

Tribal Gaming in American Indian Pueblos: Environmental and Economic Development
Using Culture as an Indicator of Success

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ABSTRACT

This multi-sited research design investigates and analyzes the impact that the New Mexico tribal casinos have had on the nineteen Pueblo Nations of New Mexico. This research examined Pueblo gaming using Pueblo culture as an indicator of success. This study utilizes cultural methods to evaluate the establishment of casinos in terms of the onset of capitalism, economic independence, sovereignty, misrepresentation, and changing landscape. The research concludes that tribal gaming is a culturally inappropriate development strategy. The methodology utilized in this research included scholarly research into the recent phenomena of tribal gaming through historical and contemporary scholarship, including the emerging development of literature analyzing the growth of tribal gaming. Perhaps more important, the research involved detailed in-person and written interviews with Pueblo tribal members in New Mexico. Using a cultural lens and environmental justice framework, this study favors alternative forms of development that would adhere to cultural values including the importance of community, commitment to family, knowledge of language, attendance of ceremonial ritual, and sacredness of land.

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PROLOGUE

As a tribal member of Kewa Pueblo (Santo Domingo Pueblo) of New Mexico, I have been confronted with longstanding questions about economic development and its impact on the environment and traditional Pueblo culture. Throughout my life, I have witnessed the continual development of tribal land, particularly the nineteen surrounding Indian Pueblos. From the time I was little, gas stations, casinos, smoke shops, and other various businesses have multiplied across Pueblo land. At the age of five, I remember looking out the window at the huge enterprises that seemed to span forever. At the age of twenty-two, I still look out the window and think the same. Businesses, casinos in particular, have undergone what seems to be massive exponential growth. They have grown from tiny bingo halls to huge resorts that have a hotel, golf course, concert hall, and sometimes even a racetrack. Each time I pass a casino establishment, my mind rushes with questions, usually rooted in uneasiness. I cannot help but feel concern for a multitude of reasons, some having to do with my Pueblo identity, others having to do with concepts of sustainability and economic growth that I have studied in my environmental studies and economics classes at the University of Colorado at Boulder. I become worried about Pueblo culture; I feel for Pueblo land; and I panic for future sustainability in all sense of the word—the sustainability of the environment, development, the economy, Pueblo culture, language, and Pueblo privacy.

After completing four years of my undergraduate degree, this worry has only increased. In my environmental studies classes, we spend a huge amount of time focusing on the scientific, political, and multidimensional layers of the environment and development. In my economics classes, we study the market system, trade systems, and

greatly rely on the utilization of cost-benefit analysis. In my ethnic studies classes, we study the heavy history of Native American peoples and United States policies that dictate the course of American Indian struggle and identity. This interdisciplinary academic background has sparked greater concern about the establishments I see on Pueblo land. I am attempting to combine my “western” academic culture and my position as a Pueblo woman to unravel the many questions I have been burdened with. The purpose of my thesis is to use these tools to carefully examine the emergence of big business on Pueblo reservations to give better insight on future development, while preserving traditional culture and sustainability in every sense of the word.

As a Pueblo tribal member, I want this thesis to serve not only as an educational tool for future development, but also raise awareness about very real problems at stake. In this case, western approaches to research do not provide satisfactory insight, and we must look at this issue through a cultural lens. We are at a time of critical decision-making where we must decide on how to advance with the global world, but still preserve Pueblo values that we hold extremely close at heart. This thesis intends to explore how to become respected economic players, with bigger incomes and greater understanding of technology and the global economy, while still maintaining land, tradition, language, and what it means to be Pueblo. This thesis is primarily written to help ourselves—the sovereignty of Indian Pueblos, the protection of our land, the protection of our people, the preservation of our culture, and our stance in the economic world—to achieve Pueblo empowerment.

INTRODUCTION

Development across Native American reservations has reached an all time high in the last half century. Native American tribes have begun hosting multiple business enterprises, ranging from casinos and hotels to smoke shops and golf courses. The nineteen American Indian Pueblos of New Mexico have also become hubs of development. The purpose of this study is to explore the concept of development within American Indian Pueblos in the State of New Mexico. The primary arena of development concerns gaming operations within the reservation boundaries. Since the passing of the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act (IGRA) in 1988, gaming ventures have skyrocketed across American Indian reservations. Gaming enterprises began in Pueblo reservations at the beginning of the 1990s, shortly after the passage of the IGRA. Since then, numerous Pueblos have become involved in tribal gaming, and the industry is continuing to grow each year. With the advancement of the gaming industry, questions have begun to be asked about the short-term and long-term impacts of gaming on Pueblo life, primarily Pueblo culture. Some Pueblos willingly engage in gaming development, which has greatly impacted the tribal nations' present and future economic, social, and cultural conditions. Many other Pueblos oppose the establishment of gaming practices, arguing that gaming would negatively impact Pueblo culture. The primary objective of this study is to determine how gaming changes Pueblo culture, Pueblo land, and Pueblo people, and whether the presence of gaming is viable with Pueblo values. The ultimate goal of this research is to provide an educational tool to New Mexican Pueblos for evaluating the cultural consequences of tribal gaming and whether or not it is culturally, economically, environmentally, and socially sustainable.

To identify the relationship between gaming and Pueblo culture, I will first provide background of federal Indian policy, American Indian economic development, and the creation of the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act. I then provide detailed background of the past and present conditions of American Indian Pueblos and the rise of Pueblo gaming. Through interview procedures identified in the 'Methods' section, I distinguish four themes associated with Pueblo gaming. Themes include: the influence of western capitalism in Pueblo communities, the role of tribal gaming in Pueblo economic independence and sovereignty, the fear of misrepresentation caused by racial myth and stereotype associated with tribal gaming, and the environmental degradation caused by tribal gaming that fails to account for traditional Pueblo ontological viewpoints. To analyze interview data, I will use both a cultural lens and environmental justice framework. Through these methods of analysis, I offer alternative forms of development that would bring greater success to Pueblo communities. The preservation and adherence of traditional Pueblo culture will be used as the indicator of success of economic development. Although some economic success is gained through tribal gaming, that success is restricted by the relationship of dependency between tribes and the U.S. government and by the capitalist structure of casino economies, which contradicts Pueblo values and limits Pueblo sovereignty. Because Pueblo culture is resilient, casinos will not likely destroy traditional culture, but all capitalist development on Pueblo land, including tribal gaming, should be evaluated in the context of Pueblo cultural values, including the importance of community, commitment to family, knowledge of language, attendance of ceremonial ritual, and sacredness of land.

BACKGROUND

The United States of America currently recognizes 567 American Indian sovereign nations. All tribes and regions have become victim to very different histories and colonial realities. Despite the details of difference, there do remain some sweeping similarities among past and modern American Indian peoples. This purpose of this section is to provide greater information about these historical and contemporary similarities and how inconsistent correspondence with the federal government led to the introduction of the gaming industry and the passing of the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act in 1988. Furthermore, additional background knowledge will focus specifically on Pueblo history and current Pueblo relations with gaming enterprises.

A Legacy of Imperialism

Over the past five hundred years, Indigenous people of North, Central, and South America have become victims to ongoing colonialism and imperialism that have shaped contemporary relationships (L. T. Smith 2012). Linda Smith, author of *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, defines indigenous peoples as those who claim historical ties to a specific place or homeland over an extended period of time and who can often claim cultural and social practices based on their unique relationship with that place (L. T. Smith 2012). Ongoing colonialism and imperialism have changed indigenous people's relationship with the land. The arrival of non-indigenous immigrants to the Americas sparked removal of indigenous populations, the seizure of natural resources, the installment of western forms of government, the loss of traditional culture and language, and a series of negative externalities that have continued to persist for centuries. This relationship put indigenous people in a very unique dichotomy:

indigenous people want to maintain their heritage while still having access to the benefits of U.S. citizenship. Sandra Pinel, author of “Culture and Cash: How Two New Mexico Pueblos Combined Culture and Development,” writes:

Comprising approximately 4 percent of the world’s population, indigenous peoples are not only ethnic minorities and aboriginal descendants of the original inhabitants of a territory, they are self-defined groups that want to maintain identities within the nation-state while also claiming rights as citizens within those states. (Pinel 2007, 10)

North America, the United States in particular, has a complicated and problematic relationship with indigenous people. The term “*American Indians* gradually came into use to refer to the indigenous peoples of central and north America” (Darian-Smith 2003, 17). Prior to conquest, North America consisted of only indigenous people. After the “discovery of America,” this territory was divided into separate countries and state borders were drawn across the land. In addition to violence and mass extermination caused by disease, American Indian people were impacted by a number of federal policies that completely altered their way of life. The federal government codified into law the processes of Indian removal, Indian relocation, the making of reservations, allotment of reservation land, and consistent assimilation projects that forever changed the course of American Indian indigenous history and set up the dichotomy that American Indians face today.

In addition to consequences that imperialism has left on the traditional American Indian, the modern American Indian is also facing the devastating remnants of imperialism in regards to the modern, capitalistic framework.¹ Similar to imperialism,

¹ The terms “traditional American Indian” and “modern American Indian” simply refers to the time difference between the original time of settlement and current time. There is not a break between the “traditional” and “modern.” Many “modern” American Indians are still very traditional, but are viewed as

western capitalism perpetuates the past struggle faced by the traditional American Indian into the present struggle of the modern American Indian. This research will give particular attention to the ties between imperialism, gaming, and capitalism within the modern economy and traditional Pueblo culture. First, however, to understand capitalism as imperialism, it is necessary to unearth the history between indigenous American Indian people and relations with the United States government. Although all tribes have faced very different histories of imperialism and colonialism, similarities in history have shaped tribal sovereignty and the United States' relations with federally recognized tribes. United States American Indian policy affects all tribes, and to understand the role of tribal gaming within New Mexico's nineteen Pueblos it is imperative to examine long-term relations between sovereign entities within the borders of the United States.

The Formation of the United States Federal Government and the Identification of American Indian Sovereign Nations

The Political History of American Indians and the Oscillating Promise of Self-Determination

Understanding the facets of sovereignty is critical to understanding United States tribal relations. This term holds significant weight to it, and to define it in simple terms translates a greater lack of understanding. The term "sovereignty" has never had a simple or easily understood definition, which alludes to its complexity. American Indian² people formed sovereign nations prior to the conquest of European settlement. In fact, some tribes, such as the Iroquois Confederacy, had formed Constitutions long before the writing of the United States Constitution (Wilkins and Lomawaima 2001). The "founding

"modern" through their incorporation in western capitalist American society. It is important to look at both history and present day, but the two are intrinsically linked.

² The terms Native American, Native, American Indian, and Indian are used interchangeably throughout this paper. While some authors attribute different meaning to these different terms, here all terms, besides "Pueblo" are intended to have the same meaning.

of America” in the colonies in the fifteenth century, however, drastically changed political dynamics within North America. With the colonization induced by European settlers, the concept of sovereignty underwent constant misshaping, remolding, and misinterpretation (Wilkins and Lomawaima 2001; Legters, Lyden, and Policy Studies Organization 1994; Miller 2013). Eventually, the identity of sovereign nations became codified into United States law as a nation that “defines itself and its citizens, exercises self-government and the right to treat with other nations, applies its jurisdiction over the internal legal affairs of its citizens and subparts (such as states), claims political jurisdiction over the lands within its borders, and may define certain rights that inhere in its citizens (or others)” (Wilkins and Lomawaima 2001, 4). Under this context, sovereignty became synonymous with self-determination and a nation’s agency over law, people, and land. American Indian nations were viewed as sovereign entities in very particular contexts, but the patterns remain extremely inconsistent.

Sovereignty and self-determination were limited by the federal government, and Native people were treated with little respect or sympathy by the United States. Most government officials and American citizens viewed Native American people to be a direct threat to the safety of Europeans, giving reason for the federal government to limit all possible interaction between Native people and the incoming white American society. Moreover, this lack of respect enabled the government and outside society to question if Native nations were fit to be sovereign entities. Eve Darian-Smith explains,

It was widely thought by social scientists and the general American population that Indian peoples were less intelligent than white people, and consequently had a lower capacity for rational thought. This general opinion also supported the idea that Native Americans could not possess Indian lands, and provided the rationale for paternalistic policies that treated Indians like children who were incapable of managing themselves. (Darian-Smith 2003, 47)

At this time, widespread opinions towards American Indian people relied upon the belief that Native people would either disappear or assimilate into western society. Darian-Smith says Rodman Wannamaker's book, *The Vanishing Race*, is one of multiple texts that supports this mythology and relies upon "a social evolutionary model suggesting that indigenous people occupy a lower order of being and in a sense cannot keep up with the modern, industrial society" (Darian-Smith 2003, 16). During settlement, the federal government also relied upon this notion, and committed extreme amounts of violence towards Native tribes hoping to absolve the future threat of Native people in American society through complete termination. Thousands of American Indian people were killed through a series of battles and military ambushes. Although populations of Native American people greatly diminished and some tribes were completely wiped out, American Indians still remained resilient through the genocide.

Once the federal government realized that the complete termination of Native American people was impossible, the United States resorted to different methods to address the perceived danger of American Indian people, and by extension, the issue of sovereignty (Washburn 1971). From that point forward, the United States advocated assimilation tactics, rather the annihilation of native people. This marked the beginning of the treaty era, and in the course of one century, the U.S. federal government engaged in over six-hundred treaties with sovereign tribes and nations (Darian-Smith 2003). Through treaties, tribes were forced to participate in a legal system that was entirely foreign and misunderstood. While the treaty era was a great improvement from past violence and conflict, this time period also proved to be destructive to the American Indian population. Treaties produced by the federal government typically involved Indian removal from

homelands and the seizure of hunting and fishing rights that were necessary for cultural and nutrient sustenance.

Despite the associated horror of treaties on American Indian people, the hundreds of ratified treaties between the United States government and American Indian people reveals that the United States formally recognized American Indian tribes as sovereign nations. Such recognition is a huge advancement from the genocide and lack of respect that characterized the termination era. Unfortunately, while sovereignty was formally recognized, it was not always formally practiced (Legters, Lyden, and Policy Studies Organization 1994). American Indian people enjoyed a very limited sense of sovereignty supported by the trust relationship between the United States and tribal governments. This relationship, sometimes referred to as “trusteeship” but more commonly connoted as “wardship,” perpetuated settler colonial methodologies through the 19th and 20th centuries and allowed the United States federal government to seize American Indian land through treaty rights. Vine Deloria Jr., a renowned Native American scholar and the author of *Custer Died for Your Sins*, writes:

It turned out that the United States acquired the land neither by purchase nor by conquest, but by a more sophisticated technique known as trusteeship. Accordingly, few tribes were defeated in war by the United States, fewer still sold their land to the United States, but most sold some land and allowed the United States to hold the remainder in trust for them. In turn, the tribes acknowledge the sovereignty of the United States in preference to other possible sovereigns, such as England, France, and Spain. From this humble beginning the federal government stole some two billion acres of land and continues to take what it can without arousing the ire of the ignorant public. (Deloria 1969, 31)

Many American Indian policies have been rooted in the Doctrine of Discovery and the underpinnings of racial discrimination. Other American Indian policies seem as though

they are encouraging Native success and promoting self-determination within tribes.

Deloria continues:

The fight for land has caused much bitterness against the white man. It is this blatant violation of the treaties that creates such frustration among the Indian people. Many wonder exactly what their rights are, for no matter where they turn treaties are disregarded and laws are used to deprive them of what little land remains to them. The original import of the treaties was allegedly to guarantee peace on the frontier. And the tribes generally held to their promises, discontinued the fighting, and accepted the protection of the United States over the remaining lands. Yet submission became merely the first step from freedom to classification as incompetents whose every move had to be approved by government bureaucrats. (Deloria 1969, 31)

Since the development of the United States of America, the federal government continues to push and pull on the notions of sovereignty and self-determination. This is evident through the many U.S. policies that have been enacted in the last few centuries. “Indian policy has oscillated between policies seeking to dissolve American Indian communities and tribes, and policies supportive of American Indian self-rule under duly constituted governments” (Akee, Spilde, and Taylor 2015, 188). From forced removal and relocation, the Allotment era, termination, assimilation projects, the civil rights era, and promotion of economic development, the United States does not have a reliable stance for or against Native American people. Yet, sovereignty is still a term heavily used by the federal governments and American Indian nations despite Indian marginalization and political oscillation of the term.

Like the federal government, the greater American population has wavering views and opinions towards Native people. White American society wants to exclude Native people, but keep them within arm’s reach. Native American people are admired for their spirituality, sense of community, and relationship to the land, but are also demonized for such characteristics in addition to their skin color, lack of modernization, lack of

education, and overall “inferiority.” Opinions towards Native people have oscillated over time, which reflects the changing social and political rule of each era. Despite oscillation, non-Native society has typically always considered Native people as a lesser or different part of American society, reinforcing the eternal struggle between the national government and American Indian Peoples (Legters, Lyden, and Policy Studies Organization 1994). This relationship reinforces confusion about the identity of American Indian people and legal rights granted to tribal governments. Questions have routinely been debated through United States’ history—are American Indian people United States Citizens? Do their lands represent a foreign nation? What constitutes an Indian tribe? Are Native tribes sovereign governments? Unable to answer many of these questions, the United States has gone back and forth on how to deal with Native American peoples. America has adopted a society and law-making policy that flip-flops between assimilating Indians into American society at some times, and forcing Indians to live confined lives on reservations at other times (Legters, Lyden, and Policy Studies Organization 1994). To this day, Native tribes are fighting for sovereignty in the eyes of the United States Government.

The Allotment Era

To convey the oscillation of the federal government towards American Indian peoples, many scholars look at the Allotment Act as a critical point in Native indigenous history (Miller 2013; Deloria 1969; Wilkins and Lomawaima 2001). The “Allotment Era” began with the enactment of the Dawes Act. The Act, approved by Congress on February 8, 1887, was considered “an Act to Provide for the Allotment of Lands in Severalty to Indians on Various Reservations, and to extend the protection of the laws of the United

States and the Territories over the Indians, and for other purposes” (24 Stat. 388 (1887)).

Due to the federal trust responsibility, the United States became the legal owner of tribal land. The Dawes Act privatized reservation lands previously established under federal law and marked large portions of such tribal land as “surplus,” which could be sold to private citizens. The designation and sale of land resulted in the infamous “checkerboard” pattern of land distribution that heavily burdened Native American tribes and challenged effective tribal land management and development.

The underlying idea of the Dawes Act was that it would serve as the means to incorporate Indian individuals into the mainstream American economy. In addition, it allowed non-Indian settlers to seize land that was originally designated for Native American reservations under the Indian Removal Act of 1830 and other past treaties. Native heads of families received 160 acres of land, single people above the age of eighteen received 80 acres, and all other tribal members received 40 acres of land (Miller 2013). Although this may seem like it would benefit Native American communities, the outcome turned out to be the exact opposite, and all results of this “checkerboard” pattern greatly favored local non-Native people. Not only did the Allotment Act take sacred Native land, but it also tore apart Native communities and introduced western philosophies into Native reservations. Both physical and philosophical harms proved to be extremely detrimental to Native well-being. The Allotment Act encouraged the notion of private ownership, which conflicted with indigenous traditions of collective ownership.

Under the Dawes Act, individual Indians held land in their own right, leaving the remaining “leftover” lands to the federal government to be redistributed to white settlers, creating a checkerboard of Indian and non-Indian landholdings. This process proved disastrous for Indian tribes, culturally, politically, and

economically. The concept of individual property rights disrupted the idea of community-based tribal lands, and personally owned farming plots represented a very alien existence for most Native Americans. Politically, the allotment process broke up traditional tribal governments and heralded their declining significance. Economically, huge parcels of land were lost to tribes and their land base was reduced from 140 million acres to 50 million over a period of 50 years. (Darian-Smith 2003, 42)

Moreover, the Act indicated that to be successful in America, one must yield only to western definitions of success and prosperity, which, in this case, meant that all land must be put to a specific use that would promote future economic profit. These combined factors—the creation of checkerboard patterns, promotion of private ownership, and the instillation of western definitions of success—generated the forced assimilation of Native American people and communities into the engulfing American society. Unfortunately, “the cost of becoming ‘real’ American citizens was enormous for Native Americans” (Darian-Smith 2003, 42). Traditional American Indian culture, ownership, views toward land, and way of life were deemed inadequate by the United States government, and Native people were forced to give up long-established customs for the sake of western acceptance. To become accepted United States citizens involved complete assimilation of American culture and the sacrifice of traditional ways of life. This impacted Native people during the Allotment Act and for generations to come.

The Allotment Act is often considered to be the most damaging law to American Indian people. The Act is yet another example of the debauched role of settler colonialism and white expansion. Not only did this law codify massive seizures of tribal land, but it did so in a way that greatly impacted the practice of Native American culture, faith, and spirituality. American Indian culture reinforces the norm that people hold great ties to sense of place. Outside society is exceedingly accepting of Native people’s

knowledge of geography, climate, flora, and fauna, but society has often failed to acknowledge that knowledge of place lies a much deeper and misunderstood connection with the land. This deeper relationship was intangible to settler society and the policy put forth by United States government.

The impacts of the Allotment era are ubiquitous across Indian country. In multiple ways it serves as a continuation of the genocide of American Indian people. Native reservations are not only physically fragmented because of the checkerboard pattern, but are fragmented emotionally, mentally, and spiritually as well. Because of the fragmentation, many tribes are unable to live as a community in a centralized location and are not allowed access to historical sacred homelands that serve a spiritual, nutritional, or medicinal purpose. To the present day, tribes are struggling to buy back their land that was stolen through the policy of the Allotment Era. While some tribes have been successful, the process is slow and unpromising for Native people due to limited funds, intricacies of property law, and constant obstacles created by the United States federal government.

Indian Reorganization Act

The Indian Reorganization Act of 1936 (IRA) sought to improve many of the assimilation policies instilled in the Allotment Act. The IRA eventually came to be known as the “New Deal” for Native American people. John Collier, a former anthropologist who served as the Commissioner for the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), committed himself to aiding American Indian people after spending some time in Taos Pueblo, New Mexico. Collier, with the assistance of President Roosevelt and Associate Solicitor Felix Cohen, helped convince Congress that the political and social

mistreatment of Native American people must stop. His efforts were granted with some success, and the Reorganization Act “prevented the sale of reservations to white settlers and encouraged the establishment of new tribal governments and Indian self-management” . With this, Native American communities were given some ability to manage community affairs and maintain more continuous land holdings after the fragmentation caused by the Allotment Act in 1887.

Unfortunately, the IRA/New Deal did not provide the promise that John Collier had wished. Although it was a great advancement in American Indian policy, the Act was still rooted in foundations of western imperialism (O’Brien 1993). The IRA was created with little to no consultation with American Indian tribes, which resulted in a policy that forced Native American people to act against their will and create forms of constitutional governments that were alien to many American Indian sovereign nations (Darian-Smith 2003). Although the Act intended to promote Indian self-management, the result was entirely contradictory. The IRA required tribes to assimilate to a Constitution decided and approved by United States government, which, quite frankly, had an impaired understanding of the workings of traditional Native governance systems. Many United States tribes were forced to adapt to the exact same IRA Constitution. Typically, IRA Constitutions establish tribal councils that do not provide for a separation of powers or the practice of traditional governance systems. The tribal council in the governing board performs all judicial functions and are elected by tribal members, though sometimes appointed by the federal government. The IRA limits Indian self-determination with the burden of continuous government oversight (O’Brien 1993). For example, the IRA constitutions include a secretarial approval clause which “empowers the secretary of the

interior to approve or veto new tribal laws, to overrule certain tribal council actions, to call elections and settle election disputes, to oversee the tribes' economic affairs, to review the taxation of nonmembers, and to approve the hiring of legal counsel" (O'Brien 1989, 93). With that being said, the IRA was really not as altruistic as the federal government had claimed. In fact, the IRA almost served as a continuation of the disparity caused by the Allotment Act in 1887. The Indian Reorganization Act, like the Allotment Act, preserved the denial of American Indian sovereignty. Despite efforts to grant greater self-determination to American Indian people, the Act did so in a way that completely deprived Native tribes of the freedom and ability to decide their own sovereign pursuits (O'Brien 1993). Rather, American Indian people were "guided" by an imperialist society, which felt that Native people do not have the capacity to make large-scale decisions to govern themselves. The United States continued to prove to have a very low tolerance for Native nations and people. Darian-Smith writes:

The Dawes Act of 1887 and the later Indian Reorganization Act of 1936 represent shifting social values held by whites toward native peoples. From the open exploitation of tribes and the blatant removal of reservation lands, to the more progressive hope for native self-government and revitalization of their cultures, attitudes toward native peoples boil down to how much legal control, or sovereignty rights, to grant Native American. Because a legal system symbolizes a sophisticated cultural and political structure, the amount of recognition given to the right of indigenous communities to sovereign control over their own people and territories functions, in a sense, as a barometer that measures the temper of our dominant cultural values towards Indians. (Darian-Smith 2003, 48)

The IRA marks the beginning of the current role of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), which was initially established in 1824, but gained greater power in the twentieth century. The BIA serves as the parental overseer of Indian tribal reservations and grants itself the responsibility of taking care of everything from infrastructure and education to food and clothing. Such level of oversight results in extremely damaging externalities for

American Indian people. Similar to the Indian Regulatory Act, the BIA helps Natives through the lens of a western perspective. To this day, Indian reservations are still struggling with BIA oversight that has become involved in almost every aspect of reservation life. Since its founding, the BIA has also holds a reputation for exploiting Indian land and mistreating its required fiduciary responsibilities. Wilcomb Washburn, author of *Red Man's Land/White Man's Law: The Past and Present Status of the American Indian*, writes about the BIA:

Its tendency to self-aggrandizement has not only been carried on by deceiving or ignoring the Indian, but, on occasion, also by flouting the will of the Secretary of the Interior and of the Department's Solicitor who reviews Indian Bureau rulings. In part, the history of the Bureau of Indian Affairs reflects the normal process of bureaucratic growth; in part it reflects the antipathy or ignorance of the dominant white majority concerning the Indian minority. The combination of these two attributes has caused the Bureau to have achieved the unenviable reputation of being either hopeless or hateful. Few government bureaus have a less savory record. (Washburn 1995, 208)

The repercussions and oversight of both the IRA and BIA caused frustration among Native American populations. Government, social, and economic injustice, in addition to racism and discrimination forced Indian policy to take a drastic turn in the latter half of the 20th century after persistent American Indian protest. The 1970s sparked the beginning of the American Indian Movement (AIM), which, like the Civil Rights Movement, battled for fundamental human rights to be granted to American minorities. The AIM, influenced by a number of Native American protestors and scholars, was largely successful in attaining civil rights for Native peoples. Political protest and resistance included a number of controversial efforts, such as the takeover of Alcatraz Island, the seizure of the Mayflower replica at Plymouth, Massachusetts on Thanksgiving Day in 1971, and the occupation of the BIA headquarters in Washington D.C. in 1972 the

night before the presidential election. In 1970, President Richard Nixon also voiced the termination policy as a failure and looked to Congress to create a new policy that would give Indian peoples greater success. This resulted in the Indian Self-Determination Act and Educational Assistance Act (ISDEAA) passed in 1975. The intention of this Act is to give tribes the ability to oversee the administration of federal Indian programs by allowing government agencies, including state and local governments, to enter contracts directly with tribes. Numerous amendments were made following this Act that further promoted tribal self-governance. The American Indian Religious Freedom Act (AIRFA) was constituted in 1978, which revealed that the United States was finally gaining a more positive understanding of American Indian culture and spirituality. Greater shifts in views towards Native American people occurred in the decades following the American Indian Movement. However, despite the progress being made, Native American communities continued to be burdened with greater amounts of social, political, and economic inequality than all other American citizens.

The Result: “Indian Country Today”

“Indian Country” is a widely used term to identify all land and area associated with Indian reservations and local trust area. All of Indian Country is impacted by the historical relationship between the United States government and Native American people. To this day, many tribes are still struggling with issues caused by the allotment era, the termination era, the reorganization era, and the paternalism of the BIA. The formation of American Indian policy is still very much alive today, and current American Indian law reflects that policy is not free from historical United States power relations (Darian-Smith 2003). Tribes continue to battle state and federal governments over age-

old disputes of treaties, tribal trust land, and sovereignty issues. Many of these issues have foundations in past United States federal Indian policy and reiterate the historical context of such law.

With respect to the current laws surrounding Native Americans, we must be alert to the historical context behind rules governing Native Americans, and the backdrop of power relations between federal and state governments and native peoples that continues to inform legislative change impinging directly on them. (Darian-Smith 2003, 38)

Unfortunately, American Indian law and policy typically gives the states and federal government greater power over Indian sovereign nations. Tribal nations are attempting to combat this power play and have maintained a presence within federal courts and the supreme court. Many of the current law cases are similar to historical patterns, and American Indian tribes are still fighting for hunting and fishing rights, the protection of sacred lands, the ability to self-govern, and the legitimacy of the trust relationship with the federal government. Most of these cases take decades, and some battles have been met with success while other battles were deemed failures. Recently, American Indian nations encountered a huge win against the federal government in the U.S. Supreme Court Case *Ramah Navajo Chapter v. Jewell Resoles Historic Contract Support Cost Lawsuit with Tribes*. Native nations assembled a case against the federal government on the grounds that “underfunded federal contracts dating as far back as the 1970s often left them to face shortfalls as they tried to meet critical needs in their communities, ranging from health services to housing” (Hudetz 2015, n.p.). For decades, the United States contracted with tribes to run tribal programs, but did not pay the promised amount required by law, leaving tribes fiscally responsible for all programs despite the lack of money. The Obama Administration has agreed to pay \$940 million to American Indian

tribes to compensate for the lack of government services that should have been carried in practice of the trust relationship. Nearly 700 tribes throughout the United States will be compensated some amount of this settlement with \$58 million going directly to the Navajo Nation. Interior Secretary Sally Jewell said:

This landmark settlement represents another important step in the Obama Administration's efforts to turn the page on past challenges in our government-to-government relationship with tribes. Tribal self determination and self-governance will continue to be our North Star as we navigate a new chapter in this important relationship and we are committed to fully funding contract support costs so that tribal contracting can be more successful. Congress can and should make this happen. Today's announcement resolves past claims and allows money wrapped up in litigation to be used more productively. ("Interior, Justice Departments Announce \$940 Million Landmark Settlement" 2015, n.p.)

This case reveals that great advancements have been made when it comes to American Indian policy, but this success is unfortunately unrepresentative of standard outcomes. Many tribal nations are actively being declined the ability to hunt and gather on historical land, the protection of sacred places, the ability to manage tribal trust land, the resistance of assimilation tactics, and many more oppressive doctrines that are an everyday reality for Native American people. Even if the federal government is currently on board with Native struggle, state governments and American society have the ability to interfere with advancement. With that being said, there is still much at stake when examining the term "sovereignty." It remains to be a term impossible to define in a concise manner. Darian-Smith writes, "It is still not entirely clear what Indian sovereignty means. Today, in certain instances, tribes have concurrent or shared jurisdiction with federal and state governments"(Darian-Smith 2003, 49). This shared governance furthers the struggle with the ability to self-govern, and Native nations are rarely treated as competent governments capable of ruling their own people. The federal government, through policy, agencies,

and the parental oversight of the trust relationship, continue to keep its foot in the door of Native government, and Indian relations remains a consumed issue in modern politics (Legters, Lyden, and Policy Studies Organization 1994).

In addition to issues with codified United States policy, Native Americans today still face social challenges with outside American society. Racism, discrimination, and stereotyping are still pervasive discourses in current times, visible everywhere from outright racist and derogatory remarks in media to ongoing the appropriation of Native culture. In many ways, this racism is equally detrimental to the success of Native people as U.S. policy. For American Indian people, racism, discrimination, and stereotyping have hindered respect, understanding of culture, acceptance into the wider community, the ability to pursue economic development, and many more negative externalities that have impacted everyday existence extending back from the 15th century to the present 21st century. Natives are constantly “fed messages about their worthlessness, laziness, dependence, and lack of ‘higher’ order human qualities” (L. T. Smith 2012, 4). This is not only deleterious to spirit, but also harmful to the incorporation of Native American people into society and the arena of economic development.

This sense of Native Americans’ exclusion from mainstream society endures in the 21st century, with many non-Indians confused over whether Native Americans pay taxes, can vote, are bound by the laws of the United States, or should be treated as equals when it comes to such things as employment opportunities or health policies. (Darian-Smith 2003, 36)

Social injustice has caused many of the past and present inequalities experienced by Native American people. Due to social and governmental injustice, Native people continue to live in political and social conditions that cling to extreme levels of poverty, poor health conditions, and destitute educational systems and opportunities. In many

instances, this happens both on and off the reservation. The reservation serves as a hub for inadequate social care, but this distress often extends off trust land as well. With all of this in mind, it almost seems as though the hardship experienced by Native people has not changed since the time of colonization in the fifteenth century.

Economic Development

American Indian people have become defined by a legacy of imperialism and colonialism that have left intrinsic and extrinsic consequences on Native tradition, culture, peoplehood, faith, and the modern obstacle of engaging in capitalistic western enterprises. Imperialism has become omnipresent in nearly all corners of American Indian peoples. This began at the “founding” of the country in the fifteenth century and still continues to this day across all Native reservations as a modern form of colonialism. The brief history outlined above provides some concrete evidence of the legacy of both imperialism and colonialism, but there are many other catastrophes committed against Native American people that remain unmentioned by the federal government. The United States has done little to address the abusive history the nation has committed against Native American people. The amounts of poverty, lack of social services, isolation from necessary resources, and poor health conditions receive little to no attention from greater America, and there is almost no federal policy that has sought to address such disparity. The United States government has, however, attempted to “solve” some tragedy by promoting economic development sanctions among American Indian reservations, primarily the advent of tribal gaming. Unfortunately, such efforts are also rooted in imperialism, but masked by the term “capitalism.” As a capitalist economy, America has a very limited definition of success, and success is determined by income, profit, and the

dictates of the free market. Such determinants of success are not features of Native American culture, a culture that is largely devoid of individualism and private success or ownership, but characterized by communalism and widespread, shared prosperity. The values of traditional Native American culture and identity and the value-free character of capitalism create conflict between the two ontologies. Unfortunately, Native America has become trapped in a capitalist society, and, just like the rest of America, American Indian people must succumb to this specific definition of success. Sandra Pinel focuses on this unfavorable dichotomy. According to Pinel, successful economic development is typically viewed as a restless marriage between capitalism and culture (Pinel 2007). Policy enacted by the United States federal government continues to require a marriage between culture and capitalism.

The Indian Gaming Regulatory Act is a clear example of such efforts. According to the federal government, the Act was promoted to advance economic development on American Indian reservations. Congress passed the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act (IGRA) in 1988. The Act directly applies to reservation-resident American Indians, and set the stage for tribal government-owned gaming facilities (Akee, Spilde, and Taylor 2015). Since the passing of the IGRA, Indian gaming operations became ubiquitous across Indian Country. Tribal gaming operations skyrocketed from less than 30 in 1988 to 450 enterprises across nearly half of the nations' states (National Indian Gaming Commission, n.d.).

The Indian Gaming Regulatory Act

The Indian Gaming Regulatory Act divided gaming among three different classifications: Class I, Class II, and Class III gaming. Class I gaming includes all social

games and traditional forms of Indian Gaming. This is typically alluded to as gaming that was conducted in the past as ceremonial to traditional tribal activities. Class I gaming could include almost any type of gaming that is played for low stakes and is only regulated by tribal governments (Miller 2013). Class II gaming includes bingo, games of pull tabs and tip jars, and non-banked card games conducted in compliance with state law. Class III gaming is considered full-scale Las Vegas-style gaming and allows all abilities of Class II gaming in addition to high-stakes card games.

With the enactment of the IGRA, Congress intended to give tribes maximum flexibility to foster tribal and reservation economic development (Miller 2013). At the same time, however, the IGRA entailed strict regulation and oversight over Class II and Class III gaming. Congress created the National Indian Gaming Commission (NIGC) to regulate these higher classes of gaming, and the NIGC is funded by the fees associated with Class II and Class III gaming. The IGRA and NIGC limit the tribes' power and authority over tribal gaming. Tribes can only partake in Class II and Class III tribal gaming under federal authority and state permission, which interferes with the identity of federally recognized tribes as sovereign nations. Moreover, both the IGRA and NIGC have strict guidelines on how tribes can use profit generated from casinos. Tribes are required to use gaming revenues for only five purposes: (1) to fund tribal governmental operations or programs; (2) to provide for the general welfare of the tribe and its citizens; (3) to promote tribal economic development; (4) to donate to charitable organizations; and (5) to fund the operations of local government agencies. Additionally, tribes must provide outside annual audits, contact audits, and perform employee background checks under the oversight of the NIGC (Miller 2013).

In conjunction with the control of the federal government, tribes are forced to compete with the power of state governments, who must legalize gaming under state law so that tribes within that state can have casinos on their reservations. States typically oppose Indian gaming because they see it as competition with state gambling revenues and for various other economic and noneconomic reasons. To contend with state protest, tribes must engage in Tribal State Compacts with the state government. Tribal State Compacts are revenue sharing agreements in which a state grants a tribe the right to offer Class III gaming in return for the tribe sharing gaming revenue with the state (Miller 2013). Tribal State Compacts are intended to balance state and tribal interests and provide shared state and tribal regulation and jurisdiction over Class II and Class III gaming. In reality, the IGRA and the creation of Tribal State Compacts grants greater power and authority to state governments. Miller writes,

The congressional compromise between state and tribal interests is broken and states now have the upper hand. States demanded a voice in Indian gaming and Congress gave them an important role under IGRA. Now, various court decisions have raised the level of state control and literally given states complete veto power over tribal Class III gaming. Although Congress expressly stated that IGRA was designed to benefit tribes and not states, and was intended to expand tribal self-determination, self-government, economic development, and political stability, states are reaping greater benefits from Indian gaming than Congress ever intended. (Miller 2013, 83)

The issues of sovereignty between federal, state, and tribal governments reveals just some of the complexity associated with the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act.

The purpose of the IGRA was to spark economic success and self-determination among American Indian reservations through a gaming industry that would hopefully facilitate enterprise directly on Native reservations. Thaddieus Conner and William Taggart, authors of the article “The Impact of Gaming on the Indian Nations of New

Mexico” write: “As envisioned, gaming was to serve as an economic catalyst for Native American groups to achieve self-sufficiency to better determine their future” (Conner and Taggart 2009, 51). Despite other opportunities, the United States chose gaming because it would serve multiple interests. Tribal gaming would not only spark economic development, but also serve as a stimulus for increased sovereignty and self-determination. Since only sovereign states were permitted to determine the legality of gaming, tribes being able to practice gaming at a legal level was an attempt to acknowledge the sovereign power of American Indian nations (although this eventually proved to be false). With this in mind, Indian Gaming must be looked upon as an outgrowth of policymaking leading up to the political and legal fights for Native self-determination (Akee, Spilde, and Taylor 2015). The ability to practice tribal gaming allowed the United States government to pass off a seemingly successful industry to Native hands in hope that it would be an easy fix for poor economies and a quick solution for the fight for self-determination. Indian gaming was presented as a positive economic impact for Native American people which justified the passage of the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act and the expansion of Indian gaming activities throughout Indian Country (Conner and Taggart 2009). The resulting promotion of tribal gaming by the federal government strengthened the reach of the enterprise. At the present day, approximately 200 Native American nations are operating almost 300 tribal casinos across the United States.

In many instances, gaming has served as an economic catalyst for Native reservations, and Indian gaming operations have had a hugely transformative effect on tribal reservations and local economies (Akee, Spilde, and Taylor 2015). In some cases,

gaming advanced Indian economies and contributed to significant improvements in multiple elements of reservation life. In certain circumstances, gaming even provided the tribe complete fiscal independence. Research done in “The Indian Gaming Regulatory Act and Its Effects on American Indian Economic Development” reveals a number of promising economic and social trends sparked by the gaming industry. In the past two decades, the study found that incomes for American Indians grew at six times the average rate, female labor participation rose, unemployment fell, and reservation housing quality improved (Akee, Spilde, and Taylor 2015). Moreover, annual Indian gaming revenues increased from \$100 million in 1988 to \$28 billion in 2013 (National Indian Gaming Commission n.d.). In 2006, the National Indian Gaming Association (NIGA) reported that Indian nations are funding a broad range of initiatives that have strengthened tribal communities, including new health care facilities, fitness centers, school and day care facilities, language immersion programs, and substance abuse programs (Conner and Taggart 2009).

Indian Gaming has made significant economic improvements in many tribal reservations, but the problem remains to be its inconsistency. Understanding the effects of Indian gaming on Native American communities remains extremely limited, and the effects of Indian Gaming vary across all tribes (Conner and Taggart 2009). Some tribes have the fortune to become economically independent, while others have faced hugely negative consequences (Cattelino 2008). Variation in success is due to a number of factors ranging from: differential access to markets, corporate governance, managerial skills, state-tribal conflict, and other geographical limitations (Akee, Spilde, and Taylor 2015). As a new operation, there are also many questions about the long-term impacts of

Indian Gaming. Scholars (Champagne 2004; Miller 2013; Pinel 2007; Cattelino 2008; Akee, Spilde, and Taylor 2015), residents, and local citizens have raised concern about the system. Some questions include: how has the growth of Indian gaming affected Native people living on or near reservations? How has it affected nearby localities and regions? (Akee, Spilde, and Taylor 2015). Other scholars question the ethic of gaming and relationship to the capitalist system.

This research study seeks to answer questions specific to Pueblo reservations and the impact of tribal gaming on traditional culture. As mentioned above, the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act was created by Congress to promote sovereignty, self-determination, and economic development within tribal Nations. Thus far, little research has been done to study whether or not this holds true for New Mexico's Indian Pueblos.

The History of Spanish Conflict and New Mexico's Pueblo Nations

Long before conquest, the establishment of large cities, and modern-day conveniences, the Southwest was home to thousands of Native American people. Among Native populations existed the roots of Pueblo people, a population known for their unyielding sense of community, tradition, knowledge, strength, and resilience. Pueblo villages are some of the oldest-established communities in the world, and many present-day Pueblo communities can trace their history in the Southwest to the beginning of human time. The land holds their story of creation, ancestry, and survival. Archaeological data estimates that current Pueblo locations have settlement roots in the same place since the thirteenth century, but Pueblo accounts of history and storytelling account their presence in the area much further into the distant past. The historical sites of Chaco

Canyon and Mesa Verde are some remnants of this history, but Pueblo oral tradition extends even further back in time.

In addition to the presence of Pueblo villages, the current Southwestern territory of the United States consisted of a multitude of American Indian tribes. Many of these tribes were Pueblo nations, but many were not. Navajo and Apache people also called present-day New Mexico their home. Despite differences among Native American tribes, the area remained relatively peaceful for millennia. Native people developed a firm understanding of the land and life flourished for thousands of years prior to the arrival of European settlers. While the tribes did encounter seasons of drought and minimal levels of conflict, life was considerably good for local Native American people (Silverberg and Lebowitz 1970).

The history of New Mexico's Pueblos and other Native American people within the area are especially unique in comparison to the greater continental United States. The Southwestern portion of the United States was "founded" far before the settling of Jamestown in Virginia and the landing of the Pilgrims in Massachusetts (Silverberg and Lebowitz 1970). The Spanish arrived in New Mexico in the sixteenth century to find the area to be dotted with *pueblos* inhabited by Native American peoples. In 1598, under the guidance of Spanish conquistador Don Juan de Oñate, the Spanish moved into this territory to make permanent residence. Oñate, as a representative of Spain, declared authority over "the native Indians in each and every one of the provinces [of New Mexico], with civil and criminal jurisdiction, power of life and death, over high and low, from the leaves of the trees in the forests to the stones and sands of the river, and from the stone and sands of the river to the leaves in the forests" (Silverberg and Lebowitz 1970,

3). From that point onward, the Native people of New Mexico were treated with a chilling lack of compassion, humanity, morality, and tolerance. Spaniards quickly established the dominance of Catholicism across the land, and Native people were given no choice but to accept their newly given faith. The Spanish were not remorseful in punishment, and those that did not accept Spanish rule or western religion were given the doom of enslavement or slaughter. Native American people were unable to practice their own religion, language, or traditional indigenous way of life. In addition to the terror intentionally inflicted by the Spaniards upon the Native population, Native communities were also victimized by the brutality of western disease (Silverberg and Lebowitz 1970). Whole tribes were diminished, and unfortunately, that was just the beginning of Native struggle. Peter Pino, tribal member of Zia Pueblo, accounts that the population of Zia Pueblo before the Spanish conquest consisted of ten to fifteen thousand people. After Spanish invasion, however, the population was dwindled to only 97 tribal members. This is just one example of the brutalities faced by Pueblo nations. The local Native tribes and Pueblo communities “were unaware that they had ceased to be their own masters” (Silverberg and Lebowitz 1970, 4). The Spanish came to rule the valley, and Pueblos were deprived of their historical culture, governance, language, land, and the ease of existence prior to conquest. This persisted for 82 years, until the tribes of New Mexico retaliated against Spanish rule.

In 1680, under the guidance of the leader Popé from Ohkay Owingeh Pueblo, the tribes of New Mexico, including all Pueblo people and Navajo and Apache allies, organized themselves against the Spanish dynasty (Aguilar 2013). This insurrection, later to become known as the Pueblo Revolt, is arguably “the most successful indigenous

insurrection against a European colonial power in the New World” (Aguilar 2013, 34). Popé led a multi-faceted attack, and the uprising laid siege to the Spanish capital of Santa Fe while burning Catholic missions spread across the Pueblos along the Rio Grande River. It is unknown how many Native lives were lost during the uprising, but it is estimated that 401 settlers and 21 friars lost their lives during the Pueblo Revolt (Aguilar 2013). The Spanish, governed by Antonio de Otermín, quickly fled to El Paso del Norte (currently Ciudad Juárez, Mexico) to escape further loss.

The Spanish did not resettle New Mexican territory until years later in 1692. Spanish settlers followed their governor Don Diego de Vargas back to New Mexico and offered absolution to the Pueblos for their “sins.” Vargas’ half-hearted efforts of diplomacy were quickly met with greater Pueblo resistance. Shortly after the re-arrival of the Spaniards, the Native population organized three major centers of opposition. Pueblo people evacuated their former villages and created refuge communities by the Towa in the Jemez province, at Kotyiti in the Keres province, and at Tunyo in the Tewa province (Aguilar 2013). These three strongholds were occupied by thousands of Pueblo people, and the communities came to form the backbone of modern-day Pueblo language groupings. In 1694, Vargas reacted to this resistance by sending Spanish military campaigns into each of the three territories, which resulted in a nine-month siege of Pueblo strongholds. In the end, Pueblo efforts of resistance failed and the communities came under Spanish rule once again. Despite the loss, it is still extraordinary that Pueblo and Native communities were able to hold off western rule for a dozen years.

Indians had rebelled against white rule before 1680; Indians would rebel against it after 1680; but only the people of the pueblos ever managed to regain real freedom for an extended period. The Spaniards had smashed the mighty Incas of Peru, themselves fierce conquerors who rule over thousands of square miles of

territory seized from their neighbors. The Spaniards had broken the bloodthirsty Aztecs of Mexico, also famed in their native country as invincible warriors. But the docile, mild-mannered Pueblo folk, striking in unexpected fury achieved what none of the other victims of Spain could manage. (Silverberg and Lebowitz 1970, 7)

Even with Spanish and non-Native presence, local Native tribes and Pueblo people maintained the survival of their communities and the health of traditional culture. Despite some relocation, Pueblo people held their presence along the Rio Grande. To this day, the communities remain strong, and it is impossible to deny the perseverance of Pueblo people.

American Indian Pueblos in the Present

It is estimated that in 1598, the Pueblo communities consisted of nearly 20,000 individuals with sixty to seventy villages dotted along the Rio Grande River (Silverberg and Lebowitz 1970). Currently there are 19 American Indian Pueblos and Tribes in the state of New Mexico including: Acoma Pueblo, Pueblo de Cochiti, Isleta Pueblo, Jemez Pueblo, Laguna Pueblo, Nambé Pueblo, Ohkay Owingeh, Picuris Pueblo, Pojoaque Pueblo, Sandía Pueblo, San Felipe Pueblo, San Ildefonso Pueblo, Santa Ana Pueblo, Santa Clara Pueblo, Kewa Pueblo (Santo Domingo Pueblo), Taos Pueblo, Tesuque Pueblo, Zia Pueblo, and Zuni Pueblo. The 19 Pueblos of New Mexico are divided into three language groups that are further divided into five languages with many distinct dialects. The three large language groups are Keres, Tanoan, and Zuni. These three groups also bind the Keresan, Tewa, Tiwa, Towa, and Zuni languages. Keres-speaking Pueblos include: Acoma Pueblo, Pueblo de Cochiti, Laguna Pueblo, Santa Ana Pueblo, Santo Domingo Pueblo, and San Felipe Pueblo. Tewa-speaking Pueblos include: San Ildefonso Pueblo, Santa Clara Pueblo, Nambé Pueblo, Ohkay Owingeh, Pojoaque

Pueblo, and Tesuque Pueblo. Tiwa-speaking Pueblos include: Isleta Pueblo, Picuris Pueblo, Sandia Pueblo, and Taos Pueblo. Finally, Jemez Pueblo is the only Towa-speaking Pueblo, and Zuni Pueblo is the only Zuni-speaking Pueblo (“LANGUAGE OF THE 19 PUEBLOS OF NEW MEXICO” 2016). The following map shows both the history and language group belonging of each Pueblo.

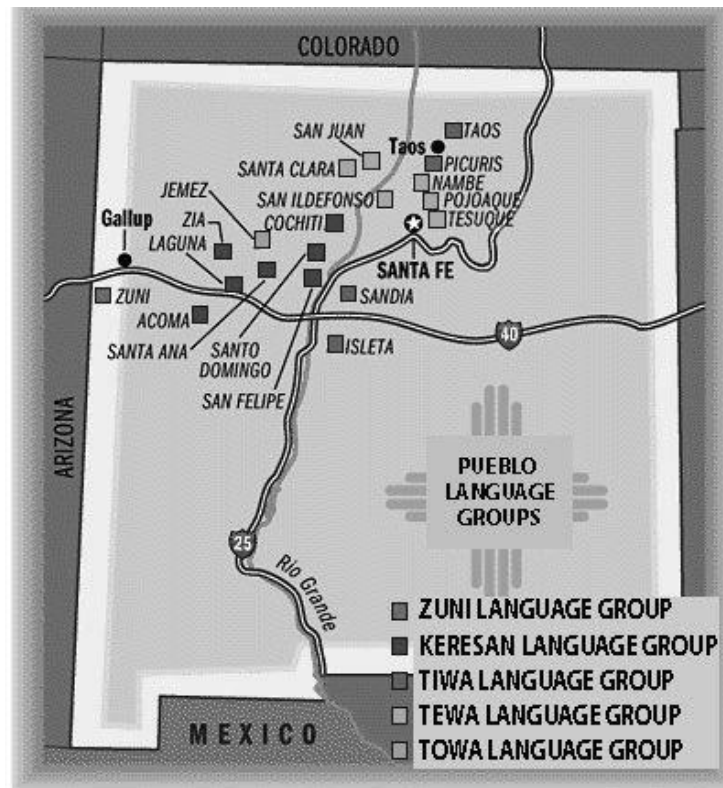


Figure 1. New Mexico’s Nineteen Pueblos and language groupings. Courtesy of the Indian Pueblo Cultural Center located in Albuquerque, New Mexico.

American Indian Pueblos are distinct from other American Indian sovereign nations because of their unique history and formation of villages that have persisted in the same place for millennia. Despite attempted conquest by Spanish colonizers, the Pueblos have remained successful in protecting their historical homelands and traditional culture. Many Pueblos lost thousands of tribal members throughout Spanish conquest, but

protection of culture and language has largely remained in tact. In fact, many Pueblos consider themselves to be among the most traditional of Native American indigenous people. This is due to a number of qualitative factors including retention of language, consistent enrollment of tribal members, intimacy of village living, and the continual practice and way of life in accordance with historical tradition.

The current locations of New Mexico's nineteen Pueblos are a result of history, colonialism, and changing climates and terrain. The close proximity of the Pueblos reveals the relationship that each nation holds with one another. In addition to similarities in language, Pueblos also have similar governmental structures, sense of community, sense of place, cultural doings, kinship, and other shared traits. In many instances, tribal members of Pueblo communities do not just identify as being "Native," but identify as being "Pueblo." Within that title lies a huge amount of personal, communal, and cultural pride.

Economic Development in American Indian Pueblos

Pueblo communities, like other American Indian sovereign nations, are becoming more involved in the economic arena of development. Over the past few decades, Pueblo nations are promoting economic growth, the creation of profitable business practices, and the education of tribal members to apply western academic knowledge to Pueblo communities. Pueblo nations are engaging in business practices that range from tribal gaming, gas stations, and smoke shops to the filming of Hollywood movies within reservation land. Many of these businesses are continuing to grow over the course of time; however, despite involvement in multiple business strategies, tribal gaming proves to be the greatest income source for Pueblo communities.

The Indian Gaming Regulatory Act and Its Impact on Development in American Indian Pueblos

After the passing of the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act in 1988, tribes across the nation began establishing tribal gaming operations. Tribal nations in New Mexico also followed this trend, and casinos became common across the desert landscape. Individual tribal casinos in New Mexico Pueblos did not appear at a singular moment in time, but most trace their origins to the mid-1990s (Conner and Taggart 2009). Throughout the 1990s, tribal nations with gaming interests would either open new casinos or expand existing ones. In 1993, nine pueblos and tribes had casino gaming establishments. Acoma, Isleta, Mescalero Apache, Pojoaque, Ohkay Owingeh, Sandia, Santa Ana, Taos, and Tesuque all had gaming enterprises established within the borders of their reservations. In 1995, San Felipe Pueblo also embarked in gaming enterprises, and Laguna and Santa Clara Pueblo joined more recently. Thus far, the state of New Mexico has signed six different agreements having to do with tribal gaming operations: one in 1995, 1997, 1999, 2001, and another in 2007 before the final governing compact was approved in 2015 (Conner and Taggart 2009; Miller 2013).

Over the past two decades, the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act has strengthened its grasp on the economies of modern American Indian Pueblos. Currently, eleven of New Mexico's sovereign Pueblo nations partake in Las Vegas-style gaming operations. The size of gaming facilities continues to grow each year, and revenues have increased or remained relatively consistent since the initiation of Pueblo gaming in New Mexico, which is evident through the annual net win per tribe shown in Appendix E. The eleven gaming Pueblos are home to sixteen gaming enterprises, listed below.

Tribe	Name of Gaming Enterprise
Acoma Pueblo	Sky City Casino
Isleta Pueblo	Palace West Casino
	Route 66 Casino Hotel
	Hard Rock Hotel & Casino Albuquerque
Laguna Pueblo	Dancing Eagle Casino
	Casino Express
Nambe Pueblo	Nambe Falls
Ohkay Owingeh	Ohkay Casino Resort
Pojoaque Pueblo	Buffalo Thunder Resort & Casino
	Cities of Gold Casino
	Sports Race Bar and Casino
	Chevron Convenience Store
Sandia Pueblo	Sandia Resort & Casino
San Felipe Pueblo	San Felipe's Casino Hollywood
	San Felipe Travel Center
Santa Ana Pueblo	Santa Ana Star Casino
Santa Clara Pueblo	Santa Claran Hotel Casino
Pueblo of Tesuque	Camel Rock Casino
Taos Pueblo	Taos Mountain Casino

The casinos listed above are scattered across the greater central portion of New Mexico. Many of these operations vary in size and proximity to local metropolitan areas. Some casinos have grown more rapidly than others, but there is no doubt that all casinos have continued to grow since the passing of the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act.

The Pueblos that do not partake in tribal gaming include: Pueblo de Cochiti, Jemez Pueblo, Picuris Pueblo, San Ildefonso Pueblo, Kewa (Santo Domingo) Pueblo, Zia Pueblo, and Zuni Pueblo. Many of these Pueblos have no intentions to develop tribal gaming within their reservations. In fact, some tribes have chosen to take a permanent stance against gaming for the present and future. There are a number of reasons as to why some Pueblos are against the installment of gaming within their reservations, and such arguments will be discussed later on.

The state of New Mexico has very interesting ties with local sovereign nations and tribal gaming. According to Conner and Taggart, authors of “The Impact of Gaming on the Indian Nations in New Mexico,” (2009) the emergence of Indian gaming in the United States has followed two likely patterns. In some cases, the establishment of gaming in accordance with the IGRA has been largely uneventful. In other cases, however, establishment of gaming operations in accordance with the IGRA has created multiple controversies and political conflicts. Mentioned arenas of conflict typically include: tribal sovereignty and states’ rights and the desirability and morality of legalized gaming (Conner and Taggart 2009). Other literature also reveals common disputes that have occurred between governmental and non-governmental parties in relation to the written law of the IGRA and tribal gaming. Unfortunately, tribes of New Mexico have typically faced the latter trend of gaming development, and tribal nations and the state of New Mexico have been involved in ongoing conflict over tribes’ ability to create casinos on their reservations.

To have a gaming enterprise, each tribe in the state of New Mexico must enter a Tribal Compact with the state. As mentioned above, there have been several versions of different Tribal Compacts within the last two decades. The first compact was created in 1995, followed by compacts written in 1997, 1999, 2001, 2007, and finally 2015. Each successive compact has a different expiration time, but typically serves two to three decades long. Additionally, each Tribal Compact has different terms and agreements that must be agreed upon by both parties—the state and the individual tribe. All Tribal State compacts in the state of New Mexico have included a requirement for revenue sharing with the state. Despite Congress’s mandate that states are not permitted to tax tribes for

gaming operations, there are many loopholes that allow the state to require tribes share gaming revenue and give a portion of their income to the state of New Mexico.

The relationship between tribes and the state of New Mexico emphasizes a highly speculated clause of the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act. Tribal gaming is only permitted if the state legalizes gaming within state law. This law has been tested dozens of times within United States courts, but this particular issue gained the most attention in the 1996 Supreme Court Case *Seminole Tribe of Florida v. Florida*. Although the IGRA was written to balance sovereignty between tribes and states, this loophole gives states the upper hand as the ultimate determinants of tribal gaming. If a state deems gaming or gambling illegal, the tribes are unable to utilize the protection of the IGRA in the creation of a gaming enterprise on their reservation. Thus, state governments have used Tribal Compacts as a way to ensure revenue from gaming operations so they can “promise” legality of gaming and gambling within the entire state. In other words, as long as tribes commit to Tribal Compacts and sharing gaming revenue with the state, New Mexico will continue to allow gaming and gambling within their borders.

Currently, there are two different Tribal Compacts in effect in the state of New Mexico. Depending on when the Compact was agreed upon, Pueblos are either committed to the 2007 Tribal Compact or the 2015 Tribal Compact. Both compacts expire in the year 2037, meaning that gaming and gambling will be given legal protection by the state until that year. Pueblos committed to the 2007 Tribal Compact are: Laguna Pueblo, Sandia Pueblo, San Felipe Pueblo, Santa Ana Pueblo, Santa Clara Pueblo, and

the Pueblo of Tesuque. Pueblos committed to the 2015 Tribal Compact are: Nambe Pueblo, Ohkay Owingeh, Acoma Pueblo, Isleta Pueblo, Jemez Pueblo, Taos Pueblo, and Zuni Pueblo. The 2015 Tribal Compact states:

The tribe shall pay to the State a portion of its Class III Gaming revenues identified in and under procedures of this Section, in return for which the State agrees that the Tribe has the exclusive right within the State to conduct all types of Class III Gaming described in this Compact...The Tribe agrees to pay this portion of its revenue in acknowledgement of the fact that the State is forgoing significant revenue that it has received meaningful concessions and significant benefits for the limitations. (Tribal-State Class III Gaming Compact 2015)

The Compact goes on to state the percentage of Adjusted Net Win that the tribes must pay the State quarterly:

Annual Adjusted Net Win	July 1, 2015-June 30, 2018	July 1, 2018-June 30, 2030	July 1, 2030-June 30, 2037
Under \$20 million:	2% of the first \$6 million, and 8.50% on the rest	2% of the first \$6 million, and 8.75% on the rest	2% of the first \$6 million, and 9.50% on the rest
\$20-\$40 million:	8.50%	8.75%	9.50%
\$40-\$80 million:	9.00%	9.50%	10.25%
More than \$80 million:	9.00%	10.00%	10.75%

According to Peter Chestnut, a tribal attorney representing Acoma Pueblo, the 2015 Tribal Compact requires less revenue sharing and is much more favorable to smaller tribes. Pojoaque Pueblo, however, disagrees with the stipulations put forth by the 2015 Compact. Recently, Pojoaque, frustrated with the required amount of revenue sharing, attempted to sue the state regarding the 2015 Tribal Compact, but the federal court quickly dismissed the case. From there, Pojoaque went on to Department of Interior (DOI), but the state of New Mexico sued the DOI because, according to the State, the DOI does not have proper authority to address the case. As long as this case is still pending, the Pueblo of Pojoaque can operate their tribal casinos, but if the state wins this

battle, they too will be forced to sign the 2015 Tribal Compact if they wish to continue with gaming business. Figure 2, provided by the New Mexico Gaming Control Board, shows the name of the gaming enterprise of each particular tribal and whether they operations are in accordance with the 2007 or 2015 Tribal Compact.

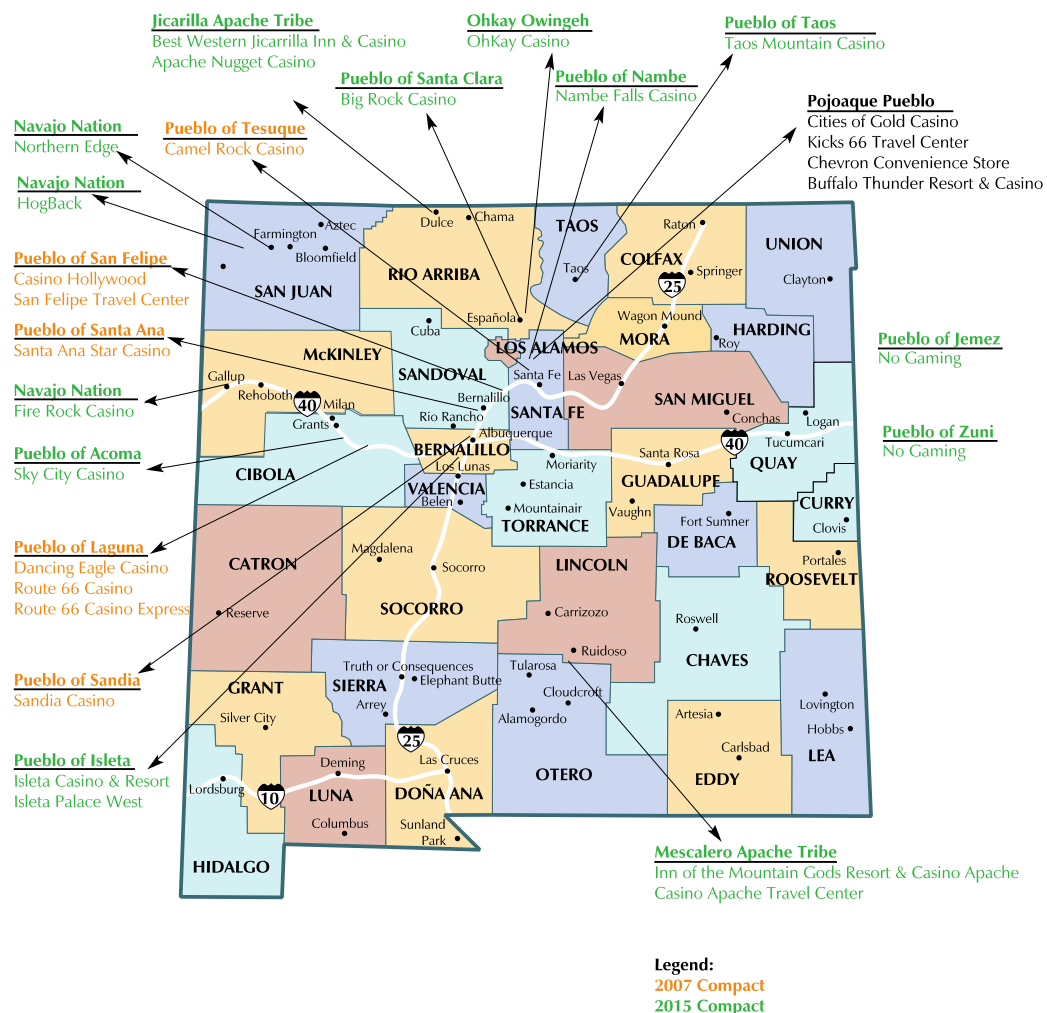


Figure 2. Courtesy of the New Mexico Gaming Control Board.

Despite the intricacies of legality regarding tribal gaming in New Mexico, there are many Pueblo communities, Native individuals, non-Native individuals, and academics who promote the legacy of success that gaming has created for local Pueblos. Conner and Taggart urge that gaming has had a positive economic and social impact on gaming Pueblos and tribes, especially for the more urbanized nations. According to their study, gaming nations in New Mexico have benefitted from higher incomes, lower levels of poverty, and significant improvements in social areas compared to Indian nations that did not pursue gaming in the 1990s (Conner and Taggart 2009). Although gaming operations have encountered a huge amount of success within New Mexico, it is still the reality that all Pueblos and tribes in the state fall short of national and state norms, which is a struggle is encountered by all of Indian country. Incomes are increasing, but that does not minimize the modesty of income increase, especially for Native individuals who live at the very bottom of the American economic spectrum. Nonetheless, poverty remains the plague of Indian Country, and any increase in income is welcome and can dramatically improve Native lives.

While many people encourage tribal gaming within New Mexico's Pueblos, there are also an equal number of people discouraging any further gaming development. Despite the multitude of studies undertaken to understand the effects of gaming on American Indian nations, a true understanding of the gaming industry's effects on Native American communities remains limited. This research attempts to examine both sides of the equation to determine which side, if either, is more correct, in the New Mexico Pueblos.

METHODS

The research for this thesis was carried out based on a multi-sited design within New Mexico's American Indian Pueblos to explore the impacts of gaming operations on Pueblo culture, tradition, and environmental sustainability. Data collection involved in-depth interviews of eighteen enrolled tribal members from ten American Indian Pueblos located in central and northern New Mexico. Listed from North to South, Pueblos included in this study are: Taos Pueblo, Santa Clara Pueblo, Jemez Pueblo, Pueblo de Cochiti, Zia Pueblo, Kewa Pueblo (Santo Domingo Pueblo), San Felipe Pueblo, Isleta Pueblo, Acoma Pueblo, and Laguna Pueblo. These Pueblos were chosen based on willingness of participants, presence of Indian gaming (residents of both Pueblos with and without casinos were included), reputation for decision-making regarding Indian gaming, and geographical distance in relation to metropolitan areas. All participants were over the age of eighteen, enrolled tribal members, and knowledgeable of traditional Pueblo culture. Interview demographics include men and women of varied age groups divided by decade, i.e. 20-30, 30-40, etc. Interview participants were selected based on their knowledge of Pueblo culture, participation in Pueblo community, and familiarity with casino operations in relation to their tribe. In addition to such requirements, interview participants were selected by age group as an effort to gain a cross-generational analysis of research data. Interview participants are similar in their tribal affiliation and traditional knowledge, but differ in lifestyle as well. Some individuals identify as tribal council members, lawyers, students, etc. In addition, some individuals live on the reservation, while other individuals live in town but maintain a strong presence within their Pueblo. Demographics of interview participants are provided in Appendix C.

Interviews were conducted either in person, by phone, or by email. Interviews done in person or by phone were based on a semi-structured research design focused on promoting conversation, but also facilitated by set research questions (see Appendix A). Email interviewees were given an explanation of my research and a structured set of interview questions (see Appendix B). Supplementing interview data, additional research was gathered through past work and research studying similar research questions. Analysis of interviews was conducted using this backdrop, focusing on themes of cultural sustainability, importance of culture, importance of language, the leadership of tribal councils, economic benefits of gaming, Indian sovereignty, Pueblo resilience, and alternative methods of development for New Mexican Pueblo communities. Analysis of such responses provided positive and negative dimensions for each key term, and success of Indian gaming is determined in light of such positive and negative associations. Since many of these terms are difficult or impossible to quantify, a qualitative approach was used to analyze the importance of each term based on the amount of time that different interviewees talked about such topic and what interviewees said about that key issue. Using that process, it was possible to determine success of Indian gaming through a cultural lens that permitted an in-depth analysis of research questions.

All participants in this study had the choice of anonymity. Some participants retained their identity through this study, but many individuals chose identification through initials, or to remain completely anonymous. The distinction is made throughout my analysis as an effort to protect the interests of all interviewees involved in this study.

Despite being individual sovereign nations, the similarities among Pueblo people permit the study of Pueblo nations as a distinct body of Native American people. In this

study, the research question aims to look at the impacts of gaming operations on the broader term of *pueblo culture*. That is not to deny that each Pueblo is also inherently different. Although all tribes in the region experienced a similar history, the details of this history are vastly unique. However, to collect data to determine the positive or negative impacts of tribal gaming on Pueblo culture requires the grouping of Pueblo people and common themes that occur with the rise of gaming. Doing so allows research to pinpoint what works and what does not work for New Mexico Pueblos. With that knowledge, we can determine what the best course of action is for each individual Pueblo nation. Research will be used as a source of information for whether or not Pueblo nations should engage in tribal gaming in addition to the positive and negative impacts associated with tribal gaming in Pueblo communities.

The positive and negative implications of tribal gaming determined through data analysis of interview responses. The interview questions listed in the appendices attempt to evaluate the qualitative importance of economic, social, and cultural success. Evaluating the qualitative measures of economic, social, and cultural success allows research to conclude the positive and negative implications of tribal gaming and whether or not gaming will impact the practice of traditional Pueblo culture. The qualitative importance of each of these measures of success is gathered through interview data, focusing on both the amount that the interview spends focusing on each topic and what is being said. Data analysis is further aided by past and present literature focusing on tribal gaming in relation to American Indian tribes and New Mexico's Pueblos.

RESEARCH IN AMERICAN INDIAN PUEBLOS

Research participants were excited to be involved in a study that is so close to home. Pueblo nations are not typically the focus of academic research models. In most cases, this is because of the very legitimate reason of privacy. By and large, most Native nations choose to avoid the scope of western science and research. Many tribes believe that indigenous knowledge, traditional ecological knowledge, culture, spirituality, and other indigenous ways of being should not be looked at under a western microscope.

Linda Smith, an indigenous scholar, writes,

‘Research’ is inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism. The word itself, ‘research,’ is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world’s vocabulary. When mentioned in many indigenous contexts, it stirs up silence, it conjures up bad memories, it raises a smile that is knowing and distrustful. It is so powerful that indigenous people even write poetry about research. The ways in which scientific research is implicated in the worst excesses of colonialism remains a powerful remembered history for many of the world’s colonized people. (L.T. Smith 2012, 1)

As a tribal member of Santo Domingo Pueblo, I also agree with this mindset. Modern trends of appropriation, cultural distortion, racism, etc. have made me very protective of my Native identity, and it saddens me that western academia often tends to ignore the negative externalities that research has on Native American populations. The sad truth is that western research has created a legacy of physical and spiritual violence among American Indian people. Events of colonialism, conquest, genocide, assimilation, and present-day realities often place Native American people in the negative limelight. A significant portion of past and present research misinterprets the plight of American Indian people. Linda Smith writes, “This collective memory of imperialism has been perpetuated in the ways in which knowledge about indigenous peoples was collected, classified and then represented in various ways back to the West, and then, through the

eyes of the West, back to those who have been colonized” (L. T. Smith 2012, 1). It is mistakenly assumed that the struggles of Indian Country exist because of the doings of Native American people, but the reality is much more complex and rooted in structural violence. Many battles faced by Indian Country are a direct result of the ongoing imperialism that Native people have faced since the arrival of European settlers in the fifteenth century. Native people do not ask for racism, poverty, diabetes, alcoholism, or drug abuse, but these are often consequences of the European settler conquest. Unfortunately, most of America attributes such factors to the choices of Native American people who remain seen as “unfit to govern themselves.” Because of this pattern of misrepresentation and oppression, it makes sense that Native people still choose to shy away from western academic models, and it is difficult to share knowledge when such sharing very often backfires for Native people.

This study, however, was met with opposite feelings. Family, friends, and other research participants were thrilled to hear about what I chose to write my thesis on. Like myself, they also had questions about the repercussions of tribal gaming on Pueblo people. Since gaming is such a recent enterprise, they too have looked out the car windows and witnessed the continuous growth of Pueblo casinos. They wondered what gaming would do to Pueblo culture, Pueblo land, and Pueblo people. They questioned the sustainability of the industry and wondered whether tribal casinos would continue to generate revenue to feed the mouths of their children. Research participants were excited that my thesis would attempt to answer some of these questions. Many individuals acknowledged how proud they were of me for attempting to take on something that needs to be done for Pueblo communities.

As a tribal member, there was also a certain amount of trust involved in the study. Native people, Pueblo people in particular, usually become guarded when asked about the heavy term of “culture.” At the beginning, I was fearful of asking questions about culture for a number of reasons. I do not want to insult people; I do not want my work to be misinterpreted; and I do not want to infringe on Pueblo privacy. Fortunately, being Pueblo has helped me to be hyperaware of many of these sensitivities. This foundation, as well as the advice of many friends, family, and Pueblo leaders, allowed me to design a practical and responsible research project. Many people gave me guidance on what type of questions to ask, what I should be cautious of sharing, and general counsel on how to go about doing a thesis on Pueblo culture while guarding my own position in my Pueblo as well as the greater Pueblo community. This advice has allowed me to write a thesis about Pueblo culture without overstepping social or cultural boundaries. For this reason, I talk about “Pueblo culture” in the broadest sense possible. I will go into some facets of Pueblo culture, but very little detail will be provided. This is to protect Pueblo culture. If I did not respect this privacy, it would be senseless to write a thesis determining the negative and positive results of tribal gaming on Pueblo culture. To go into detail about Pueblo culture would reveal a complete lack of understanding about the culture enjoyed by Pueblo communities. Moreover, writing about culture in detail would not accurately portray the complexity and importance of Pueblo culture.

Being from Kewa (Santo Domingo) Pueblo has given me the necessary backdrop to research the modern relationship between gaming and Pueblo culture. While I am using a western method of research, I am trying to do so through a Native American, Pueblo perspective. As a college student who truly misses home after achieving an

undergraduate education in Boulder, this is my attempt to give something back to the community after everything I have been given. The last five years have been difficult without my family, attending feast days, missing grandparents' birthdays, being absent from my sister's wedding preparation, and many more events that occur in Kewa Pueblo throughout the year. For me, this research project feels as close to the Pueblo as I can get, and I want to show my community that being away from home has only strengthened my ties to the Pueblo and my love for my heritage. I also want to prove that it is possible to achieve a scholastic education outside of the Pueblo, but still maintain a Pueblo identity and keep those values near and dear to the heart. With more and more Native students leaving the Pueblos to achieve an education, I believe it is important to realize that this may not have detrimental effects on Pueblo community. Rather, it may prove to be quite the opposite, and Native students can use such an education to aid the success of Pueblo nations. Pueblo identity is powerful and the communities are strong. For me, it is much harder to stay away from the Pueblo than to go back home.

With this in mind, I engaged myself in researching the relationship between tribal gaming and New Mexico's Pueblos. A fair amount of research has been conducted for other Native nations, but Pueblos are significantly lacking the attention the communities deserve. Research participants agreed on the necessity of this project, and I am eternally thankful for the cultural, political, and social insight each individual provided to this study.

During the interviews, it quickly became apparent which themes were crucial to focus on. Many research participants mentioned the same key concepts. Through the interview process, individuals made clear the level of importance of each of these issues.

I attempted to reflect the weight of each topic in my analysis. The most commonly mentioned themes include: cultural survival, western capitalism, economic independence, sovereignty, education, language, Indian misrepresentation, culturally appropriate development strategies, and alternative methods of development. This list does not reflect order of importance, nor is it exhaustive of the positive and negative impacts of tribal gaming on Pueblo people, but it does provide a short glimpse of what type of concepts we will be exploring throughout the following pages.

UNDERSTANDING PUEBLO CULTURE

For Native American people, culture is the overlying term that embodies heritage, faith, religion, language, spirituality, kinship, place, and way of life. To lose culture does not mean to simply lose one of these dimensions, but to lose much more than that. American Indian culture is interconnected and interwoven through the past and the present. All dimensions are necessary to sustain the traditional way of life. For this reason, the broader term “culture” is extremely sensitive to outside influence. Native culture, Pueblo culture in particular is highly sheltered by Native people. Losing culture is much more than just losing a pastime. It is losing a way of life, an identity within the world, a language that embodies a greater understanding of the earth, a loss of time in the past and the present, and everything else in between. Native and Pueblo culture has faced numerous obstacles throughout the past five centuries. Literature above mentioned a number of handicaps that have been somewhat successful in degrading American Indian culture. Like other Native tribes in the United States, Pueblos have also encountered and continue to encounter outside influences that are misshaping, remolding, and changing the traditional way of life. Changes in culture are not always bad or eroding to Pueblo

culture, but may indicate a departure from traditional cultural methods. The 21st century presents a spectrum of new influences that could have a penetrating impact on Pueblo culture. Technology, media, modern assimilation tactics, and various other forces are making their way into the Pueblo community. Gaming, too, is a modern-day influence on Pueblo culture, and there is no denying that tribal gaming is flooding Pueblo communities.

Each Pueblo individual and each Pueblo community has different opinions about the ties of gaming with Pueblo culture. Some Pueblo tribes have actively embraced gaming enterprises, while others have strictly banned all present and future possibilities of tribal gaming. This research sought only personal opinions, not tribal opinions, but through these interviews, it was possible to identify some reflection of their tribes' stance and relationship with tribal gaming. Most importantly, however, it is necessary to understand the individuality of research participants. Many interviewees are tribal members of gaming Pueblos, but they actively oppose their tribes' involvement with gaming enterprises. Other interviewees are tribal members of nongaming Pueblos, but actively promote the embrace of tribal gaming within their reservation. This spectrum reveals the vastness of tribal gaming in American Indian Pueblos and why it needs to be researched through such a framework.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE INDIAN GAMING REGULATORY ACT ON NEW MEXICO'S NINETEEN PUEBLOS AND ITS RELATION TO CULTURAL SURVIVAL

Eleven of New Mexico's nineteen Pueblos currently engage in tribal gaming. Though this may seem simple from a bystander's perspective, the emergence of casinos in Pueblos has been a huge source of debate since the passing of the Indian Gaming

Regulatory Act in 1988. “The cultural implications of gaming, which have only begun to emerge and still appear hazy to researchers, are likely to intersect with shifts in other realms of tribal life” (Rosenthal 2007, 107). With the establishment of casinos came the onset of capitalism, tourism, changing trends, and an ongoing list of cultural, spiritual, and ethical emotions regarding Pueblo involvement with the gaming industry. To determine the positive and negative impacts of Pueblo gaming on Pueblo culture, interview participants were asked a variety of research questions listed in Appendix B. Many of the research questions directly and indirectly inquire about Pueblo culture in relation to gaming. Such questions are listed below:

- What are your opinions about tribal gaming?
- Have local casinos limited your time in the Pueblo or with your family?
- Have you witnessed any changing trends in culture?
- Does it seem like people have spent more time out of the Pueblo?
- If so, do you believe values have changed?

Research participants had a range of responses to such questions, and their responses will be broken down thematically in the following subsections.

Jessica Cattelino, author of *High Stakes: Florida Seminole Gaming and Sovereignty* uses Bourdieu’s concept of “cultural production,” “which signals the ways that culture is delimited, valued, and generated in a power-laden field of social and economic relation” (Cattelino 2008, 32). In her research, Cattelino looked at the “field of actors and circumstances in which Seminole ‘culture’ is generated and valued” (Cattelino 2008, 32). Themes in this research project are often considered in the light of cultural production to determine positive and negative implications of tribal gaming on Pueblo culture. Development that aids cultural production promotes Native values, traditional ontology, time spent with family, language, and sacredness of cultural landscape.

Development that inhibits cultural production entails western ontological viewpoints, capitalism, individualism, and land as resource.

The Onset of Western Capitalism

A reoccurring theme throughout this study and greater world of indigenous academia is the interaction between Native way of life and the widespread regime of capitalism. Pueblo tribal members repeatedly mentioned their fear of capitalism, represented by casinos, as an ontology that is systematically oppressive to Native American culture and unsympathetic of traditional values. Historians say that western notions of modern capitalism began in the 1500s in Italy and the economic model spread through the success of the Dutch East Indian Company. From that point forward, capitalism had great influence across the old and new worlds. The seeds of capitalism were also brought to America in the fifteenth century, when western colonialists “founded” the New World and enforced notions of private ownership, building profit, seizing the American Dream, and complete reliance on the free market system. In many ways, settler colonialism was based in western capitalism, and that mentality has become the root of the American identity (Wolfe 1998).

Despite the omnipresence of capitalism across the United States, Native culture and communities have often avoided, or attempted to avoid, the grasp of American capitalism. In a number of ways, the way of life of American Indian people is the antithesis to western capitalism. Common characteristics of capitalism and a capitalist economy include class systems, motivation by profit, minimal government intervention, competition, and, primarily, the notion of individual success (Miller 2013). Such facets of life are not found in most Native American communities. On the contrary, American

Indian concepts of being and peoplehood are often against class systems, motivation by profit, and, most notably, selfishness and the idea of individual success. “Historically, Native communities have not been class-based societies, and tribal culture and holistic institutional order mitigate against the formation of a capitalist class as an explicit feature of Native reservation communities” (Hosmer and O’Neill 2004). Native way of life is based in community, and holistic and individual success is not possible without communal success. In American Indian thought, it is impossible to thrive without a healthy community, and the focus is not on personal wealth, but communal wealth.

Western notions of capitalism affect Native American communities in a number of ways outside of anthropocentric viewpoints. Native community extends beyond tribal members to the land, the elements, and all beings. To have a healthy community requires a healthy and reciprocal relationship with all necessities. This concept and way of life is not understood by western notions of capitalism, which holds no value to anything devoid of monetary value.

In Western and capitalist worldviews the cosmos lacks particular spiritual powers, and only humans have souls. The earth is spiritually inert and is a place and resource for the comfort and needs of humans, who are obligated to scatter about the earth and use its resources to transform the world. The earth is not seen as a spiritual and sacred part of the cosmos, as it is in many Native religions, but rather is viewed as a place of suffering and travail whose resources are needed for human comfort and needs. There is little need to respect the animals, plants, and other beings of the universe, since they are spiritually inert and were created to serve human needs. Capitalist philosophies see the earth as a natural resource wherein exploitation of raw materials through labor transforms raw materials into useful objects for further economic production or consumption and the creation of additional wealth. (Champagne 2004, 312)

Because of the lack of spirituality and respect for the earth, capitalism and a capitalist economy are especially threatening to Native American populations. Capitalism menaces traditional culture on all fronts. Native culture is a circle of connectivity, and attacks on

culture do not just affect one moment of linear time, but all that is the past and the present. Erin Freeland Ballantyne, author of “Dechinta Bush University: Mobilizing a knowledge economy of reciprocity, resurgence and decolonization,” writes, “Capitalism is not something that just changes people’s way of relating to the land, it changes how people *think* about land, and how our bodies *behave* with each other through land.” She goes on, “It changes ways of being, and subsequently, possibilities and pathways of becoming. Because of its abstract mechanisms of transformation (capitalism is not a thing, it is a way of being), positioning capitalism as disease/addiction is helpful” (Ballantyne 2014, 81). Capitalism, as a system, promotes discourse that is incompatible with American Indian identity and ontology. Pueblo people talk about the land as “sacred” and refer to the world as “Mother Earth”; capitalism, on the other hand, does not facilitate the practice of Native spirituality. The disagreement between capitalism and traditional Pueblo culture causes Pueblo individuals to often associate it as sickness of disease and addiction. An anonymous Pueblo tribal member says that “capitalism is not worshipping nature anymore—trees, land, and everything that provides for the world.”

Unfortunately, success in the United States is almost always determined by engagement with the capitalist system. Like the rest of the American population, Pueblo people also need money and conveniences to survive. In the state of New Mexico, Pueblo communities are among the most impoverished. Per capita income is significantly less than the population of the rest of the state, and many Pueblo individuals struggle to meet the income requirements for enjoyable living conditions (Pinel 2007). Economic distress has forced Pueblo communities to look towards economic modernization, which involves the adoption of western capitalism. “Modernity has become synonymous with capitalism,

and that narrative, a history in which Indians are portrayed as irrelevant victims of military and economic conquest, pronounces the ‘cultural death’ of indigenous people in twenty-first century America” (Hosmer and O’Neill 2004, 3). The question is if tribal gaming in Pueblos is a form of western capitalism that will ensue “cultural death” for Pueblo communities or if Pueblo nations can counterbalance negative cultural change through remediation efforts.

Duane Champagne, author of the article “Tribal Capitalism and Native Capitalists: Multiple Pathways of Native Economy” questions the emergence of capitalism within American Indian communities. He asks: will Native communities survive incorporation into the world capitalist market system? Will Native communities and individuals accept change? Will they still be Indians if they are capitalists? (Champagne 2004). Individuals involved in this study held similar views and questions towards western capitalism. A tribal member from Zia Pueblo (name not included for the sake of anonymity) was very critical towards the rise of capitalism in Pueblo communities. They spoke of tribal capitalism as putting oneself in the arena of non-Indians who are purely concerned with material wealth. This opinion matches the official policy of Zia Pueblo, which maintains a strict opposition to tribal gaming within the reservation. This viewpoint reflects one of the most common concerns of Pueblos and individuals who are against tribal gaming in their communities with the belief that material wealth will be detrimental to the values of collectivity. Historically, the lifestyles and traditions of Pueblo people directly contrast this notion of economic success, and material wealth is viewed as worthless without the prosperity of all components of Pueblo community.

Everett Chavez, former governor of Kewa (Santo Domingo) Pueblo and current member of the tribal council, also speaks against the rise of capitalism within all Pueblo communities, especially his own tribe. During our interview, he was very clear that Pueblo people “should not sell our souls for money.” This is not merely a metaphor or figure of speech. For Pueblo people, adoption of capitalism could involve selling one’s soul, if soul is synonymous with culture.

Without a doubt, the introduction of gaming in Indian Pueblos has engaged the Pueblo communities in western capitalism. For the most part, gaming has been extremely profitable and successful for Pueblo nations. Many tribes have used this income to create community and recreation centers, health clinics, education centers, language enrichment programs, and the rebuilding of older tribal homes and facilities. Some Pueblos, such as Sandia Pueblo, have encountered such great financial success that they also distribute per capita income to their tribal members. A tribal member from Sandia Pueblo shared that per capita distribution is given to every enrolled tribal member. Dylan Bernal, also from Sandia Pueblo, writes³:

I think tribal gaming has opened the door to economic development within tribes. Without the gaming industry, the advances in healthcare, education, and housing wouldn’t have been possible. Casinos offer mass employment options for not only just tribal members, but many Albuquerque residents as well. Salaries, and the goods and services all benefit the local economy. I do think that the pueblo is evolving and even to an extent, modernizing. With a culture founded on tradition and a way of life, I cannot help but feel conflicted sometimes about the development and continued growth of the pueblo. More money, more problems.

Gaming and casino revenues generated a huge advance in economic development in Sandia Pueblo and many other local Pueblo nations. Yet, the presence of gaming has triggered a chain of economic futility for Pueblo communities and surrounding non-

³ This interview was conducted via email. Multiple interviews were conducted by email, and interviewees wrote responses for interview questions.

Native communities as well. This failure will be revealed throughout this and the following sections, which reveal the monetary power behind the gaming industry. It is no question that gaming Pueblos have improved internal and external economic conditions after constructing casinos within their reservations. While this would seem beneficial to tribal communities, many Pueblo tribal members mentioned the negative externalities of success, especially the danger associated with per capita monetary distributions.

As a people traditionally focused on community and collectivity, money did not hold a place in Pueblo culture until recently through ongoing Native assimilation into the capitalist system. Gaming brought huge revenue to the tribes, which began per capita distribution. Once per capita distributions became popular, however, many believe expectations changed within the community and some Pueblo people began adopting a capitalistic attitude. Stephen Wall writes: “I feel that the lure of easy money has grabbed the imagination of some leaders and then they promise big bucks to the community in order to get support for their dreams of becoming rich.” Many other research participants held similar opinions towards the effects of per capita income on Pueblo culture. Dylan Bernal continues:

I do believe that the money the tribe makes promotes laziness. I think to an extent, individuals are able to “get by” without going to school or working. I think this generation and future generations of Indians should be wary. It is no secret that one of the biggest problems on reservations across the nation is the abuse of drugs and alcohol. My fear is that as tribes make more and more money, individuals will have money to spend on their drugs and alcohol. Now I have to say that some may not agree with me, but through what I have seen and experienced, I know there is a correlation.

These opinions reflect that money, per capita incomes, and the capitalism associated with tribal gaming have certainly impacted Pueblo communities in significant ways. In Sandia Pueblo, many tribal members have agreed that per capita distributions have shifted the

attitudes of individuals and the community as a whole. A member of Sandia Pueblo asserts, “Per capita is harmful because it makes an individual reliant on the resources from the casino without relying on their own independence to obtain resources.” Since community is so important to Pueblo culture, this paradigm shift could be interpreted as a change in Pueblo culture. Laziness, the quest for material possessions, and competition are values foreign to traditional Pueblo culture, and, unfortunately, these trends are said to be more prominent in the community after the founding of tribal gaming within their community.

The threats of capitalism and the negative externalities of per capita distribution have led many tribes and Pueblo individuals to actively oppose gaming. Everett Chavez of Kewa Pueblo recalls that the tribe permanently decided against gaming in 1997 while he was serving in the tribal office. Kewa Pueblo was one of the first pueblos to be contacted for tribal casino gaming due to the convenient location of the reservation, but denied the offer for a number of reasons, with the issue of corruption being the main concern. Kewa Pueblo had been contacted by a third party corporation to develop tribal gaming within the confines of the reservation, but the tribal government already detected corruption at the beginning of the process. According to Chavez, it was quickly revealed that the third party was “scrupulous and not trustworthy from the background check.” That concern, in addition to a long list of cultural and political implications, caused the tribe to rule against tribal gaming in the community from that point forward. He recalled that the tribe “was very adamant that we never bring this topic up again moving forward.”

Zia Pueblo also rejects tribal gaming within their Pueblo community. Two tribal members enrolled in Zia Pueblo provided greater insight in Zia’s active opposition of

tribal gaming. To this day, Zia Pueblo is known to be one of the more traditional Pueblo communities with, according to Dillon Shije, “the highest percentage of full blooded natives living on the reservation.” Dillon Shije, a 24-year-old tribal member of Zia Pueblo pointed out that money can be “good and bad.” He said that no matter what, money raises jealousy within the community. Jealousy, in turn, increases competition and individualistic attitude of tribal members, which is extremely detrimental to traditional culture and way of life in Zia Pueblo. Another Zia tribal member (name excluded for sake of anonymity) agreed with Shije’s perspective. He voiced the many negative implications he has witnessed in other gaming tribes, primarily the “tribe will take care of us mentality.” He argues that with per capita monetary distributions from gaming, tribal members lose the drive to get a job, education, and provide for themselves. Rather, tribal members begin to “sit around and wait for the dividend payment,” and “when income stops, they will be unable to provide for themselves.” He goes on to say that engagement in tribal gaming can be looked upon as “playing the non-Indian game at the highest level.” According to this tribal member, having a casino on reservation lands and yielding to western capitalism is playing the non-Indian game, and doing so harms the purity and practice of traditional Pueblo culture.

Western Capitalism as a Negative Influence on Traditional Pueblo Culture

Many research participants agreed that per capita distributions, increased competition, the onset of individualistic attitudes and perspectives, jealousy, greed, and laziness caused by tribal gaming are the changes most damaging to traditional Pueblo culture. In most cases, these trends were viewed as purely negative implications on culture. While having money within the community can be good, it seems to be

consistently outweighed by the bad. Julia Wall, a 22-year-old tribal member from Jemez Pueblo, writes: “Personally I do not approve of tribal gaming. It can be proven, Pueblo after Pueblo, after one gains a gambling entity it detracts from cultural emphasis and curiosity, centralizes money and power, and essentially contradicts traditional beliefs and value systems.” Later on in the interview, Julia writes: “Friends of mine that receive per diem don’t take initiative to get their education or get a job, it becomes a crutch from them to rely on. How will we help our people and culture when we can’t get out of tunnel vision focused on money? Will we begin to dig up our ancestral sites for oil?” Julia gets at a very scary reality dealing with the onset of western capitalism on traditional Pueblo life-ways. Money, especially monetary distributions within Pueblo communities, are already proving to have some damaging effect on Pueblo culture. Moreover, per-capita monetary distributions are exclusively tied to tribal gaming, and not other devices of western capitalism, meaning there are no other modern capitalist practices that generate per capita distributions in such a way or introduce such levels of capitalism into the Pueblo community. With this being said, tribal gaming is detrimental to traditional Pueblo culture, and, unfortunately, this is just the beginning. In addition to the vices of money, gaming detracts Pueblo tribal members from the community, which limits time with family, participation in social events, and language proficiency, all of which are necessary for the preservation and inheritance of Pueblo culture.

Many interviewees are raising concern that tribal members are dedicating more time and energy towards gambling, rather than the engagement in traditional practices that are necessary for both cultural and social participation. Time away from the Pueblo and time away from the family are corrosive to Pueblo culture. Not only is community

involvement central to culture, but stories are not being passed down, and younger generations are often not given exposure to traditional language and sacred teachings. Many of the younger research participants reported their grandparents spending greater time at the casinos than at home with the family. Research participants also shared more extreme cases, where tribal members are gambling Pueblo keepsakes at the reservation casinos. An interviewee said, “As a Pueblo person, many of us take a lifetime to accumulate necklaces, pottery, and everything else we hold sacred, and that is so dear to our culture. Now there are stories of grandmothers going to casinos having three or four necklaces on them. They will put their necklace on non-Indians and get money from it for their gambling habits. That necklace was valuable to the family.” Although this example is more serious than typical trends, it demonstrates the ethic of tribal gaming on traditional Pueblo culture. Tribal members reveal the dimensionality of gaming’s influence on Pueblo culture, including all nuisances ranging from time away from the family to the questionable practice of gambling important family possessions.

Importance of Traditional Language

Less time with the family and less time in the community also harm the perpetuity of traditional language, which nearly every research participant agreed is the most necessary component in preserving Pueblo culture. Different from most other language systems, Pueblo language dialects are embedded with religion, spirituality, kinship, familiarity of place, and the many other characteristics of culture that were mentioned in the above section. Enrique Salmón writes, “Food, farming, refugia, resilience, and biocultural diversity cannot exist without the language, without community, and without those that speak it through their heartfelt words that uphold the cultures that give voice to

the lands” (Salmón 2012, 105). Language serves as a cohesion for the community and Pueblo languages are the only way to carry out traditional ceremonial practices. In regard to the importance of Pueblo language to Pueblo culture, Dylan Bernal writes:

I think the single biggest problem culturally has everything to do with language. There are fewer speakers today. Given that my tribe is so close to the city, learning English first was mandatory in being able to communicate with everyone outside the rez. History has been against us no doubt, but that is no excuse anymore. If our language dies, our religion dies. Plain and simple.

Other tribal members from multiple different Pueblos agreed with Bernal. Interviews revealed that the practice of gaming may be detrimental to language preservation. When tribal members are pulled away from the Pueblo and their families for capitalist purposes and gambling addiction, it is harmful to Pueblo way of life and the practice of traditional language.

In this regard, gaming is a function of capitalism as it lacks cultural understanding. The negative implications of Pueblo gaming are detrimental to many traditional belief and value systems that are central to the culture. Tribal gaming is a youthful enterprise and has only been in existence and practice for the last three decades. Some implications, such as per capita monetary distributions, are extremely new within the community, and it is quite possible that we are witnessing just the beginning of the negative implications they will have on future generations.

Despite the new presence of tribal gaming and capitalism in Pueblo communities, many tribes and individuals recognize the negative implications that these mechanisms have on their culture. Nearly all individuals interviewed in this study are opinionated against per capita monetary distributions and the other negative externalities that are erosive of their culture and communities. Many of these individuals are opposed to

anything that could be detrimental to Pueblo life. Almost every research participant outright mentioned or hinted at the importance of their traditional culture, which is far more valuable to Pueblo people than the burden of capitalist success. In many ways, Pueblo resistance against capitalism and material wealth reflects the strength of Pueblo culture and values. Even in the 21st century, Pueblo communities value and will continue to value their culture, community, tradition, and language more than the strains of financial prosperity. For this reason, the ethics of tribal gaming must be questioned in accordance with traditional Pueblo culture. Information below will provide further positive and negative implications of Pueblo gaming in addition to its agreement with the environmental justice movement and possible alternative forms of culturally appropriate economic development.

Economic Independence

Tribal gaming has provided Indian Pueblos increased economic independence, but economic success often comes at the expense of Pueblo culture. Economic growth is limited given the structural institution of settler colonialism. Imperialism, the dominance of capitalism, and the trust relationship between the federal government and American Indian nations have engendered a dependency relationship between Native people and the American political and societal systems (Wolfe 1998). While Native culture and traditional values are not dependent upon the greater United States, the seizure of economic success, profit, and resources is entirely characterized by a dependency relationship. The dependency relationship is largely why Native American people suffer such extreme levels of poverty on Indian reservations. (Hosmer and O'Neill 2004).

In many ways, the dependency relationship is a result of the structural legacy of settler colonialism. In the United States, settler colonialism is the influence behind the federal policy, social structure, economic conditions, and various other devices impacting Native communities. At the founding of America, the United States viewed tribes as dependent nations. This is evident in the Supreme Court Case *Cherokee Nation vs. Georgia*, in which Chief Justice John Marshall termed tribes as “domestic dependent nations.” Poor economic conditions in the present continue the dependency relationship, and many tribal nations do not have the opportunity to provide for themselves financially. American Indian people have routinely been victimized by economic and social devices that have led to extremely marginalized conditions. Tribal reservations suffer from severe amounts of unemployment, poverty, poor health conditions, lack of education, and violence.

Tribal gaming operations are meant to offer Native communities a strike at economic independence. Tribal gaming was created by the United States government as a means to generate income on reservations without direct government monetary assistance. With the advent of tribal gaming, the United States government would not have the same fiscal responsibility for tribal nations. Additionally, greater chances of tribal self-determination would be granted to Native American communities. Unfortunately, the historical dependency relationship between American Indian nations and the United States government left tribes with limited choices. Many tribal nations, suffering through poverty, disease, lack of social services, geographic limitations, and even racism, have no choice but to partake in gaming and the construction of casinos on their reservations.

Given our current policies, Native Americans have little choice but to embark, where possible, in casino operations as a viable opportunity to make money. Without economic independence, Native Americans are caught in a systematic cycle of oppression, poverty, and marginalization that has existed since the earliest colonial times. Without economic independence, Native Americans are not able to participate in mainstream party politics, and certainly not able to participate in capitalistic enterprises. Casino operations offer, at this moment in history, the only reasonable opportunity for Native Americans to achieve any semblance of respect or equity in our dominant society. (Darian-Smith 2003, 52)

Casino operations are, in many ways, the only tactic to achieve economic independence. Most other financial enterprises would not be successful on reservations for a number of reasons. Geographic isolation and the lack of income to partake in investment opportunities are among the primary reasons why tribal reservations are unable to engage in various business opportunities. Additionally, issues of trust land, treaty rights, and jurisdiction limit tribal opportunity. Cattelino writes: “Unlike many other nations, American Indian tribes generally lack an economic base (of population, taxable property, and individual wealth) sufficient to generate revenues through taxation. Because reservations are federal trust lands, tribes cannot offer land as collateral in order to secure loans” (Cattelino 2008, 31). Gaming, however, defies such limitations. Many casino operations become known travel destinations, and third party corporations are willing to invest in tribal gaming knowing the future success of the enterprise. Thus, tribal gaming truly has become one of the only options for success, and the possibility of a favorable outcome is very alluring to tribal nations who are suffering from inferior economic conditions.

With the power of gaming, American Indians now have some level of control, a liberty that has been denied to them since the onset of colonial invasion. Now, American Indian people are viewed as an economic force to be dealt with in the United States

business world. Prior to gaming, Native communities and tribal governments were forced to react to actions and policies enforced by the federal government. Revenue from tribal gaming has reversed that pattern, and the United States government is being forced to respond to tribal governments and the wishes of tribal enterprises. This is entirely attributed to the economic success that gaming has had for hundreds of tribal nations throughout the United States. This possibility of economic independence is necessary for both a presence in formal party politics and the means to sustain American Indian culture and heritage (Darian-Smith 2003).

Research among New Mexico Pueblo tribal members revealed the same findings. Interview participants disclosed that prior to gaming, tribes could not get any attention from the banks and were living entirely off of federal trust money. Once gaming came in, however, casinos started financing Pueblo ventures. Now, tribes and tribal members are granted attention from banks and the economic world. For the first time ever, pueblos are engaged in the open market and have increased economic and political power. An anonymous Pueblo tribal member said “we had no political or economic power before casinos.” After the advances of the IGRA, Pueblo nations hold lobbying power in state legislature, which is extremely beneficial to the present and future social and economic conditions for Pueblo people.

Economic independence of Pueblo nations also allowed tribes to reform and renew programs within their own communities. Many Pueblos have instituted various social services within their reservations including: new health facilities, education facilities, education assistance programs, language development programs, and many other cultural development programs that are solely focused on protecting and

revitalizing traditional Pueblo culture. Sandia Pueblo has dedicated tremendous efforts and amounts of money towards cultural, social, and economic programs within their tribal community. For example, education programs within the reservation have engendered one of the highest school attendance percentages among all Native communities. Eighty percent of Sandia's tribal youth are attending private schools in the local metropolitan area, which is entirely paid for by the tribal government (Conner and Taggart 2009). Most academic changes among Pueblo youth can be directly attributed to the practice of tribal gaming. Dedicating money to Pueblo education programs is extremely beneficial to present and future success of Pueblo nations.

The education of Native-American youth is a direct investment in the future economic and social well-being of the communities they are from. Without educated leaders to make sound economic decisions, many of the successes of Indian gaming may go mismanaged and greatly underutilized." (Conner and Taggart 2009, 68)

In addition to education programs, the income generated from tribal gaming has also given Sandia Pueblo the resources to construct a recreational center, new health and social facilities, language programs, environmental protection, and various other enterprises that have advanced the community economically and socially.

Economic development and gaming can often be viewed as a means to an end. Gaming, especially, is a way to support the local reservation community, retain tribal members, and promote viable and self-supporting Native communities. (Champagne 2004, 311)

In many ways, this seems to hold true for Sandia Pueblo. Although research participants enrolled in Sandia were not completely in support of the gaming industry within their reservation, they all agreed that gaming has ultimately made great developments for their tribe and community.

Despite the positive implications of tribal gaming for Pueblo people, interviewees also focused on a number of social drawbacks that gaming has on their communities. In some ways, economic independence can also breed corruption. Many interviewees involved in this study complained of ill-management and complete lack of transparency in fiscal conduct. The most common intra-Pueblo grievance is that many tribal council members do not have adequate education to manage the complexities of Pueblo gaming. A tribal member enrolled in Santa Clara Pueblo said “Tribal gaming is okay if they actually share the money with the tribal members, but in Santa Clara Pueblo they have not received a penny.” They complained that Santa Clara has a “beautiful casino with a convention center and hotel, but when people graduate from college they still have to pay to have a reception there.” The interviewee also told a story of a Santa Clara woman turning 100-years-old who was unable to have her birthday party at the casino because she could not afford it. “The woman and her husband dedicated their lives to the tribe and serving on the tribal council, but did not see the benefits of the casinos, even during the achievement of turning 100 years old.”

According to the research participant, tribal gaming in Santa Clara does not work for two reasons: tribal members are not seeing money generated from the casino and tribal members do not have access to the casino despite its tribal affiliation and their tribal enrollment. The interviewee revealed that money generated from tribal gaming is only going into the pockets of certain people, and they can sense corruption growing within their Pueblo community. They said: “[The tribe] could use that money to fund language programs to the maximum. They pay the Tewa language programs very poorly. Money could be used to up the salaries and building a facility where people can go to

share stories, words, and culture. Those kinds of things are not being done.” They continue, “Gaming could be a wonderful thing if they use the money for the right thing. Increase trust land, lands that are ancestral lands, and working to try to get them back.” Using this interviewee’s lens of cultural values to judge economic actions, there are culturally appropriate focuses to spend money on. Examples of such focuses include cultural participation programs, language education, social and health services, and monetary assistance for life necessities.⁴ With that being said, it is questionable whom Santa Clara casino is actually benefitting. However, it is necessary to keep in mind that this is just one case. According to the research participant, “It is up to the tribal council and each tribal council is different...Good things can happen, but they are not happening in Santa Clara.” Moreover, “it makes a big difference when you have an educated or undereducated council.”

Evelyn Blanchard, a 77-year-old tribal member of Laguna Pueblo, has a similar opinion towards tribal gaming within her Pueblo. When asked “Do you think gaming industry has changed the mindset of Pueblo people?” she responded:

Yes, on the one hand, the gaming industry has provided economic opportunity for the Pueblo in the positive sense. On the other, some Pueblo residents are concerned that a corporate mindset has infringed on the relationship between the people and its government. Many people feel left out, their voices not heard, as a consequence of the corporate nature of pueblo enterprises.

When analyzing such responses, it seems that Pueblo gaming can be beneficial and encouraged by tribal members, but only if done so correctly, by employing trust, transparency, and Pueblo values into monetary judgment. Unfortunately, there is not an easy fix to this issue as well. While most Pueblos do not operate by a tribal constitution,

⁴ Examples gathered through collaboration and analysis of the responses of all research participants.

there are many other laws and regulations that perpetuate levels of corruption within Pueblo communities, and such patterns cannot be erased overnight. Many interviewees voiced their helplessness in approaching this topic and could not provide suggestions that would solve this ongoing problem. I, however, believe that there are solutions that can be made to solve this dispute. If tribal council members receive greater levels of education, in addition to adhering tribal decision-making to Pueblo cultures and values, the entire community could benefit from the practice of Pueblo gaming on their reservation.

Many casinos have been tremendously beneficial towards economic independence, but it has become apparent that economic success is also an issue of grief and concern. Interviewees voiced their concern that the United States government would incorrectly interpret tribal monetary needs because of tribal gaming. Casinos have brought wealth to a small number of tribes, but Indian gaming could prove to be catastrophic for Indian health if public perception of American Indians as gambling moguls dissolves the obligation felt by Congress to provide care for them. Although gaming has been successful for some nations, that does not mean that tribes are able to operate without continuous government assistance. This is necessary not only for the salient preservation of historical treaty rights, but also in respect to the trust relationship that the federal government holds with American Indian sovereign nations.

Despite the achievement of some economic independence, Pueblo nations are still below the average when considering poverty, unemployment, and social and health services. It is still the case that all Pueblos and tribes in New Mexico fell far short of the national and state norms in 2000, a plight confronting all Indian Country (Conner and Taggart 2009). “Hence, while gaming may bring economic gains it is by no means a

panacea for addressing the complex financial conditions facing Native Nations” (Conner and Taggart 2009, 66). The question remains: can tribes become economically independent (of the federal government) through casinos? When viewing the historical context in addition to the positive and negative implications of gaming on Pueblo nations, it seems as though gaming, by nature, is an economically dependent function. Although several interview quotes suggest the opposite—that gaming gives economic independence to Pueblos—looking at gaming contextually through a historical lens highlights the limitations of economic independence while also recognizing its success.

Examining economic independence through a cultural lens also identifies the negative externalities of gaming. Economic independence is a result of capitalism, which has already been revealed to be harmful to Pueblo culture and Pueblo tradition. Evelyn Blanchard writes:

Tribal gaming was established to provide economic opportunity for tribes who did not have sufficient natural resources to support the well-being of their communities. Gaming provides jobs and profits that can be used for income-producing investments. I do have concern about the changes in social texture that have resulted from the establishment of gaming.

Although gaming may strengthen Pueblo economies, it could be at the expense of Pueblo culture. With that being said, there are more culturally appropriate development strategies that tribes can undertake. To understand alternative strategies, however, it is necessary to report the various other troubles associated with tribal gaming in Pueblo reservations.

Sovereignty

Through research gathered in this study, Pueblo tribal members reveal that gambling, by its capitalist nature, is an issue of American Indian sovereignty. When choosing whether or not to partake in tribal gaming, Pueblos look at sovereignty as a deciding factor in their business plan. Pueblo people associate sovereignty as a form of

control, pride, power, and respect within the eyes of the United States federal government and other Native nations. Sovereignty also proves to be a component of Pueblo culture in that having increased sovereignty is considered synonymous to increased self-determination, which is believed to be beneficial to the practice and preservation of traditional Pueblo culture. Though in many ways tribal gaming seems to benefit sovereignty through fostering economic independence, tribal gaming also limits sovereignty because it is a capitalist practice instituted by the United States federal government that hinders the ability of Pueblo decision-making. Through the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act, state and federal governments are controlling economic and social development within Indian and Pueblo reservations.

The ability to practice gaming and the details of Tribal State Compacts help identify a few of the many complications in understanding American Indian sovereignty, yet the complexities are much more extensive. The Indian Gaming Regulatory Act was created to enhance tribal self-determination, which also entails a government to government acknowledgement of sovereignty, increased economic independence, and increased leadership of tribal nations. Historically, the definition of sovereignty within the United States has oscillated throughout the reign of settler colonialism. Fluctuations of the term are highlighted in the literature review, but it can be broken down into time periods and legislation when the government supports the government-to-government relationship with tribal nations, and periods and legislation when the government does not. In more recent decades, Indian Country is witnessing an era where economic development serves as the determinant of American Indian sovereignty. The IGRA supports this modern capitalist doctrine, and the declaration of this policy maintains the

purpose of the act is “to provide a statutory basis for the operation of gaming by Indian tribes as a means of promoting tribal economic development, self-sufficiency, and strong tribal governments.” From this statement, it is possible to extract the notion that sovereignty, in the eyes of the United States government, is directly correlated to capitalist and economic advancement.

Although the ties of sovereignty and capitalism do not account for the traditional identity of Native American cultures, the era of economic advancement is, in many ways, the most advantageous time period for Indian Country. The section above revealed the economic independence that tribal gaming has brought Native American nations. With economic advancement, tribes have a greater role in the federal and state playing fields. Greater power in these fields implies greater sovereignty of tribal nations. Duane Champagne, author of “Tribal Capitalism and Native Capitalists: Multiple Pathways of Native Economy,” writes:

Some Native leaders argue that the only way to uphold cultural and political sovereignty is through capitalist economic development. The rapid movement toward gaming enterprises since 1990 illustrates this point. Gaming enterprises have become a means for some Native communities to quickly accumulate capital. This wealth is often used to rebuild tribal social and economic enterprises and preserve tribal cultures and institutions. (Champagne 2004, 310)

While this may be applicable to tribes across the country, we are looking at this pattern specifically in New Mexico’s eleven gaming Pueblos. All research participants involved in this study maintained that Pueblo gaming has enabled Pueblo sovereignty for a number of reasons. Such reasons provided are all based in themes of control, pride, power, respect, and the positive results of new financial opportunity.

To begin examining why Pueblo gaming has enabled tribal sovereignty, we will first examine the concept of “control.” Historically, since the 1500s, American Indian

peoples had very little control over their futures, their ability to reside in historical homelands, their ability to practice traditional religion and ceremonial doings, and countless other rights and freedoms that were granted to American citizens, but often denied to Native American communities. Darian-Smith, writes, “Gaming on reservations allowed Native Americans, for the first time, to envisage a real possibility of taking charge of their own futures and well-being” (Darian-Smith 2003, 65). Countless authors (Akee, Spilde, and Taylor 2015; Darian-Smith 2003; Miller 2013; Conner and Taggart 2009; Hosmer and O’Neill 2004), data trends, and research gathered from this specific study reveal the success that tribal gaming has brought Native and Pueblo communities. Darian-Smith corroborates, “At the moment gaming provides the only real option for native peoples to gain legal and political sovereignty, assert their unique cultural identities, and secure treatment as social equals to their non-native fellow citizens” (Darian-Smith 2003, 65). Although modern tribal gaming is a creation of the federal government, tribes now have an option to partake in a business opportunity specifically granted to sovereign Native nations. Up until the passing of the IGRA in 1988, tribes had virtually no economic opportunity that was protected by the federal government, acknowledged tribal sovereignty, and accounted for the limited opportunities for tribal business in consideration of the geographical separation of tribal reservations and urban population centers. Gaming however, defies such patterns, and permits huge economic, social, and political advancement for Native American nations. Tribes now have the ability and opportunity to engage in an enterprise that has a low rate of economic failure. Moreover, the decision to pursue this enterprise is in the hands of the tribe, and American Indian nations do not need to rely on other sources of corporate and government support

that typically do not meet the basic necessities of tribal communities. Joseph. G.

Jorgensen, author of “Gaming and Recent American Indian Economic Development,” expresses:

Indian Tribes have some options not available heretofore. It is no longer the case that non-tribal-owned companies and corporations whose offices are located long distances from tribal reservations own or control all the businesses operating on reservations, draining the profits from the reservation to their corporate headquarters, keeping the books, and dribbling back to Indian tribes some crumbs in the form of royalties, a few jobs, or less income. (Jorgensen 1998, n.p.)

Both literature and research data reveal that Indian casinos are greatly lifting local reservation economies. In many ways, the IGRA and benefits associated with tribal gaming are the best economic assistance that the United States government has given to Indian Country. Darian-Smith writes, “Indian gaming presents new directions in Native Americans’ ability to build independent arenas of economic and political significance within the wider authority of the United States” (Darian-Smith 2003, 66). Although the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act is a result of United States policy making, the IGRA does promote levels of sovereignty, economic self-determination, and American Indian leadership that defy the historical relationship of Indian treatment. The IGRA does not reverse the corruption of United States history, but the installment of gaming on reservations and the success of the enterprises forces a reevaluation of the modern relationship between the United States government and sovereign tribal nations. For that reason, gaming is considered to be one of the most pivotal changes in modern Native and Pueblo history (Darian-Smith 2003).

When Pueblo tribal members were asked “Do you think gaming has limited or enabled tribal sovereignty?” Pueblo individuals shed knowledge on this concept in light of their own communities and personal testimonies. Nearly all interviewees suggested

that they have given thought to Pueblo sovereignty before and agreed that it has promoted Pueblo sovereignty in one way or another. Pueblo people have a distinct understanding of the term ‘sovereignty’ that entails economic, political, and cultural power. Specifically, the use of the term sovereignty indicates self-determination, governmental power and authority, economic independence, societal independence, and the ability for the community to engage in decision-making that abides by Pueblo values and adherence to traditional methods. Pueblo people believe sovereignty to be beneficial to the practice and preservation of traditional Pueblo culture because they have the power and authority of self-determination. The strength and commitment to Pueblo culture guides self-determination and the decision-making and agency of Pueblo governments. Thus, for Pueblo people, increased sovereignty typically indicates greater power and authority to protect culture and what is sacred.

Individuals from gaming Pueblos were quick to profess the positive relationship that gaming has on Pueblo sovereignty. Evelyn Blanchard of Laguna Pueblo asserts:

I think that gaming has enabled American Indian sovereignty. It has provided the financial means to acquire needed resources for the people and to defend itself against threats from the outside. It has, to a great extent, enlarged the playing field in tribal/state relations resulting in a stronger Pueblo voice in this relationship as a consequence of the revenues that tribal gaming brings to the state’s coffers.

Dylan Bernal of Sandia Pueblo writes, “I don’t think gaming has limited our sovereignty at all; in fact, we are able to grow and be more independent as a society.” Another tribal member agreed that gaming is “the best thing to happen to Pueblo sovereignty.”

Members of these tribes disclosed that gaming revenue has allowed their Pueblos to pursue various social, economic, and cultural practices that have benefitted the community, which is interpreted as increased sovereignty.

In contrast to these statements that casinos support Native sovereignty, some research participants expressed concern that gaming is the “wrong type of sovereignty”, and that it is false judgment to assume that gaming has enabled sovereignty when there are so many negative implications at play. Julia Wall of Jemez Pueblo says:

I think that gaming has continued to perpetuate the idea of sovereignty. By making money we have some sovereignty but still we are enabling a sort of handicap to our people. It just a facade created for us to think that we are in control of our own entities, but still having to rely on the Federal Government. Never obtaining true sovereignty. There are so many fields out there that could be invested in such as sustainable energy, environmental law, teaching, what have you, all these things can help our people and the Earth way more than any gambling entity would. It's just that gaming is instant money.

Having money and casino operations does provide tribes greater control over their community and increased respect from federal and state governments, but such benefits do not come without a list of consequences. A tribal member of Sandia exposed,

“Gaming and sovereignty is great for our tribe, but that does not overcome all the bad.”

The above sections revealed the implications of capitalism, economic advancement, and per capita monetary distributions caused directly by casino enterprises. Unfortunately, these issues come at the cost of Pueblo gaming as an exercise of sovereignty. Tribal members from gaming pueblos agree that sovereignty is one benefit of tribal gaming, but is accompanied many cultural and social costs. It is impossible to have increased sovereignty without some measure of sacrifice. Furthermore, the federal and state oversight of tribal gaming defies American Indian sovereignty. The structural ethic of Indian gaming limits economic, political, and cultural sovereignty.

Racial Myth and Stereotype of American Indian People and Tribal Gaming: Pueblo Fear of Misrepresentation

American Indian culture and identity are competing with myths and stereotypes of Native people. Casinos reinforce myths and stereotypes, causing many Pueblo people to be fearful of misrepresentation and the misinterpretation of traditional Pueblo culture. Historically, American government and society have created various myths about how Native people ought to act and behave (Darian-Smith 2003). A “myth,” defined by Ronald Wright, is “an arrangement of the past, whether real or imagined, in patterns that resonate with a culture’s deepest values and aspirations. Myths create and reinforce archetypes so taken for granted, so seemingly axiomatic, that they go unchallenged. Myths are fraught with meaning that we live and die by them. They are maps by which cultures navigate through time” (Wright 1993, 5). Myths about Native American people reinforce ancient stereotypes about the American Indian. Although many myths have changed over the course of time, “there are certain myths and themes that have remained relatively constant in how the dominant Euro-American population viewed, and continues to view, the indigenous communities of this country” (Darian-Smith 2003, 15). It is important and necessary to identify the current role of these myths in relation to the controversy of Indian gaming.

The structural institution of settler colonialism is perpetuated through the present and is especially evident when considering the modern myths and stereotypes that non-Natives maintain about Native people. “The myth of Indians being profoundly different from whites and not part of modern society continues to saturate popular dominant attitudes towards this country’s indigenous populations” (Alston et al. 1992, 147). In regards to gaming, there are two myths at play. The first has to do with the historical mistaken belief that Native Americans should not have a role in “corporate America and

would not survive in any case if they tried to become successful capitalists” (Darian-Smith 2003, 17). The second myth commonly associated with gaming is the stereotype that all American Indian tribes and all American Indian peoples are rich because of casino money. Both myths and stereotypes are detrimental to the identity of Native American people and the economic and social success of Native nations. Tribes across the country battle with stereotypes of gaming (Cattelino 2008), and the grasp of social misrepresentation penetrates the Pueblo nations of the Southwest as well.

Most interviewees involved in this study mentioned a fear of misrepresentation and the negative implications of common American Indian myths and stereotypes associated with tribal gaming. Because of gaming, local non-Natives and greater American society make the assumption that Native people are “rich,” “well-off,” or “wealthy” because of gaming operations. Smith writes, “A rich Indian is considered somehow inauthentic and not ‘real;’ such an image unsettles popular preconceptions of how Native Americans ‘are supposed to be’” (Darian-Smith 2003, 98). “Rich Indian” stereotypes stem from a question of Native Americans’ role in economy and politics and a denial of the possibility of such authority.

Running lucrative casinos, bringing legal actions against government agencies and business competitors, negotiating with politicians, and influencing the future direction of mainstream political party policies are not typical ways in which our dominant society imagines Native Americans acting...Indian gaming, and the newfound economic, political, and cultural independence that it brings to some individuals and tribes, destabilizes and undermines the carefully constructed images about Native Americans that we have become used to through contemporary film and mainstream media adventures. (Darian-Smith 2003, 34)

Smith continues, “Enduring stereotypes prevent mainstream society from imagining Native American in positions of power, authority, or social prestige. It is not surprising, then, that our dominant society also finds it difficult to imagine and support what some

white Americans label ‘rich Indians’” (Darian-Smith 2003, 98). The notion of the “rich Indian” assumes that all Native American individuals are benefitting financially from the practice of Indian gaming (Spilde 1999). Such stereotype denies the fact that most tribes do not practice tribal gaming and are usually only marginally successful (Spilde 1999). In reality, very few tribes have made large amounts of money from gambling, and most federally-recognized tribes in the United States continue to suffer from widespread poverty. American Indian people on reservations suffer unemployment rates ranging from 20 to 80 percent and have the highest substandard housing rates in the United States (Miller 2013).

Many participants in these interviews were quick to remind me of the realities of tribal gaming, and that assumptions, false judgments, and incorrect stereotypes are detrimental to Native peoples and possibly American Indian sovereignty. A tribal member from Zia Pueblo said, “Mainstream has always looked at Indian people with a lot of misconceptions. People feel that tribes are well off money wise, which can cause us to lose monetary assistance.” Katharine Spilde writes:

The purpose of the Rich Indian image is to undermine tribal sovereignty. Rich Indian rhetoric provides a language of racism in two contradictory ways. First, by insisting that gaming tribes no longer need sovereign rights (including hunting and fishing rights) to be self-sufficient. This argument relies upon the notion of surplus (as defined by non-Indians) and shows up in legislation in the form of “means testing” which requires tribes to prove that they still deserve their sovereignty. Second, the Rich Indian portrayal argues that gaming tribes are less “authentically” Indian, diminishing their claims to any political independence implied by sovereign rights. The authenticity argument implied by the Rich Indian image rests on notions of class: Since “real” Indians are not wealthy, being “rich” means that some Native Americans are not sufficiently different from “other” Americans to deserve sovereign rights. (Spilde 1999)

The income generated from tribal gaming both helps and hurts Native American populations and Pueblo people. Having money, in addition to the financial and political

power that comes with it, has made remarkable advancements for Native sovereignty, but that comes at the expense of becoming the “rich Indian” and the lack of respect and government assistance that could result from such a stereotype. The patterns of Indian gaming facilitate the traditional role of United States federal policy—pushing and pulling on American Indian sovereignty. Additionally, by raising question of “realness” and “authenticity”, the “rich Indian” stereotype puts Native nations in a unique dilemma. Money and success are necessary for the community, but it comes at Native prerogative. Neither side of the “rich Indian” stereotype allows economic and cultural success, and the myth forces many tribal nations to believe their nation must either fulfill the role of the “rich Indian” or the role of the “traditional” American Indian. Moreover, there is an assumption within American society that any person of American Indian heritage has the inherent right to open a casino (Light and Rand 2005). This judgment could not be further from the truth. Unfortunately, such myths and interpretations are widespread and “public opinion is shaped by popular media accounts that often reflect prevailing stereotypes and fail to contextualize Indian gaming against the backdrop of tribal sovereignty and the history of tribe’s relationship with federal and state governments” (Light and Rand 2005, 2).

Everett Chavez, a tribal member of Kewa Pueblo, spoke about the impacts of the “rich Indian” stereotype on Pueblo people. Following the inauguration of gaming within New Mexico in the 1990s, local non-native New Mexican society began to assume that Native people, Pueblo people in particular, are wealthy. This belief, propagated by outsiders, is also perpetuated among the state and federal governments, which can be endangering to Pueblo success and the possibility of future monetary and political aid.

Moreover, Everett Chavez adds that stereotypes and negative assumptions of Pueblo people prevent outsiders from seeing “the beautiful things that go on in the Pueblos.” Rather, Pueblo people become victim of a dogma based on false pretenses. According to Chavez, “Tribes have had to swallow a huge pill. Everybody thinks Indians are rich, but the debt services on gaming loans are huge. Tribes may turn over millions of dollars, but are still losing so much.” Chavez’s statement reveals racial myths and stereotypes about Indian gaming are out of touch with the native and Pueblo reality.

All research participants involved in this study agreed that gaming has alluded to increased stereotyping of Native American and Pueblo people. Interviewees that identify as students are especially wary of negative stereotypes involving the “rich Indian” and tribal gaming. Dillon Shije of Zia Pueblo mentions that many of his peers have the “assumption that he can go to school for free.” He admits that “there are a lot of casinos, but a lot of falsity to this claim.” Dillon speaks truth to the falsity, and most Native reservations, his tribe included, are not home to tribal casinos. In actuality, for most American Indian students, it is a huge feat to attain a higher education given the structural, economic, and social defeat of Native people. When people insult students as being “Rich Indians” and attaining a free education through tribal gaming money, it denies the accomplishment of young Native individuals.

Racial myth, stereotype, and assumptions have been factors preventing some Pueblo nations from pursuing tribal gaming. Many Nations, such as Zia Pueblo, do not want to feed this stereotype by building a casino on their reservation. Other Pueblo nations do not think that myth and stereotype should play a role in Pueblo decision-making. Many research participants adopted the “we will be hurt anyway” attitude,

maintaining that it is not necessary for Pueblo people to concern themselves about myths and stereotypes when it will persist throughout non-native society either way. Racial myth and stereotype, though harmful to Native and Pueblo people, do not have influence over the practice of Native and Pueblo culture. The strength and resiliency of traditional culture is not susceptible to non-Native ridicule. Nonetheless, interviewees asserted the necessity to address the affects that Indian gaming has on the legacy of discrimination in the United States. Pueblo people's fear of misrepresentation conveys the unique economic and social factors of tribal gaming and economic development.

Changing Landscape

Engrained within Native culture exists a unique relationship with the land. The relationship between the land and American Indian people differentiates Native culture from the many other anthropocentric cultures that exist throughout the world. The main ontological distinction is that Native people view the land as a relative rather than a resource (Salmón 2012). In his book, *God is Red: A Native View of Religion*, Vine Deloria Jr. writes:

Every society needs these kinds of sacred places because they help instill a sense of social cohesion in the people and remind them of the passage of generations that have brought them to the present. A society that cannot remember and honor its past is in peril of losing its soul. Indians, because of our considerably longer tenure on this continent, have many more sacred places than do non-Indians. Many different ceremonies can be and have been held at these locations; there is both an exclusivity and an inclusiveness, depending upon the occasion and ceremony. In this classification the site is all important, but it is sanctified each time ceremonies are held and prayers offered. (Deloria 1969, 276)

The secular, "value-neutral" system of capitalism promotes the development and continued use of land, which directly harms Native American communities, views toward land, and the land itself (Deloria 1969). Seen in this light, tribal gaming and the

continuous growth of gaming enterprises on reservation land is against traditional Native ontologies about the land as a relative, rather than a resource (Salmón 2012).

Pueblo people also hold unique relationship to the land. Since Pueblos hold their creation stories in the land and have resided in the same place for thousands of years, there is a unique knowledge and kinship associated with Pueblo views towards the desert landscape. Casinos however, contradict traditional viewpoints. Dylan Bernal of Sandia Pueblo responds:

It's both inspiring and sad. Even from when I was young, the pueblo has changed so much. All the old houses that surround the plaza have been replaced. And from a traditional standpoint, it's sad to see homes with so much history and tradition destroyed. Development brings up a dichotomy. When I was young, the old men used to tell me not to disturb the land; that we should only take what we need. No doubt, the casino has a great many advantages economically. The improvement of healthcare, and money for all the departments within the tribe wouldn't be possible without the casino.

Casinos have both a qualitative and quantitative environmental impact on the land and Pueblo people. Qualitatively, casino development is disturbing huge areas of reservations that hold an extreme historical and cultural importance. The development of such land goes against traditional ontological viewpoints of the land as Mother Earth.

Quantitatively, casino enterprises also have huge ramifications. Modern casinos are often the home to resorts and golf courses as well, and the sheer size of these enterprises indicates that a huge amount of Pueblo land and ecology is being disturbed. These enterprises require enormous amounts of energy and have water necessities that exceed sustainable water usage for the desert landscape. Julia Wall of Jemez Pueblo asserts:

It truly saddens me to see Pueblo lands developed for non sustainable, non traditional, purposes. Recently Jemez received a grant for housing development, I wish rather than defaulting to HUD we could do something to where we could build adobe homes. It really does frustrate me that tradition and culture is pressed

so hard but still we chose to live in manner that reflects modern hegemonic society.

When asked “How does it feel to see development of local lands?” many research participants responded in a similar way as Julia. Rather than development of gaming enterprises, many tribal members wished for the land to be utilized in a way that would still generate income for the tribe, but also abide by traditional cultural values towards the land. In a group interview consisting of six Pueblo individuals enrolled in various tribes, I questioned what type of development would be favorable to casinos. After a brief discussion, all individuals agreed that investing in renewable and sustainable energy plant on the reservation would be ideal. As long as development is kept at distance from the community and sacred lands, having solar and wind energy on reservations would generate money for the tribe while also abiding by more traditional ontologies towards the environment by protecting ecology and the sustainability of future generations.

Tribal Gaming and Environmental Justice

Analyzing the phenomenon of changing landscape and sacred American Indian views towards Mother Earth through the modern environmental justice framework provides greater enlightenment and understanding of the environmental, social, and economic attributes of the gaming industry on Native and Pueblo people. The principles of the environmental justice movement were established by the Delegates to the First National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit held in 1991 in Washington D.C. Several of the seventeen principles created identify issues of development on Indian Country. Principles 1, 3, 5, 7, 11, and 16 are directly applicable to this research and are as follows:

- 1) Environmental Justice affirms the sacredness of Mother Earth, ecological unity and the interdependence of all species, and the right to be free from ecological destruction.
- 3) Environmental Justice mandates the right to ethical, balanced and responsible uses of land and renewable resources in the interest of a sustainable planet for humans and other living things.
- 5) Environmental Justice affirms the fundamental right to political, economic, cultural, and environmental self-determination of all peoples.
- 7) Environmental Justice demands the right to participate as equal partners at every level of decision-making, including needs assessment, planning, implementation, enforcement, and evaluation.
- 11) Environmental Justice must recognize a special legal and natural relationship of Native Peoples to the U.S. government through treaties, agreements, compacts, and covenants affirming sovereignty and self-determination.
- 16) Environmental Justice calls for the education of present and future generations which emphasizes social and environmental issues, based on our experience and an appreciation of our diverse cultural perspectives.

Not only do these principles resonate with Native American views towards sacred Mother Earth, but they also reveal the environmental and social injustice that has given cause to the necessity of tribal gaming among Indian reservations. Ideally, Native American nations should be able to pursue business and opportunity that is a result of their own decision making and cultural prerogative. Legacies of imperialism, settler colonialism, and government policy denied such possibility. It has already been revealed that the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act is a result of historical United States policy making and is an effort put forth by the federal government to reconcile historical injustices. For this reason, it is necessary to evaluate the IGRA specifically in relation to the environmental justice framework and the tribal-government relationship that has been maintained over the last five hundred years.

Environmental justice in the tribal context cannot be contemplated apart from a recognition of American Indian tribes' unique historical, political, and legal circumstances. American Indian tribes are sovereign governments, with inherent powers of self-government over their citizens and their territories. Their status as sovereign entities predates contact with European settlers. This separate status, nonetheless, was affirmed by the United States early on and is enshrined in the

U.S. Constitution. Tribes today continue to exist as distinct sovereigns within the boundaries of the United States. (Ranco et al. 2011, 221)

The United States' understanding of sovereignty permitted the enactment of the IGRA in 1988. However, as the environmental justice movement proves, the federal government's understanding of sovereignty and ethical business practices in relation to the land is inherently skewed. If American government and society had greater respect and understanding for Native culture, the economic and social health of Native people would follow a much different course, one which would deny the emergence of the IGRA and promote more appropriate development strategies. Acting in accordance with the environmental justice framework would grant the tribes the ability to have economic development in agreement with cultural and social values, especially in relation to the land and natural resources. Gaming does grant tribes greater opportunity, but such opportunity comes at the stake of Native American views toward land and the responsibility-based, rather than rights-based, approach to environmental management. Rather, Native tribes face a dilemma of choosing necessary economic development or abiding by traditional ontological viewpoints, but it is impossible to have both given the rule of the IGRA.

When interacting with federal and state regulatory structures, tribes face a cultural dilemma. On the one hand, tribes are forced to represent themselves within the current structures in a way that is recognizable to non-Indians...On the other hand, tribes must maintain and prove their distinct cultures, or risk challenges to their authority to self-govern. (Ranco et. al. 2011, 225)

The structure of settler colonialism and the ethics of the IGRA put the modern American Indian in a cultural dilemma that inhibits economic growth. The "cultural dilemma," established here by Ranco et al. (2011) is similar to the limitations caused by the "rich Indian" stereotype mentioned above. American society has given Native people the

choice to engage in business to generate money for their communities or the choice to maintain their authentic Indian identity. To change such patterns requires a huge paradigm shift recognizing implications of sovereignty, the role of capitalism, and a reformulation of Native American identity. Unfortunately, this is not an easy shift, and would require the undoing of five centuries of American Indian doctrine. Rather than focus on change of doctrine and American mindset, however, the United States federal government typically alludes Native American struggle as a result of the inability to engage in the system of western capitalism. “Traditional explanations for the lack of economic growth among Indians have typically focused on insufficient access to capital markets, low levels of education, poor endowments of natural resources, or Indians’ goals and attitudes” (Alston et al. 1992, 147). Approaching development on American Indian reservations through an environmental justice framework would disable the dominance of a western mindset and permit respect for indigenous life ways and culturally appropriate forms of political treatment and economic advancement.

Indian gaming through the principles of the environmental justice movement forces us to question the sanctity of the institutions and the intentions of the United States federal government. Native American populations identify themselves with the environmental justice movement, and, through information gathered in this study, it is evident that Pueblo people are also questioning the ethics of tribal gaming in similar light. Tribal gaming has permitted Pueblo nations to make great economic and social achievements, but Pueblo individuals question if the institution is ethical knowing the negative implications caused by gaming and the lack of concern felt by the federal government. There is no doubt that other methods of development would be preferable in

consideration of the values of the environmental justice movement. Such alternative methods of development will be discussed later on, but will be centered around the cultural sovereignty of Pueblo nations, rather than the more traditional forms of sovereignty acknowledged by the United States federal government (Light and Rand 2005). Cultural sovereignty will adhere to traditional Pueblo ontological viewpoints. According to the sociologist Duane Champagne, cultural sovereignty for a Native community is the right to adopt or reject social and cultural innovations and make social changes that are culturally compatible with Native values (Champagne 2004). Culturally appropriate development does not imply that Pueblo people should not engage in economic development. Instead, it will allow a structure where Pueblo people will not feel as though they “must choose between tradition and development” (Pinel 2007, 34). Development will come to support Pueblo identity, rather than compete with it (Pinel 2007).

STRENGTH OF PUEBLO TRADITION, STRENGTH IN PUEBLO RESILIENCE

Time and time again, Native people have proven their resiliency against genocide, forced removal, western assimilation tactics, and the discrimination and racism that characterize the United States’ treatment towards Native people. In spite of their resiliency, however, it is impossible to avoid the pervasiveness of outside America, and Native communities become susceptible to western, non-indigenous influence. Influence can come in a number of different fashions, including the aforementioned expansion of capitalism to the increasing use of technology within modern Native American reservations. Salmón writes:

Cultural changes are inevitable in any society. In fact, change should be included as part of the definition of culture. Culture is ever changing as communities and

populations of people adapt and shift to both internal and external forces. For the most part, the specific changes are not subject to polarized judgment: whether or not it is good or bad for the community or culture. Change is part of the dynamic of any given society. (Salmón 2012, 153)

Cultural change is engrained within the practice of culture itself, and it is necessary to realize this phenomenon in the light of tribal gaming. Evelyn Blanchard of Laguna Pueblo discloses: “Value change is a complex phenomenon that cannot be solely attributed to reservation-based gaming.” It is critical to understand that cultural change may come from within, just as much as it is a force acting upon Native people. In the Pueblos of New Mexico, the external and internal forces of cultural change are extremely apparent. Pueblo people, like the rest of the world, also want the luxury of modern conveniences that facilitate everyday life. Access to resources, sustainable infrastructure, technology, and entertainment are desires of nearly all Pueblo individuals. At the same time, those desires do not overcome the importance of tradition, heritage, family, language, and sacred earth. Incorporating the modern and traditional into Pueblo lives and reservations is a delicate balance, but it can be done and is being done by Pueblo people. Gaming is a prime example of such practice. As proven in this research, gaming is often criticized by Pueblo people, but, at the same time, most tribal members realize the necessity and support of casino enterprises to facilitate sovereignty, economic independence, and self-determination in the eyes of the U.S. government. Typically, Pueblos attempt to keep gaming separate from Pueblo culture. This can be seen in the sheer geographical distance that Pueblos place casinos in relation to the community and through other various efforts, such as allowing casino employees to have time off when cultural ceremonies are taking place. In his interview, Dylan Bernal focuses on the geographic separation between Sandia casino and the tribal community. “To be honest, I

think that a large number of casino goers don't have a clue where the pueblo even is.” Many other tribal members agree with this trend as well.

Currently, the most threatening impact harming Pueblo culture is the modern loss of language. The relationship between gaming and language was mentioned above, but research done in this study also proves the decline in language proficiency is due to a number of impacts, primarily having to do with the fact that the languages are inherited by oral tradition, and language is spoken less at home. This could be caused by a number of different factors, and it is impossible to identify a single variable affecting the language in such a way. Realistically, this trend is the result of a web of influences, with gaming just acting as one of the many perpetrators. With this being said, Pueblo culture holds a special dichotomy between the traditional and modern, and Pueblo gaming's relationship to culture must be considered in light of that dichotomy. As Salmón said, many cultural changes can be both good and bad for communities. Gaming, in a number of ways, proves this juxtaposition.

Analyzing the positive and negative impacts of gaming within Pueblo communities reveals many of the historical pressures Native people, especially Pueblo people, have faced over the course of history. Many of the current “problems” being associated with tribal gaming have actually persisted for centuries, and gaming has splintered such problems. Research participants agreed that there were many tribal issues before the onset of gaming. Indian gaming has highlighted many of such problems, and it would be an incorrect testimony to allude to all Pueblo strife as the byproduct of gaming. Some themes mentioned throughout the interviews reveal that positive and negative trends pressuring Pueblo culture are not exclusively tied to gaming, meaning that in this

research, tribal gaming truly does stand entirely separate from other factors in this research. During his interview, Dillon Shije, a tribal member of Zia Pueblo revealed the negative implications of technology on Pueblo life, recalling a case that took place in Zia when two adolescents took pictures of traditional Pueblo ceremonies. According to Dillon, these actions go directly against cultural tradition and preservation. Taking pictures of extremely private Pueblo ceremonies is damaging to Pueblo culture and Pueblo privacy. This story goes to show that gaming is not the only presence of western capitalism and influence within modern American Indian Pueblos, and there are many other outside pressures that have led to cultural change within Pueblo communities. Multiple trends, aspects, and events of the last five centuries have contributed to changing trends in culture within New Mexico Pueblos. Present day influences, such as cell phones, and historical influences enacted through federal policy have all been causal in cultural change.

As mentioned above, the last few centuries have created an American nation that is nearly entirely dependent on capitalist definitions of success. In the present day, it is impossible for Native American and Pueblo communities to resist this trend. Similar to non-Native survival, survival in Native Pueblos requires a steady income, having money to provide for oneself and one's family, and the comfort of necessary social services. To have such comforts requires engaging oneself in the capitalist workforce, which reveals some of the pervasiveness of the American capitalist system. A tribal member of Sandia Pueblo, writes:

I haven't noticed many trends change at all from a cultural perspective. I believe our people have maintained a strong sense of culture throughout my childhood to now and it is prospering more than ever. However, I have a very limited point-of-view, not really knowing what our culture was like before gaming was put in

place. From what I hear, gaming changed a lot of things within our tribe, but not our culture.

With that being said, it is evident that tribal gaming cannot be blamed as the only source of capitalism within New Mexico's Pueblos. There exist many other sources of obstruction within the grasp of modern American capitalist survival, and researching gaming's relationship to traditional Pueblo culture is just one of the many studies that must be done to account for cultural change.

Power of Culture, Community, Heritage, and the Oral Tradition

A reoccurring theme throughout research data pinpoints the resiliency, particularly Pueblo resiliency, of Native American people. As mentioned throughout past literature, American Indian people have endured through countless events that have been very traumatic, but still powerless compared to the bindings of Native culture, peoplehood, religion, and faith. Erin Ballantyne writes, "Our land is our life. Indigenous thought and being are not only strong enough to overcome settler colonization, but strong enough to live what lies beyond, and what can begin now, and what has never ended" (Ballantyne 2014, 84). Pueblo resiliency follows, if not exceeds, this trend. The Pueblo Revolt and Pueblo efforts to deny Spanish colonialism reveal the strength and power of the people. Although the Pueblo Revolt ultimately did not win against Spanish rule, the communities still denied the full effects of colonialism. Pueblo communities have continued to flourish in spite of the ongoing victimization of Pueblo people over the past five centuries. Moreover, the continual practice and protection of Pueblo communities serves as a source of strength for Pueblo people. Linda Smith writes: "The past, our stories, local and global, the present, our communities, cultures, languages, and social practices—all may be spaces of marginalization, but they have also become spaces of

resistance and hope” (L. T. Smith 2012, 4). In this quote, Smith is referring to the plight of all indigenous peoples, but research done in this study reveals how applicable this is to Pueblo people as well.

Interviewees revealed a great message, which unearths the resiliency of Pueblo people as a form of modern sovereignty. Through continued practice of traditional culture, Pueblo people are denying the influence and assimilation tactics of the modern world. In many ways, that is the greatest type of sovereignty there is. Although Pueblo people fear losing some aspects of culture, there is not a fear of losing culture completely. Through millennia, Pueblo people have remained united by blood, kinship, shared histories, shared culture, and shared ways of life. It is impossible to overcome such levels of unification and the satisfaction and comfort that comes with being associated with the Pueblo. Pueblo people are pulled by the community, culture, and roots that are intrinsic to Pueblo survival and happiness, and that, in turn, promotes sovereignty as a form of both happiness and strength. Dylan Bernal writes:

We all have lives outside the pueblo, with work, school and such; it’s near impossible to be completely isolated from the outside world. I personally do not live in the pueblo anymore, and I definitely am not in the pueblo as much as I used to be, but I don’t think that it’s been detrimental to my beliefs. Whenever I am called, and I can say this for all my brothers and sisters, we show up.

Dylan hints at the robustness of Pueblo community, culture, and tradition. As disclosed in the above section “Understanding Pueblo Culture,” “Losing culture is much more than just losing a pastime. It is losing a way of life, an identity within the world, a language that embodies a greater understanding of the earth, a loss of time in the past and the present, and everything else in between.” Culture acts as a form of identity for Pueblo people. Such an identity begins at birth and does not easily disappear. When something is

so engrained in identity, it is impossible to erase this concept of peoplehood despite the forces of outside society and the negative consequences of Pueblo gaming.

CULTURALLY APPROPRIATE DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

Many tribes have proven that gaming can be a business, not a culture (Cattellino 2008). Tribes, such as the Seminoles of Florida, and multiple Pueblo nations involved in this study reveal this possibility. Cattellino writes:

Some Indian nations, including Hopi, Onondoga, and (until recently) Navajo, have voted down tribal gaming in part because they view it as incompatible with the cultural life they value. Others, including most Seminoles, do not see a conflict between gaming and their cultural distinctiveness, for reasons that have much to do with their economic, political, and cultural histories. (Cattellino 2008, 29)

While tribes do attempt to make gaming a culturally appropriate development strategy, tribal gaming at its core truly cannot be deemed culturally appropriate in its entirety. This is due to its ties with capitalism and the promotion of selfhood rather than peoplehood. Many Pueblo nations have done a tremendous job at promoting cultural programs through gaming money, but, at the same time, money could also be generated in different ways that would prove to be more integral in cultural protection and preservation.

Typically, in literature, there is a tendency to characterize the economic consequences as benefits, while treating the social impacts as the costs falling on the other side of the equation (Conner and Taggart 2009). Culturally appropriate development strategies would ideally do the opposite, treating social benefits on par with cultural benefits. Doing so involves greater respect for Native culture and worldviews while adhering to an environmental justice framework. Rather than partake in economic development that follows capitalist trends, tribes can incorporate indigenous and traditional knowledge into their modernist course of action. In her study, Sandra Pinel

elaborates upon culturally appropriate development strategies. She writes: “Marginalized and minority/indigenous populations also contribute methods of comprehensive planning—combining modern and traditional institutions and forms of knowledge to rationally choose development strategies that support cultural goals” (Pinel 2007, 12). In the nineteen Pueblos of New Mexico, cultural goals became palpable throughout interviews of Pueblo tribal members. In many ways, modern cultural goals are not too different from traditional cultural goals. Pueblo ties to tradition, ceremony, language, kinship, and land are as fundamental to Pueblo peoplehood in the 21st century as in the historic past. Typical economic development strategies are characterized to be value-neutral, indicating that growth of the market system is considered universal in its denial of cultural, social, and religious factors. Culturally appropriate development strategies, however, are the opposite, and give reverence to the importance of culture-based decision making. In doing so, culturally appropriate development strategies adhere to the principles of the environmental justice movement in a way that capitalist strategy does not. Culturally appropriate development gives Native communities the ability to engage in decision-making that is free of the constraints of the United States government and Indian law policies founded in paternalism, such as the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act.

At the same time, culturally appropriate development strategies permit Native and Pueblo economic development in a way that defies racial myths and stereotypes and the obstacles of the “cultural dilemma” discussed above. By not engaging in tribal gaming, Native people can become successful without the stereotype of having done so through the practice of gaming. Additionally, Native people can avoid the “cultural dilemma” because culturally appropriate development strategies do not entail the same juxtaposition

of being “authentically Indian” or engaging in “white” capitalist practices. Rather, development can become an act of being Indian, acknowledging that poverty is not a traditional characteristic of Indian culture (Miller 2013; Darian-Smith 2003). Miller writes, “Are the tenets of any culture opposed to people starting their own business, making money to support their family, and becoming financially independent? Surely, the answer is no” (Miller 2013, 115). The Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development maintains that it is not necessary to stop being authentically Indian or ‘traditional’ to develop economically (Cornell and Kalt 1990). On the contrary, developing Native economies may be vital to sustaining American Indian cultural identities and is a necessary tool to achieve cultural integrity and self-determination enforced by tribal sovereignty (D. H. Smith 2000). Culturally appropriate development understands this necessity and entails alternative forms of development that are historically uncharacteristic to development on Indian reservation in being determined by Native people themselves.

Indian culture and history are not anti-business or anti-private property rights. Instead, historic and modern-day Indian peoples and nations were not and are not opposed to economic activities, private property rights, and entrepreneurship. To the contrary, entrepreneurship and individual Indians and their families operating their own economic activities to support themselves and their communities have been a major part of native history, culture, and economic life. The very principles of operating a business at the free will and free choice of individuals and families and then having their societies and governments protect their private rights match up well with almost all tribal cultures, traditions, and histories. (Miller 2013, 116)

Culturally appropriate development strategies are a form of indigenous decolonization of myth and stereotype and the economic development and paternalism put forth by the United States government. Contrary to past doctrine, American Indians become the sole

decision-makers on the success of their economies and the role of traditional culture in such decision-making.

Abiding by culturally appropriate development strategies adheres to the Pueblo priority of preserving Pueblo identity. While development will still occur on reservations, it will be done in a way that allows Pueblo people to continue to focus on, as one interviewee said, “tradition, dance, song, culture, and language.” This will help Pueblo communities multidimensionally. Pueblo economies will be improved, but in a way that enforces the culture, and therefore, the health and well-being of Pueblo people. As a tribal member said, “dancing is for health, welfare, and tradition.” Although gaming is not the sole contributor to changing Pueblo culture, it has proven to be a huge factor directly related to many negative implications on Pueblo culture. Culturally appropriate development strategies, on the other hand, will intend to have a purely positive influence on Pueblo culture, which is ideal to Pueblo people who have such a meaningful and critical relationship with culture and tradition.

Alternative Methods of Development

Pueblo nations are attempting to increase the market of the Pueblo economy, but most business efforts are done through tribal gaming. Gaming, though often used as economic stimulus, comes with many drawbacks that may eventually handicap economic independence, tribal sovereignty, Indian myths and stereotypes, and the overlying relationship of these trends to the practice of Pueblo culture and importance of tradition. Pueblo gaming is unsustainable for economic, social, environmental, and cultural reasons. Economically, the Indian gaming market in New Mexico has become oversaturated and the increasing amount of competition within the state will eventually

lead to marginal returns on profit. While gambling is addictive and the tribal casinos within New Mexico are hosted with a certain amount of local loyalty, the gaming business is economically unsustainable. Gaming first began in New Mexico just over two decades ago, and the signs of competition are already evident with the amount of ads in the nightly news and billboards that scale the highways. Competition within the market will only increase, which shortens the longevity of economic success for gaming. Additionally, Pueblo gaming is incongruent with social and cultural values. Historically, Pueblo people did not engage in inter-Pueblo or intra-Pueblo competition, and competitiveness emerged with the presence of capitalism in Pueblo communities. Many Pueblo tribal members already attribute gaming as detrimental to Pueblo culture. Details provided in sections above prove the direct relationship that tribal gaming has on many cultural dimensions. Per capita monetary distributions, issues of sovereignty enforced by tribal gaming, racial myths and stereotypes, and environmental degradation are all related to the practice of Pueblo gaming.

While this study does examine gaming in relation to all New Mexico Pueblos, a great takeaway from this research is the recognition of the similarities, but more importantly, the differences. Pueblo history, language, culture, and governments are all very alike, but each Pueblo maintains a very distinct individual identity. With that being said, it is impossible to argue that there is one key solution to development. Although there may be methods of development that seem to be a better alternative than gaming, it cannot and should not be said that gaming is intrinsically bad for all Pueblo nations, Pueblo culture, or Pueblo people. Pueblo nations, though similar in culture, are also very different from nation to nation. Examining the national success of Indian gaming reveals

the variation between each tribe. Some Indian casinos have generated huge amounts of income and revenue for their nation while others were forced to shut down due to a lack of success. Pueblos, specifically, have relied upon gaming development for decades now, revealing that economic development is essentially a problem of collective and sustained decision making made by each individual Pueblo nation (Pinel 2007). As individual sovereign entities, Pueblo nations have the power to choose to engage in Pueblo gaming or alternative forms of development. Despite this choice, it is still necessary for Pueblo leaders and communities to recognize the negative repercussions of tribal casinos to determine if the economic benefits of gaming outweigh the social and cultural cost.

Although the United States has presented gaming as a viable economic practice, there are countless other culturally appropriate and more sustainable enterprises that Pueblo communities have been pursuing in the last few decades. In her study, “Culture and Cash: How Two New Mexico Pueblos Combined Culture and Development,” Sandra Lee Pinel examines economic development in Zia Pueblo and Pueblo de Cochiti from the years 1980 to 2005, and their efforts to make development support, rather than compete, with traditional values and cultural institutions (Pinel 2007).

Both Zia Pueblo and Pueblo de Cochiti deny the possibility of tribal gaming within their reservations. This account will focus primarily on Zia Pueblo because of the tribe’s firm rejection of tribal gaming and their development of alternative enterprises that would obstruct rather than destruct Pueblo life. Zia Pueblo rejected the possibility of casinos, restaurants, hotels, and golf courses that were developed by neighboring Pueblos. Rather, Zia utilized its own forms of comprehensive and rational planning to create a unique development strategy (Pinel 2007). Pinel reveals that Zia’s tribal council

created four development goals for their Pueblo: (1) earn income with minimal disturbance to renewable resources; (2) learn business by investing off-reservation with equal partners; (3) purchase and sustainably manage additional resources; and (4) build self-reliant and educated youth who can hunt, farm, work outside of the community, and contribute to the sustainable way of life. Zia Pueblo promoted alternative enterprises that would bring jobs to the Pueblo and enforce time spent with the family while also generating income for the tribe and tribal individuals. Additionally, the last development goal directly appeals to the conservation and perpetuation of culture through educating Pueblo youth. Zia Pueblo, influenced by tribal administrator Peter Pino, opted for other forms of business ventures that would positively impact culture and the sacred Pueblo way of life. Pinel writes:

Although some pueblos in the area established successful casinos, Zia pueblo did not want to introduce gambling or other enterprises into the community that would require a work day that might directly compete with members' commitment to their ritual calendar and their community obligations. The planning committee considered that when tribal members work in the city, rather than at full-time jobs within the Pueblo, they adapt to these requirements while at work and shed those values for community life when at home. (Pinel 2007, 19)

By working at home on the reservation, tribal members are able to practice cultural ceremonies and language that are necessary for the preservation of Pueblo tradition. An example of a culturally appropriate business alternative involved bringing the New Mexico film industry to the Zia reservation. By allowing filmmakers on pueblo land, Zia was able to gain capital for their nation and tribal individuals. Pueblo youth volunteered to be extras on the set, and Zia Pueblo was quickly able to earn profit without a long-term commitment to "capitalist" or "western" ways. Most notably, the Pueblo was able to keep a close watch on filmmakers to ensure that the historic village and sacred sites were not

being filmed. In doing so, they could control the overall impact of development choices. In an interview conducted for this study, Dillon Shije shared that he has worked as an extra for a movie set in Zia Pueblo. He supported the idea of making money while also staying close to home. According to Dillon, filmmaking on the Pueblo is great for the community “as long as they stay away from sacred sites.”

Zia Pueblo, along with many other Indian tribes across the United States and Pueblos of New Mexico, has taken control of economic development according to Native American desires, traditions, wants, and needs. Zia Pueblo crafted a plan of development that reflects cultural and traditional concepts. In Pinel’s interview with Peter Pino, he remarks, “Business is more responsibility than a marriage and not something everyone understands the way a person understands hunting.” In many ways, enforcing alternative forms of Pueblo development requires viewing business as a responsibility, similar to how Pueblo people view the traditional responsibility of hunting. To promote cultural protection, responsibility should extend much further than the mere motivation of income. Responsibility should also entail reciprocity, obligation to culture, community, language, the wishes of Pueblo people, and an in-depth understanding of what needs to be done to sustain these obligations (Salmón 2012). Pueblo leaders and pueblo communities are accountable for abiding by their obligations to culture, peoplehood, and sacred teachings.

The decision whether to participate in a global economy or to support individual Indian entrepreneurship or specific types of businesses is for each tribal nation, community, and Indian individual to make. Careful considerations of possible tradeoffs between a reservation continuing in poverty and despair and what that does to culture and community have to be compared with the possible positive and negative aspects of economic development. (Miler 2013, 116)

As a research participant revealed, “it is not about the me and the I, but about the we and the us.” While such values have not been lost by Pueblo leaders and communities, these values must remain the key focus when considering development strategies.

At the same time, constructing culturally appropriate development strategies is not an easy endeavor. The unique history of Pueblo people and the impacts of settler colonialism enacted through United States federal policy has made Pueblo economic growth extremely difficult in practice. As revealed above, the United States typically does not adhere to the ethics of environmental justice. The ‘cultural dilemma’ established by Ranco et al. (2011) has placed Native and Pueblo leaders and communities in a position where they must choose either economic growth or the preservation of their ‘authentic’ Indian identity. Additionally, Pueblo reservations do not have the same financial and geographic abilities as elsewhere. Such setbacks, complemented by the necessity to engage in culturally appropriate strategies, creates some limitations for business opportunities.

Indian Nations and American Indian individuals face “important cultural and social issues when they are determining whether to start a business and whether to locate it on the reservation” (Miller 2013, 115). Native Americans own private business at the lowest rate per capita for any racial or ethnic group in the United States (Miller 2013). This misfortune is exemplified through the lack of private business existing on Indian reservations, including the nineteen Pueblo nations. Typically, Pueblos economies only consist of a gas station, a smoke shop, one or two family-owned convenience stores, and sometimes a tribal casino. While most Pueblos do have a health clinic and a head start and elementary school program, Pueblos are lacking other basic social and economic

services that are necessary for community health and function. Robert Miller writes of reservation disparity as a “disastrous situation for Indians and tribal governments and their economies” (Miller 2013, 113) for three crucial reasons.

First, this leads to more poverty and overall lower Indian family incomes. Second, since there are so few employers and jobs available in Indian Country, it leads to high unemployment rates. And third, the absence of thriving economies, characterized by a sufficient number of privately and publicly owned businesses in Indian Country, adds to the impoverishment of Indians and their families. (Miller 2013, 114)

To combat this situation, scholars, such as Robert Miller, preach the necessity of small, large, and privately owned businesses on reservations to replicate the economic success of greater U.S. economy (Miller 2013). An example of such business is tribal gaming. While this will contribute to economic growth and development, there are too many concerns about its negative impacts on traditional Pueblo culture. Although Miller suggests such economic development, examining Pueblo development through a cultural lens and environmental justice framework reveals why economic development on Pueblo reservations should not be treated similarly to development in the greater United States economy.

The Indian Gaming Regulatory Act requires gaming nations to commit a certain amount of gaming revenue to social and economic infrastructure. By law, gaming Pueblos are required to do the same, but there are certain efforts that will prove to be more beneficial to Pueblo nations in a cultural, social, economic, and environmental sense. To account for cultural degradation that is a result of Pueblo gaming, tribes can commit to certain measures that will limit negative cultural change. Examples of such measures, though not an exhaustive list, include education facilities, health facilities, traditional language programs, community centers that promote community involvement,

and monetary assistance to aid with the fiscal responsibility of ceremonial events and services. Interview participants revealed that many tribes have already made such efforts, which are admired by Pueblo tribal members. Individuals from both Sandia and Santa Clara Pueblos disclosed that their tribes have used gaming money for traditional language programs that will revitalize language among Pueblo youth. While many Pueblos are contributing time and monetary assistance to such programs, most research participants agree that tribal governments can make a greater effort.

Tribal members of gaming Pueblos do not wish for per capita monetary distribution as much as they wish for improvement of social and economic infrastructure. A tribal member disclosed, “Most of the time, we do not see a penny made from the casinos.” If Pueblo communities started seeing some of the benefits of having casinos on their reservations, then the enterprise may not be considered such a menace to Pueblo culture. When asked what sort of benefits they would like to see in their community, most interviewees responded with the cultural and social programs and facilities mentioned at the beginning of this paragraph in addition to everyday conveniences that Pueblos are lacking. Pueblo reservations only have drive-thru conveniences but typically do not have modern living requirements such as a laundromat or supermarket. Such services will improve the daily lives of Pueblo people and will increase the time Pueblo individuals spend at home with other community members, which positively influences Pueblo culture. Like tribal casinos, such businesses will also generate employment opportunity. Although revenue may not be on par with that made from tribal gaming, there is no risk for cultural degradation, which is a benefit in itself. Supermarkets, in particular, would be extensively advantageous for Pueblo communities. Pueblo nations

suffer from a severe epidemic of type II diabetes caused by the United States' distribution of commodity foods throughout American Indian reservations (Jones 2006). In addition to diabetes, Pueblo people also have higher rates of cardiovascular disease and obesity. Having supermarkets on Pueblo reservations would provide Pueblo people access to healthier food choices without having to travel to metropolitan areas.

In addition to the establishment of supermarkets and laundromats on Pueblo reservations, tribes that have made money from Pueblo gaming should also invest money in other business strategies that will adhere to traditional cultural values and provide additional success through the safety of economic diversification. Zia Pueblo's engagement with the film industry serves as a great example of a culturally appropriate development strategy. Filmmaking is a temporary industry that brings significant fiscal return to the Pueblo economy. Most importantly, the practice is approved by the Pueblo council and many tribal members. Moreover, in exercising independent decision-making about development, Zia Pueblo is enabling tribal sovereignty by determining an alternative development strategy that will benefit their people and nation. It is an exercise of tribal sovereignty and self-determination to decide what types of businesses should be allowed on reservations and what will be beneficial for the tribe's economy and values of the community (Miller 2013).

Individuals mentioned other business alternatives that would promote economic growth without negatively impacting the society or Pueblo culture. Already mentioned in this research was the idea of renewable energy plants on Pueblo reservations. As long as renewable energy plants are tribally-owned they would be hugely beneficial to tribes in a number of ways. Renewable energy plants would abide by traditional Native ontologies

towards sustainability while also feeding tribal income. Additionally, the presence of high-ranking jobs within Pueblo communities will diffuse the likelihood of a brain drain.

Reservation economies that can create and attract decent jobs and build adequate housing will also greatly benefit their communities and cultures by allowing Indian families to work and live on their reservations, where they can participate in and help perpetuate their cultures, communities, and languages. Many tribal citizens are eager to move home to their reservations if only they can find decent housing and employment. (Miller 2013, 4)

With more employment opportunities on the Pueblos, educated Pueblo individuals will stay in the community and use their education to benefit the success of their people.

Spending money in one's own Pueblo helps community members by supporting local business that benefits all tribal members, employing other community members, and helping create functioning economies that will keep money circulating within the Pueblo economy (Miller 2013). In this way, the development of reservation economies in line with cultural values is critical for maintaining cultural identity.

Tribes that have not already established casinos within their reservations should ideally look towards alternative methods of economic development. Gaming, though not the only cause of changing cultural trends, is a significant contributor. Tribal members of gaming Pueblos account their frustrations with capitalism, per capita distribution, false sovereignty, misrepresentation, and the lack of sustainability and respect for Mother Earth that result from casino development. Pueblos that do not yet have gaming on their reservations do not have to compete with these forces, making cultural protection and preservation easier for the communities. Nonetheless, non-gaming Pueblos should also pursue culturally appropriate development strategies. A culturally appropriate business plan for non-gaming Pueblos is similar to the necessities of gaming Pueblos. Individuals from non-gaming Pueblos also wished for the development of social and economic

infrastructure necessary for everyday Pueblo living and function. Laundromats, supermarkets, renewable energy plants, and off-reservation businesses would bring economic growth to non-gaming Pueblos while still abiding by sacred custom and traditional culture.

The responsibility falls on the shoulders of Pueblo tribal councils, community members, and young entrepreneurs. Although Pueblo people are competing with structural social and economic setbacks, Pueblo people are known for their resiliency and intellect. Everett Chavez, a past governor of Kewa Pueblo currently serving on tribal council, acknowledges the power and intellect of Pueblo communities and the need for culturally appropriate development. He says, Pueblo and Pueblo tribal councils must “look at the needs of the Pueblos.” Historically, “the effectiveness of tribal governments is not what it always should be,” but such patterns are changing through the advance of time. Pueblos and Pueblo tribal councils must learn to work with the world they have been given. He insists: “Tribes should not do the same thing to their people as the federal government did to us.” Although many Pueblo tribal members express their frustration with the tribal governments for corruption and lack of transparency, most Pueblo individuals also hold a special reverence for the decision-making of tribal councils.

As a society and culture rooted in the importance of community, Pueblo people have faith within their community to make decisions that will benefit everybody. Culturally-grounded and college-educated tribal members must serve as the intermediaries of culturally appropriate development. They must combine outside experience and traditional knowledge to make rational and comprehensive business models that apply to cultural standards (Pinel 2007).

Indian citizens and tribal governments have endured intolerable economic situations in Indian Country for far too long. The federal and state governments as well as the American public have also tolerated this situation for far too long. It is time for tribal, federal, and state governments, and Indians and U.S. citizens, to do something about it. It is time for tribes and American Indian peoples to use their historical entrepreneurial spirit to solve the economic and poverty-related issues they face. (Miller 2013, 6)

As a Pueblo tribal member said, “It is no longer okay for Natives to play victim.” It is up to Native and Pueblo governments to use their resiliency and intellect to provide for their communities and take responsibility for economic advancement that adheres to traditional beliefs.

Fortunately, progress of American Indian policy may help tribal councils provide for the success of their communities. The last few decades have granted huge advancements to Indian Country. During the civil rights era, Native American activists brought to light the ongoing injustices and atrocities committed against Native American people. The federal government reacted to American Indian activism by enacting the Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975, the Indian Child Welfare Act of 1978, the American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978, in addition to various other efforts that have somewhat improved the structure of settler colonialism that has shaped the social and economic misfortune of Native people. Despite the complexities of tribal gaming, the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act of 1988 is also an indication of some progress being made in the realm of American Indian policy.

CONCLUSION

Pueblo success is determined by practice of cultural tradition. This requires participation in community, commitment to family, knowledge of language, and attendance of ceremonial ritual. In Pueblo communities, culture is the most important

measure of success. Having money, wealth, or fame are almost valueless in the eyes of Pueblo people, and are sometimes even looked down upon by the community. Rather, respect is generated through practice of culture, and Pueblo individuals living the traditional way of life are given greater acclaim and admiration by other Pueblo community members. Pueblo definitions of success have been fixed since the beginning, and tribal elders teach younger generations through the lessons and guidance of Pueblo ancestors. These lessons have been unchanging throughout Pueblo time, and are not persuaded by modernization or the outside world. Just like the creator taught our ancestors, Pueblo elders still teach the values and necessities of living the right way to live, which is engrained through the practice of traditional culture. For Pueblo people, individual, community, and worldly success are rooted entirely in the practice of culture. Pueblo success is not measured quantitatively by numbers and fiscal prosperity, but is determined qualitatively through the health of the culture, and by extension, the health of the people. This illustrates the importance and necessity of traditional culture for Pueblo people. Although Pueblo people have proved their resiliency, there are still efforts that can be done to protect what is traditional and what is sacred. There is a permanence of losing culture, and cultural extinction should not be risked. Losing culture ultimately means destroying the opportunity for Pueblo success.

This research examined Pueblo gaming using Pueblo culture as an indicator of success. Utilizing cultural methods to look at tribal casinos and examine the onset of capitalism, economic independence, sovereignty, misrepresentation, and changing landscape allowed us to conclude that tribal gaming is not a culturally appropriate development strategy. The ontology of western capitalism promotes purely capitalist

success and the notion of value-neutrality, which disregards the rich values of Pueblo people and the importance of cultural success over monetary growth. Examining Pueblo sovereignty through a cultural lens concludes that sovereignty is a component of Pueblo culture in that having increased sovereignty is considered synonymous to increased self-determination, which is believed to be beneficial to the practice and preservation of traditional Pueblo culture. Tribal gaming limits sovereignty because it is a capitalist practice created by the United States federal government that hinders the ability of Pueblo decision-making. Using a cultural lens to examine gaming also concluded that casinos reinforce myths and stereotypes, causing many Pueblo people to be fearful of misrepresentation and the misinterpretation of traditional Pueblo culture. Furthermore, tribal gaming and the continuous growth of casinos on reservation land is against traditional Pueblo views towards the land. Unfortunately, the legacy of settler colonialism and plague of poverty across Pueblo Country force Pueblo communities to feel the necessity of tribal gaming and casino revenue. Examining this phenomenon through an environmental justice framework demonstrates the questionable ethics of tribal gaming on Native American people, specifically Pueblo people and Pueblo culture. In conclusion, tribal gaming, like most American Indian policies of the past, pushes and pulls upon the success of Pueblo people. The practice of tribal gaming has aided the economic development of many Pueblo nations, but the economic pros do not significantly outweigh the cultural cons. Alternative methods of development would provide Pueblo communities economic growth, while also understanding that cultural success is the Pueblo priority.

The future for Pueblo communities is extremely optimistic. This is partly because most Pueblo economies have not yet been developed, but also due to the resiliency of Pueblo people. Pueblo people have endured five centuries of brutality, racism, poor social and economic conditions, and the half-hearted sympathy of the United States government. If Pueblo people have endured through such hardship, it can only get better from here on out. The state of New Mexico and the federal government are slowly but surely improving American Indian policy. Tribal gaming was one effort at rectification, but repair will continue into the future through human progress and improved relations between American Indian people and non-native American society. This social growth, along with the strength of Pueblo culture and the intelligence of Pueblo people will fuel unlimited potential.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Interview Template

Verbal Consent:

Description of the research: *This research studies the relationship between Indian gaming and Pueblo Culture. To conduct research, I will interview 20-25 individuals from New Mexico Pueblos who are familiar with traditional Pueblo life and customs. I will compile and analyze interviews and write a report of findings that will be publicly accessible through the University of Colorado's website.*

I am conducting a research project investigating the cultural components of gaming and development within the Pueblo. I am conducting interviews to explore this topic, which will take 30 minutes to one hour. Your participation is voluntary and you may leave the study or skip questions if at any time you feel uncomfortable answering a question or do not want to participate. You may ask me to keep anything you say private, and not include it in the research.

Would you like to use your name or keep your responses anonymous?

Do I have permission to audio-record the interview?

Would you like to provide an e-mail address to be used for distribution of the final report?

I am also required to give you the number of University of Colorado – Boulder IRB, the Ethics Board that oversees our research: it is (303) 735-3702, in case you have any questions or concerns for them.

Do I have your permission to begin the interview?

Appendix B: Email Response Template

Hello everybody!

This is Sara Barudin from Santo Domingo Pueblo. I am finishing up my senior year at the University of Colorado at Boulder and am currently writing my senior honors thesis, which I will be defending in April. The purpose of my thesis is to explore concepts of development within American Indian Pueblos in the state of New Mexico. The primary arena of development concerns gaming operations within the reservation boundaries. Since the passing of the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act (IGRA) in 1988, gaming ventures have skyrocketed across American Indian reservations. Gaming enterprises began in Pueblo reservations at the beginning of the 1990s. Since then, numerous Pueblos have become involved in the gaming industry, and the industry is continuing to grow each year. With the advancement of the gaming industry, questions are being asked about the short-term and long-term impacts of gaming on Pueblo life, primarily Pueblo culture. The objective of this study is to determine whether or not gaming is threatening to Pueblo culture, Pueblo land, and Pueblo people. Analysis of interviews will be done using a cultural lens to examine my research questions: Has the presence of gaming adversely impacted Pueblo culture? What is the definition of growth in an economic and cultural sense? Are there preferred alternative forms of development that would provide economic growth while still preserving traditional Pueblo life?

I would greatly appreciate the opportunity to interview you for my thesis. All interviews are completely optional and must occur on a voluntary basis. You may complete the interview in person, by phone, or by email based on your personal preference. You can reach me either by email (sarabarudin@gmail.com) or by phone (505-917-1984). If you choose to complete the interview via email, it is enclosed at the end of this document. Please fill it out and return it to me. If you would prefer to conduct the interview under another setting, please let me know and accommodations can be arranged.

This project seeks to benefit local Pueblo nations. My honors thesis is intended to serve as an informational and educational study to examine gaming development and whether or not it is a culturally viable practice. The study ultimately intends to benefit the greater community. I plan to distribute my research to all individuals and Pueblos involved in the study to use as a reference in future and current decision-making about gaming and economic development practices.

Please complete the interview by March 15th to give me time to compile the information.

Thank you for all your help! I look forward to hearing back from you.

Sara Barudin

This research studies the relationship between Indian gaming and Pueblo Culture. To conduct research, I will interview 20-25 individuals from New Mexico Pueblos who are familiar with traditional Pueblo life and customs. I will compile and analyze interviews

and write a report of findings that will be publicly accessible through the University of Colorado's website. All participants of this study are volunteers, and participants can withdraw from the study at any time should they feel uncomfortable with the interviewing process. Please write your responses to the following research questions, and remember you have full right to choose not to answer any question. If you prefer to complete the interview via phone or in person, accommodations can be arranged. Lastly, the final question in this study allows you the option to remain completely anonymous in this research project. If you choose to remain anonymous, you will be given a pseudonym. All files will be kept private, codified, and in a secure location. Thank you for your participation.

Which tribe are you from?

How old are you?

Does your tribal reservation currently partake in gaming practices? If so, can you give a short description of gaming enterprises? (i.e. Does your tribe have a casino? A bingo hall? Do the casinos have attached resorts or golf courses?)

What are your opinions about tribal gaming?

Have local casinos limited your time in the Pueblo or with your family?

Have you witnessed any changing trends in culture?

Does it seem like people have spent more time out of the Pueblo?

If so, do you believe values have changed?

How does it feel to see development of local lands?

What do you think about casinos' impacts of tourism within the Pueblo? Do you think that is detrimental to culture?

Do you believe the gaming industry has changed the mindset of Pueblo people?

Does your tribe participate in alternative forms of development? Or do you wish for alternative forms of development within your Pueblo?

Do you think gaming has limited or enabled American Indian sovereignty?

Would you like to receive a written or electronic copy of my final research?

Do you wish to remain anonymous in this study?

Appendix C: Interviewee Demographics

Name	Tribe (of Enrollment)	Gender	Age
Dylan Bernal	Sandia Pueblo	Male	20-30
Evelyn Blanchard	Laguna Pueblo	Female	70-80
Frank Chaves	Sandia Pueblo	Male	50-60
Everett Chavez	Santo Domingo Pueblo	Male	60-70
Joseph Little	Mescalero Apache	Male	50-60
Charlotte Little	San Felipe and Taos Pueblos	Female	50-60
A.O. (Initials)	Pojoaque Pueblo	Male	60-70
R.O. (Initials)	Santa Clara Pueblo	Female	60-70
Norman Suazo	Acoma and Taos Pueblo	Male	60-70
Aleta Suazo	Acoma and Taos Pueblos	Female	60-70
Dillon Shije	Zia Pueblo	Male	20-30
Julia Wall	Jemez Pueblo	Female	20-30
Steve Wall	White Earth Nation	Male	
Anonymous A	Sandia Pueblo	Male	20-30
Anonymous B	Zia Pueblo	Male	60-70
Anonymous C	(Abstained)		
Anonymous D	(Abstained)		
Anonymous E	(Abstained)		

Appendix D: Population of New Mexico's Nineteen Pueblos
(Data gathered from the American community survey profile)

Tribe	Population 2008-2012 ACS 5 Year Estimates
Acoma Pueblo	3,591
Pueblo de Cochiti	1,449
Isleta Pueblo	3,551
Jemez Pueblo	1,916
Laguna Pueblo	4,284
Nambe Pueblo	1,951
Ohkay Owingeh	6,646
Picuris Pueblo	1,884
Pojoaque Pueblo	3,656
Sandia Pueblo	5,218
San Ildefonso Pueblo	1,946
San Felipe Pueblo	3,841
Santa Ana Pueblo	925
Santa Clara Pueblo	11,210
Santo Domingo Pueblo	3,110
Taos Pueblo	5,290
Tesuque Pueblo	789
Zia Pueblo	848
Zuni Pueblo	11,401

Appendix E: Net Win Per Tribe (2002-2015)

	Acoma	Isleta	Laguna	Pojoaque	Sandia	San Felipe	Ohkay Owingeh	Santa Ana	Santa Clara	Taos	Tesuque	Total Amount Paid to State
2002	\$41,690,458.03	\$92,570,892.51	\$16,996,590.17	N/A	\$110,712,288.90	\$23,379,108.34	\$22,013,523.75	\$39,235,342.74	\$17,624,399.13	\$6,923,181.00	\$25,784,911.74	\$24,375,980.11
2003	\$40,392,295	\$93,991,401	\$38,186,747	N/A	\$126,464,207	\$20,958,486	\$23,207,697	\$40,462,898	\$15,136,312	\$6,850,682	\$24,867,240	\$35,798,604.11
2004	\$36,142,385	\$89,265,534	\$85,257,997	N/A	\$133,481,396	\$20,995,600	\$23,851,387	\$41,203,790	\$17,232,394	\$7,442,257	\$25,084,702	\$29,711,012.19
2005	\$40,143,427	\$92,656,474	\$83,369,349	\$5,712,764	\$135,750,751	\$21,829,493	\$26,317,534	\$52,939,965	\$17,260,184	\$8,168,531	\$28,832,666	\$45,148,525
2006	\$42,724,137	\$96,005,327	\$87,150,532	\$25,197,857	\$155,363,044	\$21,445,042	\$27,981,625	\$62,407,841	\$19,643,362	\$9,275,412	\$23,979,860	\$51,697,644.70
2007	\$42,317,708	\$100,816,799	\$92,425,224	\$24,853,828	\$166,911,203	\$21,184,087	\$27,461,390	\$79,109,127	\$24,383,627	\$9,915,651	\$30,124,984	\$59,743,541.36
2008	\$35,926,674	\$103,258,550	\$104,417,311	\$37,073,284	\$168,269,866	\$19,679,557	\$22,544,327	\$75,843,263	\$18,516,527	\$9,325,232	\$28,220,759	\$65,257,925.64
2009	\$23,888,845	\$92,257,031	\$94,732,459	\$51,613,227	\$162,811,254	\$18,267,347	\$18,867,143	\$69,260,094	\$21,118,207	\$8,775,493	\$22,250,290	\$62,649,159
2010	\$19,948,530	\$91,158,079	\$97,590,937	\$51,041,690	\$164,008,241	\$19,232,379	\$16,917,973	\$69,587,962	\$22,534,548	\$8,725,775	\$21,802,874	\$63,779,722
2011	\$21,544,619	\$89,495,227	\$92,156,933	\$44,011,339	\$177,236,438	\$19,019,818	\$14,253,737	\$70,192,807	\$21,434,312	\$8,461,299	\$22,750,780	\$65,155,981
2012	\$16,855,699	\$89,479,853	\$95,707,696	\$57,430,605	\$178,471,000	\$19,179,158	\$13,631,594	\$73,828,379	\$21,131,186	\$8,654,948	\$21,906,593	\$68,304,421
2013	\$21,222,926	\$90,912,594	\$93,565,463	\$60,939,741	\$174,402,000	\$18,061,751	\$13,778,065	\$73,966,190	\$23,823,542	\$8,044,378	\$21,920,305	\$68,455,107
2014	\$21,831,054	\$91,178,566	\$88,452,663	\$60,784,099	\$155,889,432	\$13,997,684	\$14,115,669	\$75,065,365	\$24,298,584	\$8,048,150	\$20,676,044	\$66,399,316
2015 (Q3)	\$16,287,273	\$72,857,336	\$6,393,694	\$30,086,090 (Missing Data)	\$119,197,866	\$13,472,995	\$11,520,294	\$60,169,998	\$20,834,631	\$6,111,746	\$15,363,445	\$50,401,167