
Land Reform in the Navajo Nation

possibilities of renewal for our people



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*Thanks to the generous financial support from
The First Nations Development Institute, the staff
time and support from The Solidarity Research
Center, and continued support from Diné College*

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Introduction

Land is not just a place, it defines a people. Land is a critical basis for life, the future of our nation, and is the premise of tribal sovereignty. The shape, look, and history of our land is central to our identity as Diné people. We have different names for it: *Dinéyah*, *Diné bikeyah*, “Navajo Indian Reservation,” or “Navajo Nation.” But they refer to the same place. Some understand our land temporally, as in the fifth world – having left other lands in the past.



Although it is of critical importance, we spend very little time talking about it. Land is implied in conversations, but never discussed explicitly. When we say, “water is life” or “sheep is life,” we are undoubtedly implying the lands on which water flow and sheep roam. But do we ever exclaim, “land is life?” It is the basis of all human survival after all. For Diné people, we have spent generations defining our landscape. We describe places by prominent rocks or sources of water, all vital to living on the landscape. Until well into the twentieth century, we were largely subsistent – surviving with

agriculture, livestock, and trade. For most of our nation's history, we were a subsistent and sustainable people who lived off the land.

Today, we are under the existential threat of colonialism. The settler's history erases our presence from the land. For centuries, they have referred to the continent as an "untamed wilderness" absent of people. This is a claim to the land based on a false reading of human and environmental history. Since the 1830s, the United States has claimed "title" or ownership to all lands inhabited by indigenous peoples, including *Diné bikeyah*. The claim is made even more absurd by virtue of the fact that the United States had no contact with Diné land up into that point. They would not physically venture into these parts for another 30 years, at the height of the U.S. Civil War. Since the 1860s, the U.S. has enacted a strong federalism that places the legal rights of tribes somewhere between state governments and executive authority. Ours is a unique and shifty sense of sovereignty.

Over the last century and a half of Anglo-colonialism, the United States has reduced our land size, settled it, privatized it, polluted it, and placed difficult restrictions around it. It is no accident that the Navajo Nation, as a government, can wield its power to buy and sell coal mines before it can guarantee housing and water for its people. This is a structure of law that has a history dating back to the 1930s and the beginning of the modernization of the western states. In the regulation of grazing, we have a "permitting" system that is old, outdated, and unpopular. Yet we adhere to its policies because its become entrenched in our social and political culture. Meaning, it is too hard to change than to leave in place - so we ignore it.

But serious and longterm consequences result from this neglect. People struggle to build homes (often conflicting with their own family members), business are few and far between, farming is made hard and sheep herding challenging. The consequence of the permitting system has been to "enclose

the commons,” but not through privatization which is often the case - but through colonial regulation. The Diné Policy Institute, in its more than ten year history, has looked at all issues but this core issue of land policy. We look at development, governance, even food sovereignty. And yet what is at the root of many of these challenges, is the perpetually colonial status of our land. Until we work toward liberation, we cannot make progress on these other fronts.

Following a tradition of third world activists and peasants across the planet, we voice the collective complaint of everyday Navajo people and speak to our tribal government and elected officials, give us land reform. We need to break up the concentration of land from a few users and provide access to all Navajo people. More importantly, we need to move away from the unsustainable permitting system we have inherited (or that was mandated) from the Bureau of Indian Affairs and reclaim sovereignty over our land. As the recommendations of this report make clear, we need to reclaim our commons and rebuild both community and sustainability through a replacement of existing land regulations. We call for a new permitting system that focuses on the needs of livestock owners and frees up everything else for other forms of development. In the end, we argue for a renewal of Navajo community life through land policy.

This is one of a series of forthcoming reports that will focus on the question of land reform and renewal. In this report, we focus mainly on survey results from a longitudinal survey in the community of Shonto. We chose this community in order to demonstrate the nature of social change in the Navajo Nation. Although most of our data is from Shonto, we supplement these findings with subsequent focus groups in Tonalea, Kayenta, and Tsaile. We also looked at the work of the Little Colorado River Watershed Chapter Association to identify new innovative approaches toward grassroots organizing

and governance. There is an approach to distribute resources and organizing along natural boundaries like watersheds, instead of artificial Bureau of Indian Affairs divisions of space.

Importantly, our surveys, interviews, focus groups, and observations generated a systematic sense of how people use the land today and how they would prefer it was managed. It is from these perspectives that we develop our recommendations. They should not be mistaken as a call to return to the past, but to build on our inherent knowledge of the land to build a sustainable future.

1. History of Navajo Land Tenure

1. Traditional Land Use and Rights

Historically, Navajo people did not subscribe to notions of land ownership that are today associated with ideas of private property. Private property is a system of land tenure that is foreign to the practices of the Navajo people. Navajo people understood the concept of land *control*, as opposed to *ownership*, through an appreciation of how different families put the land to use. Prior to Anglo-colonization in the mid-1800s, the Navajo people lived almost exclusively from the land (Eldridge 2014). Navajo practices reflected what sociologists and anthropologists call, “subsistence economy,” or an economy based on providing for one’s self and family through activities like farming, hunting, or the domestication of animals (White 1983).

In a subsistence economy, the value of land is inherent in how one uses it. It does not take the form of a commodity that places it within the realm of a capitalist economy. In what we will call, “the traditional economy,” the Navajo household was the central site of social and material production (Kelley and Whiteley 1989, Weisiger 2004, Weiss 1984). But the extended family played an important part in the informal division of labor in Navajo society (Kluckhohn and Leighton 1946). As Kelley and

Whiteley (1984) write, “Navajo individual tenure differed from American capitalist form of private ownership because anyone could take land from someone if they were not using it and land could not be bought or sold” (Kelley and Whiteley 1989, 84). In 1938, Anglo-American anthropologist W.W. Hill reported that Land was not sold or rented among the Navajo (Hill 1938). Hill quotes a Navajo farmer who said, “...we do not own the land, we simply use it” (1938, 21). In a 2017 interview, Navajo *hataahli* Avery Denny told the Diné Policy Institute that, “the land wasn’t drawn to be somebody’s property...the land itself was sacred that we belong to the land.” There was a shift during Spanish colonization from social-cultural organizations built around small crop production near Dinétah to the extended regional family unit centered around shepherding that anthropologists encountered in the 19th and 20th century (Weisiger 2004). All of this speaks to the different forms of land use that existed in the Navajo traditional economy prior to Anglo-Colonialism. Land was shared broadly among the Navajo people as range for sheep and places for settlement and agriculture. Demarcation and boundaries came much later. A family’s land is sometimes called a, “traditional use area,” where a lineage of people can claim a history of use to the place. Land control was matrilineal and descended from the mother’s family. Avery Denny said “a traditional Navajo marriage requires the groom to move to the bride’s family land and work it but the land stays within the use of the maternal side” (2017). The living patterns of the Navajo people, who moved during winter and summer seasons, determined how farming and grazing lands were allocated. Farms were usually located several miles from a family’s home (Downs 1984). Farms were fixed to place, but grazing was mobile. Navajo families who moved with their sheep during the year in search of ideal grazing lands. There was rarely a permanence to any one family’s control of land. If a family moved on, another family could move in and occupy the land (Hill 1938: 22).

Historically, individual Navajo households maintained their own farms and gardens. The extended family would share goods and distribute services across clan relatives or extended kin in the area (Hill 1938). Navajo people would distributed goods that they generated from the land through the mother's side of the family (Kelley and Whiteley 1989). Although the Navajo people moved around, the family stayed within a specific area that was usually associated with ancestral use. As mentioned before, land was not commodified and alienated into regimes of private property. Rather, the right to use the land was transferred through matrilineal inheritance to those who lived on it and worked with it. By 1938, Hill noted that the inheritance system was shifting toward patriarchal systems of control (1938). To this day, this sudden imposition of patriarchy has engendered land disputes in the Navajo Nation.

2. Anglo-Colonization

Hweeldi, or “the long walk”, changed Navajo life forever. The United States violently forced Navajo people from our lands to a concentration camp called *Bosque Redondo* where the U.S. Army forced Navajo men, women, and children into squalid conditions and had to live on rations and a failed sedentary agricultural scheme (Bailey, 1998, Denetdale 2007). U.S. agricultural practices failed miserably and was little more than a scheme between corrupt Army officials and grain suppliers to overcharge the United States for the rations it paid to keep Navajo people barely alive.

By 1868, three years after the conclusion of the Civil War and six years into U.S. war against the Navajo people, senior U.S. military personnel discovered the corruption and ordered the dismantlement of *Bosque Redondo* “reservation.” Navajo “headman” pleaded with the Army to return to traditional Navajo lands. Originally, General Sherman, overseeing a treaty negotiating, favored moving Navajo people to “Indian Territory” in modern Oklahoma (Bailey 1998). So long as the

Navajo people did not interfere with the future construction of a rail line through New Mexico and Arizona, Sherman allowed the Navajo people to return to their homelands. This was a form of enclosure and land theft.

Between the years of 1868 and 1881, when the Navajo people returned to their traditional homeland in what is today the Navajo Nation, the main practices of land tenure reported were matrilineal inheritance of crops and communal range ownership (Kelley and Whiteley 1989). According to most social scientists and commentators, grazing and farming patterns did not change significantly after *hweeldi*. There are problems with these analyses. The first anthropology, the earliest social science research among Navajo people, focused on cultural practices and did not initiate until the 1880s, some 20 years after the Navajo people were violently removed from traditional homelands and forced to live within reservation boundaries that did not interfere with Anglo ranchers and expanding railroad interest. Under military occupation, how can we know for sure among purely non-Native accounts what is accurate characterization of Navajo social practice at the time? Washington Mathews, one of the most famous ethnologists to study Navajo people, was an Army man and stationed at Fort Wingate outside of the reservation. For example, he attended a single “nightway chant” and wrote an entire paper on it. How can we verify any of what he wrote is accurate? How do we know whether or not the Navajo people who conducted the so-called ‘night chant’ provided a proper version of it? We cannot know for sure the veracity of Mathews and others early accounts of the Navajo, yet we derived our entire understanding of early reservation years based on these texts. In this regard, oral history provides an alternative narrative, facts, and frameworks to draw upon (Denetdale 2007). But early anthropologists deluded themselves that they were dealing with “heathen” subjects

who were “uncontaminated” by “civilization” (American Anthropological Association Meeting 1986, WWN 1905)

The main problem that Navajo people faced at this time was a diminishment of our territory in the interest of colonial ranchers and the railroad. With impunity, Anglo and Hispanic ranchers used violence against Navajo people often killing Navajo people with little or no pretext. The colonial police forces did little to protect Navajo people. But law enforcement responded quickly and violently to Navajo people moving outside of imposed reservation lines or in the few instances when they reciprocated violence with violence (Denetdale 2016). Still, Navajo people resisted these foreign boundaries. They moved to where they lived before and eventually the U.S. government converted most of these lands (although not all of them) to reservation status (Curley 2014).

It was not until the beginning of the twentieth century when internal land practices started to change. Kelly writes, “[t]he main trend in land tenure during the railroad era, then, seems to be the replacement of communal tenure by various form of individuals or family tenure.” (1930, 85). From this point, the change of land use and rights altered to a more individualistic sense of land tenure described as the rights of individual families or individual. Kelley (1930) writes that by the time of the 1930s, communal land tenure ceased to exist. The reason for this was the forced imposition of grazing restrictions on top of the formal boundaries around the reservation – livestock reduction. In other words, boundaries and regulations stemming from Washington D.C., enforced with violence, forced Navajo people to change their land practices. Early on, this was done to accommodate rangers and railways; later it was to assist larger development projects in the southwest. For example, historians Lawrence Kelly and Richard White contend that concern about the impacts of desertification, salts runoffs, and the concomitant construction of the Hoover Dam in the 1930s was a central motivator for

federal official forcefully reducing Navajo sheep herds during this time (Kelly 1968, White 1983). It was the creation of the grazing permit system that forever changed Navajo land practices. It is the continuation of this system into the twenty-first century that interferes with the new needs of the tribe, a premise of this report.

2.2. Livestock Reduction and Grazing Permits

After years of encouraging Navajo people to increase their livestock herds in order as a mechanism of “self-reliance” in what Anglos believed was desert country, the Department of Interior and other parts of the federal government became concerned about the denuding of the landscape and soil erosion (Kluckhohn et al. 1946; Weisiger 2011). As was mentioned above, soil scientists believed that Navajo people threatened downstream projects such as the Hoover Dam. There was also a sense of “authoritarian high modernism” (Scott 1998), informed by existing racist attitudes toward Navajo people, that emboldened Anglo scientists with little familiarity of Navajo people or the region to prescribe new husbandry practices onto Navajo people who survived on sheep in the region for many years. For example, Harvard anthropologist Clyde Kluckhohn celebrated the sheep reduction and federal policies against Native people. He wrote in support of these measures in his and Leighton’s famous ethnography, ‘the Navaho,’ originally published in 1946 (Kluckhohn et al. 1946).

After Franklin Roosevelt was elected in 1932, he appointed known progressive and social reformer John Collier as head of U.S. Indian Affairs, or “commissioner.” Aside from reforming tribal governments through the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, one of Collier’s first foci was Navajo livestock reduction (Pollock 1984). Collier believed that conservation work and adding lands to the reservation would alleviate the loss of income from sheep and other livestock. As Pollack writes, he threatened Navajo as an “independent, self-supporting, and self-respecting people” (1984, 61). Collier

worked largely with the Navajo Tribal Council to support his efforts (Iverson 2002). The council did not exert a strong sense of independence at the time. It was a creature of the federal government and did not find the authority until the 1960s to challenge some of its prescriptions on the Navajo people.

There was also a shift in how sheep were valued because of livestock reduction. To compensate the cost of reduction, the BIA and other agencies focused on increasing the quality of wool from sheep for commercial value (Bailey and Bailey 1986). The U.S. Department of Agriculture researched and experimented on creating the perfect sheep for the conditions of the Colorado Plateau and that would increase wool quality and production (Weisiger 2011). There was an increased income based on that commercialized herd, but it did reflect a shift away from subsistence value to a commercialized value. BIA officials believed that Navajo sheepherders would realize market “rationality” and commercialize their herds (White 1983). This caused the Navajo people to become more dependent on “trade and the cash economy” (Bailey and Bailey 1986; 204) This commercialization can be seen with the development of the energy resources of the Navajo Nation, as market demand for energy will enlarge the mineral industry of the Navajo Nation.

Livestock reduction caused a lot of sorrow and grief. Considering the importance of sheep in Navajo culture and life, the reduction was seen as a strike against the people and their wealth (Bailey and Bailey 1986; Weisiger 2011). In a subsistence economy, livestock was considered a source of wealth. The incorporation of Navajo people into market economies in the early reservation years was largely built on a Navajo sheep economy. Non-Native capitalists built “trading posts” across the reservation that purchased rugs, jewelry, and other artistic works at low prices. They turned around and sold these same items to collectors and the American bourgeois class at a markup (M'Closkey 2008,

Wilkins 2008, Bsumek 2008). This is the earliest systematic incorporation of Navajo people into a worldwide capitalist economy.

In 1935, the Bureau of Indian Affairs's regional office, located in Gallup, NM, divided the Navajo Nation into eighteen land management districts. These districts remain into today. It was then when BIA soil scientists and regional officials created and enforced grazing and land regulations. Modifications to these regulations were done in 1935, 1941, 1953, and 1956, but stopped after this. The federal and tribal governments instituted grazing and home site "leases" during this time. Today these are the undergirding laws for land use practices in the Navajo Nation. Following these reforms, the subsistence economy continued to decline. Income from farming and livestock, estimated to be 58% in 1940, declined to 1.6% by 1974 (Bailey and Bailey 1986, 250).

Weaving remained an important source of income for Navajo families. Women, who dominated the weaving industry, maintained important social and political roles at this time. As labor historian Colleen O'Neil writes, "By weaving rugs, women found a way to maintain their powerful economic and cultural roles in their households, even as the expanding capitalist market was transforming the land and resources that had shaped their gendered experience in the years leading up to stock reduction" (O'Neill 2005).

By 1956, livestock on the Navajo Nation was reduced to a third of 1931 numbers (Iverson and Roessel 2002, 221). New governing institutions, such as grazing officers and livestock committees, fragmented the land and promoted notions of individualized land tenure. These institutions fragmented livestock as well. According to Navajo Nation law, based on BIA rules, children of permit holder could inherit the land for future livestock use (Bailey and Bailey 1986, 245). The tribe abandoned communal land practices in favor of a highly regulated, but fragmented and contested land system. As

Marx predicted with “enclosure,” the lack of available subsistence livelihood forced many Navajo people into the wage-labor economy. This phenomenon started in the 1950s for the Navajo people. In 1953, with BIA help, the Navajo Tribe created rules for grazing that chapter houses had to follow. Then in 1955, Navajo leader Ned Hatathli advocated for the improvement of land through development. The Navajo people wanted an end to grazing and livestock reduction (Iverson 2002, 189). But, the following year the Secretary of Interior finalized approval of Navajo grazing regulations. The BIA’s intent was to focus on individualism in land management. As non-Native BIA official O.N. Hicks wrote, “Capitalizing on this feeling, by developing individualism and a pride of ownership seems paramount to managing the land.”

That feeling that Hicks is referring to is the feeling of attachment that Navajo people feel towards their customary use area. The use-right tenure of land was coopted by a more individualistic tenure system that was meant to manage the land. With the livestock reduction, drought, and fragmented, many families live in areas for longer period which solidified family home sites in one area. Navajos were not mobile as earlier times due to the change in land use rights and environmental changes. Even more changes occurred with the increase of wage work within the Navajo Nation. The increase in wage labor allowed for families, or young family members, to seek rented housing near government centers or in border towns (Kelley and Whiteley 1989).

Due to the changes in land-use and grazing right, inheritance shifted from the maternal side of the family to the paternal side. This shift caused issues for grazing permits within the family that was documented the survey we conducted. Historical evidence suggests that land disputes were often solved when families moved to different range, but fixed grazing units prevented this and enhanced tensions between competing claimants (Downs 1984, 44). Downs writes, in 1984, that grazing

institution creates issues because whole herds belong to one individual on the grazing permit whereas the herd may belong to many people (1984, 86). We found this as a normal activity in the Shonto community. Many of these issues are seen today within the community.

2.3. New Land Boundaries

The relationship between the Navajo people and their land can be seen with the historical development of the Navajo Nation. It has expanded from the original treaty designation through executive orders and congressional acts which differs from most tribal land bases. The use of land has altered the Navajo way of life as grazing institutions have led to fragmented land and fragmented livestock, both necessary components for the subsistence economy. This transition from a subsistence economy had placed the shepherders and farmers in the shadow of the larger wage economy. Mineral extraction has led to a larger and organized government that provides more services, and a shift towards a wage economy. Mineral extraction revenue increased the size and authority of the tribal government in its own affairs, but it has also relocated Navajo families from their traditional living areas. With an increase in authority of the tribal government it allowed an increase in the services it provides for the Navajo people, social services and direct services. Much of the change begins in the 20th century, livestock reduction and the bountiful revenues that come from mineral extraction.

The boundaries and land history of the Navajo people cannot be told without their emergence story. The Navajo people passed through four worlds before emerging in the fifth world, placed between the four sacred mountains. Between these four mountains, the conception of Navajo land was designated as the space between the four sacred mountains, this area is known as Diné Bideyah. The political organization of the Navajo people resembled small autonomous groups dispersed around the area. The organization afforded Navajos the opportunity to move around and plant fields. An account

of Fray Alonso de Benavides called the Navajo people great farmers (Iverson and Roessel 2002). Dinétah the name of the area where the Navajo people emerged. During this period Spanish colonizers accepted estates, which included Navajo parcels of land, from their king. The relation between the Navajos and the Spanish was violent as the Spanish authorized many military expeditions into Diné Bikeyah to assert authority. Many Navajos were killed, and crops were razed but the Navajo people remained. By the 18th century, Canyon De Chelly became the heartland of Diné Bikeyah (Id., 28). The Navajo people have consolidated their land. The Treaty of 1805 ceded Navajo land, known as Cebolleta, to the settlers of New Mexico (Id., 34). This community would remain separated from Dinétah and became the satellite community, Tohajiilee. The rough period of 1846 to 1866 was full of attacks on Navajo people. The Navajo People had encounters with the Spanish government and the Mexican; harsh and violent. Under the U.S. regime the Navajo people would be classified as “enemies” and this set the precedent of policy and treatment of the Navajo people. The infamous “Long Walk” of 1864 is a title of the mass relocation of Navajo people to the area known as Bosque Redondo. Many Navajos died on the walk; pregnant women, elderly, children, and adults who could not keep up were shot, left to die, or beaten to death.

The treaty of 1868 let the Navajo people return to their homeland. The treaty delineated the reservation in degrees; the land that was given to the Navajos was 3,328,302 acres (Id., 68). The treaty, specifically article five, incorporated the distribution of lands according the farming activity, allowing land to become “exclusive possessions” of the individuals because it “shall cease to be held in common”. Similar to the Lockean notion property, productivity and labor designated a new conception of land. Even going as far to offer incentives to Navajos who choose to farm by providing seeds. The government had created the boundaries of the Navajo nation while allowing individuals to settle for

allotments. The Navajo government had not been formed or recognized by the federal government and much of the land was under the control of Bureau of Indian Affairs agents. After the treaty, the Navajo people were granted more land extensions through executive orders. Between the years of 1878 and 1934 the Navajo land expanded with 10 executive orders signed by Rutherford B. Hayes and Theodore Roosevelt. Other extensions came about the Arizona Boundary Act of 1934 and Tusayan Forest Addition Act of 1933. During this time many tribal lands were being reduced but the land base for the Navajo people grew (Iverson and Roessel 2002).

Early in the 1900s, school jurisdictions were set up but eventually become the foundation of six agencies. By the 1920's all five agencies consolidated their jurisdictions; Tuba City as Western Agency, Fort Defiance as Southern Navajo Agency, Shiprock as Northern Navajo Agency, Crownpoint as Eastern Navajo Agency, and Moqui became Hopi Agency (Young 1978). These agencies are geographic subdivisions that answered to federal agents; they would serve as organizational mediums between the tribes and the federal government until they were dissolved in 1935 (Id., 88). Eventually new agencies would be created with similar names in 1955 when the tribe was gaining more control of tribal affairs (Bailey and Bailey 1986).

2.4. Extractive Industries

By any measure, the greatest change to Navajo land use was the introduction of large-scale extractive industries in the 20th century. Some Navajo activists and organizers credit the discovery of extractive industries for the impetus to secure boundaries and governance on Navajo reservation land as a form of neocolonialism (Powell and Curley 2008). Extractive industries required Congress to pass new laws to allow for the large scale mining and exploitation of reservation lands. These were the

Indian Mineral Leasing Act of 1938, the Indian Self-Determination and Educational Assistance Act of 1975, and Indian Tribal Energy Development and Self-Determination Act of 2005 (Allison 2015).

Oil became the first industry to develop in the Navajo Nation (Chamberlain 2000). The early tribal government was set up to help Standard Oil set up rigs near Shiprock. The early tribal government debated whether or not the distribution of these revenues should be localized or spread out to the entire tribe. In the end, the federal government and selected Navajo leaders like Chee Dodge preferred the distribution of revenues to go to the entire nation and not just a localized region. Possibly federal officials wanted to avoid the violence that felled other oil producing nations, such as the Osage in Oklahoma (Dennison 2012, Fixico 2012). This sense of national boundaries is the origin of Navajo nationalism today and is tied to a political imagination that saw the reservation as a single political unit in charge of laws, policies, and development throughout the land (Iverson and Roessel 2002, Wilkins 2013).

Oil revenue since the first lease to 1937 was \$1,227,7045.19 but oil was in decline due to other oil fields being discovered in New Mexico (Kelly 1968) . Oil regained a small boost when it was discovered in Aneth, Utah and produced revenue of \$76.5 million (Iverson 2002, 220). Oil played a role in creating the first form of tribal government and expanding the Navajo boundaries. Its discovery prompted the creation of government that was intended to represent the Navajo people and allow the approval of mineral leases. Its revenue also allowed the Navajo government to buy new lands and expand the Navajo reservation (Kelly 1968, 103). With the passage of the Metalliferous Minerals Leasing Act of 1918 and the General Leasing Act of 1920, Indian land and property became susceptible to mineral exploitation. This caused a flood of prospectors and private companies onto Indian land seeking minerals and mining opportunities, the Navajo Nation being one of the many

tribes. Midwest Refining Company was the first oil company to be granted a lease of 4,800 acres in eastern Navajo by the General Council of that Agency. The General Councils in Shiprock and Fort Defiance would approve four other leases. Navajo land became the object of large mineral companies and that prompted political organization for the Navajo Nation. To streamline the mineral leasing approval, the General Council, usually located in an Agency, needed to be replaced by Tribal Council. Secretary of Interior Albert Fall failed at creating a “Business Committee” that would function as an organization to approve mineral leasing. It failed because its legitimacy was questioned when it did not satisfactorily meet the Treaty’s precedent of needing three fourths of male adult Navajos for mineral leasing. It wasn’t until 1923, that the Navajo Tribal Council came into being but without any tribal authorities or powers but as a representative government that could approve leases. This council could not meet unless the Commissioner of the Tribe, who also had the “power of attorney” to sign mineral leases, approved and was present. It would not be until ten years later that the power of signing leases would be transferred to the Tribal Chairman. The Navajo Tribal Government would reorganize itself again in 1938 and this will be the foundation of the current Navajo tribal government (Young 1978, Chamberlain 2000).

Coal mining began in the early 1900s but gain significance in the 1930s. Coal started was a small industry run by families who would sell within their communities. In the 1930s, those small coal industries would be centralized under the government based on stricter regulations. These regulations were put in place to conserve the land, under Collier’s influence, and provide a safer environment for the workers. This limited the number of coal mines operated by Navajos but allowed for larger companies to enter the coal industry. Coal became linked to a larger moment in Navajo land history, the Navajo-Hopi land dispute. The Executive order of 1882 was the beginning of the Navajo-Hopi land

dispute as it created the Joint Use Area (O'Neill 2005). In 1938 the Mineral Leasing Act allowed Indian lands to be leased for mining purposes with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior (Allison 2015). By 1943, federal government granted the Hopi Tribe land that eventually became the Hopi reservation. From this time on, a former government lawyer, John S. Boyden began opening up the Hopi reservation to oil companies (Wilkinson 2005). By 1970, the Hopi government created ordinances that labeled Navajo stock on Hopi land as trespassing and subject to impoundment. To ameliorate “conflict” created entirely by the federal government, Congress passed the Navajo-Hopi Land Settlement Act in 1975 that authorized a crude partition of land and the forced relocation of 100 Hopis and an estimated 10,000 to 13,000 Navajo people from their homelands (Benedek 1992, Benally 2011). For more than 40 years, Navajo families who refused to comply with federal orders to move were harassed by Hopi rangers and police and were disallowed from improving their homes, something referred to as the “Bennett Freeze” named after the former Commissioner of Indian Affairs who proclaimed the absurdity in 1966. President Obama lifted “the freeze” in 2009. Still, the partition exists and Navajo families living on “Hopi” partitioned land have little right to their ancestral lands.

Mining for uranium began in 1944 with the Vanadium Corporation of America, the mining peaked mid 1950s and decline by the 1980s (Brugge, Benally and Yazzie-Lewis 2006). In 1951, uranium was discovered in the Eastern agency and its discovery attracted metal interest to the Navajo Nation (Iverson and Roessel 2002, 171). Due to increased wage labor and a wage economy, many Navajos entered mining to provide for their families. Uranium mining brought in \$6.5 million in royalties but many of the workers suffered health issues due to lack of protection and unsafe working conditions (Iverson 2002, 218). The companies did not tell the workers of the health issues that came with the job. Many uranium workers were diagnosed with lung cancer, black lung, and other

respiratory illnesses. The effects of uranium on the people and land are seen with the health, mental, and psychological effects of uranium on the people. Many suffer from lung cancer, anxiety, and depression from mining uranium (O'Neill 2005, Eichstaedt 1994). Uranium extraction devastated the land by contamination (Voyles 2015). The damage done by uranium extraction exposed the sensitive link between the people and the land. The distrust and sense of betrayal some Navajos felt resonated with future generations and only garnered more opposition to mineral extraction within the boundaries of the Navajo nation.

2.5. Wage Labor

Wage work existed on the reservation prior to the 20th century but it would be solidified as the major component to the Navajo people during the century. Wage work pulled Navajo people into nearby “bordertowns” such as Flagstaff, Winslow, Gallup, Farmington, and others for work (Kelley and Whiteley 1989). A historical materialist understanding of this transition suggests Navajo people lost the space on which to graze their sheep and, with increasing population, had to find livelihood in wage labor in the cities (White 1983). This is an explanation for the sudden shift in subsistence to wage labor work. Others, on a similar thread, argue it was this in combination with livestock reduction that forced the Navajo people into wage labor work (Weiss 1984).

Commissioner of Indian Affairs, John Collier’s plan to mitigate the loss of Navajo income from livestock reduction involved greater emphasis on wage work, mainly in the form of soil erosion and conservation work that were part of the Roosevelt administration’s “New Deal” at the time. Many jobs and monies were provided through this New Deal in the 1930s. Programs associated with the Public Work Administration, Indian Emergency Conservation Administration, Federal Surplus Relief Administration, Social Conservation Service, and Civilian Conservation Corps kept Navajo people

employed (Kelly 1968). It is possible that many who benefited from these programs were Navajo men, helping to institute a gender division of labor within Navajo society at the time. Conservation programs and public works became the producer of wage work and this initiated the shift away from the pastoral economy to a wage work economy that relied on industrial development. Many from the Shonto community, the case-study of this report, worked at the Santa Fe Railroad at this time (Adams and Ruffing 1977). The Navajo Hopi Long Range Rehabilitation Act of 1950 afforded \$88 million for road construction, school construction, soil and moisture conservation and range improvement, irrigation projects, construction of hospital and health facilities, and other projects (Iverson and Roessel 2002, 190). It was amended in 1958 for an additional \$20 million, but most of the money from the Rehabilitation act went to service facilities rather than economic development (Bailey and Bailey 1986). These monies were designed to transition the Diné people into a functioning labor that would sustain the people through wage work. Following a particularly brutal winter, the 1957 “emergency work relief program” also assisted Navajo people in this transition and, by 1960, it poured \$5 million into work development programs (Iverson and Roessel 2002). The BIA remained steadfast in encouraging the Navajo tribal government to “modernize” and incorporate into regimes of wage labor. During the early years of the tribal government, the BIA had a stronger role in advancing its agenda in the reservation. But since the 1960s (and especially following the Indian Self-Determination and Educational Assistance Act of 1975), the BIA devolved responsibility for development to the tribal government. However, the overarching goal of modernization, incorporation, and transitioning of Navajo people into regimes of wage labor remain intact into today. This is at the heart of the contradiction of current land policies within the Navajo Nation. On the one hand, the orientation of tribal development programs are geared toward modernization, development, and greater incorporation

into regional capitalism, on the other hand, land laws prevent practices of development common in the United States, such as mix-use zoning, infrastructure investments, and notions of land ownership. Instead, land is held in “trust” and accessory rights come in the form of “grazing permits.” The Navajo executive branch has a division of economic development that is separate from community affairs, ranching, and land-use policies. This is at the heart of the inability for the tribe to make a meaningful break from federal regulatory laws that are both unpopular and unhelpful in the reservation.

3. Methodology

Over the summer of 2017, the Diné Policy Institute (DPI) partially replicated a survey, conducted in 1955 (Adams 1958) and 1971 (Ruffing 1976) respectively. In the 1955 study, anthropologist William Y. Adams profiled 100 Navajo families who regularly visited the now historic trading post



where he worked. Ruffing, taking Adams data, replicated this study in 1971 to demonstrate social change in the 16 years between the original survey and the new one. We picked up the trail 46 years later. We could not find the original data from the 1955 and 1971 studies.

Therefore, we had to approximate the same areas with the use of maps. We used reference points found on the original Adams 1955 map, published in his monograph, and identified 73 of the 100 original housing groups. We successfully completed 48 surveys with Shonto residents living within the community, a response rate of 62%. We will discuss the findings of that survey in the next section.

In the fall of 2017, DPI conducted three mini focus groups in regions surrounding Shonto. We decided to seek out participants between the ages of 18 to 30 years old because our survey participants were in the older category, which neglected the younger generations. As a way to balance out the age range, we sought younger individuals, which would help us draw out the shared attitudes and feelings of the younger generation as well as the differences between the participants. It would allow us to observe the similarities and differences between the younger generations in each community. We created nine questions that focused on the future of the Navajo Nation and the focus groups were semi-structured, meaning the moderator would ask the same questions to each group but would follow-up on the unique responses from the different groups. The mini focus groups were conducted in Tsaile, Tonalea, and Kayenta with 4 participants in the first group and five in the last two.

The results of these two approaches were used to understand how Navajo people think about land, development, and regulation today. We used the responses from the survey to compare community statistics produced by the U.S. Census Bureau on questions of income, employment, and unemployment. We also compared our results with baseline surveys of Adams and Ruffing 62 and 46 years prior to measure the level of Navajo incorporation into a regional capitalist system.

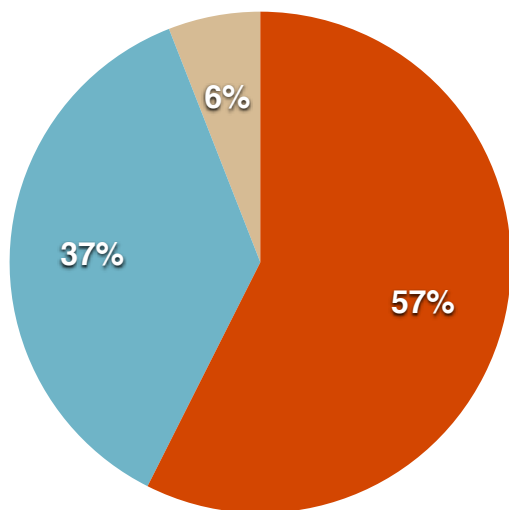
Finally, we looked at the work of The Little Colorado River Watershed Chapter Association to research recommendations for reform. The organization, working artificial political boundaries that were inherited from the Bureau of Indian Affairs base their work on watershed boundaries. They work along the Little Colorado River, advancing sustainable and community development. We worked with the Little Colorado River Watershed Chapter Association (LCRWCA) over the latter half of 2017 in farms they maintain or assist in Canyon de Chelly near Chinle and Kingsley Community Garden near Lupton. This organization is one of the few that exist in the Navajo Nation that focuses on land

management and land use. We joined LCRWCA members at Canyon De Chelly to look at the farm systems that existed in the canyon and learned about water systems that are used to maintain crops and allow families to farm in the region. We also joined them at Kingsley Community garden to help them weed and garden.

4. Findings

The majority of our respondents were women (58%). This is something that has been true in most of the surveying we have done in the reservation (Curley and Parrish 2016). Most of the residences who

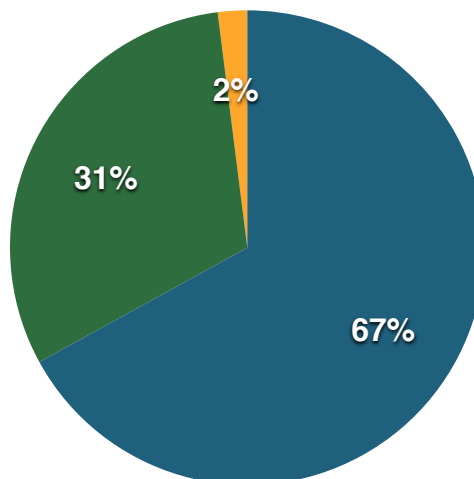
● Women ● Men ● NA
Figure 4.1: Gender of Respondents



were home at the time were female and this might reflect the impacts of a gendered division of labor that is part of the patriarchy of modern capitalism in the United States. Meaning, modernization has favored men with good work opportunities, such as

political leadership, coal work, and construction, while leaving women to run the home economy and take on jobs with a lot of work and responsibility, but less power in the tribal system of governance. The assertion of women being in

● Yes ● No ● NA
Figure 4.2: Head of Household

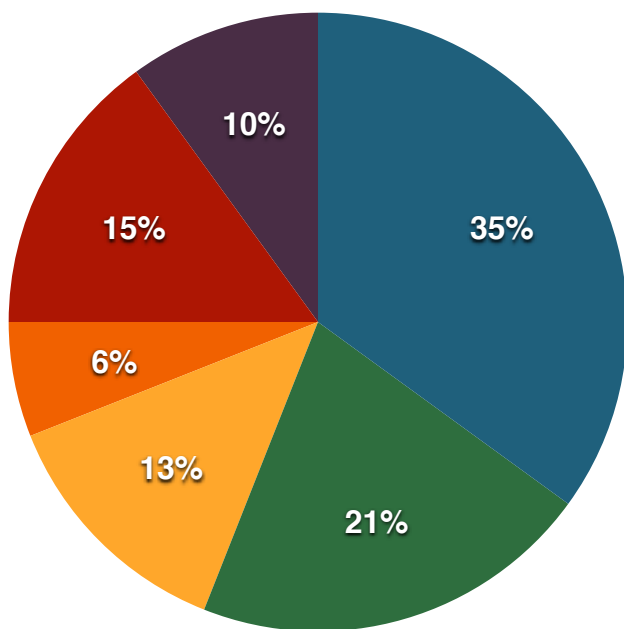


charge of the home economy is supported by the fact that 67% of our participants said that they were the head of household, a majority of these being women given our results. Only 31% marked that they were not the head of household, slightly less than the total number of men surveyed and 2% failed to answer this question.

We asked respondents if they were currently enrolled in school and 96% reported they were not. This is likely due to the fact that most of our respondents were older and had already finished their primary and secondary education. Of the people we interviewed, 35% (the simple majority), had not gone

- High School ● Some College ● AA ● Four Year
- Less than H.S. ● Other

Figure 4.3: Education Attainment



beyond a high school education or GED certificate. Nearly as many, 28%, achieved two year or four year degrees. This corresponds to what we know as improved educational attainment for Navajo people over the last fifty years. Since 1968, a community college has operated in the Navajo Nation, making it easier for local residences to improve their chances at getting post-primary education. Also, the Navajo Nation Division of Education has

spent millions in the form of grants to Navajo students to ease the financial burden in going to school. This may have impacted the 28% of respondents who did get degrees after high school. If we include those who reported “some college,” that raises the total to 49%, nearly half of our respondents. Even though most of our respondents were between 45 and 75 years old, nearly half of them stepped foot in

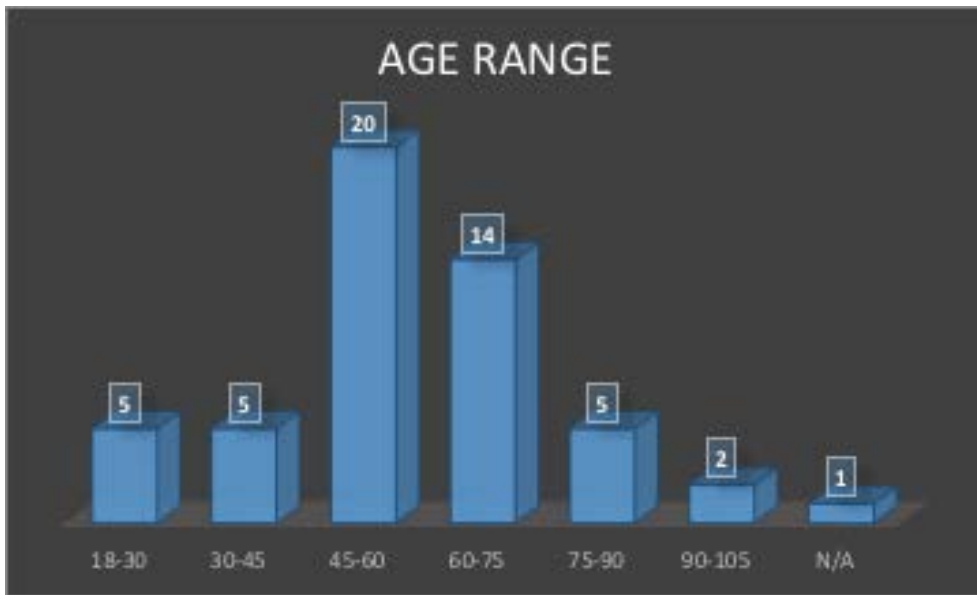


Figure 4.4: Age Range of Participants

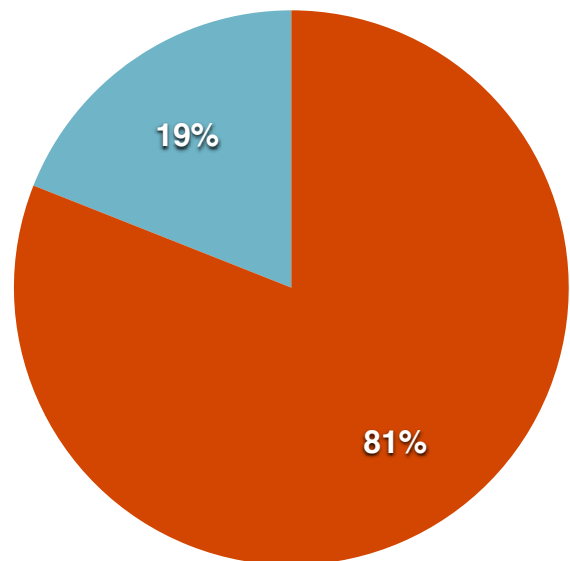
a college classroom. On the other hand, although “veteran affairs” receives a lot of attention in the Navajo Nation, only 8% of our respondents marked

that they were veterans. This might be due to the gender bias in armed forces service that has historically privileged men (Nagel 1998). Because of the fact that most of our respondents were women, we can assume that this had bearing on the veteran status of respondents.

The vast majority of people we surveyed, 81%, said they were originally from the community of Shonto. The remaining 19% said they moved into

the area, usually through marriage. This was indicated in the increase in percentage of people who said that their families were from Shonto from the previous question, 87% as opposed to 81%. Interesting, we found that the majority of Navajo people who we asked had lived outside of the reservation at one point in their lives, 67%. This indicates that many (perhaps the vast

● From Shonto ● From Elsewhere
Figure. 4.5: From Shonto



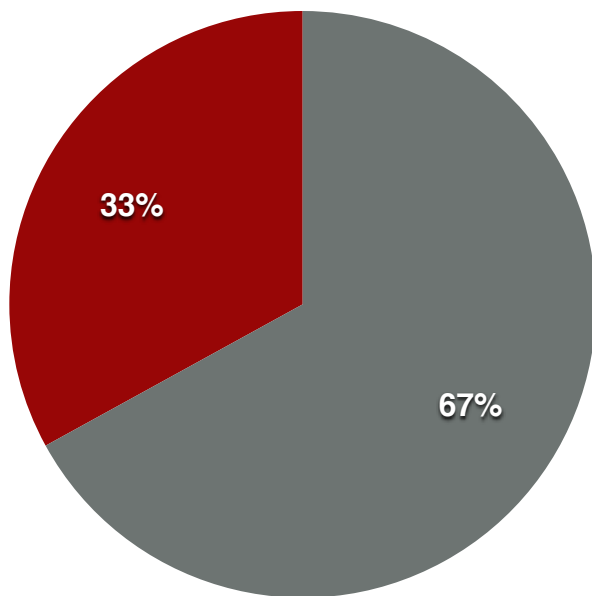
majority of Navajo people at this point) live substantially outside of the reservation, likely for work or other opportunities.

4.2. Survey - Household and Employment

The household is an important source of consideration when we are considering the transition from subsistent (land based) economies toward ones reliant on wage labor. First, we found that most of the residence had two people in it. This could be because of the older nature of many of the respondents and might indicate that children moved out and live elsewhere. Most houses had no more

- Lived outside of the reservation
- Always lived in the reservation

Figure 4.6: Having lived outside reservation



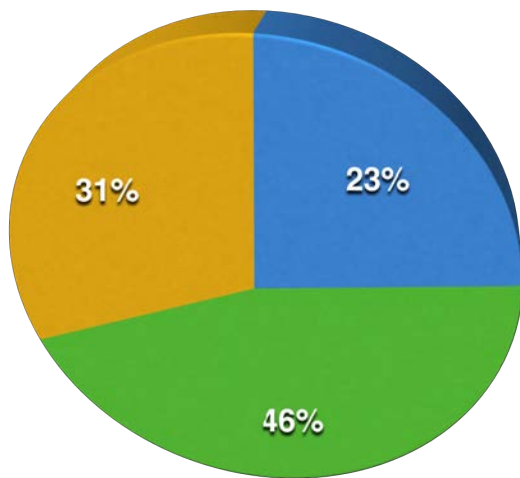
than one person employed. But 17 households reported two or more employed in the one house. This is 35% of our respondents. This challenges the popular statistic that half the reservation is unemployed. 35% percent of households are finding employment whereas individually, only 23% of our respondents said they were employed. This means that when we ask respondents about themselves, the picture looks more dire than when they report on other members of the household who are not home

(possibly working) and were unable to fill out the survey. What is more, of those who are not working, 31% reported that they were retired. This is under appreciated statistic in the reservation. For example, the U.S. Census latest American Community Survey reports that 44% of eligible adults are not in labor force, +/- 8.1 percent margin of error. Our survey reports 46% respondents not in labor force, well

within the Census Bureau’s margin of error. We add to this statistic to learn how many in the households reporting unemployment are in a household with employment. Majority of our respondents lived in a household with one or more employed and 31% said they were retired. This is consistent

● employed ● unemployed ● retired

Figure 4.7: Employment status of respondents



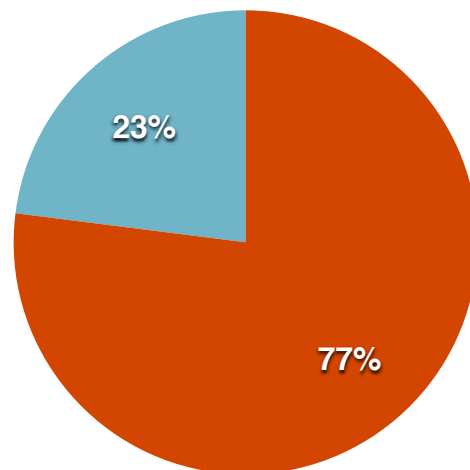
of the two mines was closed. For this reason, we asked respondents, “have you ever worked in coal?” as opposed to “do you work in coal.” The 23% who said they did work in coal at one time in their life should be understood in those terms and not mistaken as the percentage of residence we found who were currently involved in coal work. We asked respondents to estimate their yearly income. Just under half,

with the older nature of our respondents.

One area of the economy that the previous longitudinal study would have failed to report, is the impact of the regional coal economy with the opening of two mines in the area during the early 1970s, at about the time the last study ended. Unfortunately, because of the 46-year gap between the studies, we cannot know the impact of coal at the height of the industry when both mines were in operation. In 2006, one

● yes ● no

Figure 4.8: “Have you ever worked in coal?”



43 %, said they make less than \$10,000 a year. Only 4% of our respondents made \$60,000 or more. Most of our respondents made under \$40,000 a year. Our findings are consistent with the U.S. Census Bureau’s American Community Survey. In 2016, the Census found Shonto’s median income \$35,481. This is much less than the State of Arizona’s median income, \$51,340.

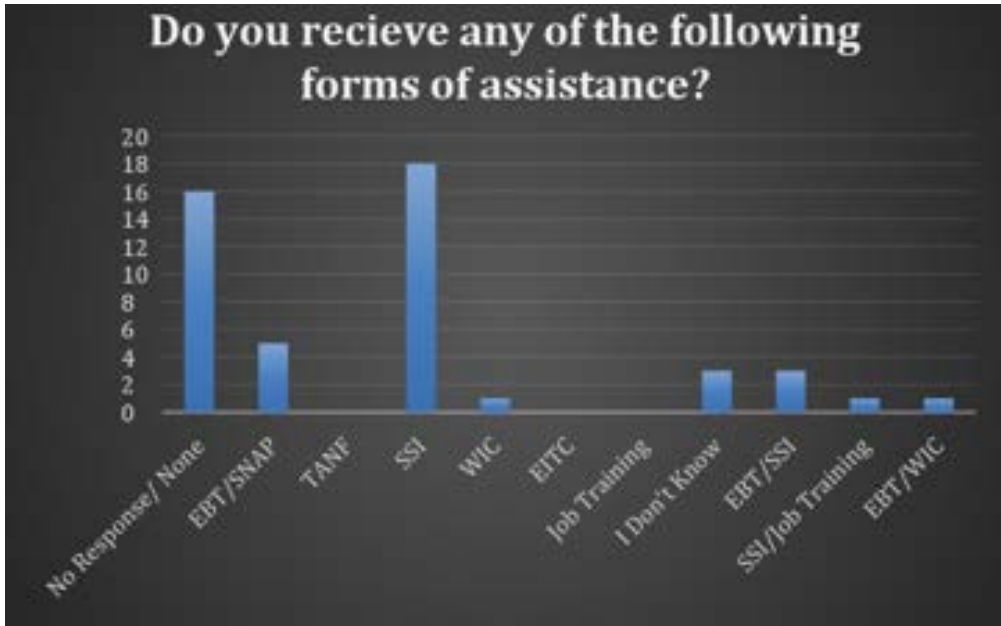


Figure 4.9: Types of Assistance

We asked the respondents what types of assistance they receive. 16 respondents did not respond or did not receive assistance, 5 marked that they receive EBT/Snap, 18 marked that they receive SSI, 1 marked that they receive WIC, 3 marked that they do not know, 3 marked that they receive EBT/SSI, 1 marked that they received SSI/Job Training, and 1 marked that they received EBT/WIC.

4.3. Survey - Land-Use and Grazing

Grazing is instrumental to a subsistence economy. We worked to get an understanding of the practices that revolve around grazing. This tells us to what grazing looks like within the community and whether or not grazing is still as necessary as before. We asked our respondents if they were the

permit holder for the land on which they lived. Only 18% said yes and 82% said no. We asked the respondents if the Navajo Nation should issue more grazing permits. We asked their respondents what kind of livestock they owned. They gave us different combinations. The three major animals were: sheep, cattle, and horses.

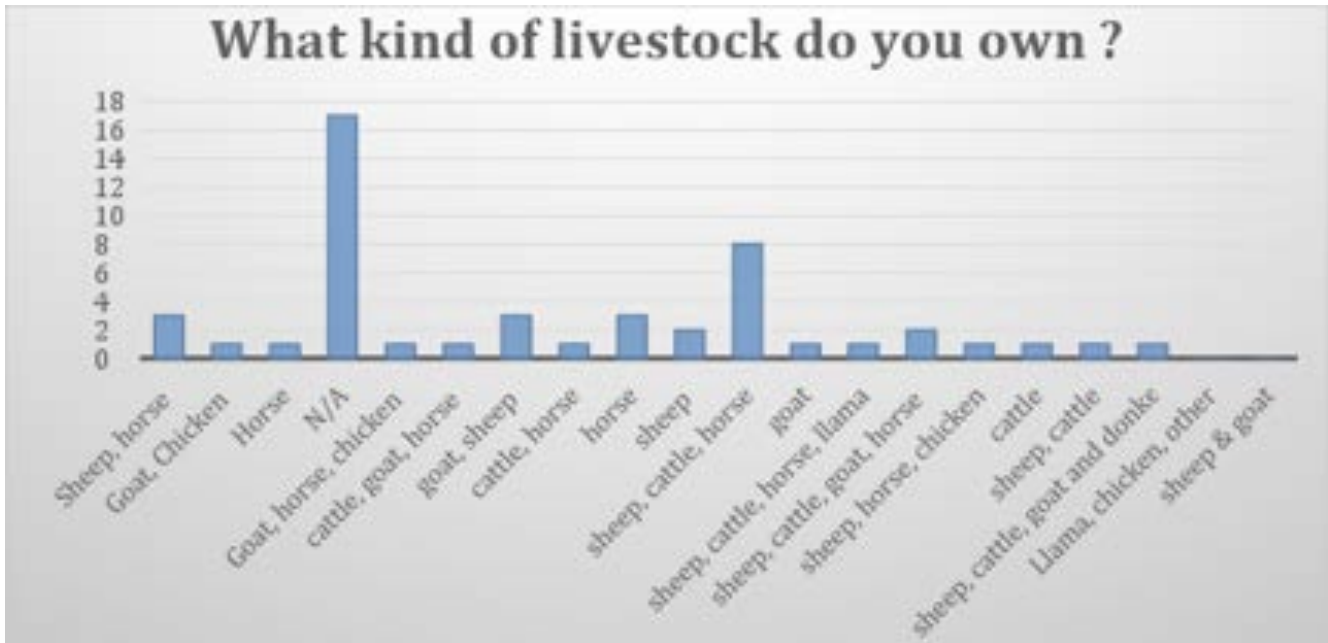


Figure 4.10: Types of Livestock

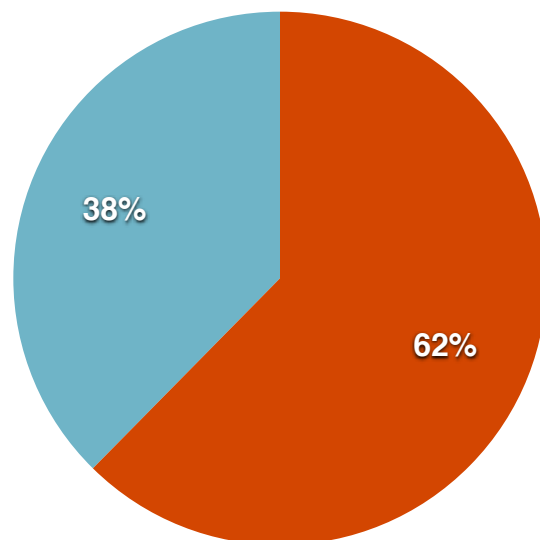
We asked the respondents if they thought there was overgrazing in their community and 57% said yes, 37% said no, and 6% did not answer. We asked respondents how far they let their livestock graze away from their homes. The majority, 54%, did not have animals, 42% said they graze sheep within a half mile of the house. Only 6% said beyond 3 to 5 miles from the home. We then asked respondents how often they let their livestock graze. 20 said that they do not have animals, 17 said all day, 5 said half of the day, and 6 said they provide hay. We asked our respondents if they sell the wool of their sheep, 23% said yes and 77% said no. We followed it up by asking them if they sell their livestock, 37% said yes and 63% said no. We asked respondents if they used their livestock for food, 53% said yes, 2% said no, and 45% did not answer.

Figure 4.11: How often do you let your livestock graze?



Like grazing, farming was considered a form of subsistence economy that existed prior to colonization. We asked respondents if they still farm the land, 55% said no and 44% said yes. We followed up this question asking if they sell their produce, 4% said no and 96% said yes. We asked the respondents if they knew of a community garden, 73% marked no, 17% did not answer, and 10% marked yes. Most of the respondents knew of family farms but not of community gardens.

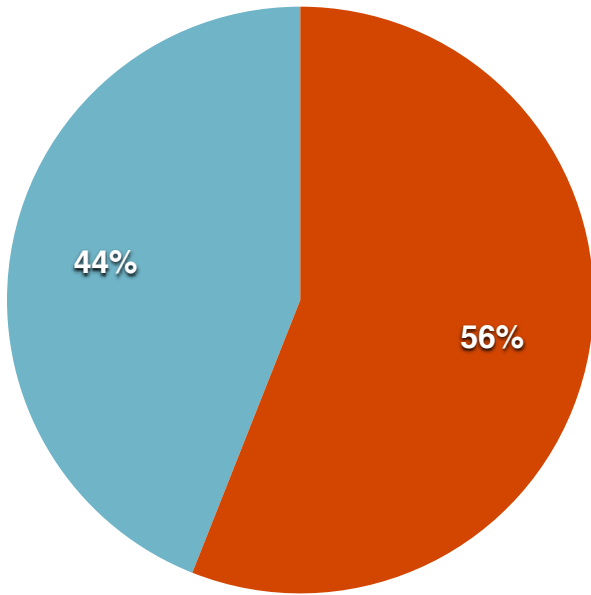
Figure 4.12: Do you sell livestock for money?



4.4. Survey - Development

● No ● Yes

Figure 4.13: Do you farm your land?

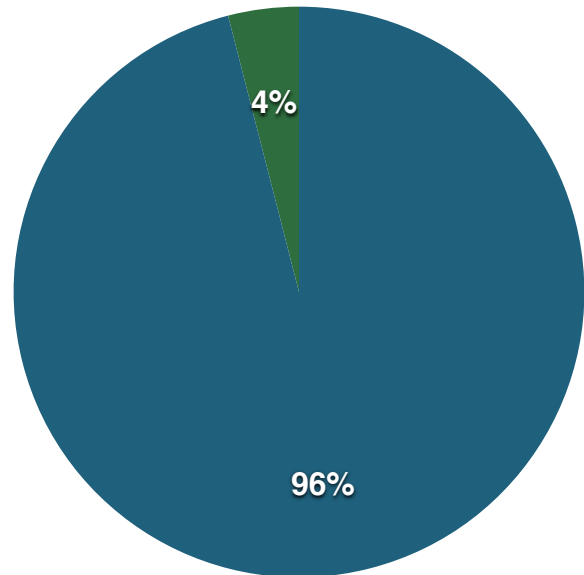


not a good idea, 11% said it provided job opportunities, 8% said it would be beneficial for vendors, and 6% had no response. We also asked respondents what kind of facilities and services they wanted in their community, 11 said clinics, 9 said fast/food and restaurants, 7 said a senior center, 6 said auto shop/roads, 4 said other, 2 said schools, 2 said fire station, 1 said housing, and 6 did not respond.

We wanted to get an understanding of how the Shonto community felt towards economic development and we also wanted to know their thoughts about jobs and facilities within their community and what they would like to see within their community. We asked the respondents how they felt about tourism in their community, 35% said that they do not mind, 21% said it was a good idea, 19% said

● No ● Yes

Figure 4.14: Do you sell your crops?



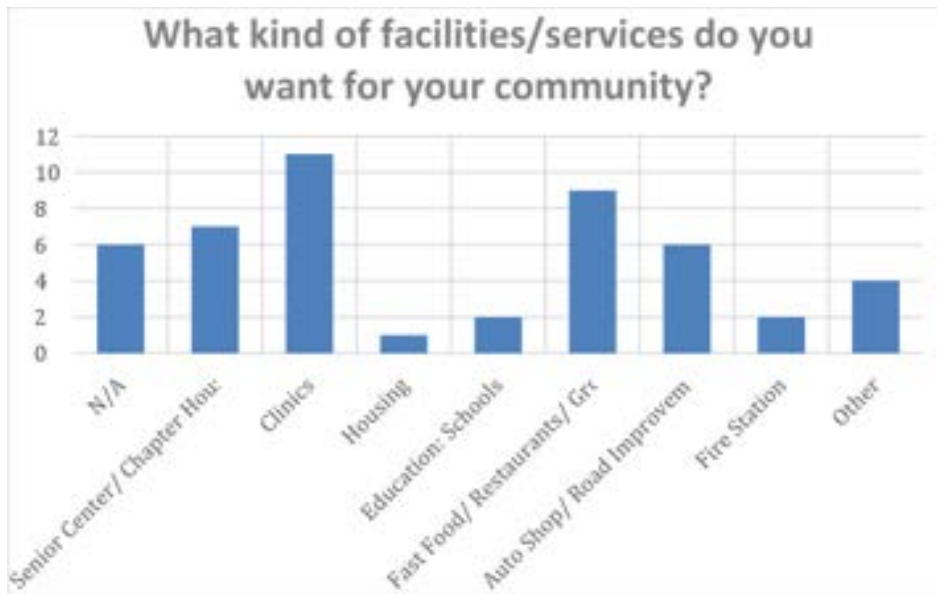


Figure 4.15: Respondent's desired services

We asked the respondents what kind of jobs and opportunities they wanted within their community, 11 said they wanted a nursing home and senior center, 9 said that they wanted construction and mechanic jobs, 9 said that they wanted youth jobs, 8 did not respond, 3 said they wanted educational and library jobs, 3 said that they wanted trade jobs, 3 said they wanted fire station and police jobs, and 2 said they wanted motel and restaurant jobs. The final series of questions we asked our respondents was the conditions in which they would agree to withdraw land from their grazing areas. Our respondents, 15 marked payment, jobs, and roads, 8 would never allow land withdrawal, 6 marked jobs and roads, 5 marked jobs, 4 did not answer, 4 marked roads, 2 marked payment and roads, 2 marked other, and 1 marked payment and jobs, and 1 marked payment.

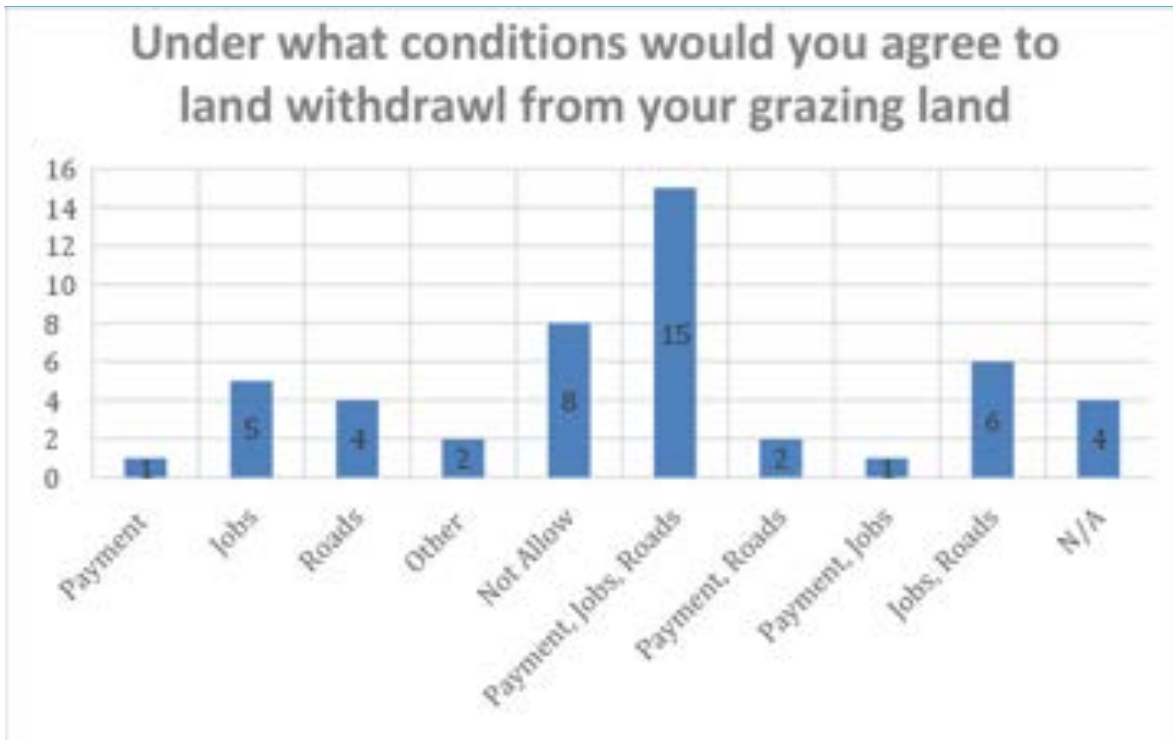


Figure 4.16: Conditions respondent's would agree to land withdrawals

4.5. Transcribed - Interviews

We also recorded the interviews that occurred while we conducted the surveys and this provided more data that helped shape the relations between concepts. Like the focus group data, we were able to map out the relationships between different concepts that the respondents mentioned in the interviews and it resembled the focus groups. Many of the Shonto respondents had shared experiences within the community that revolved around overgrazing, perceptions of land, governance, and jobs and services. The data provided over 400 quotes and 85 codes which had to be condensed for reading purposes. We selected the main topics to discuss because of their relationships to land use which ranged from overgrazing and the perception of land that develops from grazing permits. Grazing permits and culture instill ideas of property and the authority to hinder development. Included again was the idea of governance. Many Shonto community members felt alienated from both their local politics and central government. The final topic was the ideas of jobs, opportunities, services, and

facilities they would like to see in their community. The last topic is related to land use and development and it provides insight to what the community members want for their future. In this section we provide quotations that link concept together rather than just the quantitative data seen in the previous section, this section helps add substance to the quantitative data.

4.6. Interviews - Grazing

A majority of Shonto resident's whom we surveyed believe there is overgrazing in their community, but it is not a large majority. **Table five** reveals the quotes for overgrazing, livestock responsibility, and grazing officers. For the sake of space, we did not include all the quotes but the main quotes that summed up the topic as well as linked to other topics which helped map out relations. The quotes in the table reveal the linkages between topics as well as other topics that will be discussed. The qualitative data supports the notion that a majority of the community believes that overgrazing is a problem and that over grazing is perpetuated by livestock irresponsibility and a lenient grazing officer, as well as lenient regulations. One participant combats overgrazing by supplementing hay and decreasing the grazing period of her livestock.

"I thought that was kind of low but I kind of understand because the land is overused. The land needs to come back to life but they said that it can go back up to 300 if the land, vegetation, comes back. At this time, they say, that the Black Mesa has forty pounds, an acre, for sheep to consume. The sheep consume 4 pounds, daily. So that's why I say, I let them graze in the morning and bring them home and give them water and buy hay."
- *Shonto respondent, 2017*

Many other community members have shifted towards hay because of the same belief that the land is over used and lacks nutrients. Another participant responded similarly when asked about her

grazing practices and over grazing: “That’s what I believe. I do not graze my sheep all the time. Now they should be getting hay...” Grazing practices became of the topics discussed when over grazing was mentioned by the interviewer: “That’s what I believe. I do not graze my sheep all the time. Now they should be getting hay. Some people let their sheep out and they eat and eat all day until the evening. That’s how overgrazing is, you have no control. You do not try to understand. They need to be educated.”

Many people link over grazing to practices of other people rather than environmental issues such as climate change this does not imply that they do not think climate change is a factor, but it suggests that they view grazing practices as a bigger factor for overgrazing. The specific suspect of overgrazing is the horse. “With the horses mainly, cattle secondly, and sheep not as much as years before. Round-ups seemed to be the solution for controlling overgrazing.” This respondent listed horses as the main livestock that cause overgrazing. Another responded that they should pen up horses. The horses are known to roam without supervision of the livestock owner but there is also the problem of wild horses which do not belong to an owner and are unbranded. The wild horses are usually born in the wild from branded horses but are claimed but not branded. One respondent noted: “We got a lot of horses roaming about and 80% of them are not branded.”

It is unsure if this statistic is true, but the respondent believes that many of the wandering horses are not branded and therefore wild. Wild horses have always posed a problem for the Navajo Nation. It is estimated that 40,000 wild horses roam the Navajo Nation. This contributes a heavy toll on the land and its capacity to regrow for the next season and it reflects what most of the Shonto community believes about their wild horses. As for the branded horses, the community believe that horse owners are being irresponsibility with the care of their horses and the management of the land.

Land management and planning is important for maintaining the land, but one respondent felt that no such thing exists.: “Sheep and cattle because they were out there every day from sunrise to sunset. It was different. There is no conservation land or management plan. It’s hard to do that.”

Each chapter has a community “land use plan,” but it is mainly for setting land aside for development rather than land management and recovery. Some of the livestock have taken into their hands to help the land recover, but it is difficult if they are the only ones working towards the goal.

This respondent went as far as selling their livestock to help alleviate the problems that cause

“There’s a lot of people overgrazing. Right here since I’ve sold all my sheep I am trying to regrow my grazing land, and everybody starts coming in with wild horses and cows. At one time, we had ninety-seven horses that had no brand. Right here, we did our livestock pond. My husband made it from collecting rocks. Everybody horses and cows hang around here because of that.”

- *Shonto resident, 2017*

overgrazing, but other livestock still come into her grazing land. It implies that overgrazing must be combatted by the community or collective rather than single families working to regrow their areas. Many of the communities blamed other community members for their lack of responsibility towards livestock. It is a moral issue, lack of responsibility, but also a disregard for grazing laws that exist in the Navajo Nation.

The moral irresponsibility was visible in all the responses when it came to the topic of overgrazing and one of the things that should be looked at is the reasons why people assume others are irresponsible as well as their perception of responsibility and management. One respondent said: “I’m good with the way it is. Other people, are going over their limit. They do not abide by the rules and regulations for the permit. In fact, a lot of JUA (joint-use area, from the Navajo-Hopi Land Partition Act) people do that. They aren’t supposed to have animals, but they do. Somebody should come around and check

upon that. They come around and pick on us. They say that our animals should not be wandering out there.”

Irresponsibility is chalked up to two things, disregarding the law, disregarding the moral responsibility to livestock that is owned. Another respondent said: “People disregarding Navajo Nation law with animals, over livestock limits. They do not tend to their animals as regularly as they should. We have cattle that come right up to our door. We have to run cattle and horses off. They sneak into sheep pens and make a mess. They drink the water of the sheep.” This respondent mentions both. The respondent begins with the disregard for the grazing laws and then follows it up with the moral responsibility of livestock. Obeying the law is legal responsibility that livestock owners. The laws surrounding grazing were prompted by overgrazing and it signaled the livestock reduction. Obeying the grazing laws seems to be the way livestock owners are being responsible with the land. If you obey land laws, you are respecting the land and helping control overgrazing. “They do not obey... You’re allowed a maximum amount of cattle, sheep and all that. And they abuse it by overgrazing and they do not report what they actually really have. I noticed that just by what I’m seeing.”

Some of the livestock owners intentionally hide livestock. This was mentioned a few times from the community members. It could be explained by the cultural significance that livestock plays in Navajo life and some people choose not to be limited by the grazing limits. They may not see the grazing permits as a legitimate institution and they might even deny overgrazing in their area. The respondents revealed what they perceived as responsible livestock owners indirectly by listing what other livestock owners were not doing. One participant mentioned that being responsible involves caring for the livestock. Some of the participants offered advice to those who would not be able to meet the needs of their livestock in a responsible way. A respondent talking about the tension between

subsistent and wage labor life: “If you can’t control your animals, if you’re elderly, maybe reduce it. If you do not want that responsibility, get rid of it. If you want to work, I want to go back to work, but I need a nightshift.” This respondent recognized the limitations of certain livestock owners and they believe that it would be responsible of those owners to reduce their livestock to an acceptable level they can maintain on their own. It remains considerate of people’s desire to own livestock while focusing on land management. Livestock requires time and attention but that is being replaced with jobs that livestock owners usually pursue to support themselves. This respondent said that they would need a nightshift because livestock would be penned up. There is a tension between livestock and jobs that consumes the topic of time management. Some people many let their livestock roam because they do not have to watch them and that affords them time to do something else. Some people think that practice is lazy, and individuals need to learn how to manage their livestock in a responsible way. “People will have to learn to manage and control their animals. Right now, I am guilty of it. The horse went out and it’s over the ridge. We haven’t been able to get it back. We just do not have the time.”

The final part of overgrazing is the role and authority of grazing officials within the community. This individual is charged with the responsibility of regulating grazing permits and livestock in the area. The grazing official is the community elected member tasked with enforcing and monitoring grazing regulations within the community. One of the biggest tasks is the tally county where the grazing official goes to each family and counts their livestock to see if they are within their limit. This helps keep track of the livestock within the community so that families do not exceed the limit prescribed. Our survey revealed that community did not think the grazing officer was doing a good job.

“To me he doesn't go out and actually do a tally count physically. I’ve never seen him do it, I’ve always seen, once in a while, he’ll come out and for instance, last summer when we branded our cows

my brother had to actually take the tally count over there and tell him this is what we have, this what we bring...So he doesn't come out I know that for a fact. Maybe to some areas but out here you know I hardly ever see him.”

This respondent said that they rarely see the grazing officer and the grazing officer takes their word for it, even though, some community members believe that the community members lie to the grazing officer. “He doesn't do reporting, I've seen people just report to him once in a while he'll come out and do actual site visit. Maybe like I've said I've seen people maybe depending on what kind of mood he's in, he'll go out and actually do a tally count for the people. I do not want to put the guy down; he's a nice guy and all.”The respondents do not see the grazing officer performing the task he is responsible for and rarely see the grazing officer in the field. Others reminisced on the previous grazing officers and the things they did for the community as grazing officers.“They do not come around to. Way down before they used to give vaccine to animals. They do not come around to vaccine sheep or anything. Nothing they just count and a lot of time before, they want to reduce our sheep but not anymore. That's why we have a little bit now. They do not.” This respondent presented the interviewers with what the previous grazing officers did but also a glimpse into what they wanted from a grazing officer. This participant believes the grazing officers have become lax in their enforcement, regulation, and services. Another respondent mentioned that they wished the grazing officer would enforce regulations. “Tell them people over there to control their animals. That's your job. If you're a grazing official, that is your job. They need to tell people to pen and watch their wild horses, if not, I will be right there helping them pack them in. All the neighbors will be there helping me until we teach you how to control your animals so the land can come back up.”

Another participant echoed the same response when our interviewers asked about their thoughts on overgrazing and the role grazing officers play in it. “I really think grazing representatives should be stricter with regulations. Lot of people go over the grazing permit.”Grazing officers need to be strict when it comes to grazing laws, but other participants mentioned going further. Beyond the grazing officer, one respondent said that they wish there were more laws in place regarding grazing.

The overgrazing problem that most of the community members feel plagues their community resembles a structural issue. The grazing officer is not enforcing the grazing law, the laws may not be enough, and many communities believe that other community members are obeying the laws. Based on the

“Yes, and put more laws on it. They do have it, but people do not go by it. When it is time for counting, they hide their livestock. The person who is supposed to count, he doesn’t even go there. He takes their word. They do not report everything.”

- Shonto resident, 2017

data, it seems there are multiple ways of fixing this issue, electing a stricter officer, evaluating the laws and seeing what needs to be added, and community involvement in combatting overgrazing. In 2017, the grazing officers advocated for legislation that would increase their funds as many felt they were underpaid and it caused issues for them to do their job effectively. This is a plausible solution as well. Grazing officers are tasked with regulating their large chapter areas with limited funding. Increased funds can be one of the factors that will help increased regulation but cannot be done without the other mentioned solutions, strict elected officials, law reform, and community involvement. From the data, perceptions of land surfaced, the idea of owning land.

4.7. Interviews - Land Conflict

This perception usually leads to land disputes between families and neighbors. An unintended consequence is the hindrance of development such as infrastructure and businesses. Grazing is given priority of land use within the Navajo Nation and that makes it difficult for development to occur. Other forms of land use can be stopped if the grazing permittees did not agree and that would be the end of it. Grazing has played an important role in the Navajo subsistence economy, it provided food and wool for families and many considered sheep as a form of wealth. Yet it has been thrust in opposition of the changing economy of the Navajo Nation where the main priority is jobs and business development. In Ruffing's study, the Shonto community was able to stay the same but development was not occurring within the reservation as intensely as it has been recently, and the Navajo people are moving away from grazing to jobs to provide for themselves even willing to leave the reservation for jobs. Grazing is still part of the community but some of the community members recognize that it can hinder development. Grazing permits do not provide permittees ownership of the land but rather the right to graze in the area yet this idea of ownership manifests in the data. "Yeah, but some people are like this is my land." This perception has surfaced in other data we have collected, the focus groups. One response to a question about housing pointed out the same issue. "Yes. Livestock, they think they own the land. They said, "we'll be the one who chase you out of here". "We want you to move", they told me. I said, "only if you pay me how much it costs to live here".

This perception of land can be explained by the cultural significance of the land for families. As mentioned before, families tend to live in areas their ancestors lived in. This right is usually referred to as customary use rights and it defines the right that families from a certain area have living in that area, it is usually how scattered housing is development within communities. It relates to the term, traditional residence groups, that Ruffing and Adams mention in their works. "Traditional residence

groups” refers to the housing and living patterns of a family, usually a cluster of homes together linked by family ties. There is a link to living areas and the families that have resided in that area and this can be one of the explanations of ownership. One participant revealed that link in their response about land withdrawal under certain conditions.

“I would say yes but I’m not from here. I have less power it has to be these people. I have no right because this isn’t my home, I’m not from here.”
- Shonto resident, 2017

This quote highlights the connection between areas and the families that have always lived there as well as the power that comes with link. This participant feels that they do not have the authority, even though they live in the area, to decide what happens with the land. One of the

participants referred to cultural authority when it came to land ownership and authority. “When you get married you, traditionally, you’re not supposed to bring your wife to your home. That will create to problem. If something happens to you and your wife is there with kids, the family members will jump on her say “You do not come from here”. “Go back”. We are so culturally into that, which I think it was good in some manner because it kept things in order.”

There is authority that stems from the traditional management of land. This is reflected in the earlier section of land use. Farms and housing areas were the most exclusive areas based on family and use. This cultural institution would allow land to remain within the possession of the mother’s side of the family. Another explanation is given by another respondent. What I heard from the politician is that the livestock holds the land and to the people. The white man will take the land, they’re going for the natural resource, if you do not have livestock.”

This presents another way of looking at the ownership based on use and the retainment of land. This individual believes that if we do not practice grazing we will lose it to some other interests. Some other participants mention this fear as well mentioning Trump as a president who would take land away. Beneath most of these quotes is the idea of use, use provides the permittee the “right” to the land. This is not an outlandish idea because it fits the cultural perception of land and the legal institution. There seems to be an idea that things were simpler in the past, there were very few land disputes, or they were solved easily. “They’re telling us that it’s their land and it’s not like back then when our grandparents got along. They let the animals be and not say this is my land.” This respondent believes that land disputes have gotten worse since the grazing permits were institutionalized.

This was brought up with some other respondents as well. Land disputes are common within the Shonto community. Our data shows that it exists between grazing permittees and housing permits. Some respondents mentioned the shooting and killing of livestock and pets. “Yes, I’m sure it’s all over. Places up there where I had seen had very little grazing. The livestock they would slowly venture into some else’s territory. That’s where a lot of tension and conflict would happen. They would start shooting at cows and horses; they kill their neighbor’s livestock.” Land disputes split up family whether it be who gets the grazing permit or disagreements of the land and livestock entering property. “A lot of land disputes, its splits up families. I work with neighbor and family member they do not speak to each other because of grazing land issues. Everyone is just greedy wants everything for themselves instead of sharing.” Another participant brought up a family that was being split because of the in-law dilemma. “The father is not willing to relinquish the grazing permit to any members of his own siblings. That created a little tension among his own. That’s what happens a lot of the time. It’s the

male if he gets the grazing permit and was told to share, it doesn't turn out that way. The in-law comes in." The grazing permit is usually passed down so that it remains within the possession of the mother's side of the family of that area but when an in-law from another area comes in it creates tension because it can be passed to that in-law shifting the grazing right to another family. With the grazing right also is the idea of ownership of the land and that is perceived as another family "owning" the land.

There is a specific tension between joint use area housing and grazing permittees.

These land disputes signal the need to look at the grazing laws. They have caused issues between families and neighbors and many community members believe it has gotten worse with the

shootings of livestock. In these discussion was the fact that these perceptions of land have consequences. One of the consequences not mentioned yet is the hindrances of development.

"Infrastructures like they're going to build a house or some store there these are the one in the way. They say this is where I graze and all that. That's when everything kind of stops, that's part of it."

Grazing permittees are given the authority to decide whether development occurs within their area and community. "But it's my aunt, they're the ones that will say "hey now, no we do not want it". They're the ones that stop a lot of stuff. She has our permit." This causes issues for other community members who need such things. Our interviewers came across families who were denied infrastructure because grazing permittees did not want infrastructure going through "their" grazing land. The respondents recognize the importance of grazing in the community and the Navajo Nation. Our interviewers asked

"We are close to JUA. JUA gave up their rights to grazing areas. They should keep it like that. People that are not in the JUA, a lot of them do not have animals mainly because the JUA people pick on people because they do not have it no more."
- Shonto resident, 2017

a respondent what they think about land being withdrawn from grazing. “Nope it’s not going to work. Navajo people are so into grazing that is priority. Development in their area, nope. We ran into that issue at the mine site. They fight for their land. They will fight, tooth and nail. Money means nothing to people with grazing permits. They value their livestock more than anything. Livestock is a generational program.”

The value of grazing land is held higher than monetary value and it matches the historical and cultural value that is placed on land. Grazing holds significant value to a people who have come from subsistence economy and pastoral activities. Yet, traditionally, Navajo people could not own the land but use it to provide for their families. Traditionally, grazing space was considered communal and no one had exclusive rights to the area, but families respected each other’s herds and space. Grazing permits have accelerated the sense of individualization of the grazing area. This poses a significant question on what should be done with the land tenure system of the Navajo Nation, how do we meet the needs of families while navigating the sense of ownership that individuals attach to grazing land?

4.8. Interviews - Governance

The next major topic highlighted in the Shonto interviews was the topic of *governance*. Many of the respondents did not engage their local government or the central government. Some of the community members feel alienated due to their associations of Navajo partitioned land, they do not feel welcomed by the Shonto Chapter despite living within the community. These NPL members were relocated due to the Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute. Other community members feel a different form of alienation. Others felt that the government was not informing them of the activities within the government system. The community members expressed the desire to be more involved within the

development of the community and the Navajo Nation. Beginning with alienation, a respondent said, “The chapter house has nothing to with Navajo Partition Land. They shun us. Every time we speak up, they say, “you are NPL you do not have a voice.” Some of other respondents have offered similar responses about their source of alienation. This is related to the tension between NPL members and the grazing permittees of Shonto, the relocation of NPL members within the community has caused issues both politically and land based. Another participant said, “I do not go. They say, “you’re not from here”. “You’re from Page. We do not want to hear your voice. This is for local people”. I decided not to go anymore. If I am not counted, why should I go. When the voting time comes, I vote. Afterwards, I am a nobody.”

The respondent lives within the community and it resembles the other respondent who mentioned the power that comes from original community members. This respondent did not mention if they were registered with the Shonto community. Other forms of alienation relate to not being informed about the government activities or having very little input. “I do not know, the chapter people decide, so we do not decide nothing. Window Rock tells you they get a lot of money and they go to ship it to somebody else. We never get nothing, we never get no money, nothing, my son used to get GA check and they denied him with that.” This respondent informed the interviewers that they feel like they have very little participation within their government, even on the local level. The respondent hears about the money within the government and they feel that the money should be used for the people, but they do not see any of it being used. A combination of these things causes the sense of alienation for the community member. “Where is that money? That money was ours. We will probably never get it. Old people will die off and we still will not see it. Where is that money? People are living

below the poverty line and they do not see it that way. Its fortunate that we have running water. Some of these people haven't seen running water. It's the people who do not get along with nobody."

We asked the respondent if they go to the Chapter meetings and they simply responded. "Do not really attend. My opinion doesn't count."

Some of the respondents did attend chapter meetings but most of them did not go to these meetings. They feel that their voice is not heard, or they are ignored which only inclines them to not go to these meetings. One participant felt that the Shonto Chapter meetings alienated the older generation because they were conducted in English while mentioning the importance of the chapter space as a community space. "A place for our elderly. Our chapter house is losing that sense of community. The chapter house meetings have seven of them, I go to the general assembly. The other meetings are only between the chapter house officials. The community can only be an audience in those meetings. We only get a portion of the meeting to participate. I do not agree with that form of government. They went that route. Their reason was because they never have quorum, and no one stays the whole entire meeting. I hear a lot of complaints from elders saying that "everything is in English". They feel alienated."

The sense of community that this respondent felt had declined is important to note. No other respondent directly mentioned the space of the chapter house being for the community, but they did feel that they should be allowed some say and space within the chapter house. Many respondents feel that the operations of the chapter house go unknown to them. "We should be made more aware of any developments before anything is planned. Everything is already planned and all they do is say "this is what's happening." Another respondent mentioned that the chapter house did not inform them about the infrastructure development occurring on their grazing land. "No. They didn't tell us they were

going to put a communication line right there. They took out my stake. They didn't tell us. These people live here just left it open for grazing." This could be one reason why individuals would be against development, it may occur without their knowledge thus creating distrust against the government and any forms of development. Another respondent did not mind development unless they were informed. "I wouldn't mind. If it's for community development I'm all for it but if it's just for you know, I do not know I mean it would have to be put upon in front of me first and then find out "okay this is what we're going to do" then I might say yes, or I might say no. Or there might be a cause if you're going to do this have me design it and have me build it. Plus, offer jobs to people out here, people out here looking for jobs." It is not just with the local government that the respondents felt distrust but also towards their council. "My understanding is that some council delegate completely went over the grassroots people and made it his project. They pushed it through. Where the heck were the checks and balances for that? I think that's the direction our council delegates are going, I do not like that. A referendum is hard and chaps their hide but there should be some form of referendum for these things. Have it explained to us and have our input."

This respondent felt it was important that the council delegates explain what was going on so that people would understand, and the people would decide the outcome would be. Informing the public was considered one of the purposes of governance that came up in the focus groups. The people want more information and accountability within their government and when that is perceived to not happen, they distrust the government and the officials. This relationship is common in the focus groups and the Shonto surveys and as well as the idea of local participation within the community.

This respondent considered local participation as an important step within the planning process.

"Development" in their eyes requires thoughtful planning with the incorporation of the people even for

“We do not know how to plan ahead and that's why people get into trouble a lot ... I wanna be over here, there's no goal setting at all and that's what hurts us as a Navajo people I think that there's no enough of that kind of teaching I bet that our ancestors were not blindly going into a certain thing and say oh well were just gonna throw up our little you know household right here because it's on its way to such and such a place. No there's a lot of thinking that took place.”
- *Shonto respondent, 2017*

the construction of houses.
The respondents all mention that everything is already set in motion without their input.
“We should be made more aware of any developments before anything is planned.
Everything is already planned and all they do is say

“this is what's happening”. They do not tell you that until it is already happening. We are not being notified in advanced about things happening in the community. Everything is pre-planned or already in progress. Just like the money, the \$554 million is already in progress. The government asks, “how do you want this spend”? It's already spent.”

The community members want information, consultation, and the ability to decide. These demands all point to heavier involvement of the community. One participant believes that this is the only way development will work. “If it's brought before the community. If it is centralized by the community that would work. If you put it there and not say anything about it. It's not even centralized for the community. It will put distance between some families.”

The Shonto interviews and focus group data all reveal the importance of community involvement within government and development. The survey revealed some alienation stemming from the NPL and outside community members, lack of information from the government, and the little voice granted to the community members. These cause community members to not go to

meetings and eventually feel alienated from the government. As a response to our questions, many community members would like to see their government become more transparent and accountable and allow for more involvement of the people within the government and development.

4.9. Interviews - Development

Our interviewers asked the Shonto community members what they would like to see developed in their community, we received different answers ranging from fast food to mechanics. This provided insight into what the community wanted but also provided connections between jobs and services off the reservation that many wanted. It highlighted how much travel Navajos experience, going off the reservation for jobs or services. During the interviews, the respondents referred to services and jobs outside the community and it reflected what they wanted in their community. These quotes also demonstrate the distance that families must go to meet their needs explaining the large amount of money spent on gas. Community members were looking for big retailers like Wal-Mart at the junction near their community. “We need medical, fire station, police, and public safety. Fast-food, I would say mini Wal-Mart, like what we see out in town like target and all those big retailers have it done here like I would say at the junction. They could more like parks, stores, vehicle services, museum to for tourists.”

Public safety, fast-food, retailer, parks, vehicle services, and tourism are the main things mentioned by the community members. The community recognize the potential of tourism and how it can relate to the development of the communities’ services and jobs. Another respondent shared the same ideas. “We have a lot trading posts and stores but we’re lacking car services. We have to go out of town to get these things. It would be nice if they had that around here. Fast food, probably. These elderly are all gone, even my mom. They wait for so long for the junction to be built to have the store

for laundry, shopping. They used to go to chapter house asking for the laundry mat, they're all gone now. Finally, the store is built. It's good that we have a laundry mat nearby. We just need a church's chicken now." This respondent noted the long amount of time it takes for development to occur in their community but also mentioning that they would like fast food in their community. The following participant would like to see a college in their area so that their children would not need to travel so far for an education. "College. A college campus, a play school and community colleges. Or a branch college so people do not have to travel very far. Those kinds of things." The amount of travel that college students undertake for their secondary education is high even with a tribal college located in the center of the Navajo Nation and in other areas. The reality is that Navajo people seeking higher education will leave the reservation and this effects the community as a population of their community migrates to another place.

A big need within the community was the public safety development and the roads that connect



houses to the larger paved road. Many community members want some form of public safety in their community, so the response time is quicker, and the community members would know where people lived. One respondent mentioned the need for street addresses because the police, ambulance, or fire

fighters often got lost trying to reach the address. One community member was told to move closer to the highway due to their health conditions and it would help the ambulance arrive quicker. The other

service brought up was infrastructure like electricity and water. "...Better road systems, graded and gravel roads. Waterlines are coming in."

Infrastructure is demanded in the community and some have expressed the desire for sustainable energy. The more remote the location the more people wanted the infrastructure, and this has caused some community members to move towards the community. When we asked the respondents what kind of jobs or services they wanted in their community we got answers that revolved around trade jobs, transportation, and service industry jobs. One respondent simply said "anything" but the rest of the community listed jobs mentioned previously. They wanted more services for the youth and the elderly of the community, recreational parks and a senior center. "Probably housing jobs for people, construction and welders. Mechanics too. A lot of elderly need transportation services and care givers. It would be nice to have a nursing home, so we do not have to drive all the way to Chinle." One respondent was very specific of the jobs that could be for the youth within the community.

"We need something that benefits the youth. YMCA, kids working for the chapter house. The kids were walking up the road picking up the trash. Building ramps for people, renovations, and stuff like that would help the elderly. Jobs to keep the youth busy."
- *Shonto respondent, 2017*

Many of the community members believe the youth of their community are idle and they need something to keep them preoccupied and jobs are perceived as the solution to this issue. The chapter house hires some of the youth for summer jobs and temporary jobs but they end up leaving the community seeking other opportunities. "Something for the youth. Some training, I know at the school down in Kayenta. They used to offer heavy equipment

skills for students and adults. They would learn some trade. I am participating in the school committee and there is a need for kids learning a trade. The enrollment is so small they are thinking of closing down the high school. Even driving on the dirt road, no speeding and having a driver's license. There are a lot of high school kids who are just home."

Two respondents had interesting responses to this question. One jokingly said "shepherd" but ended up saying "veterinarian". Her response reflects the move away from pastoral subsistence activities to a wage economy. Another interesting response was from a participant who did not believe that retail stores would garner interest or customers even if they were built within the area. "Really, I do not know how people feel about surrounding areas, border towns to do their shopping. I do not know it really, I mean come on if you build a Wal-Mart out here, I do not know I think people are just so use to actually going to Page or Flag you know it's just part of life here. I do not think they mind the traveling."

This respondent believes that traveling has become a part of living on the reservation, it does not bother Navajo people, and many Navajos would end up seeking stores outside of their community regardless if they exist in the community. These questions highlighted the jobs, services, facilities, and opportunities the community members want but it does show the lack of jobs and the amount of travel that occurs. The respondents want jobs that relate to trade, service industry, and youth. The services they mention are infrastructure, fast food, clinics, police, fire stations, and youth and elderly.

4.10. Interview - Little Colorado River Watershed Chapter Association

The Little Colorado River Watershed Chapter Association (LCRWCA) started in 2013 and works in the southwestern region of the Navajo Nation. The association fosters community involved resource management, through a Dine planning paradigm, within

“We need people to rethink about their responsibility and ownership over their spaces and shared spaces and how they can work together to create communal spaces.”

- Nez, LCRWCA, 2017

Navajo communities specifically with water security and food security. They work with community members to develop a plan to address the resource issues within the community and they utilize Traditional Ecological

Knowledge (TEK). They have started a community garden in Lupton, for veterans and community garden in Houck, and several individual farms in Houck. Janene Yazzie and Kern Collymore started LCRWCA. DPI met with them on several occasions to assist with the Kingsley Farm in Lupton, Arizona as well as surveying the Canyon De Chelly. In the community garden, DPI learned the techniques of farming even when it seems impossible to grow. LCRWCA does just that they work to show their community that farming can occur in surprising places.



Surveying the Canyon De Chelly, DPI members were shown family farms that continue while learning about how the canyon water systems can be utilized for farming.

After helping them with their community garden DPI interviewed some of the members about the issues and potentials they have encountered in their field of work. The interviews highlighted some important considerations for the future of land tenure within the Navajo Nation, relating to communal spaces, land perceptions and resource management, and the potential for an alternative land tenure system. LCRWCA works to



assist communities to rethink communal spaces and what it means to be a part of it as well as how this space shapes the individuals and their relations. The topic of communal space prompts the rethinking of land management while

accentuating the issues with the current land tenure of the Navajo Nation. LCRWCA works to “build community spaces”.

As noted in our earlier section about the fragmentation of communal spaces, one seems to suggest that these spaces still exist and that it is necessary that communities reflect on their responsibility and ownership over it and to eventually create more spaces like it. Even the idea of withdrawing land for a community garden was not accepted with LCRWCA because it would be out of the authority of the community to say how the land was used due to the legalities of land withdrawal. Laws can fragment communal spaces, even with the intention of creating a community garden, as seen in the earlier section. Ownership and responsibility indicate the agency of community members to shape these communal spaces as well as develop the capacity to look after the land.

The LCRWCA process reflects that. The association does not come into the community ready to build a community garden but rather seeks communities that are

interested and have leaders who are willing to spear head the development. Chee noted that areas with “natural leadership” often thrived. LCRWCA provides “a little bit of help” and they offer capacity building and resource sharing techniques. Building a communal space implies building the capacities of the community. LCRWCA would be grateful for policies that support farming, but capacity and knowledge are the foundations of the building farms and community spaces. A member said: “A huge focus was just to create a communal space where people could come and hang out and participate and work together to learn new skill”.

The association works to transform both the community but also the workers within. The first people to come out and help develop the Lupton community garden were the youth that the community thought of as “bad apples”. This caused community member to complain and it caused problems for the LCRWCA who believe that it was a good sign and solution to getting the youth more involved. Nonetheless LCRWRA stuck with volunteers and the community has ceased to complain. One member noticed a change in his own behavior. He “never did farming” until he joined the program. He eventually pulled his family into farming activity and they farm on their own. He saw “a big difference” in his people and his family. Tsosie noticed that the youth in the association needed to develop their capacities but also know what is worth striving for, “They first needed realize what is worth fighting for and why it is important and what their agency is in the battle. Then go into that space”.

Capacity building, both internally and externally, relies on building social relations for knowledge to be transferred and this can be in the form of a generational transfer of knowledge. Nez said: “It’s a great feeling to go out there and hear traditional stories how

they use to [farm] do that back in the day without tools or knowledge that we use to catch water these days... Actually going out and learning these traditions that were offered to us is pretty neat". Relations grow out of the spaces that individuals participate in. Even when developing a community garden, the LCRWCA are developing relations with those they work with and the community members participating. Though not everybody may be inclined to develop such relations. There are those who are willing to share knowledge and others who are not willing to change. Nez says there are older generations who don't want to learn from the younger generations. Bagody noticed that some were hesitant and even pushed back on their community garden even though she reached out to them. Bagody stated her idea of the problem as, "when people have that sense of using these temporary permits like private property claims. They do whatever they can to exert any type of authority, any and every type of authority over it even it does not make sense". This perception of land caused issues for the community garden in Lupton, but it underscores larger issues with the land tenure and resource management of the Navajo Nation.

LCRWCA focuses on the community and that entails that there is some community involvement in the management of resources within their area as well as region. This is not the same as the "regionalization" that Council tried to pass in 2016, which failed, which would restructure the political authority of the sub Navajo government. Resource management would not be determined by chapter boundaries

"when people have that sense of using these temporary permits like private property claims. They do whatever they can to exert any type of authority, any and every type of authority over it even it does not make sense

-Bagody, LCRWCA, 2017

but rather on the share resources within different chapters. Nez at the beginning of the interview stated that LCRWCA deals “with land erosion, land restoration, food sovereignty, garden, food security, and water catchments” but the overarching concept is managing resources. The natural resources being land and water to which both contribute to the food security, or insecurity, of the people living in the area. What connect people within a community and other communities, Sarah suggests it is the resource issues.

The shared material conditions of resource issues that link communities together brought people together and it insinuates the need to develop a structure of resource management between communities. Currently, resource management is left within the authority of the central Navajo government and the Federal government. Within the Navajo government the authority falls to the Resource Development Committee, the Legislative branch, and the Department of Natural Resources, the Executive branch. The Bureau of Indian Affairs represents the Federal governments involvement. No authority is granted to the local governments, the chapter houses.

One member’s chapter house is part of the Puerco Valley Regional Council, which communities are semi-autonomous, but work together on shared issues. She finds this assuring as it fits her type of regionalization. Her regionalization focuses on shared resources within contiguous communities or chapter houses. “The problem is that I don’t think these issues should be based on geopolitical boundaries or on any of these outdated boundaries that we have been using to designate land status and land claim. It needs to be structure more in line with our natural boundaries. For me that is our watershed”.

Though no formal studies have been conducted, Bagody has talk to people and it has revealed to her that land use is more aligned “with water and the availability of water based on the similarities and differences of different eco-systems”.

Maybe restructuring the chapter house system, allowing them to remain semi-autonomous, allowing them to work together to manage shared resources within their community and other communities is a good idea. It would provide communities the authority to manage their shared resources with other communities. The shared issues and interests can foster a culture of cooperation amongst the chapter houses. Bagody recognizes that this restructuring will be difficult and opposed by certain people who have their “claws dug in”. The regionalization that Council offered was denied and it is possible that this new resource regionalization would be denied for the same reasons. It does offer a new look at space and resource management. Communal spaces did exist and resource management did belong within the realm of decentralized communities prior to colonization. Despite the recognition that such a structure would garner opposition, Nez believes the success is the youth who have joined the program and are changed by it. Just as capacities and agency are needed to develop community spaces it will be needed to develop the Navajo Nation.

5. Analysis

Before analyzing the survey data, we must revisit Lorraine T. Ruffing and William Y. Adams studies from 1971 and 1955. Both studies focused on the Shonto community and allow us to note the changes of the community. Adams wrote a research paper called “*Shonto: A Study of the Role of the Trader in a Modern Navaho Community*”. Ruffing followed up with the study of her own titled,

“Shonto Revisited: Measure of Social and Economic Change in a Navajo Community, 1955-1971” (Adams and Ruffing 1977). Both researchers write about the traditional “residence groups of the community.” Ruffing writes that the population jumped from 568 to 913 between 1955 and 1971. During the time, the road was paved, and the community became more mobile. Ruffing highlights the changes over the time from Adams’ study. In her paper she writes that the Shonto community experienced “growth without change” between 1955 and 1971.

Importantly, Ruffing mentions the increase of the importance of wage work and the decrease in farming within the community. During the 1950s the federal government spent \$12 million dollars on work programs, services, and tribal welfare. The foods that were provided by farming were replaced by food subsidy. With the increase of welfare, unemployment payments, Navajo workers preferred local jobs, even though they were temporary, to jobs that would take them out of the community. The welfare payments were part of a growing welfare system during the 1950s and 1960s. The temporary jobs associated with these programs were small in scale. Ruffing notes that wage work consumed the time of the community and that inclined families to increase cattle herds because they did not require much attention and time. Even though there was an increase of local jobs, some Navajo works experienced “temporary relocation” due to work outside of the reservation. Housing shifted from hogans to more modern housing. There has been the creation of a community center 12 miles southeast of Shonto due to the Black Mesa Mine. This new area is now the junction. Grazing numbers increased from 6,563 sheep units to 12,517 units.

Starting with the demographics, our surveys captured many individuals between the ages of 45 and 75, a total of 34 respondents. This suggests that there is a large population of the Shonto community between this age group during the day. These individuals may not have a job or spend their

time caring for older family members. There was very little population from the 18-30 groups, this can be explained by the fact that most individuals at this age may be working during the time of the survey or away from the home. Many of the individuals we surveyed were the head of household, that combined with the fact most of the respondents were female suggest that woman may also be the head of households. The household was smaller, 50% of the respondents had one or two people living in their household. 33% had more than three people living in their household which suggest that households are getting smaller. With smaller households, only a few people are working. Of those that did answer, 21 participants said that “one” or “two people” in their household’s work compared to the 7 respondents who put “three people” employed. The households are getting smaller and the labor is kept between a small amount of the household. One of the biggest changes is the political registration. 43 participants said they were registered to vote with the U.S and Navajo Nation. Only 3 said they were registered with the Navajo Nation and 2 said they were not registered at all. Despite the large increase in political registration, 12 respondents marked that they never go to chapter meetings, 9 marked once a year, and 4 marked twice a year. More than half of the respondents rarely go to chapter meetings during the whole year. This suggests a very low rate of political participation within the Shonto community. Only 8% of the respondents marked that they were veterans.

We surveyed in the summer, June, and in early August, but the youth population was still very small as well as the student population. Only 4% of the respondents were students which suggests that many of the people, not at home, could be students. Much of our data suggests that college students are outside the reservation and the youth are working off the reservation. Many of the respondents had a high school diploma or GED, 35%, and 40% had some college, an Associates, or a Bachelors. The data show that the education levels have increased since the 1971 study. Education was of one the main

pillars of the growing government and chapters offer scholarship services for college students needing it. Many of the respondents were married or single. 24 respondents were married and 12 were single. It is unsure how many of the respondents were married in but only 81% of the respondents were from Shonto originally. Ruffing writes that marriage was one of the main reasons individuals moved into Shonto.

Over half, 67%, of our respondents lived outside of the reservation this could be due to school opportunities and jobs outside the Navajo Nation. This does resemble what Ruffing called “temporary relocation” in her study but it is becoming more evident that Navajos may live off the reservation permanently or longer. Half of the Navajo population currently lives outside of the Navajo Nation. Navajos may leave the reservation for different purposes, but it is only temporary for some them, and they end up moving back to their communities. This can be the case with Navajo workers seeking new jobs or Navajo students leaving the reservation in pursuit of an education. Of the respondents only 23% were employed and 46% were unemployed. This matches the estimated unemployment rate of the Navajo Nation, which is estimated to be at 50% which does not consider the informal economy. The informal economy of Shonto surfaced as many of the respondents mentioned knowing people who sell produce or jewelry on the side of the road. Much of this activity goes unaccounted for even though it is a form of income for families who rely on it. 53% of respondents worked for the government at one point in their lives and of those who worked for the government, 61% worked for the tribal government. The Navajo Nation is one of the biggest employers of the Navajo Nation and it is not surprising that most of the respondent who did work for the government were tribal employees. Due to the influence of coal in the area we asked the respondents if they worked with coal, only 23% of them said yes. This is surprising due to the large coal mine that once operated in their area. We found out

that 81% of the respondents spent between 0- \$150 dollars and 19% spent between \$150 to \$450 dollars on gas alone in a week. This does suggest that Navajos travel a lot during the week and we found out that this is due to grocery shopping, laundry mats, jobs, and medical visits. Many of the community members travel to Page, Tuba, Kayenta, or Flagstaff because services and needs exist outside their communities. The results from the focus group brought forth the same experience of traveling long distances for services and jobs.

A little more than half of the respondents marked “less than \$10,000” as their estimated yearly income. There is a small increase for the income range of \$40,000-\$49,999 but it is unsure of what jobs would provide the jump in income for this. In Arizona, the poverty line of a family of three is 20K. This suggest that many of the respondents, 50% marked one or two within their house hold, are living below the poverty line of Arizona. 16 respondents marked that they do not receive any assistance. The main income received was Social Security Income, but it was followed by a combination of EBT/ SNAP and EBT/SSI. The assistance that is received besides SSI is EBT/SNAP. Only 19% said they were received other forms of income not mentioned but they did not elaborate what those incomes were. 21% of the respondents marked that they received assistance from the Navajo. Some of the assistance mentioned was wood hauling and some house repairs but nothing beyond that. The data shows that the assistance received from the Navajo has greatly diminished since the 1971 study. It also shows that many of the Shonto communities do not receive a lot of assistance despite the large unemployment rates.

We asked the respondents if they lived in NHA housing and only 2% said yes. This low amount is partly explained by the scattered housing and the Joint Use Area housing. Many people live in their family homes or they built it themselves and some of the members in Shonto living in JUA housing

which is, by name, not NHA despite being built in the same manner. We asked when their homes were built, 19 homes were built between the 50s and 80s, and 25 homes were built between the 80s and the now. We encountered JUA housing, built in the nineties, and homes that looked to be old built by the family. Nonetheless the community is moving away from hogans and other traditional homes like Ruffing's study suggested in 1971. Homes are being fitted with infrastructure and that eliminates hogan style homes from the development unless that family builds a hogan-like house with infrastructure in mind. The variety of housing utilities in our survey show that homes are getting electricity and plumbing but there were families who only had solar and/or propane. The major combination was "plumbing, NTUA, and propane". Areas further northeast lacked crucial infrastructure such as water and electricity, compared to areas around the chapter house or near the highway.

We asked the respondents if they were the grazing permit holder, only 18% said yes. This may be explained the fact that many of the grazing permits were being held by another family member and it suggests that a very few population have the right to graze the land. We also asked the respondents if they felt the Navajo Nation should issue more grazing permits and 35% said no, 6% said yes, but 61% did not answer. This data suggests that Shonto community members do not want more grazing permits and this can be explained by the accounts of overgrazing and feuds that stem from grazing permits. Furthermore, we asked the respondents who should issue the permits and it was split between the chapter government and central government. 20% said chapter government and 27% said central government but 53% did not answer. Those that said chapter government often mentioned that it would be easier and closer to the people. The chapter government would know the community and the members, so they should be fitted with the authority. Those who said central government believed that nepotism

would enter the equation and only certain families would receive grazing permits. Due the distance between central government and Shonto, they believed that it would offer objectivity to the process. Overgrazing was the initial reason for the grazing permits, so we asked the respondent if they felt that overgrazing was a problem within their community, 57% said yes, 37% said no, and 6% did not answer. This come up in the transcribed data from the Shonto interviews and the focus groups. Again, this could explain why most of the community do not want to issue more grazing permits in their area, it will only increase the burden on the land. We asked the respondents what kind of livestock they owned, we were given answers with a variety of combinations. 16 respondents, 33%, said that they did not have livestock, but the most common combination was “sheep, cattle, and horse” with eight people marking that as their choice. When we asked how far they let their livestock roam 54% of the respondents said they did not have livestock. We are unsure how this change in data occurred, but both suggests that a lot of the respondents do not have a lot of livestock. Our data suggests that many of the community are decreasing the number of livestock they had compared to the 1971 study. In that same graph, 42% said that they let their livestock roam .5-2 miles around their household and 6% said 3-5 miles. 17 respondents said they let their animals graze all day while 5 said they let them graze only half of the day and 6 said they hay feed their livestock. The combination of highly concentrated areas of grazing, .5-2 miles, for the whole day can lead to overgrazing around these home site. Hay was mentioned during this question because the respondents felt the land was malnourished or they wanted to alleviate the stress that grazing had on the land. We asked the respondents if they sell the wool of their sheep and 77% said no. When asked if they sell their livestock for money 63% said no. This does suggest that livestock is still an important even though families may not have as much as before but it also could mean that livestock that is given away is usually as a gift or donation to a ceremony.

Weaving played an important cultural role in Shonto during the 50s and it did contribute to some of the family income. We asked the respondents if they use their livestock for food, 53% said yes, 45% said no. Our last question related to grazing was the usefulness and difficulties of the grazing permit system.

We asked the respondents if they farm on their land, 56% said no and 44% said yes. The data suggests that farming is becoming less relied upon to meet the consuming needs of the community. There are grocery stores and marketplaces in surrounding communities that the Shonto community travel to for their food. Even though farming is in decline, those that do farm sell their produce. These individuals may exist in the informal economy as most of their transactions go unaccounted for but they rely on the selling of produce as a main source of income. Many of the interviews revealed that people in the community do sell their produce on the side of the road or to family members. It was mentioned that farming was decreasing, 1.6% of the Navajo income by 1974. Farming is still part of the family income, but it plays a very small portion of the family income with the introduction of jobs. Jobs are now a large part of the income of Navajo families it is one of the factors that determines whether an individual will leave the Navajo Nation. We asked the respondents if they knew of community garden, 73% said no, 10% said yes, and 17% did not answer. What occurred during the interviews is that many of the respondents immediately thought of the family crops within the area which suggests that family crops occur more than community crops. Family crops have always been part of the social fabric of the Navajo people, these fields would have exclusive rights to the families who used them, but they could be borrowed by another family.

We asked the respondents if they pawned something of value within the last year, 38% said yes. We asked this question to see if there was a change in the relevancy of pawning over the course of

time. Pawning was a form of income that was used during Adams' study but it seems to be on the decline within the community. This could be explained by the fact that trading post do not pawn anymore, and the community members must travel further to pawn items. When we asked the community members if anyone in their family pawned, 42% said yes which resembles the rate of pawn in the previous pawn question. We asked if they lost anything of value to pawn shops within the last year and 17% said yes. It could be that because there is a decline in pawning there is a decline in "dead pawns" or that many individuals are able to get their pawned items back. Nonetheless, pawning seems to be declining but still a means of income for some of the community members. One respondent mentioned that they pawn for grazing supplies for their livestock. Others mention that it was used to make ends meet towards the end of the month. Related to pawning, we asked the respondents if they borrow money from other sources, 22 respondents said no. Those that do borrow money usually ask family or the banks. 79% of the respondents marked that they have a bank account.

Our final set of questions were opened ended questions. We did provide some examples of jobs or services to give them ideas of development within the question to aide them with ideas. The first question we asked was how the respondents felt about tourism as a form of economic development within their community. 75% said that they did mind, beneficial to vendors, a good idea, and it provided job opportunities. 19% did not think it was a good idea. The Shonto community is in a highly travelled area between Page and Monument Valley. There is the Navajo Nation Monument to the east of the community which serves hikers, campers, and other tourists. Many of the community members expressed an interest in building infrastructure that would take advantage of the tourism in the area. A store was recently built on the junction of the two major roads, but this has caused some issues for the community members in more remote areas. The creation of the store has forced the store within the

community to close and this means more distance travelled by the community members north east of Shonto. This is an unintended consequence that affect some of the community. We asked the respondents what kind of facilities or services they wanted in their community. Many wanted a clinic and fast food restaurants within the community as well as services for senior center. The facilities and services that the respondents mention range from public safety to auto mechanics and some mention large retailers like Wal-Mart. The interviews reveal that the community would like to see smaller local businesses that would meet the needs of the community. The jobs and opportunities that they would like to see in their community range from trade jobs, service industry jobs, jobs and educational opportunities. These jobs would be tailored towards the youth and tourism. They would like to see a fire station, clinic, and police station within their community for faster response times. We asked the final question to get an understanding as to what conditions the grazing permittees would allow for the withdrawal of land. 15 respondents said jobs, payment, and roads, 8 responded that they would never allow for withdrawal, 4 did not answer. The other 21 respondents were different combinations of payment, roads, and jobs. Most of the respondents did not have grazing permits but they were willing to withdraw land from their grazing land for certain conditions. Grazing permittees have the authority to end development of land within their grazing area and this question revealed that some were willing to allow development under certain conditions.

The data from the Shonto survey, interviews, and focus groups all point to grazing as being an issue for development in the Navajo Nation. The land tenure system, alongside the livestock reduction, was created to combat overgrazing within the Navajo Nation in the 30s, but it has only hindered future developments and land-use. Other forms of land use help development of jobs and opportunities but if grazing is given the priority it has now, development will remain difficult to foster. As a result of the

livestock reduction, Collier wanted to shift Navajos away from the subsistence economy that relied on livestock and grazing towards a wage economy. Shonto is an example of a community that is slowly transitioning from livestock and grazing towards relying on jobs to provide for themselves. Ruffing described the change from 1955 to 1972 as growth without change. We can say that since 1971 there has been growth and a slow shift away. The community retains the cultural value of grazing and livestock, but it is declining as more individuals pursue opportunities outside of the reservation and time management has shifted away from livestock to jobs. More individuals are not focusing on their livestock and allowing them to graze all day within the same proximity which only accelerates overgrazing. The traditional practices of sheep herding had the families move around seasonally which allowed plants to grow back but that is not the case with families now. Families are stationary throughout the year thus grazing patterns are limited and the land does not have time to recover. One participant mentioned that livestock was a “generational program” but the youth are not interacting with such practices as they work more and/or live off the reservation, so such knowledge and value is passed down which signals the decline of grazing and agricultural practices within the community. 56% of the respondents did not farm, 54% said they do not own livestock, and 13% said they were the permit holder. More people are moving away from such practices and its due to the growing wage economy within and outside of the Navajo Nation. Even one of the participants questioned whether the youth were looking forward to those types of jobs. Since then, grazing permits have caused tension between families and neighbors to the point where livestock is being shot and families do not talk.

From the Shonto interviews we created charts that map out the relationships of topics that came about. These charts resemble the focus group charts because the shared experience of Shonto resembles the other communities. See **Chart One: Grazing** reveals the relationship of grazing to other

topics such as governance, land disputes, overgrazing, permits, and more. Grazing permits have institutionalized the individualization of, once communal spaces, grazing land. LCRWCA focuses on creating communal spaces for farming and it should be followed through with grazing land as well. The land is being fragmented by grazing permits and it causes social tension within the community, land disputes and family feuds. Some respondents have offered alternative grazing policies. Some have said to give grazing permits to those who are serious about grazing, those who pass a test, and even limiting the grazing area to a designated area. There exists an alternative system within Shonto, Range Management Units, that limit grazing to a certain area but only nine exist within the community. This is the heart of the land tenure system of the Navajo Nation, grazing is given the main priority of land use and in a changing economy, it makes it difficult for development to occur within the Navajo Nation. **Chart Two: Perceptions** offers a map of the perception of land and how it relates to development on the reservation. Grazing becomes part of the bureaucracy of development because grazing permittees must be part of the process and this bottle necks development approval to a couple of individuals. Tourism, infrastructure, facilities, services, jobs, and businesses can all be overturned by a few individuals.

Even if the grazing issue is fixed the next issue is the incorporation of local participation in the development. Governance also came about through the Focus groups, Shonto, and LCRWCA. The idea of increased information, participation, and decision-making all resonated through the data. Many felt alienated by the local and central government and they wanted more information and decisions. The sense of alienation has caused some of the community members to stop attending chapter meetings or limit the meetings they go to. Our Shonto survey shows that more than half of the participants either do

not go at all or once or twice a year. That data reflects a poor rate of political participation within the Shonto community. One focus group participant and Shonto community member felt that most of the government were men and they both advocated for more gender representation. See **Chart Three: Governance** to see the relationship between concepts revealed through the Shonto survey. The respondents wanted more decision power in the development of their community as well as information. Some of the respondents mentioned the importance of including the community within the planning process because they felt that is the only way it will succeed. LCRWCA has similar views but want to focus on the development of political structure of chapters with shared natural resources. LCRWCA believe that the communities of shared resources can maintain the resources better than the central government and boundaries should be fixed to that rather than chapter boundaries. There is a sense of increased decentralization within the data when it comes to development occurring within the Navajo Nation.

The final topic that came up in the discussion was development. The Navajo Nation is focused on economic development and this entails businesses that bring jobs to the reservation. With this mind, we created questions to specifically address that topic. From the Shonto interview data we created a chart that shows how development is linked to other concepts like wage, infrastructure, housing, farming, and grazing. 46% of the respondents marked that they were unemployed a lot of respondents marked that they make less than \$10,000 as a yearly income. Many of the respondents marked that they receive SSI as their only form of assistance which suggests that a lot of older generation rely on SSI as their main income. Shonto community wanted more localized development for the communities needs even though some mentioned big retailers. They wanted trade jobs and services such as construction, mechanics, and electricians. Kayenta wanted more jobs focused on tourism and

businesses. Tonalea wanted more localized jobs that would meet the needs of their community. Tsaille was seeking more jobs that provided more career opportunities, agricultural orientated, and related to what they study in school. Jobs, and lack of, were brought up consistently in all the discussions. Due to the lack of jobs and services, many Navajo people travel outside the Navajo Nation for their supplies and services which also means that all the money leaves the Navajo Nation as well. The Shonto survey revealed that all the respondents were willing to pay as much as \$450 on gas per week. Outside businesses flourish from the money brought outside of the Navajo Nation. Development includes infrastructure and housing, this opened the discussion of scattered housing and NHA housing.

Scattered housing fits the traditional approach to housing patterns and customary areas, but it can be challenging getting the necessary infrastructure for families. With grazing permittees allowing or stopping infrastructure it becomes more evident that housing development must be looked at. How can the Navajo Nation formulate a plan of housing development that allows for both to occur?

The Navajo Nation is slowly transitioning into a wage economy with practices of the traditional subsistence economy, agriculture and grazing, being integrated into daily life. In 1971, the Shonto community was able to maintain the social relations and practices by relying on assistance and local temporary jobs but that does not seem to be the case anymore. Jobs are scarce in the Navajo Nation and half of the Navajo population lives outside of the reservation. The development needed, jobs and businesses, to accompany this transition is stifled by grazing priority of land use. There is a tension between the land use and the growing reliance on jobs, Navajo people are seeking jobs and the reliance on subsistence practices is in decline. It is true that there are families with livestock and in times of need they resort to using their livestock to support themselves, but there is still a shift towards wage work. There are a lot of families with jobs and livestock, but this can cause inattention to livestock.

Much of the data shows that people believe that other community members are being irresponsible to their livestock and the land and because of this overgrazing is a big issue. Time is split between tending to livestock or working and it becomes harder to maintain livestock and their grazing patterns unless they remain penned up. The institutions of grazing are fragmenting the grazing lands and it only causes social tension and hindrances of development. Before any talks of development occur, the Navajo Nation needs to address the land tenure system of the Navajo Nation.

6. Recommendations

We have learned through the course of our research that when it comes to the Navajo Nation land use policies and perceptions, there is *history*, and systems in place that were created by external entities such as the colonizing federal government. Over time Navajo people became use to these systems, but they are not natural to our history or our contemporary lives. They are foreign and imposed in everyday we can analyze it. The land use policies were created by the United States under the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). The BIA policies disrupted communal, and cultural land uses that were our practices for centuries. It was developed by people who worked the land themselves. Grazing permits issued to Navajo were a means to regulate, and monitor grazing in Navajo, however when the permits stopped being issued under the BIA many problems and issues arise. Although, this wasn't the sole source of land issues, it was a key factor in the way Navajo uses its land.

"Land is the basis of human life and all Tanzanians should use it as a valuable investment for future development. Because the land belongs to the nation, the Government has to see to it that it is being used for the benefit of the whole nation and not for the benefit of one individual or just a few people"

- Julius Nyerere, Arusha Declaration, 1967

Today when Navajo people want to use its land for development whether it's for business development, economic development, natural resource extraction, renewable energy development, or community development there is a huge federal policy process that inhibits development. Also there is tribal process that accompanies federal policy for land use, and can be just as troublesome if not more of a barrier. The tribal process for land use is dictated by federal regulation, and is another layer to development. Navajo has a process called the 164 processes that all new businesses have to go through for approval. The process is an application where many tribal offices have to sign off on its approval, and it involves many different departments.

At the local level there are many social barriers, and federal policies that can make development hard. For instance a local Navajo government does not have control of the land it's suppose to serve. Most of the land that is developed was done in huge amount of acres at a time, and by external entities like the State, Indian Health Service, Boarding Schools, and Navajo Housing Authority. The issue with this method is smaller business don't have the time, financing, money, or expertise to withdraw land for development. Also, there isn't enough land that can be readily used for business development, and many businesses use scatter plots along an undesignated areas around roadways. Many businesses would need approvals from several local groups to get started. This presents significant problems when it comes to development, and people's perception of land "ownership."

The foundation of any development is the land. In the case of the Navajo Nation, grazing is giving priority in use and management. There is a split between the use of land and the direction of the Navajo Economy. On the ground, grazing is given priority and permittees have the sole authority to stop development. On the government level, it is pursuing economic development in hopes of increasing

jobs on the reservation through businesses. These two directions clash when the grazing permittees can halt any businesses and land must be withdrawn from grazing lands. Land is distributed in favor of grazing rather than development. Land reform is crucial for any development to occur in the Navajo Nation. We need to redistribute the land that allows for development and grazing. This involves looking at land within the Navajo Nation and reconsidering the priority and authority that grazing has within the reservation. Rather than withdrawing land for development, why not designate lands for grazing and development? Set aside land for individuals who graze and set regulations for those so that livestock does not leave those areas. This grazing land can be for all grazing permittees and the grazing officials can monitor it. This is similar to the Range Management Units but on a larger community scale. These areas can be community ranches that rotate the livestock each season to allow for nutrients to replenish. The community grazing stakeholders can determine how big this area is for their livestock and funding can be set aside to help maintain and feed the livestock. A fee can be applied to the grazing permittees so help maintain the area. This can help with the ongoing problem of overgrazing. Yet it will solve the issue of grazing priority of the land because it will open up the land for other forms of land use and development.

The current grazing permit system cause fractionalization of the land and social tension but a large ranch like area can become the livestock commons of the community. This area can be the responsibility of the community and the chapter house. Funding to maintain the area can be from the chapter house who can collect the yearly fee. The design of the area can split the area into different seasonal areas where all the community places their livestock and feed will be distributed to all. A couple of grazing officers, with technical skills, can watch and maintain the livestock within the area. If individuals chose not to participate in the commons, they must have their livestock penned up.

In order for this redistribution of land to occur, local governments must be empowered and given the capacity for land management and designation. Local empowerment is a must. These local sites will know where to place livestock commons in their area and will know how to manage it. It can provide jobs for students with degrees related to livestock, business development, and land related sciences for maintaining the commons. The Navajo Nation has the ability to gain more control over the land within the Nation. This section includes the following seven recommendations Navajo Nation can consider.

6.2. Listed are the steps to follow this land redistribution.

- ❖ Lawmakers need to create a **national land-use management plan** for the *entire* reservation that can be submitted to the Bureau of Indian Affairs for broad, re-zoning approval. If this step is approved the Nation can take over grazing permits, and manage the permits regulations on what would take priority. This is not to legitimize BIA oversight, but a method of gaining control.
- ❖ **Designate and develop** an area for the livestock **commons** with community input. This requires studies of the land and the size as well as the design of the area.
- ❖ **Tally**, nationally, all existing permits. Once the individual permits, are counted, **eliminate** inactive permits, and **re-evaluate** permits that have been too factionalized. Divided permits cannot sustain a family as an income source. The tribe needs to pool inactive and small holdings and create *ranges* of rotating commons. Commons that are larger in area than current permits and are made fallow every couple of years in order to allow them to recover.
- ❖ **Issue** new **range permits** to livestock holders that meet new regulation's approved at the tribal (not BIA) level.

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- ❖ Out of the old grazing system, and responding to where people live and have history, **zone regional family areas** for future homesite development. Include in this zoning existing family burial plots, livestock needs, and other kinds of historical claims.
 - ❖ **Work with chapter house governments** to pass resolutions outlining business needs and zoning for the community. With the national government, work with existing permit holders to create development zones. This would require: increase money to chapters, more staff, ordinances for leasing, support from central government, and education about the pros and cons of these new changes. More technical positions need to be created to support local government like hydrologists, ecologists, and environmentalists with a system for community input but not community oversight.
 - ❖ The Navajo Nation needs to reform its land policies that **allow for development and grazing**. These land policies will create a set of codes for the rest of the nation to follow but allow room for chapter houses to pursue their own particular land designations. This also include the Navajo Nation taking responsibility for the grazing officers and making them full time positions so they can effectively enforce the grazing policy.
 - ❖ **Empower** chapter houses to create their land designation. Chapter houses can design their own land use plans with consultation and enforce it with the help of the grazing officer and their assistants.

What can stem from this use of land is the selling of livestock as well as a space for cultural teachings. Livestock in the commons can be sold and it can help with any large-scale business of meat that the Navajo Nation chooses to pursue. It can also be the site where cultural teachings about livestock are held as well as educational purposes. With effective land use planning, this area can serve to assist other developments in the community, meat production, rodeo, hay production, and other ideas. It

opens up space for other forms of land use and development. It requires community to be empowered and a Navajo Nation land use policy.

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Appendix

Chart One - Grazing

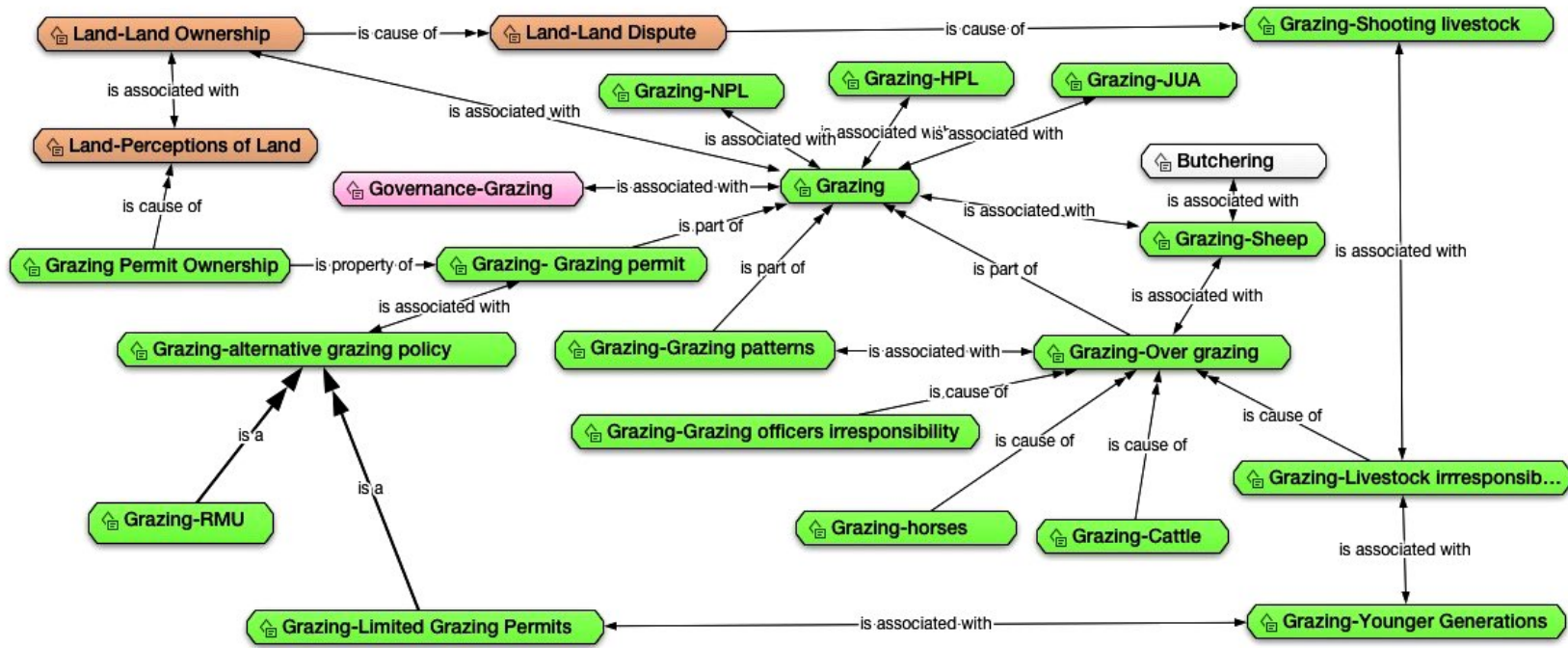


Chart Two - Perceptions

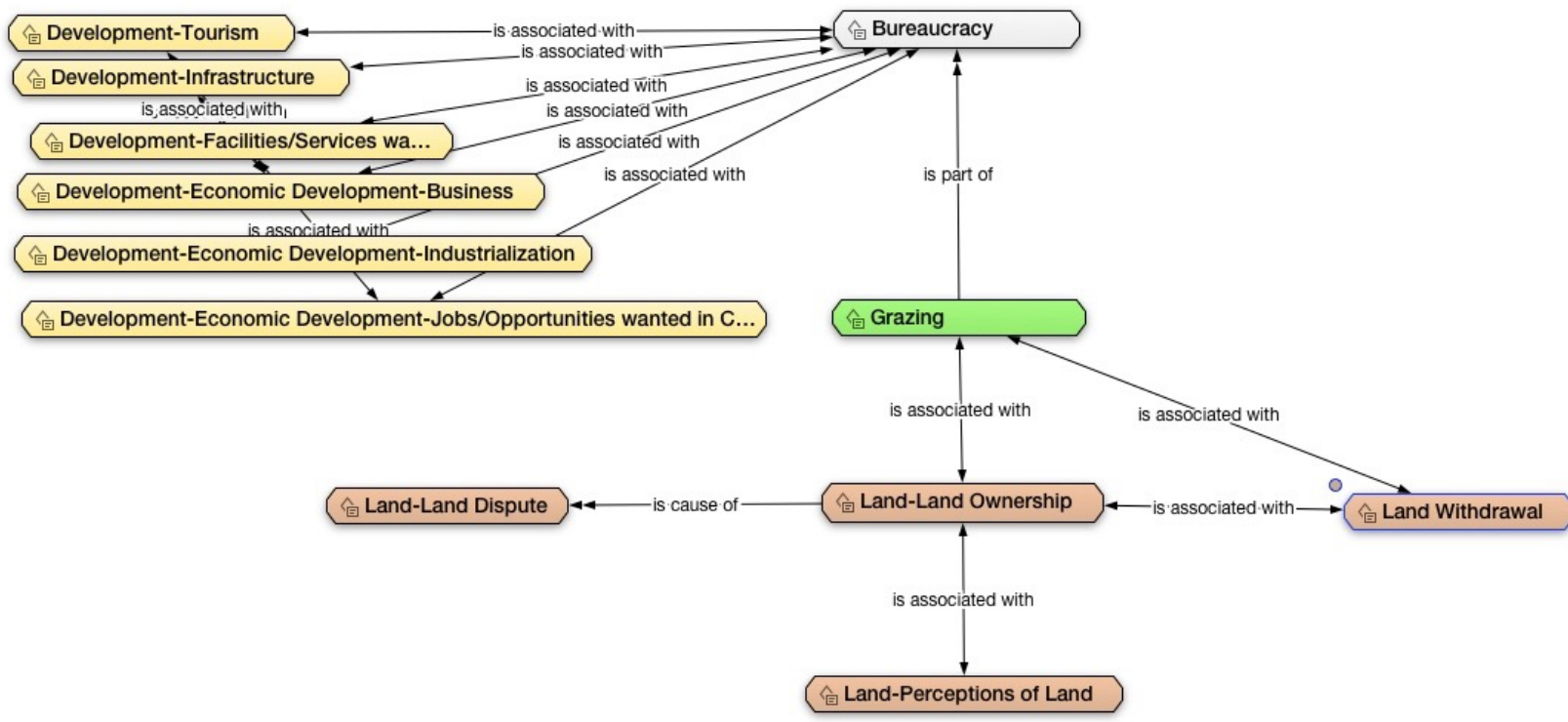


Chart Three - Governance

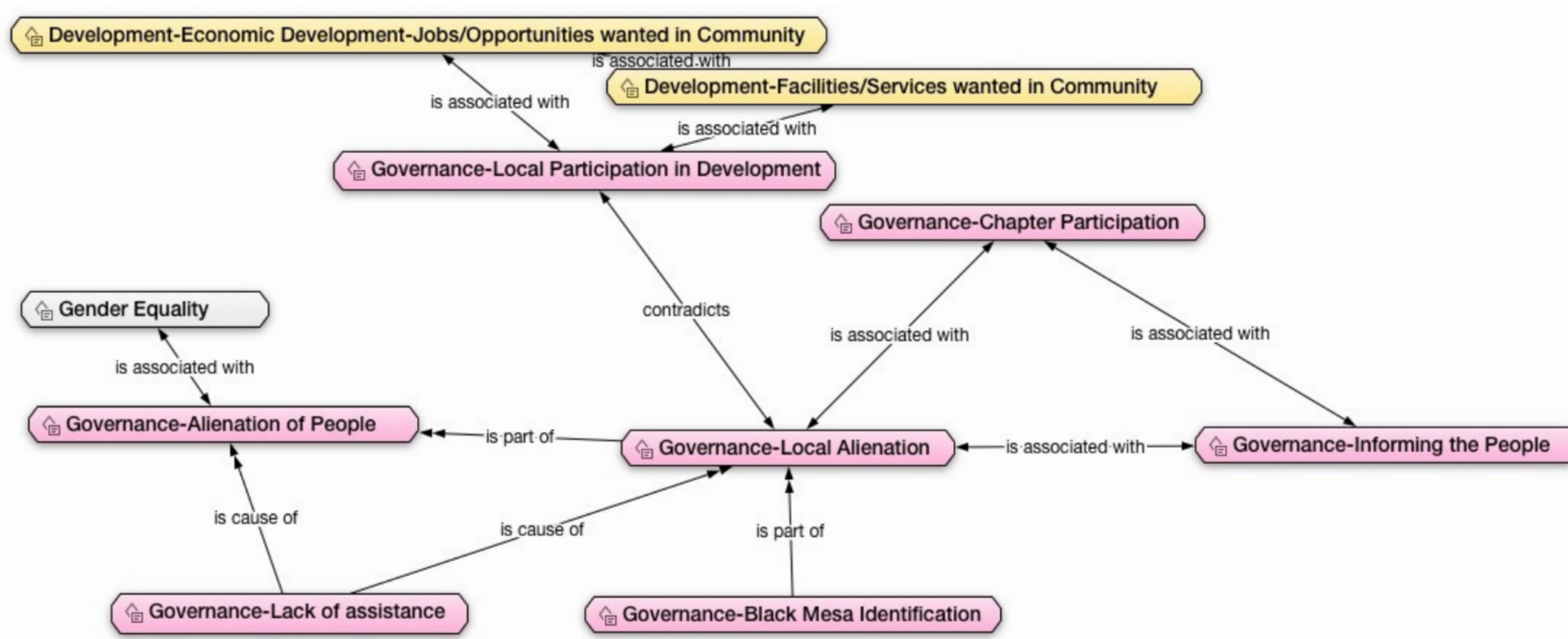


Chart Four - Development

