

Sociocultural Perspectives on Sovereignty, Citizenship, Identity,
and Economic Development with Implications for Isleta Pueblo

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ABSTRACT

In these three pieces, I expand my thoughts about the functional relationships that sociocultural notions of identity and belonging, and economic development (nation building) of Isleta Pueblo have to citizenship. The journal article, "*Sociocultural perspectives on sovereignty, citizenship, identity, and economic development with implications for Isleta Pueblo,*" builds a framework for understating the current social dynamic of a United States Indigenous community in this present time. In the journal article, I draw from Western philosophers and activist scholars including Indigenous authors, to problematize notions of citizenship and full-participation with its emphasis on rights, and reflections from the filed about my personal upbringing to further the argument about identity. For the book chapter, "*Isleta Pueblo Economic Development and Citizenship,*" I expand on the relationship of Isleta Pueblo citizenship, notions of sovereignty, and economic development. The book chapter will discuss the theory of nation building using some comparative examples taken from other countries in order to broaden the conversation on Indigenous economic development and what it currently does and might entail, especially as related to citizenship. The policy paper brief will provide a summary, findings, history, and recommendations for the identity crisis Tribal Youth are experiencing with regard to a blood quantum policy. The policy paper brief is intended for the tribal leadership of my community to consider.

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CHAPTER 1

JOURNAL ARTICLE

Sociocultural perspectives on sovereignty, citizenship, identity, and economic development with implications for Isleta Pueblo

Introduction

In this work, I draw from Western philosophers and activist scholars, including Indigenous authors, to problematize notions of citizenship and full participation with its emphasis on rights in Southwest U.S. Indigenous communities, using examples from one Southern Pueblo, Isleta Pueblo. This paper will address Western notions of citizenship from an Indigenous rights perspective, highlighting continuities and differences. This is important given the contemporary challenges facing tribal nations in the era of globalization and how tribes define their members in this rapidly changing world.

Citizenship and rights span across borders and nationalities but are made even more complicated by cultural affiliations and racial status, as in the multiple and complex cases of Indigenous peoples in the U.S. and elsewhere around the world, particularly in nation states that have significant Indigenous populations. In this discussion, it is also important to mention the issues around citizenship, when placed within a feminist theoretical framework in describing struggles of historically underserved populations for equal rights is a source of inspiration here—in particular because of the marginal space in which these movements existed and occur in today's societies around the world.

In New Mexico and in the 19 Pueblo Indian Communities within the state, citizenship in an Indigenous setting has been a contentious issue involving both internal (within community and to some degree under community/tribal control) and external

(outside of community/dictated outside of tribal control). Cases of Indigenous rights in Canada, Australia, and in South Africa have had similar instances of the dominant narrative of colonialism and settler colonialism attached to these peoples' history. Patrick Wolfe (2006) coined "The Logic of Elimination" and described the systematic approaches of Western Europeans (a colonial framework) to strip away land and the Indigenous peoples' worldview from them through a process of long-term genocide (p.387). The process consists of strategies through the promotion of individuality, economic dependence, and with the ultimate goal of assimilation to the dominant colonial system (Wolfe, 2006). As Wolfe observed, "the Logic of Elimination not only refers to the summary liquidation of Indigenous people, but is in common with genocide. Furthermore, settler colonialism strives for the dissolution of native societies and erects a new colonial society on the expropriated land base" (p. 387).

The calculated process to one-day rid all Indigenous people from their ancestral homelands is arguably coming to fruition through the use of U.S. federal policies such as blood quantum and economic tools. The shift in Indigenous peoples social structures, and the fight for political rights and land has furthered the narrative of social injustices in a globalized context. As Jerry Mander (2006) observed, "Economic globalization, and the corporations and bureaucracies that are its driving forces, literally cannot survive without an ever-increasing supply of oil, natural gas, forests, minerals of all kinds, fish, freshwater, and arable lands, among other crucial need" (p. 3). Issues like these around natural resources, for example, have made the debates around tribal membership—easily interchangeable with notions of citizenship—more apparent because Indigenous peoples' fight for survival (which is also a struggle for human rights) to coexist in the world

without interference from the dominant other is the new normal in which Native people have to strengthen their worldviews and communities like never before. Ultimately in this dynamic, identity has been and can become convoluted.

As such, work that deconstructs the relationship between how citizenship has historically been defined by non-Indigenous parties and exploring how Indigenous people understand their own affiliation and what I refer to here as, “Pueblo belonging,” becomes an important process for current and future generations. Using examples from Isleta Pueblo, the argument is made that sense of home and belonging are critically important to any conversation on tribal membership-as-citizenship. These elements anchor people to each other and a place, which is a “safe space” where people feel “at home”, and “know one another,” and where their family lineages go back generations, linking them to a social history and cultural history. These ties reinforce the reciprocal relationship between people and their surroundings.

These issues have become of increasing concern to me, as an emerging scholar interested in Indigenous citizenship, Indigenous rights, and local-to- global connections regarding these issues, and most importantly, due to my observations as a Pueblo community member living in Isleta Pueblo and observing the dynamics being played out amongst community members. As such, this work also aims to provide a perspective on the destructive aspects of U.S. federal policy and the effects of colonization, and the processes and gradual, systematic approaches that have stripped away at Isleta Pueblo's worldview—observable today by the ways in which we view, understand, and debate citizenship and belonging. Additionally complicating this discussion are external factors of economics (such as the increasingly dominant non-Pueblo/non-Indigenous ways of

thinking about economic development) and political tools (devised by non-Pueblo/non-Indigenous policymakers) that have attacked Pueblo community sovereignty across the state of New Mexico, as well as other Indigenous nations in the U.S. and elsewhere.

Within this context, this work aims to contribute to both local and broader discussions about citizenship through a Pueblo community member lens and drawing from reflections in the field in a way that may be useful for other Indigenous community members and policymakers grappling with similar histories and resulting current challenges.

Western philosophers: Dominant and departing perspectives

Plato famously posed the questions of, “What is a just man, and what is a virtuous man?” (Plato in Reeve, 1992). These questions expand across time and space and are at the core of a well-maintained society (Reeve, 1992). The discourse of human history has separated man from nature and has separated them in to two groups civilized and non-civilized. However, the state of nature has always existed for which both have to contest with. This classification of civilized and non-civilized is a binary system of those who seek to progress society through a systematic order built upon the notion of property and law and those who have a different worldview other than this. But such an analysis begs the question—who determines what is civilized and what is non-civilized? This is open to interpretation. From the dominant Western philosophical perspective, a civilized society is a system that is structured and dependent upon a social contract between man and the society of which he is a part¹. Society and man equally depend on each other for their

¹ It is important to note that in such early discussions, gender was not held as a lens through which to analyze the social contract, including politics, law, or governance. Such an absence of discussion of the role of people in society, especially gendered and diverse populations, is a caveat to this discussion. However, the purpose here is to outline some key dominant Western points on citizenship and Western ideals of belonging. In the aspect of Native American social justice issues and the relationship with the U.S. government, Indigenous scholar K. Tsianina Lomawaima (2013) observed, “The US Constitution says little about the duties, rights, and privileges of citizenships, although the Bill of

welfare. The just man and the virtuous man have a place in this structure because it allows a man through his work, passions, and dedication to his society (country) to have a fulfilling life. However, this idea is not exclusive to one society but viewed in a general since it was theorized that it could be applied to all societies of the world. If we further this thesis that a social contract is between man and society, then we must take into account how colonialism has stripped the worldviews of Indigenous populations and how this injustice has been detrimental to Indigenous communities across the globe in developing their own societies and what constitutes a just and virtuous man in those societies.

The contribution of people to a society is dependent on a contract between individuals and the community and establishes a constitution or a way of being. The contract between people and community is grounded in a common belief people share (Reiss, 1991 p. 73). It is also about the concept of reciprocity and idea that the contribution of people in furthering the intellect of the society will in turn safeguard the people's interests. The people of the community believe in the vision of the community and how they see themselves function in the context of space and place within that structure. These concepts of being are important, because they set the stage for the discourse for human history, for a society to sustain, be vibrant, and further the culture in the arts, sciences, and the humanities.

Philosophers from the Western world have debated about their societies, which at the time did not include [favorable] notions of local Indigenous populations, ethnic minorities, or women. They put their thoughts down on paper so that they could span

Rights spells out protections to be provided by the nation. The Constitution excluded Native nations from the social contract” (p. 336).

across time. But, as philosophers they spoke distinctly about their period and what their societies' ills and ideals were. At the center of their thinking, they could not escape universal arguments of what makes societies function regardless of race or ethnicity. At the most basic, notions of order, societal justice, and the individual in relation to the whole are debated across nations and societies. However, Indigenous populations and their voices, structures, and ideas were often not recorded in the Western manner. In the past few decades, scholarship continues to emerge to address this gap: For example, Jean-Jacques Rousseau observed:

The first person who, having enclosed a plot of land, took it into his head to say, "This is mine," and found people simple enough to believe him, was the true founder of civil society. What crimes, wars, murders, what miseries and horrors would the human race have been spared, had someone pulled the stakes or filled in the ditch and cried out to his fellowmen, "Do not listen to this impostor. You are lost if you forget that the fruits of the earth belong to all and the earth to no one!" (2011, p. 69).

To sustain a society acknowledgment of the natural environment must occur, which in Plato's time was related to the gods' actions in the form of Zeus creating thunder or Poseidon controlling the sea.

Western philosophers have connected their theories to the will of god(s). Comparing this idea to an Indigenous way of knowing as it relates to the world and the people, who encompass it, is based on the natural world. In the political writings of Kant, he delved into the human progression through metaphysics, and examined the philosophical foundations of law and property deducing it from the idea of original communal possession of the soil (Reiss, 1991, p. 136). By examining the notions of being with the natural environment, Kant built upon the ideas of Plato about the ideas of reciprocity to nature (Grube, 1991, p. 35). This epistemology follows a similar line of

thinking to that of Indigenous Peoples, where they differ though are societies in Europe had a heavy emphasis that focused on individualism, where Indigenous Peoples paid more emphasis on the natural environment which defined their communities. But, the functional relationship here is the connection to ecology for both thought processes.

The value of nature in a practical sense is an important commodity. Indigenous peoples of North America realized that a relationship with nature must be reciprocal. Acknowledging that the earth is living and not dead was an important epistemological source of thought, putting first, respect for the land and all beings that depend on her. Prior to Western European contact, Native Americans built an economic model connecting together economy and ecology with a fundamental understanding the obligation to home as it relates to the earth. This way of knowing is the opposite of what nations and countries today think about the economy (S. Kumar, 2014, lecture). Native Americans believe that ultimately the planet is our home, and the concepts of country and the nation are not as significant (S. Kumar, 2014, lecture). Thus, land, human beings, and nature have an intrinsic value for which human rights and nature rights exist in unison (S. Kumar, 2014, lecture).

Western philosophers have theorized about the role of people in society. Philosophers such as Immanuel Kant, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau have contributed to the political canon and the advancement of civil societies in Western Europe during the 18th and 19th centuries. The furtherance of political thought by these philosophers is a point in the discourse of humanity's progression of societies because it has allowed societies to redirect politics at crucial points in history. These redirections along the road of history are the effects of the people's thoughts about what

were just societies. The vessel for philosophy finds its way to the heart of what the challenges for communities are. The reoccurring theme of what is good and beautiful in people is at the core of the topic about what it means to be from a distinct place and the culture that associates with it. It is what an artist sees in his mind when he paints a scene on a canvas; it is isolated and captures the mood of that particular moment in time.

Societies have methods to protect the body of the population (V. Deloria, 2012, video interview). It is accomplished by observing what the dynamics are and the relationships the community has with the outside world. In Western thought, it has to do with what an individual can contribute for the benefit of self within the context of shaping the dynamic of the society they live in. The Indigenous worldview is based on what the role of each individual member is and how their contributions will strengthen the community's core both religiously and intellectually with regard to being in sync with the natural world. This type of relationship is of co-existence with animals and plant life. Acknowledging without these that life would be very difficult for humans to live or function. Most Native American philosophies stress the importance of asking permission to Mother Earth and that permission must be asked for everything an individual or community undertakes.

The historical constructions of Native communities are different from Westernized systems. However, the natural world is the root for both of them to function, and Western philosophers have said as much. The difference between these two classes of thought stems from peoples observation of the natural environment and how community operate within space and place. In Europe, land has always been at a premium while on the North American continent, before contact, land was available for

everyone to use. This difference may have contributed to the ideas about the value of people of these two theories. Honing in on an Indigenous methodology in Isleta Pueblo as it relates to the intersectionality of an Indigenous worldview and a Western philosophical thought imbued in the current dynamic of the community is a point for discussion. The similarity of both origins, which is tied to the natural environment and individualism, has provided two avenues to explore. In Isleta, it is hard to distinguish between the two because both have become the makeup and the fabric of the community. Both philosophies in the community are apparent, but hard to separate because, people have been accustomed to both worldviews. To differentiate the two, means that one philosophy has to be inferior to the other. The question posed is, how can both worldviews (a Western and an Indigenous worldview) be embraced? In an era of Western democratic ideologies and globalization that influences the world members of the community have to determine a new path for the community to sustain.

Isleta Pueblo, which has a democratic constitution, must acknowledge the people's will. The community has a long history of colonization and Western influence. Most recently, United States policy has furthered this agenda of dominance. Every treaty between foreign governments and Isleta has in essence been design to get rid of the Indians (V. Deloria, 2012, video interview). U.S. federal cases such as the *Santa Clara Pueblo v. Martinez* have brought into question how Pueblo communities identify membership (Fletcher, 2006). In the community, the issue of membership is the most important question to address in the current time. The community has established forms of democratic governance, by adopting a Western democratic constitution seeded ideas about political rights. Taking on this type of foreign governance is meant to strip the

identity away from the community by using a designed policy as a tool to reduce the population of the community. Traditionally, the community consisted of physical, political, social, psychological, historical, linguistic, economic, cultural, and spiritual spaces (Smith, 1999). Linda T. Smith (1999) states, "for colonized peoples many local communities have been made through deliberate policies aimed at putting people on reserves that are often out of sight and on the margins" (p. 175).

The history of Isleta Pueblo

The name Isleta derives from the Spanish word isla.² The first Spanish Colonial Governor, Juan de Oñate in the late 1500's named the community Isleta because of the Rio Grande River's runoff during the spring that caused the valley to flood and the community resembled a small island in the valley (Jojola, 1990). Prior to European contact, Isleta predominately relied on its agricultural methods and members of the community lived lives based on subsistence agriculture and grew crops such as corn and squash. During this period the community's residents lived a communal lifestyle where the plaza signified the center of Pueblo's social world and acted as a public space. Contact with Western Europeans in the 1500's made Isleta conscious of its territorial lands in which they adapted to an imposed Western European governance system and has interfaced with the community's realities ever since (Grande, 2000). These realities have transcended the reservation boundaries to include socio-demographical shifts in their populations that have influenced their stages of economic growth. The traditional economy of Isleta has been damaged, because of land loss and that created a set of

² The Spanish translation to English means island.

circumstances that rendered the tribe dependent on the United States government for their existence (Brayboy, 2012).

Isleta Pueblo is close in proximity to a major urban center. Many of the tribal members are employed in the city and rely upon the city for commerce, economic, and higher educational opportunities. The twentieth century has shifted the community from a communal society with concepts of reciprocity intertwined with daily life to a domestic dependent sovereign nation. The new normal of U.S. government assistance programs has debased Indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) and has created an economic environment of stagnation by not allowing Isleta's traditional economy to progress naturally and uninterrupted. The concept of a domestic dependent sovereign nation has diluted Indigenous knowledge systems by downplaying the importance of public space where ideas are shared amongst members of the community. Colonialism has played a role in the minimization of the value of a traditional governance system, which has relied on gathering in a public space for community dialog and participatory input. In the community this participatory input has always embodied family affiliations, clan relationships, and community partnerships (Hou, 2010). Colonialism had moved the community from these dynamics and now has economic models that are entrenched in capitalism and U.S. government assistance programs. These have deemphasized the importance of a central location (the plaza) and now the community residents are spread out and live individualistic lives. This new growth model has reinforced private space through homes being spread out on the reservation land and has diluted the communal ownership aspect of the community.

Drawing a line in the sand between public and private space has been evident by U.S. federal aid programs, which furthers the notion of colonialism in the aspect of government housing in the community with the continuance of dependency on the U.S. government to still occur. For example, this framework has made Indigenous knowledge systems irrelevant, because it has taken away communal partnerships and families working together in the construction of homes and using local building materials. The change from traditional housing to government housing in which we see the family dynamic as well shift to a different makeup of a family that are now diverse and represent different nationalities due to tribal members interactions with others outside of the reservation boundaries.

Native American and Isleta Pueblo Citizenship

The policies written by the U.S. government during the 19th century for Native American tribes in regard to determining tribal membership were intended to persuade Native Americans who were half Indian blood or less not to register in their tribe, but instead, accept allotments (V. Deloria, 2012, video interview). This is the point in history where blood quantum first became noticeable in treaties between tribal nations and the U.S. federal government (V. Deloria, 2012, video interview). In the era of U.S. federal Indian policy, the U.S. government has standardized the process dealing with Native Americans. That is, putting Native Americans in one group and failing to recognize the unique worldviews within Indian country. This standardized approach has limited the capacity of Native American tribes to fully exert their power as sovereign nations, because all tribes have to act in a similar fashion when dealing with U.S. federal policy and procedures in functioning in a democratic system.

The duality of citizenship for Native Americans is a two-sided coin. They have to balance being citizens of the U.S. and of their tribe. The problem that occurs in the duality is that of acting like an American with an implied understanding of Western World history by the other. Inside of their communities this history is foreign and oppressive. The history of the West has often disregarded the Indigenous narrative from history and has imposed a system of understanding human progression through the lens of mapping the world to resemble Western European dominance over other societies. For this reason, that is exactly why being a “citizen of America” is so complex for those who have had to conform to this way of knowing, because at the heart of the argument Native Americans are not U.S. citizens but citizens of their native nations first (Lomawaima, 2013).

In the 1930’s the U.S. government held hearings about how to deal with the Indian problem, they observed,

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).

As it relates to Isleta Pueblo, the history of government-to-government relationships with Spain, Mexico, and the U.S. has been volatile. However, these governments did recognize that a distinct people lived in the area before European settler colonialism. Western democracy and the current political process occurred in Isleta with the establishment of a constitution in 1947. The intent of the Indian Reorganization Act

(IRA) was to allow Indians the right to self-govern and grow their economies (BIA, 1947, p. 2). Along with the constitution, came strict guidelines about the composition of the community. With the founding of a democratic government, a tribal council, and the governor were formed who are elected to office by a majority vote. To be eligible to vote a requirement of one half Indian blood is required. The blood quantum requirement also pertains to land ownership and running for political office. Blood quantum policy determines who could be a member of the community regardless of family ties or clan relationships. In essence if a child is born in the community and belongs to a religious society and does not meet the blood quantum requirement of one half regardless if he or she lived there their entire life, they do not have a political voice. It in turn goes against the philosophy of the collective knowledge of the community.

Today's political environment in Isleta is a social justice issue for those who reside there. The social injustice is for those (descendants less than one-half Indian blood) who do not have political rights, but who have lived in the community for most of their lives. The acknowledgment of descendants (non-tribal members) by the tribal government is not equal to having political rights and the participation inherent in having those rights. Deloria (1969) writes, "The internal colonization is the historical process, and political reality defined in the structures and techniques of government that consolidates the domination of Indigenous peoples by a foreign yet sovereign settler state" (p. 117). The assimilation to a democratic society has opened the door for social justice movements to take hold and exist in the community. Further, it has paved the way for writings about the issue to take form by community scholars. Such social justice movements are similar to what other marginalized groups throughout the world have

experienced. The question posed is how can the community be inclusive of all people of the same tribal identity? To acknowledge an individual's tie to the community by clan relationships and by identifying a family through generations of residence does make that person a member of that community (V. Deloria, 2012, video interview). The core values of the community reflect this, in that communal partnerships and reciprocity are first and foremost at the center of Pueblo life for maintaining their spirituality (R. Pecos, 2014, lecture).

Determining citizenship can and may be detached from the political sphere of the U.S. government. Isleta Pueblo needs to determine their membership requirements. The problem is not about blood quantum, but the immediacy of the situation in the light of the impact globalization is having on the community. Blood quantum is a tool to keep the people separated and fragmented. The goal of the U.S. government is to construct barriers so that Isleta's society may not reach its full potential. The community needs to be diverse in all aspects of people and ecology in order for it to sustain. Diversity will enable the community to progress.

Isleta Pueblo can determine their requirements for membership by aligning policy with traditional core values. If people do identify with a family, clan, and respects the traditions of the Pueblo community, then that should be the criteria for becoming a member. Being a Pueblo person does not mean how much percentage of Indian blood they have. Rather, what makes Pueblo people are the relationships to the community, to the land, which enforces the community's worldview. The belief is not dependent on whether a person participates in Pueblo religion or not, but it is how that person is contributing to the community through public service and representing where they come

from in a positive light. The new normal is that Pueblo people walk in two worlds, the Pueblo world, and the Western world. The question posed is how can a Pueblo government form policy so that members of the community can contribute their talents fully?

Reflecting upon what it means to be a member of a Pueblo community is at the core of the discussion. Identity is an abstract concept, and there is no definition that provides clarity to what makes a person apart of a community. A recent presidential election demonstrated that a deficit of language fluency was used as an instrument to forfeit an individual's campaign (Article taken from NPR, 2014). It is opened to interpretation of what constitutes an individual's authenticity of being Indian. The blood quantum policy is a conundrum of not being enough of or being too much of something. In the case of the presidential election, the candidate's ethnicity was not in question, but the Indigenous language was used as a marker in the deconstruction of an individual's life experiences and deeming them invalid. For this reason, a colonial framework of control is evident here because it subtracts the Indigenous person from the equation and an individual's intent to do well for a tribal community. It is about the people who hold power being threaten by those who are marginalized. Seeking equality and transparency within that political structure is the goal.

In Isleta Pueblo the question must be asked, if the current political policies were in place and individuals did not have the luxury of leaving the reservation to make a life outside, how would society play out? Further, if members of the community could not leave the reservation and had to be dependent on the tribal government economically and for their existence, how would that look? These questions are important to ask, because

we have a World historical record of civil unrest, revolutions, and dictatorships develop exactly because flawed policies meant to keep people on the margins. The fundamental difference for these events occurring in the community is community members have the opportunity to leave the reservation and seek economic opportunity elsewhere.

Colonization has diluted most of a community's core values, because it has allowed members of the community to separate themselves economically from one another, which brings upon social classes and is why a democratic, transparent model must protect the political rights of all its members.

What has evolved in Isleta Pueblo since the time of Western European contact is a similar democratic system to that of the United States. The history of the U.S. has experienced a political progression from white males having political rights only to the succession of the Southern States in the 1860's to protect these rights of entitled men. The reconstruction era, post antebellum in the United States went through phases of segregation in the South, the feminist movement, Native Americans being allowed to vote, and the Civil Rights movement of the 1960's. At the core of these political movements was a desire by marginalized groups to have equal political rights in their homelands. The exclusion of people to participate in a political process by a dominant group has never worked in all of world history. A participatory approach in which all members have the opportunity to participate politically is in nature a democratic process. On the path of self-determination, the community will have to define what their identity is. This definition of identity will describe what the political landscape should be for future generations. Adopting a democratic form of government, Isleta structured a political system based on participation of tribal members. However, what was not

thought of in 1947 was population growth of neighboring communities, the interactions of Pueblo community members with others, which resulted in a different makeup of a tribal member. This trend will continue to grow as time progresses and the political divide will become that much more apparent if it is not corrected in the short term.

Isleta Pueblo needs to strengthen the collective of the people. How to do this depends on the aspirations the community has for the future. Blood quantum should not be the deciding factor to determine membership and one's inherent right to belong. Dr. Garrouette (2003) observed in her writing that: "Under these circumstances, blood quantum requirements (used by about two-thirds of all tribes in the lower forty eight states) are clearly not well suited to the needs of groups too small to support endogamy" (p. 58). In her work, she summarizes real life case examples of blood quantum impacts: For example, a Wichita man who describes how his tribal population was decimated so early in colonial contact that a problematic dilemma has occurred not of their own people's doing—which is that the majority of the tribal population is related to each other and as a result, cannot intermarry. The resulting problem is how to meet the 1/8th blood quantum membership requirement currently and also in a way that will lend itself to sustainability of the tribal population into the future. Garrouette also includes the perspectives of Native scholars, like Stiffarm and Lane, Jr., who add to this, "To make genetics the defining criterion for continuation of [tribes with only small numbers of full blood members]... would be quite literally suicidal" (p. 58). These statements and testimonies from tribal people reflect two opposite ends of a long and complicated spectrum of membership and identity. On the one end, there are large populations, which can perhaps afford to keep blood quantum policy in place. On the other end, some Native

American tribes are experiencing *negative growth* in their populations (Ted Jojola, 2012), such as is the case in the Isleta Pueblo in discussion here. Having a large population base is necessary in order to stay relevant. It allows for a nation-state building approach to be conceptualized and that can support their economy. However, these two ends of the same spectrum ultimately have a functional relationship: The functional relationship is exclusive to each other with regard to the government-to-government relationship with the U.S. federal government. This fact is about what constitutes a tribal member and ties them to the community. With a negative rate in the population, tribes must begin to ask themselves—how is this affecting tribal sovereignty now? How will this affect tribal sovereignty tomorrow?

These are important questions for Isleta community members to discuss. Defining what constitutes a citizen other than a blood quantum percentage approach is important to sovereignty, because it allows a community to strengthen their government and worldview. Unlike Native nations with large populations they have some time to evolve and transform to meet the current environment and further their worldview and remain relevant in today's society. Tribal communities with negative population growth are at a deficit. With regard to the Isleta Pueblo as a hypothetical example, this may not have to be too complex of a problem solve. This is because there are many central community elements still in existence, and in fact, still thriving. For example, the cultural foundation is still in many ways intact to strengthen the community: Native language and cultural/spiritual ceremonies are still practiced, and the most important point as a collective society is strengthening these two points of language and worldview. Using

community-based criteria, Isleta Pueblo's tribal government could rethink how it defines what is a tribal member opposed to relying on a blood quantum requirement.

Blood Quantum

Issues surrounding blood quantum has put a strain on a Isleta Pueblo to evolve into a likeness of nation capable of supporting their members economically and free of the U.S. government economic support. Various viewpoints around the blood quantum policy are many. The awareness by some tribal members to rethink the blood quantum policy is a positive approach to correcting the policy and the detrimental effects it is having on the community and society at large. Tribal members who oppose the blood quantum policy will need to strengthen vanguards, which already exists in the community. These vanguards should stress the important points about the negative aspects about the policy and the long-term implications it will have for future generations. Vanguards have voiced the issue surrounding blood quantum. Through proactive initiatives, tribal members who support restructuring the policy about tribal membership, and through a democratic process were able to acquire signatures, in a petition form, and presented it to the tribal council in support of reducing the policy to a 1/4 Indian blood requirement. The outcome of the initiative resulted in a special vote for lowering the blood quantum requirement in 2010.

The bill proposed, the voting process, and the election took place and lost by a small margin. The ½ blood quantum policy is still in effect. By upholding the policy, the community exercised its sovereignty and self-determination. However, the exercise of this sovereignty and self-determination is only beneficial when all members of the group have equal rights under the practice of sovereignty. An inclusive society

where diversity is valued, where people have the notion that the future will be better can only occur in which members of the community have political rights, and there is an essence of belonging. On a basic level, there is an analogous to descendants for there is a common ancestry in the community, therefore how tribal government reconciles this in a political sense where the community is united in political and worldview is the most important aspect of sovereignty (Reiss, 1991, p. 164). For the purpose of right, A Isleta Pueblo's members can be taught that there is a common mother (the republic), constituting, as it were a, single family whose members (the citizens) are all equal at birth (Reiss, 1991, p. 164).

With Isleta Pueblo disunited in thought and worldview makes it nearly impossible for the community to progress both intellectually and as a sovereign nation. The political atmosphere, in which some are afforded rights and privileges while others are not, is the intersectionality of human rights and social injustices that are occurring and is not a democratic process. Policies in which people are identified by a percentage, an ethnic minority, and are looked at as an inferior group amongst the community is subjugated to lives of inequality that spawns negative thought and racism toward this group. Furthermore, it makes easy for politics to identify these individuals and blame them for things that may go wrong in the future. Alfred (1970) suggests, "That the hope of government systems being set up to replace colonial control in Indigenous communities will embody the underlying cultural values of those communities" (p.33). The Universal Principle of Right states, "Every action which by itself or by its maxim enables the freedom of each individual' will to co-exist with the freedom of everyone else in accordance with a universal law is right" (Reiss, 1991, p. 133).

The idea that a blood quantum policy is a deficit model for growth and subtracts from the aspirations and goals of the community is critical to the conceptualization of a different way of thinking about belonging other than the policy. Western ideas along with political philosophies have taken hold in the community of what is right, what is just, and how can people with different political views coexist as one people under the banner of a nation. The breakdown of tribal government and its politics have divided people due to their ability to choose what causes to support. What have developed in the community are liberal and conservative viewpoints about what is best for the tribe and its people. For liberals who hold leadership roles in the tribe, it is about how they frame the blood quantum policy as a workable solution. Liberals who hold political positions and who have the best intentions of the community, stating support of political rights for all members will not progress the tribe. Proactive approaches and creative solutions with bipartisan support from both conservatives and liberals in the restructuring of policy that it is a transparent process, where a constructive dialog can take place in a welcoming forum, and where the intellectual conversation can further what is best for the tribe is positive. Moreover, the community's tribal government needs to think about how they can accept a political constellation in which all community members have full-participation (Woods, 1970).

An example from South Africa during the apartheid era shall shed some light on the marginalization of Indigenous peoples in their homeland. Political activist/scholar, Steven Biko stressed in his writing the importance of political representation of the marginalized. The policy of the South African government during the apartheid era was that of racial separation and disenfranchisement of the country's

Indigenous population. A small minority of the white population controlled the South African government. The struggle for Indigenous South Africans to gain political rights in South Africa during this period by an oppressive government can draw a comparison to the political situation of the community with descendants not having political rights, but are from the community and are related through blood. The tribal government has made their minds up that sharing political power with descendants is out of the sphere of possibility (Woods, 1970). Because at this point in time a roundtable situation seems not likely, since that presupposes the political equality of descendants (Woods, 1970). Since equal rights is imperative to a just democratic society, than the community will need to have a process of reconciliation in which tribal members and descendants can live in a collective society (Woods, 1970). This in theory will be a positive start for progression and will unify the population to work towards collective goals while creating a new Indigenous consciousness movement for the community.

Discussion: What it means to belong to a community

In many ways, my own story might be representative of the stories of many other community members from any one of the 19 Pueblos of New Mexico. I identify myself as a Native American and as a Pueblo person, because I grew up in the culture and was raised in Isleta. I have lived on the reservation of my own Southern Pueblo for most of my life. My entire family is from there, and all of my good friends are from there as well. Do these reasons mentioned make me an Indigenous person? This is as complicated a question as asking what does not make me an Indigenous person? And furthermore, who ultimately gets to decide? Who judges what percentage belongs to what particular faction of my own identity? In simple terms, I cannot and do not distinguish

myself from any other culture, because the Native American/Pueblo way of life is *all that I know*. Although, most of us from the community embrace what might be considered non-Pueblo or non-traditional elements, including our cars, modern farm equipment, and the occasionally vacations to distant places in which we interact with other cultures, these facets of where we go and what we do and how we live do not erase that we are from a distinct place where our Pueblo ancestors and spirits are still remembered and honored, where a distinct Pueblo way of life is still practiced on a daily basis.

However, these questions are troubling and complex. They are difficult to raise, difficult and painful to debate, and in such discussions, much blame—whether historical, community-centered, or external/outside of community—is present. The questions reveal more about dynamics of power, histories of repression and political gain, and economic manipulation. Not only Pueblo people, and in particular Isleta, but also all Native Americans in the U.S. are at a crucial juncture in their histories: The loss of land and worldview through loss of cultural traditions and practices is systematically being taken away from us. In fact, 50 years from now, will our great grandchildren even relate to how we as Native Americans live today? How will they view the legacies we are a part of and building today? How are we thinking of them now—making our reservations better for generations yet to come? As Indigenous people asking these questions, we must continue in the footsteps of our ancestors who fought so hard to protect our way of life. This is why identity is important and regardless of an individual's Indian blood quantum, if they believe in the tribe's worldview, are willing to defend the memory of their ancestors, and give their time to public service, helping the community grow both intellectually and spiritually, could these reasons solidify their place in community and in

the memory of that community beyond the esoteric? Are these grounds for citizenship? To survive as a distinct people we need to have an increase in conscientiousness of all of our populations in which our distinct and diverse worldviews are sustained.

What does it mean to belong to a community? Perhaps belonging embodies responsibility to community and responsibility from community, which is a sacred trust, an *Indigenous social contract* that we as Native Americans have inherited as a people (Crow Canyon Pueblo Ph.D. Cohort Module, October 3, 2014). As Pueblo people, we have to take a look in an honest, frank way, and learn about our history as a people and the effect of colonialism has had. The Leadership Institute at the Santa Fe Indian School offers Pueblo people in New Mexico, as well as non-Pueblo and other policymakers, educators, and leaders the opportunity to engage in this discussion through the sharing of its “100 Years of Federal Indian Policy,” which is a presentation that describes the impact of the last 100 years of U.S. governmental policies that restricted Indigenous languages, religious practices, landholding, governmental structures, and education (www.lisfis.org). By learning about our history and interactions with the dominant other through community-based programs and presentations like this, we can reconstruct a new likeness and new identity for the future. Perhaps how we maintain our spirituality in the new normal is a combination of adaption to a globalized system, but while remaining sovereign in which we as a people can create an insurgent space within that system. Pueblo scholar, Regis Pecos provided insight into how the preservation of worldview is important in this time:

As a People, language is a gift of the creator to comprehend and find meaning and purpose of our existence. The gift of governance and the maintenance of relationships are important, because it

underscores the maintenance of the spirit of the community. The laws and customs of our Pueblos provide us corrections when we deviate from those prescribe pathways in which we must be in good standing with our families and communities (Crow Canyon Pueblo Ph.D. Cohort Module, October 3, 2014).

Within the context of a Pueblo worldview being a virtuous and just man is having honor in all he undertakes. This equally reflects also how the sacred masculine and the scared feminine are protected in the community as well.

Isleta Pueblo's oral tradition tells a story about how we are all connected. Isleta people originated from one seed of corn. Community identity can be viewed as a field of corn. The corn that makes up the field originated from one seed. To put identity in the simplest form, if an individual is born in the community they are from the community.

Moreover, land is at the center of our community, both religiously and intellectually, how we protect our land is the responsibility of all who reside in the community. According to Kim TallBear (2013), "We privilege our rights and identities as citizens of tribal nations for good reason: citizenship is key to sovereignty, which is key to maintaining our land bases" (p. 40).

In this new normal members of the community will need to determine a different pathway for which the collective may continue to progress in a similar fashion as our ancestors in regards to our worldview, but in a new global context. This includes keeping our Native religion and strengthening of our language. However, it is easy to state the obvious about how our religion and language are the most important, which they are. But, for a new pathway to be established must begin at the grassroots level.³ The idea here is

³ Ugandan activist scholar Dani Wadada Nabudere (2008) used Brazilian educator Paulo Freire's foundational work, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1972) as a tool to conceptualize his thoughts about how an Indigenous Research Methodology in Africa could work. Nabudere believed research is a collaborative process between a researcher and the

to seek the views of the elders, tribal officials, religious leaders, and the youth to have an honest discussion about the state of the tribe (www.lisfis.org). This is the glue that will bind the community moving forward in the strengthening of these relationships.

A blood quantum policy has been in place for over 80 years in the community, reconciliation (uniting the community in a shared vision) must be an inclusive process that takes into account the diversity of the community. Additionally, how we view our women in the light of a blood quantum policy is equally important in this process of reunification, because it can be said that children primarily acquire their knowledge and worldview from their mothers. The affects of a blood quantum policy and the conflict it presents in the day-to-day interactions of the people in the community is precisely because of loyalties to a notion of exclusiveness versus inclusiveness that is based on a policy of blood. Feminist author, bell hooks (1989) provides insight into women's rights with regard to diversity, she writes, "Diversity is challenging precisely because it requires that we shift old paradigms, allowing for complexity (p. 71). Indeed, if the community is to progress we have to get at the cause of our internal struggles to find a balance. These struggles are a result of the blood quantum policy that results in identity issues for the members of the tribe and particularly the youth. I am from the community, but I am not a member. If I am not an Indian, what am I? What is my identity?"

community. Ultimately though, research is a community effort in which members contribute their knowledge in a collective manner. In Nabudere's opinion, the notion of "Social Transformation" is an elaborate process. He built upon Francisco Grossi's (1980) article "The Socio-Political Implications of Participatory Research". In Grossi's article, Social Transformation encompasses several aspects of philosophical theory, such as the Hegelian concept of "praxis." Hegelian praxis consists of not actions, but specifically activity that can spawn a transformation in a society (Nabudere, 2008, p.67). Nabudere's methodology implies if an Indigenous Research Methodology is to sustain it must include a participatory process at the grassroots level. The process includes community members contributing by telling their personal life experiences and how they perceive the world in an equal stance with the researcher. Nabudere called for more Indigenous scholars to create an insurgent space within the canon of Western knowledge for the purpose of challenging the Eurocentric views of Indigenous peoples and their histories. Indigenous scholar Mary E. Romero (1994) draws a similar parallel in her research on the Keres speaking Pueblo people of New Mexico and their views about Indigenous giftedness. In this aspect, the two authors share similar views about participatory research methodology. They believe Indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) are essential to the narrative of global education.

A Personal Story

The late Pueblo scholar Dr. Alfonso Ortiz (1972) wrote about what it means to be a Pueblo Indian. His book, *The Tewa World Space, Time and Becoming in a Pueblo Society* explains the root of his community's existence. Furthermore, he poses fundamental questions about Pueblo Identity, which are relevant to all Pueblo communities. He writes,

“I have attempted to determine, then, how a reasonable Tewa everyman would answer for himself questions such as the following. Who am I? Where did I come from? How did I get here? With whom do I move through life? What are the boundaries of the world within which I move? What kind of order exists within it? How did suffering, evil, and death come to be in this world? What is likely to happen to me when I die? (p. 27).

This quote is especially meaningful to me, because as I delve into research as an emerging scholar and began my journey in seeking a deeper understanding about the current challenges in the context of sovereignty of my community, for me, goes back to these fundamental questions as a Pueblo person. In this section, I draw upon my personal experience growing up in Isleta Pueblo as I attempt to answer these important questions of how I came to be as a person and what ultimately defines my identity – my upbringing.

My paternal grandparents are from a distinct place. Growing up I remember spending time with grandparents. They lived in walking distance from my parents' home. When I was old enough to venture out on my own, I did. I would walk on the dirt road pass by my aunt and uncle's house on the way to visit my grandparents almost every day. I knew if I ever needed anything that they were near, and I felt secure in their presence. My grandmother came from a large family in the village, and my grandfather's family lived away from the village near the hills on the west side of the Rio Grande River. Both

of my grandmother's parents were from the community, but my grandfather's mother was not, and her family was originally from the East Coast of the United States. However, as a child I did not understand what blood quantum meant and why it mattered. All I knew then was both my grandparents were from the village, and everyone there knew them.



Image 1. My dad (left), My grandmother (center), and my uncle (right): Eugene Abeita, Cecila Abeita, and Hubert Abeita

My upbringing influenced who I am today. It is a result of spending time with my grandparents, observing them, and listening to my grandmother's stories. As a child, I would sit with her underneath the mulberry tree at her home until we saw the sun go down behind the hills. My grandparents' place was tranquil, and a person could lose their thoughts there. My grandmother would tell me stories about her mother who was a potter. She would say to me "When we were growing up we were so damn poor". Her mother would sell pottery to the tourist who visited the village. She would sell a piece of pottery for 15 cents and gave my grandmother a nickel whenever she did well. She would save the money her mother gave to her for the feast day where she spent it on the carnival rides. This was one of my grandmother's favorite stories to tell. My grandmother was the

youngest child of her family. She took care of her father who was blind up until she met my grandfather, about in her early twenties. My grandmother would speak our native language when she would tell me stories. Her daily activities included cooking, cleaning, sewing, and in the evening she spent time conversing and sharing her knowledge with other family members (Romero, 1994). She imparted her knowledge about the world to me, which I am grateful. When approaching a task, she explained why she did things a certain way. Her home was made of the earth. Every year she would whitewash the adobe walls in her home with sand taken from a place on the reservation. She taught me about asking for permission before I did anything. I remember once when I was a child I visited her and entered the house. She was not inside. On the table were such Pueblo dishes as chicken and rice, meat with red chile sauce, freshly baked Indian bread, cookies, and pies. I begin to eat a cookie, and she entered the room. She got upset with me because I was eating a cookie, and I didn't ask permission. I learned the food was prepared for all souls day that she participated in annually. She taught me about the reasons behind the preparation of the food and I understood. I helped her take the food to the barn where we buried the food under the earth in remembrance of our ancestors.



Image 2. My grandmother's ovenbread

My grandmother was good at seeing my inner strengths she would tell me I was a good listener, I asked good questions, and that I spoke up for what is right. I believe I inherited these gifts due to my observations of her from her daily interactions with others.



Image 3. My grandmother and my sister: Diane Abeita (left) and Cecilia Abeita (right)

My grandfather was not much of a communicator. He was a quiet man and didn't express himself verbally. However, his expressions came in the form of his appreciation of the land. I remember their house as a source of constant activity. Throughout the year, their home was busy. Every growing season my grandfather would harvest the crops while my grandmother canned the food in preparation for the winter months. This process consisted of teamwork among family and community members, where people helped one another. The neighbors would help my grandparents harvest the crops and in return my grandparents fed and sent them home with fresh vegetables. My grandfather planted corn every other year, during the years when corn grew in the field my older brother, younger sister, and I would play in the field and let our imaginations run wild. Aside from growing vegetables, my grandfather raised livestock. He had cattle and pigs. He grew

other crops in the fields' such as alfalfa and oats. The alfalfa and oats were to feed the cattle.



Figure 4. My grandfather: Willis Abeita

After my grandmother husked the corn she would then feed the corn stock to the pigs. I remember my grandparents' house before they had propane heaters inside their home. Every day was a ritual of feeding the animals, chopping wood in the winter months, gathering coal from the coalhouse and helped stack them inside so my grandparents could start a fire to keep the house warm. In the summer months, daily activities included weeding the garden, and when it was time for my grandfather to cut the hay he would wait a couple of days, turn it, and then bail it. Those days consisted of me helping my dad and grandpa picking up bails in the fields and stacking them behind the house near the animal corral.



Image 5. My grandmother: An Isleta elder (left) and Cecilia Abeita (right)

My traditional education came in the form of visiting with the elders. At my grandparents house the neighbors would visit my grandparents on a regular basis. I remember Jimmy Fox, Tractor Man, and Michael Moose who would come by. I didn't know their real names until I was much older. I learned by listening. I learned about agriculture, the seasons, geography, and the history of our people simply by being present. At a young age, I learned the importance of respecting the elders. Under the tree, my grandmother told me stories of our people, where we came from and how the village moved several times, how the river shifted overtime to where it is today. She would say to me we live in two worlds, they go side by side.



Image 6. My grandmother, brother, and I: Cecilia Abeita (left), Eugene Abeita (center), and Shawn Abeita (bottom)

Life experiences and interactions with others is the makeup of identity. My life experiences are rich, they are meaningful, and they are the memories I will take with me when I pass on and am no longer physically in this world. The memories we create are special. They cannot be bought nor exchange for something different. We cannot rewrite our personal narratives. Growing up on an Indian reservation has profoundly impacted my life.

Conclusion

This paper is a culmination of philosophical theory about the notions of identity, citizenship, and belonging. These topics are at the heart of what is affecting Native nations today and that is what makes an Indian an Indian? Retracing history, I attempt to demonstrate the functional relationship of people, who shared similar life experiences in their search for the meaning of life and belonging. Furthermore, these individuals such as Plato, Kant, Rousseau, Ortiz, V. Deloria, and Pecos to name a few have contributed to the body of world knowledge, which will not be forgotten and will be passed on to future generations.

CHAPTER 2

BOOK CHAPTER

Book Chapter: Isleta Pueblo Economic Development and Citizenship

Introduction

On a global scale, deconstructive colonial methods, which been applied by foreign governments to Indigenous communities, have caused, among other problems, damage to the very independence of these communities (Smith, 1999). Furthermore, independence in the context of an Indigenous worldview is the ability for Native Americans to live life in accordance with their core values that reflects sovereignty and self-determination. Indigenous Scholars Taiaiake Alfred and Jeff Corntassel (2005), observed that:

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, Indigeness is reconstructed, reshaped and actively lived as resurgence against dispossessing and demeaning processes of annihilation that are inherent to colonialism (p. 612).

In the U.S., among over 500 federally recognized tribes that have experienced this type of stripping of independence are the 19 Pueblos of New Mexico. In the early twentieth century, all of these Pueblos, which actually numbered in the hundreds or more, 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.

This work will delve into some of the aspects of how the power of these Pueblos were reduced, which has led to a new call for nation building that is also contingent upon

citizenship. Constructing a methodology for Pueblo nation building and its application cannot be possible without examining the cultural role of citizenship. This paper will detail some pressing issues in the current tribal political model detrimental for advancing the economic development for Isleta Pueblo. Using this one example, the critical questions can be framed as, 1) How has U.S. government federal Indian policy imposed upon a Isleta Pueblo's sovereignty? and 2) How can the community strengthen their worldview in the era of globalization? The aim of this paper is to ultimately provide insight into contemporary issues facing a tribal nation in New Mexico as it relates to concepts of nation building in a globalized economic system.

In this work, I expand on the relationship between Pueblo citizenship, notions of sovereignty, and economic development. The paper will discuss the theory of nation building using some comparative examples taken from other countries in order to broaden the conversation on Indigenous economic development and what it currently does and might entail, especially as related to citizenship. The paper concentrates on concepts for economic development using examples of Japan and Israel economic histories and within a global context. I will also describe the history of Pueblo community economies prior to Western European contact and how the history of colonialism has interfaced with a Southern Pueblo's dynamic since that time period. The argument is made that the dominant traditional economic practices of a Isleta Pueblo have largely transitioned to a Western capitalistic system that tribal members have embraced, which is the "new normal". In order to support this argument, I offer a reflection on the meaning of tribal citizenship in today's local economic environment with such policies in place as blood quantum that have drastically changed both the

physical makeup and the worldview of the community. This is because the value of an individual is ultimately no longer weighted on public service, but rather a quantifiable method used to determine who is Indian and who is not. In essence, such a trajectory of federal policy thrust upon Pueblos-to-external ideals of economic development-to-tribal membership policy has diminished the possibility for an Isleta Pueblo to exercise their sovereignty and therefore grow their economy as Pueblo people.

Tiwa Lending Services

The Pueblo of Isleta reservation's geography consists of agricultural lands in the valley of the Rio Grande River, high desert lands, and mountains. The delicate balance of protecting the ecosystem and thinking about economic development in this context has been debated at the tribal government level. The need to protect agricultural lands is great because of the tribe's water rights that need to be utilized and maintained (DuMars, 1984). Additionally, agriculture is the lifeline of the community. Finding a solution to the maintenance and continence of agriculture while conceptualizing economic development projects is a delicate balance because of a limited land base where such economic development projects can flourish is the challenge. Doubly important is identifying land on the reservation where houses can be built for members of the community. The limited land base has proven difficult exactly because of the preservation of agricultural lands. How to move forward with community planning where a similar model of a village can exist outside of the present dynamic of the village is about finding an area on the reservation where such a model could be created is the challenge. However, private property and preserving agriculture lands are in theory not options for housing development, resulting in the building houses in the high desert lands of the reservation.

In 2010, the Isleta Tribal Council began the discussion about how to best handle the housing crisis in the community. The discussion focused on community members who owned property. The tribe thought the best strategy to solve the housing shortage revolved around the promotion of homes to be built on private property. However, the roadblock is with community members who owned property who could not obtain a home loan. It related to banks that viewed loans on the reservation as high risk, likely to default. Financing for tribal members to build homes has been consistently stubborn to correct. The tribe looked at a community finance institution (CDFI) as a plausible solution to this.

The tribal council strategized about how best to deal with the on-going housing crisis. The council came up with the idea of creating a community finance institution (CDFI). A CDFI operates as an umbrella and is a business model for communities to develop economically. The CDFI is used for development projects as housing, small business development, loans, and credit unions. The tribe invested 3.2 million dollars to start the CDFI and created a board of directors for the purpose of oversight and establishing policies.

In that same year, the tribal council thought about the idea to begin the CDFI, simultaneously the process of recruiting a board of directors for the newly formed Tiwa Lending Services (TLS) also started. TIWA's board consists of individuals with different expertise in business. The board consists of six individuals who bring different expertise in business. Additionally, the board has three people that are indigenous who provide unique aspects about economic development on Native American lands. The board of directors has not lost many board members, with the core serving on the board since

2010. The tenure of the Board has allowed for creative ideas to follow naturally and for the CDFI to grow.

The mission of Tiwa is to provide home loans to tribal members so that they may build homes on their property. The 3.2 million dollars gifted by the tribe to start the business venture became an effective way to provide financial assistance to members of the community. Since 2010, TLS has structured home loan interest rates based on the U.S. government 30-year treasury. The demand for home loans continues to grow, and currently Tiwa is to exhaust the 3.2 million dollars in the home loan fund, because of the need in the community for such a program. TLS is currently seeking different funding sources to replenish the home loan-lending fund.

The brief history of how TLS came to be is important in the framework of economic development for my community. My experience serving on the board of directors for about five years has made me think about economic development on a personal level. Also, monthly interactions with other board members who are indigenous provided me a unique view about economic development in Indian Country. Serving my community through this function has allowed me to create relationships with other members of the community and has allowed me to better formulate my ideas about development in the context of building the reservation for a better tomorrow. The following sections of the paper are a direct result of my time spent with TLS. I have been fortunate to learn from people who are passionate about public service. My time spent with the board has crafted my methodology. It has shaped my ideas about economic development in a profound way.

History of the Pueblos and Population

Long before Columbus “discovered” what was later to become known as the Americas, Native Americans clearly had their own economic systems. However, these economic systems could be viewed historically as distinct from the current Western paradigms of economic development in that Indigenous economies acknowledged that all elements in the world had a functional relationship and their communities could not exist without proper stewardship and care of Mother Earth. This links economic development with what we understand today as ideas of sustainability. In what would become the U.S., pre-existing communities of Native Americans acknowledged this through their interactions with the natural environment.

In New Mexico, Pueblo Indian nations have been practicing in agriculture for thousands of years. Today, the approach to agriculture varies amongst Pueblo Indian nations and for a variety of reasons. However, the transfer of technology amongst the Pueblos still exists, as well as the cultural and spiritual significance of crop cultivation. Historically, the cultivation of the land played a central role in religious practices for each Pueblo. Edward P. Dozier (1970) states in *The Pueblo Indians of North America*:

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 (p. 10).

What can be gleaned from this and other descriptions of Pueblo lifeway is Pueblo nations have a cherished relationship to the land. Ideally, no matter the time period, this relationship would be strengthened when conceptualizing economic development in the

global system. If Pueblo nations may advance economically and be viable in the global market place, a nation-state building approach with a distinct focus on developing sectors of their economies must be a focal point in the planning of policy. Joe S. Sando (1992), Pueblo historical scholar who wrote prolifically about Pueblo peoples in the Southwestern U.S. noted the aboriginal people of the Western hemisphere had their social structures and economies, and Pueblo communities have inhabited the Southwest region for ten thousand years before Christ (Sando, 1992). He also mentioned that linked with their long history in the region, the Pueblos' social structure uses language in all aspects of their worldviews, and that it was nearly impossible to separate the Pueblos' religion from the everyday use of their languages (Sando, 1992). Additionally, it was argued by some there is commonalities in the way Pueblo people live their lives and connect with ritual, political, and economic activities (Doizer, 1970). Alfonso Ortiz (1969) in his book *The Tewa World a Pueblo Worldview* 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 (p. 9).

The Pueblo worldview and the intrinsic relationship the community has to the land is an important concept for all populations to understand. Such relationships that Pueblo people have to their communities are involved processes that include community participation through expressions like song and dance. These are the ties to a deeper cultural foundation and total makeup of the Pueblo communities where religion is at the core of Pueblo Peoples' lives. However, these processes might also be viewed as

endangered. Dr. Ted Jojola (2012) of the Pueblo of Isleta stated, "Pueblo communities in New Mexico are experiencing a negative birthrate and a decline in their overall populations" (Pueblo Convocation, 2012).

The implication of this statement for Isleta Pueblo is important because at a practical level, a healthy community and its sustainability linked with economy is contingent on a sizeable population. Further, what does this mean in the larger context of a global society? Many might wonder how tribal governments consider interactions of community members with the broader world. Globalization has connected the world as never seen before in all of human history. Globalization interacts with people's decisions about life and how they see them in a world beyond the reservation boundaries.

Citizenship is an important topic that is not exclusive for Isleta Pueblo, but for all nations to discuss. For Isleta Pueblo, a political discussion about how to restructure tribal membership is a pressing issue that needs to be discussed. How will the future unfold if the current blood quantum policies remain in place? How will blood quantum affect the community's worldview and language?

Isleta Pueblo will have to strengthen their Indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) through the interplay of a capitalistic economic model to grow the economy while remaining grounded in its core values. Indigenous scholar, Bryan McKinley Jones Brayboy (2012) noted:

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).

United States federal government legislation of what constitutes an "Indian" is an ongoing debate clothed in a bureaucratic process. Blood Quantum policy is influenced by the U.S. federal government's economic interest in land and natural resources of Indian Country. If the preservation of the worldview is paramount for a Isleta Pueblo than tribal government policies, which focus on nation building, is key to deconstructing colonialism and constructing an Indigenous economy that is beneficial for the tribe and that provides economic opportunities and rights for its citizens (Moghadam, 2005). New methods need to be developed for tribal membership other than relying upon a blood quantum policy. In the light of an ever-changing landscape, Indigenous communities will need to define their communities in regard to gender, age, and ethnicity that encompass a feminist perspective on society (Moghadam, 2005). If a Isleta Pueblo is to progress and not decline intellectually or economically than policies should be restructured to fit the local needs of the community within the new normal (V. Deloria, 1970).

Citizenship and Economic Development

Colonialism has minimized the role of a traditional governance system in Isleta Pueblo by accepting a democratic form of government that was taken from the U.S. government system of democracy. The dynamic of family affiliations, clan relationships, and community partnerships are not as important as they once were (Hou, 2010). Isleta Pueblo's core values have been replaced with capitalistic values of private property and individualism. These values are embraced by Western democracies around the world

with a fundamental understanding that private property and self-responsibility are essential to freedom.

Business ventures such, as Indian gaming is an effort in strengthening the economic stability of Isleta Pueblo. Healthcare, education, and elderly care are human rights, and the revenues from such businesses can be invested into these welfare programs. This break from a traditional governance system in the 1930's diluted the notion of citizenship in the traditional sense in Isleta Pueblo, because it lessened the value of participation of an individual and the notion of reciprocity in community. Blood quantum reinforced a strategy by the U.S. government to dispossess Native Americans of their ancestral homelands. The founding of a constitution in 1947 in the community gave citizens political rights and through political participation tribal members could decide the direction of the tribe and their collective future.

The demographics of the community shifted from Native Americans who were full-blooded Indian to include community members of mixed ancestry beginning around the twentieth century. Isleta Pueblo has classifications for people who reside in the community: tribal member, non-tribal member (descendant), and non- Native. 1) A tribal member is as an individual one-half or more of Indian blood; 2) a non-tribal member (descendant) is as a person with mixed 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. The difference between tribal members, non-tribal members (descendants), and a non-Native are tribal members have the right to vote, participate in tribal government, and own property. Non-tribal members (descendants) and non-Natives do not have political rights but can reside in the community.

Descendants are not members of the tribe, but they have ancestral linkage to the community. In most cases, descendants of the community have lived on the reservation for most of their lives. These life experiences and relationships built are difficult to separate from the individual. Identity is lived experiences and how people position themselves in the world is supported by their ways of knowing, and their upbringings. Citizenship provides political rights, which is a key concept of the blood quantum debate. Not allowing descendants political rights further complicates the dynamic of the community. The ideals of democracy are challenged because in essence denying members (descendants) is a social justice issue.

Hegel's philosophy of the right is about how humans understand what freedom is. He observes human behavior, belief systems, and amongst these theorizes about the truth of right (White, 2002). Further, Hegel's philosophy supports the truth of right in that it is the realization of freedom. His theory rationalizes human experience in the form of absolute idealism (White, 2002). Hegel's philosophy can be applied to the topic of blood quantum because members of the community (both tribal members and descendants) realize the social injustices imposed upon the community by the policy of blood.

A theory of nation building relies on a healthy population size. Citizenship is equally important because it reinforces identity and nationalism. Alan White (2002) provides insight into Hegel's thought process of the philosophy of the right and citizenship:

The position that satisfies these conditions is attained through the making of contract: if I trade my apple for your pear, we both remain property owners, but we have established our independence from our property, I from my apple and you from your pear. The question becomes do we thereby become free? Hegel concludes from his examination that we do not, and proceeds to the position that

would remedy the defect revealed by that examination. Thus begins the argument that leads – much, much later – to the conclusion that I can be truly free only as a citizen of rationally ordered state (p. X).

Thinking about citizenship as a driver for economic growth must encompass a demographic of youth, middle-aged, and the elderly. It allows the tribal government to outline a long-term vision. In the lens of the youth, their population must be relatively greater than the middle-aged and the elderly for economic growth to occur. Using citizenship as a building block is one way of constructing a sovereign nation that is economically sustainable. It is a contract between the tribe's members and the tribal government. A robust population size will allow the tribe to expand and diversify their business model for the purpose of investing in the future.

Citizenship has multiple layers when considering what national identity means for the tribe. The formalization of policy through participatory approaches is a method of seeking input from community members about how they feel about the issue of blood quantum. Tribal government's implementation of new policy can be about language and worldview preservation within a global diversity lens. Diversity in this context may be defined as different points of view from all community members being welcomed and considered in the process of democracy. Intellect should be held in the highest regard by the tribal government. The long-term vision of Isleta Pueblo is to strengthen their Indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) by incorporating diversity in their policy formation is a first step to this realization.

Structuring an educational system that incorporates a Westernized system, in which education is transferred to the tribe's native language, is a productive start. Transferring the subjects of math, science, and Western philosophical thought to written

form would strengthen the collective of the society by allowing citizens to be educated in the thought process of the native language while being knowledgeable about science and technology. The concept will reinforce an identity, providing a solid foundation to build a nation. A democratic society cannot function if there are not mechanisms in place with regard to education for economic growth. Furthermore, nation building and Indigenous development is the main topic of Native nations today in defining what citizenship means in this new paradigm.

Thinking about nation building is the first step in the realization of a sovereign country. The implementation of an economic policy can be a driver for meeting the long-term goals of the tribe. Since Isleta Pueblo has capitalistic elements in their economy already, discussion about how the tribe can strengthen their economic sectors in education, healthcare, and research and development (Indigenous knowledge systems) can be a progressive first approach in the planning phases for the future. Tribal policymakers must consider a decline in the tribe's overall population and how this factors into the strategic vision of the tribe. The preservation of the tribe's worldview and language is the highest priority. Tribal policy makers can think of the tribe's role in a global economic system with the preservation of these in mind. However, this new role must encompass a reinforced worldview. It is the intersection of creating an insurgent space within a capitalistic economic system, and how the tribe applies their worldview to the conduction of business. A tribal society functioning in the new normal (globalization) in which commerce is the mode for a capitalistic system to thrive, then, the tribe must be aware of this fact when thinking of new policy implementation. The limits of natural resources and land plays into this discussion, because constructing a

system of economic growth will be a strategy of investment into other international markets and limiting the impact of destructive economical methods and stripping of natural resources from the reservation lands.

Democratic nations view capitalism as the progress of the human race. Countries such as Japan and Israel have done well-embracing capitalism. They formulated policy that addressed economic development and modeled this policy in the best interest of their nations. These two countries took Western knowledge and adapted this knowledge to their languages and educated their citizens in a Western knowledge framework. In essence, these countries adopted Western concepts into their education systems. The history and economic progression of these two countries can be used as case studies.

Japan

Indigenous Development is a term coined by author G.C. Allen (1997) in his book *A Short Economic History of Modern Japan*. However, an important point to note is that his usage of the term “Indigenous” differs in many ways from the usage of the term here as applied to Indigenous communities in Southwestern New Mexico. Despite this, there are points that can be useful to this discussion on Isleta Pueblo’s economic development. During this period, economic development in Japan focused on technological development utilizing a Western capitalistic model (Allen, 1997). The government of Japan wanted to strengthen nationalism and unify the country towards a common goal. Government reform and changes in the policy structured Japan's economy to produce industrial crops for promoting trade in the late eighteenth century. Japan's economic

development model particularly emphasized technological advancement in manufacturing and textile production. Kozo Yamamura (1997) further writes:

Explanations for this change represent both a variety of ideologies and a variety of views of facts. Most Japanese historians have viewed it as a transition from a feudal to a capitalist society within the framework of the Marxian theory of the stages of economic development” (p. 1).

Japan's economic model focused on strengthening its economy by utilizing Western technology to industrialize their country. Japan's government implemented a policy with a distinct focus on economic development by creating systems for financial surpluses and the distribution of capital and taxes from Japan's village economy to their urban economy. This model limited farmers' ability to be productive for personal gains. Japan's nationalistic mindset centered on the success of its agriculture sector, Yamamura Yamamura (1997) further argues:

Laws prohibiting farmers from leaving the land were reinforced by prohibitions against neglecting agriculture for more profitable occupations that might have enabled them to hold on. But rather than punish those who had left their land, the bakufu gave subsidies in the form of tools and rations to induce them to return to agriculture, which was the source of government revenue, and suppression of industry and rural commerce was rationalized by the theory that agriculture was the backbone of the economy, whereas other occupations were unproductive (p. 14).

Japan's economic transformation first began with agriculture. The case study of Japan for Isleta Pueblo is a useful tool in that Japan used agriculture in the application for their economic development; due to the Pueblo's economic history with agriculture, creating policies that invests in agricultural technologies is an obvious choice. For the purpose of growing their economy, Isleta has been creating agricultural technologies since time immemorial. Commerce depended upon crop yields for which they could trade with other Pueblo communities. Additionally, the community exchanged agricultural

techniques (Indigenous knowledge systems) with other neighboring Pueblos of the Rio Grande Valley. In the context of globalization, how can Isleta refocus their attention on research and development for economic development in the agricultural sector?

Israel

The founding of the Zionist state, Israel in 1948 focused particularly on the preservation of the Jewish faith that was rapidly becoming extinct. Jewish visionaries envisioned a Jewish state that could be a dominant force economically. Their first economic gain came from advancement in agricultural technologies. Economic development began in the Jewish settlements in Palestine before the formation of the Israeli state in 1948. The pre-1948 experience primarily focused on farming and the organization of the settlements' workforces. The Jewish settlements formed agricultural cooperatives (kibbutz). The agricultural sector together with the founding of the city of Tel Aviv led to an influx of Jewish immigration to the region. These three events 1) agricultural growth; 2) the organization of workers; 3) and the founding of Tel Aviv fueled the economic expansion and growth of the Jewish State. The organization of the workforce in Israel is named, Labor Zionism. Labor Zionism was an important part of the Zionist movement because it inverted the economic and social structures of the Eastern European model. Labor Zionism avoided capitalistic exploitation of land and the workforce by allowing communities to manage their resources. The pre-1948 experience in Palestine encompassed a strong period of development for the Jewish people. Further, the pre-1948 experience shaped the future social dynamic and economy of the country, which is socialistic by nature.

Isleta Pueblo has economic growing pains (i.e., limited population and financial resources) and is similar to what Jews experienced pre-1948. Jews also have a connection to land, culture, and the community. Jewish cultural values played an integral role in the development of communities in Palestine. These cultural values were constructed from religious beliefs. These ideas stemmed from references to the Hebrew Bible. In addition, the pre-1948 environment established a Jewish socialist society with an emphasis on agriculture, which would also bring about the biblical injunction of Geulat Ha'aretz (redeeming the land). The formation of agricultural enterprises paved a way for the Israel economy to engage in a nation-state building model.

The advancement of Jewish society in the Middle East has come at a cost in the interactions between Jews and Palestinians. The current social justice issue in the Middle East is a complicated and Jews in Palestine have displaced Palestinians as a result of the Zionist movement and the occupation of land. It is important to note when making the comparison of an Israel economic development model to Pueblo Indians there are dissimilarities in terms of social justice issues. For example, Israel policies geared toward Palestinians who may be considered Indigenous and that occupy areas in the country of Israel are not favorable. Conflicts between Jews and Palestinians have been ongoing since the establishment of Israel. These conflicts have been deadly with Jews and Palestinians engaged in confrontation with many dying on both sides each year. Furthermore, many scholars have written about the Israel diaspora and the social injustices caused by the Jewish State and their policy towards the Palestinians. A recent example of social injustices in Israel occurred in 1991 with operation Solomon that brought Ethiopian Jews to Israel. Since that time Ethiopian Jews have raised their voice

about racial discrimination by white Jews (Aidi, 2002). For comparison reasons, I have dissected Jewish economic examples that may be appropriate for an economic development model for Isleta Pueblo with regard to a similar climate and agricultural technology development.

Dr. Simon Ortiz (Justice Studies – Indigenous Literature, Art, and Humanities, November 22, 2013) states, the essence of who we are as Indian people relates to three things: land, culture and community. Although lucrative business development projects on reservation land (i.e., Indian gaming) are revenue streams for the tribe, it can be argued that Indian gaming inherently goes against the core values of the community. If land, culture, and the community are the goals for creating an economy of cultural value, then Isleta needs to look at developing their economy with an indigenous development focus where the community's core values are replicated in all business endeavors. As the Pueblo continues to progress economically, an involved discussion about economic development on tribal land and realistic goals for the tribe will need to be a focal point in economic discussions.

Pueblo economic development

A comprehensive study conducted by David L. Vinje (1996) on the economic development of the Laguna, Hopi and Zuni Pueblos showed there is a correlation amongst the size of reservation lands, population sizes, natural resources, U.S. government aid programs, Indian gaming, manufacturing, and mining with regard to economic growth (Vinje, 1996). The author's research suggests Native American economic development and growth is constrained by the Indian tribes' inability to diversify existing business models (Vinje, 1996). Vinje is primarily referring to Native

American tribes who have Indian gaming, manufacturing, and mining as their primary economical sources to generate revenues (Vinje, 1996). His research aims to see if there is substantial economic growth covering a three-decade period: 1970, 1980, and 1990 respectively. Vinje's (1996) describes the economic growth of Laguna Pueblo during this timeframe:

The Laguna Pueblo with its uranium activity, for example, had some forty-one percent of its labor force in mining by 1980, and, for the same year, had the highest per capita and family income of all 23 reservations. This clearly is an exception, since the next highest level of employment in mining is found on the San Carlos and Navajo reservation with 9.7 percent and 7.1 percent respectively (p.431).⁴

The 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, and when being considered as variables by the researcher (Vinje, 1996). The graphs below demonstrate the economic trends per decades mentioned.

Graphs covering the decades of 1990, 1980, and 1970 respectively:

⁴ Note: The author's paper, *Native American Economic Development and Selected Reservations a Comparative Analysis* argues that there is legislative activity at the state and federal level that is aimed at reducing Indian gaming (p. 427). Furthermore, the author conducts a macro research study for the purpose of a trend analysis over a three decade period covering: 1970, 1980, and 1990 respectively. The tribes studied are: 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.

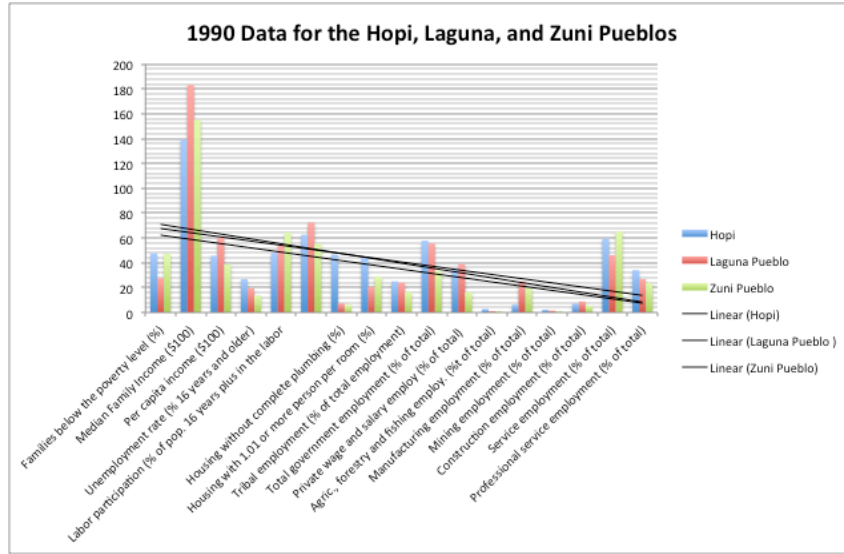


Figure 1. 1990 Data of the three Pueblos (the Zuni, the Laguna, and the Hopi). The data sources are from Vinje, D. (1996) article titled, *Native American Economic Development on Selected Reservations: A Comparative Analysis* (p. 441).

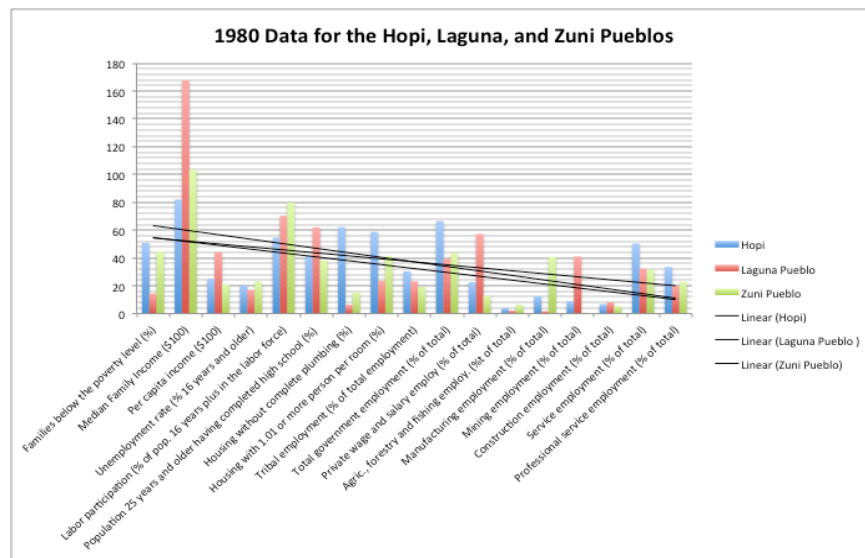


Figure 2. 1980 Data of the three Pueblos (the Zuni, the Laguna, and the Hopi). The data sources are from Vinje, D. (1996) article titled, *Native American Economic Development on Selected Reservations: A Comparative Analysis* (p. 440).

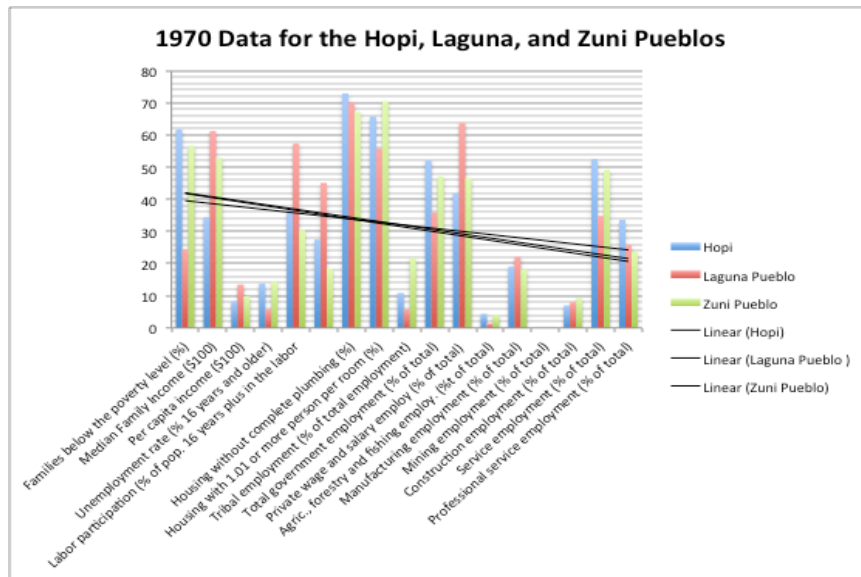


Figure 3. 1970 Data of the three Pueblos (Zuni, Laguna, and Hopi). The data sources are from Vinje, D. (1996) article titled, Native American Economic Development on Selected Reservations: A Comparative Analysis (p. 439).

The graphics support the idea about little change in terms of economic growth among the three Pueblos. The main economic drivers for these Pueblos in the decades covered were manufacturing, mining, and the U.S. federal government infusion of money that had little effect on the overall economic growth on these reservations. The constructs of colonialism may have played a role in the stagnation of Pueblo economic growth. The encroachment and the stilling of ancestral homelands by Europeans diminished the economic opportunities of the Pueblos and their economic abilities by limiting the use of historical trade routes and sea and land ports, and creating trading partnerships with other nations. Christian Dippel (2014) provides a suggestion about the current situation about economic development in Indian Country, he writes,

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).

5

Economic development that is applied across Indian country has similar issues with regard to developing an economic model that can have a potential growth pattern will be constant in years moving forward. ⁶In a Pueblo economical perspective, the way the 19 Pueblo communities in New Mexico can think about economic development and a constant growth pattern that is normalized may be thinking about joint partnerships among the communities. The unionization of the Pueblo communities to create an economy of scale may be a solution. Vinje (1996) writes, “Tribes need to pursue economic development strategies that may be more compatible with tradition and Indian culture” (p. 428). Constraints including natural resources, financing, reservation land size, and U.S. government economic policies toward the Pueblos are apparent, and does limit the potential economic growth overall. However, keeping inline with the rich agricultural history of the Pueblos and their languages, using these two as a starting point in creating an economy of scale can be a building block. 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, education should be all encompassing beginning at the start of one’s educational journey up to the university level. A Pueblo language

⁵ The author’s IV strategy concerns mining on Native American reservations. The author argues about ancestral homelands and natural resources being looked at as commodities on an international level. These commodities are used for growing other nation’s economies.

⁶ I use the term “Normalizing” as a marker for economic growth. This marker means that economic growth remains at a consistent level each year i.e., the Pueblo economies grew at a seven percent rate over the last twenty years.

institute where students have the opportunity to engage with others and learn all of the Pueblo language groups i.e., Zunian, Keresan, and Tanoan will allow for intellectual conversation in these languages to seed innovative ideas (Dozier, 1970). The Santa Fe Indian School in Santa Fe, New Mexico is a primary example of Pueblo Native students converging in a similar fashion in sharing of these ideas (<http://www.sfis.k12.nm.us/>). Furthermore, the Leadership Institute housed at the Santa Fe Indian School mission is for Pueblo communities to conceptualize these important topics through dialog and community participation utilizing a convocation model (<http://www.lisfis.org/>). These two insurgent spaces are remarkable examples of building upon common ways of thinking about the world and understanding the effects of colonialism on Indigenous people.

Other economic development models on reservation lands can be referenced in their success. Stephen Cornell and Joseph P. Kalt (2003) at the Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development have been studying economic development on reservation lands, they write:

For the last five years, the Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development has been studying economic development on Indian reservations. 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 (p. 5).

Their article, “*Reloading the Dice: Improving the Chance for economic development on American Indian Reservations,*” uses the Cochiti Pueblo as a marker for economic success. Their study outlines economic conditions of the Pueblo (Cornell and Kalt, 1992).

These economic conditions consist of external opportunities and internal assets (Cornell and Kalt, 1992). The Pueblo of Cochiti had done well in the organizational process with regard to the traditional tribal government's role in economic development. The research done by Cornell and Kalt (1992) compared the Pueblo of Cochiti with other Native American tribes in the U.S. These data revealed the following shifts in Cochiti's economy: 1) Change income at 10%; 2) Adults with 1989 income of greater than \$7,000 at 43%; 3) U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics unemployment at 10%; 4) 1989 total unemployment data at 22% (p. 4). The observation of these data for Cochiti by the authors' paints an overall positive picture of economic growth at Cochiti compared to all other reservation Indians.⁷ Cochiti has successfully been able use their traditional tribal government to form development corporations. These corporations consist of a board of directors that governs such business enterprises like the Cochiti golf course and gas station. Cornell and Kalt (1992) observed in their study:

The ways that tribally owned enterprises can 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)

With regard to these data for the examples shown for the Cochiti, the Hopi, the Laguna, and the Zuni Pueblos, make cases for economic stagnation and successes.

However, these data are just a snap shot in time. Maggie Walter and Chris Andersen's

⁷ All reservation Indian data is the following: 1) Change in income at 1%; 2) Adults with 1989 income of greater than \$7000 at 24%; 3) 1989 BLS unemployment is at 40%; 4) 1989 total unemployment is at 48% (Cornell and Kalt, 1992, p. 4).

(2013) book, “*Indigenous Statistics A Quantitative Research Methodology*,” makes an important point about data usage within the framework of economic development and federal government policy in Australia, they write:

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 (p.36).

The intent of this quote is to draw a comparison of one industrialized country to another, the United States. Both Australia and the U.S. have Indigenous populations and this quote sheds some light for industrialized countries’ need in creating economic data sets to show progress in Indigenous areas. Additionally, economic development data sets should be rigorously looked and compared to the economic realities on reservation lands (Walter and Andersen, 2013). Furthermore, who creates these data sets and how they are used and constructed in reporting economic growth on reservations lands is important to consider when thinking about the whole picture of the realities of Native American tribes. Making economic comparisons amongst Native communities are important. However, it should be noted that there is not sufficient data with regard to economic rights of women in these communities. The lens of data for now seems only to be concentrated on the overall economic growth on reservations lands. In the global economy context, it would be helpful to know how many women make up the workforce in Pueblo native

communities (Moghadam, 2005)?⁸ Furthermore, how has the role of women in the workforce changed the social-dynamic of women's traditional roles in the community?

Discussion: The acquisition of knowledge

The progressions of countries economies all have had negative points in their developmental histories. Japan and Israel are no exceptions to the volatile nature of the economy. There have been difficult points in their development, but it is a point of reference for Isleta Pueblo to learn from. Japan recognized the need to industrialize their nation by leveraging a Westernized capitalistic system for economic development. Essentially, they did it by their terms. Japan didn't want to be colonized by another country. Israel advanced their country through investment in research and development in their sector of their economy to strengthen agriculture technologies and structure the population to have a working relationship with the land with the emphasis being on preserving the Jewish religion and Hebrew language.

A new consciousness movement needs to take place in Isleta. This action can focus the continuance of building upon the Indigenous knowledge systems of the community. Moreover, language preservation needs to be looked at thoroughly and discussed. Language is the fabric of the Pueblo communities. It revolves around the religion for which the Pueblo communities are built. The Zionist Movement recognized the importance of the Hebrew language in both a religious and social contexts. Israel's policies focused on the preservation of the language. Under the patronage of the Jewish leaders, a systematic process began of the great works of academia were sorted out and

⁸ In Valentine M. Moghadam's article on the *Social Rights and Working Women: An overview of Concepts and Issues with Application to the Middle East and North Africa*, summarize that there is an increase in the female labor force globally (Moghadam, 2005, p. 1)

translated into the Hebrew language. It was an unprecedented move by one culture to absorb the wisdom of another society. The Jewish translation movement was a massive undertaking that included text from every subject in the Western world. The Jewish scholars were creating a new language of world knowledge. These books would be read in Hebrew.

The acquisition of Western knowledge by Isleta Pueblo can be molded to an Indigenous development framework. The community 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 gaged on 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?

Conclusion and suggestions for future research

In conclusion, the intent of my paper is to share my thoughts about how I view economic development based on an Indigenous thought process and worldview, but while taking a look at a global economic model and countries who have been successful in progressing economically in a capitalistic framework. An economic development model for Isleta Pueblo can incorporate both a traditional structure and a modern economic

development model. A strategy will need to start with the formation of policy at the tribal government level to address economic development within the new normal.

A new consciousness movement can take place in the community with regard to citizenship, identity, and economic development. This new consciousness can focus on preserving the tradition and culture of the community by leveraging an educational model. However, it is important to mention that a consciousness movement will need to be inclusive with regard to people's rights regardless of ethnicity and sexual orientation for example. Furthermore, the feminist movement can be a guide to understanding political history and groups who operate on the margins for seeking economic and political rights. Examples from other countries such as in the cases of Japan and Israel economic development models can be used as a resource when thinking about an Indigenous development model. Japan developed their economy through the transfer of knowledge taken from a Westernized system of knowing about the world and adapting it to their worldview. The Zionist Movement recognized the importance of the Hebrew language in both a religious and social contexts.

The acquisition of knowledge can be accomplished on the community's terms. They can choose how to go about to acquire this knowledge and implement it to their ways of knowing. The goal is how to incorporate a Westernized system into an Indigenous system, which is possible. To reiterate the important question about economic development for Isleta Pueblo, they are the following:

- How has U.S. government federal Indian policy imposed upon a Isleta Pueblo's sovereignty?

- How can the community strengthen their worldview in the era of globalization?
- How will the future unfold if the current blood quantum policies remain in place?
- How will blood quantum affect the community's worldview and language?
- How many women make up the workforce in Pueblo native communities?
- How has the role of women in the workforce changed the social-dynamic of women's traditional roles in the community?

CHAPTER 3

POLICY PAPER BREIF

Changes to the Blood Quantum Policy at Isleta Pueblo: The Identity crisis for the Descendant Population

An Urgent Call to Action for Tribal Leaders

The policies written by the U.S. government during the 19th century for Native American tribes in regard to determining tribal membership were intended to persuade Native Americans who were half Indian blood or less not to register in their tribe, but instead, accept allotments. This is the point in history where blood quantum first became noticeable in treaties between tribal nations and the U.S. federal government.⁹

Summary

On March 27, 1947 the Bureau of Indian Affairs approved a constitution for the Pueblo of Isleta. Since that time a change in Isleta's socio demographics (population) have shifted to include more of Isletans with mixed ancestry. The blood quantum policy requires a one-half (1/2) Indian blood requirement to be an enrolled tribal member of the tribe. However, as time progresses there will be an increase of Isletans with mixed ancestry that will not be allowed to register because of the blood quantum policy. The result of this will have a significant impact for Isleta to function fully as a sovereign nation in the future.

Population is a significant contributor to the growth of an economy as this pertains to financial as well as the environmental aspects and the stewardship of the land. The current breakdown of enrolled tribal member is a strong point to consider as there are less full-blooded (4/4) tribal members than one-half (1/2) tribal members.¹⁰ **How does this statistic play into the long-term vision of the tribe when considering sovereignty twenty-years from now? Furthermore, how does the blood quantum policy reinforce inclusionary/exclusionary aspects of the already existing binary in place due to the result of the two classification of Isleta community members (tribal members and descendants)?**

- **In August of 2014 the total population consisted of 3458 enrolled Isleta tribal members.**
- **Of the 3458 there were 1272 classified as full blooded (4/4) Isletan.**
- **Of the 3458 there were 1496 classified as one-half blooded (1/2) Isletan.**

⁹ (V. Deloria, 2012, video interview)

¹⁰ (T. Lente, personal communication, August 11, 2014)

The data about tribal membership of 2014 suggest that there will be an increase number of descendants in the next few decades.

- There are more half-blooded (1/2) than full-blooded (4/4) Isletans.
- The statistic does not include for the full-blooded population age demographics. For example, the total population number for full-blooded Isletans may represent a large percentage of 50 +.
- As a result of this statistic there will be more descendants that will reside on the reservation.
- Descendants cannot vote.
- Descendants cannot own property.
- Descendants cannot hold political office.

The Tribal Council will need to strategically think about how to come up with effective solutions to reframing the blood quantum policy.

Descendants and the Identity complex:

The current dynamic that is unfolding in the community is that of an identity complex for descendants with a heavy emphasis on youth and women. Youth descendants question their identity, because they believe they do not belong in the community because they are not tribal members. Equally, women who are descendants are exposed on the margins further because of their status as women. They do not have a political voice, which makes it a deterrent to the overall notion of women's economic and political rights, but especially for Indigenous women regardless to the amount of Indian blood a woman may have.

Persons that are identified as descendants are community members. They are counted on the tribal rolls.¹¹ However, they do not have political rights. For a democratic society to sustain all members of that society must have political rights. To determine a person's authenticity based on a percentage of blood robs the tribe from all community members abilities to contribute their talents that are necessary for a society to progress. **Why is diversity paramount for Isleta's tribal government?**

- An improved transparent process can occur, because by allowing descendants political rights will let tribal council positions to become a competitive process. It will lead to a consistency of new ideas to flow in those positions.
- An improvement in accountability can occur, because by allowing descendants political rights will in fact create a new culture of government and a better oversight of elected positions and tribal finances by the public.
- Allowing descendants political rights will strengthen the worldview of the tribe as it relates to language and cultural activities, because their will be a large base in

¹¹ (T. Lente, personal communication, August 11, 2014)

terms of population.

- Allowing descendants political rights will improve women's economic rights. By allowing women community members (descendants) these rights will improve economic opportunities for these members, because they will be allowed to participate politically and own property that will have an immediate positive impact on their families and children.
- Allowing descendants political rights will reinforce community identity, because there will no longer be the classification of a descendant and a tribal member. By allowing descendants political participation will erase this binary.
- The tribe has the ability to determine membership requirements that is detached from the influence of the U.S. federal government. The constitution outlines this point in section 7 within Article II of membership in the tribal constitution.

The following questions about the blood quantum policy **are important for creating new pathways in regard to tribal citizenship, identity, belonging, and sovereignty.**

- How has a systematic colonial model minimized the value of traditional governance in the community?
- How can the community be inclusive of all people of the same tribal identity?
- How can the Pueblo government form policy so that members of the community can contribute their talents fully?
- How can the tribal government improve upon on the democratic process already in place in the community?
- How can the tribal government improve women's rights in the context of economic and political rights?
- How can the Pueblo grow their economy?
- How has the blood quantum policy limited the potential of these to develop?

Recommendations

- Pueblo leaders need to question how the blood quantum policy has hindered the community's overall growth.
- Pueblo leaders can think about the long-term vision of the tribe as to the aspirations of community and sustainable development.
- Pueblo leaders can think about a more inclusive government and allowing community members to participate in the formation of policy and budgets.
- Pueblo leaders can conceptualize a process in creating spaces in the community to voice concerns about the blood quantum policy and tribal government leaders can be involved in this process.
- Pueblo leaders can explore further the impact of population growth on community sustainability in the context of the blood quantum policy. Conceptualizing how the current socio-demographical shift can shift in the next two decades. How has tribal leadership thought about this in the scope of a long-term vision?

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APPENDIX A
CONSTITUTION
FOR
THE PUEBLO OF ISLETA, NEW MEXICO
PREAMBLE

We, the Indian people of the Pueblo of Isleta, in order to preserve our customs and traditions, to make the government established by the original constitution approved March 27, 1947, more responsive to our needs and the general welfare, to secure the blessing of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, to provide for our economic and social betterment through cooperative effort, industry, and enterprise, to promote security and provide for law and order, do establish this constitution for the Pueblo of Isleta.

ARTICLE I – JURISDICTION

This constitution shall apply within the exterior boundaries of the Isleta Pueblo Grant and within the exterior boundaries of such other lands as are now or may in the future be added by purchase, grant, lease, or otherwise acquired for use by the Pueblo of Isleta. No such lands shall ever be alienated from the pueblo by action of any member of the pueblo.

ARTICLE II – 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.

ARTICLE III – RIGHTS OF MEMBERS

Section 1. The Pueblo of Isleta in, exercising its power of self-government, shall not:

- a) Make or enforce any law prohibit the free exercise of religion; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or denying the rights of members

peaceably to assemble and to petition the council of the pueblo for a redress of grievances.

- b) Violate the rights of all members to be secure in their persons, homes, papers, and effects against unreasonable search and seizures, nor issue warrants, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, particularly describing the place to be searched and the persons or things to be seized.
- c) Subject any person in any criminal case to be twice put in jeopardy.
- d) Compel any person in any criminal case to be a witness against himself.
- e) Take any private property for public use without just compensation.
- f) Deny to any person in a criminal proceeding the right to a speedy and public trial, to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation, to be confronted with the witness against him, to have compulsory process for obtaining witness to his favor, and at his own expense to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.
- g) Require excessive bail, impose excessive fines, inflict cruel and unusual punishment and in no event impose for conviction of any one offense any penalty or punishment greater than imprisonment for a term of six months or a fine of \$500.00 or both.
- h) Deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of its laws or deprive any person of liberty or property without due process of law.
- i) Pass any bill of attainder or ex post facto law.
- j) Enact any ordinances discriminating against individuals specifically named.

Section 2. The enumeration in this constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or limit other rights possessed by the people.

ARTICLE IV – EXECUTIVE BRANCH

Section 1. The Executive Branch of the Pueblo of Isleta shall consist of the following named executive officers.

- a) Governor
- b) First Lieutenant Governor
- c) Second Lieutenant Governor
- d) Sheriff
- e) Undersheriff

Section 2. The council may establish such other appointive offices and positions as it deems in the best interest of the Pueblo of Isleta.

Section 3. No persons shall be eligible for election or appointment to any executive office of the pueblo unless:

- a) He shall be an enrolled member of the Pueblo of Isleta
- b) He shall have lived on the lands of the pueblo continuously for not less than five (5) years immediately preceding his candidacy or selection for office.
- c) He shall never have been convicted of a felony.
- d) He shall be at least thirty-five (35) years of age at the time of his election or appointment to the offices of governor and first and second lieutenant governor; and he shall be at least twenty-five (25) years of age at the time of his selection or appointment to the offices of treasurer, sheriff, or undersheriff.

Section 4. The executive officers shall be paid such compensation as the pueblo council may from time to time establish; provided, however, that the compensation for any executive officer shall not be increased or diminished during his term of office.

Section 5. Duties of the Governor: The duties of the governor shall include the following:

- a) To direct and administer the civil affairs of the pueblo in conformity with applicable ordinances, procedures, and policies enacted by the council.
- b) To represent the pueblo in negotiations and relationships with other governmental agencies, individuals, and entities.
- c) To co-sign with the treasurer all checks authorized by the council to be drawn against the accounts of the pueblo.
- d) To attend all meetings of the council.
- e) To supervise and direct all employees of the pueblo government.
- f) To act as contracting and certifying officer with references to all contracts, agreements, and payment vouchers approved by the council.

Section 6. The first and second lieutenant governors shall function under the direction of the governor and shall assist him in the performance of his duties. They shall attend all meetings of the council.

Section 7. Succession. The first lieutenant governor shall assume the governorship in the event of the absence, incapacity, death, resignation or removal of the governor, and the second lieutenant governor shall succeed to the governorship in the event of the absence, incapacity, death, resignation or removal of the governor and the first lieutenant governor. In event of the absence, incapacity, death, resignation or removal of the

governor and the first and second lieutenant governors, the president of the council shall assume the governorship.

Section 8. Sheriff and Undersheriff. The sheriff and undersheriff shall enforce the laws of the pueblo and perform other duties traditionally associated with their offices. They shall be subject to direction by the governor.

ARTICLE V – LEGISLATIVE BRANCH

Section 1. The Legislative Branch of the Pueblo of Isleta shall consist of a council of twelve (12) members, selected as hereinafter provided.

Section 2. Subject only to limitations imposed by the laws of the United States and the restrictions established by this constitution; the powers of the council shall include the following:

- a) To employ legal counsel, the choice of counsel and fixing to fees to be subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, so long as said approval is required by federal law.
- b) To prevent the sale, disposition, lease or encumbrance of the Pueblo of Isleta lands or interests in lands or other pueblo assets; to execute leases, contracts, and permits, provided that where the leasing, contracts, and permits or encumbering of pueblo land is involved, the approval of the Secretary of the Interior shall be required so long as such approval is required by Federal law.
- c) To negotiate and enter into agreements with the Federal Government, State and local governments and with the duly recognized governing bodies of such other Indian tribes or pueblos, private persons, partnerships, corporations, associations or other private non-profit or profit entities.

- d) To advise the Secretary of the Interior with regard to all appropriation estimates, or Federal projects of interest to or for the benefit of the pueblo prior to the submission of such estimates or projects to the Bureau of the Budget and the Congress.
- e) To enact ordinances, subject to approval by the Secretary of the Interior, to protect the peace, safety, property, health, and general welfare of the members of the Pueblo of Isleta; to provide for the appointment of guardians for minors and mental incompetents: and to provide for the removal or exclusion from the lands of the pueblo of any nonmember whose presence may be found by the council to be injurious to the peace, safety or welfare of the members of the pueblo.
- f) To levy and collect taxes, fees, and assessments on the members of the pueblo and, subject, to approval by the Secretary of the Interior, upon nonmembers of the pueblo living or doing business on the lands of the pueblo.
- g) To prescribe and establish necessary rules and regulations for the conduct of pueblo elections in accordance with this constitution.
- h) To prescribe compensation for the executive officer, employees, and members of the council.
- i) To appropriate such funds as are necessary for the health, safety, and general welfare of the pueblo, for other public purposes and per capita payments to members of the pueblo; provided the amount distributed per capita in any one year shall not exceed one-half of the net income received during the preceding pueblo fiscal year.

- j) To appoint or authorize such committees, commissions, boards, pueblo chartered organizations or corporations, officials and employees not otherwise provided for in the constitution.
- k) To regulate trade, inheritance of personal property, land assignments, and private dealings in pueblo land among members within the pueblo.
- l) To otherwise manage and control the lands and resources of the pueblo for the best interest of the pueblo.

Section 3. The term of office of all members of the council shall be two (2) years, coinciding with the term of governor and other elected officers of the pueblo.

Section 4. Any enrolled member of the pueblo aged twenty-five (25) years or over at the time of this election, and who has lived continuously on the lands of the pueblo for at least five (5) years immediately preceding his election, shall be eligible for membership on the council; provided that residence requirements shall not apply to persons otherwise eligible whose absence resulted from military service or attendance at an institution of learning.

Section 5. The council shall at the first meeting of the council elect amongst themselves a president and vice-president of the council and designate one of its members as council secretary as hereinafter provided, whose duty it shall be to keep the minutes of council meetings, maintain the records, files, and membership roll of the pueblo, and supervise the conduct of all general and special elections of the pueblo.

Section 6. The president of the council, or in his absence or incapacity, the vice-president, shall preside over meetings of the council.

Section 7. The president of the council, or in his absence or incapacity, the vice-president, shall call meetings of the council at the request of the governor or at the request of any three (3) members of the council.

Section 8. Eight (8) members of the council shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of official business, and all issues shall be decided by majority vote of those members present and voting, except as otherwise provided in this constitution.

ARTICLE VI – NOMINATIONS, ELECTIONS AND APPOINTMENTS

Section 1. A general election shall be held on the Saturday following Thanksgiving of each even numbered year for the purpose of electing a governor and council members.

Section 2. Any enrolled member of the Pueblo of Isleta aged twenty-one (21) years or more on the date of election shall be eligible to vote in any general election of the pueblo, provided that he or she has registered to vote in accordance with Article V, Section 2., paragraph g.

Section 3. The council shall designate a polling place at a public location within the pueblo and, during the hours of 8:00 a.m. to 7:00 p.m. on the last consecutive Saturday and Sunday of October shall register eligible voters of the pueblo to vote in the general election. An announcement of the forthcoming dates and place of registration shall be posted in one or more public places at least ten (10) days in advance of the registration.

Section 4. Any eligible member shall register their candidacy for the position of governor or council with the Secretary of the council ten (10) days prior to registration and nominations. No persons shall run for both positions during the same election. Any ballot cast nominating a person who has not declared their candidacy shall be deemed invalid.

Section 5. At the time he or she registers each eligible voter shall cast a secret ballot, nominating an eligible enrolled member of the pueblo as a candidate for governor and one different nomination for council member. The three (3) eligible persons receiving the greatest number of voters shall be certified by the council secretary as the only candidates for the office of governor, and the top twenty four (24) persons receiving the greatest number of votes shall be certified by the council secretary as the only candidates for the twelve (12) positions for council members in the next general election of the pueblo.

Section 6. Not less than ten (10) days preceding the date of each general election of the pueblo, the council secretary shall post, in one or more public places, and announcement of the forthcoming election, including a list of the candidates whose names will appear on the ballot and the location of the polling place designated by the council.

Section 7. Voting shall be by secret ballot, the form of which shall be established by the council.

Section 8. The polling place shall be open between the hours of 8:00 a.m. and 7:00 p.m. on election day for any general or special election of the pueblo.

Section 9. All elections of the pueblo shall be conducted under supervision of the council secretary with the assistance of such poll clerks as the secretary may require and the council may provide.

Section 10. Immediately following the closing of the polling place on any election day the council secretary, together with the poll clerks, shall open the ballot box and count the ballots. The Council secretary shall thereupon certify the results of the election. At general elections of the pueblo the candidate receiving the greatest number of votes for the position of governor shall be certified as the winning candidate. Of the votes for

council members the top twelve (12) person receiving the greatest number of votes will constitute the council.

Section 11. On January 1, following any general election of the pueblo the council at tis first meeting shall elect amongst themselves a president and vice-president of the council.

Section 12. The term of all executive officers and council members shall be (2) years beginning on January 6 following each general election at the pueblo, or immediately upon certification of the winning candidate in any special election held to fill vacancy.

Section 13. At the first council meeting following each general election of the pueblo, the council shall appoint one of its members as council secretary and shall appoint a qualified member of the pueblo as a treasurer.

Section 14. Treasure. The Treasure shall:

- a) Keep the financial records to pueblo and make disbursements from pueblo funds in conformity with the annual budget of the pueblo funds in conformity with the annual budget of the pueblo or at direction of the council.
- b) Co-sign with the governor all checks authorized by the council to be drawn against the accounts of the pueblo.

Section 15. The office of first lieutenant governor, second lieutenant governor, sheriff and undersheriff shall be filled by qualified members of the pueblo appointed by the governor-elect following his election to office and prior to his inauguration.

Section 16. Any elected or appointed official of the pueblo or council member may resign his office by tendering his written resignation to the council at any regular or special meeting thereof.

Section 16. Any elected or appointed official of the pueblo or council member any resign his office by tendering his written resignation to the council at any regular or special meeting thereof.

Section 17. Controversies and disputes growing out of any election of the pueblo shall be decided by the incumbent council of the pueblo.

ARTICLE VII – REMOVAL AND RECALL

Section 1. Any elected or appointed officer of the pueblo and any member of the council who, during the term for which he is elected or appointed, is convicted of a felony, shall thereupon forfeit his office.

Section 2. Any elected or appointed officer of the pueblo, member or officer of the council, found guilty in any court of a misdemeanor reflecting on the dignity and integrity of the tribal government, or found guilty by the council of malfeasance in office, or gross neglect, or gross neglect of duty, may be removed or recalled from office in the following manner.

- a) The council shall present the accused officer or council member with a written statement of the charges against him and, within ten (10) days thereafter, the council shall hold a hearing at which the accused shall be provided an opportunity to appear and be heard in his own deference.
- b) Any appointed officer of the pueblo or council member may be removed from office following such hearing by an affirmative vote of not less than two-thirds (2/3) of the full council.
- c) Any elected officer of the pueblo, including the governor, president, and vice-president of the council shall be removed from office following such hearing,

by an affirmative vote of not less than two-thirds (2/3) of the full council, the council shall vote to hold a referendum election on the question of such recall, and provided that a majority of the registered voters who cast their ballots in the preceding election vote in favor of recall.

- d) The council shall call and hold a special election for the recall of any elected officer of the pueblo within twenty-five (25) days following receipt of a petition for recall signed by at least twenty-five percent (25%) of the voters registered voting in the last preceding general election of the pueblo. If the majority of those voting in such recall the office shall be declared vacant, provided that not less than fifty percent (50%) of the registered voters of the pueblo vote in the recall election.

ARTICLE VIII – FILLING VACANCIES AND SPECIAL ELECTIONS

SPECIAL ELECTIONS

Section 1. In the events of the death, resignation, removal or incapacity of any member of the council, the position may be declared vacant by the council and filled for the remainder of the unexpired term by an eligible member of the pueblo by special to the position thus vacated.

Section 2. In the event of death, resignation, removal or incapacity of the president of council, and the vice presidency. The office of vice-president may be declared vacant by the council and filled at a special election as hereinafter provided.

Section 3. In the event of the death, resignation, removal or incapacity of the vice-president of the council and it shall be filled at a special election to be called by the

council and held within thirty (30) days following the date upon which such vacancy is declared. The person so elected shall serve for the remainder of unexpired term.

Section 4. In the event of death, resignation, removal or incapacity of both the president and the vice-president of the council, the council may declare the offices vacant and they shall be filled at a special election to be called and held by the council within thirty (30) days following the date upon which such vacancies are declared.

Section 5. In the event of a vacancy for any cause in the offices of the first lieutenant governor, second lieutenant governor, sheriff or undersheriff, the governor shall select a successor to serve the unexpired term.

Section 6. Special elections to fill vacancies created by the death, resignation, removal in incapacity of any elected officer of the pueblo not filled by succession as herein provided shall be conducted under the supervision of the council secretary:

- a) The eligible voters in such special elections shall be those members of the pueblo who registered to vote in the last preceding general election.
- b) Each such registered voter shall re-register to vote in the special election on a date and at a place to be designated by the council, at least ten (10) days before the special election. At the time such voter re-register he or she shall be select a successor to serve the unexpired term.

Section 7. In the event of a tie vote in any general or special election of the pueblo the winner shall be decided by lot before council.

ARTICLE IX – THE JUDICIAL BRANCH

Section 1. The judicial Branch of the government of the Pueblo of Isleta shall consist of the tribal and appellate courts of the pueblo.

Section 2. The tribal court of the pueblo shall be presided over by one or more judges appointed by the governor with the concurrence of a two-thirds (2/3) majority of the council.

Section 3. The number, salary, qualifications, and term of office of the judge or judges of the tribal court shall be presented by ordinance of the council; provided that the salary of any judge shall neither be increased or decreased during the term in office; provided further that no person be a judge who has been convicted of a felony.

Section 4. Any judge of the tribal court may be removed from office in the same manner and for the same reasons as set forth in Article VII, Section 2 (b) with reference to council members and appointed officers of the pueblo.

Section 5. The tribal courts shall have jurisdiction over all criminal and civil cases included in the approved Code of Laws of the Pueblo of Isleta, or otherwise lawfully brought before it. In addition, the tribal court shall determine the constitutionality of enactments of the council submitted to the court for review.

Section 6. The council of the Pueblo of Isleta shall constitute the Appellate Court for the Pueblo of Isleta. Appeals shall be granted as a matter of right. The council may delegate its appellate authority to such appeal committee, appellate judge or judges or other appellate body as the council may from time to time establish by ordinance duly enacted by the council. The decision of the council or delegated appellate body shall be final in all appeal cases.

ARTICLE X – APPROVAL OF ORDINANCES
AND RESOLUTIONS

Section 1. Any ordinance, resolution, or other enactment of the council which, by the terms of this constitution or in conformity with applicable Federal law, is subject to approval by the Secretary of the Interior, shall be presented to the Superintendent of Southern Pueblo Agency within ten (10) days following its enactment. The Superintendent shall, within ten (10) days following receipt of such ordinance or resolution, transmit it to the Secretary of the Interior with his recommendation for or against approval. Such enactment shall become effective when approved by the Secretary of the Interior, provided that if the secretary of the Interior shall not disapprove an enactment of the council within one hundred and twenty (120) days following the date of its receipt by the Superintendent, it shall thereupon become effective.

Section 2. All enactments of the council shall show the date of passage and the number of council members voting for and against the enactment, and shall bear the certification of the governor or president of the council, and the council secretary. Resolutions and ordinances shall bear an identifying number and a title.

ARTICLE XI – REPEAL OF PREVIOUS CONSTITUTION
AND SAVINGS CLAUSE

Section 1. The constitution of the Pueblo of Isleta approved March 27, 1947, is hereby repealed and superseded by this constitution.

Section 2. All ordinances and resolutions heretofore enacted by the Pueblo of Isleta Council shall remain in full force and effect to the extent that they are not inconsistent with this constitution.

ARTICLE XII – RATIFICATION

The constitution, when adopted by a majority of the voters at a special election authorized by the Secretary of the Interior in which at least thirty (30) percent of the pueblo members entitled to vote cast ballots, shall be submitted to the Secretary of the Interior, or his authorized representative, for approval and shall be effective from the date of such approval.

ARTICLE XIII – AMENDMENTS

This constitution may be amended by a majority vote of the members of the pueblo twenty-one (21) years of age or over, voting for that purpose in an election authorized by the Secretary of the Interior or his authorized representative, provided that at least thirty percent (30%) of those entitled to vote shall vote in such election; but no amendment shall become effective until it shall have been approved by the Secretary of the Interior, or his authorized representative. It shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Interior or his authorized representative to authorize an election on any proposed amendment at the request of a majority of the council or upon receipt of a petition signed by at least one-third (1/3) of the voters eligible to vote on said amendment.