision-making.[13] In return for the husband's support and protection, Spanish women and children owed absolute obedience to him.

Gendered division of labor in Pueblo communities changed little after contact, according to Brown. Spaniards were somewhat successful in inducing men to stop weaving, and women to stop hunting for example, but not so much in persuading men to plaster houses in place of women. Perhaps this speaks to Pueblo adherence to chthonic laws that connect women to the home as primary caretakers in matrilineal systems in which women inherit homes. Brown also noted that Pueblo women contributed significant labor to the economy, especially in the making of pots for Spaniards. This is no small contribution; Kenagy (1989) cited a statistic that "seventeenth and eighteenth-century Hispanic sites derived 97 to 99 percent of their ceramics from the Pueblos (p. 326).

The Pueblo household was one area where Pueblo men and women arguably resisted pressures to conform to Spanish law and practices. Unlike the political sphere, Brown contended, there was little archaeological or documentary evidence to suggest strong commitment to an ideology of male dominance in Pueblo families before Spanish contact. Contrary to the values and expectations of a matrilineal society, marriage could mean taking a woman away from her family and economic support, so that she would become dependent on her husband and lose her independence. Brown further argued that despite similar exposure to Spanish ideologies, a majority of Pueblos continued to cohabitate and probably retained kinship practices that did not include a bias toward male inheritance or power. In 1714, the Governor of New Mexico issued a detailed order to address cohabitation (or "concubinage" as it was described under Spanish Catholic values) in Pueblo communities; the penalty for not following this order was "fifty lashes in the pillory and two months in prison for the first offense; for the second offense the person would be sent to an *obraje* (workshop) for four years of hard labor" (p. 142).

Despite Pueblo resistance to Spanish ideologies, by the eighteenth century, some Pueblo women were living under conditions of "intensive" male domination in patriarchal households where women lost control of their ability to make decisions for themselves and as a result of this shift, "violence in intimate relationships may have become more common in Pueblo communities, as occurred across Latin American more generally during the colonial period" (Brown, 2013, p. 158). Perhaps this loss of influence or control explains in part why some Pueblo women chose to marry non-Pueblos or conduct business outside of the Pueblo.

The Catholic Church and Pueblo Women

In considering the impacts of Spanish colonialism on Pueblo women, the arguably direct impact of the Catholic Church—which had a presence in nearly all Pueblo villages—cannot be overstated. Pueblo women in the pews and outside the church had to contend with the theology of the time, one that embraced patriarchal beliefs about women. Although there is scant literature on the impact of the Catholic Church

on New Mexico Pueblo women during Spanish colonial years, related sources on the church's presence in Latin America during the same time can provide some insight. Lavrin (1999), for example, examined the interplay of class, gender, and race in a policy of admission of Indigenous women to membership in religious orders in colonial Mexico, one of the highest positions of status in Spanish society; two centuries passed before theological biases shifted from the belief that Indigenous women were not fit due to weak intellectual and spiritual capacity.

By the eighteenth century, Christianity as a monotheistic religion had promulgated patriarchal gender relations (Raday, 2003). According to church doctrine, women were primarily meant to serve men and to be chaste. So Pueblo women, who knew and lived Indigenous epistemologies honoring female deities, were subjected to an entirely new paradigm about the status of women in religious life. "The Christian message of God as transcendent and superior, and woman as earthly, material and thus inferior, would be the spearheading doctrine of the European colonization of the new world" (Gorecki, 2013, p. 9). Anderson (2003) described the "spiritual dislocation of Native women with the arrival of Christianity," and how the male creator displaced the primacy of the female creator, so that women's spirituality was "limited to the troublesome role of Eve or the impossible role of the Virgin Mary" (pp. 76–77).

Spicer (1989) maintained that the Pueblos never accepted the concept of the Christian god. Nonetheless, I argue that Spanish patriarchal practices in the church affected the status of Pueblo women because of the political and social power of the Church. Māori scholar Smith (2012) maintained that "Christianity, when organized into a system of power, brought to bear on[ ] basic concepts [e.g., the human soul and morality] a focus of systemic study and debate which could then be used to regulate all aspects of social and spiritual life" (p. 51). delete rest of sentence on languages. Christianity, "when organized into a system of power, brought to bear on these basic concepts a system" (p. 51); further, that gender and social hierarchy remain deeply embedded in colonial languages. In New Mexico, the theological script that the Catholic Church used is the language of patriarchy, which worked to displace the primacy of the female beings in the Pueblo world.

POTENTIAL FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Rarely does literature on Pueblo peoples directly address issues of the impacts and continued presence of the Spanish civil law tradition and on Pueblo chthonic law traditions, much less the impacts on Pueblo women. Research further needs to distinguish between Spanish colonialism, with its civil law regime and the Catholic Church, and American settler colonialism, with its tool of common law because the two were used for two different agendas. In general, Spanish colonialism needed and used Pueblo labor while American colonialism was interested in Pueblo land and water. Because the challenge remains to demonstrate what existed before Spanish colonialism in terms of status of Pueblo women, there is a need to appropriately gather oral histories. This also highlights the need to supplement and challenge

accounts of early anthropologists and Spanish writers (including priests and court cases) through Pueblo perspectives.

Additionally, there is good reason to comb through largely anthropological literature using discourse analysis to examine subtexts on, for example, the impacts of Spanish patriarchy on Pueblo peoples. This is an area open for exploration; further research requires exploring the documentation by Spanish colonial institutions, including the civil authority, the courts, and the church. This includes court cases involving Pueblos in colonial New Mexico, examining implementation of the Spanish civil laws regarding "the Indians," church records, and civil government records. Most of this documentation will be post-1692.

Anthropologist and folklorist Elsie Clews Parsons visited some Pueblos in the early 1900s and wrote extensively on Pueblo women. Her numerous publications on Pueblo peoples, none of which are titled to suggest she conducted an examination of the impact of Spanish civil law systems on Pueblo peoples, might reveal more unintended observations.[14] She observed in 1919 that Laguna Pueblo women traditionally inherited homes but that a few men were beginning to inherit houses (1923). She laid out the main clan lineages of Laguna Pueblo, documenting the presence of a matrilineal belief system and way of regulating home ownership and devoted a section to "illegitimacy," making biased observations that this is taken lightly without documenting that in a matrilineal society there is no such concept as "illegitimacy."

CONCLUSION

As useful as Brown's work can be, she admitted that, "no unmediated Pueblo voice, or set of voices exists in the documentation" (p. 6). Her solution was that historians find a way to interrogate and negotiate the biases in the documentation. This is an opportune time for Pueblo peoples to fill that gap with their voices and oral histories. Other scholars like Gutiérrez were called out for inability to see beyond the colonial texts; so too, this amplifies the importance of Pueblo researchers helping to surface those unmediated Pueblo voices that complete the story. Likewise, although Cutter, who was aware of pre-existing Pueblo Indigenous legal traditions recognized in the *Recopilación*; highlighted the importance of accomodation to local custom and notions of fairness in implementation the Spanish civil law, and yet never cited a case in which a decision was molded to accomodate a Pueblo indigenous law.

Collectively, these scholars failed to fully appreciate the existence of a wholistic, complex and ancient chthonic legal tradition that was in place before Spanish colonialism. Discussions on colonial Spanish civil law miss the ways in which Pueblo peoples negotiated their way through the impositions of Spanish colonialism and the backdrop of a Pueblo chthonic legal tradition that governs relationships with other humans *and* the environment. So here too is room for contributions by Pueblo scholars willing to consider what aspects of Pueblo chthonic law were non-negotiable and where we may have accommodated colonial, patriarchal ways of thinking and being in ways that are harmful to our communities.

Furthermore, using a gendered lens to analyze Spanish colonial civil legal tradition is a key part of interrogating colonial paradigms if we want to move our Pueblo nations beyond colonialism and its legacy. My hope is that this brief examination of Spanish colonial laws exposes gaps in the methodologies of the few who have focused on the impacts of Spanish colonialism on Pueblo women and calls other Pueblos to widen the space where the written word has been privileged to the exclusion of those whose lives were most at risk.

Remnants of Spanish colonial law may exist in current Pueblo laws. For example, the Pueblo of Laguna until 2014 had a prohibition against "cohabitation" in its tribal code,[15] and the Tribal Court does not yet have jurisdiction to grant divorces. I submit that these provisions and lack of delegation to the Pueblo court are remaining vestiges of Spanish colonialism that fall under the radar. They harken back to the colonial prohibition against cohabitation (or "concubinage") and the patriarchal obsession with determining legitimacy of children. There is a great need for Pueblo scholars to pay similar attention to historical texts on other Pueblos. As Smith (2014) stated, "Decolonization entails not going backward to a precolonial past but a commitment to building a future for Indigenous peoples based on principles of justice and liberation" (p. 230). Thus, the purpose of this analysis is not solely to focus on our chthonic past, rather, but that we realign our foundation in our chthonic or Indigenous Pueblo legal traditions and work from there to determine what attributes of Spanish colonialism and patriarchy we may have internalized. With this grounding, we can build a future based on Pueblo core values as embodied in our Chthonic traditions.

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NOTES

[1] Citing Battiste and Henderson (2000, pp. 41–43).

[2] Ortiz, in *The Tewa World: Space, Time, Being and Becoming in a Pueblo Society,* (1969), refers to "the first mothers of all the Tewa:" Blue Corn Woman or the Summer Mother, and White Corn Maiden, or Winter Mother (p. 13). Dozier, in *The Pueblo Indians of North America* (1970), in a section entitled "General Pueblo Characteristics," notes a common reference to an original being—creator of all things, often called 'mother' (p. 204). J.S. Sando, in *Pueblo Nations: Eight Centuries of Pueblo Indian History,* (1992) uses both masculine and feminine pronouns when discussing sacred deities (pp. 22–30).

[3] While I am not affirming the accuracy of their accounts, neither do I believe it is necessary to offer my version of Pueblo epistemology to confirm the importance of the female. For reasons of "ethnographic refusal" (Smith, 2014, p. 213), I will not retell those accounts here.

[4] Importantly, Zuni Cruz also distinguishes between external and internal recognition of Indigenous legal traditions, with the former not being "accurate, complete, fair or unbiased" historically, pp. 321–324.

[5] See, e.g., illustrations of racial classifications at Native Heritage Project (2013): http://nativeheritageproject.com/2013/06/15/las-castas-spanish-racial-classifications/

[6] A summary of these laws is provided in Tyler (1980). The Indian Cause in the Spanish Laws of the Indies, pp. xxxviii–xlii.

[7] According to Dunbar Ortiz, the encomienda was originally created to maintain the Spanish Crown's political control over lands taken from the Moors on the Iberian Peninsula. Though it did not take the form of a land grant in Spain, it took on a different form in New Spain and "tended to establish encomendero lordship over indigenous peoples within its bounds, creating a more feudal-like land tenure in America than existed in Spain" (p. 182, note 19).

[8] I use both "Indigenous" and "Indian" since the language used in the Recopilación was Indian or "indio."

[9] Since much of the documentation is in old Castilian Spanish, a certain level of fluency in Spanish is required, or at the very least consultation and collaboration with Mexican or Spanish scholars. Only two of the Recopilación books, IV and VI, have been translated into English.

[10] For a detailed account of the encomienda and its roots in Spain, see Ruth Kerns Barber (1932). Indian Labor in the Spanish Colonies*, New Mexico Historical Review*, 7, pp. 105–132.

[11] See discussion on Pueblo egalitarianism in Brown, T. L. (2103). *Pueblo Indians and Spanish Colonial Authority in Eighteenth-Century New Mexico*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, p. 25. Brown concludes: "Archaeologists have largely agreed that Pueblo communities occupied an intermediate position between egalitarianism (rule by consensus) and stratification in the pre-contact Southwest because their methods of governance often contained elements of both (citing Barbara Mills (2000) *Alternative Leadership Strategies in the Prehispanic Southwest.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press, and Gary Feinman, Kent Lightfoot and Steadman Upham (2000). Political Hierarchies and Organizational Strategies in the Puebloan Southwest, *American Antiquity* 65, no. 3.).

[12] Williams addresses white patriarchy in the context of what he labels "outsider jurisprudence," (p. 1021) but the analysis on how a legacy of colonialism can help to sustain systems of privilege is instructive and applicable to the Pueblo context.

[13] See, Brown (2013) p. 50: "With regard to women specifically, an observer of Pueblo life who came to New Mexico with Oñate noted in 1601 that 'they did not reach any decision without first consulting the women and getting their opinion'" (citing George Hammond and Agapito Rey (1953), eds. and trans. *Don Juan de Oñate: Colonizer of New Mexico, 1595–1628*, 2 vols. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, p. 635).

[14] See, e.g., *Pueblo mothers and children: Essays by Elsie Clews Parsons, 1915–1924,* Ed. Barbara A. Babcock (1991).

[15] Pueblo of Laguna Code, Section 15-9-8. Illicit cohabitation. A. *Offense.* A person commits the offense of illicit cohabitation if that person resides with or takes up residence with another person not his spouse. For purposes of this offense, it will not matter what the length of time is for the individuals to have resided together, as long as it can be proven that such individual did reside with another not his spouse.

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MICHELE SUINA

5. RESEARCH IS A PEBBLE IN MY SHOE

Considerations for Research from a Pueblo Indian Standpoint

ABSTRACT

As a Pueblo community member and scholar, I have begun to write about my experiences within academia to provide insight into how Western and positivist research has alienated Indigenous people, including me. In this work, drawing from an autoethnography, I discuss why research, like a pebble in my shoe, is problematic. I discuss the multiple factors impacting research with Pueblo people today and explore the need for reclaiming and reframing Pueblo health research in particular by Pueblo people so that relevant research grounded in Pueblo thinking can emerge. I also provide considerations for appropriate research with Indigenous peoples from a Pueblo Indian standpoint and argue for rethinking and reshaping the role of research in universities and with Pueblo people, where my long-term goal is to inform alternative approaches to research with Pueblos so that structural inequities in research can be minimized and, ideally, eliminated.

INTRODUCTION: THE PEBBLE

Research was a pebble in my shoe that caused me great discomfort as I walked within academia during my years as a health educator at a university. The purpose of this chapter is to draw from an autoethnography in order to discuss why research—historically and broadly speaking—like a pebble in my shoe, is problematic. I acknowledge resistance towards research as a larger issue situated within a colonial backdrop of damaging research practices that have harmed Indigenous peoples worldwide, and based on my experiences working for a university, I discuss the multiple factors impacting research with Pueblo people today and explore the need for reclaiming and reframing Pueblo health research in particular by Pueblo people so that relevant research grounded in Pueblo thinking can emerge.

In addition to providing a critique that is specific to Pueblo peoples, I provide considerations for appropriate research with Indigenous peoples from a Pueblo Indian standpoint. I argue for rethinking and reshaping the role of research in universities and with Pueblo people, and my long-term goal is to inform alternative approaches to research with Pueblos so that structural inequities in research can be minimized and, ideally, eliminated. This is an urgent call as over the last two decades,

E. S. Huaman & B. McK. J. Brayboy (Eds.), Indigenous Innovations in Higher Education, 83–100.

I have witnessed the ways in which health research and researchers in particular have problematized Indigenous people by buying into and reinstating damaging stereotypes of Indigenous people that silence any "alternative stories" (Smith, 2012). This is a common trend and one that continues to shape the current relationship between especially non-Pueblo and non-Indigenous research/researchers and Pueblo people.

COLONIZING ASSUMPTIONS

As a Pueblo community member and scholar, I have begun to write about my experiences within academia to provide insight into how "typical" or "standard" Western and positivist research has alienated Indigenous people, including me.

I first began to question health research and statistical representations of Indigenous people as an undergraduate health education student in New Mexico. I was concerned with how this population that I belong to was being pathologized and stereotyped by health data. I recall delivering an American Indian health presentation as an undergraduate where I asked my mostly non-Indigenous classmates to identify the top two health issues for American Indians in New Mexico. They immediately responded—alcoholism and diabetes. The data I presented showed heart disease and accidents were the two leading causes of death. However, my classmates then rationalized that the deaths resulting from accidents were probably due to alcohol. I was not surprised by this response because Indigenous people are often portrayed and treated as psychologically abnormal or unhealthy (de Leeuw et al., 2010; Deloria, 1969; Poudrier, 2003; Poudrier, 2007; Smith, 2012; Tuck, 2009; Walter & Andersen, 2013), which is part of an early historical pattern of stigmatization in the literature. Describing American Indian health, Bureau of Indian Affairs physician A. B. Holder (1892) stated:

> If the Indian were lifted at once from the wildest savagery in which he can now be found, to full civilization – that is, to comfortable and hygienically constructed clothing and housing, to abundant and well prepared food, to a knowledge and practice of the rules of health governing the more intelligent individuals of the white race – his condition would at once and permanently be greatly improved as to health and longevity. (p. 177)

Problematic portrayals like these create narrow and essentializing constructions of indigeneity. Such negative characterizations of American Indians would later be referred to by Walter and Andersen (2013) as being "deficit Indigenes" that are in need of intervention by the nation state to fix, in order to achieve parity with White people.

Nineteenth century notions about American Indians, like those of Holder (1892), left lasting portrayals of us as savage and uncivilized, which is conveniently aligned with development discourse that justified the taking of Indigenous lands (Walter & Anderson, 2013). Such a discourse is rooted in colonial, patriarchal, industrial,

and globalizing ideas of development that continue to attack Indigenous people's lands, governments, languages, and knowledges around the world today (Sumida Huaman, 2014). The prevailing notion is that American Indians are at greater risk for social ills (Poudrier, 2003; Walter & Andersen, 2013). For example, Barnes, Powell-Griner, and Adams (2010) concluded, "The non-Hispanic American Indian Alaska Native (AIAN) community faces many health challenges as reflected in their higher rates of risky health behaviors, poorer health status and health conditions, and lower utilization of health services" (p. 1). In both examples, Whites are the implicit standard or norm, while American Indians are singularlized as one—at once risky, poor, and underutilizing.

RECONCILING THE RESEARCH PEBBLE

In describing my experience with mainstream research (and more specifically health research conducted on Indigenous peoples) to colleagues and other community members, I have used a pebble as a metaphor for research. Imagine that you have a pebble in your shoe. While it is possible to walk with this rock in your shoe, imbalance and discomfort are created with every step. Balance can only be restored when it is removed. Now imagine not being able to remove the pebble and walking out of balance with no relief in sight. As a Pueblo health educator working for a university surrounded by Western-based science and scientists, this is the feeling I reconcile on a regular basis. For me, dominant research is that pebble because it often contradicts Pueblo Indian views about how research should be conducted with our communities and used by our people (Cajete, 2008; Dozier Enos, 1999; Dozier Enos, 2015; Romero, 1994; Suina, 2004).

Place and where a person comes from matter when conducting research (Cajete, 2008; Dozier Enos, 1999; Dozier Enos, 2015; Smith, 2012; Walter & Andersen, 2013; Weber-Pillwax, 2001; Wilson, 2008). A researcher's positionality and contextual background foregrounds how they collect, analyze, and interpret data and associate meaning with their findings (Walter & Andersen, 2013). My own views about research are therefore informed by who I am and where I come from, and it is essential that I disclose my background to help others understand my relationship to research. I am a composite of those who physically, and in spirit, surrounded me growing up in Cochiti Pueblo. I grew up when formal education for the advancement of Pueblo people and the dominant use of the English language in my Pueblo was unquestionable and unchallenged, unlike today, so I learned English like most of my peers instead of the Keres language of my ancestors. At the same time, as a young person, I was encouraged and expected to participate in our traditional ways, which could be done without proficiency in Keres. Without language fluency, however, participation was fundamentally challenging since language was then and is now crucial for understanding deeper context and meaning.

As an adult, I learned that my disconnection from my heritage language was the result of calculated moves by the federal government through U.S. Federal

Indian Policy to get rid of the "Indian problem" and assimilate us into mainstream American society with the ultimate goal of usurping our land and resources (Pueblo Convocation Fieldnotes, 2012). I am fortunate to not have been completely assimilated into mainstream society: My Pueblo core values and identity are ingrained in me. Unfortunately, my understanding of critical Pueblo knowledge embedded in our Keres language has been disrupted. Therefore, I resist attempts from the outside to homogenize my community, or me, and those that devalue our own Pueblo systems of knowledge. In my opinion, western health sciences research is one such offender.

Changing mainstream and universally accepted research practices, specifically research on or that impacts Indigenous people is an enormous undertaking. Furthermore, health research is a competitive business; for example, the National Institutes of Health (NIH) awards nearly $32 billion dollars annually to more than 300,000 researchers in the United States.[1] Thus, changing a multibillion-dollar research enterprise, with roots in imperialism and colonialism is not without its complications as it means dismantling an established knowledge and financial system of European American privilege and indoctrination. While there are Indigenous efforts towards reforming this dominant system (Smith, 2012; Tuck, 2009; Walter & Andersen, 2013; Wilson, 2008), thinking about my own contributions to Pueblo-specific research has been a challenging yet, much more realistic task for me. First and foremost, as a Pueblo person, research that I involve myself with must contribute to the vitality of Pueblo communities and utilizing myself as a starting point of change makes the most sense at this time on my journey towards removing the research pebble in my shoe.

FACTORS IMPACTING RESEARCH WITH PUEBLO PEOPLE

In addition to examining my own experiences with stigmatization of Indigenous and Pueblo peoples in research and especially health research, outlining factors that impact any type of research with Pueblos is useful. Here, I identify two of the most detrimental factors, including limited research benefits and the dynamic of broken trust and Pueblo secrecy. Naming these factors and others like them can assist Pueblo researchers and other researchers to consider how to approach research that impacts Pueblo people.

Limited Research Benefits

For Pueblo people research has not brought the same benefits as it has for researchers, and direct benefits to Pueblo communities are often unclear. Research and scientific discovery brings recognition, prestige, and monetary gain for research institutions and researchers. In Pueblo communities, however, research has brought skepticism as stated by Romero (1994): "Pueblo people have become very skeptical of research in general as a result of innumerable experiences with outside research which have had a consistent pattern of little or no direct benefit to the Pueblo communities"

(para. 9). For research to benefit Pueblo people it is important that Pueblos identify their own research needs rather than outside researchers identifying research needs for Pueblos (Dozier Enos, 1999). Dozier Enos (2015) further asserted, "research is worse than useless if it cannot uncover concrete ways to serve the community being researched" (p. 29). In my experience the typical approach in a research project is for researchers to conceptualize their studies based on their own interests or expertise without tribal involvement at any level of the research design, or understanding of tribal research needs, context, and history with research.

Broken Trust and Pueblo Secrecy

Research has also brought broken trust due to exploitation of entrusted knowledge, which has contributed to Pueblo secrecy. As stated by Suina (1992),

> Perhaps the most frequent and irritating infractions are committed by professional photographers, writers, and scholars. Time and time again, they have managed to gain the trust of Pueblo people who, in turn, share bits of information in good faith, only to see this knowledge made accessible to the general population. (p. 63)

Suina (1992) described Pueblo secrecy as a strategy to protect cultural knowledge and practices by Pueblo people in response to colonialism that "has become synonymous with cultural and religious preservation" (p. 62). This protective stance has resulted in the concealment of information from outsiders into the present day and has had an impact on the type of research that Pueblo people themselves would choose to participate in or engage (Romero, 1994). As a researcher from Santa Clara Pueblo, Dozier Enos (2015) described her own observations regarding the impact of Pueblo secrecy on her own work:

> as a Pueblo person doing research in Pueblo communities, I find I must sacrifice some of the ethnographic "thick description" (Geertz, 1977) that is so valued in qualitative research in order to honor the limits of information that may be shared outside the Pueblo world. (p. 27)

Important to note is that "thick description" so coveted by White anthropologists and based on the premise of finding new and thrilling information about whatever local society being studied had very little value to Indigenous people and their livelihoods. In the Pueblos, thick versus thin description may only have value so long as it serves Pueblo interests. As a result of this conviction, Pueblo secrecy has contributed to my own hyper vigilance in making sure I am aware of and careful of what cannot be shared outside of the Pueblo world.

The thought of being associated with the exploitation of Pueblo knowledge or harm caused by research terrifies me. I would rather be blacklisted within academia for being perceived as uncritical or uncooperative than from my own Pueblo for breaking a sacred trust. Wilson (2001) described *relational accountability* as a critical

component of an Indigenous research methodology that requires the researcher to be accountable to all their relations as they carry out research. Relational accountability is a construct that resonated within me and finally provided a theoretical foundation to explain my cautious stance towards dominant research to protect Pueblo people, including myself, from questionable research. I am connected to my Pueblo, but a researcher with no connection to my Pueblo, typically will not think about the footsteps they leave behind. However, I have encountered non-Indigenous researchers that have discounted the power that historical lessons and injustices have on research conducted today. As an intervention that is both based on historical lessons and my own observations, I see that it is important for researchers to develop their own sense of relational accountability, which should include,

- learning how local and national history impacts their interactions with Indigenous communities;
- learning how colonialism frames local history and relationships;
- carrying out research with care, as if it were with their own beloved relatives;
- ensuring that the research process does no harm, even if the researcher does not relate to the harm that can be caused by the research.

RESEARCH AND INDIGENOUS PEOPLE

Linda T. Smith's oft-quoted seminal book *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (2012) reminded us that research is not neutral and cannot be separated from imperialism:

> Research 'through imperial eyes' describes an approach which assumes that western ideas about the most fundamental things are the only ideas possible to hold, certainly the only rational ideas, and the only ideas which can make sense of the world, of reality, of social life and of human beings. It is an approach to indigenous peoples which still conveys a sense of innate superiority and an overabundance of desire to bring progress into the lives of indigenous peoples – spiritually, intellectually, socially, and economically. (p. 58)

Research has served as a mechanism for problematizing Indigenous people by authoritatively providing "evidence" for prevailing negative notions about Indigenous peoples, notions that often have gone unquestioned by the non-Indigenous while serving the purposes of colonization. Brayboy (2005) defined colonization as the domination of "European American thought, knowledge, and power structures" (p. 430) in U.S. society. Research dominated by Euro-American thought, knowledge, and power structures provided rationale for governmental policies that sanctioned the taking of Indigenous lands and resources to benefit colonial settlers by generating findings that questioned every aspect of Indigenous peoples' lives including their intelligence, capabilities, morality, and humanity (Smith, 2012).

Pueblo Indians were not immune to the colonial research agenda. For example, research conducted in the early twentieth century in one Pueblo by anthropologist Matilda Cox Stevenson (1914) characterized their religious rites and practices as being "strange" and involving human sacrifice. Two decades earlier the Religious Crimes Code of 1883 was enacted precisely because American Indian religions were seen as barriers to civilizing and assimilating American Indians into mainstream American society (Irwin, 1997; Prucha, 1984; Prucha, 1990; Sando, 1992). Conveniently, a goal of assimilationist policies was to seize land occupied by American Indians to open up for use and ownership by white colonial American settlers.

In the 1920's, the Bureau of Indian Affair's Commissioner Charles H. Burke used propaganda to attack Pueblo religion to support the Religious Crimes Code and to turn public opinion against the Pueblo Indians (Sando, 1992). The response from the Council of All the New Mexico Pueblos regarding a 1921 order issued by Burke that decried Pueblo religion implicated researchers, "White scholars," directly for the role they played in Pueblo religious persecution:

> In that lengthy order, the Commissioner gives a list of "Indian Offenses for which Congress penalties are provided." He places upon local Superintendents the duty of determining whether Indian religious observances "cause the reckless giving away of property," are "excessive," promote "idleness, danger to health, and shiftless indifference to family welfare." And one of our present Superintendents of the Pueblos thus states his attitude in a printed Government report: "Until the old customs and Indian practices are broken up among this people, we cannot hope for a great amount of progress. The secret dance is perhaps one of the greatest evils. What goes on I will not attempt to say, but I firmly believe it is little less than a ribald system of debauchery.
>
> We denounce as untrue, shamefully untrue and without any basis of fact or appearance, and contrary to the abundant testimony of White scholars who have recorded our religious customs, this statement, and we point out that the Commissioner's order, quoted here, to be interpreted and enforced by the local Superintendents, is an instrument of religious persecution. (p. 93)

It is unclear if Stevenson was among the scholars that the Council of All the New Mexico Pueblos chastised in their statement, but her scholarship represents the type of unethical and skewed research conducted during the early 1900's in the Southwestern United States about Pueblo peoples. The Pueblo council's response to Burke's attacks on Pueblo religion demonstrates the Pueblos' long-standing history of contesting colonial assaults that goes back to the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 that drove the Spanish out from Pueblo homelands for twelve years (Sando, 1992).

Burke and Stevenson's views about Pueblo religion were not unique to U.S. ideologies. Ideas put forth in anthropological research and U.S. federal Indian policies about American Indians mirrored earlier Spanish colonial views in the Southwestern U.S. and in other Indigenous regions in the Americas. For example,

Spanish colonists viewed Indigenous people as barbaric—a condition that justified the process of "civilization" (Spicer, 1962):

> prevailing Spanish opinion, especially among officials at a distance from the Indians, was that the barbarians lacked law and real authority, that they had either no religion at all or a species of worship which was called idolatry and was wholly evil (usually regarded as worship of the Devil), that their settlements were not organized communities, that their sexual lives were unregulated, that their forms of body covering were not clothing properly so called, and that they lacked houses worthy of human beings. (p. 282)

Spanish viewpoints about Indigenous people provided the rationale for their inhumane treatment that went hand-in-hand with colonization and set the stage for how Indigenous people have been represented in multiple fields—from education to health, and more specifically, contemporary health research and epidemiological findings that continue to be problematic today.

THE STORIES DATA TELL: HEALTH RESEARCH AND REPRESENTATION OF AMERICAN INDIANS

To demonstrate how data is constructed to produce a particular narrative of Indigenous health I conducted an exploratory study (2014). The study analyzed the National Health Statistics Report, *Health Characteristics of American Indian or Alaska Native Adult Population: 2004–2008* (Barnes et al., 2010) collected by the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention's National Center for Health Statistics. My analytic strategy included identification of common quantitative data practices that stigmatize Indigenous people in the Report. Those practices included use of simple comparisons and limited interpretation, simple frequency counts, aggregated data reporting, dichotomous comparisons, and decontextualized representation—all characteristics of flawed and problematic statistical research on Indigenous populations (Walter & Andersen, 2013). The following is a simple representation of the common data practices in the national data report describing American Indian health (Table 1).

Four of the five deficit data practices were clearly present in the National Health Statistics Report. For example, summary results indicated that American Indians were more likely to be current drinkers compared to other adults. Yet, the data reported in the results section, closing discussion, and data tables contradicted this finding and showed that White men and women were more likely to be current moderate or heavy drinkers compared to all other racial groups. The Report also summarized that American Indians had higher rates of risky health behaviors and poorer health status, and that chronic liver disease and cirrhosis were the sixth leading cause of death for American Indians. A common cause of chronic liver disease and cirrhosis is alcohol abuse. The authors pointed out that these liver conditions were not included in the top ten causes of death for the other comparison populations, yet they failed to

Table 1. Common data practices identified in the national health statistics report, health characteristics of American Indian or Alaska Native adult population: 2004–2008 (Barnes et al., 2010)

Deficit Representation of Indigenous People				
Simple comparison & limited interpretation	*Simple frequency counts*	*Use of aggregated data*	*Dichotomous comparison*	*Decontextualized representation*
✓		✓	✓	✓

Adapted from "Indigenous Statistics: A Quantitative Research Methodology," by M. Walter and C. Andersen, 2013, pp. 36–39, Copyright 2013 by the Left Coast Press.

identify the top causes of death for American Indians or other groups, masking other critical causes of mortality.

Data presented in the Report represent inaccurate comparisons with limited interpretation while using aggregated data to generalize conclusions about all American Indians, which propagates stereotypes (i.e. the drunken Indian) that silence further exploration. Further, the data are heavily decontextualized, and authors did not describe historical or social causes underlying health inequities. Shallow findings that paint a deficient picture of American Indians are common because health reports about Indigenous people are done where Indigenous people are not participants or collaborators but rather subjects, often unaware of the research and its purposes and outcomes. Such studies, mostly quantitatively-structured, rarely give explanations of the myriad factors that play a role in the total experiences of Indigenous people today. The need to challenge the stories that data tell is of critical importance for Indigenous people so that we can gain control of our own narratives – rather than being narratives about us by outsiders.

CHALLENGING DOMINANT WESTERN RESEARCH NARRATIVES

Tuck (2009) cautioned that Western-based "damage centered research" is another form of detrimental research as it implicates those in power, holding them accountable through documentation of "people's pain and brokenness." Alternatively then, analyzing health disparities should refrain from blaming those experiencing inequities, the so-called "victims," and instead look at systemic failures and policies that produced those inequities (Chino & DeBruyn, 2006). Analysis of systems and policies repositions culpability. Graham Smith (2000) called for Indigenous people to be careful about how we label ourselves—that we run the risk of perpetuating our own subordination by using terms like minority, oppressed, exploited, and subordinate that elevate others as dominant. My work adds to this – questioning how public health "at risk" terminology falls into harmful labeling practices of Indigenous people when compared to other populations (Swadener & Lubeck, 1995).

Like Tuck and Smith, I am interested in challenging how we talk about our experiences of colonization so as to not define us as a 'colonized people' where we position ourselves as vanquished. The colonized label commonly attached to Pueblo people is questionable as it implies something done or completed, yet we still maintain our connection to ancestral life ways which include what I refer to as our "Pueblo thought"—that is knowledge and use of heritage languages, traditional ceremonies and traditional governance, and connection to place. Suina and Smolkin (1994) pointed out that of all U.S. American Indian tribes, the Pueblos are "the least changed" because our governmental structures, languages, societies, and cultures "remain uniquely Pueblo" (p. 116). In addition, more global scholarship has cautioned Indigenous people of the danger of allowing the story of colonization to be the only story told of Indigenous experiences: "…colonialism is a narrative in which the Settler's power is the fundamental reference and assumption, inherently limiting Indigenous freedom and imposing a view of the world that is but an outcome or perspective of this power" (Alfred & Corntassel, 2005, p. 601).

We should question narratives told about Indigenous people, including those about our health that are produced by research done by others, as well as the reasons why these stories are constructed. At the same time, we must tell our own stories about who we are and what health means in specific tribal and cultural contexts.

TELLING MY STORY: RELUCTANCE TOWARD RESEARCH AND AN AUTOETHOGRAPHIC STUDY

While working for a university in New Mexico, I often thought about research, because researchers, particularly those in the health sciences, were consistently looking for an American Indian community as a site for *their* research in order to discuss *their* research ideas. In my experiences with numerous researchers in well over a decade, I developed concerns—described earlier as the pebble in my shoe—with how research was discussed and conducted. At the same time, because research can be redefined and directed for the purposes of Indigenous well-being in numerous fields when based on an Indigenous research framework and following an Indigenous research agenda (Smith, 2012), exploration of this tension is worthwhile. As a result, I utilized authoethnography as a method to explore research issues and consider alternatives:

> *I sat in my car in the middle of a packed university parking lot and cried; frustrated again. I just returned from an auditorium full of scientific researchers and physicians discussing genetic mapping and their interest in the state's genetic diversity to conduct research. Yet, I was only one of a few individuals in the audience who possessed the "prized DNA" that represented the very diversity being discussed. Equally frustrating was my ever more noticeable hearing impairment which obscured the details of research ideas being pitched. I knew I had to speak. I said a prayer as my parents have taught*

me and asked the spirits of my ancestors for courage. I stood up and I began to cry as I spoke, but I spoke because it is what I needed to do.

That day in front of research scientists was not the first or last time that I was situated between two realities, academic and Indigenous, where I felt compelled to speak up about research ethics.

By turning the research lens on myself, I could revisit the discomfort, hurt, and anger that fed into my own reluctance towards research, which was perceived as uncooperativeness by non-Indigenous researchers. I had to examine my biases towards research and revisit my experiences before even considering conducting research. Words like "biospecimen collection" and "research enterprise," and phrases like, "We need to exploit our unique population," or "Let's take advantage of our state's diversity," by non-Indigenous researchers had triggered such deep discomfort that I rejected research. I later understood that the symbolic violence of intrusion of Pueblo and American Indian peoples' bodies and communities and entitlement to exploration and knowledge that was embedded in these terms, yet unnoticed by non-Indigenous researchers.

Because autoethnographic studies challenge the canonical nature of how research is done (Ellis & Bochner, 2011), use of autoethnography made sense to examine my ambivalence toward research within a larger historical framework. Houston (2007) argued, "indigenous autoethnography in practice is a form of scholarly resistance; a challenge to the way in which Aboriginal people, particularly Aboriginal women, have been represented and depicted by others" (p. 45). As autoethnography allows for Indigenous self-representations to emerge, this method fills a gap created by research conducted from an outside perspective (Bainbridge, 2007; Houston, 2007; McIvor, 2010). As a research method, autoethnography allows for personal experiences to be examined within a larger societal context (Chang, 2008; Ellis & Bochner, 2011; Houston, 2007; Reed-Danahay, 2001; Wall, 2006) and for personal stories to serve as a primary data source.

Indigenous people are increasingly calling for the recognition of stories as a legitimate form of knowledge and data (Brayboy, 2005; Ortiz, 1998; Smith, 2012). Brayboy stated, "Stories are not separate from theory; they make up theory" (2005, p. 439). Regarding Pueblos, Silko stated, "ancient Pueblo people depended on collective memory through successive generations to maintain and transmit an entire culture, a worldview complete with proven strategies for survival. The oral narrative, or story, became the medium through which the complex of Pueblo knowledge and belief was maintained" (1998, p. 8). If strategies for survival are embedded in stories, then autoethnography is a method for documenting and analyzing those stories to pass on to future generations so that they can maintain their connection to ancestral knowledge.

However, telling stories is not without its process and rigor: In using autoethnography, I also followed field data collection practices, utilized data triangulation, and analysis (Chang, 2008). My data sources included journal entries,

scholarly writings, and professional documents—all items that identified critical research issues. I managed data through a web-based qualitative data analysis tool, Dedoose, by first coding data and then clustering these into thematic content that I analyzed for general themes.

Findings

In the research, I revisited my scholarship focus: That my work and writing contribute to the collective healing and well-being of Pueblo people and accomplish the following:

- *Repatriate our knowledge* by telling our own stories, particularly stories of resilience to counter negative accounts and characterizations of our people, which are often disguised as scientific data;
- *Document* stories of injustice that contribute to the health and social conditions Pueblo people face today. Among these injustices are problematic research and public health findings and practices;
- *Teach* non-Pueblo people about considerations for more appropriate research methodologies from a Pueblo Indian standpoint.

Three themes emerged in the findings: Pueblo narratives/representation; healing words and balanced writing; and counter-colonial narratives.

Theme 1. Pueblo narratives and representation. Representation by more Pueblo scholars ensures that more Pueblo perspectives, stories, and solutions can emerge. It is critical that Pueblo people tell our own stories and define ourselves. The stories we tell reveal what we know, how we know, who taught us, and model life for us. Our stories contain our connection to the past, present, and future while reminding us of our strengths and our own solutions to challenges we face. We need Pueblo people to do research from a Pueblo context to ensure our vitality and continuity because we have a vested interest. At the same time, who represents Pueblo people or what is considered Pueblo? I asked myself if I should to write about Pueblo knowing as a non-Keres language speaker. Throughout my life, I often have felt not "Pueblo enough," which speaks to the lingering effects of colonial policies stripping identity. I do know what it is to be a Pueblo person in this lifetime, an experience that may be relatable to others. As such, my intention can only be to present a snapshot in time of another Pueblo experience for future generations to learn from and to bring other Pueblo experiences to the forefront to legitimize our own knowledge and innovation.

Theme 2. Healing words and balanced writing. Healing from traumas inflicted by colonial policies must occur on a personal and community level in order to realize Pueblo health ideals of maintaining a healthy, mind, body, spirit, and heart (Pueblo Convocation Fieldnotes, 2012). My scholarship must contribute to Pueblo healing from the colonial assaults we have experienced. By being cognizant of

the words I choose to describe Pueblo people and the challenges we face, I hope to avoid perpetuating negative narratives of our people often disguised as factual and unbiased through the use of data. I am committed to finding a balanced and historically informed approach to writing about Pueblo health.

Theme 3. Countering colonial narratives. I am concerned that Indigenous people are often negatively depicted by health research. I am also concerned because Indigenous people are often forced to replicate this practice and problematize their own communities to secure funding. The role that colonialism plays in Indigenous health is generally unacknowledged by researchers. In my academic experience, researchers often attribute diseases solely to individual behaviors and underlying race based genetic differences not quite yet understood. Yet, for many Indigenous people the impacts of traumas resulting from colonialism, such as an unequal burden of certain illnesses, are felt in day-to-day living. To counter negative colonial narratives of Indigenous health, my work must address the historical roots of health inequities and commit to understanding colonial narratives of health and the role research has played in the creation and maintenance of these narratives alive today in epidemiological data, void of discussion of social and historical factors impacting health.

Discussion: New Understandings

Through autoethnography I was able to document common troubling research practices that I have witnessed and to understand how I arrived at reluctance to become involved research prior to my doctoral studies. Some reasons included:

- Lack of community involvement in the development of projects.
- Benefit of research to communities often was unclear.
- Context of community not reflected in project (i.e., knowledge systems, values, beliefs, infrastructure, timelines, etc.).
- Reliance on American Indian staff by lead investigator to be responsible for building relationships and gaining entry into communities.
- Internal university support and capacity for working with tribes to carry out projects was not always clear.
- Pilot projects are often a means to collect data that will not benefit local people.
- Timeframe of projects often are unrealistic.

A major challenge with health research is that it produces validated health programs that get implemented in Pueblo communities but that are completely based on Western notions of health; they rarely, if ever include Pueblo health concepts validated by Pueblos themselves. How could they—when the established stigmatization of Pueblo people and Indigenous people is that we are unhealthy and as a result, incapable of addressing our own research needs through our own epistemological frameworks? Framed in this way, the privileging of certain types of

health knowledge and research is a social justice issue because it is based on who has power to determine "valid" health knowledge and expert researchers. On the other hand, Pueblo health research has the potential to include Pueblo health theories that are more complex than biomedical notions of health, which tend to focus solely on the body and physical health.

PUEBLO KNOWLEDGE SYSTEMS AND PUEBLO LEARNING PROCESSES

At a university meeting (Fieldnotes, September 2013), New Mexico tribal leaders shared health priorities that could be addressed by the university. One leader identified land as a health priority and challenged health researchers to help tribes get their land back. This leads to a question that underscores my arguments and those of other Indigenous scholars regarding the purpose and benefits of research: How can research be used to address tribal priorities and needs that are quite interconnected? In the case of the Pueblo leader asking for help in re-acquiring ancestral land, how could research be used to address loss of land? Or perhaps, to prevent the loss of heritage languages, two elements that are viewed by Pueblo people as critical for health? Pecos (2007) recalled how legal research played a key role in finding documentation that provided evidence for a Pueblo's claim regarding the wrongful taking of 24,000 acres of their land base. The return of land to that Pueblo is an example of a beneficial research outcome central to Pueblo health because *land is inextricably connected to health*. To someone disconnected from land, the correlation to health might not be so clear—which is why grounding research in Indigenous knowledge and values is vital.

Such a starting point can be useful to many fields of study: Romero's educational study on Pueblo giftedness highlighted Pueblo languages and epistemologies in determining the meaning and practice of giftedness to Keresan Pueblo people. Likewise, Cajete's work in Native science and environmental studies (2008) identified the need for endogenous research—originating from within the community and representing community interests. Grounding health research in Pueblo knowledge systems are critical for developing approaches and opportunities overlooked by focusing only on Western health concepts where Pueblo knowledge refers to Pueblo ontological (i.e., what we know), epistemological (i.e., how we know), and axiological (i.e., our values) orientation to the world gained from our experiences as Pueblo people. This does not infer sacred knowledge, which is neither relevant nor appropriate to discuss here.

If research involves understanding a particular phenomenon or producing new knowledge, then research involving Pueblo people could be meaningful within a Pueblo context and compliment Pueblo knowledge systems and learning processes. Pueblo knowledge systems are interwoven with social, emotional, and spiritual knowledge and are considered valid evidence for understanding the world, whereas, European American knowledge systems and science favor empirical evidence and linear logic over understandings that include being in tune with one's humanity,

spirit, and connection to others (personal communication, Simon Ortiz, November 22, 2013; Suina, 2003). Pueblo knowledge systems include empirical knowing and observation but are much more expansive in what counts as evidence. Therefore, for Pueblo-based research to have any relevance for Pueblos, it must incorporate a greater base of evidence that is not restricted to only empirical understandings of the world.

Cajete (1999) described Indigenous learning as holistic and taking place within highly contextualized social situations that includes appropriate timing for what is taught. Learning is relevant, applied and connected to Indigenous society. Research with Pueblo people could emulate this pattern of learning where knowledge has meaning within Pueblo social structures and benefits Pueblo society. Additionally, Suina and Smolkin (1994) reflected on the importance of individual readiness for acquiring knowledge within the Pueblo world:

> In the Euro-American world, when one wishes to know about an event a simple visit to the library and copying machine makes the knowledge portable and accessible to any who wish it. In the Pueblo world, many forms of knowledge are restricted; they are imparted only to those who are deemed ready, only to those who will have need for the information. (p. 119)

In the Pueblo world, the "learner" is deemed a responsible receiver of knowledge to benefit the greater good (Suina, 1992).

These concepts lead to more challenging questions. How can research processes compliment Pueblo knowledge acquisition so that culturally-based learning processes are respected? If a researcher is viewed as a learner rather than an expert or authority, and research participants are viewed as teachers, then there is room for a paradigmatic shift to occur in how research is carried out. Accountability of the researcher based on Pueblo ways would be built into the process before research begins. Researchers, Pueblo and non-Pueblo alike, would have to demonstrate their readiness and their ability to be responsible recipients of Pueblo knowledge.

Researchers interested in conducting research with Pueblo people would then have to provide prerequisites to tribal leadership before they are authorized to conduct research with Pueblos. Pueblo people would determine what prerequisites would provide evidence to demonstrate the researcher's ability to conduct research with Pueblos. Tribal leaders are often asked by researchers they never met to provide letters of support for research without knowing if the researcher is qualified to work with Pueblo people. Perhaps tribal leaders should require letters of support for researchers from other tribes that describe the researchers' abilities and qualifications to work with tribal communities.

CONCLUSION

Pueblos as sovereign nations have the power to determine whether they will engage with research or to disengage, altogether putting a stop to potentially beneficial

research without any further discussion. I have witnessed tribal representatives invited to a university and outnumbered by researchers using jargon. This is an imbalanced power dynamic. Instead, researchers must begin by listening to tribal concerns about research. Dozier Enos (1999) stressed that respectful listening to gain understanding rather than questioning or challenging what is being said (typical of western research methodology), is a critical part of conducting research with Pueblo people. I add that listening with respect to Pueblo people is critical for establishing research partnerships and accountability prior to the research.

Listening to what Pueblo leaders, scholars, and community members say about research is critical for eliminating problematic mainstream research approaches so that they no longer alienate Pueblo people and exploit Pueblo knowledge. Moving from considerations for research from a Pueblo standpoint to the development of Pueblo-specific research methodologies based on each Pueblo's unique context is of critical importance so that relevant research and health education approaches grounded in Pueblo thinking can emerge. This is a proactive approach that allows for creation of methodologies to drive Pueblo research.

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NOTE

[1] https://www.nih.gov/about-nih/what-we-do/budget

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CORRINE SANCHEZ

6. (RE)CLAIMING TEWA/PUEBLO SOVEREIGNTY THROUGH (RE)SEARCH AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE A'GIN HEALTHY SEXUALITY AND BODY SOVEREIGNTY PROJECT

ABSTRACT

This chapter describes Tewa Women United's methodological framework in both research and practice. As an example, the selection, negotiation, enhancement, implementation, and transformation of a federally-funded tribal teen pregnancy prevention initiative, through the development and implementation of A'Gin Healthy Sexuality and Body Sovereignty project (A'Gin), which is discussed in relation to dominant narratives about Indigenous peoples and the "evidence-based" programming push. What this project and TWUs methodology ultimately uplift is that in using our culture as a strength in the development and implementation of programs, Indigenous communities and organizations are creating "evidence" or data from our Indigenous *knowingness* and contributing to tribal sovereignty and self-determination.

INTRODUCTION: TEWA WOMEN UNITED AND CULTURAL SOVEREIGNTY

Tewa Women United[1] (TWU) is a Native American women-centered, women-founded, and women-run organization located in northern New Mexico within the original boundaries of Tewa homelands. Since its beginning in 1989, TWU has transitioned from an all-volunteer group of women to a nonprofit with the mission of providing safe spaces for Native women to uncover their power, strength, and skills to become positive forces for social change in their families and communities.

In any given year, TWU serves close to 4,000 people through direct intervention, prevention, advocacy, training, outreach, and general awareness activities and projects that address four areas: Environmental Justice and Health, V.O.I.C.E.S. (Valuing Our Integrity with Courage, Empowerment and Support) sexual violence and related trauma, Indigenous Women's Health and Reproductive Justice, and Women's Leadership and Economic Freedom. Our programs are woven together by our philosophy of seeing women as the embodiment and reflection of Nung Ochuu Quiyo, Mother Earth.

E. S. Huaman & B. McK. J. Brayboy (Eds.), Indigenous Innovations in Higher Education, 101–122.

This chapter highlights TWU's methodology in designing and implementing culturally responsive programs and projects rooted in efforts to end violence against Tewa/Pueblo women, girls, and Mother Earth. Drawing from Tewa oral tradition, I use the technology of *story sharing* (Sanchez, 2015), to describe TWU's selection, negotiation, enhancement, development, and implementation of our *A'Gin Healthy Sexuality and Body Sovereignty* project (A'Gin) and the transformation of a federally-funded tribal teen pregnancy prevention initiative. This project included working with Indigenous youth, elders, parents, cultural consultants, service providers, tribal leadership, evaluators, facilitators, and gifted A'Gin staff over a five-year period, from 2011 to 2016. Shared here is our lived narrative, which pushes against dominant narratives about Indigenous peoples and evidence-based programming.

TWU asserts that when our Pueblo women and girls can claim body sovereignty, our Pueblos can claim cultural and collective sovereignty (Coffey & Tsosie, 2001), thus strengthening our sovereignty as nations. While many might view A'Gin as solely a teen pregnancy prevention strategy, I contend that this project and Indigenous programs like it are part of a larger framework of social change and transformation, which starts with the nurturing and development of healthy, loving, caring, responsible individuals. What this project ultimately uplifts is the idea that using our culture as a strength in the development and implementation of programs, Indigenous communities and organizations such as Tewa Women United, are creating "evidence" or data from our Indigenous *knowingness* and contributing to tribal sovereignty and self-determination. In addition, through spiritual and cultural rootedness in design and implementation, we impact a sense of belonging and connectedness for our young people.

I ask critical questions that relate to culturally-based program development and standards, individual and social transformation, and a return to using Tewa/Pueblo epistemology as a foundation in sovereignty. For example, I believe we must challenge dominant institutions and ourselves to ask more pressing questions that (a) *critique dominant assumptions*—i.e. How did the idea of "evidence-based" emerge, and what and whose values and standards are reflected?; (b) *revisit local cultural ideologies*—i.e. What does evidence-based mean from our Tewa/Pueblo way of *knowingness*, worldview and values?; and (c) *consider practical application of our culture as a strength*—i.e. How can organizations like TWU practice sovereignty and self-determination in the creation of culturally responsive programs for Pueblo/Tewa families and communities?

PREVAILING NARRATIVES: THE TRAUMAS OF GENERATIONS

The work of TWU addresses some critical social conditions at the local level with state and national implications in terms of how to provide intervention, prevention, and care for children and youth impacted by violence. For example, the Youth Risk and Resiliency Survey (YRRS) (2009) for grades 7–12 in the state of New Mexico indicated:

- 36% of students experienced violence in school or community;
- 27% carried a weapon; 60.2% have a gun at home;
- 52% experienced sexual intercourse; 31.4% were sexually active;
- 13.5% seriously considered suicide; and 9.6% attempted suicide.

The New Mexico Department of Health (2007) stated suicide as the second leading cause of death among New Mexicans ages 10 to 34. Of the suicides in the state, 10.6% were Native Americans. These figures and the losses in our communities provide further "evidence" regarding the urgency of programs to work with our people. The quality and sustainability of such programs is vital towards addressing some of the ongoing traumas facing populations vulnerable to multi-layered traumas, including Pueblo populations. Understanding that our families and communities face these realities is important, but equally important is the acknowledgement that Tewa/Pueblo families and communities did not get here on our own.

The impacts of historical intergenerational and individual complex trauma from over 500 years of violence through colonization and practices of genocide (hooks, 1992; Gunn Allen, 1992) and gynocide (Daly, 1990) are real. At the same time, there is a problematic abundance of research by non-Indigenous peoples in Tewa/Pueblo communities that focuses on the impact of substance abuse, rape, family violence, and suicide, proving again and again "the plight of the Indigenous/Native American" as deficit-based (Rodriguez-Lonebear, 2016; Smith, 2012; Walter & Andersen, 2013).

What is troubling is that such research does not routinely offer real solutions or approaches *with* Indigenous communities. Outsider-researchers have long-since become experts on things already known to our communities (Smith, 2012), and these so-called findings and the methods used to obtain them are painfully experienced by our community members. Such work also reflects the persistence of colonizing research discourses, and this chapter is one attempt to confront and counter those narratives using Tewa/Pueblo philosophies and methods.

INDIGENOUS (RE)SEARCHING AND (RE)SEARCH

My Place in the Herstory of Tewa Women United

I am the eldest daughter of Kathy Sanchez (Wan Povi), core visionary and former TWU Director, and the niece and great-niece of two founders of TWU, Evelyn Naranjo (Than Povi) and Josephine Natseway. Upon the death of my great-aunt, Mella Roybal (Wan Woe Povi), who raised with my mother, with my mother joined the group several months after its formation. We are Tewa Towah from Po-ho-geh Owingeh (where the water cuts through) also known by its colonized name, San Ildefonso Pueblo. I am a thriving survivor of multiple layers of trauma (child sexual abuse, sexual assault, domestic violence, racism, sexism, classism, genocide, and gynocide) over my ancestors' and my lifetime. I have also witnessed the struggles of my mother, aunts, and many Tewa/Pueblo women to (re)claim[2] safe spaces to (re) center self, love, family, and community as a transformative and healing process.

As the storyteller in this story sharing, I share from my multiple identities, experiences, and relationships which include being daughter, niece, and relative of those who came before me, as volunteer, recipient and provider of services, as student/teacher, mentee/mentor, youth organizer/community builder, and staff/executive director. These multiplicities provide simultaneous lenses that are woven into who I am today and influence my (re)searching and story sharing. I find it useful to affirm these things here:

I come from a lineage of peoples who are deep thinkers and powerful strategists.

I come from a lineage of peoples who listen and observe with quiet intent and deep contemplation.

I come from a lineage of peoples who create theory and put it into practice.

I come from a lineage of peoples who love deeply and are guided by their hearts and spirituality.

I come from a lineage of peoples who believe and work for social justice and social change.

Because of this lineage, I have always considered myself an activist. On the other hand, the title of researcher has not been so natural for me to embrace until more recently. My pathway to embracing this label is due in part to the work of other Indigenous scholar-researchers who are also strongly rooted members of Indigenous community and who seek to affirm and live our ancestral *knowingness* and carry forward issues that are most important to us. Moreover, if the purpose of critical research is, as Linda Smith described, about focusing, about thinking critically, about reflecting on things, and about being strategic (Kovach, 2005; Smith, 2002), then I come from a lineage of (re)searchers—and I choose to rewrite the very word because this process is what Tewa peoples have done for generations and continue to do.

Reflecting on the journey that led me here today as a leader of Tewa Women United and PhD graduate in Justice Studies, I recognize my philosophy and approach to (re)searching comes from my experiences working with and for TWU. I now understand more clearly that since its inception, TWU has been in the process of creating an Indigenous Women's (Re)search Methodology, or more precisely, a Tewa Women United's (Re)search Methodology in the course of *always becoming* (Grande, 2008; Nora Naranjo Morse, personal communication, 2013)—working towards fulfilling our vision of (re)building Beloved families and communities to end violence against women, girls and Mother Earth. This is (re)search with the purpose of transforming our current reality as we put observations, learning, sharing, ideas, dreams, and prayers into action (Sanchez, 2015).

I reflect upon the gift of participating in the co-creation of approaches to (re)member, (re)claim, (re)affirm, and (re)inforce who we are as Tewa/Pueblo women, families and communities, and I am overcome with tears. These tears are

not uncommon for me—almost an everyday experience while growing up. Most often those tears were hidden, shed alone. They came from feeling overwhelmed—tears of shame and fear. There were periods when I denied my tears as a piece of my resistance: I would not let others see how I hurt and how they hurt me. I did not want to reveal my vulnerability, my perceived weakness.

I embraced anger as my friend, protector, and shield. Through the loss of self, family, friends, innocence, culture, and my spirit, anger helped me. It kept me alive as I moved through the darkness. But anger was also killing me, killing the loving, open, authentic, powerful, and cultural being that I was dreamed to be through time immemorial. I am the connection, the collection, the vessel in which the breath of the ancestors, the ancients, and the spirits dance, sing, reverberate, and where they come together.

Anger and anger's companions of guilt and shame (G.A.S.)—a naming of the physical manifestation of oppressor's tools which another traditional healer, Bruce Elijah (Oneida) shared with my mother, Wan Povi.[3] G.A.S. is the fracking of our soulful bodies, and this soul-wounding blurred my ancestral ability to name me, honor me, and claim my power. Moreover, the strategic genocide and heinous gynocide that spreads across continents continues to invade and harm exponentially across generations, hijacking our consciousness, masterminded by the parasitical Culture of Violence—which is what scholars have linked with institutional and structural violence (Galtung, 1969; Noreiga, 1999; Smith, 2005). Its legacy is fragmentation of the spirit of each of us. The Culture of Violence is visible in manifestations of war, abuse, suicide, substance abuse, and corporate greed, the institutionalization of oppression that also fuels internalized oppression (Poupart, 2003). The limitations of the Culture of Violence are visible in the inability to hold space for multiple worldviews. How we root out the Culture of Violence, which is the foundation of this country that we love and embrace but is slowly killing us and our Mother Earth is at the heart of my work and the work of TWU. We therefore seek to (re)claim Tewa/ Pueblo methodologies in order to make visible and address problems that impact every being on this planet.

A Foundation of Knowingness

Our practice and our methodology involve a paradigm shift of energy to (re)center Tewa/ Pueblo *knowingness*. TWU encourages (re)connecting to ancient *knowingness* (Sanchez, 2017) of the ancestors to cleanse ourselves, to (re)claim and (re)energize ourselves in the Culture of Peace, vanquishing the Culture of Violence and restoring values and epistemologies that center the sacredness in everyone and everything. In the Tewa language, it is bin mah pah di,[4] or letting go and healing and embracing the energy of Love, to (re)learn how to Love, feed Love, grow Love, and be generous with Love to others and self. (Re)planting the Culture of Peace means stepping into our power from a space rooted in spirit to liberate our consciousness (hooks;1992; Anzaldua, 1987; Facio & Lara, 2014).

For this, TWU prayed, dreamed, envisioned, and planned. Vulnerability is not weakness, as I once thought: Healing takes a willingness to be vulnerable and courageous at the same time, to say "no" to violence in all forms, and take individual and collective action.

Tewa Women United (Re)search Methodology

TWU's research methodology is grounded yet energized in spirituality and the power of seegi ma vay i*,* Tewa for loving, caring, and looking out for one another, those yet to come, and our Mother Earth. Our methodology is also based on a collective of intertribal women's voices who are multi-cultural, multi-racial, and intergenerational residing in our Tewa homelands of Northern New Mexico. Although Pueblo-based and in many ways Pueblo-oriented through use of our Tewa language, our methodology is also shared and comes from thousands of healing, talking, and power circles TWU has hosted and been invited into, locally, nationally, and internationally. Our methodology therefore reflects the cumulative wisdom of hundreds of thousands of women, families, and communities upon which TWU builds and contributes. Thus, TWU's Research Methodology, includes the following components: (1) Our culture as our strength; (2) Mindful practices to decrease harm into future generations—protection of those most vulnerable; (3) Personal and collective sovereignty—self-determination, self-identification and self-education; (4) Healthy *relational-tivity*[5]—(re)building and uplifting Beloved Pueblo/Tewa families and communities; (5) Connectedness to Mother Earth and her gifts; and (6) Honoring feminine strength—centering Pueblo/Tewa women and girls.

1) Our culture as our strength: TWU believes in the strength of our Pueblo/Tewa culture to (re)plant and sustain a Culture of Peace so our Beloved families and communities can thrive. Fundamentally, colonization affects a people's understanding of their universe and their place within it (Gunn Allen, 1992, p. 90). Gunn Allen also commented that, "The colonizers' revisions of our lives, values, and histories have devastated us at the most crucial level of all—that of our own mind, our own sense of who we are" (p. 93).

There is insurgence (Corntassel & Bryce, 2012; Hou, 2010) required to (re)claim traditional ways of living and caring for ourselves and Mother Earth. To do this means to (re)member our herstories, including (re)learning our Tewa language and (re)telling our narratives and collective stories. According to Absolon and Willett (2005), stories include important teachings that pass down historical facts and share culture, traditions and life lessons. Traditionally, stories taught values, beliefs, morals, history, and life skills to youth and adults. Relatedly, our Tewa language is important in this process—in the perpetuation of our culture, our peoples. Language forms the basis of identity through communication, which is communal and comes from relational-tivity. Language includes the verbal and non-verbal, the written and unwritten. As Christine Zuni Cruz stated, "Language is critical because it contains

our laws, in symbols and architecture and our understanding of the world" (Pueblo Convocation, 2012). According to Tessie Naranjo of Santa Clara Pueblo, "Language is a living spirit. It is our duty to nourish the spirit. It is how we show our deepest love for our Creator" (Pueblo Convocation, 2012).

Goodyear-Ka'opua (2013) beautifully articulated in *The Seeds We Planted*, the strength of being multilingual with multiple literacies. Our Pueblo ancestors too practiced multiple literacies as they read weather and seasonal patterns to grow crops, sustaining their economy for thousands of years, building homes, and interacting with foreign governments and educational systems. Further, power and strength come from knowing our place of birth, our emergence, which gives us a sense of connectedness. This metaphorical umbilical cord ties Tewa/ Pueblo peoples to one another and to Mother Earth, the places of our *knowingness*, our core values. Passing on values, language, and life ways ensures the cultural continuance of our families and communities.

These multiple literacies also include, as Walter and Andersen (2013) encouraged, literacy of research through understanding and effectively practicing qualitative and quantitative tools and methods in a way that reflects our Indigeneities. If we want our research to be effective in achieving positive changes and benefits, we must communicate the successes and challenges to our communities *and* broader audiences.

2) Mindfulness to decrease harm into future generations—protection of those most vulnerable: The cultural survival of African-Americans and Native Americans, means engaging in a politics of resistance addressing the psychological trauma of the colonization experience, past and present (Gunn Allen, 1992; hooks, 1995). Additionally, as hooks (1995, p. 137) stated, "By not addressing psychological wounds, by covering them, we create the breeding ground for a psychology of victim hood wherein helplessness, uncontrollable rage, and/or feelings of overwhelming powerlessness and despair [reside] in the psyche [of the oppressed]."

hooks also believed that revolutionary liberation movements for self-determination for Native and African American peoples must incorporate paths of healing and recovery, claiming triumph and pain without shame (1995, p. 135). In order to (re)claim Beloved families and communities, we move from prayer and dream to reality; prayer is part of our ontology. Dreams have long been a source of knowledge for Indigenous cultures (Kovach, 2005), through which another level of consciousness is tapped. According to Wan Povi, dreams can be pathways where our multi-versal consciousness comes forward with deepest intentions to be of a loving presence. Honoring this belief, TWU begins gatherings with prayer to ask ancestral spirits to guide us, give us strength and help us heal as we look to the past, assess the present, and give voice to visions of cultural sovereignty for our future as Tewa/ Pueblo peoples.

It is time to begin healing—releasing and unlearning. We must continue to pray and vision together for what we want for our children, their children and their

children's children. As families and communities doing the hard work of personal healing now, we transform the reality of future generations to come.

3) Personal and collective sovereignty—self-determination, self-identification and self-education: Since TWU's beginning, peer support circles have been foundational to our work. TWU has created spaces for a Tewa/Pueblo women's perspective to be (re)affirmed. As the women gathered, they nurtured their strength, courage, and voices. In the protection and safety of circles, similar to consciousness-raising talks described by Poupart (2003), the women recalled stories of women's sacredness and vital roles in carrying on Tewa/Pueblo ways of *beingness* as the embodiment of knowingness. They began to (re)claim and (re)cover the power that always existed within them.

Our conception of power is fluidity of energy, flowing throughout the cosmos, and accessible by all. It is not power exercised by force or deprivation, absent empathy or compassion, leading to oppression (Hanna, Talley, & Guindon, 2000). Brayboy (2005) described power through an Indigenous lens as expression of sovereignty (p. 435), and for TWU, sovereignty is practicing our self-determination, self-governance, self-identification, and self-education on our terms, as individuals, families and communities, and as an organization. Self-governance is individual, family, and community control over our bodies, home places (land bases), economies and ways of knowing. It is wo watsi, living life as a prayer guided by our values. Self-identification is defining who we are from multiplicity and fluidity. Sovereignty is therefore practiced and founded in the context of relational-tivity, to our bodies, our families and communities, and to Mother Earth.

In more local terms, self-determination is exercising power from a'gin, the respectful caring of self and others, acting with agency, and seegi ma vay i, the loving responsibility and looking out for each other, those yet to come and our Mother Earth, for eco-sustemic practice. This concept is similar in spirit to sustainable self-determination (Corntassel, 2008; Corntassel & Bryce, 2012), referring to cultural, social, spiritual, and economic continuance and sustainability. "Eco-sustemic" practice, used by Wan Povi, describes encompassing the whole spirit, lives, cultures, and economics of land-based peoples, who are sustained by the gifts of Mother Earth. This is salient for Tewa/Pueblo peoples who have been impacted by Western and militaristic environmental destruction and energy chaos, including the establishment of Los Alamos National Laboratory within our Tewa homelands.

4) Healthy relational-tivity—(re)claiming and uplifting Beloved Tewa/Pueblo families and communities: (Re)claiming Beloved families and communities is about strengthening and at times (re)building our connectedness. TWU borrows from the vision of Beloved communities by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and capitalizes the word because all families and communities deserve to Be Loved and to Be Love. In a Culture of Peace, love is the energy that drives action. This is what we hope to (re) claim and (re)affirm, the love of self, those yet to come, those who are different then us, and Mother Earth.

In a Culture of Violence, being in relation to one another can be harmful and hurtful when there is imbalance of power and desire to control as we see in inter- and intra- personal/familial violence. Relational-tivity requires communication. The women of TWU practice this through dialogue in circle. They use dialogue to share realities they face in their families and communities. They speak unspoken truths, acknowledging hurt, pain and sorrow but also beauty and strength.

Dialogue is critical on many fronts. Paulo Freire (1970) recognized the importance of dialogue in liberation of the oppressed when he commented, "Critical and liberating dialogue, which presupposes action, must be carried on with the oppressed at whatever the stage of their struggle for liberation" (p. 52). Supportive dialogue also dislodges isolation and sponsors growth of self, voice, and mind (Belenky et al., 1997, p. 80). Taylor, Gilligan, and Sullivan (1995) highlighted the importance of dialogue and relationship with older women, to development in the lives of young women:

> Having opportunities to talk through—and thereby think through—issues of importance to them without fear of judgment, betrayal, or misunderstanding and anger, girls may be better able to know and understand their own thoughts and feelings. This process in turn may help them cultivate their ability to make thoughtful and responsible decisions. (p. 121)

We must have courage to gather in circles for critical dialogue with family, women, men, and our young people to share, release, vision, (re)create and (re)claim healthy relational-tivity; speaking heart to heart.

5) Connectedness to Mother Earth and her gifts: As Tewa/Pueblo peoples know, we do not exist apart from our Earth Mother, nung ochuu quiyo, rather we exist because of her and her gifts. It is not our right to exist; but our privilege and responsibility. It is our duty to ensure that those who come after us are blessed as we are, with life nourishing and sustaining gifts of our Mother. This is our commitment to generations to come.

Our connection to Mother Earth is embedded in memories of our creation stories. Here we learn the interconnectedness and responsibility the two-legged have to all living and nonliving beings, seen and unseen, known and unknown. Since the early 1990's, TWU has been involved in local community and state environmental efforts. TWU realized that one of the greatest threats we face is to the quality of our land, air, and water, affecting our ability to live, grow, and be in a healthy way.

TWU's women came to the commitment to protect our connection to spirituality, as central to our culture. This meant protecting our sacred lands—the giver of life. From this TWU affirms that women are a reflection of our Mother Earth. We see our Mother Earth as a living being with unique energy, healing power, and spirit of life.

6) Honors feminine strength—centering Pueblo/ Tewa women and girls: Central to TWU's (re)search methodology is (re)telling our lived subjective truths about our herstory by listening to the experiences and stories of women from our Tewa/Pueblo

communities. In this way we honor the contributions of women to our survival as a living culture. Today, many Tewa/Pueblo communities have taken on Christian views of dominance and the gender binary that excludes, as Goodyear-Ka'opua (2013) commented, "a multiplicity of native expressions of gender and sexual identity and practices" (p. 28).

As Tehwah Towah (Tewa peoples), we are born with a male or female physical shell, infused with both male and female energy, kwee wa seng wa vi umbeh. The expression of this may not be a reflection of our physical shell. There is fluidity between the energies. Neither is better; rather, they are complimentary. At the same time, our communities teach lessons and practices that are gender and age-specific. As children, we are taught to accept this and not be jealous or envious. We are taught the sacredness of our roles, and that each in unique ways strengthens our Pueblos. Prior to Spanish and European colonization of the Pueblos, men and women were viewed equally in our nations. They played different roles in the context of family and community without hierarchical value. In contrast, European societies were misogynistic. The Christian patriarchy, structuring European society, is inherently violent (Cajete, 2010; Deer, 2015; Noreiga, 1999; Sando, 1992; Smith, 2005). Due to the sociocultural influence of colonization and Euro-centric patriarchal dominant views about women from the earliest onset of Spanish arrival to New Mexico, our ways of thinking about men and women have shifted though there are efforts to reclaim Pueblo ways of understanding the roles of men and women (Lorenzo, 2017). Gunn Allen also recovered the buried memories of gynocratic societies and exposed the myth of Colonial White Supremacist Capitalist Scientist Patriarchy (hooks, 1992; hooks, 2010):

> Ethno historians' inaccurate representation of gender in historical documents has erased gynocratic practice from early history. It falsifies the record of people who are not able to set it straight: it reinforces patriarchal socialization among all Americans, who are thus led to believe that there, have never been any alternative structures: it gives Anglo Europeans the idea that Indian societies were beneath the level of organization of Western nations, justifying colonization by presumption of lower stature; and masks the genocide attendant on the falsification of evidence, as it masks a gynocidal motive behind the genocide. (Gunn Allen, 1992, p. 36)

Goodyear-Ka'opua commented that critical scholarship and queer Indigenous studies call us to look at how hetero-patriarchy—"the normalizing and privileging of patriarchal heterosexuality" based on binary gender systems is a fundamental logic and organizing force within settler colonialism (Goodyear-Ka'opua, 2013, p. 27). Native Feminists have long pointed out the need to challenge masculinist nationalism and to historicize the "family" since archetypal patriarchal family has been an organizing metaphor and institution rendering nationalist movements dismissive of or directly hostile to healthy and just gender relations and sexual practices (Goodyear-Ka'opua, 2013, p. 33).

STORY SHARING: A'GIN HEALTHY SEXUALITY AND BODY SOVEREIGNTY PROJECT

Through (re)membering and sharing our herstories with one another, TWU calls on Tewa/Pueblo women to (re)claim our place in a world that is continually minimizing and erasing our existence as women and as Indigenous/Pueblo/Tewa peoples. Based on the historically problematic relationship between Western research and Indigenous peoples, it is important to have highlighted TWUs work and methodology as a counter to dominant ways of constructing Indigenous peoples (Absolon & Willett, 2005; Rodriguez-Lonebear, 2016; Smith, 1999; Walter & Andersen, 2013). We are involved in conversations on women, violence, and youth issues at state levels where certain narratives about Indigenous peoples still carry weight. Our work is to come for our strength, our culture, our ways of *knowingness* and *beingness*.

Before I launch into description of A'Gin, I must acknowledge that this work resulted from the sharing of community members willing to be vulnerable and honest and who embodied the courage to speak truths. This is our journey to share with our children, including our love, prayers, and dreams for them to grow into powerful, loving, caring, and nurturing beings: Young women and men claiming body sovereignty, defined here as acting with agency and self-determination, making wise decisions guided by their minds, hearts and Spirits, with ancient and new ways of *knowingness*.

In 2011, TWU submitted an application to the U.S. Health & Human Services Department, Administration for Children and Families Affordable Care Act Tribal Personal Responsibility Education Program for Teen Pregnancy Prevention Grant (Tribal PREP). We started with the vision of honoring our young people's sovereignty by guiding them to develop skills and experiences to make informed decisions supporting their overall well-being. Our responsibility remained to give them accurate, honest and truthful information on sex, sexuality, contraception, and relationships. Honoring our cultural roots, TWU wanted to develop a project that drew on cultural strengths and values including language, spirituality, beliefs and practices.

The original request for proposals (RFP) (HHS-2011-ACF-ACYF-AT-0157) asserted that funds would support the design, implementation and sustaining of teen pregnancy prevention and adult preparation programs (PREP) based on effective models (or elements of effective models); practice-based evidence, or promising practices in the community. The RFP also stated that PREP programs were *required* to replicate "evidence-based effective programs or substantially incorporate elements of effective programs that have been proven—on the basis of rigorous scientific research—to change behavior" (p. 7).

TWU welcomed the broadness written into the RFP to include practice-based evidence or promising practices, though we asked—evidence-based by whose standard? Evidence-based effective programs according to the Tribal Prep RFP were those program models for which systemic, empirical research or evaluation findings

have provided evidence of effectiveness (p. 10). The challenge for TWU became to deconstruct the dominant trend of evidence-based programming as related to Pueblo and Indigenous peoples.

Indigenous peoples know that we are the most over researched populations in aspects of our "conditions" (almost always deficiency-based) and cultures (romanticized or seen as primitive and backwards). We also know that Indigenous peoples are the most underfunded and under-acknowledged in our ability to conduct research and create models and programs that honor Indigenous Knowledge in particular because Indigenous Knowledge—and in this case, Tewa/Pueblo epistemologies although increasing in the literature—is still lesser understood by dominant funding sources especially for its application to real-life problems (Sumida Huaman, Martin, & Chosa, 2016). As Rodriguez-Lonebear (2016) declared, "Also missing from the story are those data that can transform native communities…it is time to develop our own data that speak to our strengths" (p. 261).

TWU has been co-creating our knowledge and skills as women *in* community since our inception. We have also partnered with universities: Columbia University via Beverly Singer of Santa Clara Pueblo and former Board member of TWU; the University of New Mexico via Bonnie Duran; the Center for Native American Health at the University of New Mexico via former Director, Gayle Dine Chacon, and Julie Lucero. Our experience conducting (re)search has been largely positive, co-designing and co-creating and contributing to the well-being of our peoples. TWU has also been strategic in pursuing funding that uplifts and supports our vision and values, and we discern opportunities without compromising our integrity or Tewa/Pueblo cultural values. TWU has become confident in speaking from our heart, our center, our womb. We exert our sovereignty as Pueblo/Tewa women through self-education, self-determination, and self-awareness, and always in relationship to one another, our families, communities, and Mother Earth. So it was with caution that TWU entered the Tribal PREP grant agreement; not because we felt unable to undertake this project, but because of the evidence-based demand from the current dominant narrative it reinforced and more profoundly, because the grant's premise (teen pregnancy prevention in Tribal communities) echoed the history of genocide and forced sterilization by the very government offering this funding.

Initial Planning

The TWU Staff, having long worked in Pueblo communities with a strong network of service providers and ties to community members, compiled a list of individuals and programs that would be helpful in selecting and implementing a curriculum to strengthen decision-making of young people in the six Tewa speaking Pueblos of New Mexico. We were directed to a predetermined list of 28 programs/models, implemented in communities of color, from which to choose. Of these, only five programs, according to Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS), "improved sexual health outcomes for the overall group that participated in each

program, possibly including some Native American youth (we cannot say with certainty which individual youth showed improvements)" (Information sheet, 2011 Grantee Orientation). None were developed by Indigenous peoples.

Community health research groups, healthcare providers, school personnel, youth group coordinators, community representatives and tribal leadership, among others, were invited to our first public Planning Committee meeting on January 19, 2012. Over 25 representatives from regional organizations ranging from family and women's services centers across Española, Albuquerque, Santa Fe, and the northern Pueblos attended. The agenda included introducing the project, team-building exercises, and opportunity for all to express their thoughts, concerns, and commitment to the success of the project. TWU was encouraged that attendance at our first meeting exceeded capacity for the room. And that individuals were enthusiastic to share ideas and expertise with the A'Gin project.

Needs Assessment

TWU honored the grant mandate of conducting a year-long needs assessment, planning, and capacity-building to arrive at criteria for selecting the curriculum we would use in part or in whole. A Needs Assessment Committee was established at the first Planning Committee meeting and held bi-weekly meetings beginning on February 8, 2012. The Needs Assessment Committee acquired secondary data from numerous community, tribal, regional, state, and national sources, and the data were inventoried and reviewed for relevance to the project. Primary data were obtained via surveys, face-to-face interviews, focus groups and a Community Readiness Assessment. A survey was also developed to look at key issues around sexuality and community youth resources, and 137 surveys were administered in schools and various youth events.

TWU held four focus groups in which 33 youth (12–21 years) spoke about sexuality, resources, and ideas for preventing teen pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases. Participants reflected the diversity of our communities including teens from the six Tewa speaking pueblos, other Natives living in the area, lesbian gay bisexual transgendered questioning (LGBTQ) youth, and teen parents. An external evaluation was invaluable in complementing our skills and co-creating a research process of mutual respect and power sharing throughout development and implementation. The following points from evaluation analysis of interview data, survey results, secondary data sources, and other community sources, confirmed our initial observations (i2i Progress Report, 2012):

- The six Pueblo communities are geographically dispersed and heterogeneous with respect to resources, tribal leadership, schools, and other factors;
- The high prevalence of sexual trauma and relationship violence must be considered when addressing sex and sexuality. Programs working in these communities must be strongly trauma-informed;

- Many Tewa people are uncomfortable discussing sex and sexuality in groups. There are few adequate places (safe, private) or trusted providers (confidential, non-judgmental) on the Pueblos to foster discussions about these issues, for youth or families;
- Tribal traditions around onset of adolescence have been muted and sometimes lost;
- Pueblo change happens incrementally, especially with respect to tribal leadership;
- Teens receive intensive and often contradictory messages about sexuality from popular culture and sources outside family and community.

Two surprising points emerged: First, parents wanted to talk with their children, but were afraid of being judged for behavior in their youth and losing credibility in their children's eyes. Second, there was limited inter-agency communication. According to the information gathered, almost every provider felt poorly informed about other programs/organizations, especially resources physically located on the Pueblos.

Selection of Curriculum

We extended our selection beyond the funder's given list, searching for any and all programs developed by and for Indigenous people. TWU, with the input of the Planning and Needs Assessment Committees, selected Discovery Dating (DD) developed by Alice Skenandore, an Ojibwe traditional midwife from Lac Courte Oreilles and Director of Wise Women's Gathering Place (WWGP). For nearly ten years, DD had been utilized in the Oneida community in Wisconsin where Skenandore now resides. DD is currently a "promising practice" through the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMSHA). In addition to recognition of this curriculum by well-regarded agencies and tribal nations, TWU had a prior relationship with Alice. She was a highly respected advisor in the development process of TWU's Yiya Vi Kagingdi (The Mother's Helper) Doula project. In discussion with Skenandore and Bev Scow, a KwaKwaKwakh member and Assistant Director of WWGP, TWU felt we could possibly assist WWGP as they pursued their own path to evidence-based credentialing. This is wowatsi, living our life as prayer with generosity and reciprocity.

Throughout the process of enhancing and adapting this curriculum, we prayed, talked, and dreamed about what we would like to see in the A'Gin project. The Needs Assessment compiled criteria showed the importance of addressing healthy relationships, dating and sexual violence, goals and dreams, and parent-youth relationships. Our communities also wanted a curriculum incorporating aspects of our Tewa/ Pueblo culture, language and spirituality, while addressing young people with fundamental respect for their body sovereignty and self-determination.

Based on TWU's work with Eduardo and Bonnie Duran and their book, *Post-Colonial Psychiatry* (1995) and influence from Maria Yellow Horse Brave Heart's

work on historical trauma (1998, 2000, 2004), we agreed it was important to come from a trauma-informed perspective to build a web of support for our young people. Focusing on our desired criteria we narrowed our selection to five curricula including DD. Each had desirable elements. They would all require extensive adaptation to be culturally congruent including DD. This would make program fidelity difficult but not impossible.

Our relational-tivity to Alice and Bev was the solidifying factor in choosing DD. TWU and WWGP had shared values, established open communication, mutual respect and deep understanding for the vision of healing for our communities. Adaptations were made and we worked to ensure fidelity was maintained as best we could to the core DD sessions that were minimally adapted, and to the sessions we enhanced and added. We faced challenges to our selection, and had to justify ourselves to high-level staff of Tribal PREP. Our (re)search and needs assessment methodology enabled us to back up our selection. And, we believed this was the best choice for our young people.

Enhancements—Culturally and Medically Accurate

Cultural grounding is the basis of TWU's work as shared earlier. Research suggests it serves as a general protective factor (Bigfoot & Braden, 2007; Chandler & Lalonde, 2008; Duran & Duran, 1995). Young people who feel a connection and sense of belonging to and from their communities and secure in their cultural identity are better able to face risks and challenges in their life. For TWU, cultural grounding is also important in teaching about the physical, emotional, spiritual and social changes throughout one's lifetime. As one A'Gin facilitator commented, "You have to learn about sexual health through a cultural lens."

While a select core curriculum of DD sessions was used in the A'Gin Project, it was adapted and enhanced with Tewa language, beliefs and practices. Four sessions were added; three focused specifically on Tewa influenced cultural learnings and came from TWU's vast experience and cornerstone models—Trauma Rocks, Butterfly Model, and Corn Model The fourth was a medically- accurate session developed in partnership with Planned Parenthood about male and female anatomy, adolescent changes, and age-appropriate sexual education on the reproductive process, protecting oneself from sexually transmitted infections and understanding and accessing contraceptive methods.

The Butterfly Model was developed by Wan Povi in 1986 and teaches two world harmony, leading students to understand the various circles of identity they inhabit. The body of the butterfly, viewed as both compartmentalized and holistic, guides participants towards effective ways to maintain their wholeness in the midst of multiple, sometimes contradictory ways of being. Trauma Rocks is a visual and experiential model developed in the mid 1980s from a dream that Wan Povi had and has been refined through the years with contributions from the staff of TWU. The model helps participants understand the exponential effects of historical,

intergenerational, and individual complex trauma on mind, body, heart and spirit, and resiliency as a way to heal individuals and community through story sharing. The Corn Model was co-created by TWU and cultural consultants that included Tewa language teachers, Indigenous educators, TWUs Circle of Grandmothers, and other cultural wisdom holders to share cultural learnings from Mother Earth and our ancestral knowingness on child development, core values, healing as resiliency, and individual and community belonging and contribution (Pueblo Convocation, 2012).

Since there is lack of culturally grounded and responsive prevention and intervention approaches and models, more of our effort has been focused on adapting and enhancing the chosen curricula. Within the one year time frame (September 29, 2011 to September 29, 2012) allotted for needs assessment, planning and capacity building, we were tasked to conduct a needs assessment, select a curriculum (in part or in whole), adapt or enhance the curricula, train newly hired staff to implement, without piloting or test running, while maintaining fidelity to the original (or core) curricula. This is counter to the natural evolutionary process of always becoming, continual adaptation and growth, inner and outer, physical and spiritual.

Escaping the Promise of Evidence-Based

What became clear throughout the process of working with the funder, selecting, adapting and enhancing the curricula, transforming the funding initiative and the community conversations throughout was that the notion of evidence-based had long-since become its own 'promised land.' The trend of evidence-based as a requirement for projects reinforces the Colonial-White Supremacist Capitalist Scientist Patriarchy through historically effective tactics of assimilation, erasure, universality, and asserting science and data of the West as the only truth (Whitt, 2004). However, we were not the first (and will not be the last) Indigenous scholars and community members to critique evidence-based trends and the ideologies from which they emerge (Walter, 2016). Indigenous researchers and scholars have written about the challenges "evidence-based practices" (EBP) pose for American Indian and Alaska Natives (Bigfoot & Braden, 2007; Echo-Hawk, 2011; Lucero, 2011; NICWA, 2013). They include:

- Gatekeeping – authority to decide, exclusion at the expense of inclusivity
- Erasure of unique cultural lenses and experiences
- Cost prohibitive and ineffective
- Lack of process for an approach/intervention becoming evidence-based especially for intersectional approaches and models
- Lack of holistic evaluation for interventions and approaches utilizing Indigenous ways of *knowingness*
- Reliance upon research methods which take years to replicate, produce, and confirm results
- Lack of proof of effectiveness for small populations such as American Indians within data sets for general populations

- Inflexibility of models and approaches – rigid fidelity to model

The majority of EBPs were not designed for populations of color (NICWA, 2013) while the process of EBP rolls slowly forward without producing results applicable to populations of color. The effects of colonialism continue to multiply, waiting for Western science and social sciences to reach a conclusion on whatever said EBP, thus ensuring that the wounds will be deeper when intervention is finally approved. Due to the lack of EBP-implemented (much less developed) projects by Indigenous peoples, the relevance of interventions to Indigenous communities is still unknown. Instead, EBP often contributes to harm rather than mitigating it—overtly, by insisting that models and individuals conform to standardized norms, and covertly, by delaying intervention for communities in need.

What Indigenous researchers and Native serving organizations, like TWU, support is evidence-building from careful observation of processes and measuring of outcomes—and this is very different from most government and funding requirements. Practice-based evidence (PBE) is more in line with our Indigenous *knowingness* utilizing methods reflective of this knowledge building, including focus groups, surveys, case review, and story sharing. PBE allows for the conceptualization and collection of data that supports data sovereignty, "with the right and the ability of time to develop our own systems for gathering and using data and to influence the collection of data by external actors" (Rodriguez-Lonebear, 2016, p. 259). This is critical:

> While American Indian tribes continuously fight legal battles to uphold sovereignty and tribal jurisdiction, less attention is paid to tribal sovereignty as a self-reinforcing exercise. Data governance, for example, is facilitated by tribal sovereignty; it also reinforces tribal sovereignty by providing the tribal evidence base required to advance self-determination. (Rodriguez-Lonebear, 2016, p. 265)

The Data

In the past five years, A'Gin Healthy Sexuality and Body Sovereignty project served more than 300 young men and women. Initially formulated by the funders as a teen pregnancy prevention program, the grant focus broadened to recognize and support additional factors that contribute to youth resiliency and sexual and reproductive health.

The *A'Gin Healthy Sexuality and Body Sovereignty* project was implemented in year two (2012/2013) of funding for four years (2012–2016) in eight schools and two community venues and included twenty-two cohorts. A total of 163 male and 204 female middle school and high school students (ages 11 to 18), with eighth and ninth grade (ages 14 to 15) most heavily represented. Many of the students who participated were of mixed heritage: 94% of students were Native American, but nearly 1/3 also claimed Hispanic heritage. Fewer than 10% of students also selected African-American, Pacific Islander or white Caucasian as part of their ancestry.

According to the entry survey, among the high school population, 30% (n=116) answered "yes" to the question, "Have you ever had sexual intercourse?" Of all students responding to the exit survey question (n=227), 67% found themselves, post-program, to be much less likely to have sex in the next 6 months. As a whole, post-A'gin, two thirds of the students surveyed indicated that participating in the program had reduced the likelihood that they would have sexual intercourse indicating increased personal agency and greater thoughtfulness around behavioral choices. A'Gin met the grant outcome requirements, but TWU was actually more interested in measuring youth senses of cultural connectedness and belonging, as these were the protective factors TWU felt would benefit the resiliency of the young people in the long-term.

In program year four and five, our evaluation therefore focused on measuring cultural connectedness and belonging. To accomplish this we chose two tools, the Multi-Ethnic Identity Measure, Revised (MEIM-R) and the Awareness of Connectedness Scale (ACS). The MEIM-R was originally designed to measure the subjective sense of membership in any group through multiple dimensions, 14 under a single factor of ethnic identity (e.g. self-identification, ethnic behaviors/ practices, affirmation/belonging, and ethnic identity exploration or achievement). Revised in 2007, its focus was narrowed to two factors—exploration and commitment—with 12 resulting dimensions (Phinney & Ong, 2007). The results for A'Gin were encouraging as a change to student responses to the MEIM-R showed a clear increase from pre- to post-project participation in students' sense of belonging.

The ACS is a 12-item quantitative assessment of awareness of connectedness developed by a team of researchers from three universities working with Alaskan Native youth. The measure has utility in the study of culture-specific protective factors and as an outcomes measure for behavioral health programs with Native American youth (Mohatt et al., 2011). The students in A'Gin, pre- and post-, indicated a gain in cultures-specific protective factors, and collectively, students showed gains in more than three quarters (78%) of the cultural connectedness measures after participating in the program. Although sample size precludes establishing statistical significance, the observed trends carried through to students' narrative responses, and it was clear to TWU that the A'Gin project made an impact on youth belonging and connectedness to their Tewa/ Pueblo communities.

TWU not only wanted our young people to experience the A'Gin project as recipients of the implementation of the adapted and enhanced curricula but as facilitators in its implementation to their peers. Training and engaging youth facilitators were major components of A'Gin. Thirty-five young women and men, representing various Pueblos, schools, and ages learned to facilitate the curriculum while developing leadership skills. This leadership component supported youth involvement in service learning and advocacy development for their own health and well-being, as well as that of their families and communities. Youth gave talks at state-wide and local youth gatherings and a Tribal Leadership Summit, spoke

with state legislative representatives, volunteered at TWUs Gathering for Mother EARTH and One Billion Rising, and participated in on-going facilitation and skills development trainings and meetings.

CONCLUSION AND PRAYER

Reflecting on our methodology, our stories, and the case of the A'gin project, which required negotiating with government and other institutional services, all demonstrate the complexities of a worthwhile journey for TWU and our Pueblos. In moments of frustration both within community work and dealing with external agencies, we called on the strength and *knowingness* of our ancestors and spirits to guide us and offer support. We kept our young people and the paradigm shift from a Culture of Violence to a Culture of Peace at the center of our intentions.

TWU joins the National Indian Child Welfare Association (NICWA) and other Native organizations that are asserting self-determination and self-governance by developing research methodologies centering Indigenous epistemologies and worldviews, for "standpoint dictates research practice" (Walter & Allen, 2013, p. 85). Furthermore, TWU is practicing sovereignty by identifying and developing best program practices for Tewa/Pueblo families and communities. Through the framework of *always becoming* and the development of the A'Gin Project, TWU is building organizational and community capacity for conducting (re)search and evaluation for culturally responsive, community-based programs/ projects, freeing us from the restrictive boundaries imposed by the Colonial White Supremacist Capitalist Scientist Patriarchal rulers of the newly-forged land of evidence-based and other trends that may also be creating space for themselves.

Our loving prayers and intentions remain to support our young people in claiming body sovereignty with self-determination and agency and to make decisions supporting their dreams and goals through culturally congruent curricula, enabling them to create awareness of the lived history of our Tewa/ Pueblo peoples and the strength of our cultural ways and practices; to create connections and sense of belonging to self, family and community; to create meaning that unfolds through language, story, and cultural practices; and to provide coping skills to handle grief and loss, trauma, stress and contradictions of life. As loving, caring adults it is our responsibility to do our healing in (re) claiming our language and passing on our Tewa/Pueblo ways of *knowingness*. So our young people grow strong into whom they were meant to be, as Tewah Towah, peoples of this land.

Our prayer:

May our children carry forward in a good way that shows their love for self, Our Mother Earth and those yet to come.

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NOTES

[1] TWU is located in the Espanola-Pojoaque Valley of northern New Mexico in Rio Arriba and northern Santa Fe counties, in the fifth largest state (by area) in the U.S. with a widely dispersed rural population. The Tewa Pueblos of Nambé, Ohkay Owingeh (formerly San Juan), Pojoaque, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, and Tesuque, as well as the Hopi-Tewa in Arizona are what remain from our Tewa speaking ancestors after colonization by the Spanish and U.S. governments.

[2] Throughout this chapter I use parentheses around the letters (re) in words such as "research" and "reclaim" to indicate active continual processes of growing, learning, changing and adapting.

[3] Throughout the chapter I use Wan Povi and Kathy interchangeably.

[4] I use phonetic spelling for Tewa as we do not have an official Tewa orthography. Any errors in conveying the Tewa language terms I wish to use in this chapter are my own.

[5] Relational-tivity is offered by Wan Povi to describe shared collective memory building, experiences as spirit rooted practices, simultaneity of reciprocity of energy fluidity, of mutuality in connectedness to all. In self should be the collective reflection of relating to the all. This replaces and heals collective trauma.

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SECTION III

RECONCEPTUALIZING LOCAL POLITICAL IDENTITIES

RICHARD LUARKIE

7. RETHINKING DATA THROUGH PUEBLO INTERPRETATIONS

ABSTRACT

This chapter explores the relationship between data and Pueblo peoples of New Mexico. It is based on a review of some existing explorations of research and Indigenous peoples and observations made through Pueblo leadership experiences. Pueblo data, as referred to in this chapter, are conceptualized broadly as culturally-based derivations, whereas data in reference to Western projects are referred more narrowly to policy-data relationships that have historically impacted Pueblo communities through dominant bureaucracies. As I consider data and analytics with regard to emerging ideas about Pueblo research, Pueblo cultural teachings frame my thought process; the work presented here has been inspired by and is concerned with definitions of data (dominant and Indigenous), how data have historically been utilized by Pueblo and Indigenous peoples, and how data have been exploited by the West in relation to Pueblo and Indigenous peoples. These questions are exploratory, but they challenge Pueblo peoples to revisit and redefine data along Pueblo cultural terms.

INTRODUCTION: PUEBLO PEOPLES AND DATA

Both my undergraduate and graduate degrees include study of economics. Economics is widely considered a social science, which uses tools of precision like econometrics. When I think about economics and the data that it both yields and draws from, I gravitate back to the oral teachings of my Pueblo upbringing: I think about the stories, history and terminology used when Pueblo elders and others have shared our teachings about the animals, the universe, plants, and our own unique behaviors. I also think about how our Pueblo worldview and languages are not based on absoluteness or exclusivity. This profoundly contrasts with Western dominant assumptions about data that often value absoluteness and exclusivity. It is rooted in a belief that there is always right and wrong, winner and loser, or a metric that says one conclusion is more valid than the next. Instead, Pueblo ways of thinking about information are based on a fuller, more holistic view that includes observation of behavior and purpose that contributes back to the community (Romero, 1994; Sando, 1992). Everything—in our view—has a purpose, a partner, and value; and it exists in a relationship. For example, in our Pueblo stories, the darkness and stars

E. S. Huaman & B. McK. J. Brayboy (Eds.), Indigenous Innovations in Higher Education, 125–141.

help one another, and the moon and sun are partners. Based on a Pueblo principle, the sun and moon both rise in the east and rest in the west. As they traverse above us, they carry and offer the following: light, protection, resource, information, and knowledge. Although sun and moon travel the same path, they cross paths only rarely in an eclipse. The eclipse brings information as well, if one knows what to look for. Like the sun and moon, data and analytics are relatives and bring value relative to a particular frame of reference.

In a Pueblo frame of holistic observation of our world and understanding of our place in it, we emphasize relevance of data or information, the value the information provides to a particular situation, our responsibility to the information, and respect for irrelevant information at the moment. From this perspective, when I think about data, I engage in a consideration process: (1) I consider the understanding or knowledge I am seeking; (2) I consider the sources of information used to gather these data, including oral tradition and unwritten sources; (3) and I do not discount any information, even what may be considered irrelevant at the time. Moreover, I consider the application of thought and spirituality to the information, not just what I want or expect to hear. Information in the Pueblo world does not exist on its own and carries this spiritual element at its core—the air, sky, sun, and our natural and human relatives all have information, and they must all be considered.

This chapter explores the relationship between data and Pueblo peoples of New Mexico and is based on a review of some existing explorations of research and Indigenous peoples, observations made during my time in Pueblo leadership, and examples that focus on the Pueblo of Laguna where I served as Governor for two terms. Pueblo data are conceptualized broadly as culturally-based derivations, whereas data in reference to Western projects are referred more narrowly to policy data that have historically and currently impacted Pueblo communities through dominant bureaucracies. As I consider data and analytics with regard to emerging ideas about Pueblo research, my cultural teachings frame my thought process, and the work presented here has been inspired by and is concerned throughout with the following questions:

1. *What are data—defined by dominant and Indigenous peoples?*
2. *How have data historically been used by Pueblo and Indigenous peoples?*
3. *How have data been exploited by the West in relation to Pueblo and Indigenous peoples?*

These questions are exploratory, but they challenge Pueblo peoples to revisit and redefine notions of data along Pueblo cultural terms. Drawing from a lens that includes Pueblo sociocultural interpretations, this chapter attempts to extrapolate the meaning of data, derived from and related to research, that has historically been conducted *on* Indigenous peoples, thus making them subjects rather than active stakeholders with their own histories of data and data collection. Scholars of Indigenous history and politics like Deloria called for this in seminal work questioning the relationship between the colonizer and his systematic categorization of American Indian peoples as inferior and our knowledge as non-existent (Deloria, 1988, 1997).

Similarly, Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars concerned with the direction of a number of social institutions have critically challenged lack of Indigenous representation, collaboration, and ownership in the development of those very institutions that have come to define Indigenous peoples in adverse ways or as deficient peoples. For example, the work of scholars like Eleanor Abrams, Bryan Brayboy, and Megan Bang (2014) questioned dominant constructions of science with problematic consequences for Indigenous student achievement that exclude Indigenous knowledge about the natural world. They called for a redefinition of science. Other scholars like K. Tsianina Lomawaima and Teresa McCarty called for Indigenous peoples and policymakers to revisit notions of education—questioning the impacts and purposes of this institution for Indigenous peoples (2006). Similarly, legal scholars like Wallace Coffey and Rebecca Tsosie (2001) called for a redefinition of tribal sovereignty beyond political sovereignty through tribal cultural sovereignty open to definition by tribes themselves. Furthermore, scholars like Gustavo Esteva (2010) and more recently, Elizabeth Sumida Huaman (2013, 2014, 2016), have called for redefining notions of development, globalization, and constructions of Indigenous peoples in policy. My work is inspired by these calls to rethink institutions that have appeared immovable, and here I call for Pueblo-based and Pueblo-derived definitions of data.

INDIGENOUS DATA: A HOLISTIC WORLD DATA-VIEW

Indigenous nations across the Americas and globally have cultural teachings, political histories, and their own ancestral technologies that may be recorded and passed from generation to generation using oral-based data sets, most commonly referred to as the oral tradition, which is distinct from the primarily European-introduced written or literary tradition. What I refer to here as Indigenous data sets are bodies of information held in stewardship by Indigenous peoples themselves. These data sets—sometimes referred to as "myth" or "legend"—can be physically situated and identified in the oral tradition and located through Indigenous languages and natural sites. I reject highly problematic terms like "myth" because they relegate Indigenous knowledge to mere superstition, failing to fully understand the coherence and evidence-based nature of how Indigenous peoples engage the world.

An orally-based society, such as the 19 Pueblos of New Mexico, have historically been guided by a *holistic world data-view*, which involves understanding information gathered from the universe through interpretation, inclusion, and flexibility. Such a *holistic world data-view* would have been, and often still remains, unrecognizable to positivists and the West because the gathering mechanisms and purposes of gaining information may depart from Western ideologies and methodologies (Smith, 1999; Walter & Anderson, 2013; Wilson, 2009). This way of viewing data also departs from notions of the absolute or goals of precision that are invalidated or validated by margins of error. In fact, in Pueblo orally-based societies, margins of error could be seen as opportunities for improvement and pockets of new and critical value

where creation of new value and solution to life issues are the desired outcome of data capture, access, and utilization. “Error” or a sense of variance is viewed as an opportunity, rather than a weakness.

In the Pueblo of Laguna, social and oral history regarding cultural practices was learned in homes and from extended family members. This ongoing process reflected an understanding of our survival as Pueblo peoples in what is now the state of New Mexico in the United States (Dozier, 1983). In our Pueblo communities where we both farmed and hunted, the harvest was utilized for the following: immediate and future nourishment, non-food resources, experimentation, and return to the land for its replenishment. When an animal was harvested, the obvious cuts of meat and desired organs that were edible were not the only things taken from the animal. Those items were taken and cooked, dried, stored, or shared with others when there was abundance. Other items like sinew were used for string; hide was turned into buckskin for clothes and moccasins; and horns and hoofs could be turned into tools. The items that were not edible or usable by the harvester were returned to the land with the hunters’ appreciation, and with the hope that there may be another animal or being that could make use of the items. There was value in every bit of the harvest. As a metaphor for data, anyone could potentially harvest. However, if we do not know how to use data to articulate positive solutions, gain value, or gain understanding and knowledge, the data are useless, notwithstanding the driver that led to the collection of data. Like the harvest, data and analytics are a part of our culture and way of life and are not new to the Pueblo people.

NARRATIVES: WAYS OF THINKING ABOUT DATA

Pueblo Narratives of Place

In the epistemological and spatial world of the Pueblo nations, there are a number of examples of how data and analytics are part of our heritage. One of the most impressionable of these may be Chaco Canyon, which is recognized as a World Heritage Centre[1] by the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Located in New Mexico and operated by the United States Bureau of Land Management (BLM), Chaco is a major Pueblo archaeological site that was a thriving center of trade and cultural activity from approximately 850 to 1250 AD, waning in activity in its later century according to both archaeological findings and Pueblo oral tradition (Mills, 2000). Chaco has been formally studied primarily by non-Pueblo and non-Indigenous Western researchers. These researchers were typically physical anthropologists, who have made varying “discoveries” about the site that validate evidence of Pueblo ceremonial and agricultural activities. The researchers have written extensively about the link between the peoples of Chaco and astronomy, demonstrating ancestral Pueblo calculations and study of the greater universe (Sofaer, 2007).

Chaco Canyon is one of the first physically significant examples of Pueblo data creation, capture, analytics, and utilization—a strong example of a holistic world

data-view. Still today, Chaco Canyon represents a distinct way of conceptualizing data for Indigenous peoples, as this place involved careful observation of the universe, drawings and depictions of these observations and patterns, as well as particular values linked with these processes—like patience and reliance on the gift of spirit and mind. What has become widely known as the Anasazi Sun Dagger demonstrates advanced data and analytic capabilities of that time period that are based in Pueblo cultural thought. Furthermore, those at Chaco also captured data points to track the movement of not only the sun, but also the moon—demonstrating the relationship between the sun and moon in the Pueblo world. Gathering these data ocurred over a long period of time, speaking to the conscientiousness and ability of Pueblo peoples to conduct longitudinal studies. Ultimately, these analytics provided the basis for the tracking of the summer and winter solstices and the cultural calendar, which are so important in Pueblo communities culturally and ceremonially. Other benefits that could have been derived from this type of data capture and analytics went to agriculture, hunting, and trade—the timing of planting seasons, the arrival of monsoons, hunting periods and times that would be best for gathering, and the best times to travel for trade. Likewise, these data and analytics also pointed out what should not be done in certain times of the year due to weather or other situations.

Ancestral Pueblo data and analytics are also evident through petroglyphs where data were used to tell a story of interconnectedness and *inter-being* with our surroundings: *Inter-being* implies that in Indigenous communities, by the very teaching of our creation, we *inter-are* with nature, spirituality, and the man-made human factions. Pueblo teachings around humankind's place in nature are that it is not a right to deem humanity as superior to everything else; instead it is a responsibility of humanity to understand with great depth and breadth of what our role and contribution is to society (Cajete, 1994; LaDuke, 2005). This global view and advanced application of data allowed our Pueblo ancestors to comprehend how humanity is supposed to *inter-be* with its surroundings and with one another.

Archaeologists Aguilar and Preucel (2013) argued a place-based approach towards understanding archaeological sites as more than just ancient sites containing past information and relics. They argued that "places embody history both physically and spiritual and that historical memories are given life when people re-encounter these places" (p. 268). When re-encountering Chaco, Pueblo peoples maintain a critical connection to our ancestors and what was built. Furthermore, because Aguilar and Preucel deepened their research through partnership with Pueblo communities—San Ildefonso and Cochiti, respectively—they included Pueblo places as more than just objects of study and Pueblo peoples as more than just descendants of those who built these structures. Speaking of the Pueblo Revolt period of the late 1600s, they offered a more profound understanding of the significance of Pueblo places relevant to the building *and re-building* of multiple structures in our world:

> Similarly, the organization and layout of pueblo villages are not simply responses to environmental considerations. They also embody the values and beliefs of the people who constructed and lived in them. According to this view, the building of new villages on sacred mesas, the orientations of the room blocks, the placement of the kivas and shrines, the entryways into the plazas, and the trail network are all part of how the Pueblo world was restored following the Revolt. (p. 289)

Such place-based approaches clearly yield rigorous empirical data while also honoring the relevancy between ancient structures and today's Pueblo people. Thus, the legacy of a holistic world data-view of ancient Pueblo peoples remains alive and accessible to contemporary generations who still practice the values evident in what appear to be abandoned archaeological structures today.

Personal Narratives

What I offer to the reconsideration of Pueblo data is a series of questions—what are data? How were data historically understood by Pueblo peoples? How have data been developed and exploited by the West in ways that have served to subjugate Pueblo and Indigenous peoples? Clearly these questions reflect an agenda, and so as Indigenous research calls for reflexivity (Kovach, 2010; Smith, 1999; Walter & Andersen, 2013; Wilson, 2009), outlining my background and experiences is an important step towards learning where and how my intentions emerged.

I have occupied different roles in my lifetime. I may be most known for serving two terms as the Governor of Laguna, a Pueblo of approximately 8500 enrolled tribal members in the southern part of Pueblo Country in New Mexico and approximately 40 miles from Albuquerque and 120 miles from the capital of Santa Fe. I am trained in business, economics, and technology and have experience in the formal schooling realm. But I am also a grandson, a son, a father, and a relative in my Pueblo. Raised in the village of Paraje, I was closely taught by my grandparents who instilled in me the Laguna Keres language. My grandparents never required me to speak the language, therefore I do not consider myself a fluent Keres speaker, but I was immersed in the thought embedded in the language and its application in our cultural life in the village. Because of this, I became a Keres language thinker—meaning my ways of viewing the world are often through a Keres language lens. Through my regular exposure to the teachings and lifestyle of my grandparents and the elders and community members that were a part of their network, I came to learn and know our ancestral Pueblo ways, which also include physical sites that are central to the worldview of Pueblo peoples. However, like other Indigenous people around the world, I learned in school and as a young adult that much of the interpretations of our culture were made by others and that we had little, if any contribution to this process. As a reflection, that realization is the impetus for my questioning—to challenge dominant ways of defining and using data, and most importantly, to work

to reclaim data *on* Pueblo people, especially that which is sought and created without our knowledge, and to promote data *generated by* Pueblo people.

One of the key pieces that Indigenous communities and scholars must rethink more broadly as we re-ignite the advanced and global use of data is to define data and analytics as Indigenous peoples and to articulate what these mean to Indigenous communities, and to do so starting with local definitions. To this point, I would argue that there is no other place to begin than with Pueblo Indian grandmas and grandpas, formally recognized Pueblo scholars, those community members that are keeping the home fires burning, and young Pueblo people—all of whom hold the collective minds and spirits of our people. In Indigenous communities, data and analytics equates to value and contribution, and opportunity for improvement. My argument is that data and analytics in Indigenous societies are a part of our intellectual DNA, which is our ability, based on gift of thought, to observe, to analyze, and to devise solutions based on the interrelationship of observation to our intellect or the practice of our *inter-being*.

Furthermore, there has been significant evidence mounted by Indigenous scholars regarding the ongoing and consistent misuse of data as a tool of oppression against Indigenous peoples. From Maori researchers like Graham H. Smith and Linda T. Smith to Native Hawaiian scholars like Noenoe Silva (2004) to more recent Pueblo scholarship in this edited volume, dominant notions of data and its collection are rightly challenged. Following this line of thought, *Indigenous data and analytic repatriation* calls for the need to return data and analytics that have been exploited by non-Indigenous peoples. As a former tribal leader and practitioner and believer in our traditional Pueblo Indigenous ways, I believe that it is incredibly important that we reclaim these data as communities and tribal nations and then re-engage in the advanced practices of our ancestors so that we can create our own data and tell our own story based on our own merits and metrics. Nowhere has the need for this process been clearer in my leadership experiences than the history and current practices of dominant and externally-collected data that is linked with policy.

The Rise of Dominant Policy Language

Having the honor to serve in a leadership role over several years and the opportunity to travel across the country, I have worked with Indigenous people in different contexts—including in business and government. I have seen Indigenous attorneys, medical doctors, scholars, teachers, parents, heavy equipment operators, small business owners, grandmas and grandpas, grandchildren, and those who speak their Indigenous languages, discuss ideas and solutions to community problems, willing to do their part to address them. In my travels, these people have all shared their warmth, which also serves as inspiration to my work.

Our Pueblos are tribal nations that have an abundance of natural and recreational resources, like wildlife and trophy hunting, large oil and gas reserves, and some of the most enchanting landscapes that serve the film industry—and many have learned

over the past few decades how to capitalize on these (Cornell & Kalt, 1995). At the same time, in our communities, there are people that are providing for their families, paying bills, holding jobs, caring for aging parents, helping their children with homework, continually teaching our Indigenous customs and traditions, and living decent lives. However, when data collected and analyzed by primarily non-Indigenous social and natural scientists tell the story of Pueblo people, it is often that of deficit and deprivation, low levels of education attainment, health disparities, and impoverishment. This is no different for many other Indigenous populations around the world. Only recently has more empirical research on research pointed this out—for example, Walter and Andersen (2013) examined this deficit approach and its implications on the external and internalized perceptions of Indigenous societies.

The deficit approach has yielded ways of describing our Pueblo communities as riddled with social ills, our people as generally in poverty, and our youth as at risk. Sumida Huaman, Martin, and Chosa (2016) deconstructed the labeling of Pueblo people, especially youth as disadvantaged and at risk populations whereby the need to rethink how we are referred to as Indigenous peoples and how we then refer to ourselves is clear. They also openly challenged policy language that relegates Pueblo youth to recipients in need of help or subjects in need of intervention rather than actors who are, in fact, agents of social change. This chapter adds to this by focusing on the relationship between dominant data, connotations derived, and the consequences of these constructions for Pueblo people.

I also argue that we have the tools with which to respond to externally created constructions. We can look within our languages in order to understand our own worldviews that speak to such constructions. For example, what is so intriguing in the Laguna Keres context is that we do not have a word that directly translates to poverty. Poverty can be described, and there are other Keres terms that directly translate to having "pity" for someone, but nothing that directly translates to poverty. These distinctions challenge us to consider if and how we have become so brainwashed that we have normalized seeing and defining our own communities as "impoverished," when in fact, we have abundance in other elements we may no longer recognize. For too long, others have extracted data from and about our Indigenous communities, ultimately fueling false validation that Indigenous communities do not have the level of sophistication or competency to do data collection, analytics, interpretation or application of data for ourselves. This perpetuates a cycle of our purported ignorance and encases us in those labels over which we have limited control. Moreover, this dominant data practice has encouraged and inspired Indigenous policy and decisions that perpetuate deficit and subordination.

As a tribal leader, I have seen internal workings and led and heard deliberations of tribal policy development where the interplay of data and labeling—both historical and contemporary— continue to influence how we view our tribal communities. Historical and current examples demonstrate this vicious cycle quite clearly, and it appears that we have no choice but to perpetuate this process ourselves. For example, today, when Pueblo groups pursue grant funding, it is important to tell the

funding organization how 'bad off' your community is. The worse off a community or organization is, the better chance of being funded. Pueblo tribal policy in turn has taken up this mindset by creating local policy and tribal law that enforces the standards of being 'low-income' or 'deprived' of some resource in order to qualify for housing to scholarships. This practice has deep roots related to external data collection and subsequent labeling, and in this section I offer discussion of a few examples that demonstrate this trajectory: the Meriam Report, the current status of housing debates in the Pueblos, and a New Mexico data oversight case.

The Meriam Report and 'Poverty'

The Meriam Report, published in 1928, was the first federal government study to demonstrate with extensive data, quantitative and qualitative, that federal Indian policy in the 19th century had resulted in a travesty of justice to Native Americans. This report, which showed paternalism of the federal government since the passage of the Dawes Act in 1887, revealed a national scandal. The report described the poor living conditions on U.S. reservations, terrible disease and death rates, grossly inadequate care of the Indian children in the boarding schools, and the destructive effects of the erosion of Indian land caused by previous U.S. policy towards its Native peoples, such as through the General Allotment Act (the Dawes Act). While the report pointed out real and problematic shortcomings and errors in policymaking and policy enactment on the part of the U.S. government, it also participated in characterizing American Indians thusly:

> Several past policies adopted by the government in dealing with the Indians have been of a type which, if long continued, *would tend to pauperize any race*. Most notable was the practice of issuing rations to able-bodied Indians. Having moved the Indians from their ancestral lands to restricted reservations as a war measure, the government undertook to feed them and to perform certain services for them, *which a normal people do for themselves*. The Indians at the outset had to accept this aid as a matter of necessity, but promptly they came to regard it as a matter of right, as indeed it was at the time and under the conditions of the inauguration of the ration system. *They felt, and many of them still feel, that the government owes them a living, having taken their lands from them, and that they are under no obligation to support themselves*. They have thus *inevitably developed a pauper point of view*. When the government adopted the policy of individual ownership of the land on the reservations, the expectation was that the Indians would become farmers. Part of the plan was to instruct and aid them in agriculture, but this vital part was not pressed with vigor and intelligence. It almost seems as if the government assumed that some magic in individual ownership of property would in itself prove an educational civilizing factor, but unfortunately this policy has for the most part operated in the opposite direction. (p. 7, my emphasis[2])

Outlined here, among other issues, is the complex array of factors that created dependency conditions for American Indians in the U.S. At the same time, while the Report produced some important responses to U.S. federal policymakers regarding their treatment of American Indians, there remains a cautionary tale here in that American Indian populations like the Pueblos were damaged by both policies and the language used to report their impacts. The production and dissemination of this Report and others like it is that although such documents may have examined injustice and resulting poverty, they may also produce poverty.

Similarly, Esteva (2010) discussed the idea of underdevelopment created in the post-World War II era by what are now known as First World or developed nations. In the way that Esteva pointed to a certain historical period when underdevelopment was created in policy language, the idea of poverty in Pueblo communities can also be traced to U.S. federal Indian policy language. The creation of poverty in Pueblo communities is directly related to our own (and other) ideas about limitation—what is and is not possible within our Pueblos today. Limitation is powerful, and indeed, constructions about Indigenous peoples have a role in sustaining limitations worldwide, especially when we are not able to define how we see ourselves and what we desire for our communities. Along these lines, Sumida Huaman (2013) noted the following through her comparative research work with Indigenous peoples in Peru and the U.S. and the social policies and globalization processes that heavily impact community rights to redefine development, for example, for their own purposes:

> Comparative analysis of policies presents examples of lessons learned in the experience of other Indigenous peoples, in this case in the United States. They have been subjected to assimilationist tendencies and now favorable policy talk, both of which reflect the power of others over Indigenous peoples, as well as formulaic strategies for dealing with Indigenous populations. The formula entails colonial and industrial approaches to development and continuous and often simultaneous attacks on Indigenous governance, lands, languages, and knowledge. There are, however, important Indigenous responses…that demonstrate how Indigenous perspectives, meaning worldviews that merge Indigenous epistemologies with critical commentary on the current status of Indigenous peoples, can turn the "Indigenous problem" into a question of social justice and the responsibility of all citizens. (p. 20)

What is interesting about this type of research is that although there are colonial and powerful global economic forces that in many ways dictate the participation of Indigenous peoples in development and other agendas where they are characterized negatively and where the resources most precious to them are jeopardized (governance, lands, language, knowledge), there are Indigenous responses.

A critical piece that relates explorations of colonial powers, poverty and development, and Pueblo responses is how articulation of data is symbiotic with policy reporting and language, which validates problems and not solutions. Only certain narratives of history are privileged when it comes to conversations about

Pueblo populations—meaning the power lies in the telling and re-telling of the past. For example, in the Meriam Report, the predominant conclusion indicates that, "Having moved the Indians from their ancestral lands to restricted reservations [was] a war measure" (1928, p. 7). As this relates to the Pueblo nations, the Pueblo people remained (and still do) where the Spanish, Mexican, and U.S. federal governments found them over several hundred years ago. Pueblo people were already advanced farmers and solid stewards of the land, resources and their economy. Traditional governance systems allowed for structure, resource management, and leadership stability.

Pueblo Housing Debates

In the Pueblos and other American Indian communities today, housing (including substandard housing) and overcrowding are an issue and are reported as such in U.S. federal government reports like the census, NAHASDA, and other reports. While substandard housing is problematic, culturally appropriate housing draws less attention but is important to communities like the Pueblos who have attempted to maintain or recover more traditional housing infrastructure. Lorenzo's research and community work (2016) in the Laguna village of Paguate demonstrates community member priorities around the restoration and preservation of traditional Pueblo adobe homes and the ways in which these homes and their construction are a reflection of our relationship to the earth, our Mother.

Within the home, there was a time in Pueblo cultural history when grandma and grandpa lived in the home, along with mom and dad. In Laguna and other Pueblos today, we note that this is how language was passed on, as well as lessons of how we should conduct ourselves, and family and community history (Romero, 1994; Sims, 2001). Today, external metrics describe conditions of overcrowded living as contributing to unhealthy and unsafe living conditions. As a result, the sweeping conclusion is that more low-income housing is needed in Indian country to resolve overcrowding. However, in 2012, Laguna held a Convocation, a gathering of all Pueblo community members, tribal and program administrators, and researchers and field experts to discuss governance, housing, education, language, economic development, and health. At this gathering of Laguna peoples, we acknowledged that the U.S. federal government approach to housing development in our communities has been among the most devastating contributors to the loss of language, family structure, and communal stability. Because federal housing programs created sub-division models within our Pueblos, which lacked acknowledgement of the Pueblo worldview linked with community design, the heart of the village has shifted (Lorenzo, 2016). Grandma and grandpa have been left in what Lorenzo referred to as the core or center region of the village while their grandchildren live in subdivisions, losing daily intergenerational connections. While federal support of housing or acknowledgement of American Indian economic advancement is critical in terms of the U.S. trust obligation[3] to American Indian and Pueblo peoples,

cultural understanding of how to address these issues in contemporary times, given the revitalization and preservation needs of Pueblo and other tribal peoples, is also central. Data and analytics informing research and reports would paint a very different picture if told by our own people.

New Mexico Data

In 2015, a major oversight committed by the Census bureau in New Mexico came to light, which was damaging to Pueblo and Indigenous populations in the state. On the census form, individuals had the option to select a mixed-race identity. However, if a Pueblo enrolled tribal member also had non-Native blood and selected the mixed race mixed with Hispanic categories, the person was not regarded officially as an American Indian by the state. Challenges to this became controversial and emotional. The work of Michele Suina (2015) examined this case through a policy recommendation that insisted on Pueblo consultation and participation in this and future data collection.

As Pueblo peoples and researchers, a case like this raises many questions: Was this omission and disregard of the layers of Indigenous identity intentional? Was the inaccurate categorization of our people an unintended outcome, and if so, how could this have been avoided? Where else do we see this type of problematic oversight of data that directly impacts Pueblo peoples and our statistical significance in the state? How does Pueblo identity at all get captured and measured, and what does it mean to even attempt to measure this in our communities? Relatedly, Isleta scholar, Shawn Abeita (2015), asked these types of questions around blood quantum measurements used by Pueblo communities in order to determine membership and ultimately affiliation, which can impact the extent of cultural and political participation that a Pueblo person can have in their home community. He juxtaposed externally imposed metrics with notions of *Pueblo belonging*. Clearly the work in front of us is complex and overlapping, and these are necessary explorations that at their core ask what measurement means to Pueblo peoples.

DISCUSSION

Alternatives and More Questions

There is no doubt that there are problematic social, economic, and political conditions in Pueblo and other Indigenous communities today. However, as Esteva challenged us, as Pueblo peoples we ourselves can revisit the definitions of the language that limits us, and as I argue, the data that continues to shape individuals and our communities. Are there alternatives? Indigenous nations must also re-think participation in big data and analytics. By allowing others to control data collection, analysis, and subsequent reporting, Pueblo nations give permission to others to continue interpreting our world. The stories that are told work to subordinate and limit our Pueblos and do not allow

for empowerment and emancipation of the mind to overcome our deficit identities. We come from a bloodline of people who figured out the solstice patterns through data and analytics, understood astronomy, could predict weather patterns, and could articulate the inter-relationships and impact of all these forces with some sense of accuracy and confidence. Our knowledge and our development and use of data to obtain this knowledge helped to build stability in community, economies, and spirituality. It is time we re-emerge these inherent talents for the continued advancement of our nations.

Interest in Indigenous data and analytics is creating a similar swell of excitement that could go viral across Indigenous territories when the value of examining the entirety of what these bring is clearly and broadly articulated. Currently, the idea of access to data is a concern with regards to advocacy, and there are Indigenous peoples and researchers, and non-Indigenous allies who are working in these areas. The National Congress of American Indians[4] (NCAI) in Washington D.C. is doing a great deal of work around these issues, particularly the relationship between research, researchers, who should be doing research, how research should be done in American Indian and Alaska Native communities, who should own research and why, how to protect communities, and perhaps most importantly, the relationship between research and policy development. Because of their ability to work with many different tribal nations, the connections and resources that they provide are vital to what Pueblo nations might pursue and develop as well.

In many ways, access to public data has been omnipresent, and unfortunately, Indigenous nations have not largely engaged in a level of access that has resulted in what might be considered game-changing strategies, investment models, and forecasting or economic advancement methodologies. Part of this reason may be due to the link between historical dependency and the trust obligation of the United States to the Indigenous nations, whereby Indigenous peoples are actually owed a series of responsibilities that are supposed to be carried out by the U.S. government. To a certain degree, especially regarding treaty rights, the argument that American Indian populations and governments are owed caretaking by the U.S. government is true. But at the same time, such a mindset is troubling and should not be to the detriment of our own advancement as Indigenous peoples exercising self-determination. So perhaps linked with dependency, total Pueblo ownership of data that we see in policy language is relatively new, and there are fears regarding the use and exposure of data. In my work as a tribal leader, I understand the perceived fear to be that if data is exposed that tell a different story from what we are characterized as, this could result in decreases to federal funding and other resources. However, exposed or not, federal resources to Indigenous nations have steadily declined over the years, and federal policy support oscillates. Contrary to the flag of sovereignty and self-determination that is so strongly waved by both the federal government and tribal nations attempting to regain control of their own governments and pieces of their societies, fear of losing federal dollars should not be a deterrent to our own advancement: Federal dollars as the final determinant of whether or not Indigenous advancement and success will be achieved is a faltered strategy.

Another contributor to the intentional minimal control of data and analytics by Indigenous nations is what to do with data once retrieved. To have Pueblo value and relevance, Pueblo people will need to articulate definition and utilization of our own data. Data must be first defined then used to reframe and refocus our outlook on policy and advancement. Data can be used to allow for the creation of a figurative mirror that will allow us to critically question our internal policies and behaviors. For example, we may ask: Has the system and practice of federal dollars and aid provided to Pueblo communities actually caused improvement and innovation in our communities? With fewer federal funds available, what inherent talents and resources will we draw upon to sustain and advance ourselves, how so, and what are some practices in this regard?

Pueblo communities are beginning to re-examine what is most important to us culturally, socially, and economically. Clearly outlined by Pueblo leaders today is concern about Pueblo languages, which are unique and spoken by only Pueblo peoples in this southwestern region of the United States and in Pueblo communities (Romero, 1994, 2008; Sims, 2001; Sumida Huaman, 2014). Some Pueblos have only a handful of speakers left, while others have speakers numbering in the low thousands. At this time, Pueblo language programs both in school and in communities are growing and strengthening. This may reflect that a reconnection to culture and tradition is being renewed, and education linked with cultural well-being appears to be a priority, and community sharing in addressing these challenges is required (Lee, 2009; Suina, 2008; Sumida Huaman et al., 2016). Data and analytics can help identify solutions for overcoming Pueblo limiting self-impositions that contribute to language loss. What this might mean is that no longer should or do dominant notions of what a Pueblo community *is* circulate around unemployment rates or poverty guidelines and drive data collection.

Rebuilding Our Holistic World Data-View

For Pueblo nations, it is critical to not only have access to data but equally important to know what to do with data through identified outcomes and goals that will have a positive impact in our communities. Also important in this process is what gets defined as a metric that creates value and relevance. These are foundational to rebuilding our *holistic world data-view*. The deficit model that Indigenous scholars like Linda T. Smith (1999) and Walter and Anderson (2013) discussed eloquently is a model that perpetuates poverty, limitation, subordination, and dependency. The metrics commonly used and normalized to illustrate the status of Pueblo nations must be revisited and redefined by Pueblo communities themselves.

For example, a metric that is not captured now is how well Pueblo nations and citizens are taking care of ourselves in the non-formal economy. Industries like tourism are measured from a more global scale, but what about local artisans selling jewelry and traditional foods—like Pueblo bread, pies, or chile, or the local

ranchers? Our people are market contributors adding to the diversity of Pueblo societal advancement and economic diversification and may be some of the best stewards of local resources and innovation. These are areas of data collection that have been ignored, perhaps not only because they are not aligned with the "poverty" designation, but also because Indigenous peoples are largely viewed by dominant society and its data collectors as not statistically significant. Until we tell our stories ourselves, others will continue telling our story for us.

CONCLUSION: DATA MIND AND DATA POLICY

Our current challenge is how to gain control and participation, to identify questions, and explore solutions from within Pueblo communities—not simply because data is a buzz-word, but because data and analytics framed with value and relevancy can address historical policy wrongs and our desires for social, economic, educational, and identity advancement. There are many examples of Indigenous data exploitation that have resulted from previous agreements and promises from external researchers—from early and historical reports to the current status of our housing and financial policies. Historically, data has been used as a tool of detriment for Pueblo nations who have been assigned labels that characterize us so deeply that we now characterize ourselves in policy and funding language in the same way. Pueblo communities have an opportunity to redefine data according to our own worldviews and interests—fundamentally based in our principles and values as Pueblo people—our own *holistic world data-view*. At the same time, we can create policy that reclaims data already collected and exploited by others through a new repatriation process while we also find ways to protect our data. We can develop and maintain solid base-line policy as the 19 Pueblos of New Mexico that is also local and specific to individual Pueblos, and we can do so with conscientiousness towards feasibility and capacity that ensures future generations will manage the process themselves.

The ancestors of Chaco Canyon and those that came before us laid a path marked with intellect, confidence, vision, and reliance on our own data and knowledge. They included purpose as a central component to data and analytics, and there was an intended outcome with spiritual and cultural benefit. So what gave the ancestors the idea that tracking the movement of the sun and the moon would generate benefits to society? This same curiosity and desire for the well-being of our nations is rediscoverable. As our Pueblo ancestors did with the Sun Dagger, reflecting keen understanding of what the West defines as astronomy and other areas of scientific advancement, we can reignite understanding of the incredibly profound gift of data, emerge definitions together, and promote global Indigenous understanding of how we tell our own data story and appropriate metrics to articulate and illustrate the intellect, talents, and advances of what Indigenous nations are and can be.

NOTES

[1] For more information on Chaco by UNESCO see: http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/353

[2] I have chosen to use a full description of the quote because I believe that reading from the report directly is powerful—visually seeing how American Indian people were framed in the historical narrative is a critical step towards understanding the deep-rooted ways in which colonizing and dominant populations have constructed views about us.

[3] These include protection of lands, healthcare, civil rights, to name a few. These obligations can found in a number of sources such as the 1831 Trust Doctrine, P.L. 93-638 The Indian Self Determination and Education Act, and the Indian Civil Rights Act.

[4] For more information, refer to the NCAI and their work on tribal research (http://www.ncai.org/initiatives/ncai-policy-research-center).

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8. RECONSIDERING PUEBLO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND CITIZENSHIP

ABSTRACT

Based on archival research and qualitative explorations, I describe one example of economic development and its direct and indirect relationship to determinations of citizenship in a southern Pueblo in the state of New Mexico. I aim to discuss how increasing tensions around ideas of belonging have emerged, potentially creating lasting impacts on community members whose identities appear in flux. This work delves into how the political power of Pueblos nations has been reduced, which has repercussions for current nation building initiatives. I am motivated by critical questions such as, how has U.S. federal Indian policy imposed upon Pueblo sovereignty and how might a Pueblo strengthen and assert worldview in response? I seek to expand on the relationship between sovereignty, Pueblo citizenship, and economic development. Accordingly, I approach this through discussion of Pueblo community economies and colonialism, and I also use a lens of Indigenous nation building, drawing from one example taken from another country in order to broaden the conversation on Indigenous economic development as related to citizenship and how these ideas are being explicitly addressed elsewhere. I also offer a reflection on meanings of tribal citizenship in today's local yet global economically-driven environment where federal policies that are tribally regulated, like blood quantum, have drastically changed the makeup of Pueblos and compromised our Pueblo worldview.

INTRODUCTION: FREEDOM, SELF-DETERMINATION, CITIZENSHIP, AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

> Indigenous pathways for authentic action and freedom struggle start with people transcending colonialism on an individual basis – a strength that soon reverberates outward from the self to family, clan, community and into all of the broader relationships that form an Indigenous existence. In this way, Indigenousness is reconstructed, reshaped and actively lived as resurgence against dispossessing and demeaning processes of annihilation that are inherent to colonialism. (Alfred & Corntassel, 2005, p. 612)

On a global scale, colonial strategies applied by national governments to Indigenous communities, have caused, among other problems, damage to freedom and self-determination of these communities (Smith, 1999). Freedom is the ability of

E. S. Huaman & B. McK. J. Brayboy (Eds.), Indigenous Innovations in Higher Education, 143–164.

Indigenous peoples to live life independently of colonial tyranny and in accordance with their cultural values and worldviews in a way that reflects their understanding of relationships between people and with their environment. As scholars Alfred (Mohawk) and Corntassel (Cherokee) argued, achieving freedom is deeply rooted in Indigenous desires to move beyond the difficult deceptions, pains, and harms that characterize colonization, which have moved Indigenous peoples to the margins (2005). In their work on Indigenous resistances to legacies of colonization, Alfred and Corntassel also offered critical ideas for working towards freedom through reconstructing "Indigenousness"—moving from the individual to the community and beyond. It is critical for Indigenous scholars to reconsider some of the most pressing ways that Indigenous peoples and their relationships to each other and community have been disrupted. Therefore, this chapter highlights two complex and interrelated areas of colonial disruption of Pueblo Indian autonomy and self-determination—Western constructions of economic development and dominant notions of citizenship. Based on archival research and qualitative explorations, I argue that these areas represent a troubling departure from Pueblo culturally-based constructions of individuals *and* community and individuals *in* community while also representing negotiation and accommodation. By describing one example of economic development and its direct and indirect relationship to determinations of citizenship in a southern Pueblo in New Mexico, I discuss increasing tensions around ideas of belonging, impacting community members whose identities appear in flux. This work also acknowledges the reduction of power of the Pueblos, which has repercussions for current nation building initiatives that involve citizenship—meaning how we define who is a part of our nation, and how citizenship is linked with the development of this nation—more specifically through economic development.

In this chapter, I am motivated by critical questions such as, how has U.S. federal Indian policy imposed upon Pueblo sovereignty, and how Pueblos might strengthen and assert worldview in response. I seek to expand on the relationship between sovereignty, Pueblo citizenship, and economic development. Accordingly, I approach this through brief discussion of Pueblo community economies prior to Western European contact and how the history of colonialism has interfaced with one Pueblo's dynamic since that time period. I also use a lens of Indigenous nation building, drawing from an international example (Bhutan) in order to broaden the conversation on Indigenous economic development as related to citizenship and how these ideas are explicitly addressed elsewhere. My goal is not to compare Pueblo nations with other nations but to review some theoretical concepts that may be useful for Pueblo peoples considering/reconsidering development.

I argue that the dominant "traditional" or culturally based economic practices of Pueblos like my own have largely transitioned to a Western capitalistic system that tribal members have embraced. I do not speak for all Pueblos or Pueblo people but only offer a reflection on meanings of tribal citizenship in today's local yet global economically-driven environment where federal policies that are tribally regulated, including blood quantum, are changing the makeup of Pueblos and compromising

Pueblo worldviews. My stance is clear that the value of an individual is ultimately no longer weighted on service and contribution to the Pueblo community, but rather defined through a quantifiable method used to determine who is Indian and who is not. In essence, such a trajectory of forced policy intermingled in a complex socioeconomic and political web diminishes possibilities for Pueblos to exercise sovereignty and to grow their economies as distinct peoples.

POLICY AND CONTEXT IN THE 19 PUEBLOS OF NEW MEXICO

In the U.S., over 500 federally recognized tribes are the remnants of Indigenous nations that have experienced the stripping of freedom by colonizing forces (Deloria, 1969). Among these nations are the 19 Pueblos of New Mexico. In the early twentieth century, all of these Pueblos (which numbered in the hundreds or more prior to European conquest) still lived a life of subsistence agriculture (Dozier, 1970). Community members lived in a tight-knit community where the *plaza* was the center of the Pueblo's social and cultural world and acted as a public space for the gathering and sharing of ideas (Lorenzo, 2016).

Pueblo "economic" systems (for lack of a better term) need to be viewed as distinct from current Western paradigms of economic development in that prior to colonization, our Indigenous epistemologies philosophized and instructed that all elements in the world had a functional relationship that was spiritually-rooted; furthermore, our communities could not exist without proper stewardship and care of Mother Earth (Cajete, 1994). Contrary to modern Western ideas of land and resource exploitation and extraction for capital gain alone, Pueblo "economic development" might be compared with what we understand today as sustainability.

For example, in New Mexico, Pueblo Indian nations have been practicing agriculture for thousands of years. Although today the level of participation in agriculture varies for a variety of reasons—including shifts to wage labor and loss of farming land (Dozier, 1970; Romero, 2003; Sumida Huaman, 2011)—the transfer of the significance of farming to our cultural lives still exists, primarily because agricultural production literally and metaphorically feeds Pueblo cultural and spiritual cycles:

> While farming is no longer the primary economic occupation of the Pueblos, it is interesting that an indigenous religion and ceremonialism developed an agricultural society persists among them. Undoubtedly the adherents of Pueblo religion have made some reinterpretation of both beliefs and practices. One obvious function that Pueblo ritualism still affords its members, whether farmers or not, is a recreational outlet and the reiteration of communal identity and unity. (Dozier, 1970, p. 10)

What can be gleaned from ethnographic descriptions of Pueblo life ways, even altered as they are from generation to generation, is that Pueblo nations have a cherished relationship to the land that is inherently globally-conscious. For example,

Pueblo children are taught about our place in the world and the relationships that people and places elsewhere have to us through our very connection to the land (Cajete, 1994; Romero, 2003; Suina, 1994). Any conceptualization of economic or community development would then first already be globally-situated and second, strengthened because of our cultural resolve. At the same time, the stark reality is that if Pueblo nations are to advance economically in the Western sense of capital gain and be viable in the global market place, a nation-building approach with a distinct focus on developing sectors of Pueblo and local economies is going to be a focal point in the planning of policy by tribal leaders.

Sando, a scholar from Jemez Pueblo wrote prolifically about Pueblo peoples in the Southwestern U.S. and noted that the aboriginal people of the Western hemisphere had pre-existing (prior to European contact) social structures and economies, due in part to their long history in the region, ten thousand years before Christ (Sando, 1992). He also mentioned that linked with their history in the region, the Pueblo social structure relied on Indigenous languages in all aspects of their worldviews, and that it was nearly impossible to separate Pueblo religion from the everyday use of their languages (Sando, 1992). This adds a strong linguistic dimension to the social, spiritual, and daily life structure of Pueblo communities; meaning that we can begin to see Pueblo livelihood as intertwined and multifaceted, so any discussion of economic development or politics would be linked with spirituality and language per se. Another Pueblo scholar, Alfonso Ortiz, also summarized the functionality between everyday life and the spirituality of the communities: "Here, as the Tewa term it, 'all paths rejoin,' for only by reference to these highest categories of being can the rules of governing conduct, thought and belief in the Tewa world be fully understood, so thoroughly do they permeate the other categories" (1969, p. 9).

This permeation of Pueblo worldview and its expressions through any of the five Pueblo languages (Zuni, Tiwa, Towa, Keres, and Tewa) and the intrinsic relationship the community has to the land are key concepts to this discussion because they exemplify what constitutes Pueblo culture. Further, expressions of Pueblo culture focus on relationships that Pueblo people have to their communities through involved processes that include community participation through expressions like ceremonies, song, and dance. These are ties to a deeper cultural foundation and total makeup of the Pueblo communities as cultural communities where spirituality is at the core of Pueblo peoples' lives. However, Pueblo people are concerned because the influences of dominant Western society's encroachment on Pueblo lifeways through forced schooling, language loss, and economic assimilation have been so problematic (Cajete, 1994; Romero, 1994). Additionally, population decline is a great challenge. Dr. Ted Jojola, a scholar of Indigenous community planning, recently reported, "Pueblo communities in New Mexico are experiencing a negative birthrate and a decline in their overall populations" (Pueblo Convocation, April 2012). The implication of this statement for Pueblo communities is important because at a practical level, a healthy and thriving community and the sustainability

of its cultural life ways, including agricultural practices, for example, relies on a steady population.

In the larger context of a globalized society, what might the gradual disappearance of small communities like the Pueblos mean? Globalization has connected the world as never seen before in all of human history, and as a social, economic, and technological force, its processes interact with people's decisions about how to live their lives and how they see themselves in a world beyond the reservation boundaries. Indigenous peoples have been impacted in unprecedented ways through the increased inequalities created by globalization of which they are not always a part but are subjected to as their lands and resources are continuously stripped from them (Mander & Tauli-Corpus, 2006). Citizenship and participation more broadly speaking—tribal citizens and global citizens—then becomes a more convoluted topic not exclusive to the Pueblos, but relevant for all nations.

In my own Pueblo, a political discussion about how to restructure tribal membership has become a pressing issue, and in many ways, community members are talking about tribal membership using many angles—culturally (according to Pueblo oral tradition and epistemology), politically (according to ideas of tribal voting rights), economically (according to tribal revenue and distribution of funding and services), and socially (according to family and friendship ties). And in their own ways, community members are also asking how the future will unfold if the current blood quantum policies remain in place and if they change. My concern remains focused on what blood quantum reflects politically and historically and then how such policies affect Pueblo worldviews, which in turn impact how we choose to develop as nations.

Pueblos as Nations

Of tribal nation building, Lumbee scholar, Bryan McKinley Jones Brayboy (2012) stated:

> We understand nation building as the conscious and focused application of Indigenous people's collective resources, energies and knowledge to the task of liberating and developing the psychic and physical space that is identified as their own. The process of nation building consist of many layers, including development of behaviors, values, language, institutions, and physical structures that elucidate the community's history and culture, infuse and protect knowledge of the past in-present day practices, and *ensure the future identity and independence of the nation.* (p. 12, my emphasis)

Key in Brayboy's definition of nation building is a drive towards ensuring the identity and independence of the nation. However, as is the case with other tribes in the U.S., Pueblos remain subjected to federal government legislation of what constitutes our identity—our "Indianness" is an ongoing debate buried in a bureaucratic process. Lomawaima and McCarty (2006) wrote about the relationship between American

Indian identity, schooling, and the federal government's deliberate construction of Indian identities as either "safe" or "dangerous." A Pueblo person constructed and controlled by White paternalistic political and economic restrictions is a safe Indian who does not threaten dominant power.

Blood Quantum policy is a result of such federal constructions and is historically based on the U.S. federal government's economic interest in American Indian land and natural resources. If, however, construction of identity in Pueblo nations is culturally based on the preservation of the Pueblo worldview as paramount, one strategy towards deconstructing colonialism and constructing an Indigenous nation is to consider ways to cultivate and care for the whole tribe—every single individual. Along these lines, many scholars and activists, including feminist researchers (hooks, 1989; Moghadam, 2005), have called for new methods to consider tribal membership other than relying on blood quantum. Despite these efforts and those in tribal communities today to revisit criteria for tribal membership, including my own work on notions of belonging (Abeita, 2015) as an alternative to the blood quantum equals citizenship formulation, there are clear indications regarding the fractionalization of blood. For example, my own Pueblo's Constitution deals with tribal membership and outlines explicit blood measurements for membership:

> The following persons shall be members of the Pueblo of Isleta, provided such persons shall not have renounced, or do not hereafter renounce their membership by joining another tribe or pueblo, or otherwise:
>
> Section 1. Persons of one-half (1/2) or more degree of Isleta Indian blood and Isleta parentage shall be members of the Pueblo of Isleta, provided they have not renounced their right to membership;
>
> Section 2. All persons of one-half (1/2) or more degree of Isleta Indian blood whose names appear on the official census roll maintained by Southern Pueblos Agency, as of January 1, 1970;
>
> Section 3. Any person of one-half (1/2) or more degree of Isleta Indian blood born after January 1, 1970;
>
> Section 4. Any person of one-half (1/2) or more degree of Indian blood who is hereafter naturalized or adopted in conformity with an appropriate ordinance of the council or according to the laws and traditions of the Pueblo of Isleta.
>
> Section 5. No person shall be or become a member of the Pueblo of Isleta who is an enrolled member of any other Indian tribe or pueblo.
>
> Section 6. Non-Indians shall never become members of the Pueblo of Isleta.
>
> Section 7. The council shall have the power to adopt ordinances consistent with this constitution, to govern future membership, loss of membership and the adoption or naturalization of members into the Pueblo of Isleta, and to govern the compilation and maintenance of a tribal roll.

> Section 8. No decree of any non-tribal court purporting to determine membership in the pueblo, paternity or degree of Isleta Indian blood shall be recognized for membership purposes. The council shall have original jurisdiction and sole authority to determine eligibility for enrollment for all tribal purposes except where the membership of the individual is dependent upon an issue of paternity, in which case the courts of the pueblo shall have authority and exclusive jurisdiction. (Constitution for the Pueblo of Isleta, New Mexico, Preamble, Article II: Membership).

This demonstrates how citizenship is currently framed through blood quantum, which refers back to tribal and historical population rolls that prove lineage and percentage of 'Indianness".

As an alternative, being discussed by Pueblo peoples through forums like The Leadership Institute at the Santa Fe Indian School (LI), is that our nations can determine their requirements for membership by aligning policy with traditional core values (Regis Pecos, Pueblo Convocation, April 2012). If people identify with a family/a clan and they respect the traditions of the community, these can be criteria for membership. Being a Pueblo person cannot mean percentage of Indian blood only; rather, what makes Pueblo people is relationship to the community, to the land, which enforces the community's worldview. This belief is dependent on how that person is representing where they come from in a positive light by contributing to the community through public service.

PUEBLO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: CHALLENGES AND PROPOSALS

While there are family kinship and cultural reasons for affiliation with a Pueblo, there are also clear local political and economic benefits to being recognized as a citizen. My concerns revolve around if and how these benefits overshadow Pueblo worldview ideas about belonging to place and people. Thus, some discussion of economic development in Pueblo communities may be useful here.

A longitudinal comprehensive multi-tribe study conducted by Vinje (1996) on economic development in tribal communities, including Laguna, Hopi and Zuni Pueblos, noted factors like the size of reservation lands, population, natural resources, U.S. government aid programs, Indian gaming, manufacturing, and mining with regard to economic growth. Referring to tribes with Indian gaming, manufacturing, and mining as their primary economical sources to generate revenues, Vinje's research aimed to learn if there was substantial economic growth covering a three-decade period: 1970, 1980, and 1990. Regarding economic growth of Laguna Pueblo, due to Laguna's uranium mining activity, which employed about 41% percent of Laguna people by 1980, the Pueblo had the highest per capita and family income of all 23 reservations in the state of New Mexico (p. 431).[1] The research suggested that Pueblo economic development and growth is constrained by the tribes' inability to diversify existing business models. Although there were

economic benefits to this Pueblo, those employed by mining were totally dependent upon this singular industry. Furthermore, there has since been critical research on the negative impacts of uranium mining in Laguna on health and changing community cultural values (Lorenzo, 2016).

Vijne's research showed there was little change in *overall* economic growth in the Pueblos that were studied. Over the three decades covered, these data revealed minimal changes in the increase of the median family income based on manufacturing and mining data inputs:

In addition to manufacturing, mining, and the U.S. federal government infusion of money, little positive effect on the overall economic growth on these reservations was marked. Though not as frequently researched, structures of colonialism have likely played a role in the stagnation of American Indian and Pueblo economic growth: The encroachment on and the outright stealing of ancestral homelands and natural resources by European invaders both limited and diminished any economic opportunities or Indigenous economic abilities. In New Mexico alone, Spanish exploitation of Pueblo Indian labor, lands, and natural resources through the *encomienda* system secured Spanish dominion over Pueblo peoples who like the land, were considered property of the Spanish (Lorenzo, 2016). This combined with other major factors like European domination of trade with other nations, infrastructure development, and control over historical trade routes, sea and land ports, made it

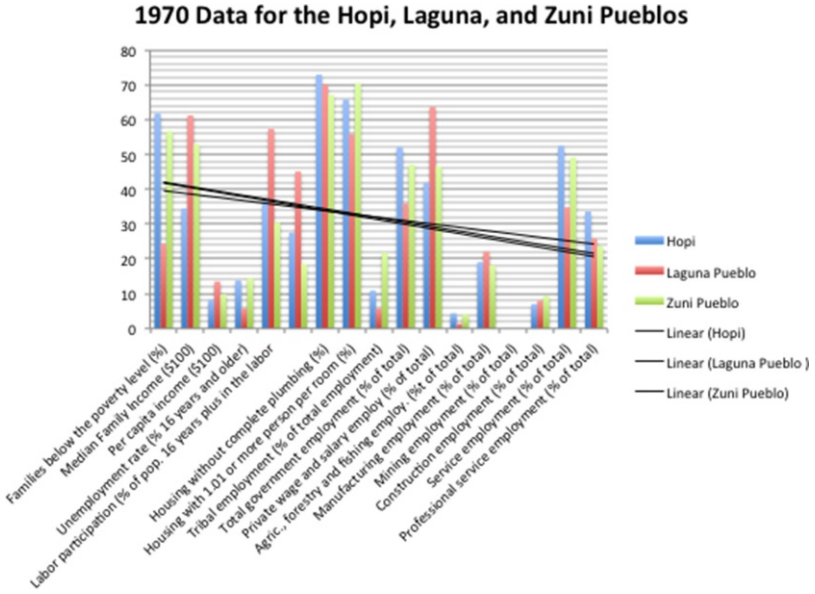

Figure 1. 1970 Data for Zuni, Laguna, and Hopi.
(from Vijne, 1996, p. 439)

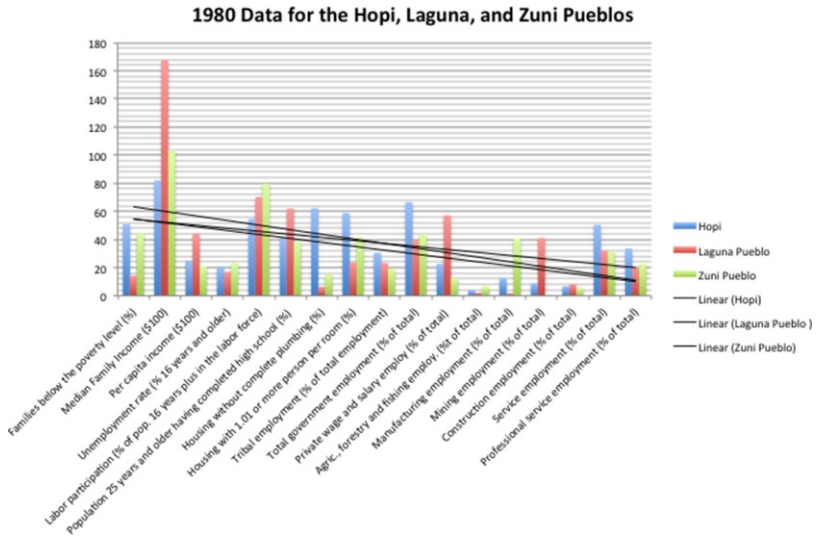

Figure 2. 1980 Data for Zuni, Laguna, and Hopi.
(from Vijne, 1996, p. 440)

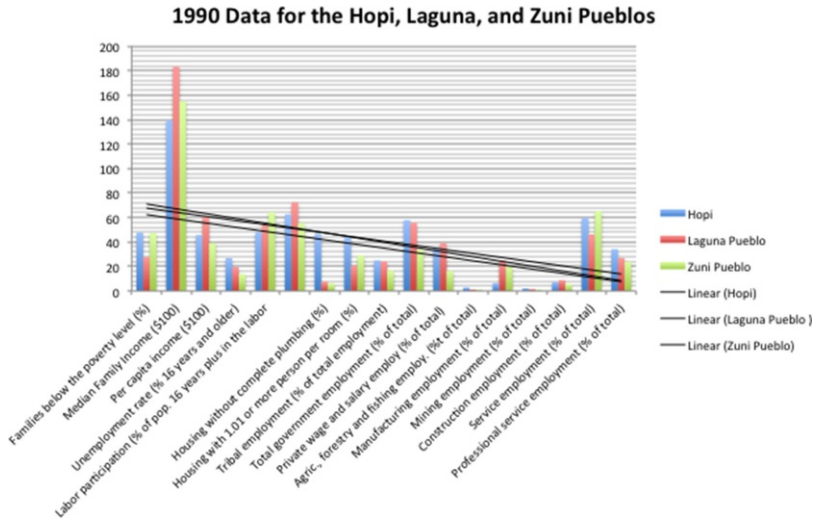

Figure 3. 1990 Data for Zuni, Laguna, and Hopi.
(from Vijne, 1996, p. 441)

impossible for Indigenous people to participate in economic growth as anything other than laborers. In this regard, Dippel (2014) provided one suggestion about the current situation of American Indian economic development on historically Indian lands. He introduced a "IV strategy" that concerned mining on Native American reservations and argued that Indigenous ancestral homelands and natural resources had become viewed as commodities on an international level, which were used for growing other nation's economies.

> Importantly a reservation's ancestral homelands are spatially separate from both the reservation itself and from its present-day economic environment. The logic of the IV strategy is that more valuable Native lands led the government to form fewer, more concentrated reservations in order to free up more land and to better monitor tribes, in order to prevent them from spilling back onto their ancestral homelands. (p. 2133)

Economic development efforts across Indian country have had to confront these issues—the mixture of historical oppression and subsequent problems of limitation in the current international market. The classic work of Uruguayan scholar Eduardo Galeano (1997) is in many ways a precursor to this type of logic—the "bleeding" of nations for the benefit of colonial and capitalist markets.

From a Pueblo economic perspective, the 19 Pueblos may need to consider economic development and a constant growth pattern that is normalized through forming joint partnerships among the communities. I use the term "normalizing" as a marker for economic growth, meaning that economic growth remains at a consistent level each year. The unification of Pueblo nations to create an economy of scale may be one approach towards rethinking economic development and in a way that is actually more historically and culturally appropriate. For example, the 19 Pueblos are already a culturally cohesive body whose leadership does consistently work together on a number of political rights issues in the state and elsewhere. Researchers have also supported this type of cultural alignment. Vinje wrote, "Tribes need to pursue economic development strategies that may be more compatible with tradition and Indian culture" (1996, p. 428).

Constraints including threats to natural resources, lack of financing, smaller reservation land size, and unfavorable U.S. government economic policies toward the Pueblos are apparent and have already limited our real and potential economic growth overall. However, given the rich agricultural history of the Pueblos and their languages, using these two as the axis in creating an economy of scale will be critical. This expands the idea of economic development beyond mere capital gain and into a more Pueblo-fitting way of thinking about growth and for what purposes. For example, strategic business approaches such as the use of Pueblo Indian gaming and the revenues they generate can be placed in a sovereign wealth fund and shared amongst all of the Pueblos. Resources should first be allocated to education and in such business ventures as agricultural technology development.

Furthermore, as education should be viewed as all-encompassing, from early childhood education to the university level and adult education, the development of a unified Pueblo language institute where students have the opportunity to engage with others and support smaller local Pueblo language and cultural initiatives would allow for intellectual conversation in these languages to seed innovative ideas (Dozier, 1970). Already there are some indications of the symbolic move towards unification, as the LI upholds a vision for Pueblo communities to conceptualize important social, economic, and political topics through dialogue and community participation utilizing a think tank convener model (http://www.lisfis.org/). Such spaces are remarkable examples of building on common Pueblo ways of thinking about the world and understanding and combatting the effects of colonialism on Indigenous people.

Though considering *Pueblo* economic development, I would be remiss to not mention research on reservation lands that can be referenced. The work of Cornell and Kalt at the Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development has been instrumental in this regard:

> Our research has been prompted by two developments: Beginning in the 1970s, there has been a federal policy shift toward tribal self-determination. While this shift is tenuous and under constant attack, it has made it possible for tribes to exert increased control over their own development goals and programs. In the era of self-determination, tribes have begun to take different development paths, often with very different results. Some tribes are moving forward, under their own definitions of "forward." Others appear to be stuck in place. (2003, p. 5)

Their projects were among the first to explore the relationship between Indian self-determination, economic development, and what they referred to as "cultural match" in economic development ventures taken on by tribes. Among the tribal nations they included in their research and consulting was the Pueblo de Cochiti (1992). Their study with Cochiti outlined economic conditions consisting of external opportunities and internal assets. Cornell and Kalt compared Cochiti with other Native American tribes in the U.S. and noted that Cochiti had done well in the organizational process with regard to the traditional tribal government's role in economic development. Their study also revealed points in Cochiti's economy focusing on 1989: (1) Change income at 10%; (2) Adults with income of greater than $7,000 at 43%; (3) U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics unemployment at 10%; and (4) total unemployment data at 22% (p. 4). These observations paint a positive picture of economic growth at Cochiti compared to other reservations. Furthermore, they noted that Cochiti had been able use their traditional tribal government to form development corporations that consisted of a board of directors accountable to tribal leadership but with enough independence to freely manage business enterprises like the Cochiti golf course and gas station. They observed:

> The ways that tribally owned enterprises could be insulated effectively from politics vary. Those now apparent in Indian Country range from culture-based separations of powers and limits on self-interested behavior as Cochiti Pueblo, to constitutional or legal limits, as at Mescalero Apache. In recent years a number of tribes – for example, Salish-Kootenai, Lummi, Cochiti – have put together their own development corporations to manage tribal enterprises. The successful ones place such management in the hands of appointed board of directors that are accountable to the tribal council in the long run, but are genuinely independent of it in the day-to-day management of business operations. (p. 33)

As a body of research, the data presented by Vijne, Cornell, Kalt, and other studies on economic development in the Pueblos appear to make interesting cases for economic stagnation and successes. However, these are just snapshots in time and do not necessarily tell the whole story of Pueblo economic development. Walter and Andersen's *Indigenous Statistics* makes an important point in this regard, and they explicitly discuss data usage within the framework of economic development and federal government policy in Australia:

> For state and Federal Government departments and authorities, the primary producers and consumers of Indigenous statistics, the criticality of Indigenous data has risen with the evidence base prerequisites for determining closing the gap policy directions. The disparate socio-economic position of Indigenous people is deemed so urgent that progress on closing the gap must be reported annually to the Federal Government. (2013, p. 36)

Both Australia and the U.S. have Indigenous populations, and this quote sheds some light on the trend of industrialized countries creating economic data sets to show economic and related social progress or lack thereof in Indigenous areas. Walter and Andersen remind us that it is critical to question the intention of research, and economic development data should be carefully examined and compared to the economic realities on Indigenous lands. Taking economic snapshots of Indigenous communities is an important task, but there are multiple factors and multiple data-gathering methods that should be employed, including qualitative inquiry. Otherwise, we run the risk of producing superficial information that does not explore more fully the gaps and tensions in communities. For example, at this time, there is not sufficient data with regard to the economic rights of women in the Pueblos or how the role of women in the wage labor workforce has changed the sociocultural dynamic of women's cultural roles in the community. The danger of marginalizing already underrepresented populations or limiting potential research questions is clear when we only concentrate on narrow definitions of "economic development" and ideas of economic growth on Pueblo lands.

CITIZENSHIP AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Returning to my original concern regarding the relationship between self-determination, citizenship, economic development, and underlying issues of freedom, I would like to make more definitive the discussion between how economic development is heavily intertwined with citizenship and using my own Pueblo as an example.

Colonialism has minimized the role of a traditional governance system in Isleta through the historical acceptance of a Western democratic form of government that was modeled after the U.S. government system of democracy, including adoption of a Constitution. Some scholars have argued that the prior Pueblo dynamic of governance as inextricable from family affiliations, clan relationships, cultural-political-religious leadership, and community partnerships are not as central as they once were (Hou, 2010). Isleta Pueblo's governance values have long since been influenced by emphasis on capitalistic values of private property and individualism. Such values are embraced by Western democracies around the world with a fundamental understanding that private property and self-responsibility are essential to freedom.

This was not always the case: A break from a Pueblo traditional governance system occurred in the 1930s whereby the system of law and leadership shifted from oral tradition and decision-making versus a written Constitution, leadership appointments by traditional secular leaders rather than official elections for office, etc. What also emerged was a Western-based notion of citizenship where an individual's affiliation to the tribe would become based on blood quantum rather than the ancestral value of participation of that individual and the notion of reciprocity in community. As a federal historical trend, we know that blood quantum reinforced a strategy by the U.S. government to dispossess Native Americans of their ancestral homelands, but most tribes moved ahead with the measurement process regardless. As a result in Isleta, the founding of a Constitution in 1947 gave "citizens" identifiable political rights, and through political participation these citizens could now decide the direction of the tribe and their collective future.

The demographics of the community also began to shift from "full-blooded" Pueblos to include community members of mixed ancestry (e.g. Pueblo-Spanish, Pueblo-Anglo, etc.) beginning around the twentieth century. Subsequently, Isleta developed classifications for people who reside in the community: You are either a "tribal member," "non-tribal member" (descendant), or "non- Native." A tribal member is an individual with one-half or more of Isleta Indian blood; (2) a non-tribal member (descendant) is as a person with mixed Isleta ancestry and less than one-half Indian blood; (3) a non-Native is an individual who is married to a tribal member and is not Indigenous. These categorizations are beyond social and heavily politicized in that tribal members only have the right to vote in tribal elections, participate in tribal government, and own property in Isleta. Non-tribal members (descendants) and non-Natives do not have political rights but can reside in the community.

Descendants, although ancestrally linked to Isleta, are not categorized as tribal members. In most cases in the community, however, descendants have lived on the reservation for most or all of their lives. Their life experiences and relationships are difficult to separate from the individual despite their official categorization. This is because Pueblo identities involve participation through lived experiences, and how people position themselves in the world is supported by their Pueblo ways of knowing and their upbringing. This has been widely noted by Pueblo scholars like Romero (1994, 2003) and Suina (1994). Although citizenship provides tribal members with political rights—a central concept of the blood quantum debate—there are tribal residents like descendants who live and practice their cultural rights. Some in the Pueblo have begun to argue that not allowing descendants political rights further complicates the Pueblo-rooted sociocultural dynamic of the community and that the ideals of democracy are challenged because denying descendants membership restricts their freedom and participation.

At the same time, while these debates are ongoing, as previously mentioned, scholars of Indigenous community planning, most notably Isleta scholar, Ted Jojola at the University of New Mexico, have researched and documented population growth, decline, and migration (1990), which leads us to consider the vitality of Pueblo nations and the factors that we need in order to thrive as nations. Among these factors is a strong cultural foundation, maintenance of our distinct languages, and also economic considerations that go beyond ideas of capital. Thinking about citizenship as a driver for economic survival and growth must encompass a long-term vision that includes all demographics of youth, adults, and the elderly and with special emphasis on a great youth population.

Citizenship becomes more complex when considering what tribal national identity linked with economic production means for the tribe. The duality of citizenship for Native Americans is a two-sided coin. Indigenous peoples have to balance being citizens of the U.S. and of their tribe (Lomawaima, 2013). The problem that has occurred with this duality is that Native Americans have been historically left out of the national dialogue of the U.S. This exclusion has shaped Native American underrepresentation in social contexts through U.S. governmental policies that are still occurring today. As Native Americans we may ask: Are we relevant today in the U.S.? Furthermore, Indigenous lands are held in trust by the U.S. This relationship is not in balance but has long since tilted in favor of the U.S. over years of colonial systematic rule. However, this relationship between colonial systematic rule and tribal sovereignty is linked and mutual (Lomawaima, 2013), limiting Native American societies from strengthening their sovereign identities. We may then also ask what tribal membership actually means—Does membership hold value when many of us are economically disadvantaged, on the margins, and are spoken about in the negatively in the broader U.S. context?

Muscogee Creek scholar K. Tsianina Lomawaima captured an important observation of these tensions that focused on settler-colonialism (Wolfe, 1999, 2006). She observed,

> The mutuality of citizenship and sovereignty means they are linked in an ideological and material landscape, but not in a casual way. The settler-colonial conceptions of citizenship and sovereignty share three characteristics of mutuality: (1) they mark a necessary, enduring difference as Indians for individuals as wards and for Native nations as domestic dependents; (2) to perpetuate Indianness, they use plenary power and thrust authority to block access to home ownership for individuals and to economic development for Native nations; and (3) they strategically utilize ambiguity in Indian status to maintain federal powers over Indian individuals and nations. (2013, p. 338)

She pointed out that the history of mutuality and sovereignty between the U.S. and tribal nations is captured only through the dominant lens of the West, leaving out Indigenous peoples' narratives and our worldviews in relation to sovereignty.

Western history is reliant upon imposing and maintaining a system of understanding human progression through mapping the world in a way that reflects Western European dominance. For this very reason, U.S. citizenship is complex for first peoples who have had to conform to Western dominance yet recognize themselves as citizens of their Native nations first (Lomawaima, 2013). On a practical note, Native Americans have also experienced a difficult path in securing voting rights, not gaining the vote until the 1920s, contending with the area of private property rights, and being physically subjugated and confined to areas within the political boundaries set by the U.S. federal government.

In addition, there is significant rhetoric that describes Native Americans as incapable of making informed decisions about their well-being, and their land—hence the trust relationship with the U.S. government. This narrative is flawed through its invention as Europeans stripped away Native American economic systems, which had thrived before their arrival on the continent. By limiting Indigenous land base, the capability of Indigenous peoples to facilitate trade, own seaports, develop new markets, and define their populations was easily disrupted. Even if we were to take paternalism as a favorable move by the U.S. government, why is Native American economic poverty widespread? The answer is evident in historical record: In the 1930's the U.S. government held hearings about how to deal with the "Indian problem" and observed the following,

> The curriculum of course of study and training must necessarily be prepared especially to eliminate from the Indians certain of his racial instincts and characteristics, some of which pertain to his tribal views and his lack of ambition to possess a home, property, and business, to be an individualist instead of a tribalist, and also to eliminate his beliefs and opinions with reference to paternalism. But in addition and substitute for such racial and acquired un-American beliefs, it is desired to make him a loyal and patriotic, self- reliant, well- qualified citizen. (Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs, 1931, p. 5)

If federal governance arenas are restrictive of Native American worldviews, we must continue to identify and work in alternative spaces where adherence to cultural preservation should be held in the highest regard by the tribal government, and the long-term "growth" vision of Pueblos would be to strengthen our own Indigenous knowledge.

Supporting this view is the work of Quechua scholar Sandy Grande who observed that "American Indian Intellectualism" should come from a place of authority even as we consider who will speak and who will document our history (2000).

> battle lines have been drawn between Indigenous scholars working to claim intellectual sovereignty and White working against the essentialist grain to sustain and re-assert the validity of their own scholarship. To a large extent, such campaigns are simply the logical consequences of centuries of intellectual hegemony and academic colonialism where Whites defined Indian history and American Indians served as the objects of definition. (p. 348)

At the same time, when Native American communities become fragmented due to multiple influences, including blood quantum, the question of assignment of expert, authority, or representative becomes contentious and requires open and transparent discussion by all community members themselves.

With regard to these major themes, including economic development, cultural relevance, membership and participation, and Indigenous representation, the case of Bhutan can be useful, particularly as the role of religion and spirituality is central to how the nation sees itself, which could be considered a parallel with Pueblo nations.

BHUTAN: A GLOBAL MODEL OF "HAPPINESS" AND "DEVELOPMENT"?

Bhutan is located in South Asia, between China and India, and is known for its mountainous views of the Himalayas, privacy, and cultural traditions. In the 1980's the Bhutanese government established a Gross National Happiness (GNH) model with four goals in mind: (1) sustainable and equitable economic development; (2) environmental conservation; (3) preservation and promotion of culture and heritage and; (4) good governance (Brooks, 2013; Zurick, 2006). Established through national policies created by His Majesty King Jigme Singye Wangchuck, the methodology of Bhutan's development model holds central the overall well-being of citizens and enrichment of citizens (Zurick, 2006).

The GNH model is guided by the ethical principles of Bhutan's Buddhist beliefs. These beliefs are emotional and spiritual fulfillments of one's self (Brooks, 2013). The GNH model also involves approaches to development through a measurement metric called the Gross National Happiness Index (GNHI). The GNHI index outlines the following values, which are measured: (1) education; (2) health; (3) ecological diversity and resilience; (4) good governance; (5) time use; (6) cultural diversity and resilience; (7) community vitality; (8) psychological well-being; and living standards (Brooks, 2013).

The preservation of the environment is a major facet to the development philosophy of Bhutan and includes considerations for forestry, energy, and agriculture. Bhutan has some of the most diverse forests in the world (Zurick, 2006). Similar to other Indigenous peoples' beliefs in different parts of the globe, Bhutan has an in-depth understanding of the Earth and the role that it plays for providing for a quality of life. Through policies, the country has identified economic activities such as the cutting of wood in forests that can be devastating to the land; the harvesting of timber is limited and annually, it accounts for less than five percent of total national revenue. By limiting the potential for industrial size production of wood, Bhutan has reduced this export to the world market. By focusing on other types of revenue sources that do not impact the land in a negative manner, environment and economy are driven by positive goals.

Through the establishment of hydropower plants at key locations throughout the country, Bhutan has identified other exports to the world market. Since 1980, the production of energy these plants has produced has accounted for 40 percent of the export revenue of the country (Zurick, 2006). The establishment of an economy of renewable resources through technology demonstrates that there are other alternatives to the traditional sources of exports such as oil. The thought process involving alternative revenue sources to drive the economy serves to reinforce the GNHI in a correct manner according to the Bhutanese.

The government of Bhutan has also established a policy for self-sufficient agriculture. By setting a target of 75 percent for growing food, the government has encouraged villages to remain intact with their cultural traditions of community agriculture and the raising livestock: "Given the significance of farming in Bhutanese society and the fact that a rural livelihood, in combination with monastic centers, is the primary repository of cultural traditions, agriculture becomes an important nexus in the country's efforts to enhance both national happiness and environmental conservation" (Zurick, 2006, p. 669).

In addition to these initiatives for a holistic and culturally-based development model, the Bhutanese government has also supported the tourism sector of their economy. Through the tourist industry, especially ecotourism, the country has leveraged its natural environment to allure foreigners to visit the country (McIntyre, 2011, p. 15). The envisioning of this industry by the government has brought positive financial gains for the country. In fact, the demand to visit the country has steadily increased over the years from 287 in the 1974 to 41,000 in 2010 (McIntyre, 2011):

> Conservative figures by the Tourism Council of Bhutan estimate tourism's contribution to GDP at US 90 million in 2010. It has also contributed to employment and created income opportunities through the development of locally owned and operated private-sector enterprises. There are now some 21,000 people employed directly and indirectly in tourism, and an increasing number of Bhutanese entrepreneurs are also investing in the sector. Close to 80% of Bhutan's 700,000 inhabitants live in rural areas and most are engaged

> in the agricultural sector; but tourism has contributed to earnings from tourist transport, portage and the promotion and indigenous handicrafts. (p. 15)

These examples of renewable energy alternatives for export, sustainable agriculture, and tourism reinforce not drain the country's belief system and culture. With culture, spirituality, and environment in mind, economic development seeks to ensure the well-being of individuals and environment. Bhutan set a global example of prioritizing overall well-being, and the GNH model can be a reference point for other Indigenous communities—that we too can develop our own economies based on culture, language, spirituality, and care and connection with the environment. Although, the GNH model may have some points to improve, which are being watched and critiqued, including improving the income of all people living in material poverty, overall the country appears to be in good health, which is viewed as the singlemost determination of well-being. Additionally, alternative critiques point out that while a basic level of material wealth is necessary, citizens of economically richer and more technologically advanced countries are not necessarily the happiest people (Sithey et al., 2015).

How can other Indigenous communities learn from a similar economic growth model to achieve happiness in their own communities? Obviously, there are divergences on how an approach to economic development with happiness in mind, especially due to the fact that colonial strategies, geography, and sociocultural differences exist. However, by identifying different global models that challenge Western norms, Indigenous people can exercise exploring alternatives as positive steps away from historical margins.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The progress of national economies involves high and low points in their trajectories. Bhutan is no exception to the volatile nature of the global economy. There have been difficult points in their development, but these can serve as important references for Pueblos. Essentially, however, Bhutan is choosing to define development and the goals of their society on their own terms.

A new consciousness movement (Freire, 1970) can take place in Pueblo nations. This action can focus on the continuance of building Indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) of our communities, which encompasses Pueblo epistemologies and their resulting practices (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2005; Cajete, 1994; Garroute, 2003; Kawagley, 1999). Moreover, Pueblo language preservation needs to be looked at thoroughly and discussed for its direct and practical relevancy to Pueblo nationhood, also on our own terms. Language is the fabric of the Pueblo communities and revolves around the religion that Pueblo communities are maintained by and in turn maintain. Furthermore, as this discussion about IKS continues to circulate, as Pueblo people we may look at other Indigenous cultures that are adjusting to a new normal of globalization, such as Bhutan's GNH model.

The acquisition of Western knowledge by Isleta Pueblo can be molded to an Indigenous development framework. The Pueblo can choose how to go about acquiring Western knowledge with the end goal being economic progression for the community. The idea is to use Western knowledge for the purpose of economic development, but thinking about how this knowledge would fit into the worldview of the community is the challenge. Education is a fundamental step toward becoming a sovereign nation. Breaking away from U.S. federal government's aid can be corrected through an educated population. In addition, the acquisition of knowledge cannot be dependent upon the success of students doing well on standardized test. Rather, how can education be used to create a conscious movement that will strengthen the community's identity and nationalism? As a result of these considerations, I have listed some suggestions for future research here.

Suggestions for Future Research

The intent of this chapter was to share thoughts on what is shaping Pueblo communities today, both internally and externally, including notions of citizenship and economic development. An overview of Pueblo citizenship and its relationship to economic development is an area of study that is just emerging and is particularly sensitive because this topic deals with contentious issues of identity, Pueblo and Western democracy, individual rights, and the ways in which Pueblo communities function as political, economic, social, and cultural groups. Because of our assertion to be recognized as nations, scholars have called for rethinking what elements are most critical to that nation's identity. I argue that ideas of tribal membership based on American definitions of citizenship are troubling, particularly when influenced by economic factors and in consideration of economic growth needs—including a steady population—not to mention the preservation of our Pueblo worldview and languages.

Exploring other Indigenous nations, like Bhutan, and their development models offers alternative ways of thinking about economy, society, politics, and culture and demonstrates how these models can incorporate traditional structures and modern goals. A new consciousness movement movement can take place with regard to citizenship, identity, and economic development—one that I argue must be based on ideas of freedom, discussed earlier in this chapter. Freedom defined as the ability to live Pueblo lives and practice Pueblo ways without the limitations and disruptiveness of colonization calls for revisiting Pueblo culture and legacies of resistance. However, such a consciousness movement will need to be inclusive with regard to community member rights and with particular attention to the most marginalized within community—including women, youth, and LGBTQ populations, for example. Here, critical research frameworks including feminist scholarship can be a resource for understanding political history and groups who operate on the margins for seeking economic and political rights.

Acquisition of knowledge can be accomplished on the community's terms. Pueblo peoples can choose how to go about to acquire this knowledge and implement it to

their ways of knowing. Some examples of deeper research to explore in my own Pueblo could be,

1. Longitudinally speaking, how has U.S. government federal Indian policy imposed upon our sovereignty and limited efforts for self-determination?
2. How can community, as a collective, strengthen our worldview in the era of globalization?
3. Who are the most marginalized and historically silenced in our community, what conditions and processes is this linked with, and are there interventions or efforts to address this?
4. How has the cultural role of women changed in our Pueblo in relation to political, economic, and social factors and over time?

Ultimately, Pueblo peoples need to direct additional research that addresses the complexity of citizenship and how we want to develop ourselves socially, culturally, economically, politically, and environmentally. Already, there are opportunities being pursued in this area by strong researchers emerging from the Pueblo cohort programs at Arizona State University and young Pueblo student researchers in programs like the Senior Honors Project (SHP) at the Santa Fe Indian School. These represent generations who will not only identify the complexities of Pueblo life today but also new solutions that may just help us to reconsider how we understand ourselves.

NOTE

[1] *Native American Economic Development and Selected Reservations a Comparative Analysis* argued that there is legislative activity at the state and federal level aimed at reducing Indian gaming (p. 427). The tribes studied were: Blackfeet, Cheyenne River Sioux, Crow, Eastern Cherokee, Flathead, Fort Apache, Fort Peck, Gila River, Hopi, Laguna Pueblo, Menominee, Navajo, Northern Cheyenne, Papago, Pine Ridge, Red Lake, Rosebud, San Carlos, Standing Rock, Turtle Mountain, Wind River, Yakima, and Zuni Pueblo.

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SECTION IV

ENVISIONING HOPE THROUGH LOCAL KNOWLEDGE APPLICATION

CARNELL T. CHOSA

9. ATTACHING YOUR HEART

Pueblo Community Engagement

ABSTRACT

Pueblo people are increasingly faced with challenges regarding how to maintain or promote the involvement of all community members in our cultural and linguistic life. Pueblo core values are key in addressing these challenges and are common across Pueblo or Indigenous communities, and their significance is magnified when considering small populations and the realization that every community member's contributions or talents are valuable to the whole. Today, Pueblo communities must reinforce internal strengths and marry them with the expertise earned outside of the community through professional efforts. Based on almost two decades of community development work with Pueblo communities in New Mexico and alluding to more recent research derived from Pueblo youth programming through the Leadership Institute at the Santa Fe Indian School, this chapter proposes a few ways of considering the link between contribution and sustained engagement with community. The idea of community engagement is narrowed to Pueblo relationships and daily cultural practices and expanded to proposals for culturally-based program design.

INTRODUCTION: PUEBLO COMMUNITIES AND CORE VALUES

The 19 Pueblos of New Mexico are a culturally cohesive population, numbering approximately 62,000 nationally according to the 2010 U.S. Census. Pueblo peoples currently occupy ancestral lands that span the Rio Grande River in New Mexico, from the Pueblo of Taos to the north, the Pueblo of Isleta to the south and the Pueblo of Zuni to the west. The Pueblo of Zuni has the largest Pueblo Indian population in the state at approximately 11,000 tribal members, and the Pueblo of Picuris has the smallest at approximately 370 tribal members. Like other American Indian communities in U.S., the Pueblos live on lands designated as trust lands by the U.S., which is a reminder of the U.S. colonization and resulting federal policies regarding the treatment of its Indigenous populations. Unlike other American Indian communities in the U.S., Spain, Mexico, and the U.S. formally recognized the Pueblos as sovereign nations, which is an important part of our political history.

E. S. Huaman & B. McK. J. Brayboy (Eds.), Indigenous Innovations in Higher Education, 167–180.

Pueblo communities have maintained a level of cultural (and in many Pueblos, linguistic) continuity that is unfortunately not entirely common in the broader experience of American Indian populations in the U.S. Additionally, in the state of New Mexico, the Pueblos represent the largest number of tribes, 19 of 22, and have provided some of the most influential and innovative programs, policies, and initiatives in the nation, such as the efforts in traditional and organic farming sustainability and youth programming. However, like other Indigenous communities around the U.S. and worldwide, the Pueblos also continue to deal with external disruptive influences of colonization with visible impact on generations of community members—from Native language loss to increased migration away from homelands (Sando, 1992, 1994; Pecos, 2007; Chosa, 2015). The combination of these historical and contemporary elements stimulates urgency towards the value of *community engagement*—that is, how to maintain or promote the involvement of all community members in our cultural and linguistic life—and highlights how community core values-based programming from internally developed processes is critical, particularly for youth engagement.

Generally speaking, core values in Pueblo communities are those principles that shape behavior, serve as guides for moral direction for the community collective, and strengthen the sense of community (Sumida Huaman, Chosa, & Pecos, forthcoming). Values are common across Pueblo and Indigenous communities, and their significance is magnified when considering small populations and the realization that every community member's contributions and talents are valuable to the whole. With increasing challenges like language loss, health concerns, and environmental issues, Pueblo communities must reinforce internal strengths and marry them with the expertise earned outside of the community through professional efforts. Based on almost two decades of community development work with Pueblo communities in New Mexico and alluding to more recent research derived from Pueblo youth programming through the Leadership Institute at the Santa Fe Indian School (LI), this chapter proposes a few ways of considering the link between a particular value—contribution—and sustained engagement with community. The idea of *community engagement* is narrowed to Pueblo relationships and daily cultural practices and expanded to proposals for culturally-based program design.

CONSIDERATIONS ON GIVING, MIGRATION, ADAPTATION, AND NEW ENGAGEMENT

Giving

Even though there are numerous core values embraced and practiced by community, one that is basic and universal is giving. Best exemplified, an individual may give whatever gifts he or she possesses and offer them to the greater good of community. In some cases, and one of the earliest forms I witnessed as a child growing up in Jemez Pueblo, was simply taking groceries to the family home of someone who had

passed or offering one's time to others through labor. In Pueblo communities, this idea of giving can be extended to refer to a more holistic lifelong process—meaning, from birth to death; that is, how Pueblo community members are trained to embrace philosophies related to community contribution is a lifelong process. For example, even the contribution of young children in Pueblo communities is celebrated and nurtured by making sure they participate in the cultural fabric of Pueblo life, oftentimes through community traditional dance celebrations. Community members are part of this holistic development process, and each person is believed to have a particular set of gifts, which are to be used for the good of the community. The work of Regis Pecos, co-Director of The Leadership Institute at the Santa Fe Indian School, and Mary Eunice Romero (1994) outlines these ideas based on Pueblo research that yielded empirical evidence regarding the notion of giftedness and contribution to the whole.

Unlike popular or mainstream understandings of giving, often solely associated with economic productivity, including financial gifts or donations, I propose that central to and aligned with individual contribution to the Pueblo community is individual time and talent—people volunteering their time for community events and offering their talents (gifts) to a cause. One example is the time and talent my mother, Martha Chosa, offers when she contributes two days to make Piki[1] Bread for community events, a service where money is not exchanged but her time and talent is offered in good will. As a Pueblo community member, my mother has worked for years to maintain traditional forms of weaving as well as Piki making. She gives this work back to our community through not only material and labor contributions, but also through offering to teach willing community members what she knows.

Migration

Important to note here is that the need for time and talents is not finite. For example, in the Pueblos, the relationship of individual to community also brings the idea of being in community or coming back home to contribute. The latter has become more common as migration occurs in higher numbers of American Indian and Alaska Natives actually living away from their reservation communities and in cities, and for various reasons—such as to find work opportunities or to attend school (higher education) in other places. This trend is one that was largely initiated during the 1950s in the U.S. due to the federal government's policy on Relocation—encouraging and offering tribal community members incentives to leave their home reservation communities in order to pursue the "American Dream" and to assimilate into middle America. Both my mother and aunt were participants in this policy when they moved to Chicago and Los Angeles, respectively, in the late 50s. Both returned home to re-engage in community and to raise their families in Jemez Pueblo. This, however, is not the case for all participants in the Relocation program. In her book, *Indigenous Albuquerque*, Vicenti Carpio estimated that from 1945 to

1957, over 100,000 American Indians left their home reservations. In a Pueblo-wide presentation, Isleta Pueblo scholar, Dr. Theodore Jojola, shared an example of migration with problematic impacts on Pueblo populations: In one New Mexico Pueblo, there were more members living outside of the Pueblo than in it. He stated that additional influences like the railroad system and the work it provided displaced many families outside of community (Pueblo Convocation, 2012).

Migration has only grown, and my own experience leaving for college and finding work nearby my Pueblo has me contributing from outside the community. This reflection has ignited my interest in expanding what it means to be "home" and to broaden how we think of engagement; that is, how youth and others contribute to our Pueblos while physically away from community. My intentions have further motivated me to create opportunities for youth to engage through new means facilitated by innovative programming. Throughout my undergraduate and graduate work, I was intentional about exploring how community shapes an individual and how an individual has the potential to shape community. This chapter is a small and ongoing exploration into this relationship.

Adaptation

As our communities go through changes and our youth are offered more opportunities, individual and community relationships continue to adapt and should be addressed by Pueblo communities. A critical question among many in this scenario is—What are communities doing currently to actively engage, to maintain relationships with, or to harness the skills of those who are [temporarily] away? This question asks Pueblo communities to think of ways they are developing programs or systems to bring back or engage through distance Pueblo graduates and to find a place for them to participate through work experiences in community—and this is possible.

There are a few Pueblo communities actively developing strategies for youth engagement. One southern Pueblo's 15-year strategic plan includes strengthening existing programs and services by involving all tribal departments and community members to conscientiously incorporate approaches to encourage college graduates to return home. As a result, the Pueblo's Education Department is able to demonstrate ways that the community is able to use youth leadership and employment programming to keep their youth actively engaged. This interrelationship between the community and its members, or the individual, in their roles as *engagement initiators* is important because if both parties are not consciously making a move towards the other, the gap of engagement becomes wider for everyone; as time passes, the opportunity for engagement becomes more difficult. An engagement initiator, for the purposes of this discussion, can be both the individual and the community, and it is the engagement initiator's attempt to create opportunity or connection to the other that makes them the initiator. It is critical that in the development of engagement or relationship, there be an engagement initiator.

New Engagement

The notion of Pueblo community engagement, as in most small communities, carries with it many different intra-and-inter-community relationship scenarios that involve a diversity of stakeholders. Another dynamic in Pueblo community engagement that I will not discuss in this chapter but that has been historically influential is that which operates primarily external to community. This third engagement initiator operates in the form of institutions, government agencies, researchers, and funders, to name a few. Their influence in contributing programs through policies requiring specific outcomes tied to funding and conducting short term research projects has had an incredible impact in the area of community engagement—historically not always for the betterment of the community and with very little Pueblo-derived or direct input. All of these stakeholders are involved in complex and overlapping relationships and over time, have evolved into active influences in multiple spheres of work in Pueblo communities, ultimately influencing how the ideas and practices of engagement and contribution are manifested. A deeper look into this relationship is an important area of future research.

This chapter takes a brief look at the dimensions of youth thoughts on engagement while offering my own narrative in an attempt to try to make sense of the need to expand what engagement could look like. While there are many forms of engagement (like civil, social, cultural, and community), my work offers one perspective on *community engagement* in the changing contexts of Pueblo life-ways, including increased opportunity increased opportunity to leave community for school and work in order to gather new knowledge and life skills. With this change, all stakeholders—individuals, tribes, organizations, and governments—must consider new engagement models for increased participation, particularly from youth. In my outlook as a Pueblo program director, new engagement adds to existing culturally-based ways of thinking about Pueblo community engagement, and both are anchored in the principles of relationship and responsibility. New engagement strategies can enhance what already exists. These strategies connect how an individual is related to community and how a community is related to an individual.

"HOMEMADE THEORY": YOU BELONG TO US/ATTACHING YOUR HEART

> The intellectual traditions I come from create theory out of shared lives instead of sending away for it. My thinking grew directly out of listening to my own discomforts, finding out who shared them who validated them and in exchanging stories about common experiences, finding patterns, systems, explanations of how and why things happened. This is the central process of consciousness raising, of collective *testimonio*. This is how homemade theory happens. (Aurora Morales, 2001, pp. 27–28)

The foundation of my identity and what I do is because of individuals in my life who have had an impact on who I am as a Pueblo person. I am a living part of the process

of collective *testimonio* that Morales referred to regarding "homemade theory." Because my Pueblo identity is so central to who I am and all the work that I do, I offer stories of lived experiences that shape my epistemology as a Pueblo person. The spirit of my experience and life lessons is based on the recurring theme of community engagement within our Pueblos, which I share with other Pueblo graduate cohort members, including close friend Dr. June Lorenzo from Laguna Pueblo.

During a dinner conversation in 2015, I shared with her my dissertation research and professional interest in exploring a more expansive notion of being an engaged community member. We both began to think about other words that were relatives to "engagement," like "contribution," "participation," "involvement," and "giving back." I shared how I was planning to incorporate these or use them interchangeably in my writing. In an attempt to make me think more deeply about what I was proposing, and most likely as a result of seeing me struggle with trying to find a more profound way to express my thoughts, she asked me the simple question, "How would you translate these words or explain what you are sharing with me to your aunties and uncles at home in your Towa language?" This question represented a pivotal moment in refocusing the lens through which I was looking. After some exchanges and sharing how these words, phrases and concepts might translate from our Native languages to English, we realized that there was much more to explore.

When I was young, my mother, Martha Chosa, would always say a phrase used by members of my community when talking about participating in ceremony, contributing to the Pueblo, or being present in family activity or service. As a child, I would ask her where and to what community traditional activity she was headed. Translated to English from Towa, she would reply, "I'm going to attach my heart." This phrase is heard in community spaces, and I explained to June the significance of the use of this phrase in communal spaces serves as a petition or a plan to provide support.

As June and I dove deeper she said, "Wouldn't it be wonderful if we all knew that we belong to community or if the youth that you are referring to were told by his or her Pueblo, 'You belong to Jemez or you belong to Zuni or *you belong to us*, and your contribution and engagement is important'" (personal communication, March 29, 2015). What June tapped into, besides clearing my lens again, was another principle of community value—that of belonging. The concept of *belonging to a community* is powerful, and I would also argue, central to engagement and inextricable from the other words related, like contribution, participation, and involvement. *You belong to us* creates a dynamic of mindfulness or consciousness for the individual and the community, simultaneously developing a meaningful relationship for the individual to feed back into community.

We talked further about the inter-relationship between belonging and attachment and how these shared principles were familiar to both of our experiences as individuals raised in Pueblo communities. It became clear to us that the practice of *attaching one's heart* is beautifully linked with the concept of *you belong to us*.

You belong to us is the community's statement and act of claiming the individual, and *attaching your heart* is the individual's response—the choice to engage with community and the act of doing so. This inter-relationship between the individual and the community—*you belong to us* and *I attach my heart*—is what I offer as a framework for Pueblo community engagement and towards strengthening engagement approaches with and for our youth.

The personal experiences shared here also represent the holistic mutual relationship between the individual and community and demonstrate the mechanisms through which the community becomes responsible for the individual and the individual becomes responsible for the community. Ideally, these acts of engagement create a sense of belonging that bond the individual to the community and vice versa. However, one caveat to my reflection is that external opportunities, albeit beneficial to communities, compound and illuminate this central relationship, and within my experiences, I have noticed both a growing divide and an urgency to strengthen the two. Through my work with youth from various Pueblo communities and through several programming efforts, our Pueblo people often share personal experiences and acknowledge several reasons for this divide. To them, this divide, or situations that cause this divide, make engagement difficult.

ENGAGEMENT DISSONANCE

Over the course of nearly twenty years of Leadership Institute programming, we have served nearly 2,000 Native youth from the 22 New Mexico tribal communities and numerous high schools and colleges throughout the state and country. Most of these students participate in programming that is geared to develop leadership skills through programs like the Summer Policy Academy (SPA), Brave Girls, Senior Honors Project (SHP), Summer Art and Archeology Academy (SA3), and the New Mexico Summer Youth Tribal Employment (NMSYTE). All of these programs were intentionally designed to engage youth in community through four key program objectives or pillars that include: community service, critical thinking/consciousness building, public policy development, and mentorship/networking opportunities (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. Pillars of LI youth engagement

In particular, the NMSYTE program offers some critical evidence regarding youth engagement. Youth reflections have provided for a wealth of information on their views of community and their place in it. As a whole, and based on pre- and post-program evaluations of 225 participants in a three-year period (from 2012–2015), we see dissonance, which is wide-ranging but highlighted in three ways.

First, youth felt that the community "did not need them" because they lived outside of community. Youth increasingly felt that as they spent more time away from community, they were being forgotten. Coincidently, feedback we received in separate but related work from adult community members mirrors this sentiment. In the NMSYTE program, LI partners who served as community internship site supervisors observed that Pueblo adults believed youth who had left and who were operating outside of the community were no longer interested in engaging. This is important to highlight because there appeared to be a gap between Pueblos expressing to youth that their participation was needed and that youth belonged to community despite their proximity away from the Pueblo. At the same time, youth like this male student demonstrated the point that active engagement programming can address divides.

> Through this internship I also feel I gained more confidence working within my community. I feel like when I was younger I didn't participate in my community as much as I would have liked. Through this internship I feel more welcomed in my community and that my help is always appreciated. In the future, I hope to become more involved in community events. (NMSYTE male student, 2014 Survey)

The second, and more of a growing concern to youth, was the underlying thought that one can only contribute or engage when living within the community. Over the three-year course of the LIs placement of 225 Native youth in internships throughout New Mexico tribal and urban sites, our data showed that 80% of youth participants lived in an urban area due to parent's jobs and/or their enrollment in college. Of our total figure, 60% of interns were placed in tribal communities, while the other 40% worked in urban sites like the Indian Pueblo Cultural Center (IPCC), Native American Community Academy (NACA), and the Museum of Indian Arts and Culture (MIAC). Interestingly, within the 40% group of urban-placed interns, there was a prevailing sentiment that their work in these spaces made them feel like they were contributing directly to community *in another form*. Of the tribal community internships, one student who had never lived in her Pueblo reflected that this was the first time she felt a direct connection to her Pueblo as she interacted with community folks who visited and participated in events at her internship site. In general, youth participants went even further by stating that Pueblos needed to be open and to recognize that youth had the ability to contribute from outside land boundaries

These reflections force the need for communities to stretch the limits of where engagement can occur and be effective. Two LI engagement programs that address

this through youth-led research and policy development initiatives are the Summer Policy Academy (SPA) and the Senior Honors Project (SHP). Through SPA,[2] youth are required to research and develop policy papers on areas important to tribal communities. These papers are delivered in person to New Mexico's congressional delegation. A majority of these position papers have been acted upon at the national and state levels, including offering extended language revitalization support through resources at the state level and environmental protection for Indigenous sacred sites. Through SHP,[3] all Santa Fe Indian School seniors are now required to spend a semester to an academic year researching community issues that they find important. Their research is presented at the end of the year to their own and other tribal leaders, the school community, their peers, and their parents. Informally-speaking, students have expressed that these projects have made them feel like they are contributing not only to their own communities, but also to larger society.

To a lesser degree, but important to mention is another divide, which may compel us to consider additional research leading to engagement programming. Going back to our internship programs, youth were concerned with community-based knowledge on the one side and formal academic training on the other. Youth expressed that they increasingly felt that if they did not participate in cultural activities, advance their educational pursuits, and did not speak their Native languages, that "they were not Native enough." One student shared that he knew that it was his responsibility to reconnect, but that because he did not speak the language, reconnecting had becoming difficult. If we acknowledge that this is an unnecessary and even destructive binary, exploring ways to provide new engagement models based on attaching your heart and belonging becomes even more important. Pueblo community members and other community stakeholders, including youth themselves, need to formulate strategies to bridge perspectives, cultural and otherwise, and to strengthen interrelatedness to support engagement.

WHY ALL FORMS OF ENGAGEMENT MATTER: GRANDPA CHOSA AND UNCLE SANDO

The call to consider strategies of community engagement at all levels is a personal one. I grew up as a young boy witnessing what I thought were two different approaches to the world and a conflict that was writ large between two people I respected—my grandfather Guadalupe Chosa and his brother-in-law, my grand-uncle Joe Sando. Growing up without a father, I looked to these two men as fulfilling that role. Grandpa Chosa was a daily figure in my life who provided structure, discipline and life's teaching through farming practices and as a traditional health practitioner in our Pueblo. I spent mornings before school and after school with him learning about soil preparation, seasonal changes, and the relationships between plants and animals. Grandpa Chosa was an intelligent man.

Uncle Joe Sando, my grandmother's youngest brother, provided a lens through which to envision life outside of Jemez Pueblo, as a writer and scholar. Visits to

Uncle Joe's home consisted of sitting in his living room marveling at the books that I would eventually browse through and read. Uncle Joe was also a very intelligent man.

Both of these men were grounded in community, both were anchored in valuing family, and both based their daily lives being responsible to community and to strengthening relationships. Despite any differences between them, I always looked forward to connecting with them. Sometimes Uncle Joe's visit to my grandfather's home, where I was raised, was spontaneous, and at other times, we would all see each other for cultural events, like Pueblo feast days or a family member's birthday. His visits from Albuquerque were special to all of us. He would bring to our home, and to the home of his brothers Augustine and Frank, Aunt Louisa's baked goods and stories of his travels. He also brought a spirit of excitement and love, especially for my grandma. Grandma would take Louisa's baked goods and put them aside for another special time. His occasional visits, in her heart, needed to involve her food, usually fresh tortillas, something warm to drink, and a soothing stew of some sort. For me, it was a double serving of greatness to sit between these two influential male figures in my life. Inevitably, what emerged when we were all together, was conversation about history, law, education, language, environment, family, health, and their memories of serving in the World War II. Grandpa Chosa talked about the army and his time in Europe and Uncle Joe about his time in the Navy in Asia. Grandpa talked about working the strawberry fields in Northern California and sending money home to feed his family. Uncle Joe talked about college at Vanderbilt University. As diverse as their experiences were, I learned that they both loved home.

Theirs was always a delicious exchange, usually evolving into a debate about topics that included pressing issues that our Pueblo people face. Through their personal wisdom, respective community and professional roles, and combined experience, they covered a wide range of perspectives that included my grandfather's internal traditional education and practices and Uncle Joe's external formal education. It was fascinating for me, as a young boy, all the way up through young adulthood, to recognize that both grandpa and Uncle Joe, shared and exchanged ideas, beliefs and histories through the same "Pueblo" lens.

I remember one particular heated exchange that focused on the value of education and their respective contribution to community. Both shared how much their educational paths meant to them: Uncle Joe's experience as one of the first Jemez Pueblo members to receive an advanced degree and grandpa's cultural training and education that began as a young boy in the Pueblo. Although the differences seemed to get illuminated during these exchanges, the similarities they shared of family, community, education, core values and of military training and service was common ground. It was this collection of elements that made them belong, and what made them attach their heart. I remember that the heated conversations sometimes had Uncle Joe storming out of the house, or grandpa marching into the back room.

For some reason what stirred the pot was conversation about their differing roles in community and their respective contributions. Their headstrong ways perhaps

limited them from fully seeing and appreciating what the other was presenting as his contribution to community. Witnessing this was confusing for me because I found value in the ways they both were contributing to not only our community, but also to the world outside of Jemez Pueblo. Feeling confused, I wanted for them to come to a consensus that their gifts, contributions, and engagement actually supported one another rather than being opposing. It was not until I was ready to leave for college that my grandpa made it clear to me that he had understood my Uncle Joe all along. He told me that my role and interest to learn in the outside, like Uncle Joe, would help care for our community, and that his work in community would take care of me. In Towa, grandpa would remind me that I always belonged to him and to the community.

Despite their differences, what they ultimately taught me was that their experiences and ways to engage were valuable to community and that they both belonged to community. And even though one lived outside of the community and the other inside of the community, they were contributing. Through their work as farmer, educator, healer, historian, and provider, they attached their hearts. Uncle Joe, through his work and sacrifice showed foresight as a community member who insulates and protects the community from external forces. His scholarship today remains a valuable and guiding resource that we must encourage one another and future generations to value and to read. His work does and will continue to help us protect what is most valuable to us, which includes our lands, our languages, and our histories. His work inspires us to continue to exchange in conversation, both at the dinner table and in the classroom. Similarly, Grandpa Chosa's gift to retain oral histories, songs, medicines, and teachings served to maintain the vitality of Pueblo life, beauty of the Towa language, and complexity of balancing a multitude of internal traditional activities. His gift to remember, to practice and to teach continues to impact our community in ways that many before him did.

A closer examination of the relationship between two passionate individuals with differing perspectives actually reveals that their interests align more than they differ. Each of them, like the students I work with, were negotiating complex spaces where notions of modernity and progress abound. The work of each, in their own ways, ensures that our Pueblo way of life continues regardless of whether we are farmers, traditional healers, researchers, and scholars, and more importantly, that we need to embrace all individuals' efforts. What these two important men taught me is that they both belonged to our community, worked towards the same goal of taking care of our people–a goal that unified them with each other and our Pueblo.

It has become clear to me that when I was younger, I often saw the heated exchanges of Grandpa Chosa and Uncle Joe as an argument between two different sides. I now recognize that what they have left me with is incredibly rich and useful—a way to understand contribution and engagement. It is also clear to me that these struggles remain for our youth today. My own and other reflections have served me tremendously as the co-founder and co-director of the LI. I have matured in my understanding of the complexity of various aspects of contemporary Pueblo

youth life—including our priorities and needs. I have come to understand that my work necessarily involves negotiating multiple spaces and multiple experiences in order to bring them together in a way that serves both individuals and communities. My goal, here and elsewhere, has been to accomplish this through actively seeking to define and practice new forms of Pueblo community engagement that is expressed through innovative programming, thus creating a larger Pueblo world and expanding what contribution and engagement means with the growing talents and gifts of the youth that are eager to be engaged.

CONCLUSION

In a conversation with my friend and scholar, Dr. Bryan Brayboy (personal communication, February 6, 2015), he illustrated how different components of the stakeholders mentioned in this chapter move together. Our conversation inspired me to recall an incredible image of an old wooden flatbed wagon that my grandfather used to pull with his tractor. The dynamic movement between the flatbed and tractor represent the mechanisms that keep Pueblo communities moving forward. Like The Leadership Institute and other organizations in community or that serve community, our grandfathers and members of our communities represent tires moving in the same direction, carrying everyone and each other on their shoulders.

Throughout the 19 New Mexico Pueblo communities and quite possibly throughout the over 560 tribes in the United States, tribal community programming has played an influential role in the lives of the people and the life of the community, particularly in engagement. From the centuries-old forced policies of the federal and state governments and the subsequent programs meant to 'civilize' Pueblos, to the recent programs created and brought by funding of programs from the outside, the intended outcomes have not always aligned with the core values and internal mission of the Pueblos. This discussion was intended to outline the need to rethink engagement strategies and to begin to think about potential solutions to empower the stakeholders, particularly program development efforts and for the youth.

This work also attempts to highlight the importance of what contribution in community means, which is up to individuals and communities to explore. At the LI, we ground our work in ideas and practices of Pueblo values, and throughout all of our programs, each participant (from grandparent to youth) is asked, "What will be your contribution?" In conversations on engagement, Indigenous methods, processes, and values must be incorporated into the designing of programs. When done well, programming and the subsequent evaluation process can serve to meet the needs to strengthen community. Throughout our work since the late 1990s and involving over 5,000 participants in various programming efforts, this question has sparked many a person's engagement by individualizing their contribution to community, from a high school student realizing a playground for their community, to development of new scholarship and movement on the Indigenous chthonic legal tradition, to making Native language conversation a

priority in our Pueblos. From the beauty of the contribution that has existed in Pueblo communities since time immemorial to realizing contribution through a time of new engagement, this conversation needs to continue.

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NOTES

[1] Piki bread or paper bread, is made from corn meal batter that is spread by hand on a flat stone that sits on an open fire. It is traditionally made by women in Pueblo communities for special community ceremonial events.

[2] SPA is a youth leadership project that serves high school students and early college students in learning about policies that impact NM tribal communities. Year one focuses on tribal, state, national and international issues. Students are required to develop a community service project that they will implement following the two-week program. Year two is a partnership with the Woodrow Wilson School of Public Policy at Princeton University. Students work in teams to research and develop youth policy position papers on Native issues that they present to New Mexico's congressional delegation in Washington D.C.

[3] SHP was co-designed by the Santa Fe Indian School and the LI to incorporate community-based learning and contribution into the school curriculum. Each year, about 100 students participate in research training and project development.

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ANTHONY DORAME

10. THE FOUNDATIONS OF PUEBLO INDIAN CONSCIOUSNESS

ABSTRACT

The cosmology of the Tewa people is based on place. Places are defined through the Tewa names given to the various parts of the cosmos and include the places or regions sacred to the Tewa. These places and the associated living beings including animals, plants, and humans are highly valued within the Tewa world duality where everything in the cosmos has a spiritual component. The Tewa strive to achieve a balance among the various elements and this balance is achieved by observation of the events, respect for all that exists, and by adapting in a fluid and changing world. It is these knowledge systems that are the foundation for a Tewa consciousness. Because Pueblo people live their lives in a way in which intellectual foundations are fluid, our stories and narratives reveal some of the most important aspects of what can be understood as a Pueblo Indian worldview. Our Pueblo community context, stories, values, knowledge, and teaching are the focus of this chapter.

INTRODUCTION: A STORY

As a boy I was fortunate to grow up near my Uncle Martin Vigil in Tesuque Pueblo. My Uncle Martin was instrumental in helping to shape my worldview as a young Pueblo boy. Uncle Martin was the son of Martin Vigil Sr., a very influential Pueblo leader whose accomplishments included leading a group of Pueblo Governors in a successful campaign to defeat the Bursum Bill which was legislation intended to allow non-Indians to gain control of Pueblo lands in the state of New Mexico.

Uncle Martin was a gentle man. He and my Aunt Evelyn raised chickens and turtles, and they lived approximately a quarter mile from my house. When I was about ten years old, I would walk to their house through the sandy *arroyo* bottoms and through the thick juniper forest. The walk to his house was an adventure in and of itself: Lizards, rabbits, scrub jays, and many other interesting distractions seemed to easily grab my attention and would often sidetrack me. After completing my wilderness adventure I would arrive at Uncle Martin's house to find the table set for three. Although Uncle Martin and Aunt Evelyn lived alone, they came to expect my visits and therefore would set a place for me at the table daily. After a fine breakfast of fresh eggs, tortillas, and orange juice, Uncle Martin and I were on our way out the door for our daily adventures.

E. S. Huaman & B. McK. J. Brayboy (Eds.), Indigenous Innovations in Higher Education, 181–194.

Uncle Martin and I spent a great deal of time in our juniper forest. Most of our adventures included wandering the reservation exploring and walking. Uncle Martin could walk, and walk, and walk! We explored hilltops, riverbeds, small plateaus, and ridgelines. As we searched our reservation's juniper forests, he would stop and show me plants. I remember clearly how he would explain to me how our people used particular plants. I learned about plant dyes, medicines, and those that could be used to fashion tools. I also learned about places—important places exist all around our reservation and define our relationship to our land, our resources, and our people. Uncle Martin would tell me that *we are* the trees, the river, the rocks, the birds, and the plants. It did not make much sense to me at that time, but now I can better understand his wisdom.

Like most elderly Pueblo Indian men, Uncle Martin had a tool shed. That shed seemed to contain his entire life and included his prized possessions. Old gas station signs decorated the walls while Hills Brothers coffee cans contained everything and anything you could possibly imagine. I looked forward to entering his domain where I was allowed to freely explore and ask questions. On a rack near the door were always several freshly cut sticks that would soon be fashioned into slingshots. He also always had a slingshot in his back pocket, and his expert accuracy often resulted in the demise of any bluebird or robin that dared to get too close.

My favorite adventure with Uncle Martin was going out to collect new slingshot materials. We searched the juniper trees in our forest for hours hoping to find that almost perfect branch that formed a Y-shape. We often collected several because, as a novice, I quickly learned they sometimes break. Uncle Martin always made sure that we only harvested one branch from each tree. He would explain how the trees were alive, and we were taking their arms to make our tools. I eventually learned to make my own slingshots, and now my marksman's skills are a direct result of shooting alongside an old pro like Uncle Martin. Our quarry was primarily bluebirds and robins with an occasional furry rabbit providing a larger target. Robins were my favorite prey and the juniper berries provided an abundance of food for the robins thus making our backyard a robin hunter's paradise. After a successful hunt we would cook the robins on an open fire and sprinkle them with salt for a delicious meal.

It usually was in the spring when the first bluebirds arrived that we would begin to collect our preferred materials for making bird traps. Uncle Martin showed me how the wild sunflower stalks were perfect for traps because of the soft pith in the middle that could easily be removed to hollow out the stalk. After harvesting an armload of stalks from last year's garden, we would then collect four winged saltbush branches that, because of their flexibility, would become the trigger arm mechanism for our traps. The trigger itself was made from the gum-weed plant whose hook like bracts hold the noose in place. Traditionally, horsetail hairs were used to create the noose, but Uncle Martin and I would "cheat" and use fishing line for its superior holding power. A sunflower stalk approximately four feet in length was used as the

foundation for the trap. One end was hollowed out to allow the trigger mechanism to sit within the stalk. A small noose was then held in place atop the stalk using a small gum-weed branch. Once complete, a dozen or more stalks were placed upright in the fields where they resembled perches to unsuspecting bluebirds. When a bluebird landed on the stalk, the gum-weed branch would trigger, and the noose ensnared the feet. This system of harvesting bluebirds allowed us to release the female birds that Uncle Martin taught me would ensure that we would have more for next year's ceremonies. With the passage of time, the days I spent with Uncle Martin become more valuable to me.

Uncle Martin passed away on my fifteenth birthday. It was a very emotional day for me as a young man. The knowledge that he left with me will last for the rest of my life. To me, knowledge was about a relationship with my uncle, and this relationship was fostered by our view of the land. The cosmology of the Tewa people is based on place. Places where we live are defined through the Tewa names given to the various parts of the cosmos and include the places or regions sacred to the Tewa. These places and the associated living beings including animals, plants, and humans are highly valued within the Tewa world duality where everything in the cosmos has a spiritual component. The Tewa strive to achieve a balance among the various elements and this balance is achieved by observation of the events, respect for all that exists, and by adapting in a fluid and changing world. It is these knowledge systems that are the foundation for a Tewa consciousness.

My relationship with Uncle Martin provides a clear example of how Pueblo people already function on a daily basis within Pueblo realities that can be viewed as the context for Pueblo Indian epistemology, axiology, and ontology. Because Pueblo people live their lives in a way in which intellectual foundations are fluid, my story of Uncle Martin reveals some of the most important aspects of what can be understood as a Pueblo Indian worldview: The teachings of my uncle embody the core values that frame how we live our lives as Pueblo Indian people and reveal some of ways in which Pueblo notions of axiology, ontology, epistemology, and pedagogy are realized. They also offer insight into the foundations of a Pueblo Indian consciousness based on local Pueblo Indian knowledge systems.

Our Pueblo community context, our stories, values, knowledge, and teaching are the focus of this chapter. As a Pueblo community member, these are all urgent and important to me and to what I hope to pass on to my children. I live in my Pueblo and am active in the culture and religious events of Pueblo. In my scholarly, professional, and community work, I also bring the perspective of a former Tribal Councilman, an Agriscience teacher in environmental studies and community-based education, and as an academic researcher. Drawing from my own Tewa cultural background as a tribal member from the Pueblo of Tesuque in northern New Mexico and linked with community-based research that binds land and education, this chapter aims to share Tewa intellectual frameworks that can contribute to discussions of Indigenous axiology, ontology, epistemology, and pedagogy.

THE PUEBLO PEOPLE AND TESUQUE

The Pueblo people are descendants of the Anasazi, an ancestral people who lived throughout regions of the southwestern United States. Despite 500 years of colonization, Pueblo people view themselves as "traditional," in that they still continue to participate in ceremonial activities and celebrate feast days by dancing and praying through songs that have survived for thousands of years. A feast day for each Pueblo varies but usually consists of dancing, food preparation and sharing in order to honor and pray to the spirits for a good harvest and a healthy community. Although each of the Pueblos has varying populations, they comprise a significant presence in New Mexico's overall American Indian demography. Most of the Pueblos house their own school systems with preschool and elementary services provided by U.S. Bureau of Indian Education (BIE) and/or by the tribe.

In my Pueblo, our religious leaders appoint Councilmen to office, and service is required for one year. As community members and leaders, we understand Pueblo history to be complex because of the interaction first with the colonial Spanish government, then the interaction with the Mexican government, followed by the New Mexico territorial government, and finally the United States Government. Each government has affected Pueblo people and landholdings through various decisions regarding the ownership of Pueblo lands, the legal status of Pueblo people, and the political and educational rights of Pueblo peoples. These all reflect dynamics of power. For example, Felix S. Cohen (1979) described how the word "Pueblo" came into existence and how it was applied to the various Native villages in New Mexico.

> When the Spaniards entered the Rio Grande Valley in the sixteenth century they found certain Indian groups or communities living in villages and these Indians they designated "Indios Naturales" or "Indios de los Pueblos" to distinguish them from the "Indios Barbaros", by which the nomadic and warlike Indians of the region were designated. The Indians who were called Pueblo Indians were not of a single tribe and they had no common organization or language. Each village maintained its own government, its own irrigation system, and its own closely integrated community life. (p. 383)

While Cohen outlined the naming of Pueblo people by the Spanish conquistadores and the distinction between Pueblo peoples in the region, there are currently nineteen Pueblos that still remain in the State of New Mexico. Pueblos are culturally united in terms of cultural practices but are subdivided by linguistic groupings. Famed Pueblo historian and author, Sando (1992), described these linguistic groups in his recounting of Pueblo Indian history (p. 8):

A. The Tanoan language, which includes the three dialects of Tiwa, Tewa, and Towa:
   1. The Tiwa speakers are the Taos, Picuris, Sandia, and Isleta Pueblos.
   2. The Tewa speakers are the San Juan, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Nambe, Tesuque, and Pojoaque Pueblos.

3. Towa is spoken only by the Jemez.

B. The Keresan language is spoken, with few changes, by the Acoma, Cochiti, Laguna, San Felipe, Santa Ana, Santo Domingo, and Zia pueblos.

C. The Zuni language is spoken only by the Zunis.

Tesuque Pueblo is one of the Tewa speaking communities and is located just north of Santa Fe, New Mexico. Edelman and Ortiz (1979) described the Pueblo: "Tesuque is the southernmost of six extant Rio Grande Tewa Pueblos and the closest to Santa Fe, New Mexico, which is nine miles south…The village is situated on the Tesuque River in the approximately center of Tesuque land holdings, which consist of 17, 024.41 acres" (p. 330). Today, the population of Tesuque Pueblo is approximately 500 persons and is considered among the smaller Pueblo nations. The land base consists primarily of rolling hills and *arroyos* (dry water courses that swell after rainstorms), and the dominant vegetation consists of piñon-juniper woodlands interspersed with plants at the shrub level including four wing saltbrush, rabbitbrush, and mountain mahogany. There are cottonwood galleries that line the Tesuque River and provide habitat for numerous bird and mammal species such as bobcats, deer, northern orioles, finches, owls, hawks, and doves. The agricultural area follows the Tesuque River because in the past the river was the only source of water for the crops that the people planted and raised. Today, crops are also irrigated from an artesian well as well as from the river when there is sufficient water flow.

Edelman and Ortiz (1979) also reported that historically subsistence living in Tesuque was based on certain crops: "Tesuque, like all Pueblos, was a sedentary society with a subsistence economy traditionally based on an agricultural-hunting cycle. Precontact crops included corn, squash, beans, and some cotton and tobacco. The Spanish introduced in the sixteenth century wheat, chili, peaches, and melons along with horses, sheep, and pigs" (p. 330). In Tesuque as in other Pueblos today, this combination of pre-contact and colonially-introduced crops are considered by the people to be the traditional crops, and Pueblo people continue to farm both extensively. Furthermore, farming is not only an activity for food production, but is moreover intertwined with our cultural activities and ceremonial life in the Pueblos (Cajete, 1994; Dorame, 2015; Romero, 1994; Sando, 1992; Sumida Huaman, 2011).

PUEBLO INDIAN WORLDVIEWS AND TENSIONS

In order to be able to contextualize Pueblo Indian epistemology, understanding of Pueblo Indian worldviews and related philosophies drawing from other Indigenous scholarship is useful. Kawagley, a Yupiaq Alaska Native scholar, referred to "worldview" as a means of conceptualizing the principles and beliefs—including the epistemological and ontological underpinnings of those beliefs, which Indigenous people have acquired to make sense of the world around them (1998). To relate to a Pueblo worldview would then require analysis of the fundamental principles, perspectives, and practices that frame Pueblo values. This process presents somewhat

of a tension as describing a Pueblo Indian worldview and compartmentalizing its philosophies according to Western terms (i.e. axiology, ontology, epistemology, and pedagogy) is problematic because Pueblo ideas and values are fluid, expressed in language and lived through practice, and in dynamic relationship with one another—not rigidly confined by terms and the categorization that accompanies them. This is why I began this chapter through presentation of a critical personal narrative in order to draw from learning experiences with my Uncle Martin and to introduce my experiences as a Tewa farmer, hunter, tribal councilman, parent, and educator, which demonstrate that worldview and those epistemological and ontological underpinnings that Kawagley referred to are enacted through daily practices.

Although posing a difficult exercise to describe the values of all Pueblo Indian peoples and communities due to variation among individuals and from community to community, I believe that there are some fundamental similarities between what we are taught and the basic principles that are defined in Western academic settings as epistemology. As a Pueblo educator, my constant work is to examine those similarities, particularly among concepts of land, Indigenous language, notions of stewardship, Pueblo spirituality, and the relationships between these and to Pueblo people. My goal as a scholar has also been to identify how all these things that are important to Pueblo people relate directly to the creation and sustainable growth of an educational foundation that can benefit Pueblo students and their communities. The need for these kinds of explorations in Pueblo lands is critical: If education is going to be looked to (and it is) as a tool for strengthening tribal self-determination and tribal capacity, our tribes must seek new ways to educate Pueblo students from positions that explicitly counter the colonizing history of American Indian education in the U.S. Brayboy and Castagno (2008) argued:

> The unique status of tribal nations as political and legal entities with the U.S. means that issues of Indigenous education must be understood, researched, analyzed, and developed in ways that take into account the sovereign status and self-determination goals of Indigenous communities. (p. 788)

Pueblo political status and self-determination goals are then critical to any conversation on Pueblo education and must serve as integral considerations in Pueblo educational development. Furthermore, I add that cultural knowledge and the way we sustain our knowledge is foundational—hence the focus on Pueblo epistemology.

WOWA TSI, TUU TSIMUYEH, NAIMBI KHUU: HOW WE KNOW AS TESUQUE PEOPLE

In the Tewa world, we hold the concepts of wowa tsi, tuu tsimuyeh, and naimbi khuu. Wowa tsi (way of life) addresses Tewa ontology—all life and the relationships within communities, individuals and with nature. Tsimuyeh (the advice) is comparable to what Western scholars refer to as axiology. As a *noun*, tsimuyeh describes the body

of knowledge essential to existence as a Tewa. As a *verb*, tsimuyeh describes the process and methods of teaching and transmitting knowledge. Such teaching occurs in multiple spaces and times—at community events where community members are instructed by tribal leaders, in the home where Tesuque children are taught by parents and other family members, and peer learning through everyday interaction among adults and children. Naimbi khuu describes the specific tasks and actions that are necessary to carry out the advice and the way of life and a Pueblo consciousness. This concept is comparable to how epistemology is understood.

It is not without hesitation that these concepts are outlined here, and as a Tewa person and educator, I am aware that simply beginning the process of outlining Tesuque Pueblo beliefs alongside Western theoretical frames is problematic: The concepts of wowa tsi, tuu tsimuyeh, and naimbi khuu are inseparable and build on each other within our Pueblo in important conceptual and practical ways that lend themselves to the distinctiveness of how we identify ourselves as Indigenous peoples. Wowa tsi embodies the importance of maintaining a lifestyle that fosters relationships with all living things in a way that promotes harmony and well-being. Likewise, tuu tsimuyeh embodies the knowledge corpus that guides the Tewa worldview. Within this body of knowledge is emphasis on the maintenance of harmonious relationships with the living, non-living, and supernatural forces that exist. Naimbi khuu provides the guidance as to how one should go about maintaining these relationships. Although each is a unique concept within the Tesuque Pueblo knowledge and belief system, they are linked through Pueblo cultural practice. Comparing and contextualizing a Tesuque Pueblo worldview in relation to Western conceptions of axiology, ontology, epistemology and pedagogy is also problematic in that Tesuque Pueblo worldview involves the recognition and inclusion of our spirituality.

Acknowledging Tewa spirituality makes compartmentalizing aspects of our worldview nearly impossible because Western intellectual frames do not account for spirituality as foundational to their existence and development. Yet in a Tesuque Pueblo worldview spirituality is perhaps the most important element in our cultural orientation as Tewa peoples, a foundation that is shared across the Pueblos.

In my observation, there is a tendency in Pueblo communities to focus on our great ceremonial events as evidence that the Pueblo way of life is still strong and continuing. At the same time, although ceremonies and dances are important prayers and demonstrations of faith, they represent a smaller fraction of time commitment in the daily life of a typical Tewa person. The Tewa man, woman, or child is taught that how they live their daily life is what determines whether that person is living the Tewa life. Tewa people understand that the tuu tsimuyeh is not only advice on how to live the Tewa life, but also describes the history and religious principles of the community. Thus, tuu tsimuyeh also contains the concepts of naimbi khuu and wowa tsi within—none are exclusive entities, and this same fluidity of concept holds true at the same time for naimbi khuu and wowa tsi. Naimbi khuu, the specific tasks and responsibilities for a Tewa way of life, necessarily involves tuu tsimuyeh, where listening to the advice and accepting the advice being given is understood and accepted

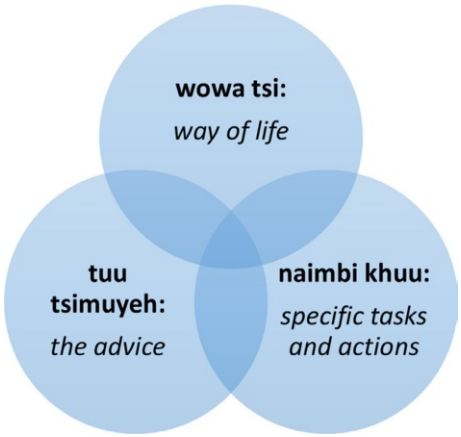

Figure 1. Wowa tsi, tuu tsimuyeh, and naimbi khuu: In relation

as important for the life of a Tewa person. Tuu tsimuyeh, advice, involves instruction on how to live and practice naimbi khuu and the relationships contained in wowa tsi.

While each holds its own merit, carrying significant story and philosophy, and can stand on their own, they are integral to each other. Furthermore, the context in which the speaker provides information and uses each concept determines how the concept is to be understood in that moment. For instance, tuu tsimuyeh could happen when a parent is teaching a child some specific behavior such as how to speak to an elder they might meet in the village. But, tuu tsimuyeh could also be the broader advice given to the people at a communal gathering and might include how people should perform their religious duties, which lend themselves to wowa tsi and naimbi khuu.

In the following sections, these concepts are further expanded and also described in relation to Western frames of ontology, axiology, and epistemology in order to demonstrate what Tewa peoples can richly contribute to these conceptualizations.

Ontology-Wowa tsi-Our Way of Life

> For whenever the members of a community speak about their landscape-whenever they name it, or classify it, or tell stories about it-they unthinkingly represent it in ways that are compatible with shared understandings of how, in the fullest sense, they know themselves to occupy it. (Basso, 1996, p. 74)

In accordance with the teachings of my Uncle Martin, Pueblo *ways of being* are expressed through the enactment of rituals that demonstrate the balance of reciprocity and our relationship to land, a point that anthropologist Keith Basso outlined in his seminal work, *Wisdom Sits in Places*. For Tewa people how we engage with the land and natural resources is the realization of our way of life and values in practice. The act of hunting provides an example of the Pueblo concept

of reciprocity. Hunting the wild turkey, for example, requires a Pueblo hunter to mentally prepare by acknowledging a close kinship to his prey and the need to respectfully treat the animal before, during, and after the hunt. After a successful hunt, all of the turkey is used. The hunter in turn, extends his appreciation through prayer and ceremony in which he acknowledges the animal that gave its life in order that we prolong ours. He further expresses his gratitude by not wasting the animal that he has harvested. Cajete (1999) summarized this point: "Whether it was hunting in the southwest or the far north, an intimate relationship between the hunter and the hunted was established. There was an ecological understanding that animals transformed themselves, and that while this may not be a literal transformation, indeed it is an ecological reality" (p. 8). Thus, a reciprocal relationship is established between the hunter and the hunted, and this relationship is celebrated through this conscientiousness. The focus is not on the death of the animal, but the celebration of the ability of the Pueblo to continue its ceremonial cycle through the harvest of the animal. It becomes a reciprocity based on survival in both a physical and spiritual sense. This argument is further exemplified by Cajete (1999),

> The hunter of a good heart was a bringer of life to his people: he had to have not only a very intimate knowledge of the animals he hunted, but also a deep and abiding respect for their nature, procreation, and continuance as a species. While he tracked the animal physically to feed himself and his family, he also tracked the animal ritually, thereby understanding at a deeper level his relationship with the animals he hunted. The hunted animal became one of the guides of relationship and community in Indigenous education. (p. 9)

The maintenance of a close physical and spiritual connection with prey animals in turn obligates the hunter to become a caretaker and steward of those same animals. In this way, in the Pueblos, life is actually celebrated through death.

The concept of reciprocity can also be extended to Pueblo Indian agriculture. In the agricultural methods practiced in the Pueblos and the philosophies that guide those methods, establishing a reciprocal relationship with nature is a defining characteristic. In an arid environment like New Mexico, an agricultural practice such as planting corn is in and of itself an art. Conventional definitions of art focus on art as a skill acquired and required through accepted artistic experience or perhaps formal study that leads to art taken on as an occupation. The Pueblo farmer applies his knowledge of the weather, soil conditions, the nature of the seed, watering cycles, pest control, harvesting techniques, and processing and storage to provide sustenance to his family. He must monitor growing conditions and understand how to harvest and process with a minimum of loss. He must understand and apply the art of growing to the corn plant at its various stages of development and properly reap and store the crop.

In order to be successful, science is also engaged as particular strains must be planted at certain times in order to ensure that they receive enough moisture to survive the hot summer heat. Knowledge of the natural environment and climate

is crucial: Planted too late, certain varieties of corn do not have ample time to germinate in order to receive the benefit of the early monsoons, if there is one. In order to ensure a bountiful harvest, a farmer must establish an intimate relationship with his plants, his field, and the processes that affect them. Through examination of corn planting among the Pueblos and the relationship of corn to Pueblo identities, Cajete (1999) stated, "For the Pueblo people, corn became a sacrament of life, that is, a representation of life itself and the connection that Pueblo people feel towards that plant world. Corn is reflected in their art forms and their ways of understanding themselves as people" (p. 12).

This relationship between the corn plant and Pueblo people also calls for the acknowledgment of the spiritual forces that impact the success of farming. The success of a corn crop depends heavily on the rain and snow cycles that affect the life cycle of the corn. Prayers for rain conducted within rituals and ceremonies are a major part of the agricultural philosophy that help to shape and develop reciprocal relationships in the agricultural practices. This specific knowledge serves as a major cultural orientation as it does in other Indigenous cultures. Sumida Huaman (2009, 2011) in her comparative educational research with Pueblo and Wanka/Quechua peoples in Cochiti Pueblo in New Mexico and Hatun Shunqo in Peru, respectively, concluded,

> As community education is intertwined with Indigenous ecology, so are both formal schooling and community education intertwined. At its most basic, Indigenous children come from community, and they must attend school. In summary, what is useful to recognize is that the agriculture traditions, including farming, occupy two interrelated levels of meaning for community members: Farming as a microcosm of activity linked with ancestral traditions, language and ecological teachings, offers learning opportunities and meaningful exchange between community members…The second level of meaning is that agriculture is an expression and practice of a larger vision of ecology, requiring community-wide efforts towards engagement with the natural universe. (p. 16)

Similarly, regarding place and universe, Basso (1996) asserted the following,

> The knowledge on which wisdom depends is gained from observing different places (thus to recall them quickly and clearly), learning their Apache names (thus to identify them in spoken discourse and in song), and reflecting on traditional narratives that underscore the virtues of wisdom by showing what can happen when its facilitating conditions are absent. (p. 134)

Although his reference is to the Western Apache and the work of Sumida Huaman includes Wanka/Quechua populations, their arguments contribute to the assertion that Tewa knowledge is place-specific and invaluable to local people because of its specificity, which is at the same time foundational for global diversity. Furthermore, Tewa beliefs and practices contain values that are not only locally useful but also beneficial beyond Tewa lands: Our agricultural and hunting beliefs and practices

within a Tewa worldview embody reciprocity, which is vital for environmental sustainability and stewardship. My Uncle Martin taught me that as a hunter you only harvest what you need from the land, and in turn the land will continue to provide for you. This is equally important as a farmer—that we care for the land by rotating crops so as to not diminish soil fertility and the chances of a successful crop.

Axiology-Tuu Tsimuyeh—The Advice

The natural world also provides the context in which important values and lessons are premised and communicated among Pueblo people, which can be understood as our Pueblo education—what Cochiti scholar, Mary Eunice Romero referred to as a first type of education for Pueblo children (1994). Expounding on what he referred to as "Indigenous educational processes," Cajete further argued that these processes were based in the natural world and that the ways in which Indigenous peoples understood nature as sacred was foundational to Indigenous teaching and learning (1994). Land as a central component of Tewa worldview translates into a living reflection of individual in relation to self and community. From the time of birth, an Pueblo individual's connection to land is reaffirmed in the naming process, and a Pueblo child will be given a series of names that are generally derived from the natural world. The act of naming becomes a reminder of the close relationship and implied stewardship an individual has to the land. According to Wilson (2008), "The responsibility to ensure respectful and reciprocal relationships becomes the axiology of the person who is making these connections" (p. 79).

In Tesuque, it is very common for people to be named after natural places, such as mountains or lakes. Equally common is the naming of people after plants, animals, or other natural phenomenon such as rain or lightning. The central emphasis within Pueblo culture is maintaining harmonious relationships with the entire cosmos because it too is perceived as a living being. Recognizing something as alive means that the cosmos and its components have an intrinsic value and suggests axiology, which is based on a close relationship with the natural world. Moreover, each element within the cosmos is imbued with a life force that must be acknowledged, respected, and treated with humble reciprocity. The critical recognition of the intrinsic value of all things in nature and in the cosmos translates into lifelong obligations on the part of the Tewa people not as simply as caretakers of nature, but as an integral part of nature with awareness of the impact of human action on the cosmos.

This close relationship to land and the processes located within Pueblo interrelationships with land are reflected in the ways that these relationships are maintained and celebrated within each of the Pueblos. The corn dance is an example of the celebration of these relationships, and every community performs some version of the corn dance. The version performed at Tesuque involves men, women, and children. There are upwards of a hundred dancers who keep in rhythm to songs from a choir of men and the beat of a lone drummer. The dancers are arranged in two long lines with men and women alternating in the lines. Little children as young as

four years old form the rear of the lines while the older members of the community are at the front of the lines. The choreography can be complex and dancers and singers must practice for hours in preparation for the event. They follow the songs and the beat of the drum, and the dance can be very tiring and demanding. Male corn dancers wear a dark slip of river mud and carry an evergreen bough and a rattle. Brightly colored parrot feathers adorn the head of male dancers while women wear elaborate headdresses decorated with turkey feathers and symbols of rain and corn. The men wear ceremonial kilts fastened around the waist with a long sash. The women wear black *mantas*, which are traditional dresses that cover one shoulder, and they perform barefoot. The songs themselves acknowledge Pueblo relationship to the land by referring to the coming of the rain, the blossoming of flowers, and the emergence of ceremonial crops as important cultural markers in time.

These important connections between Pueblo peoples and concern for the land through our actions are also evident in our personal connections with teachings within families in the Pueblo. The teachings of my Uncle Martin are one such example. When we harvested bluebirds, our method acknowledged our relationship to the land by demonstrating careful oversight of the bluebird population. We used traditional traps to capture our bluebirds because they allowed us to release the female birds unharmed, which was important because in the springtime the female birds are building nests and raising young. Viewing the natural world as imbued with a spirit implies that as a Pueblo Indian person, our cultural obligation is to maintain harmonious relationships with the natural world.

Here the concept of stewardship can be applied broadly. Within the western context, stewardship is usually associated with land management. Within the Pueblo Indian context, however, the concept takes on a more holistic definition as stewardship is about relationships. Maintaining relationships involves not just the land, but also Indigenous language, culture, traditions, and values of the community. Stewardship, in this sense, must apply to caring for families, children, the elderly, and the sick. From the perspective of tribal leadership, stewardship also signifies watching over all people's lives in the Pueblo, including the continuation of the ceremonial cycle for the betterment of the entire community.

Additionally, life cycles involving birth, life markers, and death are all celebrated communally, as well as other important customary events that require entire community participation. These include ditch cleaning days in preparation for farming, community clean up days, and other ceremonies. *Acequias* is the Spanish word for ditches that are channels for the water that irrigates the crops and pasture. These ditches must be cleaned annually in the springtime before planting begins. The Spanish introduced this method of irrigation, and it remains widely used in many Pueblos. Male members of the community shovel dirt and debris out of the channels and young male children carry water for the workers. The women of the community prepare meals that are carried out to wherever the workers may be in the cleaning of the ditches so that the men can continue the work without having to stop and return home to eat.

Pueblo tribal officials also determine the schedule for community cleanup generally in the days before a ceremonial dance. Just prior to a major celebration, officials issue the call for the cleaning of the village proper. Men and women cut weeds and sweep in the communally owned areas including the main plaza. The younger men collect and remove the accumulated trash piles and discard the material in areas designated for trash. The tribal officials also determine the dates for ceremonies and they select the individuals who will perform in those dances. Selection is an honor and dancers must prepare their outfits and attend practice sessions prior to the dance.

Progression from childhood into adolescence and adulthood are also communally recognized and celebrated. In line with the teachings of my late Uncle, the responsibility to maintain a harmonious relationship with the living community is an obligation for Pueblo people. It should be noted that the concept of community also means the community of the winged creatures, the four-legged, and those that swim. This is an important feature of Tewa axiology, and land, stewardship, relationships, and community are important foundations for understanding tuu tsimuyeh. These key elements, embedded within the traditional orientation and philosophy of Pueblo people, can also function as a characteristic in the development of educational methods for Indigenous students.

Epistemology–Na imbi Khuu-Our Consciousness

Uncle Martin may not have realized that he served such an instrumental role in my own epistemological development, but this work is an opportunity to honor his knowledge and how he shared this knowledge with me. In his book, *Research Is Ceremony*, Shawn Wilson (2008) stated, "An indigenous epistemology has systems of knowledge built upon relationships between things, rather than on the things themselves" (p. 74). On our outings, Uncle Martin taught me that we are caretakers of the land, of the trees, and of the birds. As a farmer, my own relationship with my fields has taught me that we also depend on uncontrollable natural forces such as rain events.

> They understood and expressed themselves in relationship to the land and the animals upon which they depended for their survival. In the desert southwest, Pueblo Indians became dry land farmers and likewise venerated the cycles of water, earth, wind, and fire-all environmental elements essential to life and to the continuance of the Pueblo people in their place. (Cajete, 1999, p. 5)

As Cajete asserted, Pueblo continuance is linked with acknowledgement and relationship. Wilson's work is further apt: "It is important to recognize that the epistemology includes entire systems of knowledge and relationships. These relationships are with the cosmos around us, as well as with concepts. They thus include interpersonal, intrapersonal, environmental and spiritual relationships, and relationships with ideas" (p. 74). Just as Tesuque people are dependent on the land for our continued survival as a tribal nation, we are equally obligated to honor our relationship to it by being caretakers of the land. As with Tewa axiology and

ontology, our epistemology is also fluid: Tewa consciousness is based on a close relationship with the land and the processes that occur within it.

Understanding Indigenous epistemology means understanding the importance of relationships in order to be. Wilson (2008) summarized this: "Therefore reality is not an object but a process of relationships, and an Indigenous ontology is actually the equivalent of an Indigenous epistemology" (p. 73). What this signifies for Tewa epistemology is that our reality is not and should not be quantifiable, but is rather translated into ways of understanding our world and the consciousness that guides how we live our lives.

A Pueblo Indian epistemology is based on relationships that form the foundations for a Pueblo consciousness. These relationships are reaffirmed through ceremony, ritual, and the daily thoughts and actions that guide Pueblo thinking. The relationship with place is a key tenet of Pueblo Indian consciousness because places hold the collective memory of our individual tribes and the important events that are associated with those places. To fully be living in Pueblo consciousness is to establish and maintain harmony with the entire community of life.

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MARK ERICSON

11. INDIGENOUS ECOLOGICAL SURVIVANCE

Youth in Community and Cultural Sustainability

ABSTRACT

Young Indigenous people have the abilities and tools necessary to be contributing, productive members of their communities. However, opportunities to participate in home-based realities have been hijacked by a compulsory education system that is insensitive to, and does not value, their rich cultural heritage, a form of cognition colonization. As an intervention response to this crisis, this chapter explores the benefits of engaging youth in sustainable protection, preservation, and promotion of their lands and waters and through the nurturing and practicing of respectful relationships with co-inhabitants of the natural environments that are integral to culture, which can be referred to as ecological survivance. Accumulating stressors, such as climate instability, pollution, and the tremendous devastation of extractive industries call forth responses that are unprecedented. Collective action to protect environments from further destruction is evolving in Indigenous governance and representation, and this chapter proposes that a critical and vital aspect of cultural and ecological survivance is the active engagement of Indigenous youth in the work that needs to be done to establish place based solutions to environmental and social problems outside of, and in spite of, external state impositions or interference. Drawing from personal experiences teaching in the Community Based Education (CBE) program at the Santa Fe Indian School, this work explores ideas about youth-initiated action and cultural and landscape preservation and promotion, examining the impacts and advantages of environmentally-focused resilience through Indigenous food, watershed, and energy security.

INTRODUCTION

Indigenous peoples around the world struggle to maintain their cultural integrity, their geographical identity, their access to natural resources and non-human aspects of their worldviews. The life giving transmission of their language, traditions and customs through their youth to future generations is complicated and hindered by the pressures of the domineering forces of settler and corporate encroachment, which are facilitated by state military and legal power. Intensifying conflicts between different views of the future—between those who would seek solutions that benefit all at the

E. S. Huaman & B. McK. J. Brayboy (Eds.), Indigenous Innovations in Higher Education, 195–217.

expense of none and those who would risk all for the benefit of the few at the expense of the rest—are the emerging and liminal spaces of engagement and action where Indigenous peoples are developing the tools to stake their own claims to a healthy, sustainable future. They are guided by the integrity of their unique knowledge systems and the wisdom of their adult elders, so their children and those yet unborn can carry forward their unique cultural signatures on a planet where diversity is the key to health. In this dynamic, Indigenous youth are the essential agents of cultural preservation and transmission. Given opportunity and support, young people have the power to shift their roles as recipients of externally imposed policies and prejudices, to internally grown, fortified, and collaboratively established positions of representation and agency in support of their unique life ways and world views.

This chapter explores the multiple benefits of engaging youth in experiential, multi-dimensional expressions of survivance (Bang, 2009; Brayboy, 2005; Vizenor, 2008) through the sustainable protection, preservation, and promotion of their lands and waters and through the nurturing and practicing of respectful relationships with co-inhabitants of the natural environment that are integral to culture, which can be referred to as *Indigenous ecological survivance*. These benefits manifest in the individual, the family, and the community, and strengthen cultural identity, shared values, collaborative participation with other peoples, and positive images of the future (Cajete, 2006). Accelerating and compounding stressors, such as climate change, pollution, and the massive devastation of extractive industries evoke responses that are unprecedented. Collective action to protect environments from further destruction is evolving in Indigenous governance and representation, and this chapter proposes that a critical and vital aspect of cultural and *ecological survivance* for all is the active participation of Indigenous youth in the important work that needs to be done, work that establishes place based solutions to environmental and social problems outside of, and in spite of, external state impositions or interference. Drawing from personal narratives derived as an instructor in the Community Based Education (CBE) program at the Santa Fe Indian School, this work explores ideas about youth-initiated action and participation in cultural and landscape preservation and promotion, and examines the impacts, advantages, economic and governance factors of "deep sovereignty" (Dozier Enos, 2015) as more than politically-motivated but rather environmentally-focused, including Indigenous food, watershed, and energy security.

Young Indigenous people have the abilities and tools necessary to be contributing, productive members of their communities. However, opportunities to participate in home-based realities have been hijacked by, among other colonial institutions, a compulsory education system that is insensitive to, and does not value, their rich cultural heritage, a process itself a form of cognition colonization. R. Buckminster Fuller wrote, "All genius is synergetic. All children are born geniuses, but most are swiftly degeniusized by the power structure's educational system. In the guise of education, the system deliberately breaks up inherently holistic considerations into "elementary" topics" (Fuller, 1992, p. 37). Furthermore, certain types of

accomplishment within this system teach youth to believe that their efforts in the arts are not as valued as their efforts in the sciences and mathematics, for example (Robinson, 2011). They are also indoctrinated to compete with each other for abstract grades on a scale that becomes a measure, however false, of their intelligence; grades that are only a measure of their usefulness to a materialistic society and economic system that is far removed from the rich spiritual and cultural legacy handed down by their forebears (Battiste, 2008; Wildcat, 2010).

This dysfunctional reality is facilitated by tribal government legal obligations and generational, social habituation to enrolling Indigenous youth in Euro-American style education institutions. As an educator, many Indigenous youth I encounter seem confused about the purpose of schooling and exhibit a lack of interest in the related work they are asked to do, yet they consistently express their beliefs that it is important to learn their Indigenous language and cultural ways from their elders. They understand their critical role in faithfully passing on their language and culture to future generations, yet are frustrated that the schooling system separates them from the daily process of learning from those in their communities who are disappearing yet hold the wisdom of countless preceding generations.

In response to this crisis, my work seeks to (1) explore watershed and landscape assessment and management as an epistemological and pedagogical framework that bridges important western educational objectives with Indigenous cognitive systems; (2) honor, support and strengthen Indigenous values while empowering Indigenous youth to play active roles in aspiration-based forward planning and preparation towards long-term cultural and environmental survival in a rapidly changing world; and (3) address youth agency that prioritizes learning from and honoring communities that hold inherited knowledge and wisdom manifested from generations of adaptation and survival in unique and beautiful landscapes. I maintain that positive ways forward do not need to be dichotomous between Indigenous and Western, which can reflect a false binary (Wyman, 2009), but can be a synthesis of the best of both.

My work also presents an approach to education that engages Indigenous youth in the forward thinking, ameliorative, and restorative practices necessary to protect and preserve their ancestral lands for future generations in an era of ever-changing environmental conditions. I believe that a curriculum is required that is action-oriented, interdisciplinary, and based in the recognition and respect of culture and ancient lifeways. Such a curriculum values and honors the relationships that people have developed with the landscapes they have come to be a part of, and is proactive, diplomatic, and democratic in its execution thus realizing the potential to make learning meaningful and community-centered. While this approach is applicable to any young person, regardless of race, gender, ethnicity, or social class, in this work, I focus on Pueblo tribal youth of the U.S. southwest, which constitutes the cultural and geographical context where my experience as an educator for over thirty years is situated.

Central to my argument here is that as long as schooling remains compulsory in the law of the state, yanking youth from their homes and relatives to enter a

world of strangers and strange concepts, new approaches to education must be developed within the system that has become institutionalized. Importantly, the approach to developing a comprehensive educational framework described here does not deviate from, but instead enhances the currently promoted Common Core and Next Generation Science Education Standards that are being implemented at the national and state levels. My goal is to demonstrate that a culture-centered curriculum and culturally sustaining pedagogy (Paris, 2012; Paris & Alim, 2014) that engages youth in aspirational problem solving strategies for real, relevant, and contemporary problems naturally encompasses mainstream education objectives across core disciplines and exemplifies the ideals of emerging comprehensive education approaches that seek to educate youth to take active roles in solving social and environmental problems. At the same time, as educators we must interrogate purpose: Is the purpose of education of Indigenous youth to help them be better members of their Indigenous communities, or to be productive members of a socioeconomic system that has not valued their cultural heritage? Furthermore, if there is the opportunity to do both, how can schooling be shaped to meet multiple purposes?

ACCELERATING PRESSURES ON TRIBAL COMMUNITIES

Boundaries and Borders

> Whereas what Indigenous communities consider to be a sacred embodiment of the circle of life, the round hole, the American experience has been staged by the partitioning of land into a proverbial grid, the square hole. (Jojola & Imeokparia, 2014, p. 125)

In the expansion of western civilization, land and natural resources are the premium, and Indigenous peoples are the impediment (Grinde & Johansen, 1995). Today, cultures are jurisdictionally confined to areas that relate more to divisions of land according to legal claims, backed up with surveys, and driven by monetary real estate values. Consequentially, as Jojola and Imeokparia pointed out, the round worldview of Indigenous peoples does not fit well with the straight-lined right-angled, surveyed roads and fence lines of the neighbors (see Figure 1). Theirs is a world of watersheds, ancestral hunting grounds, farming fields and fishing waters, the sacred space of relationships where ancestors are laid to rest. The jurisdictional boundaries of tribes within the United States, and among other Indigenous peoples with this level of land holdings, have become the lines on maps that identify the tribes, replicated and propagated on paper, digitally, on the internet, and in the courts. Ironically, these boundaries offer a level of protection from illegal actions on the ground, but they do so while disrupting the practice of spiritual and physical relationships with the waters and landscapes that are a people's universe of life and hindering the regular maintenance of such relationships.

The physical landscapes of tribes includes the lands and waters that they call home and the mountains and other features identified with through stories, songs, and prayers. These are the living spaces of the other animal and plant spirits that are intimately connected with human health and survival and that have been carefully observed and adapted to, consistent with seasons and cycles. These are cultural spaces that are temporal, physical and spiritual. When these cultural spaces become segmented through jurisdictional definition and fenced off or otherwise demarcated, it is as if tourniquets had been applied to parts of the body. While temporal change in these landscapes is not forgotten, successive generations experience increasing difficulty in remaining connected and aware as youth grow up with the prominence of fence lines and artificial and imposed boundaries in their understanding of their landscapes.

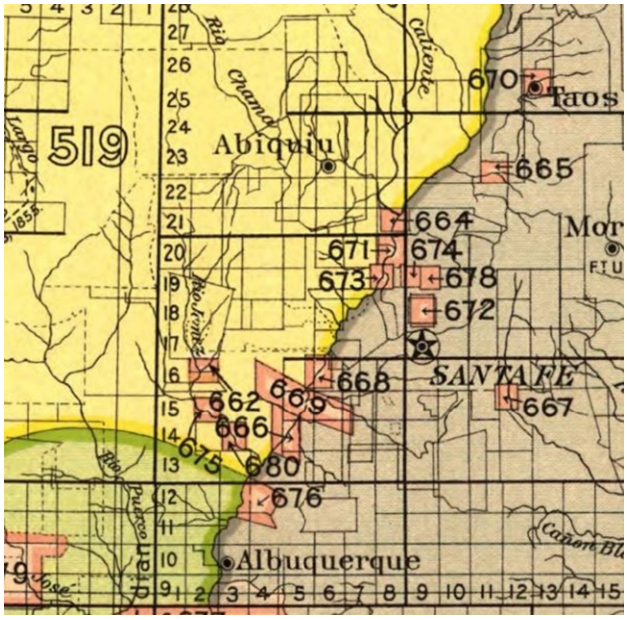

Figure 1. Region of New Mexico that was home to more than one hundred Pueblo communities in the 16th Century. The 600 numbers are Pueblo jurisdictional lands cut off from ancestral domains[1]

Land Ownership and Money

Consequently, survey lines and fence lines are insensitive to deeper cultural meanings and the rhythms of nature, the movements and migration of animals, and the ancient relationships that Indigenous peoples have evolved to holistically live within their landscapes. In order to maintain their lifeways, Indigenous peoples increasingly seek

ways to access spaces that are special to them, and they pursue legal acquisition of lands that lie within their ancestral domains, exemplified in New Mexico by a number of Pueblos fighting for ancestral lands in the courts and/or purchasing back ancestral lands. This is complicated by the dominant paradigm that land can be owned, which perpetuates the concept that humans are dominant over nature. The monetary valuation of land often leads to increasingly exclusive classifications, and lands with waters, for example, become the highest priced. Federal and state lands in the southwestern United States comprise sizable portions of the watershed headwaters that are the sources of waterways that flow into tribal jurisdictional lands, and so an entirely different type of relationship, with different rules and regulations for access, are a part of the relational framework for any tribal youth trying to learn about their landscape heritage.

The Role of Youth as Agents

Given the explicit challenges of boundaries and borders and how these are manifested into issues of ownership and even reclamation, how does the historical involvement of youth in every aspect of cultural continuance translate into the obfuscating maelstrom of contemporary society? There have been several centuries of experience with the authoritative dominion of colonization, resulting in young tribal people beset with what could perhaps be the greatest threats to their cultural survival ever experienced. The threats do not operate through the physical realm of land and nature as much as through the psychological effects of constant exposure to ways of life diametrically opposed to those of their ancestors. Through education, materialistic consumerism, environmental changes, and increasing encroachment of other people into their ancestral landscapes, these threats challenge Indigenous youth values, the relationships they have with each other and the natural world, their self-confidence and sense of identity with their culture. Luisa Maffi's work with biocultural diversity[2] continues to point out, as periods of disengagement with the lands lengthens, each successive year becomes more critical for preservation than the previous.

Out on the land, where survival depends upon learning age-old lifeways that include observation, experimentation, skill development and practice, there are few "straight lines," literally and figuratively. Other than the vectors of direction and the line of sight, nature operates in spirals and cycles, and the person learning to survive in the land learns through experience, practice and the teaching of others how to interpret the signs. Survival—visceral and spiritual—depends on this knowledge acquisition. Present day Euro-American industrial education, widely critiqued by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars, researchers, and other individuals, could not be further away from Indigenous epistemologies. There is good reason for this. The kinds of educational practices and methods advocated and enforced by colonizing and dominating power structures promotes disconnection from nature and obfuscation of natural processes in order to ensure a steady flow of properly

educated and trained youth ready to enter the work force. Excellent effort in degrees of specialization are encouraged to support a system that separates young people from their synergistic cultural interests. Comprehensive, naturally intuitive creative problem solving, the kind that the young mind is ideally suited for (Epstein, 2007), is not so much discouraged as not generally acknowledged nor rewarded.

On the other hand, when a young Pueblo person growing up in a tribal community witnesses or plays a part in summoning the cloud people on a cloudless day and experiences the resulting raindrops on their face, there is a causal relationship that transcends the physicality of industrial education. Furthermore, that community process embodies warmth of heart and gratitude with the understanding that one is not alone, and that through community and interaction with the elements there is an embracing connectivity, intention of heart and spirit is powerful, and the natural world responds. This process is borne from centuries of participation and interaction with the natural world, and the profound wisdom that all beings are connected, related by water, air, earth, fire, and spirit.

This kind of experiential learning is not acknowledged or valued in industrial education. This is undoubtedly confusing to the school-age tribal child who has learned to respect the wisdom of elders and their ways of summoning and entreating the forces of nature. In school, however, children are encouraged to think that if something cannot be physically or scientifically proven, its existence or validity must be questioned. Science dogmas, such as the purposelessness of nature and the non-existence of telepathy and the power of prayer, minimize and marginalize cultural beliefs by dogmatically asserting completely materialistic formulations of reality. Science teaching, particularly in secondary school years but beginning as early as elementary school, presents as certain (enforced through texts and a derived scientific method) phenomena that lack resonance with cultural realities. For example, youth are taught in the western (Euro-American) education tradition that their consciousness, their memories, everything they see, hear and feel, their personalities, all of their interactions with the world and its inhabitants, are reducible to patterns of atomic and biomolecular interactions within their skulls and are determined by material genetic inheritance. But they are also taught that all of the atoms and molecules so interacting are gradually replaced within months through nutrition and chemical recycling. Another example is the view that all medicine and healing is similarly traceable to chemical reactions (Sheldrake, 2014). This ‘scientific’ teaching invalidates their own ancient ways of learning and being. Why must Indigenous youth be taught that the universe is mechanical and operates through inanimate principles when everything in their cultural Indigenous world view is organic, relational, and spiritual, and why do defenders and proponents of Indigenous worldview need validation by *western* intellectual authority?

The “wisdom” of Greek logic and the scientific method invalidates their own ancient ways of learning and being. Indigenous scholars examining this disconnect between Indigenous knowledges and what is enforced and perpetuated in schools for Indigenous children have challenged the ways in which dominant discourses like

science, for example, are constructed (Barnhardt, 2005; McKinley, 2005; Aikenhead & Michell, 2011). These scholars and I ask—Is it any wonder that the tribal youth of today have difficulty navigating the unnatural labyrinth of specialized knowledge that is proffered as essential for survival in the modern world? And is it any wonder why so many young people rebel against an education system that does not value their community life learning, and, indeed, why so many of them describe their school experience as confining and uninspiring, even 'like prison'?

Perhaps this is an obvious trajectory as the Euro-American education system is established upon values so distant from Pueblo or other Indigenous values. For example, the dominant schooling system today emphasizes competition—competition for teacher approval, awards, and grades. Students learn that education is an individual exercise that holds individual accomplishment as separate and superior to the learning of the cohort or community, the opposite of the way learning occurs in their communities. Those who embrace and adhere to their cultural teachings, and who cannot reconcile this foreign system may decline to believe in it, choose to ignore it, channel their energy elsewhere, while "doing their time."

MOUNTING ENVIRONMENTAL CHALLENGES

Climate Disruption

All of the living, natural attributes that are key to the maintenance of tribal ways of survival are threatened by climate disruption and variability and subsequent impacts. In the North American Southwest, disruption has begun. Rising temperatures, changing precipitation patterns, drought stressed vegetation and the consequent pressures on the survival of dependent species, widespread soil loss through inundating rains, declining tilth and failing agriculture, and wind borne dust that inhibits cloud formation are all becoming increasingly frequent problems (deBuys, 2011). Spring tribal ceremonies to inaugurate a successful growing season, usually celebrating the spring runoff from the mountains, are met with dry streams. The gradual desiccation of northern New Mexico forests since 1998 has led to widespread piñon, juniper, and ponderosa die-off. Some of the largest forest fires in history char the landscape and threaten downstream villages with catastrophic flooding. In the past three decades, the average temperature in this region has risen approximately two to three degrees Fahrenheit. Extended throughout seasons this difference can mean the difference between rain and snow in the winter, and the difference between soil retaining enough moisture to stay alive, and drying into a sterile dust. There is abundant phenological evidence— from studies of plants that are flowering earlier, and out of sync with the hatching of insects, to the earlier arrival of neotropical migrants and bears that do not hibernate as they once did—that the climate is undergoing a rapid warming, and with that are myriad cascading effects on every level of life in the landscapes and for the communities of people that have inhabited them for centuries. This dire scenario is likely to get worse before it gets better (Gutzman & Robbins, 2011). Atmospheric

concentration of carbon dioxide now exceeds four hundred parts per million. The last time it was this high was likely during the Pliocene epoch, between 3.2 million and 5 million years ago (Germanos, 2013).

Water Battles

Declining precipitation levels have resulted in legal battles for control of river water that may or may not be there. New Mexico and Texas disagree on the amount of water that New Mexico owes its downstream neighbor, and the courts have already been called into action (Postel, 2013). Groundwater is increasingly pumped for irrigation-dependent agriculture. Reaches of the Rio Grande south of Elephant Butte reservoir have become dry in recent years, even to a depth of several feet below the sand in the middle. Under these conditions, every watershed, no matter how large or small, comes under increasing scrutiny, and those with the most senior water rights, the tribes of the southwest, are learning daily what is involved in keeping those rights. The tribes in the Middle Rio Grande Conservancy District have been meeting regularly with other stakeholders for over twenty years and representing the interests of the tribes through a sort of consensual process. They are doing the hard work of protecting the water for the people, but the work to slow the water down and keep it in the watersheds on tribal lands has yet to begin in earnest.

Long, saturating rains that elders recall from their youth, are replaced by inundations that erode the life-giving soil away. Winter snowfalls are less regular and there is compelling scientific evidence that the sub-tropical dry zone, of which the North American Southwest is a part, is expanding poleward, meaning that the increased humidity caused by higher temperatures in the tropics is driven to higher latitudes before being deposited: “The drying of subtropical land areas that, according to the models is imminent or already under way, is unlike any climate event we have seen in the instrumental record. It is also distinct from the multi-decadal mega-droughts that afflicted the American Southwest during medieval times” (Seager, 2007, p. 1183). Reliance on groundwater for irrigation and domestic use lowers water tables and manifests in dry rivers and streams, stoking disputes between different stakeholders. Higher summertime temperatures also mean more evaporation from open storage areas, and more rapid evaporation from soils and plants. Thirsty plants are more vulnerable to pests, threatening long-established cultural relationships with iconic evergreen species, such as the piñon pine (Williams et al., 2013). Hotter droughts threaten tree vitality and could lead to widespread tree mortality (Allen, Breshears, & McDowell, 2015).

Species Relationships

The accumulated stresses of these changing temperature and precipitation patterns are affecting relationships among species: flowering plants and their bird and insect pollinators; migrating wildlife and safe, nourishing habitat; breeding fish and cool, oxygenated waters; prairie grasses and forbs, and their rodent and reptile inhabitants;

people in the village and their many animal and plant relatives. Compounded with human encroachment, habitat destruction, and the burden of synthetic chemicals, bought in the store and transferred to the lands and waters through the use and discarding of many non-biodegradable products, there is an abundance of cascading effects on every level of life in the lands and waters. These effects often happen silently, without sounding alarms, only noticed after something or better said, some *relative*, is missing. Indeed, many species are in decline and the sixth mass extinction is under way, with an "exceptionally rapid loss of biodiversity over the last few centuries" (Ceballos et al., 2015).

In particular, members of fire-affected Pueblos can no longer find the resources they need for their ceremonies in their traditional areas and sometimes must travel long distances to gather and hunt. Spiritual places that hold meaning in stories and songs no longer have the special qualities they are known for—for example, springs are drying. All of the watershed inhabitants are affected, and we are realizing this when what is needed is absent. Increasing pressure on food resources that have survived inundations and fire, whole ecosystems upset by accumulated impacts, and the devastating effects on the respectful hunting and gathering ways of the sacred watershed's inhabitants, bring us to a time when only collaborative, reverential restoration and consumption can gain back the partnership with the natural world that has made possible the millennia of ecological survivance through interdependence. This is a partnership that requires the active participation of youth who are the inheritors of limiting and culture-threatening conditions, and also the progenitors of ecological survivance attributes.

CURRICULUM AS INTERVENTION: WATERSHEDS AND LANDSCAPES

Community Based Education

For three decades I have had the privilege of working with Indigenous youth as an instructor of Environmental and other sciences. The majority of the students I have served have been U.S. Southwestern tribal students, including those from the 19 Pueblos of New Mexico whose communities span the Rio Grande River and associated watersheds in New Mexico. Since 1995 I have been involved in exploring and developing curriculum that engages students in studying issues and problems within tribal communities with the partnership of community members—a community based approach to education that involves tribal members deciding course content. As part of a team of educators at the Santa Fe Indian School, we have been fortunate to take the classroom out of the school and into the community and the surrounding environments on a regular basis in order to conduct fieldwork prescribed by community partners, which benefits both tribal environmental initiatives and student engagement.

Throughout this process has been the sincere desire on the part of community partners, such as tribal environmental departments, and tribal leadership to create

an educational bridge between school and community that allows students to learn about the tribal communities they come from, and to give them opportunities to assist, to the level of training we provide, in accomplishing work that needs to be done. This work, in the context of community based environmental studies, has revealed the many needs that communities have, but which they neither have the personnel, the time, or the funding to accomplish without assistance. The community based education program has endeavored to regularly engage tribal youth in learning about and providing for those needs. Further, in developing school-based curriculum to house the concept of activities that relate deeply to community needs and the connections between culture and environmental science—while satisfying the requirements of the dominant education paradigm—what became increasingly apparent was that a natural environmental science curriculum relating both western education expectations of science curriculum and cultural environmental values would be of service to the students rather than one based in western science alone. This speaks clearly to the work of Gregory Cajete (1999) whose philosophies on Indigenous science, traditional education, and western science call for an understanding between different worldviews.

The Watershed as Cultural and Educational Core

Working closely with Pueblo communities, a framework was gradually developed that is inclusive, accommodates broad concepts of environmental science, stewardship, and is forward and aspirational thinking about lands, waters, and wildlife as essential elements of students' cultural heritage. The watershed (see Figure 2), sometimes small, sometimes vast, became the geospatially quantifiable and mappable study unit that could encompass so many integrated topics and concepts to which students and members of their families and communities could relate (Ericson, 2012). As a pedagogical schema, the watershed encompasses many subjects, integrating math and science with civics, language arts and communications and reveals to students that the synergistic integrity and interrelatedness of all elements in the natural sciences world—the dynamic biological, hydrological, geological and climatic interplay and cycles of energy, chemistry and life—have validity and connection with their epistemological, ontological, axiological, cultural, and spiritual existence. In this sense the watershed is a powerful organizing pedagogy for developing experiential and empowering curriculum that can involve youth in the agency of helping their communities achieve sustainable adaptations to the uncertain and variable impacts of climate changes, and their social and political consequences.

Rina Swentzell of Santa Clara Pueblo observed in 2012: "There is the understanding in the Pueblo world that a watershed is a whole cycle of water movement within our natural world that includes the skies, the clouds, the mountains, the hills, the surface waterways, and the groundwaters beneath the surface—as well as the humans, plants, and other creatures" (p. 28). As Swentzell pointed out, in the Pueblos, water is referred to as the lifeblood of communities. In addition,

Figure 2. Watersheds of New Mexico

watersheds themselves are communities and are everywhere. They encompass everything that sustains us. They contain the biological systems upon which we all depend. Curriculum-wise, watersheds are perfect for exploring interdisciplinary relationships, particularly through the sciences, but also math, social sciences, and practical arts. Students in community and place-based environmental science learn about the relationships between ecosystems and their own communities. Concepts can be introduced at levels of complexity appropriate for any age group or skill level.

As an educational core, the watershed embraces many levels of inquiry and interpretation and many different disciplines across the intellectual spectrum in a holistic framing that is dynamic and grounded in problem solving that is aspiration-based. In my own teaching experience, I have witnessed young Pueblo people actively engaged in developing a comprehensive understanding of the many dynamic natural and social processes contained in the watersheds that make up their ancestral homelands. Students encounter the edges of culture and social organization in both spatial and temporal senses. Through our fieldwork, students examine the bases and applicability of different epistemologies in the context of the long term anticipation and planning for watershed health and discover that the knowledge systems that their ancestors developed are valid, useful, and vitally important for sustainable stewardship going forward, which is what Inidgenous peoples in other contexts have also strived to accomplish (Kawagley & Barnhardt, 1998). Putting into practice meaningful experiences in the living and cultural landscape helps young people to (re)connect and strengthen their relationships with the legacies of their ancestors. As Lyle Balenquah (2012) beautifully expressed, “It is this

connection, between ourselves and the world we inhabit, that continually needs to be rebuilt, maintained and strengthened. This can only be achieved by actually getting 'out there' among the wild places so we do not forget how our ancestors remained connected" (p. 50). Shifting the focus of intellectual development from the artificially represented world of hypothetical constructs and abstract concepts that have little relation or perceived value to the young person's world, to the lifescapes and landscapes that are represented in Indigenous community, culture, and traditions, establishes a more grounded base from which to explore the educational disciplines and develop talents and skills. Furthermore, as a geographic and historical space, understanding the watershed requires the examination of natural processes and the Indigenous inhabitants. Here, cultural knowledge systems become essential to long term sustainability planning towards the protection, preservation, and promotion of cultural and biological diversity (Maffi, 2005).

In developing curriculum focused on the watershed, we needed to begin with the whole: that a watershed is an open system synergy of many different temporal, spatial and material processes, mediated by life forms that process and cycle materials in their biological drive to adapt and thrive in the watershed habitats, open to and dependent upon the deliverance of moisture by weather. We could then begin to consider questions of dynamics and health, variability, vulnerability, and the emergent properties of complex systems. Grasping a part of the whole, focusing on action towards it, and then developing in-depth explorations that engage and educate, is a powerful and effective strategy for educating, creating awareness, and building experiential references. At some point people want to know how their activities fit in with the larger picture. A framework from which to explore the many different watershed related phenomena, and the myriad connections we all have with the natural resources and processes that support the continued existence of communities at every level, provides opportunities for valuable educational experiences, social experiences, with continuity across generations and scales of habitat (Dewey, 2004).

The intrinsic values of nature and non-humans, the values that exist in and of themselves, outside the relationship with humans, is controversial for the western-educated mind (Callicott & Nelson, 1998; Denevan, 2011; Nelson & Callicott, 2008) and contrary to the needs of a materialistic economic system that has relied on growing levels of natural resource extraction and exploitation. Yet a respectful valuing of nature and non-humans is fundamental for Indigenous belief systems and is a root of relationships that are sustaining and engaging of all generations. I believe that through the interactive, caring relationship with our environment, sustainable adaptation and survival to changing environmental conditions can be achieved.

Synergistic Intrinsic Attributes

In order to realize watersheds as core in cultural and educational curricula, framing watershed investigations in terms of different categories of processes and

actions that occur within them over time is useful. I refer to *synergistic intrinsic attributes* to describe the biological, hydrological, and geological attributes that can be used to inventory, characterize, and understand the inhabitants and their interactions with the elements, where some state of dynamic equilibrium with the greater influences of climate and season is reached. *Energetic instrumental uses* are the specific human actions that have developed over time within the watersheds and that are dissipative and disintegrative of the natural synergetic tendencies of the living ecosystems and their constitutive elements. Examples of *energetic instrumental uses* are habitation, agriculture, livestock grazing, forestry, mining, industrial, transportation, and recreational. These are the ways in which humans have used the natural resources that the watersheds contain, and these uses are often the sources of stress that can upset the natural balance and threaten the health of the watershed if they are carried out without respect for the other, non-human, inhabitants of the watershed. I maintain that a higher, more advanced level of adaptable and sustainable habitation in the watershed is reached through the holistic and integrative consideration of all the watershed's residents, human and non-human.

The intrinsic attributes of a watershed thrive through a synergistic cycling of nutrients and essential chemicals, dependent on the presence of sunshine and water. While some watersheds may be in decline, due to natural climate variations that have caused decreases in biodiversity, many watersheds are threatened by the inability of the intrinsic attributes to recover from the impacts of human instrumental uses, such as grazing, mining, or logging. Healthy natural systems are able to withstand periods of stress, even if they are the result of more than one pressure, such as drought and overgrazing. But as the number of pressures increases, maintenance of health becomes more tenuous, and as the accumulated pressures pass a threshold of resilience, the system begins to decline (Rapport, Costanza, & McMichael, 1998). Unless the pressures are relieved, and even reversed, the system will decline in health. Sadly, this state of ecosystem collapse is becoming more frequent throughout the world, and in the Southwest, the combined pressures of multiple unmitigated human impacts and the ever-dryer seasons are mounting quickly, threatening large areas with ecological collapse.

Within the range of separate subjects required by the education system are found many topics that can be explored within the context of watersheds. Inquiry based explorations of micro-scale chemistry, macro-scale hydrology, biological baseline studies, inventories of intrinsic attributes and instrumental uses, practice of methodologies for monitoring and mitigation, are some of the types of STEM education (Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics) that can be conducted across generations in a watershed context. The technological tools that facilitate ordering, processing, management and communication of data, and formative and summative products, are easily learned by today's youth. When the products are useful to the communities and make contributions that professional personnel within the communities neither have the time, money or personnel to

accomplish, yet have a need for, the youth get the satisfaction of knowing that they have produced something beneficial and valuable.

COMMUNITY ACTION CURRICULUM

Young people, without higher education experience, can provide many of the services communities need, sensitively and economically. Youth can make significant contributions to long-term community water, energy and food security through the quantification, calculation, modeling and facilitation of efficient uses, and the explication of potential societal and economic benefits. Following are some problem content areas that relate watershed health to community survival and sustainability. They utilize different perspectives to discover sustainability options with a focus on these primary inter-related areas of need critical to long-term community and cultural survival—(1) water security, (2) food security, (3) energy security, and (4) health (See Table 1). These can be integrated in curriculum through the grades to establish a continuity of experience and reference that is community based.

The introduced and developing Next Generation Science Standards (NGSS) emphasize depth over breadth, practicality of application, the understanding of core ideas and the de-emphasis of learning details. Seven cross-cutting concepts are identified to "provide students with connections and intellectual tools that are related across the differing areas of disciplinary content and can enrich their application of practices and their understanding of core ideas" (Schweingruber, 2012, p. 218). They are: patterns; cause and effect; scale, proportion and quantity; systems and system models; energy and matter flows, cycles and conservation; structure and function; stability and change (Achieve, 2013). Recently available model units, or "Tasks" (Achieve, 2013) from the publishers of NGSS, for middle school and high school, however, revealed that the focus was on developing data analysis skills rather than understanding complex networks of multi-dimensional relationships in the natural environment (Achieve, 2013). Biological, spiritual and cultural aspects of relationships were not mentioned and so may have been more relevant to non-Indigenous students living in cities with an orientation to development and survival in a competitive economic system but less relevant in the living landscapes of Indigenous peoples and even less relevant to ideas of Native science (Cajete, 2006).

Experience and Tools

Through my work with Indigenous students I have learned that one of the most important ingredients in stimulating interest in learning is experience. The unprecedented nature of the challenges, with the heat, wind and heavy rains, necessitate responses not prescribed in industrial models of education. As Dewey explained, "Only when it becomes cast in a mold and runs in a routine way does it lose its educative power" (2004, p. 10). Moreover, as one Pueblo female student described her experience in our curriculum:

Table 1. Problem content areas relating watershed health to community survival and sustainability

1. Water	*2. Food security through sustainable agriculture*	*3. Energy security*	*4. Health*
Use consumption practices, culture, and alternative scenarios; watershed science, assessment, planning and management; comprehensive inventory of synergistic intrinsic attributes (biological, hydrological, geological) and energetic instrumental uses (habitation, agricultural, livestock, forestry, industrial, mining, transportation, energy generation, recreation); prioritization of problems and implementation of economically viable measures that unite watershed stakeholders in restoring healthy watershed balance, achieving sustainable watershed health, and increasing biodiversity; water rights, law, law making, and policy; providing assistance and support to community practitioners of watershed science.	Traditional agricultural practices research and documentation; foodshed soil science and economics; soil conservation, conditioning and building techniques, and technology research and experimentation; inventory of arable lands; evaluation and modeling of potential, current and projected local agricultural production, practices and problems; promotion of efficient, low-impact, erosion controlling, and soil-building techniques; efficient greenhouse technologies; heritage seed banking; physical, technical and clerical assistance for farmers who need help achieving or improving production and/or economic viability.	Audit, with community participation, household, neighborhood, and community energy use; analyze, model, extrapolate and project energy costs/benefits; implement and adjust energy conservation and efficiency technologies; evaluate alternative energy resources and apply appropriate technologies; promote cultural, institutional, and personal conservation practices. Emerging technologies – efficiency maximization followed by application of renewable energy technologies such as solar, wind, micro-hydro, biofuels, for example – make it abundantly applicable to almost any landscape and environment to produce clean energy for people who inhabit those spaces.	Community composite modeling of health risks and issues; health problem and solution research; identification of low-cost, efficient, intergenerational, and culturally sensitive health-building measures; health education and awareness services; implications for individual and community health of a healthy environment; providing assistance to health providers.

> This program was helpful to me in a lot of ways. I now understand more about my community and its environmental status. I hope that in the future I can still be of service to my community. I would like to pursue my career in Environmental studies because this program has got my interest in all that I have learned.

There are compelling reasons to study watersheds and Indigenous landscapes, and there are activities that can result in curiosity related to self, the familiar and the unknown, all with the purpose of protecting, preserving, and improving the water sources and landscapes vital for Indigenous lifeways. As such, biodiversity assessment can engage children of all ages in understanding the plants and wildlife that inhabit their watersheds, and much of this work involves gathering important baseline information to assess the merits and potential of different preservation strategies and methodologies. Land use and management classification surveys and mapping engage youth in understanding who their neighbors are, what other jurisdictions they must deal with to protect and preserve natural landscapes, and what laws and ordinances may apply or be needed. This includes learning about stakeholders' activities as harming or helping watershed health, and the historical and cultural relationships with the watersheds, and how those have changed. Understanding the interests of other watershed stakeholders is important for protection, preservation, and promotion of biological and cultural diversity (Cocks, 2006). Youth can use a variety of information available to identify and track down point and non-point sources of pollution, past and present, to understand better what chemical burdens the lands and communities bear, thus involving youth in long term examinations of watershed health.

Educational and technical tools like mapping and the development of Geographical Information Systems (GIS) can help young people inventory many aspects of their homelands, and constitute powerful approaches to aspiration-based problem solving. As a Pueblo male student expressed:

> I learned to use arcview to map my reservation. It gave me a better understanding of where our reservation boundaries end, the streams, and other reservations or cities nearby. The second thing I've learned is working together in a different community. There are many issues that we all have in common. We cannot fight with each other, but work together as one nationality to help our own environments to be safe. Mother Nature is a gift that we cannot destroy because of immaturity. We can only help it to grow beautiful. This is really a great program that any body can benefit from.

GIS mapping of watersheds, basins and sub-basins gives youth a powerful way of developing comprehensive views of their natural resources, of stream channels and springs, diversions, dams, erosion, and fire damage. Another Pueblo student in my Environmental Science class used these tools to understand the impacts of the local northern New Mexico Las Conchas fire and the potential flooding that can happen

during inundations. Geology, soils, arable lands, vegetation types, introduced and invasive species can be visualized and quantified in order to weigh possibilities for mitigation, rehabilitation, restoration and reforestation efforts. Comprehensive watershed assessment and management planning requires data collection and processing, and our experiences in community based education convince us that today's tribal youth are capable of making important contributions in many areas (Ericson, 2012).

GIS technology is being used across Indian country to accomplish these and other, tasks: Lisa Lone Fight realized the benefits of involving Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara students in mapping geologically, culturally, environmentally, and politically important areas and locations on the reservation: "Native people are tied to geography; we are a People of place. The very nature of being 'Indigenous' demands a location to be Indigenous to...We constantly seek perspectives and knowledge of the world that explain it and the beings within it" (2012, p. 101).

INDIGENOUS YOUTH INTO THE FUTURE

As inheritors of an increasingly uncertain world, today's Indigenous youth may question how the content of the educational paradigm is, or is not, matching the context of their lives. Lured and challenged by technological innovations and encouraged by the near-universal acceptance of interactive social media platforms, such as Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter, today's young people may benefit from realizing at an early age that they can play a constructive and positive role in the survival of their parents' and grandparents' cultures. Comprehensive approaches with related content areas—which are only a beginning connected by a pedagogy that applies knowledge and experiential, community-based skills to examine the trans-generational relevance of modern environmental and cultural challenges—can illuminate the potential of purpose and influence that will connect the youth with the past and the future. Perspective, applied as a craft and practiced to achieve understanding is a wonderful teacher. Imagine an issue of importance consciously approached from different perspectives: *historically*, in order to understand the conditions that have given rise to it; *locally*, to better grasp its current scope and conditions; *globally*, to appreciate the impacts of external forces; and *futuristically*, applying the other perspectives to discover options for sustainability.

A sustainable community is one that can healthfully interact with the rest of the world, absorb and adjust to changes in environmental and social conditions, and maintain a productive and engaging learning environment for its children. Such a community must have an educational environment that operates to involve and respect its members, regardless of age, gender, or experience. Community Watershed and Landscapes Sustainability Studies can encompass all the required, and new, mental disciplines in interdisciplinary and synergistic ways, and involve students and teachers alike in contextual and practical scenarios where developing skills can be practiced and applied. As inheritors of their lands and communities, young people

can learn a great deal from studying important environmental and cultural issues ultimately related to sovereignty and self-determination. With tools developed in an action research environment, produced to provide the community with useful ways of assessing historic and current influences and conditions, anticipating changes, and preparing for new sets of conditions, youth play an active role in community improvement and survival.

Many of the youth I have worked with have become involved in leadership positions in their tribal communities, and a good portion of the youth in school today will someday also find themselves called to serve their communities. They are the bearers of responsibility for the state of their cultural lifeways and the health of the ancestral landscapes that future generations will inherit. In the curriculum work we have done, we have seen again and again how youth are actually listened to when presenting to community members on important issues and how their recommendations are taken seriously. They are both agents of unification, bringing generations together to teach and learn, and determine what needs doing, and catalysts, agents for action.

CONCLUSION: BIOCULTURAL PEDAGOGY AND ITS BENEFITS

Framing New Pedagogies

The compounding influences of material consumerism and industrial education, combined with youth and adolescence spent away from home and community have produced a generation who know that they want to help their communities as the educational system they experience pulls them away from home and increases the distance between them and their cultural and landscape knowledge heritage. Shifting the center of their educational context from the artificial cognitive environment that revolves around curriculum not relevant to their cultural ways and increasingly distilled to testable knowledge, to the real and present conditions of their homelands is a powerful redirection. Engaging youth in experiential contributions to problem solving that is aspiration-based and forward looking in adapting to the increasing pressures of climate change and variability and mitigating the impacts, will empower them to play active roles in community revitalization and preservation, protecting biodiversity, and helping to restore the intimate connections with the sacredness of all the living beings, waters, and landscapes.

There are multiple benefits for communities in this process as well. Communities benefit through positive intergenerational interactions, strengthening their cultural knowledge systems, and co-creating new knowledge. Through active involvement of young people in ecological survivance, elders benefit psychically and spiritually from knowing that their culture will have a stronger possibility of being faithfully carried forward to future generations. Children also benefit from having positive cultural role models, teachers and leaders in their near-peers. Youth themselves benefit from having a stronger sense of purpose and accomplishment and from the

sense of satisfaction that comes from learning and preserving ancestral cultural practices and knowledge. Overall, communities benefit from a stronger sense of collective identity, which can exert itself forcefully in the face of external challenges. Lands and waters, and their non-human inhabitants benefit from revitalized, fortified, and nurtured relationships with their human stewards. The world benefits from the maintenance of cultural diversity, which ensures creativity towards solutions that can strengthen all its inhabitants. Future generations benefit from the demonstration that strength and resilience is unity, and unity is diversity.

A pedagogy centered in community and engaging youth in action to protect, preserve and promote the health of the lands, waters, and wildlife in response to the real impacts and challenges presented by climate disruption and variability not only has implications for social vitality within the culture, but also dynamically engages the youth in Indigenous ecological survivance, in the total healthy transmission of culture that is place-based to future generations. This is a multi-faceted pedagogy that is environmentally conscious, involves the linguistic transmission of Indigenous knowledge, concerned with biological diversity, is cultural and inter-generational, promotes water, food, and energy security, and is ultimately democratic, participatory, transformational, and emancipatory (Dewey, 2004; Freire & Freire, 2004; Schugurensky & Silver, 2013). When approached in these ways, this becomes a *biocultural pedagogy* that addresses overall community health and vitality, anchoring hope in actual inter-generational practice (Freire & Freire, 2004; Maffi, 2007).

A Vision of Hope

Ideally, all members all communities would come to see the increased engagement and happiness in their youth through such a pedagogy. Learning is mutual, and exponential, and because the learning is place-based and no matter of classroom or computer experience can substitute for visiting on the ground, there is always need for access granted and guides in conduct. It is no simple matter to open a gate. Someone needs to unlock the lock. Once the place becomes established for a study or project, people come to know what their roles are in facilitating something that benefits the community and the landscape, in ways that are perhaps intangible, but which are synergistically integrated. Relationships and learning achieve a new level of mutual support. Problems may arise, but there are members of all generations who can perceive their particulars.

It is essential to have the understanding, blessing and support of leadership, secular and non-secular. Once authority has been granted to plan and facilitate youth projects, relationships begin to develop between the facilitators. Logistics and support begin to routinize, and as long as community-placed education continues to receive leadership support, authority, and funding, relationships will continue to strengthen and mature. New ones will off-branch, with the elderly and the youngest in the community becoming aware of the community vibrancy. Leadership support

for youth action ignites an explosion of growing interest in matters of mutual concern. In a way that is perhaps immeasurable scientifically, at some point there is a collective registering by the life consciousness of the other living beings in the watershed that their humans are returning, the ones that they have developed relationships with since time immemorial.

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NOTES

[1] Royce, C. C. & Thomas, C. (1899) Indian land cessions in the United States. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/13023487/

[2] For more information see Terralingua: http://terralingua.org

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12. CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

We are honored to have worked with all of the contributors in this volume, including the members of the inaugural Pueblo graduate cohort in the School of Social Transformation at Arizona State University. We came to this particular writing project as Indigenous community members and as educators and scholars navigating Euro-centric models of knowledge validation. We have all flexed our own thinking and pounded at the walls of limitations that surround this type of work. But most importantly, we have done so with Indigenous peoples who are our colleagues, our co-learners, our co-teachers.

This Indigenous cohort remains deeply entrenched in their own community-based work, continues fulfilling their purposes on a daily basis, and envisioning work that now moves them forward together. They have described themselves as a family, and as a family, they are first and always mindful of their loved ones, of their communities. We share this commitment and thank the readers and Sense Publishers for journeying with us through this volume.

Figure 1. Mesa Verde, Colorado (from left to right: Rebecca Hammond, Crow Canyon archaeologist and cohort instructor; Dr. Carnell Chosa, Dr. Kenneth Lucero, Dr. Corrine Sanchez, Dr. Michele Suina, and Dr. Shawn Abeita)

E. S. Huaman & B. McK. J. Brayboy (Eds.), Indigenous Innovations in Higher Education, 219.

ABOUT THE CONTRIBUTORS

Shawn Abeita, Ph.D. *(Pueblo of Isleta)* currently works with the U.S. Department of Labor in New Mexico. Previously, he was a Peace Corps Regional Representative for the State of New Mexico. As a Peace Corps Volunteer in the Republic of Panama from 2007 to 2009 he worked with the Board of Directors of Femenians Carrizaleñas Unidas, a small-business cooperative made up of Indigenous Women. Shawn has also worked with his tribal government on economic development issues: Most recently, he served on the Board of Directors of Tiwa Lending Services, a community development financial institution that serves tribal members in the area of providing financial instruments such as home mortgages and small business loans. His current research interests include Indigenous economic development and Native American tribal citizenship and identity.

Bryan McKinley Jones Brayboy, Ph.D. *(Lumbee)* is President's Professor and Borderlands Professor of Indigenous Education and Justice in the School of Social Transformation at ASU. At ASU, he is Special Advisor to the President on American Indian Affairs, Director of the Center for Indian Education and co-editor of the *Journal of American Indian Education*. He serves as affiliate faculty with the Mary Lou Fulton Teachers College, American Indian Studies, and the Department of English. From 2007–2012, he was Visiting President's Professor of Indigenous Education at the University of Alaska Fairbanks. In the last 15 years, he and his team have created programs in Alaska, Arizona, and Utah that have prepared over 135 Indigenous teachers, most of whom are still teaching in Indian Country.

Carnell Chosa, Ph.D. *(Jemez Pueblo)* is from Jemez Pueblo, New Mexico. He received his BA from Dartmouth College, his Masters from Harvard University's Graduate School of Education. In 2011, he co-designed the Pueblo Doctoral Cohort concept with Dr. Elizabeth Sumida Huaman and presented it to Arizona State University. He is grateful that this concept is encouraging other communities to do the same. Chosa co-founded and co-directs The Leadership Institute, a project of the Santa Fe Indian School, and his work focuses on developing innovative programs for youth and community through a new engagement lens that link individuals to community in meaningful ways. In 2013, he received a Luminaria Award from the New Mexico Community Foundation for this work. He is a Kellogg Community Leadership Network Fellow and an Ambassador through Americans for Indian Opportunity. His personal interests include time with family, gardening, silversmith, and nurturing friendships.

Anthony Dorame, Ph.D. *(Tesuque Pueblo)* is a proud graduate of the Santa Fe Indian School where he currently teaches Agriscience in the Community-Based Education Program. This unique program uses traditional Pueblo Indian knowledge systems as the basis for teaching students about the traditions of agriculture. Dorame is dedicated to the education of Native American youth that focuses on the integration of real life experiences, traditional knowledge and Technology to provide a meaningful education for Santa Fe Indian School students. As an avid farmer, fly fisherman and bow hunter, he is able to share his experiences with students to help them to see their cultural obligation to be good stewards of natural resources.

Anya Dozier Enos, Ph.D. *(Santa Clara Pueblo)* is committed to serving Pueblo communities through educational research and practice, which makes Santa Fe Indian School, owned and operated by the 19 Pueblo governors, the perfect place of employment. At SFIS, she is the curriculum/ professional development director and previously taught students grades 7–12, coordinated parent involvement, and administered a variety of grants to expand community based education experiences. Santa Clara Pueblo Tribal Council appointed her to assist in first conceptualizing the new tribally controlled school, Kha'p'o Community School, where she now serves as a founding school board member. She has served on New Mexico Public Education Department taskforces for increasing Native language instruction and use in public schools. She has also taught university courses in research methodology, education, and Native American history. She, her husband, and various cats live in Santa Clara in close proximity to extended family and look forward to the times their grown children return for feasts and other gatherings.

Mark Ericson, Ph.D. *(Santa Fe Indian School)* born in Bolivia, by the age of 15 Ericson had lived in Spain, Nigeria, Australia, and the United States. He holds a BA in Molecular, Cellular and Developmental Biology and an MS and Ph.D. in Justice Studies from Arizona State University. Since 1987 he has taught science and technology at the Santa Fe Indian School. In 1995 he became the Environmental Science and technology instructor in the Community Based Education Program, engaging Indigenous youth in interdisciplinary learning while addressing current, relevant, and important problems in their communities. His research and professional interests include working with youth to develop individual qualities and skills and their own agency in an environmental context that honors their cultural heritage; addressing Indigenous youth unemployment and disengagement; climate instability; and *ecological survivance*. He lives in Santa Fe, New Mexico, with his wife and two daughters.

June L. Lorenzo, J.D., Ph.D. *(Laguna Pueblo/Diné)* lives and works from her home at Laguna Pueblo. Before entering the Pueblo Doctoral Cohort program at ASU, she practiced law for nearly 30 years. A graduate of Cornell Law School, she committed her practice to public interest law; this has included representing Native

Nations as well as being counsel for U.S. Senate and House committees, the US Department of Justice, and non-governmental organizations advocating the rights of Indigenous peoples in international fora. She has served on her Pueblo's Council, as judge in several tribal courts, and as consultant on tribal codes, governance, sacred site protection and other issues. Current research interests are the impacts of Spanish colonial laws on Pueblo peoples, particularly women. She remains engaged in advocacy addressing uranium mining legacy issues and human rights of Indigenous peoples, including protection of sacred landscapes.

Richard Luarkie, M.B.A., Ph.D. *(Laguna Pueblo)* was raised by his grandparents and was exposed to an upbringing that was rich with New Mexico Pueblo culture and values, a deep tradition of contribution to community, and inspiration to live a great life. He served two-terms as the Governor for the Pueblo of Laguna and maintains a passion for strategy, analytics, economic creation, and economic advancement. His professional experience includes entrepreneurship, as well as international work with American Management Systems and AT&T – Global Strategy. Currently, Luarkie is the CEO of the Emerging Equities Solutions Group, a professional services firm specializing in data/analytics, strategy, and economic design.

Tessie Naranjo, Ph.D. *(Santa Clara Pueblo)* is an enrolled member of Santa Clara Pueblo and part of a large extended family. She holds a doctorate in Sociology (1992) from the University of New Mexico. She has served as consultant to several tribal museums including the National Museum of the American Indian in Washington, D.C., Museum of Indian Arts and Culture in Santa Fe, NM, Heard Museum in Phoenix, AZ, and the Poeh Museum in Pojoaque Pueblo, NM. She also served as Chair of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), 1992–2000. As co-Director of the Northern Pueblos Institute, Northern New Mexico College, Naranjo helped establish the A.A. and B.A. degree programs in Pueblo Indian Studies and co-taught courses including Pueblo Women Studies, Tewa Pueblo Agriculture, Native American Literature, Pueblo Indian Education, and Independent Studies. The *Khap'on Tewa Verbs & Pronouns* book completed in 2015 by Naranjo, Tito Naranjo, Porter Swentzell, and Rina Swentzell was an eight-year effort intended for use by Santa Clara Pueblo community residents wishing to learn Tewa. She has a passion for collecting oral Pueblo memories, loves visiting ancestral Pueblo sites, and continues to do language and cultural work in her Pueblo.

Corrine Sanchez, Ph.D. *(San Ildefonso Pueblo)* is Executive Director of Tewa Women United (TWU). She is trained in sexual assault intervention and prevention and has worked in the sexual violence field for 20 years and helped refine TWU's awareness and healing intervention, "Trauma Rocks." Sanchez has been part of the co-creation process of building Indigenous Knowledge through the contribution of TWU's Research Methodology and Theory of Opide, a braiding of practice to

action. She was selected as one of sixteen visionary leaders across the country for the first cohort of the Move to End Violence. She is dedicated to family and community healing, youth development, and ending violence against women, girls and Mother Earth through her service with TWU.

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