Place-based Education and Sovereignty: Traditional Arts at the Institute of American

Indian Arts

by

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation focuses on traditional arts at the Institute of American Indian Arts (IAIA) as a form of place-based education by asking the question, what is the role of traditional arts at IAIA? Through a qualitative study students, faculty, staff, and alumni were interviewed to gain their perspectives on education, traditional arts, and the role of traditional arts at IAIA. Through analysis of these interviews, it was found that participants viewed traditional arts as a form of place-based education and that these practices should play an important role at IAIA. This study also looks at critical geography and place-based practice as a form of anti-colonial praxis and an exercise of tribal sovereignty. Colonization restructures and transforms relationships with place. Neo-colonialism actively seeks to disconnect people from their relationship with the environment in which they live. A decline in relationship with places represents a direct threat to tribal sovereignty. This study calls on Indigenous people, and especially those who are Pueblo people, to actively reestablish relationships with their places so that inherent sovereignty can be preserved for future generations. This study also looks at the academic organization of IAIA and proposes a restructuring of the Academic Dean and Chief Academic Officer (AD&CAO) position to address issues of transition, efficiency, and innovation. The extensive responsibilities of this position cause several serious concerns. The policy paper proposes that the academic programs be divided thematically into 2 schools that will allow greater flexibility and adaptive practices to emerge out of the academic division at IAIA. The combination of restructuring the academic division at IAIA, my theoretical argument promoting place-based praxis as anti-colonial practice, and my research into the application of place-based programming at IAIA all support my overall goal of supporting Pueblo communities through my own work.

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SECTION 1: TRADITIONAL ARTS AT THE INSTITUTE OF AMERICAN INDIAN ARTS

Introduction

I grew up working in the fields, walking the hills, and playing in the waterways at Santa Clara Pueblo. I watched the sun rise along the Sangre de Cristo mountain range and set in the Jemez mountains each day. As the sun made its annual journey, I was reminded repeatedly that the center of my world was rooted in the dusty plaza of the Pueblo – a few feet from the doorway of my great-grandmother's home. This place, *Khapo Owingeh*, was where generations of Santa Clara Pueblo people shed the strength of their arms, legs, and hearts so that we could continue to thrive as a community. Each generation would face the challenge of contributing to that community – each member finding how their gifts or knowledge could serve the whole.

I grew up in a family of artists and thinkers who were ceaselessly seeking creative ways to understand the world and our place in it from a Pueblo perspective. By Pueblo perspective, I mean that we incorporated the idea of *Khap'o Owingeh*, or Santa Clara Pueblo, as the center of our world; as the place where we lay our path for future generations while embodying the values of caring, love, respect, humbleness, gratefulness, and striving with all one's heart. My family members often challenged norms, both intra and extra community and to their own detriment. However, those close to me also had diverse experiences: my grandmother, Rina Swentzell, lived most of her life away from the Pueblo, which helped buffer her from community criticism of some of her writing on philosophy (1990). On the other hand, my mother chose to raise my sister and me at the Pueblo and

sought to imbue us with the values and cultural practices of the community from within the community. When we were in the first years of grade school she removed us from school so that we would learn by doing – by developing a relationship with place through the practices of agriculture, gathering, building, and spending time with relatives. This upbringing left me with a desire to serve my community.

As a Tewa community member and scholar, this service is focused not only on Santa Clara Pueblo, but also the collection of the 19 Pueblos of New Mexico and our dynamic with educational institutions that [are supposed to] serve our people. As a result of my interest in this dynamic, my work addresses the intersection of land, cultural practices and expressions vis-à-vis art, and Indigenous education. As an entry point to this inquiry, my research explores traditional arts at the Institute of American Indian Arts (IAIA) – a tribal college located in Santa Fe, New Mexico and in the heart of Pueblo Indian Country. As a scholar, researcher, and educator at the IAIA who is also from Santa Clara Pueblo, I see traditional arts as exemplifying place-based education. My research looks at how I can serve my community and other Pueblo communities through the experiences I carry with me and my current position as a professor at the IAIA by looking at the role of traditional arts at the institute. First, I will provide background about the tribal college movement and explore the literature on place-based education to answer how does previous research—meaning research by Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars over the past several decades—on place-based education inform the practice of traditional arts at IAIA. Then I will provide a background of the current practice of traditional arts at IAIA. Methodology and study results will be covered in the next sections and finally a discussion of the results.

Background on the Tribal College Movement

I provide a brief introduction here on tribal colleges and why they are distinct places of learning. Tribal colleges and universities have been established in the U.S. since the 1960s and are linked with Indian self-determination efforts that have seen shifts in control paired with American Indian agency to take over institutions formally controlled by the government, including schooling for tribal students. Comanche education scholar John Tippeconnic provided a seminal description of this movement (1999):

In the midst of educational reform and improvement across the United States, a movement toward self-determination is taking place among American Indians and Alaska Natives. This movement toward Indian control of Indian education actually started in the 1960s, secured legislation in the 1970s, survived the 1980s, picked up momentum in the 1990s, and promises to gain even greater significance beyond 2000. A system of education controlled by Indian tribes is developing. It includes every level of education—from early childhood to graduate school. (p. 2)

Tippeconnic's description emphasized the role of tribal entities—communities—in developing educational initiatives at all levels that are focused on local cultures and knowledge systems. Such is the history of the over 37 tribal colleges in the U.S. and their advocacy organizations like the American Indian Higher Education Consortium (AIHEC) and the American Indian College Fund (AICF).

Tribal colleges are also linked with a global movement to reclaim education at all levels by Indigenous communities and around the world—evidenced by the rise of Indigenous tertiary institutions in Canada, New Zealand, Ecuador, and other regions where the shift from federal and national control of education to tribal/Indigenous control is occurring. Global institutions like the World Indigenous Nations Higher Education Consortium (WINHEC) is also evidence of the ways in which diverse Indigenous peoples are coming together to discuss educational initiatives and to share ideas and practices from their communities with others. Sumida Huaman and Chiu (2015) noted that this movement of education, particularly at the tertiary levels, demonstrates vital resistance to colonization that continues to employ education as a tool for state subjugation of Indigenous peoples:

The education of American Indians is inextricable from these broader issues that demonstrate the governmental attitude towards its Indigenous populations. There are, however, responses that have been emerging over the past years from American Indian scholarship that illustrate alternatives in constructing formal education plans for American Indian communities. These responses include not only the establishment of TCUs, *but also what TCUs are attempting to accomplish in American Indian education*. It should be noted, especially highlighting the tumultuous history of Indigenous peoples and education in the U.S., that this is a distinct and unique population with a distinct and unique relationship to the U.S. federal government. Part of the community-based response to historically oppressive educational policies towards American Indian people has been the establishment and growth of TCUs as both a national and international movement. (p. 19, author emphasis) Tribal colleges seek to provide the necessary skills and knowledge for tribal peoples to better help themselves while bolstering, recovering, and maintaining tribal identities that include Native languages. This is a complex task within the context of globalization and the accompanying challenges to Indigenous ways of being.

Faircloth & Tippeconnic III (2010) noted, "the need to transcend the divide between global education as provided in predominantly white institutions of higher education is seen in Native tribes and communities across the globe. For education to be of use to many Native people, it must be able to work within the confines of local space, place, and traditions" (p. 186). The re-localizing of higher education is critical to counter the extractive dynamics of schooling that often occur in tandem. Individuals attaining higher education often experience the impoverishment of ties to communities and places. Sumida Huaman (2015) points out that "the challenge for educators, policymakers, and community members – Indigenous and non-Indigenous – is to interrogate why the distancing between connection to the land and a so-called successful life is so great, and to develop real strategies that reframe this situation" (p. 145). This challenge is even more important when one takes into consideration some of the pervasive aspects of modern systems of schooling.

Critiques of Education and Place-Based Education

Place-based education can be thought of as the time-honored way that human beings learned since time immemorial. It continues to serve as the primary form of education for countless communities across the globe – although those communities would likely not call it by that term. The term, place-based education, has a history in educational reform and critique movements within the Western schooling tradition. Dewey (1938), a seminal US educational reformer from the first half of the 20th century, critiqued what he termed "traditional education" as removing students from a learning environment. Students spent their time in desks staring at a chalk board while an instructor "filled" them with knowledge. He argued that,

the primary responsibility of educators is that they not only be aware of the general principle of the shaping of actual experience by environing conditions, but that they also recognize in the concrete what surroundings are conducive to having experiences that lead to growth. Above all, they should know how to utilize surroundings, physical and social, that exist so as to extract from them all that they have to contribute to building up experiences that are worth while. (p. 40)

Ivan Illich, a philosopher who wrote extensively about the economy and links to public and social institutions, most notably education, produced a radical critique of the universality of schooling in modern contexts in *Deschooling Society*. He (2000) stated, "school has become the world religion of a modernized proletariat, and makes futile promises of salvation to the poor of the technical age" (p. 10). He understood that the global economic system needs those who will perpetuate a particular economic order, and that school is a valuable tool for such a purpose. It can be argued that conventionally speaking, higher education is a full participant in producing new servants for the economic order which devalues Indigenous epistemologies and place-based ways of knowing. Unfortunately, tribal colleges are also subsumed within this system and serve as a valuable part of the

meta-narrative as places for members of "underdeveloped" communities. Illich further argued that,

school is a ritual of initiation which introduces the neophyte to the sacred race of progressive consumption, a ritual of propitiation whose academic priests mediate between the faithful and the gods of privilege and power, a ritual of expiation which sacrifices its dropouts, branding them as scapegoats of underdevelopment (p. 44).

Moreover, the powerful combination of colonialism and schooling is a global project that impacts all humans. Sefa Dei (2006) used the term anti-colonialism as a framework to contest hegemonic colonial principles and practices. He suggested that, "the anti-colonial discourse is situated in colonial relations of power that are contested through resistant practices against domination and oppression" (p. 3). I would add that as an anti-colonial practice, Place-based education (PBE) is being proffered by its proponents.

Theorists and practitioners of PBE have offered a number of different definitions or characteristics. Theobald (1997) used the idea of rural pedagogy to explain the importance of reconnecting communities with their environments or commons:

The revitalization of rural communities through curricular and pedagogical work in schools is, at bottom, a moral endeavor. It is work undertaken with the express purpose of enhancing the quality and feel of the relationships between people . . . to acknowledge that community means recognition of intradependence (or interdependence within a shared place). (p. 121)

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Gruenewald (2003) used the term critical pedagogy of place and defined it as the "educational discourses and practices that explicitly examine the place-specific nexus between environment, culture, and education. It is a pedagogy linked to cultural and ecological politics, a pedagogy informed by an ethic of eco-justice, and other socio-ecological traditions that interrogate the intersection between cultures and ecosystems" (p. 10). Sobel (2004) provided this definition of PBE:

Placed-based education is the process of using the local community and environment as a starting point to teach concepts in language arts, mathematics, social studies, science, and other subjects across the curriculum. Emphasizing hands-on, real-world learning experiences this approach to education increases academic achievement, helps students develop stronger ties to their community, enhances students' appreciation for the natural world, and creates a heightened commitment to serving as active, contributing citizens. Community vitality and environment quality are improved through the active engagement of local citizens, community organizations, and environmental resources in the life of the school. (p. 7)

While these are valuable contributions to the shaping of PBE, Indigenous scholars have also added their perspectives, which are more closely aligned with my own research. For example, Wally Penetito (2009), a Māori education scholar rooted in the epistemology of his people, described the key characteristics of PBE as follows,

- a) It emerges from the particular attributes of a place. The content is specific to the geography, ecology, sociology, politic, and other dynamics of that place;
- b) It is inherently multi-disciplinary and often promotes team teaching among educators and community resource people;
- c) It is inherently experiential. In many programmes this includes a participatory action or service learning component; and
- d) It connects place with self and community. Because the lens through which place-based curricula are viewed, these connections are pervasive. These curricula include multi-generational and multicultural dimensions as they integrate community resources. (p. 7)

In addition to shaping PBE, these definitions and lists of characteristics also demonstrate and emphasize the overlap and connection between pedagogy and geography. Furthermore, Greunewald (2010) underscores the study of relationship and interdependence in PBE, which is perhaps what makes PBE more attractive to Indigenous scholars and educators.

Indigenous Place-Based Education

One could argue that Indigenous peoples were the progenitors of PBE long before the term was coined. Rina Swentzell (1982) confirmed that,

in Pueblo society, education happens in the world-at-large. There is no organized school but the world and everyone within are the passers-on of knowledge. The word learning, in one Pueblo dialect [Tewa], is 'ha pu weh' which is 'to have breath.' Learning, then, is 'to have breath' or to be alive! (p. 29)

Another Tewa scholar, Anthony Dorame (2017), expanded on the connection between place and knowledge:

The cosmology of the Tewa people is based on place. Places where we live are defined through the Tewa names given to the various parts of the cosmos and include places or regions sacred to the Tewa. These places and the associated living beings including animals, plants, and humans are highly valued within the Tewa world duality where everything in the cosmos has a spiritual component. The Tewa strive to achieve a balance among the various elements and this balance is achieved by observation of the events, respect for all that exists, and by adapting in a fluid and changing world. It is these knowledge systems that are the foundation for a Tewa consciousness. (p. 183)

I chose the examples from Swentzell and Dorame because they not only demonstrate Indigenous relationship and interdependence with place, but also because these scholars come from communities in close proximity to the IAIA. Indigenous scholars have shown similar affinities in Hawaii (Kawailanaokeawaiki Saffery, 2016), Peru (Sumida-Huaman, 2014), and New Zealand (Tomlins-Jahnke & Forster, 2015) among numerous others. Concepts of PBE are rooted in a variety of other indigenous-centered definitions.

Any definition of Indigenous place-based education must be understood in the context of two other terms: Indigenous Knowledge (IK) and Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK). Kumar Singh & Reyhner (2013) defined IK "as [the] wisdom needed to survive in a particular environment – be it successfully hunting seals in the frigid Canadian arctic or growing maize in the desert southwestern United States – and [the] knowledge of how to live and interact in an extended family and Indigenous community" (p. 37). McKinley (2007) pointed out that "the web between humans, the spirits, and nature in a particular locality – such as animals, plants, natural phenomena, and landscapes – form the basis of TEK" (p. 205). Aikenhead & Mitchell (2011) used the term Indigenous ways of living in nature (IWLN) in lieu of TEK or IK. They pointed out that IWLN must be experienced in the following ways:

- In a particular place in nature (it is place-based),
- In the context of multiple relationships with nature and people, and
- In the pursuit of wisdom-in-action for the purposes of survival. (p. 70)

These terms are all closely related to some of the characteristics of PBE. As a result, they are often used in lieu of, or interchangeably with PBE. In addition, Penetito (2009) has crafted an Indigenous place-based pedagogy, which contains three key aspects:

- a) For indigenous peoples, a sense of place is a fundamental human need;
- b) Indigenous peoples formalize the relationship between themselves and their environments as co-habitors; and
- c) A pedagogy capable of embodying ways of knowing and being cannot be sustained without some sense of consciousness that encompasses, in Maori terms, wananga which is a conscious union of mind and spirit. (p. 20)

IK, TEK, IWLN, and Indigenous place-based pedagogy all provide insights that are valuable in exploring the history and practice of traditional arts at IAIA.

Traditional Arts at the Institute of American Indian Arts

IAIA Background

IAIA is one of over three dozen tribal colleges scattered across the United States. It was founded in 1962 as a high school on the Santa Fe Indian School campus. The initial focus of the curriculum was vocational arts and the faculty included specialists in both "contemporary" and "traditional" arts. From the beginning, there were conflicts between the specialists in these two areas (Flahive, 2012). The proponents of contemporary art argued that traditional arts did not represent art but were actually examples of craft. As such, they should not be taught in an art school. Proponents of traditional arts advocated that traditional arts were important for the identity of Indigenous artists and that they served as important markers of "Indian art." Over the years, the contemporary arts faction gained dominance over those who specialized in "traditional arts." In 1975, the high school was expanded to include a two-year college arts program and the secondary education component was eventually phased out. IAIA was chartered by the United States Congress in 1986 and moved to a permanent campus in Santa Fe in 2000. Swentzell (2012), one of the designers of the new campus explained that,

IAIA is a place where big ideas are growing and big things are happening. It is a transforming place where tensions exist and thoughts are provoked. The tension in the landscape environment of IAIA seems to flow out of the stated philosophic dreams for the Institute, which struggle between pure art concerned with general societal issues and art that considers cultural, traditional, or natural contexts as solid foundations. Essentially, the tension is between a focus on nature and a focus on individual and social concerns.

(p. 117)

The associates degree programs were expanded and four-year degrees began to be offered. Initially, all the degrees were in fine arts, but bachelors of arts degrees began to be offered in Museum Studies and Indigenous Liberal Studies. A master of fine arts degree in Creative Writing was added to the curriculum in 2012. The institute has continued to hold its distinctive place among tribal colleges despite a couple of major relocations and changes in programing. Faircloth & Tippeconnic III (2010) pointed out that,

tribal colleges are fundamentally different from mainstream colleges and universities in their control, philosophy, programs, and the students they serve... each college is chartered by a tribe or group of tribes allowing them to exercise local control and develop programs to meet local educational, economic, and social needs (p. 178).

Most of this statement is true of IAIA, however, there are three ways that the institute stands out from other tribal colleges. First, IAIA is one of only a handful of tribal colleges that is not connected with a specific tribe or reservation. This makes IAIA a very diverse community with over 70 tribes represented within the student body of over 600. Second, IAIA is one of only 3 colleges in the United States that is chartered by Congress. The institute is funded through the US Department of Agriculture as a 1994 land grant college. Finally, IAIA is the only tribal college primarily dedicated to American Indian arts. This

distinctive focus is supported by accreditation by the National Association of Schools of Art and Design (NASAD) – IAIA is the only NASAD accredited institution in the state of New Mexico. This accreditation is also influential in directing the content of the fine arts programs.

Indigenous Liberal Studies

The traditional arts courses at IAIA are housed in the Indigenous Liberal Studies (ILS) department. ILS is a small, but growing, program at IAIA that offers a minor, an associate of arts in Native American Studies and a bachelor of arts in Indigenous Liberal Studies. The course offerings include many of those that might be found at a traditional liberal arts college but with an Indigenous perspective. ILS has three program outcomes: to demonstrate an appreciation of Indigenous cultures and lifeways, compare and contrast Indigenous societies and Western societies, and to demonstrate culturally appropriate research skills as expressed through methodology, effective writing and oral communication skills. Traditional arts at IAIA have been defined, offered, and even rejected in several ways throughout the history of the institute (Flahive, 2012). The traditional arts have been removed from the fine arts programs and ILS has taken up the responsibility for offering these courses. Currently, traditional arts have been defined in ILS as the forms of expression of a particular Indigenous people based on their relationship with the environment where those people live.

In one of the courses, Traditional Arts & Ecology, students explore the concepts of Indigenous Knowledge (IK) and Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK). Students in Traditional Arts & Ecology are asked to choose a bioregion and a people from within that region to spend the entire course researching. Most students choose their own people to focus on, although they are free to choose any group that is of their interest. This is in alignment with many Indigenous pedagogies from around the world. Stairs (1994) noted when talking about Inuit people that "the initiative for learning comes from the learner; it is seldom directed or controlled by older relatives or other 'teachers.' In fact, elders expect to be approached for certain kinds of teaching rather than going to young people to instruct" (p. 67). The instructor of the class provides suggestions on approaches and information on resources and the students seek out their course content on their own. During the semester, each student will make 6 presentations on the bioregion and people that they have chosen. The first presentation is autobiographical and explains the student's choices for the course. Presentations thereafter focus on the bioregion, architecture, material culture, clothing, and foodstuffs. Students are assigned essays that refine their thoughts on traditional arts and assist with tying the narrative of their presentations together. Over the course of the semester, each student becomes the instructor through sharing their presentations and grading their peer's presentations. The faculty of record joins the community of learners in supporting the educational environment. From my own experience, Traditional Arts & Ecology creates a powerful foundation for additional traditional arts courses.

ILS houses several higher-level (200 series) traditional arts courses that are placebased and focus on an Indigenous artistic expression. These courses are designed to include a 3-credit hour lecture portion and a 1-credit lab. Typically, classes are scheduled to take place during a 7- hour span (including a lunch break) on Fridays. Courses are modeled after science with lab classes but from there the similarities break down quickly in order to balance rigorous coursework with creativity through innovative approaches to instruction. As Illich (2000) noted, "traditional society was more like a set of concentric circles of meaningful structures, while modern man must learn how to find meaning in many structures to which he is only marginally related" (p. 22). As a result of our drive to develop courses full of meaning, these traditional arts courses include IK, TEK, and aspects of Western science. Further, Chhetri & Chhetri (2015) promote the idea of Alternative Imagination as a way to construct "complementary perspectives on interactions between science and technology in non-western societies" (p. 20). Alternative Imagination provides a great explanation of the complementary exchange of knowledges that takes place during these courses. Students must respond to weekly reading assignments, write a research paper, present to their peers, and reflect on the experiences of class. Rigorous oral exams have been recently added in lieu of an essay to further break down the standard approach to college classes.

Courses that have been offered include Southwest Ceramic Traditions, Indigenous weaving, and Traditional Southwest Architecture. Similar to Traditional Arts & Ecology, these classes draw upon the importance of the relationships between humans and environment. As Tomlins-Jahnke & Forster (2015) noted that, "place-based education assists to create a politicized populace that is both culturally and environmentally aware, critically informed and community focused. For tribes, place-based education reaffirms a local tribal identity and protects the life-sustaining capacity of the environment" (p. 53). In this vein, our place-placed educational philosophies in ILS inform the activities of each class.

Departing from convention

Fine arts courses at IAIA favor the typical art school approach to instruction. Students are placed in a curriculum that might be found at any other fine arts program in the United States. They must follow the proper sequencing of skill-building in the emphasis of their choosing. This curriculum is highly schooled and utilizes near-industrial equipment and supplies that are mass-produced. In contrast, the traditional arts courses utilize IAIA's location in the desert highlands of the Southwest. Students gather materials, tools, and Indigenous epistemologies from this place. For example, during the Indigenous Weaving course, students begin by finding their tools in the hills surrounding IAIA. They use these tools to process yucca fiber to turn into cordage. Students in the Southwest Ceramic Traditions course wandered the hills looking for sticky mud to shape into bowls, which were fired in an outdoor firing pit, and then used to eat bean stew. Furthermore, these courses engage the value of community by actually practicing it. During class time students and faculty work together on the same tasks and share knowledge, humor, and food. In the Traditional Southwest Architecture course, students travelled to Santa Clara Pueblo and worked on a traditional adobe grinding room for community use. They dug stone foundations, made adobes, and constructed walls. Various Santa Clara Pueblo community members would join the class in helping with construction and on one occasion an elder blessed the class with a traditional prayer thanking them for their help. The pedagogical approach in this class mirrors PBE praxis in other settings (Sun, Chan, & Chen, 2016; McInerney, Smyth, & Down, 2011). These traditional arts classes differ radically from the typical college science course and create a powerful model for similar programs elsewhere.

The inclusion of IK, TEK, and place-based education in the traditional arts classes at IAIA provides students with tools. These tools are human inheritances that address the unique ways that we have been able to flourish for countless generations in relationship with our places. Furthermore, as Sumida Huaman (2015) stated,

the role of a particular type of education that is rooted in local Indigenous knowledge about the environment, local community-based values, and local culturally-based decision-making methods can serve as a strategy for Indigenous peoples to confront with full understanding what has happened, is happening, or being proposed in their homelands (p. 5).

As students gain skills that are derived from Indigenous place-based knowledge they become increasingly grounded in their basic humanness. Based on work with Indigenous peoples in Bolivia, Lennon (2015) claimed that,

it is these interactions with the environment – social reciprocal exchanges, with nature and between communities – that hold the potential to contribute to remedying some of the injuries and inequities of the capitalist development model, as well as to contribute to environmental rejuvenation and a revitalized endogenous development, which could potentially enhance the quality of health and life. (p. 68)

No longer are our students being guided through a sequence of courses solely to reach a credential to better serve the colonial consumer society. Instead, they reconnect with the landscape through the wisdom of generations of relatives.

Methodology and Methods

This section covers the methodology that I used to conduct my research. First, I outline the research problem, then the significance of the study, the literature and theory, and finally the research plan.

Research problem and study purpose

Sobel (2004) defined placed-based education as "the process of using the local community and environment as a starting point to teach concepts in language arts, mathematics, social studies, science, and other subjects across the curriculum" (p. 7). The key portion of my empirical research focuses on the following research question: What is the role of traditional arts as place-based education at IAIA? In order to address this question, I also needed to examine the following areas: the historical and current context of tribal colleges and universities; key distinctions that make IAIA a unique TCU; meanings and definitions of place-based education; my own epistemological understandings regarding traditional arts and participant understandings of traditional arts; the relationship between place-based education and traditional arts; and visions of place-based educational and traditional arts practices at IAIA. These points helped me to shape the research question with my participants who all hold critical roles as stakeholders in educational practice at IAIA. Thus, important sub-questions to the research question included: What is place-based education? What are traditional arts? How are traditional arts defined by members of the IAIA community? How are traditional arts practiced at IAIA? Are traditional arts important to IAIA and in what ways? (See Appendix A for points covered in the semi-formal interview instrument with all participants).

I undertook this study in order to understand the role of traditional arts as placebased education at IAIA, which is the only arts-focused tribal college located in Santa Fe, New Mexico. I hoped that this study would assist with the implementation of placed-based education at IAIA and other post-secondary institutions. In addition, this study was intended to provide clarity about the practice of traditional arts at tribal colleges and universities. Few studies have explored the role of local place-based education in tribal colleges and universities and to my knowledge, none explore this issue from an Indigenous arts perspective.

Tribal colleges and universities (TCUs) are an important site of study in Indigenous education as they serve as key locations for serving primarily local Native American communities through higher education. Most tribal colleges are located on or near Native American reservations and serve particular populations. As discussed earlier, the history of the tribal college movement starting in the 1960s and the importance of these institutions for tribal self-determination must continue to be emphasized (Tippeconnic, 1999). The case of IAIA is no different in this regard as the institution was also born out of opportunity and struggle for American Indian self-determination. However, IAIA stands out as distinctive among the TCUs as being the only tribal college dedicated to contemporary Native arts and culture. In addition, IAIA does not serve any particular tribal group or region. Members from over 100 different tribal groups are represented among the student body and faculty. While this creates an environment of significant diversity, it also means that local Pueblo communities, their worldviews, and ways of knowing tend to be underrepresented. In part this tense relationship between Pueblo communities and IAIA stems from a conflict over the Santa Fe Indian School campus in the early 1980s. The traditional arts courses at IAIA are among the few connections between the institute and Pueblo communities.

Traditional arts courses are currently taught as part of the Indigenous Liberal Arts (ILS) department at IAIA. I argue that traditional arts courses represent an anti-colonial and place-based approach. Tomlins-Jahnke & Forster (2015) noted that "place-based education assists to create a politicized populace that is both culturally and environmentally aware, critically informed and community focused" (p. 53). Through this study I look at the role of place-based education through traditional arts at IAIA. I interviewed faculty, administrators, students, and alumni.

Significance of this Study

The results of this study will be shared with administrators, educational leaders, and students at IAIA. I anticipate that this study will assist with the implementation of placed-based education at IAIA and potentially at other post-secondary institutions, including other tribal colleges and universities. As a member of the Pueblo Cohort program at Arizona State University, our goal in completing our dissertation research and doctoral studies has been to produce research that can impact Pueblo tribal communities and Pueblo-serving institutions. As a result, I interpret implementation at IAIA as possibly taking the form of the following,

- a) integration of traditional arts and fine arts courses;
- b) integration of traditional arts and science courses, and;
- c) the creation of an Indigenous arts program.

The further development of the topics that this research raises around place-based education, traditional arts, community relations, and tribal college innovations in curriculum development could lead to a graduate program in Indigenous arts that would be like no other in the United States.

In addition, this study also expands on the practice of traditional arts at tribal colleges and universities. The example that IAIA provides for the implementations of Indigenous arts programming in a tribal college could pave the way for other TCUs to develop similar programs rooted in their specific places and communities and drawing from their own cultural practices. This is particularly critical as Indigenous direction in educational design has been an important intellectual and practical pursuit for at least several decades and at TCUs since the late 1960s (Lomawaima & McCarty, 2002; Tippeconnic, 1999). As Henrietta Mann noted, TCUs were advanced specifically by Indigenous educators working with advocates of Indigenous education "to reassert their rights and responsibilities to educate their own" (2003, xviii-xix).

Participants gained from sharing their experiences in ways that could improve the delivery of programs at the Institute of American Indian Arts. I hope that these results will also serve as impetus for strengthening the relationships between IAIA and local Pueblo communities. This could be accomplished through bringing master artists in traditional arts from local Pueblo communities to serve as instructors at IAIA. This type of college-community relationship would entail not only instruction in distinct traditional arts, but also learning the daily significance of these arts to people in the very surrounding communities upon which IAIA lands are built. For example, in the Spring of 2016, I co-taught a course on traditional Southwest architecture that involved IAIA students in

constructing a women's house at Santa Clara Pueblo for grinding corn and preparing paper bread. The students worked alongside community members and were fed lunch at my home in the Pueblo. This is the type of course and work that can be continued and expanded in the future as a result of this research and can assist with repairing some of the relationships between IAIA and Pueblo communities that have resulted from institutional neglect or lack of awareness of what is local and place-based.

Literature and Theory

My research follows in the footsteps of place-based education theorists and critical geographers. However, specific literature that addresses my research of traditional arts at the IAIA is limited. Tippeconnic (1999) has provided a seminal overview of the TCU movement which includes IAIA as one of the early tribal colleges. IAIA celebrated its 50th anniversary in 2012 and the institute's archivist, Ryan Flahive, gathered together chapters and interviews into an anthology to commemorate this event. The resulting work, *Celebrating Difference: Fifty Years of Contemporary Native Arts at IAIA, 1962-2012* (2012), is the sole published source outlining the history of IAIA. These specific works are supported by scholars of place-based education and critical/radical geography.

Place-based education comes from a critique of systems of schooling. One of the early critiques of schooling came in the 1930s from John Dewey (1938) who was interested in the relationship between the learning environment and the actual experiences of students. He argued that the learning environment should match the lived environment to the greatest extent possible. Illich (2000) provided another critique. He saw formal systems of schooling as key to supporting capitalist society and that schools created new adherents to

that system. Illich argues that society should be "deschooled." Theobald (1997) proposed the idea of rural pedagogy to explain the importance of reconnecting communities with their environments or commons. Gruenewald (2003) used the term critical pedagogy of place as a theoretical framework for the reestablishment of education with ecological spaces. Gruenewald was joined by other scholars like Sobel (2004) who defined "Placedbased education [as] the process of using the local community and environment as a starting point to teach concepts in language arts, mathematics, social studies, science, and other subjects across the curriculum" (p. 7). Place-based Education (PBE) underscores the study of relationship and interdependence within education (Gruenewald, 2010), which is perhaps what makes PBE more attractive to Indigenous scholars and educators. A number of Indigenous scholars have centered their work around PBE (Kawagley, 1995; Barnhardt & Kawagley, 1999; Cajete, 2000). Penitito (2009) has provided useful a useful definition of Indigenous PBE. Many Pueblo scholars have provided examples from their own educational experiences that strongly resemble PBE without actually using the terminology (Swentzell R., 1990; Chosa, 2017; Dorame, 2017; Suina, 2001).

Critical geography serves as an important source for looking at the role of space, place, and human agency. This school of thought grew out of the counter-culture movement in the 1960s and was originally rooted in Marxist thought (Peet, Celebrating thirty years of radical geography, 2000; Peake & Sheppard, 2014). Early radical geographers, like Harvey (2001), focused on critiquing geography as overly focused on the mathematical measurement of space and the statistical analysis of populations. This focus provided limited information about how and why space and populations were found divided in the way that they were. Radical geography with its Marxist perspective on history as a class

battle served as a tool for understanding these divisions. However, the limits of a Marxist interpretation of space were beginning to be pointed out by philosophers like Relph (1976) and Tuan (1977) who explored the role of human agency in place-making and the phenomenon of placelessness. Soja (1989) critiqued the radical approach to geography in his *Postmodern Geographies* and pointed out the historicism imbedded in Marxism restricted interpretations of space. Geographers were recognizing that geography as a discipline had served, and continued to serve, as an important tool in the colonial project. Linda Smith (2010) pointed out that

For the indigenous world, Western conceptions of space, of arrangements and display, of the relationship between people and the landscape, of culture as an object of study, have meant that not only has the indigenous world been represented in particular ways back to the West, but the indigenous world view, the land and the people, have been radically transformed in the spatial image of the West. In other words, indigenous space has been colonized. (p. 51)

Anthropologists like Keith Basso (1996) in his work with Apaches have shown that constructions of space are fundamentally cultural and can differ significantly from Western conceptions of space. As numerous scholars have argued, identity and space/place are often inextricably intertwined (Relph, 1976; Tuan, 1977; Aoki, 2000; Casey, 2001). For Indigenous scholars the relationship between place and people is a critical component for tribal sovereignty and resilience for communities (Alfred, 2009; Enos, 2015; Dorame, 2017). This research picks up from where critical geographers and Indigenous scholars

have left off and continues to expand on the critical relationship between placed-based practice and Indigenous sovereignty.

Research Design

This research was a qualitative study involving fieldwork, as well as exploration of the context of IAIA—including its historical establishment—and current practices, including courses and curricula that involve traditional arts. The period during which data was collected was from October 2017 to February 2018. Data collection consisted of oneto-one interviews with lead administrators, including the President of IAIA, the Academic Dean, the Chair of Indigenous Liberal Studies, and several other individuals with significant institutional knowledge and history with the institution. In addition, current and former students were interviewed. All interviews were audio recorded with participant free and prior informed consent. The audio was transcribed and then analyzed for themes, which I discuss more in depth later.

Research Site

The data collection took place primarily on the campus of IAIA. Individual interviews were conducted in my office or in the offices of those being interviewed. I sent out an email with the instruments to students who had previously taken traditional arts courses but were no longer current students. I received one completed digital interview from these contacts. My position as a fulltime faculty allowed me to schedule and conduct interviews with relative ease. As already stated, IAIA is located in Santa Fe, New Mexico. To better understand the

research site and the demographics of the community, I will provide some background of the Institute.

IAIA was founded in 1962 as a high school under the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The school was located on the old campus of the Santa Fe Indian School (SFIS). Under the direction of the Dr. George Boyce and Lloyd Kiva New, IAIA delivered vocational arts programming imbedded in a secondary school curriculum. New's vision for the school was to start an American Indian fine art movement among Indigenous students trained in contemporary arts (Young Man, 2012). IAIA's sojourn at SFIS was challenged by the All Indian Pueblo Council under the leadership of Delfin Lovato who managed to wrest the campus away from the Institute to re-establish the boarding school under the direction of the nineteen Pueblo nations of New Mexico. IAIA moved into old barracks at the College of Santa Fe in 1981 while seeking out a permanent campus. During this period, IAIA sought accreditation as a college while at the same time eliminating its high school program. These efforts paid dividends in 1986 when IAIA was chartered by the United States congress and accredited to offer associate degrees (Flahive, 2012). A couple years later, Rancho Viejo Partnership donated 140 acres to the Institute on the south side of Santa Fe to establish a permanent campus. It would be over a decade before IAIA had enough funding to break ground on this new campus. The move to the new permanent campus also coincided with the approval from the Higher Learning Commission and the National Association of Schools of Art and Design to offer Bachelor of Fine Arts degrees in Studio Arts, Creative Writing, Museum Studies and Visual Communications and Bachelor of Arts Programs in Studio Arts and General Education. Starting in 2007 under the direction of the current president, Dr. Robert Martin, IAIA constructed multiple buildings and added

additional programs like Indigenous Liberal Studies and a low-residency graduate program in Creative Writing. *Figure 1* provides a map of the current campus buildings and infrastructure. The institute has grown significantly since finding a permanent home.

Figure 1. 2017 configuration of IAIA campus, Santa Fe, New Mexico (source: www.iaia.edu)



The 2017 Enrollment Report for IAIA showed that Full Time Equivalency (FTE) for the Institute stood at 517 while head count totals were 657. This represents a 236% increase in FTE and 297% increase in headcount in the last ten years – impressive statistics

during a time when many other higher education institutions in New Mexico experienced decreases in enrollment (Chacon, 2017). The student body includes members from 100 different tribal nations coming from 5 countries. IAIA boasts 25 full-time faculty and many more adjunct faculty divided into 6 academic departments. IAIA employs over 125 people to sustain both its main campus and the Museum of Contemporary Native Arts located in downtown Santa Fe.

Sampling

I recruited all participants through verbal and email invitations, which targeted key leaders in administration, faculty, students, and alumni. These participants were invited due to their previous or current experience with traditional arts at IAIA or for their extensive institutional knowledge. The purpose of these individual interviews was to gather specific data about perspectives on education, traditional arts, and the history and future of traditional arts at IAIA. All together I collected eleven in-depth interviews (N=11). This included three faculty (n=3), three administrative leaders (n=3), four students (n=4), and three alumni (n=3). These participants were Indigenous and non-Indigenous and a mixture of males and females. Note that some of the professional categories overlap as at TCUs, individuals may hold multiple roles at once—for example, a faculty member might also provide service as an administrator at any given time.

In terms of benefits and risks of the research, I made clear in my discussion with participants prior to data collection that there would be no monetary benefits for participants. Participants benefitted by providing input that could lead to policy changes at IAIA. I also stated that there were minimal risks in this research other than the normal risks inherent to daily life since the interviews were set up as conversations.

Data collection and analysis methods

Semi-formal interviews lasted a range of 30 to 45 minutes. However, data collection also included time spent with participants as participant observer over the course of five months, as well as longer-term interaction with each participant over the course of my five years as a faculty member at IAIA where rapport had already been developed and a shared commitment to the institution and students and TCU movement were established. Interviews were transcribed using Speechmatics – an online transcription service. While this service is confidential and all recordings are destroyed by the service on their end within a week of the transcription output, these transcriptions needed to be reviewed for extensive errors and correct formatting. The ILS department hired a research assistant who provided significant support by reviewing and correcting these transcripts. Transcription, coding, and analyzing began in December 2017 and concluded on February 28, 2018.

I used constant comparison analysis, also known as coding of the transcriptions to identify key concepts and look for patterns (Creswell, 2013). These patterns assisted me in understanding attitudes toward traditional arts at IAIA. Through the development of codes and a coding structure used across all transcripts, major themes emerged in the data. As Leech & Onwuegbuzie (2007) noted, constant comparison analysis can be used through research and was originally intended for more than one round of data collection but has since evolved to be useful in one round of data collection. While my research involved one round of data collection with participants, constant comparison was useful in my analysis as I worked with a research assistant to review and discuss emerging codes. Themes were analyzed in order to determine their relationship to each other and back to the original research question for the study. I generated findings from these themes that are presented in a later section and that can be presented back to IAIA, as well as disseminated through publication projects.

In order to ensure confidentiality of student participants in the research and to maintain integrity of the study for the protection of all participants, the data was stored on my password protected laptop and is backed-up on a separate password encrypted external hard drive. Consent forms have been scanned and stored with other data on password encrypted laptop and hard drive. Physical copies are to be destroyed. I obtained written consent from all participants prior to all interviews, which satisfied the IAIA IRB requirements. Also as per the IRB agreement with IAIA, all data will be gifted to the IAIA archives upon successful completion of my PhD.

Study Results: (Re)defining education, traditional arts, and IAIA

The responses of students, faculty, and staff during the interview were analyzed for themes, which fell into 3 major categories. These were a) perspectives on education, b) perspectives on traditional arts, and c) the role of traditional arts at IAIA. Themes within each category are discussed here.

a) Perspectives on education

Education as limited and expansive

My line of questioning, which is reflected in the format of the research instrument, explored attitudes and perspectives regarding definitions, responsibilities, and locations of education, which relate directly to how educators think about place-based education and traditional arts within IAIA curriculum. In this study, participants defined education in two general patterns: a limited definition and an expansive definition. The limited definition was confined to formal schooling whereas the expansive definition included all life experiences with an educative quality. A female Indigenous student spoke about education in terms of formal schooling experiences:

My dad is always saying it's important to get a higher education and my grandma's always saying to get a higher education too. And for me, that's getting knowledge to where you can better your life. You can get a good job, you can get a better lifestyle and you'll get ahead in life.

A male Indigenous student recognized formal schooling as the primary definition of education and that teachers were the most important component of that journey:

It takes place by the person teaching. If not for the teachers and their hard work and their dedication to passing on their knowledge, it doesn't exist. There's no, there's no backbone without a teacher. So that's where it is in my mind. That's the most important part about education is knowing that someone is going to be there to take you on that journey and help you get through it. One of the staff members interviewed summed up the different definitions as "formal or informal." Nearly all the interviewees pointed out that the expansive definition of education was the more important. One Indigenous administrative leader notes,

Well I think education in a broad sense is a way for people to learn how to live in a society that they are born into or that they might participate in. It happens from the time that that child is born and hopefully it's something that goes on until that person passes away to the next world. It takes place everywhere. Every experience we have as human beings should contain some teachable moment and so I have a very realistic and broad perspective of what education is and where it takes place.

Additionally, the word "experience" is key in many of the definitions given by participants. One male non-Indigenous administrator puts it succinctly as "education is our life experience." A female Indigenous alumna argues that "education to me is one way to open up to new experiences and make better use of the intelligence we are all born with." This inherent intelligence is combined with experiences to create a person's educative journey. One Indigenous female student notes that "essentially education is learning how to be a good person and how to really navigate yourself in the world." These expansive thoughts about education demonstrate that the majority of participants freely incorporate informal education within their definitions. Those participants who primarily identify formal schooling in their definitions of education demonstrate the pervasiveness of Western ideas about education. A senior Indigenous administrative leader notes the combination of the two forms of education: I think education takes place just about everywhere in every context in which one lives whether it's at home in the community or at an organization or institution whose mission is education which gets into a little bit more formal. But I think if you look at the history of education for natives it was holistic and student-centered from the outset. And there wasn't that distinction made between informal and formal. It was ongoing. And so that's I think that's what [education] means to me.

From these responses it is clear that IAIA, while being a formal institution of schooling, is a place that is receptive to incorporating informal education. These perspectives on education are probably influential when looking at traditional arts further on in this section.

Education occurs in multiple contexts, with "home" as central

There was a general consensus among participants that education occurs in many contexts. Many noted the centrality of "home," "community," and "family" as places where education occurs. At the same time, participants readily recognize the critical role of formal schooling and higher education in particular in the lives of Indigenous peoples. One student describes the dual central sites of places of education:

Education takes place right now in academic setting for me since as I'm going to the Institute of American Indian Arts. I'm trying to grow my education that way, but I'm also – education for me takes place back at home, too. Traditionally, there is a lot where I can learn and grow, culturally, traditionally, and academically. (Indigenous student, female) However, this binary regarding sites of education was not made by all participants. Participants also explained that education takes place in *every* location in which we happen to be. For example, an administrative leader noted that education "takes place everywhere. Every experience we have as human beings should contain some teachable moment" and one student quipped that, "just being on this planet is being in a school." This is a powerful statement about the location of education. However, just because all of our experiences could contain a teachable moment does not mean that initiative is taken by the individual, family, teachers, or community to harness those teachable moments. This leads to the next section on responsibility for education.

Education is both individual and communal responsibility

Participants view responsibility for education—meaning who learns, how and why—as falling to the individual and/or more communal forces like family or educators. One participant, a student, makes the argument that the role of the individual in assuming education is the dominant force, stating that, "first of all, the individual is responsible." Another countered with their dominant view that, "it's [responsibility for education] my parents, my grandparents, and my teachers." Adding to this, a senior Indigenous administrative leader pointed out that "it's the community" that is responsible:

I think it's the community and in general I think that where one lives or whatever so I think that would be more applicable to the K through 12 system where you know it should be locally controlled and community based. Unfortunately for natives it always hasn't been the case. So that's why I think we've seen a change in the last generation or two. I think for an institution such as the Institute of American Indian Arts, since we have a national mission, it's a little bit more challenging for that to occur and if you look at our board of trustees they are the presidential appointed board of trustees. So I think it's more of a challenge for us to do that. I think, whether it's studio arts or film, I think we try to, when the students come here, we try to take into consideration their tribe and where they're from, you know, their values and their histories and that that's incorporated in the classroom. I think that's what enriches the environment here.

Building on the relationship between individuals, family, community, and education or what is learned, why, and how, one student philosophically connected the idea of individual and communal responsibility to environment:

So, we're talking about being responsible and being, who's responsible for our education and our teachings. Well, our environment teaches us. And why are we trying to alter our environment and to an individualized mindset when it was originally working together in the community and not being able to live. To literally not be able to survive without the work of everybody. And it's changing the way we think, the way we act within our communities and the way we're moving forward. (Indigenous student, female)

While it takes a combination of responsibility from individuals and community working within a particular environment for education to take place, one Indigenous male student noted how important choice is within this matrix. "We all have decisions to make in our lives and choices to make and whether or not we decide to educate ourselves that's probably one of the more better decisions a person can make."

Knowledge of Place-based Education is Not Universal

Approximately one third of the participants have little idea about the meaning of place-based education. This exchange is representative of responses by those who were unfamiliar with the term:

Indigenous female student: Place-based education . . . it kind of reminds me of home. But that pattern confuses me.

Porter Swentzell: Yeah, so, have you heard of that term before?

Indigenous female student: No

This was not surprising since the term might be considered technical to those not involved in education or education discourses. Those with more insights about place-based education are primarily staff and faculty with greater experience in the field of education. One key Indigenous administrative leader provides this succinct definition: "Place-based education is educational processes that ensure that a person has the skills that, including abstract thought and thinking skills, to live and flourish and sustain themselves in a place." Another Indigenous administrative leader gave a similar definition:

Well it means that you attempt to contextualize the education that you're offering for an individual; in other words, if you can make that relevant to their experience and to their social environment or even their physical environment, I think it's going to be more meaningful to them and more than likely to lead to greater success for those individuals. The role place-based education in student success could be expanded to institutional success. For example, another lead administrator pointed out that "it's really about honoring the people" who are from a particular place where an institution is located. She argued that all institutions should render that respect:

If you were to ask them about the peoples whose land you're on and it was looking like that were on somebody's people's land those people were all gone. But you know, it's really about honoring the people. You should know everything. So that's kind of a first step here is to honor the people by knowing everything you can about them and to be part of those things that are appropriate because we often get asked to go to different things and that's what's so rich here. But you know every student who comes and every faculty member here brings their own stories.

As such, place-based education is about remembering who's land you are on and honoring their knowledge. For some, it will be their homelands and engaging, or re-engaging, in a relationship with your place will be important. One part of honoring the relationship with place and attendant knowledge can be by providing contextual education experiences.

b) Perspectives on Traditional Arts

Participants were asked several questions that sought out their perspectives on traditional arts. Their answers included definitions of traditional arts, examples of traditional arts, and comments about the value of traditional arts to themselves, IAIA, and society at large.

Traditional Arts is Both Knowledge Form and Place-based Lifeway

As a researcher, I was careful to not provide participants with a definition of traditional arts prior to the interviews. By doing so, participants could provide their own definitions. However, later in this section, I do share my perspective on traditional arts after participant definitions. Traditional arts are defined by participants in two primary ways. The first definitions look at traditional arts as a type of knowledge. In particular, this definition recognizes a communal knowledge aspect to traditional arts. One participant who had co-taught a course on one of the key founders of IAIA points this out,

[A colleague] and I... asked everybody [in class], "Let's define contemporary and traditional" . . . over the course of the semester, we essentially defined it as traditional-is-communal. It has a communal expression. And contemporary and modern is individual and personal expression.

Explained this way, traditional arts as a form of knowledge is derived from family or communal sources. One Indigenous female student defines this as "something that's passed along and to where your parents and your grandparents want you to carry on." A key Indigenous administrative leader related her own installation pieces to the stories that were passed down from her grandmother:

A lot of my work is similar even my installation pieces can't be can't be made into a commodity. It's just a thing that exists. If I were to put it together again it would be different because it will be situated differently. So, every time it appears it's different. It can't really be owned by anybody. So, for me, in my opinion, these are very similar to our winter dances and the traditional making and storytelling. So, I'm sort of a storyteller in a different way.

For these participants, traditional arts represented a form of knowledge that could be utilized for creating what would appear to be contemporary art forms. Even contemporary materials can count as long as they "come from the foundation of the original thought process as a way of incorporating them into what could be modern traditional art." The knowledge passed down helped the creators remember who they were and why they do the work that they do. One Indigenous male student notes that

In my sense the traditional arts are more storylines that native tribes have put down as reminders and timekeepers to help the native tribes remember their past and what it is that signifies them as a whole. It's a reminder of where we come from and the things that we keep alive today. I mean it wasn't really an art. It was more of a I guess in some sense a art like someone that would consider pictorial or 3d Image but it all had a purpose. It all had a purpose to teach and remind us of exactly what those meanings are and how they're used in our traditions. Because it wasn't really much of an art back then. What we consider art today.

A strong connection to place characterized the second primary way that traditional arts is defined by participants. One Indigenous female student defines traditional arts as about relationship with place and community:

I would define traditional arts as maintaining your relationship with place. People think of pottery as traditional arts, but is it taking you back home? Are you learning from your community? Is this making your community proud of you? Is really something that I try to think about in my own work. You can call yourself a traditional potter or you can call yourself a traditional artist, but who are you doing it for? Are you doing it for yourself? Of course, we're doing it for ourselves. We need to survive. But, also who are you incorporating in your work? You know what I mean? It's not. So, to an extent, it is the individual but who are you bringing with you?

Another Indigenous female student defined it as those "culturally significant objects, songs, dance, or items of utilitarian, ceremonial, or aesthetic importance that signify a people and or their ancestral homelands." The idea of aesthetics was further expanded upon by an Indigenous administrative leader who defined traditional arts as,

human activity that occurs as part of the culture of a community. I want to go back to that whole thing of Arts and Sciences and not just you know, look at ourselves as we've been taught to look here in tribal communities and at an art school like this. I want to go back to look at the Arts and Sciences and I think, if I remember correctly, the arts are those things that people do make. Whereas science is a process of knowing and understanding how the world works. So, what we do and make within our communities would be the basis for the traditional arts. And I think that the traditional arts are those things that maintain a way of life.

A former Indigenous female faculty member summed this definition up succinctly as "traditional arts are rooted in lifeways." Lifeways could be understood as encompassing all activities that place-based communities practice(d). Participants saw traditional arts and community as being closely tied together as concepts.

Traditional Arts is Inextricable from Community and/or Family

Many participants provided diverse examples of what constituted traditional arts. Those who provided examples usually pulled from their own community or family experiences. An Indigenous administrative leader spoke about her grandmother as exemplifying traditional arts through her storytelling and herbal knowledge:

You know my grandmother not only was a storyteller and herbalist, but she did do incredible bead work. And so you know she had a lot of regalias. I mean she was known for that and she taught me how to do beadwork and things like that. But that for me. I'm not saying that what I do is not tradition even though my work may be installation or with whatever and if somebody else is trying to identify what it is like let them that's a installation or contemporary something or other. To me because of the thought process behind it to me is really traditional too. I mean I can't separate my life experience from the work that I do. But I know it wouldn't be categorized as that. Often my performance pieces that are part of my installation pieces are probably the most traditional in my opinion. Because like our winter dances, they are not recorded. They only exist and whoever happened to witness it, then it becomes internalized in that person who witnessed it. And there is no photograph -- there's no record of it. So you know I sort of see my is a lot of my work similar even my installation pieces can't be can't be made into a commodity. It's just a thing that exists. And if I were to put it together again it would be different because it will be situated differently. So every time it appears it's different. So an added can't really be owned by anybody. So for me in my opinion these are very similar to our winter dances into the traditional making and storytelling. So I'm sort of a storyteller in a different way.

A student provides examples from her own family:

Weaving, basketry-weaving; my dad has already told me stories of his grandma teaching his mom, his mom teaching his sisters how to do basket-weaving. Also, rug-weaving. So, I would count weaving, basketry, beading, also, tan-hiding. When you're smoking the hide -- it's also something that's taught in my family too. I would also count traditional hunting, fishing, because . . . I come from the Shoshone-Bannock tribes, where fishing is a big part of what we do, what we practice. Also, traditional food gathering, like we go chokecherry picking and we have a bunch of other berries.

Participants who listed examples of traditional arts also voiced their desire to continue to learn and practice the knowledge or arts. These arts clearly mattered to the participants. One Indigenous female alumna provided a long list and then summarized that "there are too many examples to list, these are a few that I love." The conversations about traditional arts often brought up stories about family or community members for participants. It is clear that traditional arts have a strong connection between community/family and their practice. The use of the word "love" to describe traditional arts indicate the care that is involved in speaking about practices that are inextricably tied to familial relationships.

Traditional Arts as Dynamic Knowledge Sharing

All participants spoke about the value of traditional arts—agreeing that traditional arts are important to both recall and cultivate, even within more contemporary art environments promoted by places like IAIA. In fact, one Indigenous male student offers a strong defense of IAIA as a place for contemporary art and concludes his interview promoting the importance of traditional arts:

I think it's very important—to keep those traditional arts alive, regardless if this is a contemporary art school. It helps keep the individuals close to home and gives them that feeling of satisfaction in knowing that their they're able to teach other cultures their traditions and share their knowledge with other students. Because we're all learning to share with one another and that's the best part about education.

Sharing knowledge with others was a key part of the responses about the value of traditional arts. In some cases the value was about carrying on place-based practices and sharing that knowledge with family and community members. One Indigenous female student from a New Mexico Pueblo spoke about how her views on building were changed after taking a traditional Southwest architecture course:

I was talking with somebody about a house I was inspired to rebuild through the class. And they're like why would you want to rebuild that? That's literally mud and sticks. And I'm like, yeah, duh, of course it is. What else? You don't see metal laying around here. And these methods have brought us to where we are now. Isn't this the most sustainable form of architecture that we could use? Have you not been

to Taos? Why would you doubt it for one minute? You know what I mean? Why aren't we using these every day? Why aren't we building our schools this way? And through these classes it's obvious that our environment affects the way we think and the way we feel and the way we carry ourselves.

Clearly, those who carry knowledge of or learn about, traditional arts were passionate about the value that it held for Indigenous communities and perhaps for society-at-large.

c) The Role of Traditional Arts at IAIA

Participants spoke about the role of traditional arts at IAIA in three different ways: the history of traditional arts at IAIA, their experiences in traditional arts classes, and finally, the importance of traditional arts at IAIA.

A Convoluted History of Traditional Arts at IAIA: An "Uphill Battle"

Most students who were interviewed only had a vague idea about the history of traditional arts at IAIA. Long-time faculty and staff were among those who provided details about this history. In particular, the archivist provided the most detailed history:

There were always two camps at the school during those earlier years. You had a modernist camp, which was led by Lloyd New and Ralph Pardington and some of the others. And you had a very traditional camp, which was led by Allan Houser and Josephine Wapp. And those two in particular, Josephine and Allan, were staunch supporters of teaching the flat style of painting that was popularized by Dorothy Dunn and the Santa Fe Indian School. Josephine taught traditional plains and southwest beading and regalia making and all the rest. So, she kind of took on

all that. Now, Allen left in '75. I think Ms. Wapp was here until just after that. So, between '62 and right up until the late '70s, they were still holding down that trench. Now you had a guy like Louis Ballard, who is taking traditional songs, and putting them into contemporary choral arrangements. They still sound very traditional, but with harmonies, and with syncopated rhythms, so it's not quite the same. What we know about this school, and the philosophy behind this school, is that the rich traditions were to be used as a spring board for creative expression . . . This school was focused on the individual and personal expression of twentieth century native people, who are in a really rough place because of termination. You had these two bodies of people, one body coming from the urban areas that had been relocated, and another body of students who were living on a rez who had no idea what it was like to live in a city. This place was supposed to be a middle ground. A middle ground between these traditionalists and these urban kids. You know, it's hard to say. If you talk to Joy Gritton, Joy was very much of the sense that this place, she called it "modernist imperialism." The imperialism of a modernist attitude. So, this school was essentially the tools of those who needed to push an individualist and a capitalist type of society. Because modernism extols both of these virtues. And their extolling them as part of a cult war against socialism and communal values. So, this place has a very strong rich history in those conflicts. In those ideological conflicts that happened between traditionalism and modernism. Between communalism and individualism. Between socialism and capitalism. So, the traditional arts have always struggled to gain a hold because it was never the reason why. If you go into Tatianna's [Lomahaftewa] shop and you look around at the art that was made, the

traditional pieces are there, only for study. And that's something that James McGrath and other faculty really worked on doing. They wanted to show them traditional expressions and see what they could do when you use found objects, when you use, let's say some newspaper and paper mache, and let's add some stencils and maybe we'll paint with some acrylic. Let's see what happens when you try to paint this pot into this painting. And that was kind of our shtick throughout the '60s. As we went on that international tour through London and Edinborough, and then through South America, it was a juxtaposition. So, on one hand you would show that traditional pot, and then next to it you would show the image that we painted of the pot. So, that shows two things. It shows yes, our students are using traditional sources, and yes, we are moving that traditional source into something new and modern, that matches these concepts that we are trying to use. But, remember, that exhibition was sponsored by the department of state, not the department of interior. So, there was an agenda. There was always an agenda, this modernist agenda . . . So, traditional arts, as we define them, they've always fought an uphill battle at this school.

Other participants recalled hearing that there had been conflict in early years between traditional and contemporary arts but did not have much detail. The president of IAIA explained a common conception about why traditional arts had been relegated out of the fine arts department: that traditional arts and Indigenous knowledge were assumed to be inherent to students attending IAIA and that they would use those practices or knowledges as a "springboard" for making contemporary art. He noted that that may have been true in the early days of IAIA but that the this "generation may not be that familiar with traditional arts." The conflict between traditional arts and contemporary arts along with the president's admission of changing times serves as a valuable backdrop to the development of the current iteration of traditional arts housed in ILS. An Indigenous administrative leader further explained this history behind traditional arts classes in ILS:

We had a grant a number of years ago. We have it all the time -- USDA money -and one time the ILS Department managed those grants and we had money for course development and we needed to put together some kind arts-related science course. We weren't stepping down into the STEM process of technology, engineering, and math. We wanted to do something arts-based and something dealing with the traditional arts of the communities. So, I designed a class called Traditional Arts & Ecology, TRDA 101, and began to offer that as a way of filling the grant requirements but also as a way to bridge ILS with the art community here at IAIA. We don't have a whole lot art classes within ILS. And so, I felt that needed to be something to respond to. IAIA got deeply involved in the State [of New Mexico] for better or worse. We got involved in this thing and people started talking about articulation about the transferability of courses. Our general education programs were at the beginning structure as an institution. Of course, we realized that we would have to have a science because that's required of all state institutions -- a science with lab. And so, we developed a couple of science classes. As I'm watching these classes develop and be offered, students taking the class. You know I remember my days of going to college and taking biology and having three hours of lecture and three hours of lab and geology and three hours of lecture and anthropology three hours of lecture and three hours of lab, archaeology class. I go that's a great model. And so then we got into this thing where we offer traditional arts and the ILS department has been home to our traditional arts classes here.

These histories of the role of traditional arts at IAIA show that there has been struggles between traditional and contemporary arts at the institute in the past. Contemporary arts won the battle during the 1970s, but now the institute is open to incorporating traditional arts within the curriculum. This openness is not a directive, but a curious exploration of the possibilities of (re)integrating this knowledge at the institute.

Traditional Arts as Critical Learning Experiences

Students describe in detail their experiences in traditional arts classes– enthusiastically listing which courses and what they did in those courses. These descriptions also included how course activities impacted their definition and valuing of traditional arts. This student's description of her experience exemplifies student responses about their experiences in class:

I took the weaving class. First of all, we fermented the yucca, which was maintaining our relationship [with the land] which is awesome. I like that about the classes -- first learning what our own relationship was with the land and then experiencing that. So like, fermenting the yucca, making the yucca string, cordage, that was amazing. So, I think that this was our first string. This was our first yarns. These are what we used and now we have jeans. And now this is like the birth place

of where these things came from. And so being able to learn the history truly gives an appreciation for it. And I think that just plays back into the appreciation for your community and truly valuing it. Because I think at the end of the day if you don't value where you come from then you don't value who you are as a person. So then how does that affect the way you are with the rest of the world? (Indigenous female student)

Identity, community, and place all tie together in this response. It is also a call to humanity questioning the role of our contribution to our local communities and places. This appreciation for place and identity was a watershed event that caused students to speak with family and community members about the things that they were learning. In some cases this led to them gaining family knowledge that they had been previously unaware of:

We did weaving class and that's where I was taught how to weave a belt. When I first told my father I was taking that class it brought up stories I didn't know before. It's like my families only tell stories that are relevant at the time-point. So, when I was telling my father that I was taking that class, he brought up stories about how his mother wove rugs. That's where I found out that our family, where he grew up, weave rugs, and do basketry. (Indigenous female student)

Traditional arts courses provided the impetus for new kinds of learning for this student. This is a powerful testament to the experiences and education that occurs in these courses. Students are not only gaining knowledge about new/old ways of engaging with their places and communities but are also finding novel ways to learn from family.

Traditional Arts at IAIA, Tentatively

All participants recognized the importance and value of traditional arts. However, there were also tentative responses about its role at IAIA. This, in part, is due to the history of conflict between traditional and contemporary arts covered in a preceding section. The president provided his perspective on this divide and perhaps the future of traditional arts within this milieu:

I've always thought that you know we say here that students bring with them their own traditions their own culture their own histories and so they build on perhaps their own traditional knowledge and skills and arts and then we focus more on contemporary here. So that's the foundation and then they can experiment. We see growth and they can go outside of the boundaries that were established for them perhaps in their early education or their home communities. But I'm not so sure that all students come with that. So, I think that's where there's a place for traditional arts here at the Institute of American Indian Arts. Some are exposed [to traditional arts] because obviously you can see it -- it's the foundation of their work here. Others I think they have to learn once they get here perhaps, or they're motivated to go back to their communities and learn.

This echoed student experiences shared in the previous section about how students seek out knowledge from family or community as a side-effect of taking traditional arts courses. Other participants questioned the actual divide between contemporary and traditional arts: I perceive that traditional arts is about using materials and knowledge that comes from the place itself and it could be modern technology pieces that are now part of our reality being incorporated in ancient techniques and intentions. But the traditional arts need to come from the foundation of the original thought process as a way of incorporating them into what could be modern traditional art. (Indigenous female student)

An administrative leader further noted that the media used to create art did not actually make it Indigenous but they become "Indian by who's making it . . . so those things are not traditional but only become a vehicle of Indian thought I guess through the maker." This is very similar to what my mother, an IAIA alumna, stated: "I am an Indian and I make art so I make Indian art." However, for many participants the role of traditional arts in strengthening their identity makes it an essential component in their education at the institute.

Nearly all the students who were interviewed spoke about how important traditional arts are at IAIA because for some, this exposure provided an opportunity for them to remain connected with their home communities:

I think having these classes being available at the school, offered hidden stories that your family don't tell you because it's relevant, but it's also really important because it gives students the opportunity to where if their family didn't make it, they can have the opportunity to make it . . . I think it's one way to where the students can incorporate their homestyle with the academic style because that's one of the problems we face, is how do we balance our cultural teachings within an academic setting? (Indigenous female student)

Moreover, this connection with home was also connected with the utilitarian aspect of traditional arts:

I would say here at IAIA, I know there were traditional arts in the past, but I think at this time in history, that it's important and I think that people who take a class realize that. And that's why they love them so much because they're not academic bullshit. They're like things that people can actually put to use and skills that people can use or something. I can use it to build a house or an oven. I can use it to make my son a belt. And it's like, we learn the history, we learn how to do it, and we can replicate it. I think that's what's important about education is that we have that at this school. (Indigenous student, female)

Other students saw the utility of traditional arts in terms of educational benefits as a launching point; meaning, traditional arts provide context for students to understand contemporary art. One student noted that "you can't have modern art without understanding what came before and within this institution there's a perception of a disconnect of trying to make it contemporary without having the roots." Another student spoke about the importance of having both artforms available to students: they "should be able to learn the 'traditional' arts as well as the western styles and techniques." Some participants discussed next steps within the philosophical tradition of the school. What should we do next based on our past?

What do the students want? Are the students interested in that traditional artwork? If they are, let's do it, let's increase that program. Let's get bead making back into the curriculum. Let's get ledger drawing. Whatever it is back into the curriculum. But I don't see that. I see our students, and I know it's kind of considered our institution a post-modern institution. We're very much the definition of a post-modern institution that looks past race, looks past economic issues, we look past art constraints. We are really a little experiment in pluralism, and an experiment in post-modernism. And so, for our students to come in, and they don't really know they're part of this post-modern experience, but the post-modern very much pushes traditions out of the way, which leads us back to the conversation of the home and the role of parents and education, and that extends to education in the arts, and that extends to traditional roles that might be played. (Non-Indigenous male administrator)

The Post-Modernism of IAIA may actually be overrated. Student participants were animated when talking about traditional arts and were adamant about the importance of them at the institute. While IAIA remains an institution that is focused on contemporary arts within a Post-Modern vision, times may be changing. The pendulum may be swinging back to seeking out connections with family, community, and place.

Discussion: The current and future role of traditional arts as a central strategy and expression of place-based education

The data collected during this study provide important insights into the primary research question and attendant sub-questions. This discussion examines how traditional arts exemplify place-based education through participant's definitions of education and traditional arts. I also return to the research question in order to discuss what the data suggests regarding the role of traditional arts as place-based education at IAIA.

Participants linked education and experience together in their responses. They spoke about how education lasted from the beginning of a person's life until their last day. There was a clear recognition that there are formal and informal approaches to education. Formal education falls into the category of what Illich (2000) would call schooling. Informal education is all other experiences that are educative. Participants repeatedly commented on the informal educational qualities of traditional arts. Traditional arts pull in the principles of IK, TEK, and IWLN as outlined earlier in this study (Aikenhead & Michell, 2011; Kumar Singh & Reyhner, 2013; McKinley, 2007; Kawagley, 1995). They represent practices and knowledges that are connected to a particular place and people. They affirm or reaffirm the practitioner's relationship with a place, with a particular vision of the world, and with all their relatives. Those who participated in traditional arts classes spoke about the importance of their experiences in connection with identity and learning about who they are. These experiences combined with the IK/TEK/IWLN components fall directly in line with scholars who espouse place-based education (Gruenewald, 2010; Sobel, 2004; Theobald, 1997). In traditional arts classes students learn practices that are place-based and derive from local communities. This contextual form of education has clearly had a profound impact on students based on their responses. The data shows that traditional arts fall well within the domain of place-based education. Furthermore, because of the Indigenous aspect of these courses, they can be understood to represent an example of Indigenous Place-based Education as defined by Penetito (2009). Given this, what should the role of traditional arts play at IAIA going into the future?

The history of IAIA is one of relocation, conflict, and seeking of identity. IAIA has been relocated three times in a little over two generations. The institute has transformed significantly from an arts vocational high school to a four-year college with a graduate program. Participants identified how a clear conflict between traditional and contemporary arts has been a divisive point from the early years of the institute. The philosophy of the institute has been that students arrive with a sense of identity and community knowledge. However, students, faculty and staff have all recognized that this is not always the case. Since IAIA has such a diverse population, there is a corresponding diversity in tribal experiences. Many students have grown up in environments where they had limited connections with community knowledge. Even those students who have grown up in their tribal communities may not have had opportunities to learn much about Indigenous lifeways due to the pervasive and ongoing impacts of colonialism. As a faculty member at the institute I have experienced the entire spectrum of student experiences. There are students who are deeply imbedded in their communities with a deep sense of identity and a strong background in their language and Indigenous knowledge. At the same time, there are students who hunger for those same kinds of experiences and knowledges. Participants recognized the value of traditional arts education for all students during their interviews. In some of the traditional arts courses those students who already had significant knowledge about the topic naturally assumed roles as quasi-instructors. It gave those students an opportunity to share with their peers and created an environment which promoted respect for their knowledge and skills. Through the practice of traditional arts, students were insuring that time-honored ways of interacting with place were being carried on which had a profound impact on student learning. Students shared examples of this during their interviews in ways that often surprised me. As an instructor in many of the traditional arts courses, I was taken aback by the passion and excitement that filled students when they talked about these courses and why they were important to them. This study shows the clear value of traditional arts to all participants at IAIA. The question remains, how should traditional arts be incorporated at IAIA?

The president spoke about a "natural relationship" that could exist with the Poeh Cultural Center located at Pojoaque Pueblo, New Mexico. The Poeh Cultural Center was founded by the former governor of Pojoaque Pueblo, George Rivera, with the mission to teach local Pueblo community members traditional arts. Many different traditional arts courses have been taught at the center over the years including, micaceous pottery, moccasin making, and weaving. In addition, a number of mixed traditional/contemporary classes are regularly offered such as woodworking, stone carving, and jewelry-making. Currently, the director and several key staff members are IAIA alumni or former long-time employees. This is why the president noted that a relationship between the center and IAIA would be a good fit for traditional arts instruction. However, some of the courses and instructors at the center have been resistant in the past to including non-Pueblo students in their classes. This could prove problematic for IAIA with a student body derived from 100 different tribal backgrounds. Therefore, continuing and expanding the current traditional arts courses at IAIA might prove to be the more pragmatic approach. Perhaps this study can help pave the way for the creation of a traditional arts minor or for the expansion of these courses within the general education requirements.

Conclusion

This study focused on traditional arts at IAIA as exemplification of place-based education while aiming to explore how IAIA stakeholders view and understand education in general and speaking from their perspectives at a premier arts-focused TCU. A number of important perspectives were revealed by key Indigenous and non-Indigenous administrative leaders, staff, faculty, students and alumni.

Place-based theorists provide concepts of education that have utility in looking at traditional arts education. Traditional arts are practices that represent the intimate relationship between peoples and their places. Place-based education advocates for the contextualizing of education to the places that students are from and where learning is located. There are clear overlaps between the practice of traditional arts and the ideas espoused by place-based education theorists. Little has been written about the topic of traditional arts in higher education. This is especially true in regard to tribal colleges and universities. As such, this study provides important perspectives for the tribal college movement and for higher education in general. Using a qualitative approach, students, faculty, staff, and alumni of the institute were interviewed to ascertain attitudes about

education, place-based education, traditional arts, and the role of traditional arts at IAIA. Their responses showed that education is understood as the experiences that one has throughout life and that education can take place anywhere. Traditional arts were understood by participants to represent place-based practices that had valuable implications for identity and community relationships. Participants voiced their belief that traditional arts have an important role at IAIA. This study provides guidance for how IAIA could proceed with further developing the current traditional arts courses and perhaps expanding the curriculum to create a degree or certificate. However, there are important limitations to this study. For example, the sample of students, faculty, and staff used in this study may not fully address the attitudes of the wider campus population regarding traditional arts at IAIA. Future research could seek out what steps to take next from the full population of students, staff, and faculty. This study also only looks at traditional arts at IAIA which does not represent how traditional arts are incorporated, or not, into the curriculum at other TCUs. How do other TCUs incorporate place-based education? What is the role of traditional arts at those institutions? These potential areas for future research could provide significant guidance on contextualizing education throughout the TCU system and also in higher education.

This study, like many others, is the continuation of the work of those who came before me. My grandmother, Rina Swentzell, was among those who helped design the current IAIA campus and sought to emplace it in the physical and cultural landscape. My mother, who home schooled me, inculcated me to value the knowledge and skills that allowed our ancestors to thrive for countless generations. She challenged, and continues to challenge, academic learning that does not make a difference in the places that you live. Unwittingly, I followed in their footsteps looking to challenge the way that students are taught, and the relationships that IAIA has with its place. I hope that this study will be impactful. That context and place will grow in importance in the curriculum at IAIA and at institutions across the country.

SECTION 2: PLACE-BASED PRACTICE AND SOVEREIGNTY

Introduction

One day, when I was in the second grade at one of the local Bureau of Indian Affairs day schools in northern New Mexico, my mother Roxanne Swentzell, asked me what I had done in school. I told her that we had watched Land Before Time - for the second or third time that school year. She could not see how a cartoon about dinosaurs was preparing me for life. She removed me from that school, along with my little sister, Rose Simpson, the following year. For the next eight years we were homeschooled. The dining room, orchard, animal pens, hills, and fields all became our classrooms as we learned by doing. I have clear memories of learning fractions by splitting wood and by helping my great-great uncle build an adobe extension to his house in the Pueblo. On our infrequent trips to the library, my sister and I would borrow stacks of books to feed our current interests. We read so much that our mother banned us from reading. I remember we would hide in the irrigation ditch that wandered along the hillside above our home when the water was not flowing so that we could read. One of us would keep lookout while the other read so we would not get in trouble. During the eight years that we were homeschooled, we had no electricity – part of the reason we read so much. Our days began and ended with the sun's rising and setting. We also grew most of our own food. I remember threshing wheat with sticks on a tarp just like old paintings of medieval peasants that I had seen in a book. Our mother and her then husband established the first Permaculture home site in New Mexico at Santa Clara Pueblo. Permaculture is creating sustainable life by mirroring the systems found in the natural environment. Although Permaculture is a relatively new term (Mollison, 1988;

1991), it actually incapsulates the place-based practices of Indigenous peoples around the world. My mom saw Permaculture as reconnecting with those practices that had allowed Tewa-speaking people to thrive for thousands of years in the high deserts of the Southwest. She was adamant about connecting sustainable living practices with Tewa language, culture, and traditional activities. These activities were not discrete from each other. Our relationship with the land, sky, water, and animals was intimate. Washing clothes by hand in the dead of winter was a clear reminder of the change in season – just as the long dark nights huddled around the dark fire telling stories about the day. We could not simply turn the thermostat up or flip a light switch to artificially change our environment. Instead, we had to change based on our environment.

As a kid, I often did not appreciate the experience – my teenage rebellion was to request to return back to school. However, when I went back to school and moved on to work and higher education, I found that the rest of the world operated in serious disjunction with the natural environment. Most Americans live and die beholden to an economic system based on abstract numbers (currency) that valuate all aspects of life. As development critic, Gustavo Esteva wrote, "economics strives to subordinate to its rule and to subsume under its logic every other form of social interaction in every society it invades" (2010, p. 14). Making a living through an intimate relationship with a place is distant from the experiences of the vast majority of Americans in the U.S. My experiences of growing up at Santa Clara Pueblo are foundational to how I view the world today. They inform my thoughts about place-based practice and education and how they relate to ideas like sovereignty.

This chapter focuses on place-based practice as Indigenous sovereignty and using the lens of education. In order to expand on this idea, I first look at critical geography and the role that it plays in terms of understanding identity, relationships with place, and Indigenous sovereignty. The term critical geography is used to include radical geography, postcolonial/poststructuralist geography, and related geographies that have stemmed from a movement in the field beginning over fifty years ago. To better understand the utility of radical/critical geography within the context of my dissertation, I review literature in order to answer the question: How can critical geography inform ways of talking about sovereignty and Pueblo communities? In addition, what are the implications of critical geography and sovereignty in education, specifically for Tribal Colleges and Universities (TCUs)? This chapter is divided into sections on, geography and colonialism, a history of critical geography, the role of critical geography and identity, critical geography and sovereignty, a note on methodology, and finally a discussion on the implications for TCUs.

Geography and Colonialism

My work focuses on Indigenous place-based education, and as a result, I am interested in major theoretical frameworks and fields that explore its critical dimensions, including geography and colonialism. This begs the question: what are the connections between geography and colonialism? Geography can be broadly understood as the cultural construction of places and spaces. Colonialism has been defined in a number of different ways. Blunt and Wills (2000) noted the similarity between colonialism and imperialism "which can refer to economic, political and cultural inequalities and dependencies whereby a country, region or group of people are subject to the rule of a separate and more powerful

force" (p. 171). This general term could incorporate pre-capitalist imperialism by European powers and also the current neo-colonial, neoliberal, global power structures that are seen and experienced in the contemporary world. One can see colonialism/imperialism as a historical phenomenon, however, as Tuan (1977) pointed out, "space is a resource that yields wealth and power when properly exploited. It is a worldwide symbol of prestige" (p. 58). While I might argue that Tuan's statement is overly universal, it does draw attention to the importance of geography in the execution of the colonial project.

The Western discipline of geography, as a cultured construction of places and spaces, has served as a tool for colonialism. Colonial practice, ideology, and epistemologies are premised on the idea that they apply anywhere and everywhere. Linda Smith (2010) pointed out,

For the indigenous world, Western conceptions of space, of arrangements and display, of the relationship between people and the landscape, of culture as an object of study, have meant that not only has the Indigenous world been represented in particular ways back to the West, but the Indigenous world view, the land and the people, have been radically transformed in the spatial image of the West. In other words, Indigenous space has been colonized. (p. 51)

In simple terms, the Western conception of space is "the way things are," essentially widely understood and accepted as daily reality for all, no matter the cultural context. The division of space into discrete, individualized lots traces its roots back to British philosopher, John Locke. Lockean thought can be said to have given birth to the United States. The Declaration of Independence's famous phrase about "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" is almost exactly the same as Locke's maxim "life, liberty, and property." The founders were strongly influenced by Lockean thought and wrote these early documents within that milieu. In the minds of the founders of the US, happiness and the acquisition of property were equateable ideas. We can see this in all the places where British settler colonialism has spread today. Places are not viewed by their genius loci, or spirit of place, but for the monetary value that they hold. Private property rules supreme in policy and in action.

My grandmother Rina Swentzell, a well-regarded Pueblo scholar, wrote about the architectural significance of the construction of the day school at Santa Clara Pueblo in the 1890s (1990). She contrasted the symmetrical late-Victorian brick schoolhouse with the earthen architecture of the Pueblo. The homes in the Pueblo were made of adobe and river rocks. They interconnected with each other, opening into the shared community space of the plaza. All generations lived, played, worked, and prayed together, and learning was something that occurred in all contexts. In direct opposition to Pueblo epistemology and pedagogy, the school separated the children from other generations and organized them by age group. Pueblo students were confined in white-washed classrooms and had to change the way that they dressed, spoke, and behaved. In keeping with Locke's pervasive ideas, the day school erected a fence around the school property to delineate "civilized space" from Pueblo space. This fence perhaps helped to keep children in school but maybe, more importantly, kept the Pueblo out of space that had been fully colonized. One of my relatives, Felix Velarde, served as governor of Santa Clara Pueblo during the time that the school was constructed. His papers made their way through the generations to me. Most of the papers consist of correspondence in Spanish script between the Indian agent in Santa Fe and the governor discussing the construction of the school. However, one of the forms stuck between these letters is a Federal permission slip "to certify that reposing trust in the integrity, sobriety, intelligence, and discretion of Felix Velarde and in recognition of his progress in the ways of civilized life" that he be allowed on to school premises (Browning, 1894). This certificate speaks volumes about the colonization of place and space. How was it that the governor of our Pueblo needed a permission slip to visit our children at a school within the midst of the Pueblo? What Federal bureaucrat had the audacity to question the character of the person that our spiritual leaders had deemed appropriate to lead our community? This audacity is representative of the colonization of space for economic and philosophical purposes that we experience every day as we go about our lives.

Places that hold cultural or spiritual meaning are often characterized as being "priceless." Thus, their value is still linked to inestimable monetary value. Places become property, and property is one of the key tools in the accumulation of capital to maintain the current economic paradigm. The syncretization of place and economic system has created the Western world as we know it today. Through economies of scale and vertical integration, places become hubs within the economic system. It is better for each hub to be exactly like the other hubs within the system to reduce costs. For example, every chain restaurant can serve the same hamburgers no matter where they are located, and those hamburgers are made in the same kinds factories using equipment that is the intellectual property of the manufacturer. Ideas become property just like places. Places are transformed into hubs to sell products or ideas to consumers who never have to establish a relationship with a particular place because they can walk into a Walmart, McDonalds, or

Tim Hortons anywhere and experience the same placelessness—meaning, lack of direct connection to the place and cultural context upon which these establishments are built.

This universalism is profoundly imperial, especially when other scholars have pointed out the validity of understanding many other geographies and particularly Indigenous connections to place (Basso, 1996; Swentzell R., 1990; Tuan, 1977). In the face of colonial dominion over Indigenous spaces, the work of these scholars emerges not as a response from historically marginalized communities but as a firm stance on Indigenous realities—that Indigenous peoples have comprehensive philosophies of places and spaces that are at once physical, metaphysical, emotional, spiritual, and intellectual.

Indigenous peoples, colonialism, and geography

As a baseline to understanding the link between geography, education, and sovereignty, it is important to recognize that geography (as a field and way of thinking) and colonialism (including imperial strategies of oppression) have impacted Indigenous peoples all around the world. While cognizant of the worldwide role of geography and colonialism in subverting Indigenous peoples, this work is focused primarily on the Southwest region of the United States. In particular, I am most interested in this relationship as it pertains to the places that Pueblo people live—meaning, those who constitute the 19 Pueblos of New Mexico, as well as Pueblo-serving institutions. The Institute of American Indian Arts (IAIA) was originally conceived as one such example of a Pueblo-serving institution. IAIA is located in the midst of Pueblo country and so the history of the relationship between geography and colonialism in the Southwest is of particular importance.

Spanish colonial practices

Francisco Vasquez de Coronado led the first major invasion into Pueblo country in 1540 (Flint, 2003). His large force of conquistadors, auxiliaries, and porters were pulled together to exploit La Tierra Nueva, or the "New Lands." In 1540, the Spanish relationship with place centered on what resources could be pulled from the land and especially the people who lived on that land. When the Spanish had invaded what is now known as Mexico in 1519, they found large cities full of tens of thousands of people. The semi-feudal Spanish system relied on the division of lands and communities into *encomiendas*, or grants of land, which were given to important backers of conquests. The backers, who often served as captains in the invading force, expected to receive encomiendas as their payment for supporting a conquest. These wealthy landowners, or encomenderos, relied on Indigenous communities who lived within their *encomienda* to supply labor for projects and economic ventures while also paying tribute. The most powerful *encomenderos* in Mexico gained their power, wealth, and prestige on the backs of the Indigenous peoples who lived within their encomiendas (Kessell, 2012). This system of interaction with place was extractive on many levels, but also meant that it was important for the Spanish to maintain Indigenous peoples in situ due to their economic value. When Coronado invaded the Southwest he brought captains who hoped to find and acquire valuable *encomiendas* full of perhaps the most precious resource: Indigenous people. In 1540, Pueblo people were populous and spread among at least 100 communities throughout modern-day Arizona and New Mexico. Coronado quickly found that the Pueblos lacked the treasures that had been reported and that, while there were many large Pueblo towns spread throughout the Southwest, there were not the population densities that had enriched *encomenderos* in

Mexico. During the nearly 2 years that Coronado was in Pueblo country, he ravaged the communities in order to feed his invaders and their livestock. The Spanish took clothing from Pueblo people in order to stay warm during the cold winters. The depredations of his forces resulted in southern Tiwa-speaking villages launching an attack on his troops now known as the Tiguex War during the winter of 1540-1541. The severity with which Coronado countered the Tiwa's attempts to drive the Spanish from their lands resulted in the destruction and abandonment of a dozen Tiwa Pueblos. With diminishing hopes of locating riches and large population centers, Coronado and his armada left Pueblo country (Flint, 2003). Smaller invasions would enter Pueblo country in the half-century which followed, but none would leave quite the same impression as Coronado's rampage. The stories of his intrusion must have remained fresh in Pueblo minds when the Spanish decided to permanently settle in New Mexico 56 years later. Significant about this time period and the Spanish encomienda system in the Pueblos were the changes made to Pueblo chthonic law in favor of Spanish laws that were incredibly oppressive of Pueblo societies. Pueblo scholar, June Lorenzo (2017) has begun to write about the impacts of this time period and Spanish exploitation in Pueblo lands on women especially. As a result of this emerging work, it is not a stretch to see how Pueblo conceptualization of land as property and right and its relationship to gender would have been impacted.

Extending the legacy of conquest in Pueblo country, Juan de Oñate was given the charge of establishing the Spanish colony in New Mexico. His train of colonists cut through New Mexico in 1598 and settled at the Tewa Pueblo of *Yungeh Owingeh* near the confluence of the Chama and Rio Grande rivers in northern New Mexico. Much like Coronado before him, Oñate was poorly prepared to supply his settlement and used the

carefully stewarded resources of the Pueblos to feed his people and livestock (Simmons, 1991). He used violence to counter reticence to his demands. When the people of Acoma responded to Spanish pilfering by attacking and killing Oñate's nephew, he responded by sacking the village, cutting off one foot of all adult males, and taking the survivors as slaves. Oñate's actions were so reprehensible and his management of the colony so poor, that he was recalled to Mexico City and charged with crimes. His new colony remained behind and reestablished its headquarters in the more-centrally located Santa Fe in 1607. Among the colonists who accompanied Oñate were Franciscan missionaries who had their own specific plans for the Pueblo people, including labor to grow the Catholic church in the New World.

As a result, the Spanish colonial project impacted the Pueblos in several fundamental ways. First, Pueblo labor was harnessed by Spanish officials to build structures, gather resources, and many other menial tasks. Second, the Franciscans also made significant demands on Pueblo labor for the construction of monumental Catholic mission complexes and the work associated with them. Finally, the Spanish demanded tribute from each Pueblo household, which was in excess of their work for officials and for the church. The missions further taxed Pueblo life by suppressing our ancient belief system and requiring attendance at services. Failure to meet these demands was punishable by whipping, enslavement, and even death. Compounding these pressures were waves of new diseases brought by the Spanish, which decimated Pueblo populations. Between 1598 and 1706, a little over a hundred years, the number of Pueblo communities dropped from one-hundred to about two dozen as Pueblo population declined by perhaps ninety percent or more (Ortiz, 1979). Despite these enormous upheavals in Pueblo life, Pueblo peoples were

able to retain their belief systems and some semblance of village organization. This was assisted, in part by rivalries within the colony itself.

Rebellion

The colonial government of New Mexico and the Franciscan missionaries were often at odds during the 17th century. Secular officials and their allies vied with the church for Pueblo labor and resources (Kessell, 1979). The church saw secular demands for labor and tribute as interfering with their attempts at missionizing Pueblo peoples. This church-state conflict erupted when some secular governors permitted the Pueblos to practice ceremonies, which had been suppressed by the church. The church retaliated by encouraging Pueblo people to not report for secular labor projects and in some cases, excommunicating the governor of the colony. Pueblo people likely understood this conflict and used it to their benefit when possible. However, by the 1670s, a governor was selected who was amiable to the hardline suppression of Pueblo ceremonies by the church. Harsh attempts to eradicate Pueblo ceremonialism coupled with famine and disease drove Pueblo people to the brink. Enough was enough.

Po'pay was a Tewa leader from the Pueblo of Ohkay Owingeh (Sando, 2005). He and other Pueblo leaders had been arrested by the Spanish and flogged for practicing forbidden ceremonies. Upon his release, he and other leaders in many of the Pueblos began planning a surprise attack on the Spanish colony. His message called for the destruction of the Spanish and a return to the old ways. Through careful planning and coordination, the attack began on August 10, 1680. The Spanish were caught off-guard and driven from the colony with substantial losses; most of the colony's Franciscans were killed almost immediately. Pueblo people set about destroying most of the Spanish churches as Po'pay called for the elimination of all vestiges of the Spanish colony. However, not everyone complied. The Spanish had brought new crops, animals, and tools. Not everyone wanted to give up the new items. Old disagreements flared up and the alliance which had ejected the Spanish splintered. During the dozen years in which the Spanish were forced out of New Mexico, inter-Pueblo conflict increased as well as raids by surrounding nomadic tribes. Some Pueblos asked the Spanish to return in 1692, and the colony was forcefully resettled by the Spanish with the assistance of Pueblo allies who helped pacify the remaining belligerents (Kessell, 2012; Knaut, 1995; Weber, 1999). Another Pueblo revolt in 1696 was more limited in scope and was quickly quelled by the Spanish.

The Pueblo Revolt period was a watershed event for a number of reasons. First, Pueblo population quickly dropped to its nadir in the period after the revolt. Many Pueblo people preferred to leave rather than stay under Spanish rule. Some left to the Hopi villages to the west and even to the Navajo country in the Gobernador region of northern New Mexico. Second, the revolt may have accelerated the spread of horses to peoples across western North America. The acquisition of horses changed many cultures and heightened traditional levels of raiding and counter-raiding. Comanche people moved on to the Plains shortly after obtaining horses at the turn of the 18th century and changed the cultural dynamics in the Southern Plains. Thirdly, Pueblo people began to utilize the Spanish legal system for protection especially after the office of *protector general de indios* or "Protector of the Indians" was fully officialized in New Mexico. This position created an advocate for the Pueblos in Santa Fe. The position came and went, but the Pueblo people learned to use the Spanish system to great efficacy and were generally able to protect their rights during the 18th and early 19th centuries. Most of the issues that came to this office involved land and water. In particular, there were frequent concerns from many Pueblos about Spanish sheep encroaching on Pueblo lands (Vlasich, 2005). Finally, the return of the Spanish to New Mexico roughly coincided with the changeover of the Spanish crown from the Hapsburgs to the Bourbons. This changing of hands resulted in a drawn-out series of reforms to consolidate Spanish holdings in New Spain and create greater efficiency within the empire. Although the dictates took place far from Pueblo country, these reforms would help alter the relationship between Puebloan and Hispanic peoples.

The alliances created between various Pueblos and the Spanish would eventually expand to include all of the Eastern Pueblos. These alliances became critical during the 18th century as nomadic and semi-nomadic raiding tribes ballooned in strength and almost incessantly raided Pueblos and Hispano communities alike. The Pueblos, much diminished in population, served as a quintessential part of the militia of New Mexico. They joined Hispanos on trading and buffalo hunting expeditions. Both groups participated in the exchange of captives, a modified form of slavery, which permeated the entire region (Brooks, 2002). Pueblos and Hispanos became increasingly bonded as a result of their symbiotic efforts to survive. Hispanos, left on the very fringe of the Spanish empire, became increasingly tied to their places – developing close relationships with the watersheds, mountains, and grazing areas that surrounded their communities. Pueblo people and Hispanos would join together for summer Buffalo hunts on the Plains or trading caravans with other surrounding tribes. The fairly reliable protection of Pueblo rights also helped relations even if Pueblo people remained solidly second-class citizens. In addition,

the reduction in priests that was experienced in New Spain as the result of Bourbon reforms also meant that there was less oversight of Pueblo ceremonialism and Pueblo people in the Eastern Pueblos were allowed to practice their traditional lifestyles almost unimpeded. Two events demonstrate how intertwined Pueblo and Hispano lives had become.

Independence

In 1821 Mexico won its independence from Spain after a decade-long struggle. Mexico's rocky first decades as an independent nation meant that New Mexico was largely ignored by the central government. However, when President Santa Ana rose to power he instituted a series of reforms to centralize the government. These reforms included changes to the administration of land which caused alarm to New Mexicans who did not like the idea of outside influence and also had unfounded fears of new taxes. A combined force of Pueblos and Hispanos threw out the Mexican government in Santa Fe during the Chimayo Rebellion of 1837 (Brooks, 2002). Hispanos and Pueblos joined together during the revolt and selected an Indian as their new governor. Although the rebellion was put down, the Pueblos and Hispanos continued their close relationship built on relationship with place and community. In 1846, New Mexico was invaded by US forces during the Mexican-American War. Many New Mexicans saw the failure to defend their homeland against these invaders as a major failing by the Mexican government. Hispanos and Pueblos joined together during the Taos Revolt of 1847 to eject the new outsiders. The insurrection resulted in the bombardment of Taos Pueblo by US artillerymen and the destruction of the Catholic church. Modern visitors to Taos Pueblo can still see the remnants of the ruined church on the outskirts of the village. The Chimayo Rebellion and the Taos Revolt demonstrate how close the relationship between Pueblos and Hispanos had become. However, during this same period fractures in this relationship also began to appear.

The legal protections which the Pueblos had enjoyed under 18th century Spanish rule practically disappeared with Mexican independence, especially in regard to land. Hispanos began to encroach on Pueblo lands and Pueblo people no longer had recourse to protect themselves. This was further complicated by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848. One of the provisions of the 1821 Plan de Iguala which led to the first Mexican constitution was the recognition of all Mexicans as citizens. Although this differed in practice, it meant that the Pueblos were considered citizens because the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which ended the 1846 Mexican-American War, stipulated that those citizens of Mexico who wished to stay in lands annexed by the United States would be recognized as United States citizens and that their property rights would be recognized by the United States. This meant that the Pueblos, as citizens of the United States, would have their land grants recognized by the new rulers. The US considered private property to be nearly sacred. Upon annexing Mexican lands, US surveyors spread across the Southwest to divide up the country based on Anglo-Saxon ideas of land tenure. Mexican land grants that were held in common came under attack as the US through the territorial government levied property taxes. Encroachment on Pueblo lands was exacerbated since Pueblo people could sell their property, voluntarily or through coercion or fraud, to outsiders. This dynamic was worsened because United States policy was confused in its definition of Pueblo peoples.

Policies impacting the Pueblos: Governance, education, housing and assimilation

In 1863, the US government issued the Eastern Pueblos canes referred to as "Lincoln Canes" to recognize their patents. However, in the US Supreme Court case, United States v. Joseph (1876), the court ruled that the Pueblos were "peaceable, industrious, intelligent, honest, and virtuous people" and therefore not Indians. This meant that encroachment on Pueblo lands could continue unabated. Then the Federal government reversed the status of Pueblo people in the landmark case, United States v. Sandoval (1913). Pueblo people were deemed as "essentially a simple, uninformed, and inferior people" and therefore Indians (Sando, 1992). As a result, Pueblo land could no longer be alienated but this did not address the issue of squatters. In the 1920s, a bill was introduced which would have quieted title issues on Pueblo lands. Fortunately, the bill was defeated by a combined alliance of non-Pueblo sympathizers and a reconstituted All Indian Pueblo Council. The result was the Pueblo Lands Board, which resolved land issues in 1938 by compensating squatters and Pueblos for lands lost. For some Pueblo communities, this also meant that Hispano communities that had been built within Pueblo lands were here to stay. This period caused a rift in the relationship between Pueblos and Hispanos as the former saw their lands eventually protected while the latter saw their power and lands superseded and lost under US rule. Despite the ambiguous position of the United States on Indian land during the 19th and early 20th centuries, US policies in other areas were clear.

In the late 1870s, the U.S. Federal government began the Indian Boarding School system. This educational system was designed, in the words of Carlisle School Superintendent Richard Henry Pratt, to "kill the Indian and save the man." The system of

boarding schools that followed Pratt's initial project were intended to "civilize" Indian children and assimilate them into the larger American society. The schools were operated as military schools with uniforms and strict regimes. Children were not allowed to speak their native languages or practice their religions. Vocational skills were taught to the older students to insure that they acquire a typical, albeit lower-class, place in American society upon graduation. Pueblo children were not exempt. Some of the Pueblos resisted sending their children to these boarding schools while some members saw this as an opportunity for their youth. The boarding school system increased internal disputes in some Pueblos between those who wished to hold on to a more traditional lifestyle versus those who accepted outside influences. These disputes divided some Pueblo communities irreparably; the people of Oraibi at Hopi divided between traditionalists and progressives. One faction, the traditionalists, founded a new village at Hotevilla in the early 20th century. On occasion the Federal government used police and military units to threaten Pueblo communities into sending their children to school, as at Hopi and Zuni. The boarding school system would continue unimpeded until a government report in 1928, the Meriam Report, pointed out the disastrous deficiencies and cruelties within the system. Indian boarding schools were slowly phased out and modified in the ensuing decades but much of the damage had already been done.

World War II had a powerful and long-lasting impact on Pueblo culture (Naranjo, 2012). John Collier, Commissioner of the Office of Indian Affairs (now the Bureau of Indian Affairs), made a major push to register Pueblo men for the Selective Service Act prior to the beginning of hostilities between 1940 and 1941. Collier's registration campaign

was highly successful despite resistance from some of the Pueblos. As a result, many Pueblo men and women served in the armed forces and support services during the war. These veterans returned with new experiences of the world and with vocational training. There was a dramatic decrease in subsistence agriculture among many of the Pueblos as many of the returning veterans worked at wage jobs or turned to ranching (Vlasich, 2005). The Indian Relocation Act of 1956 also provided opportunities for many of these veterans to put their training to use in distant cities like Chicago, Los Angeles, and Phoenix. Other Pueblo people took advantage of the Relocation Act to acquire those vocational skills now thought of as valuable and also moved away from their communities. World War II and the Indian Relocation Act served to disrupt Pueblo communal life in ways that are only now beginning to be fully understood. While many relocatees eventually returned to their communities to take on important leadership responsibilities, the villages they returned to were rapidly changing.

During the 20th century Pueblo populations grew exponentially. While some community members relocated to urban population centers, many remained in their Pueblos. There were increasing concerns of overcrowding within the traditional villages. The Housing and Urban Development (HUD) Act of 1965 provided an option for Pueblos to expand the amount of housing available for their members. Communities were initially slow to take advantage of the Federal program but within a decade of its passage, HUD homes were sprouting up among numerous Pueblos. HUD homes were patterned after standard American mores and were placed in suburban-style tracts. This impacted the traditional communal fabric of those Pueblos with HUD homes because many members left their ancient Pueblo homes to live in the new government housing adjacent to the villages. Traditionally, Pueblo people had lived in households containing their extended family and were surrounded on all sides by community members. Now, many were living in nuclear households which were not designed with community in mind. One of the most important impacts of this change in housing patterns is the reduction in native language use as nucleated family units tend to speak English emulating American suburban life. Many Pueblos can trace language loss to the combined triple threat of World War II, the Indian Relocation Act, and the institution of HUD housing. These homes were also designed to disrupt the relationship of people with place. The materials, design, and philosophy of the homes all represent an intrusion on the place-based practices of Pueblo people. Interestingly, many of these significant events came in the guise of programs designed to help Native Americans.

With more tribal members turning to wage jobs for their livelihood, economic development and tribal self-determination are new catchphrases. Tribes are immediately and intensely impacted by fluctuations in Federal appropriations and have seen true sovereignty and self-determination in relinquishing some of their dependence on Federal or other outside funding. Many of the Pueblos have participated in a number of economic development projects including recreational areas, retail operations, and even mining. In 1988 the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act (IGRA) was passed which allowed tribes to establish gambling operations. Many of the Pueblos have since started their own economic development programs that include gaming establishments. While the Pueblos have long retained traditional forms of gambling, these new establishments mimic Las Vegas-style gaming. They also reinforce reliance on wage labor and the cash economy rather than the sustainable practices of thriving that Pueblo peoples have used for countless generations. These new enterprises are too recent to predict their long-term impacts on Pueblo communities, but the economic crisis of 2008 indicated that they are not the golden ticket that they once promised. Some of the casinos are struggling enterprises.

Returning to the land

Pueblo people have always maintained an intimate relationship with the land. As placebased people, the landscape surrounding each Pueblo village is imbued with meaning which helps to define and sustain them. Furthermore, the landscape serves as a text to the events of the past and guides the people on their path into the future. The establishment of land grants and reservations left huge sections of the cultural landscape out of the hands of Pueblo people. In other cases, parts of the recognized cultural landscape were taken away from Pueblo people. This was the case when President Theodore Roosevelt established the Carson National Forest in 1908 and placed Blue Lake, an especially important part of Taos Pueblo's cultural landscape, into a new National Forest. Taos Pueblo fought hard to have the sacred lake returned to them and were finally successful in 1970. A similar story took place at Santa Clara Pueblo when the upper reaches of the Santa Clara Canyon were given to the Spanish Baca family in 1876. This area, known in Tewa as *P'opii Khanu*, holds the important headwaters of the Santa Clara Creek and was finally returned in 2000. In another case, the Hopi people found that much of their cultural landscape was encroached upon by pastoral Navajos in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The ensuing conflict was partially resolved in the 1974 Navajo-Hopi Settlement Act which delineated the two reservations and also set aside an area for dual use. However, many Navajo families found themselves on the wrong reservation and some of them refused to relocate to Navajo lands. This

perpetuated the conflict as resolutions were sought in the 1990s to give Navajo families long-term leases and assistance with relocation. By 2009 many of the outstanding issues in the dispute had been resolved in a relatively amicable fashion.

The overview I have provided of key points in the history of colonialism in Pueblo country and their interrelationship hopefully provides some perspective on the various waves that impacted Pueblo people. Most importantly, my intention was to provide context for the current Pueblo nations who have survived colonial onslaughts for hundreds of years and yet still remain strongly connected to homelands and ways of life. Despite this tumultuous history, we must ask what remains—and connection to place is still salient for us as Pueblo peoples. It is this ongoing connection with our places that challenges colonialism to this day. Our places serve as reminders of our purpose as human beings from the beginning of time. As such, they also help to lay the path for future generations.

Basso's work with the Western Apache provides mainstream audiences with a glimpse into Apache places and place names, and in the process, describes place-making and place-worlds. Place-making, he asserts, is a human process that involves considering places with questions like what happened here and why should it matter, and place-world is an extrapolated "universe of objects and events" where parts of the past are "brought into being" (p. 6). He argues, that place "simply *is*" and is often not necessarily thought of [by those in the mainstream perhaps] until people find themselves dislocated in unfamiliar surroundings. When that occurred, he wrote,

It is then we come to see that attachments to places may be nothing less than profound, and that when these attachments are threatened we may feel threatened as well. Places, we realize, are as much a part of us as we are part of them, and senses of place—yours, mine, and everyone else's—partake complexly of both. (p. xiii-xiv)

With a plethora of ways to view geography, which scholars like Basso affirmed, why would it be important for colonizers to create and establish a universal perspective that devalues the profundity of places and spaces? One answer involves the legitimization and perpetuation of the systems and ideas of imperialism. Three examples of this can be seen in terms of economics, academics, and development, which provide evidence of the universalism of the ongoing colonial project and a background for the history of critical geography as a school of thought.

Economics

Agnew (1989) noted that "in capitalist society the imperative of capital accumulation stimulates both technological innovation and geographical expansion, and thus the 'universalization' of capitalism" (p. 22). Capitalism exists not simply as an economic philosophy but also as a package of ideas about how the world is. One of the issues many radical/critical geographers have attempted to address is the role of capitalism in perpetuating social inequities around the world. Critical geographers have noted that in order for capitalism to reproduce itself, it must rely on uneven development. "The capitalist mode of production is inevitably associated with *uneven development*, as there will always be opportunities for increased rates of accumulation through the exploitation of new markets, new labour pools, new technologies and advantageous trade routes" (Blunt & Wills, 2000, p. 57). Uneven development is linked with narratives about those nations and geographical spaces that are imbued with economic (and perhaps moral) power and those that are not. Critical geographers have been drawn to addressing this dynamic. Later in this

essay I will look at the history of critical geography and its roots in Marxist thought as a response to capitalism.

Academics

Imperialism is also enacted through how knowledge is distributed on a geographical scale. The privileging of geographic knowledge plays an important role in the way that Western epistemology is reified. In the summer of 2016, I participated in a program with Crow Canyon Archaeological Center in Colorado, looking at Ancestral Puebloan settlement patterns and dynamics in the northern Rio Grande. I mused out loud about how these ancient patterns could provide valuable information about how peoples might continue to thrive in the desert Southwest today. My co-scholar, an archaeologist, scoffed and challenged that such knowledge could only serve Pueblo peoples in the past and had little or no bearing on any larger scale. This mentality is best explained by Berg (2004) who summarized this as a particularly Western phenomenon,

I believe that we should understand the process of scaling knowledge as part of hegemonic socio-spatial relations in Geography – in particular the political economy and cultural politics of academic accumulation strategies . . . hegemonic social relations of geography work to scale specific places in such a way as to make the UK and the USA 'unlimited' (read 'global', universal, etc.) while almost all other places in the world (and their attendant ways of thinking and doing Geography) are seen as 'limited' (read as local, parochial, case study, etc.). (p. 554)

Belittling geographical epistemologies—especially those of Indigenous communities that have served peoples around the world for countless generations is a key example of how colonialism invades space and place. Pueblo people have Indigenous systems of education that are rigorous and specialized. We have our own legal, political, and medical systems. Specialists within these systems must go through intensive periods of training and instruction. Those who are sufficiently trained are recognized by special titles and are marked by their life-long service to their communities. Each Pueblo community has its own systems, requirements, and methods of recognition that are distinctive to that community and place. While these systems have been highly effective for countless generations, colonialism does not recognize them as legitimate forms of education, achievement, or community service.

Development

Esteva (2010) has written about the idea of development as having its most pronounced global and widespread origins since World War II. He argues that development perpetuates an economic system and a set of inequalities around the world by essentially inventing vast geographies of underdeveloped peoples. These "underdeveloped" geographies have been labeled as such by those who are "developed" for the purpose of maintaining imperial powers; they include not only peoples but spaces and places. Of development, he and colleagues recently wrote,

It has become the equivalent of a grunt, a cipher, an algorithm, deriving its meaning from the words associated with it, from the tone used when it is pronounce and from the context in which it is applied. The word, however, is full of connotations. For the majority of people in the world it usually implies escaping from a vague, indefinable, and undignified condition, and it is still the emblem for an enterprise that destroys both physical environments, and human cultures all over the world. (Esteva et al., 2013,

p. viii)

Shiva (2010) noted how the term "resources" has been modified from its original etymology as a tool to subjugate nature. This would not be possible without the desacralization of the earth by industrial powers. She noted that,

Philosophically, the desacralization of nature entailed the violation of nature's integrity by violating the limits which had to be maintained for the resurgence and renewal of nature's life. In the relationship of an ecological culture with resurgent nature, limits are recognized as inviolable and human action has to be restrained accordingly. This relationship is primarily ethical. (p. 234)

If geography and all those things within it are universally desacralized, how does this process impair our relationships with our places? The desacralization of nature allows the construction of pipelines, strip mining, and the pillaging of resources from the land with impunity. It allows the manufacture of radioactive products in the midst of Pueblo country at Los Alamos and Sandia labs in New Mexico. Peet & Hartwick (2015) suggest a different path through what they call democratic development. They argued that "democratic development means transforming the conditions of the reproduction of existence under the control of directly democratic and egalitarian social relations so that the needs of the poorest people are met" (p. 323). For Indigenous communities, the alternative of democratic development is more aligned with our own institutional structures. More specifically, among the Pueblos, while desacralization would signal a distancing from our

ancestral cultural practices that honor our relationship with nature, we hope to sustain democratic development that carefully regards the value of all life within our communities.

History of Critical Geography

Several geographers have provided backgrounds on the origins and history of the school of radical/critical geography (Henderson & Waterstone, 2009; Peake & Sheppard, 2014; Peet, Celebrating thirty years of radical geography, 2000). I use radical/critical geography not synonymously but as an either/or set in order to acknowledge the relationship of these ideas to one another despite the departure of critical geography from radical geography. The initial group of radical geographers coalesced at the height of counter-cultural movements and the Vietnam War protests, and they came primarily from urban centers like Chicago and Detroit. Marxism served as a guiding philosophy for this group that had grown weary of the discipline of geography that focused primarily on mathematical measurements. While the origins of this school are usually traced to the 1960s, there are earlier philosophers and geographers who influenced the initial group of radical thinkers like Pyotr Kropotkin, Elysee Reclus, Karl Wittfogel, and Owen Lattimore. Harvey (2009), speaking during this initial period, noted that the

quantitative revolution [in Geography has] run its course and diminishing marginal returns are apparently setting in as yet another piece of factorial ecology, yet another attempt to measure the distance decay effect, yet another attempt to identify the range of a good, serve to tell us less and less about anything of great relevance (p. 17). These early critical geographers responded to this quantitative revolution by publishing *Antipode: A Radical Journal of Geography* at Clark University in 1969. *Antipode* had a decidedly Marxist lean to its articles through the 1970s as most contributions explored classic texts and their connections with geography. The first few decades represented the purely radical geography period. During the 1980s, the discourse began to change, and important factions developed.

The initial group of radical geographers were overwhelmingly white and male. In fact, the discipline of geography as a whole continued to be comprised of males coming from Anglophone countries and universities, giving rise to what would become critical geography. During the 1980s, a series of poststructuralist critiques began to divide the *Antipode* contributors into factions. Soja (1989) exemplified these critiques in his *Postmodern Geographies* that pointed out the historicism imbedded in Marxism that restricted interpretations of space in radical geography. Factions of feminist and gay and lesbian geographers gave voice to some of these alternative interpretations. The increase in perspectives within critical geography also combined with an increased acceptance of radical/critical geographers within the academic discipline as the early members rose in their professions and earned wider recognition.

During the 1990s, critical geography expanded its base with a number of new journals focusing on specific perspectives such as feminist geography and special issues focused on people of color. Critical geography became widely accepted within the field of geography. However, its widespread critique of quantitative geography and its support of multi-faceted perspectives still had little impact on the composition of the school. Peake & Sheppard (2014) stated that,

The seemingly inexorable march forward of journals and organizations in the 21st century would appear to indicate that radical/critical geography in the US and Canada is alive and well; it has succeeded in its aim of advancing critical geographic theory. As we argue, it is now canonical in mainstream Anglophone human geography. But has radical/critical geography succeeded in its aim of increasing access to the means of knowledge production, through both pedagogy and research, to become a peoples' geography that is grounded in a desire to work towards change through praxis? (p. 322)

Their question continues to guide the work of contemporary critical geographers in seeking ways to both carry on the legacy of critiquing theory and also finding ways to enact transformational change for societies around the world.

One of the promising areas of potential growth in critical geography is in the area of postcolonial geography. While critical geography has become nearly mainstream in the field of geography, some of its ideas may be quite useful for those wishing to challenge universalist conceptions and/or promote local/indigenous geographies. Sidaway (2003) proposed such a possibility:

At their best and most radical, postcolonial geographies will not only be alert to the continued fact of imperialism, but also be thoroughly uncontainable in terms of disturbing and disrupting the established assumptions, frames and methods. Between the encouragement to rethink, rework and recontextualize (or, as some might prefer, 'deconstruct') 'our' geographies and the recognition of the impossibility of such reworked geographies entirely or simply escaping their ('Western') genealogies and delivering us to some postcolonial promised land, are the spaces for forms and directions that will at the very least relocate (and perhaps sometimes radically dislocate) familiar and often taken-for-granted geographical narratives. (p. 27)

With some thought and care, this recontextualizing of geographies is a potential tool for historically underrepresented, Indigenous, and Pueblo scholars in their work to promote self-determination in their communities. As such, identity makes up one of the key ingredients in this potential area of work.

Critical Geography and Indigenous Identities

Yi-Fu Tuan (1977) wrote about the experience of place as beginning when a young child is being nurtured by their mother. He stated that, "a child is adrift – placeless – without the supportive parent" (p. 29). In a sense, our places are like our parents who care for us. Without our place, we are like orphans according to Tuan. It is easy to find similar analogies among Pueblo scholars and thinkers. As a mother nurtures her children, Pueblo people are taught in communities to regard the earth as our mother. In her work on protection of sacred spaces and notions of spatial justice June Lorenzo explained,

First, it is incumbent on me to describe the manner in which our people speak of land. The land is understood and experienced as a relative for many peoples. In our Laguna language, Keres, a commonly used term for the land—"stra Naiyasheh"—means "Our Mother." Most Pueblo peoples view the land and all its resources as gifts from the Creator, so that our role is one of primarily stewardship not ownership. Traditional teachings and practices constantly remind us to honor this relationship. We are taught values such as never to take more than we need from the land when harvesting flora and fauna and always to give back something to the land to keep a balance. A myriad of songs and stories have been handed down for generations to remind us that it is our responsibility to maintain a respectful, balanced relationship. We honor this relationship because we are taught that it is essential to our survival—our physical and cultural survival and our survival as peoples. (2017, p. 3)

Critical geographers have also written extensively about human relationships with place and how those formative experiences are important influences on the creation of identity, though not necessarily in the specific ways Pueblo and Indigenous peoples describe. Swentzell (1990) pointed out that Pueblo identity is linked to the centers of our world – our communities. These places are not merely locations in space for the coalescence of peoples who speak the same dialect of a language but the loci of worldviews and all attendant knowledges. The *bupingeh*, or plaza, of each Tewa community is the actual and metaphorical center of that respective community. Each community is centered on the cardinal hills and mountains that contain the village like a bowl. In addition, each community is in relation to a watershed that feeds the Rio Grande river. These watersheds connect the community to the mountains and provide lifelines for agriculture in the desert Southwest. Santa Clara Pueblo is known as *Khapo Owingeh* in Tewa. Someone who is from Santa Clara is known as *Khapong*. Note that the place name is integral to the identity of the person. This is the same way people from other Pueblos are referred to in Tewa. People from *Ohkay Owingeh* are *Ohkeng*, people from Taos, or *Thaawi*, is a *Thaawing*, and people from Cochiti, or *Tema Owingeh*, are *Temaing*. Therefore, place and identity are one and the same. Interestingly, Spanish people, or *Kwaek'u*, and Anglo people, or *Medikana*, are not linked to places in the Tewa language.

While Swentzell spoke of Pueblo people, Basso (1996) noted similarities while conducting ethnographic work on Western Apaches. He stated that, "if place-making is a way of constructing the past, a venerable means of *doing* human history, it is also a way of constructing social traditions and, in the process, personal and social identities. We *are*, in a sense, the place-worlds we imagine" (p. 7). Swentzell and Basso were recognizing a profound relationship between Indigenous people and their places in the Southwest, which includes the understanding that that relationship is not unilateral. Place makes the people as much as people make the place. Casey (2001) mentioned that "the relationship between self and place is not just one of reciprocal influence (that much any ecologically sensitive account would maintain) but also, more radically, of constitutive coingredience: each is essential to the being of the other. In effect, there is *no place without self and no self without place*" (p. 684).

The recognition by critical geography of a complex interrelationship between place and identity serves to reinforce existing Indigenous conceptualizations of geographies. Alternative geographies, like Swentzell's description of Pueblo space, can serve as challenges to the colonial project. Many critical geographers have looked at race, especially in urban areas, as a source for social transformation or, the very least, mobilization (Miller & Nicholls, 2013; Harvey, 2001; Soja, 1989). Aoki (2000) argued that, "the idea of race may be used as a site of political and ideological contestation and may be thought of as another type of localism, an oppositional site to resist the manic global logic of flexible capital accumulation that the critical geographers attack" (pp. 932-933).

A certain kind of placelessness is endemic to colonialism. A few years ago, I was part of an interdisciplinary research team that was working on perspectives of the Mesa Verde region in Colorado. Most of the team was based at the University of North Texas in Denton, and I visited the greater Dallas/Fort Worth area on a number of occasions as part of the project. In my contribution to the group work I lamented the "endless rows of chainrestaurants interspersed with big-box stores" that littered the suburban sprawl (Swentzell P., 2015, p. 87). This experience speaks back to an earlier point made in this chapter about walking into any Walmart and finding the same things in almost the same places. Once inside the Walmart, it no longer matters if you are in Atlanta, Georgia, or in the midst of Tewa country in Espanola, New Mexico. The goal of these experiences is to silence place, effectively to sever the individual from their relationship with their spaces and places and create new relationships to a consumer experience. Relph (1976) stated that,

Placelessness describes both an environment without significant places and the underlying attitude which does not acknowledge significance in places. It reaches back into the deepest levels of place, cutting roots, eroding symbols, replacing diversity with uniformity and experiential order with conceptual order. At its most profound it consists of a pervasive and perhaps irreversible alienation from places as the homes of men: 'He who has no home now will not build one anymore,' Rilke declared, and this was echoed

by Heidegger – 'Homelessness is becoming a world fate'. (p. 143)

If identity is formed through the intense relationship of people with places, what happens when that relationship is severely impacted? This leads to my ultimate question about the connection between critical geography and sovereignty. How can critical geography inform our understanding of sovereignty?

Critical Geography and Sovereignty

Taiaiake Alfred (2009) argued,

the only way [that Indigenous people] can survive is to recover our strength, our wisdom, and our solidarity by honouring and revitalizing the core of our traditional teaching. Only by heeding the voices of our ancestors can we restore our nations and put peace, power, and righteousness back into the hearts and minds of our people. (p. 9)

Alfred's Indigenous political manifesto includes a call to action but also misses some important details. For example, what exactly is "traditional teaching"? The word traditional is problematic due to its ambiguity and because the agendas behind its usage by certain people may be hidden: "Tradition" could be used to describe the long-practiced holiday habits of a particular family, to describe some activity that has occurred more than once and is now tradition, or to refer to "the way things were" that maintains an oppressive status quo for some and system of power and privilege for others. I prefer to look at tradition with clear reference to the environment, more specifically along the lines of traditional ecological knowledge or TEK. Berkes (2008) defined TEK "as a cumulative body of

knowledge, practice, and belief, evolving by adaptive processes and handed down through generations by cultural transmission, about the relationship of living beings (including humans) with one another and with their environment" (p. 6). This definition of TEK helps me to more deeply extrapolate tradition: beliefs and practices of a group of people that exist through a long and intimate relationship with their place. Thus, human beings have been practicing tradition for countless generations and have found ways to thrive in their places. Tuan (1977) argued that "living constantly in a small, close-knit group tends to curtail the enlargement of human sympathy in two antipodal directions: toward one pole, an intimacy between unique individuals that transcends camaraderie and kinship ties; and toward the other, a generalized concern for human welfare everywhere" (p. 65). Tuan may be excessively generalizing in this statement but it speaks to the dedication of people to a particular place and community. Pueblo leaders often state that we pray for the entire world - a statement which contradicts Tuan. However, the age-old relationship between peoples and their places may be the answer to reasserting the self-determination of communities around the world.

Among Indigenous nations in the United States, including the Pueblo nations, the idea of self-determination is linked to legal concepts of sovereignty. The legal construction falls short of true self-determination in the sense that one could argue that settler-colonial policy has been created expressly to support the settler-colonial state. Wolfe (2006) argued that the logic of elimination of Indigenous peoples within the United States only goes as far as to maintain tribal nations in a condition of repression to validate the existence of the settler-colonial state. The legal designation of tribes as domestic dependent nations in the United States continues as a narrative that constrains quasi-sovereignty rather than

recognizing an inherent right to self-determination. Aoki (2000) reminded us that this dynamic can be found in postcolonial geographies around the world: "the key to salvaging the usefulness of the idea of the Third World was to challenge the tendency of former colonies to reify and valorize an uncritical 'nationalism' because the very idea of a sovereign nation-state reproduces the colonial structures on a deep level" (p. 913). Sovereignty cannot be about the legal definitions by a settler-colonial state nor about the reproduction of colonial structures within Indigenous communities, it must be something much deeper.

Anya Dozier Enos (2015), from Santa Clara Pueblo, has proffered the concept of deep sovereignty in regard to Pueblo communities. She defined deep sovereignty as follows:

Inherent sovereignty means the Pueblos, like other nations have a unique traditional governmental system that is intertwined with all of life. The core of Pueblo inherent sovereignty – what I call deep sovereignty, since there is not a separate term for this concept as explained in English by Pueblo people – is the core of life and therefore is where traditional Pueblo education is grounded. This type of sovereignty is personal, reaches to the individual, and honors that person as a contributing, important member of a unique society that would not exist unless each individual accepts and embraces his/her role. In discussions of sovereignty, the issues of 'protecting our way of life' are what Pueblo adults focus on when the speak of the importance of education in maintaining sovereignty. This is not in negation to the

importance of Native youth understanding legal issues and governmental relationships, but a recognition that the depth of what is necessary to protect for the Pueblo way of life is more complex than political sovereignty. (p.

32)

Deep sovereignty includes the word traditional, which, as I pointed out earlier, is problematic. However, I feel that if one uses the definition in reference to Indigenous philosophies and practices related to caring for the environment, or at least incorporates tenets based on the relationship between people and place, the idea of deep sovereignty can be strengthened. Taken as such, Dozier's mention of "traditional government" then becomes one that is in a deep and continuous relationship with their place and serves the community that is imbedded in that place for the perpetuation of place-based practices among future generations. While this is an ideal state, many communities have become increasingly disconnected from their places. Reconnecting people with their places can be incredibly empowering. This form of localism directly challenges universalism. Esteva, Shiva, and Prakash (2014) pointed out that,

Global proposals are necessarily parochial: they inevitably express the specific vision and interests of a small group of people, even when they are supposedly formulated in the interest of humanity. In contrast, if they are conceived by communities well rooted in specific places, local proposals reflect the unique "cosmovision" that defines, differentiates and distinguishes every culture: an awareness of the place and responsibilities of humans in the cosmos. Those who think locally do not twist the humble

satisfaction of belonging to the cosmos into the arrogance of pretending to know what is good for everyone and to attempt to control the world. (p. 27)

Pueblo people are exemplars of those who are deeply rooted in their places. We have long lived in agrarian-based communities located in the deserts of the Southwest. The natural environment has influenced and defined the cultural characteristics that are shared between the various Pueblo communities. Maintaining a close relationship with our natural landscapes and all the things, which derive from these landscapes provides the discourse about our history, meaning, and future. Interrelationship is very important for survival in the highdesert. Sources of water that sustain all life are especially important in this environment. Pueblo peoples learned long ago to be respectful of these quintessential sources of life. Outsiders can gain small glimpses into the celebration of this life during public festivities that happen throughout the year – especially as seen in the Pueblo dances that honor plants, animals, and the clouds that bring rain. Most members of a community are involved during these feast days, which take a great deal of effort and cooperation. In turn, these events are times when Pueblo core values are showcased. These values have been incredibly important to the writing of this dissertation and are discussed briefly in the next session.

Educational Research as a Geographical Lens

I have argued that there are important linkages between considerations of critical geography, Pueblo understandings of place, and sovereignty. However, I aim to do so

through education as the lens and specifically, how research regarding place-based education at IAIA reveals existing and desired linkages.

Tippeconnic (1999) noted that, "Tribal control is necessary not only to achieve tribal and individual self-sufficiency but to reclaim and strengthen the use of Native languages and cultures in schools and communities, thus insuring a strong future for all Indian people" (p. 34). As established earlier in this dissertation, IAIA is not associated with a singular tribe or culture. The goal of the institute to further contemporary Native American arts has allowed for distance to develop between local tribal communities (Flahive, 2012), and my research in particular remains concerned with closing the distance between local Pueblo communities and IAIA. As such, my work was interested in examining conceptualizations of place-based education at IAIA and if and how place-based education is taking place or could take place at an institution located in the heart of Pueblo country.

The drive to conduct this type of research fuels the argument that educational institutions and practices can serve to combat the long and oppressive regimes of colonialism, including fields that have historically served resource extraction and exploitation—such as geography. Critical geography can be useful to a movement that requires us to rethink place and space, and as argued previously, Indigenous peoples, like my grandmother, have been at the forefront of this movement in community. While my methods are discussed explicitly elsewhere in this dissertation, my goal in this chapter is to expand on findings that are relevant to theoretical proposals that can serve Pueblo peoples. As such, while my research findings themselves speak to the relationship between (critical) geography and Pueblo peoples through educational practice at a TCU, I also

believe it is worthwhile here to share methodological reflections that reflect how I attempted to live this practice through my research conduct.

A Word on Methodology

I followed basic ethical standards for any doctoral research as outlined by both the literature (Creswell 2014) and the IAIA IRB. However, this study was also informed by Indigenous research methodologies as described by Smith (2010), Kovach (2009), and Oliveira & Wright (2015) among others. Wilson (2001) stated that, "Indigenous methodology means talking about relational accountability. As a researcher you are answering to all your relations when you are doing research" (p. 177). This is a higher ethical benchmark than those benchmarks typical of institutions of higher education. As a researcher, I needed to remember that I was responsible to a community of people to whom I will spend the rest of my life answering. With this responsibility in mind, I created a set of core values to guide this research. These core values have been gathered through a lifetime of living and participating at Santa Clara Pueblo. They come from imperatives from community leaders, reminders from great-grandparents, and lived experience. I have taken common phrases in Tewa that in my belief represent the core values of the community. I have applied my own interpretation of these phrases – a form of Pueblo hermeneutics – and provided them below.

• **Caring/Loving.** (*Bi sigi hu, jeneki wu-uvi muni pi*) The value of caring for each other in a loving manner. People are often admonished to "not be mean" to each other and to look after one another. One should always go with care as they move through the life.

- **Respect/Humbleness.** (*Bi a-ging hu, bi seh-kanae hu, cha wu-uvi muni pi*) The value of respect of all things is quintessential. We are fundamentally reliant on all the things that surround us. As beings, human are "poor things." It is important to remember one's place in the world and "not to become proud." We are the result of all those who came before us and we cannot forget them.
- Gratefulness/Sharing. (*Bi ku-da hu, ha-t'a wu-uvi muni pi*) As the beneficiaries of so many gifts of life, we cannot forget to be grateful. Each of us has been given unique gifts in life. One has a responsibility to share those gifts with others and make sure "not to be greedy." Likewise, accept those gifts that are given us with profound gratefulness. The give and take of these gifts, like breath itself, is a vital part of one's journey through life.
- **Togetherness/Striving**. (*Bi khae, wi-neh tayeh, baa-phu wu-uvi muni pi*) Community is at the core of who we are and how our ancestors were able to survive for many generations. When we work together, there is no task that is too large. One should "never be lazy." What will our contribution be to the whole? In this way, we will lay the path for future generations.
- Whole personness/heartedness. (*Kwi-wa vi umbe, Seng-wa vi umbe, bing da gedi*) One should embody the qualities of male or female to be whole persons. If they do this, they will be able to act from the heart in everything that they do. Use your heart to guide your every action.

In many ways, this research study thus also confirmed my dedication to my community, *Khapo Owingeh* or Santa Clara Pueblo, and the Pueblo communities of New Mexico by

seeking ways that TCUs in New Mexico can better serve the tribal nations that surround them. Reflexively, my research, thoughts, and efforts have been directed to how I might better serve Pueblo communities from the beginning of my academic journey. This ongoing intention to serve my community(ies) matches many Indigenous scholars and researchers around the world who have written about a similar dedication.

Major Study Findings and Their Implications for Place-Based Education (at IAIA and TCUs)

As shown in the first section of this dissertation, my research found that participants were generally interested in place-based education, which is inextricable from traditional arts as conceptualized and taught at IAIA. Participants valued traditional arts and advocated that they should play a role in the curriculum at IAIA. Participants also described traditional arts as practices that connect learners/practitioners with family, community, and place. These findings have value for IAIA but also potential value for other TCUs and institutions of higher education around the world. Place-based education, discussed in the first section of this dissertation, has clear parallels with critical geography. Place-based education calls on practitioners to (re)connect learners with their places. Critical geographers look at how spaces and places are constructed and what place-making means for human beings. These theories connect to traditional arts as place-based practices. As such, they have important implications for identity, sustainability, and sovereignty. These are key areas that I highlight here as they appear to begin to shape theoretical considerations emerging from my argument that there is a need for educational practices to actively reverse the impacts of colonialism and its use of geography as a tool for restricting and severing Indigenous connections to place.

Identity

Participants in this study recognized the importance of traditional arts for understanding who they were. The practice of traditional arts created opportunities for students to connect with family, community, and homelands. Students often learned new things about who they were by talking to family members about what they were doing in class. Students also took the knowledge that they had gained during coursework back to their home communities to share with others. Critical geographers (Tuan, 1977; Casey, 2001; Relph, 1976) emphasize the importance of place to human identity; a phenomenon that participants recognized as part of this study. As pointed out earlier in this section, Pueblo people link their identity to their home village to the extent that, in Tewa, the name of the home village and a person's identity are synonymous. This profound link between place and identity for Pueblo people is representative of the intense relationships between Indigenous peoples and their places that is found around the world (Basso, 1996; Cajete, 2000; Dorame, 2017; Kawagley, 1995). Maintaining this relationship or reconnecting students with this relationship is a key part of how students develop their identity as Indigenous people. Communities that maintain a strong relationship with place will likewise hold a strong sense of identity. They will not be among those who are without a place and homeless.

Sustainability

Being in relationship with your place can mean a variety of things to different people. I argue that this relationship must be deeply rooted not superficial. What does it mean to be deeply rooted? This means that a community derives not only its identity from a particular place, but that that place serves as the very source for the spiritual and physical existence of that people. This is related to the etymological roots of the words Indigenous and autochthonous – their etymologies trace back to the idea of emerging from the earth itself. That is, those who are Indigenous are in relationship with their place to the extent that they become synonymous with the place. This does not mean that Indigenous people should be static and unchanging – locked into geologic time. Our own histories describe extensive movements, migrations, and cultural transformations through time. However, at every step of the way we were in deep relationship with the places that we lived. We derived every part of our sustenance from these places. These ways of thriving in our places were part of the instructions on how to be human beings that we received at the beginning of time. As such, I argue that Indigenous people, and all human beings, re-remember what it means to be deeply rooted in a place. This has been part of the basic human experience since the beginning of our existence and yet, we have drifted far from all those experiences and lessons that our ancestors had passed on to us. Where does our water come from in the places that we live? Where do our clothes, our homes, and all the things we use in daily life come from? Where does our food come from? How many of these things actually come from the places that we live in? This is why traditional arts are so important – they are the ways of thriving in places that allowed our ancestors to be successful for so many generations.

Sovereignty

Alfred (2009) pointed out that as long as Indigenous communities rely on settler colonial governments for their existence, then they are not truly sovereign. Today, tribal nations across the United States rely on federal funding for governance, social care, judicial services, health care, housing, education, and basic commodities. For many communities, Federal support is part of the treaties and other agreements, whereby tribal nations surrendered vast tracts of land in exchange for funds and services. These are part of the federal government's responsibility for committing cultural and physical genocide for centuries and for the forced removal and relocation of entire groups of people from their homelands. I do not argue that the Federal government does not owe tribal nations for the agreements made in the past. Instead, it is important to see how these current forms of support continue to serve the settler-colonial state and perpetuate colonialism in Indigenous communities. Wolfe (2012) argued that the "principal object [of Indian-affairs rhetoric] was not Indians but Euro-Americans, its ideological utility lying in the internal maintenance of Anglo-Protestant hegemony" (p. 5). Federal Indian policy does not necessarily look to serve treaty obligations or serve tribal nations, but to maintain power and legitimacy. As such, Lomawaima (2016) pointed to one important aspect of the utility of maintaining the repressed native: "to demonstrate that lands have been justly transferred to capable heirs, the United States and its fully entitled citizens, Indians must persist as incompetent wards and incapable tribes" (p. 90). As long as the Federal government holds the strings to the purse, it can maintain and empower the settler-colonial state. Therefore, (re)establishing relationships with our places not only strengthens our identity and reinforces sustainable lifeways in our communities, but it also promotes inherent sovereignty. Thus, IAIA, by incorporating traditional arts in the curriculum is not just expanding course offerings, but is actually promoting identity, sustainability, and tribal sovereignty. These are powerful roles for any TCU to play in higher education.

IAIA was founded in 1962 as a vocational art high school for Indigenous students. It was located at the Santa Fe Indian School campus which was filled with murals painted by Pueblo artists. Many Pueblo students attended IAIA in its early years when it still had a stronger connection with local communities. That changed significantly when the All Indian Pueblo Council evicted IAIA from the SFIS campus in the early 1980s. A rift was opened between IAIA and local communities. However, when IAIA moved to its current permanent campus, the design was based on local aesthetics with the advice of my grandmother, Rina Swentzell. This new campus serves as a reminder of both the divide between Pueblo communities and the institute, but also of the opportunity that continues to exist:

IAIA is a place where big ideas are growing and big things are happening. It is a transforming place where tensions exist and thoughts are provoked. The tension in the landscape environment of IAIA seems to flow out of the stated philosophic dreams for the Institute, which struggle between pure art concerned with general societal issues and art that considers cultural, traditional, or natural contexts as solid

foundations. Essentially, the tension is between a focus on nature and a focus on individual and social concerns. (Swentzell R., 2012, p. 117)

Conclusion

I have argued that critical geography that includes and is shaped by Indigenous and Pueblo peoples (based on place and cultural context) can provide valuable theoretical tools for exploring how critical geography can inform ways of talking about sovereignty and Pueblo communities. Through an analysis of geography and its role as a colonial/imperial force, with emphasis on economics, education, and development, we can see the persistence of overly universal conceptualizations of geography that reify imperial powers. In this chapter, I also reviewed the history of Spanish and U.S. interactions with Pueblo peoples and the history of critical geography in order to examine how critical geography departs from geography and its colonial roots in ways that highlight alternative geographies, including Indigenous conceptualizations of places and spaces. In order to explore the relevance of critical geography to Pueblo communities, I also discuss some key areas that are relevant to Indigenous responses to and persistence despite imperialism through different place-based practices, including identity and sovereignty. These notions all have important implications for the practice of education, such as through traditional arts (discussed in the first part of this dissertation) at IAIA and also for other TCUs. Furthermore, place-based practices reinforce the identities of individuals and communities through sustainable lifeways. These sustainable lifeways, in turn help promote inherent sovereignty that does not rely on outside sources for legitimacy or for daily existence.

SECTION 3: IAIA ACADEMIC REORGANIZATION

Executive Summary

The Institute of American Indian Arts (IAIA) has experienced many changes since its founding in 1962. Recently, the establishment of a permanent campus in 2000 has led to a period of significant growth in the student body, campus infrastructure, and academic programs. This has led to increasing demands on the head of the academic division's leader, the Academic Dean & Chief Academic Officer (AD&CAO). The AD&CAO position incorporates the duties of two full-time jobs and these responsibilities continue to grow as a result of IAIA's expansion. This brings up issues of future transitions, risk management, and retention in the AD&CAO position.

This Policy Brief recommends that the academic programs be divided thematically into 2 schools, the School of Indigenous Arts & Culture, and the School of Fine Art. These two schools would be headed by Associate Deans who would be selected from among senior faculty. The Associate Deans would take on many of the traditional dean roles while the AD&CAO would retain the traditional chief academic officer roles. This proposal would divide up the AD&CAO responsibilities without creating entirely new positions, provide for transition planning, and promote IAIA's mission of empowering creativity and leadership in Native Arts and cultures through higher education, life-long learning and outreach.

Context and Background of the Issue

The background of the problem is closely linked with the story of IAIA's significant success since finding a permanent home in 2000 and with the wider changes in higher

education around the world. Economic globalization has worked its way into every aspect of life including education. Students are seen as customers or consumers of education and colleges and universities provide knowledge as a product. Laing & Laing (2016) noted the impacts of this on academic leadership in higher education:

The student-as-customer metaphor derives legitimacy from the concept of providing a quality product or service as supported by the total quality management model. However, the underlying principle embedded in the total quality model is that there is only one category of "customer" not various possible customers with different needs to be satisfied. The marketing literature played a significant role in the early stage by espousing the virtues of treating students-as-customers within the higher education sector to the exclusion of all other stakeholders. Consistent with the marketing ideology expectations and perceptions of the customers are used to measure service quality and become a form of disciplinary power . . . this has resulted in the academic leadership role becoming the subject of surveillance in effect disempowering the academic and empowering the student-as-customer. (p. 48)

This dynamic complicates the already complex role of the academic leader. Anthony & Antony (2017) conducted a literature review on academic leadership and found that there were significant overlaps between traditional management leadership and academic leadership. They found that academic leadership as a field does not have its own established journal and that most literature on the topic are found in journals dedicated to the wider

field of leadership. Anthony & Antony analyzed definitions of academic leadership from across the literature and developed their own synthesized definition of an academic leader

as someone in a position to identify the need to change, to allocate resources to change, to actively manage and facilitate the change, to monitor and motivate during the change and finally deliver change within higher education, both at the institutional level and the departmental/college level. (p. 635)

These complex demands on academic leaders are compounded by the local context of IAIA. IAIA's student body, campus infrastructure, and academic programs have grown and these successes have led to increasing responsibilities for the Academic Dean & Chief Academic Officer.

IAIA has grown extensively since moving to the new campus in terms of student body and facilities. The Fall 2017 Enrollment Report shows the tremendous growth of IAIA's student body (see Table 1). Full Time Equivalencies in 2000 were 144 while student headcount in the same year was 127. Compare these numbers to 517 and 657 respectively in the Fall of 2017. This growth has continued despite a decline in post-secondary enrollment in the State of New Mexico (Chacon, 2017).

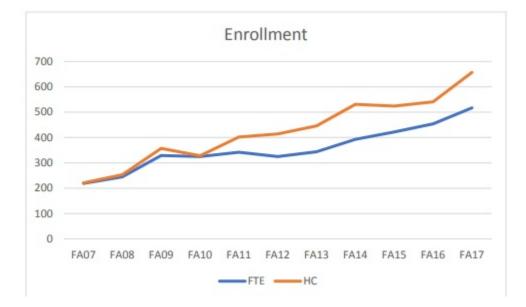


Figure 2. Full Time Equivalency and Head Count numbers from 2007 to 2017 (source: Fall 2017 Enrollment Report)

The growth in student numbers has been matched with a corresponding growth in campus infrastructure and academic programs. For example, in 2010, IAIA added three new buildings which increased campus facilities by 60,000 square feet. In November 2017, a new Fitness & Performing Arts Center was opened with a basketball court, sound studios, dance studios, costuming facilities, and a theater. These new buildings included new office spaces, conference rooms, studios, and classrooms. The new spaces create opportunities for students but also challenges for increasingly complex course scheduling. Since moving to the new permanent campus in 2000, IAIA has expanded existing academic programs to include baccalaureate degrees and a Master of Fine Arts in Creative Writing. In addition, new programs like Indigenous Liberal Studies were added to the academic programs with the opportunity for students to earn Bachelor of Arts degrees. It is expected that a AFA and BFA degrees in Performing Arts will be offered within the next year.

With the growth of student numbers, college infrastructure, and academic programs, the Academic Dean & Chief Academic Officer's (AD&CAO) responsibilities have also grown accordingly. The AD&CAO's job as an academic leader compares to the cross-literature definitions provided earlier in this section (Anthony & Antony, 2017) and more. The last job description from the 2015 search noted that the AD&CAO oversees 6 department chairs, 4 program directors, the assistant to the faculty, and the assistant to the dean. This job description did not include the Summer Bridge program and also predates the addition of the Registrar as a supervisee which has transpired since the last search. In addition to supervising these programs and staff, the AD&CAO's duties include the combined responsibilities of a Dean and a Chief Academic Officer. These include such wide-ranging tasks as chairing the Academic Program and Policy Committee, assess programs, seek grants and scholarship opportunities, evaluate department chairs, develop budgets, and carry out strategic priorities. The full description of the AD&CAO's responsibilities can be seen in Appendix B.

IAIA has been blessed with a series of exceptionally talented AD&CAOs who have been able to handle the responsibilities of 2 positions merged into one. However, the extensive duties of the AD&CAO provide several important problems. First, the issue of future transitions must be considered. Can we expect future AD&CAOs to effectively fulfill the tremendous responsibilities of this position? Secondly, in a related vein, the risk management of having so many duties invested in a single person must be considered. What should happen if the AD&CAO was to have an emergency? Finally, the issue of retention is important to consider. How long can we expect a single person, no matter how exceptional, to carry on the tasks of 2 full time jobs?

In light of these problems, it is time to review the organization of the Academic wing of IAIA to better meet our mission to empower creativity and leadership in Native arts and cultures through higher education, lifelong learning and outreach.

Policy Recommendation (Approaches, implications, recommendations)

The proposal includes two major components and a potential long-term component:

1. Division of academic programs

This proposal calls for the division of the academic programs into two schools. The School of Indigenous Arts & Culture would include Museum Studies, Indigenous Liberal Studies, Fitness & Wellness, Business & Entrepreneurship, and the Developmental Education Coordinator who also oversees the Summer Bridge Program. The School of Fine Art would include Creative Writing MFA, Creative Writing, Studio Arts, and Cinematic Arts & Technology. Ostensibly this school would also include the Performing Arts program, currently only a minor, when it is expanded to a full department. Table 2 provides a visual breakdown of this organization.



Figure 3. Proposed organization of Academics at IAIA

2. Addition of Associate Deans

This proposal calls for the addition of two Associate Deans (or some similar title) to head the School of Indigenous Arts & Culture and the School of Fine Art. The current Academic Dean would oversee these Associate Deans as the chief academic officer. Associate Deans would be recruited from current faculty within their respective schools and would maintain some of the responsibilities of faculty members. This would foster leadership experience among faculty in addition to current chairships and directorships.

Associate Dean Responsibilities

- Supervise department chairs
- Conduct chair evaluations
- Oversee faculty evaluations
- Oversee course scheduling
- Oversee faculty workloads, office hours, and related academic scheduling
- Oversee and guide academic department budgets and provide budget reports to the Academic Dean
- Coordinate departmental expenditures and budge priorities
- Chair the General Education Committee
- Supervise academic assessments and provide assessment reports to the Academic Dean
- Oversee academic department participation in Higher Learning Commission Academies

- Pursue grant funding for the academic division
- Oversee academic efficiency and efficacy
- Participate in institutional initiatives such as Achieving the Dream
- Participate in faculty and leadership development activities
- Coordinate faculty training including academic technology
- Teach at least one course per semester.
- Serve as ex-officio members of the President's cabinet.
- Compensation: \$12,000 per academic year and 2 course reduction.

Associate Dean Qualifications

- Hold Associate or Full Professor rank.
- Have served as department chair for at least 1 academic year.
- Current member of IAIA faculty.

Selection Process

- Internal advertisement.
- Candidates meeting qualifications may apply.
- Hiring committee: Include Academic dean and majority of committee must be current faculty members.

3. Alteration of Titles in accordance with reorganization (long-term proposal)

Ideally, the current position of dean, or chief academic officer, should have a title change to Provost or some similar title. Those who are listed as associate deans in part 2 (above) should be retitled as Deans.

Rationale

AD&CAO Duties: The AD&CAO position would be effectively divided into the two positions that it currently contains. This division of responsibilities would be accomplished without hiring a new CAO, or two new Deans, which would cost in the vicinity of \$75,000-\$150,000+. The cost of creating the two new Associate Dean positions would be approximately \$32,000. This added cost could be off-set by increased efficiency, efficacy, and the seeking of additional funding opportunities. A critical aspect of this division of duties is to allow for the academic innovations that are distinctive to IAIA. As IAIA continues to grow, how will leadership respond to demands for new programs and facilities. For example, academic leaders, faculty, staff, and students note the value of traditional arts education at IAIA. The current workload of the AD&CAO restricts academic leadership's ability to be responsive to the addition of innovative programs like traditional arts. In addition, IAIA has been largely disconnected from local tribal communities due to conflict that occurred during the relocation from the Santa Fe Indian School campus in 1980. The creation of the two new Associate Dean positions would create opportunity for the AD&CAO and the academic division as a whole to outreach to local communities and reestablish a relationship with IAIA's place in the midst of Pueblo country.

Transition Plan: The new Associate Deans would gain valuable skills and knowledge that could serve in the case of future transitions. This would also directly serve the mission of IAIA to empower leadership by creating a home-grown community of leaders within the academic division at IAIA.

Mission: This policy would serve to foster IAIA's mission to empower creativity and leadership in Native Arts and cultures through higher education, life-long learning and outreach. Faculty would have more opportunities to demonstrate leadership while seeking innovative approaches to continue IAIA's long history of excellence in the arts.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: SEMI-FORMAL INTERVIEW QUESTION POINTS

Semi-formal interview question points (target points to address with all participants)

- 1. What does education mean to you?
- 2. Where does education take place?
- 3. Who is responsible for education?
- 4. What is place-based education?
- 5. How would you define traditional arts?
- 6. What are some examples of traditional arts?
- 7. What is your experience with traditional arts classes at IAIA?
- 8. What are your thoughts about the role of traditional arts at IAIA?
- 9. Can you tell me about the history of traditional arts at IAIA?
- 10. In your view, what is the role of place-based education at IAIA?

APPENDIX B

ACADEMIC DEAN & CHIEF ACADEMIC OFFICER JOB DESCRIPTION

Academic Dean & Chief Academic Officer Job Description

SUMMARY OF RESPONSIBILITIES

The incumbent is responsible for academic and administrative management of all academic programs and personnel, including full-time and adjunct faculty and staff in the following departments: Essential Studies; Indigenous Liberal Studies; Studio Arts; Cinematic Arts & Technology; Museum Studies & Balzer Contemporary Edge Gallery; Creative Writing; Fitness Center and Health/Wellness classes; Library and Archives; Academic Technology and Business & Entrepreneurship program. The key duties include:

- Strategic and operational leadership for faculty and staff which includes innovative solutions in the ongoing development of college success strategies for all IAIA students
- Oversight of the development of online courses and programs Oversight of the development of the college's low-residency MFA program in Creative Writing.

The Dean provides leadership for learning outcomes assessment and supports all accreditation activities. The Dean also serves as a key member of the President's Cabinet and collaborates closely with the Enrollment Management Director and the Student Success Center, the Museum of Contemporary Native Arts Director, the Center for Lifelong Education Director, Institutional Research Director and other key leaders. The Dean is charged with fostering support of IAIA's mission, vision and core values as a multi-tribal Native institution of higher education dedicating to empowering Native arts and culture. The Dean's position is one which requires the credibility and confidence nationally

of Indian peoples, and at the same time commanding respect among the broader circle of institutions and agencies involved in cultural education through the visual and literary arts.

ESSENTIAL POSITION FUNCTIONS

- Lead, direct, manage, supervise and evaluate the following twelve positions: Six department chairs includes: Cinematic Arts, Creative Writing, Essential Studies, Indigenous Liberal Studies, Museum Studies, Studio Arts. Four program directors includes: Library Director; Fitness Center Director; MFA Program Director; Academic Tech & Business/Entrepreneurship Program Director; as well as two administrative assistants: the Assistant to the Dean and Assistant to the Faculty.
- Motivate, direct and coordinate activities of faculty and academic program staff, including teaching assignments.
- Design, implement and evaluate academic programs as the Chief Academic Officer and as a member of both the Curriculum Committee and Faculty Council.
- Conduct annual Program Reviews of academic programs in conjunction with the Office of Institutional Research and the Academic Department Chairs.
- Develop and manage the multiple budgets of the academic unit, including approval of all expenditures and providing support to and training for the unit's ten budget managers.
- Identify key needs, including critical unfunded areas, and seek-out funding from multiple sources outside of core funding to meet these needs.
- Assist in raising scholarship funds.

- Identify grant opportunities, manage grant and special project funding and reporting.
- Advocate for and promote the academic unit and academic programs to the IAIA community, area high schools, community colleges, local and national tribal constituencies, public and private agencies, and to the public at large.
- Lead student learning outcomes assessment, including providing training for faculty and staff new to assessment.
- Chair the Academic Program and Policy Committee.
- Submit quarterly Board reports and meet with the Academic Affairs Committee of the Board.
- Collaborate closely with the President in the creation and implementation of national and international partnerships with cultural organizations and higher education institutions.
- Serve on internal and external leadership coordinating bodies and committees as assigned by the President.
- Work closely with admissions and retentions staff to recruit and retain students, including the improvement of academic advising, dual credit courses, off-site classes, etc.
- Be actively involved in the creation of MOU agreements for transfer students in conjunction with the Director of Enrollment Management.
- Assume a lead role in IAIA's participation in the local higher education consortium, the Higher Education Center (HEC).

- Oversee the assessment, accreditation and strategic planning processes for the academic area.
- Carry out strategic priorities through an annual work plan and oversee key staff in carrying out strategic priorities.
- Provide necessary reporting and documentation to accrediting agencies as needed. Work closely with Institutional Research on all accreditation activities.
- Work closely with Faculty Development & Concerns Committee and Faculty Council to provide ongoing professional development for faculty and academic staff.
- Through Academic Technology, continue to strengthen the use of technology to augment learning and to utilize digital resources, including: e-books, the broadcast facility, digital dome, digital classrooms, Blackboard, and related resources.
- Other duties as assigned.