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Xiao Tan

April 10, 2016

Selling the Indian Other: The Commodification of Hopi *Katsinam* Spirit Figures

By

Xiao Tan

Dr. Rebecca Stone
Adviser

Art History

Dr. Rebecca Stone
Adviser

Dr. Susan Gagliardi
Committee Member

Dr. Leonard Carlson
Committee Member

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Abstract

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This thesis examines the religious and the commercial aspects of the selling, making, and displaying of *Katsinam*, spiritual beings that are key elements in the Hopi's ceremonial life. When analyzing the commodification of *Katsinam* figures (also called *tihu*), I shall take an interdisciplinary approach by weaving the art historical, historical, religious, and economic evidence together to plumb the complexities of spirits in material form being transformed into commodities on the international art market. Ultimately, I will propose a change in economics as one of the solutions to the situation in which Native peoples are forced by their economic circumstances to sell their own Otherness through commoditizing sacred figures such as *Katsinam*.

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Selling the Indian Other: The Commodification of Hopi Katsinam Spirit Figures

Introduction

Imagine a vast plain covered with tender grasses and blossoming wildflowers, men in knee-length pullover shirts chasing bison with their wooden bows and arrows raised high, women with long braids collecting and gathering seeds, corn, and beans, children running around freely. Since early twentieth-century elementary school textbooks imparted such stereotypes about American Indians to pupils, a sense of Otherness has been planted and became rooted in their minds. In their stereotyped versions, Native American cultures seem to differ completely from the dominant U.S. culture. Such difference nurtured touristic and art appropriation, ultimately luring generations and generations of non-Native Americans into consuming this version of Otherness. Whether a travel package advertises seeing the “native” lands as well as enjoying the “indigenous” way of living, or a gift shop sells handcrafted Native jewelry labeled “Real Authentic Native American” (Fig. 1), Otherness is used as an escape from the mundane familiarity of life or to experience something beyond the bounds of our own daily mediocrity. Otherness was, and continues to be, a key component of today’s economy, actively marketed and avidly consumed, particularly within “developed” countries and among majority populations.



Figure 1. “Authentic Handcrafted Native American Jewelry,” Gift Shop, Grand Canyon, Arizona. Photographed by Xiao Tan, 2016.

Consumption of Native American cultures has been increasingly popular. In 2012, the clothing brand ASOS launched a dubious “Go Native” Navajo-inspired line. That same year, Paul Frank hosted a “Dreamcatchin” cocktail party and encouraged their guests to wear “war paint.” In 2014, Pharrell Williams wore a feather headdress on Elle UK. In 2016, J. K. Rowling, in her new story collection, *History of Magic in North America*, equated “skin walkers”—a Navajo term for people turning into animals—with Animagi, a type of witch or wizard capable of transforming to a particular animal at will. Similarly, Quileute people were seen to transform into evil wolves in *Twilight*, Karlie Kloss walked nakedly in a war bonnet in Victoria’s Secret Fashion Show runway, and the Washington Redskins football team still refuses to change its name and logo. The French auction houses are the most extreme. In 2015, the Hopi Tribe of

northern Arizona opposed the sale of twenty-four Katsinam, famous dressed wooden ceremonial figures (singular: Katsina or *tihu*) that are integral to Hopi's Katsinam ceremonies. Auctioneer Alain Leroy responded to the protest, "It's legal. It's business. What's the problem? The tribes are shocked, yes. But to each his own morality."¹ These are just few instances of the ongoing appropriation and commodification of Native cultures caused by the power relations between the majority and minority—the dominant and dominated cultures.

Suffering from blatantly commercial rip-offs of Katsina imagery, today's popular, art-based image of the Hopi people is a product of history. A Katsinam-themed silk scarf designed for Hermes (Fig. 2) and a Katsina gift shop in Grand Canyon National Park (Fig. 3) are among the many examples of exploited Hopi Katsinam imagery. Being "exotic," "colorful," and "authentic," the moment when these Katsinam figures entered the Western market in the early 1900s, they immediately stirred dealers and collectors' craze for collecting. On one of the websites that sell Katsinam, one Hopi Katsina figure costs approximately from \$300 to \$2000. The art market demand continues to fuel the sale of Katsinam, resulting in a fierce debate within the Hopi community. One side is strongly opposed to the act of buying, selling, and displaying Katsinam because they regard them as sacred objects that should not be publicly displayed or sold; the other believe they have the right to carve them because their livelihoods depend on them. Meanwhile, the rise in the price of and demand for Katsinam has caused many non-Hopi, such as the Hopi's neighbor but longtime enemy the Navajos, to manufacture "Hopi" figures,

¹ "French Auction House Ignores Hopi Tribe, Robert Redford, Activists Calls to Stop Sale of Sacred Artifacts." CBS San Francisco. June 10, 2015. Accessed March 27, 2016.

which is opposed by both sides in the Hopi community. While the Navajos claim that they also practice the Katsinam religion, there is no evidence of this, and the Hopi are opposed to the production of outsiders' 'fake' Katsinam figures.



Figure 2. Hermes 2004 Baby Pink Katsinam Shawl. Painted by Oliver Kermit. 2004. Made in France. \$1850.



Figure 3. Stained glass "Katsina," Gift Shop, Grand Canyon, Arizona. Photographed by Xiao Tan, 2016.

Thus, this paper shall examine the broad, complicated problem concerning the commodification of one Native American culture, the Hopi, in art historical, historical, ethical,

political, and economic aspects. To do so, I shall narrow down my focus to the commodification of Katsinam figures. Rather than focusing on the point of view within the dominant culture that appropriate and commodify Native cultures, I adopt a different approach, focusing on the opposite sides within the dominated Hopi people, some of whom also participate in the commodification of their own culture. When analyzing the commodification of Katsinam figures, I shall take an interdisciplinary approach by combining my knowledge of both art history and economics. Cultural politics play a major role in the assimilation and exploitation of marginalized and colonized cultures such as Native American cultures and in the survival of those subordinated cultures. Ultimately, I will propose a change in economics as one of the solutions to the situation in which Native peoples are forced by their economic circumstances to sell their own Otherness through commoditizing sacred figures such as Katsinam. Though subject to the dominant culture, the Hopi, along with other Native subordinated cultures, may be able to find a different industry that would financially support them and prevent them from further reliance on selling their spirit figures central to their religion.

I traveled to the Southwest and the Hopi reservation from March 3rd to March 8th. Gary Tso, grew up learning both Hopi and Navajo languages, cultures, and histories, was my guide during my research on the Second Mesa. He was both a Hopi guide and a Katsina figure carver.

This paper has three chapters. Chapter one addresses the historical background of the Hopi and the religious importance of Hopi Katsinam ceremonies, archaeological and linguistic evidences to discuss how Katsinam are sacred and if they belong solely to the Hopi. Chapter two analyzes economic and political challenges that present-day Hopi people face: unemployment,

poverty, and a corrupt tribal government. I shall argue that poverty is one of the major causes that lead many Hopi to carve Katsinam for sale. Poverty lures many Hopi public servants into corruption as well, making the poverty cycle potentially unbreakable. In Chapter three, I shall evaluate four economic potential economic strategies for the Hopi—agriculture, textile industry, service industry, and gambling—which together might alleviate their current reliance on selling Katsinam figures.

Because I personally side with the conservatives, agreeing that the Hopi Katsinam figures are sacred, I am not going to illustrate Hopi Katsinam figures in this paper's footnote. Readers are referred to I.B. and other main books.

Chapter One Hopi Culture and Religion

*“You have to believe in Gods to see them”—Hopi proverb.*²

1.1. History of Hopi Culture

The Hopi people, who occupied the North America’s oldest village Oraibi around A.D.1100, regarded themselves as “the first inhabitants of America.”³ The names the Hopi give themselves include “Peaceful Ones,” “People of Peace,” and “People Who Live in the Correct Way.”⁴ They are widely regarded by others as gentle, mild-mannered, and modest. According to Hopi mythology, Hopi ancestors had resided in three worlds before they arrived in the fourth world—the world in which we are living now. Fires, floods, and earthquakes had destroyed the previous three worlds, so the ancestral Hopi were guided by a bird to the Fourth World. The entrance of the Fourth World is a hole, so all people emerged out of a hole from the Underworld.⁵ When they arrived in the Fourth World, they met the earth god, Maasaaw,⁶ who allowed them to stay on his land as long as they maintained a “balanced life” and lived spiritually and physically healthy. Maasaaw later taught them how to hunt, farm, and build

² “34 Famous Hopi Proverbs.” Special Dictionary. Accessed March 10, 2016.

³ Waters, Frank. *Book of the Hopi* (Penguin Books, New York, 1963), 9.

⁴ Boyé L. De Mente, *Cultural Code Words of the Hopi People: Key Terms that Reveal the History, Heart, Traditional Customs and Wisdoms of the Hopis* (Phoenix, AZ: Phoenix Books Publishers, 2005), 9. Pritzker, *The Hopi*, 14.

⁵ Thomas, David, and Robert Kelly. *Archaeology: Down to Earth* (Cengage Learning, 2006), 15.

⁶ Maasaw (Mah-saw). Hopi fire, death, and spirit god; guardian protector of the New World.

houses.⁷ The Ancestral Hopi's dwellings, therefore, all contains one hole that represented the pathway that symbolically connected the Underworld to the current world.⁸ Preserving the symbolic holes in every household reveals that the Hopi are “deeply religious people [and] follow divine instructions and prophecies received from the caretaker of this world, Maasaw.”⁹

Not actually the most ancient in the Southwest, the Hopi's ancestors, Anasazi, originally from Four Corners region, relocated because of drought to areas of what is now New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, and Colorado in large Cliff dwellings.¹⁰ Today, the Hopi live in villages that are located on ridges of Black Mesa,¹¹ called First, Second, and Third Mesas.¹² The Hopi have two famous villages: Walpi, located on the First Mesa, is the most traditional village today. Oraibi, which the Hopi regard as the center of the universe or axis mundi, is one of the oldest continuously inhabited settlements within the United States, dating to 1150 A.D.¹³

⁷ John D. Loftin, *Religion and Hopi Life* (Bloomington, IA: Indiana University Press, 2003), xix and McMannis, *A Guide to Hopi*, 122.

⁸ Thomas, David, and Robert Kelly, 15.

⁹ Hoxie, Frederick E. *The Oxford Handbook of American Indian History* (Oxford University Press, 2016), 224.

¹⁰ Thomas, David, and Robert Kelly, 17.

¹¹ Mesa. Tableland.

¹² A. Douglas, *American Antiquity* (1997), 603, quoted in Wesley Bernardini, *Hopi Oral Tradition and The Archaeology of Identity* (Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 2005), 26., De Mente, *Cultural Code Words*, 9, 14.

1.2. Importance of Katsinam Religion in Hopi Culture

Religion permeates every aspect of Hopi life. Living on high dry desert lands, the Hopi suffer from a lack of rivers and meagre annual of rainfall. As a result, they perform seasonal and religious ceremonies that involve spiritual communication with supernaturals who are propitiated to bring moisture to them and teach them appropriate behaviors.¹⁴ Because their agriculture depends largely on rain, the Katsinam ceremonies last for eight months long, while no other ceremonies last for more than a month. The season of Katsinam ceremonies start in December with a *Soyal* Ceremony (Winter Solstice Ceremony) and ends in July with a *Niman* Ceremony (Home Ceremony). From August to November, the Hopi participate in other ceremonies such as Snake (August), Maraw (September), Lakon O’waqolt (October), and Wuwuchim (November) (Table 1).¹⁵

Table 1: Hopi Ceremonies
Katsinam Season

December	Soyal or Winter Solstice Ceremony
January	Social Dances
February	Powamu, Bean Dance, or Pure Moon Ceremony
March	Night Dances
April	Hototom or Racing Katsinam
May	Hototom or Racing Katsinam
June	Katsinam
July	Niman or Home Ceremony

¹⁴ The Oxford Handbook of American Indian History.

¹⁵ John D. Loftin, *Religion and Hopi Life* (Bloomington, IA: Indiana University Press, 2003), xix and McMannis, *A Guide to Hopi*, 4.

Non-Katsinam Season

August	Snake, Antelope,
September	Maraw or Harvest
October	Lakon O' waqult
November	Men's Societies
December*	Storytelling

*December appears twice due to the Winter Solstice being towards the end of the month
Source: "Hopi Cycle of the Year."

Katsinam ceremonies are important reenactments of Hopi emergence during Creation:

Soyal, *Powamu*, and *Niman* are three major ceremonies directly link to the emergence from the Underworld.¹⁶ *Soyal*, otherwise known as Winter Solstice Ceremony, marks the beginning of the Katsina Season in December on the shortest day of the year.¹⁷ Hopi prayers implement a plan of life for the upcoming year and symbolically bring back the sun from its winter slumber. *Soyal* starts another cycle of the Wheel of the Year;¹⁸ it is a time when the Hopi people review their emergence into the Fourth World.¹⁹ *Powamu*, otherwise known as Bean Dance, starts in February. *Powamu* traces the agricultural techniques that Maasaaw has taught their ancestors and is concerned with ensuring an abundance of good crops.²⁰ *Niman* or Home Dance marks the completion of the Katsina Season. *Niman* is also related to farming and crops. For example, on the fourth day of *Niman*, Hopi people raise an altar painted with Tunwub, Hopi's germination

¹⁶ John D. Loftin, 4.

¹⁷ De Mente, Cultural Code Words, 42.

¹⁸ Wheel of the Year. Annual cycle of seasonal festivals.

¹⁹ De Mente, Cultural Code Words, 42.

²⁰ George, A. Corbin, Native Arts of North America, Africa, and the South Pacific: An Introduction (New York, NY: Harper & Row Publishing, 1998), 78., Edward A. Kennard, Hopi Kachinas (Walnut, CA: Kiva Publishing, 2002), 81., Kennard, Edward A. Hopi Kachinas (Walnut, CA: Kiva Publishing, 2002), 18., Pritzker, Barry M. *The Hopi: The History and Culture of Native Americans* (New York, NY: Infobase Learning, 2011), 29.

God, inside of their kivas, circular spiritual spaces²¹ This reminds the Hopi of Maasaaw, who taught their ancestor how to farm and grow crops.

Katsinam are also important in helping Hopi to maintain a balanced way of life. The Katsinam season requires the Hopi to maintain good behavior in ceremonies and in everyday life.²² For example, Hopi parents usually use Katsinam to help teach their children good behaviors. They will secretly contact an Ogre Katsina²³ impersonator to come to their house and threaten eat the children if they were disobedient. The parents will then act as if they were the childrens' protectors and give Ogre Katsina some food. Before leaving, the Ogre Katsina will warn the children not to behave "incorrectly" again.²⁴ If people behave in the "correct" Hopi way, Katsinam spirits will bestow blessings and bring the entire community rain. However, if people are unfaithful or misbehave, Katsinam spirits will not answer their prayers, and thus the Hopi will not receive rain.²⁵ As a culture living in a desert, rain is an important part of the water cycle, and the Hopi cannot risk losing water, the most essential part of life. By eliminating all frivolous and evil behaviors, as Katsinam spirits requested, the Hopi believe Katsinam spirits will bestow their blessings in the form of clouds and rains and ultimately help the Hopi to farm and survive in the desert reservation lands.

²¹ Kennard, *Hopi Kachinas*, 34.

²² McMannis, *A Guide to Hopi*, 6., Pritzker, *The Hopi*, 59.

²³ Ogres. Katsina spirit who has special power of observation.

²⁴ Boyé L. De Mente, *Cultural Code Words of the Hopi People: Key Terms that Reveal the History, Heart, Traditional Customs and Wisdoms of the Hopis* (Phoenix, AZ: Phoenix Books Publishers, 2005), 9. Pritzker, *The Hopi*, 14.

²⁵ J. Brent Ricks, et al., *Kachinas: Spirit Beings of the Hopi* (Albuquerque, NM: Avanyu Publishing Inc., 2006), 4.

1.2.1. Importance of *tihu*

When the Hopi villagers use term Katsinam, they are not only referring to hundreds of powerful beings that bring rains and blessings to the Hopi and to the spirit-embodying dancers at the December to July Katsina ceremonies who perform as various kinds of Katsinam. They are also referring to the Katsinam figures (also known as *tihu*), the carved wooden representations of Katsina that were and are given to young girls at the Bean Dance and the Home Dance.²⁶ Along with other gifts such as dancing wands, traditional shoes, and decorative plaques, *tihu* are one of the gifts for girls that represent “bounty of harvest and great virtues of life for all mankind.”²⁷ Girls learn how to become mothers when they play with their *tihu*, which they treat as their children. Girls also learn to distinguish different types of Katsinam spirits by comparing garments, colors, and types among the different *tihu*.²⁸

During Katsinam ceremonies, all Hopi children aged from seven to nine are initiated into the Katsina society (also *katsinavaki*), completing their identity as Hopi. Deprived of food and sleep and whipped with yucca²⁹ by Katsinam performers, every Hopi child has to go through this arduous process. During *katsinavaki*, they learned to offer prayers and learned the history

²⁶ Pearlstone, Zena, 43.

²⁷ De Mente, Cultural Code Words, 45.

²⁸ Griffin-Pierce, Trudy. *Native peoples of the southwest* (UNM Press, 2000), 98.

²⁹ Yucca. An important plant to Southwest Native tribes. Their fruits and roots could be eaten. Their fiber could be used to weave baskets. They are also medicine herbs, particularly to treat sores and rashes.

and meaning of their Katsinam religion.³⁰ The Katsina initiation ceremony is “the first ceremony in which Hopi children participate, being the initiatory step into a society [the esoteric realm].”³¹ It is believed that a Hopi person is not a qualified Hopi until he or she completes his or her initiation, in which the traditions of his or her clan and the Hopi ceremonial cycle are learned.³²

Although in general all the performers in Katsina ceremonies are labeled as Katsinam, the actual situation is more complex. Katsinam performers are not the only ones present in such ceremonies. Besides Katsinam, there are gods, social dancers or caretakers, and clowns. Gods are often times masked, just like Katsinam, while clowns and social dancers are usually unmasked.³³ There are also foreign clowns introduced by other Pueblo cultures of the American Southwest, such as the (also known as Paiyakyamu, Kossa, or Koshare).³⁴ This clown was probably introduced by Tewa people, who immigrated to the Hopi territory and resided on the eastern part of the Hopi reservation (Fig. 4). Such sharing of various spirit embodiments may result from close geographical proximity since Tewa people reside on the eastern part of the Hopi reservation, or this integration of nearby Pueblo religions may result from the fact that the Hopi religion fosters openness to a variety of non-Hopi religious images.

³⁰ Nicholas, Sheilah E. *Becoming "fully" Hopi: The Role of the Hopi Language in the Contemporary Lives of Hopi Youth---A Hopi Case Study of Language Shift and Vitality* (ProQuest, 2008), 149.

³¹ Nicholas, Sheilah E., 148.

³² Nicholas, Sheilah E., 149.

³³ Pearlstone, Zena, 45.

³⁴ Pearlstone, Zena, 45.



Figure 4. (c. 1938) *Koyala*. Before 1938. Carved and painted cottonwood with attached corn husks, 31.115 cm x 10.4775 cm x 8.89 cm. Southwest Museum of the American Indian Collection, Autry National Center, Flagstaff, Arizona.

Besides clowns, gods, and social dancers, the actual Hopi Katsinam are still varied in nature. There are approximately three hundred to five hundred Katsinam spirits representing various kinds of beings.³⁵ The exact number of them cannot be determined because it is not fixed; new Katsinam can be added, while the old ones can fade away over time.³⁶ Because Katsinam are almost unlimitedly various in nature, they look distinctive, perform different functions and roles in groups or alone, and serve varying ritual purposes.³⁷ They have various

³⁵ Whiteley, Peter. "Hopi Histories," in *The Katsina, Commodified and Appropriated Images of Hopi Supernaturals* (Los Angeles: UCLA Fowler Museum of Cultural History, 2001), 45.

³⁶ Pearlstone, Zena, 45.

³⁷ Pearlstone, Zena, 44.

facial features, dressed differently, and are performed in a wide variety of ways.³⁸ During the Bean and Home dances, while a large number of them appear in multiple dances, some are rarely seen, and a few are never shown.³⁹ Because of the Katsinam figures' variations, tourists cannot easily tell the difference between Katsinam figures or may not care. Similarly, when choosing between a Navajo-produced fake Hopi Katsina and a Hopi artist carved Katsina, tourists will probably purchase the cheaper one. To the majority of the tourists, Navajo and Hopi Katsinam may seem to be the same thing, though in reality they are not.

³⁸ Whiteley, Peter, 25.

³⁹ Whiteley, Peter, 25.

1.2.2. The Contested Origins of Katsinam Religion

There has been an ongoing debate in the Southwest of the United States regarding the origin of Katsinam religion. Multiple tribes, such as the Navajo, claim that they share the Katsinam religion with the Hopi. For example, Tammy Garcia, a renowned Santa Clara Pueblo ceramic artist featured in the “Indigenous Beauty” exhibition, told me that she had the right to incorporate Katsinam images into her pottery because Katsinam spirits belong to all Pueblo people. She further suggested that, because of such shared religion, all Pueblo people have the right to produce Katsinam images and carve Katsinam figures for sale.⁴⁰ On the other hand, the Hopi people whom I have talked to all insisted that the *tihu* are a purely Hopi invention, making the imitations made by artists from other tribes unjustifiable. This section will examine the possible origins of the Katsinam religion. I argue that Katsinam religion belongs to certain Southwest tribes: the Hopi, the Zuni, and the Keresans; however, the Katsinam beliefs do not belong to all Pueblo people, particularly the Navajo. The Navajo neither share the same ancestors as the Hopi nor do they believe in and practice Katsinam ceremonies, which makes their production of Katsinam figures illegitimate, from the Hopi point of view at least.

According to archaeological findings, the descendants of the Mogollon people may share the Katsinam religion. Archaeologist E. Charles Adams, who has directed fifteen years of research at villages to the south along the Little Colorado River, discovered the first trace of

⁴⁰ Tammy Garcia (Santa Clara Pueblo sculptor and Ceramic artist) in discussion with the author, October 19th, 2015.

Katsinam religion dated to 1400s-1500s.⁴¹ James S. Griffith, former curator at the University of Arizona Museum of Art, suggested that the Katsinam religion may have been introduced from even further south, in Casas Grandes in Chihuahua, Mexico, both a trading center and a religious center that spread its religion northward.⁴² Further excavations showed that Casas Grandes potsherds feature clad beings with masked faces.⁴³ J. Jefferson Reid and Stephanie Michelle in their *The Archaeology of Ancient Arizona* also have suggested that Katsinam were derived from the Mexico.⁴⁴ Likewise, in *The Transnational Indians in the North American West* W. Dick Raat argues that the Katsinam figures looked very similar to Mesoamerican Tlaloques⁴⁵ aspects of the Aztec rain god (Fig. 5).⁴⁶ Raat further stated that, similar to the Katsinam gods, Tlaloques also brought rain and thunder to the people. Figures similar to Tlaloques are also found in the rock art and ceramics of the Southwest, especially among the Mogollon peoples (Fig. 6).⁴⁷ Adams further elaborated on the issue by pointing out that the Katsinam religion had developed in areas where the Mogollon people lived by twelve century.⁴⁸

⁴¹ Teiwes, Helga. *Kachina dolls: the art of Hopi carvers* (University of Arizona Press, 1991), 24.

⁴² Teiwes, Helga, 23.

⁴³ Teiwes, Helga, 24.

⁴⁴ Reid, J. Jefferson. *The archaeology of ancient Arizona* (University of Arizona Press, 1997), 33.

⁴⁵ Tlaloques. Assistants of Tlaloc, god of the rain.

⁴⁶ Raat, W. Dick. *The Transnational Indians in the North American West* (Texas A&M University Press, 2015), 55.

⁴⁷ Marak, Andrae, Clarissa Confer, and Laura Tuennerman, eds. *Transnational Indians in the North American West*. Texas A&M University Press, 2015.

⁴⁸ Teiwes, Helga. *Kachina dolls: the art of Hopi carvers* (University of Arizona Press, 1991), 23.

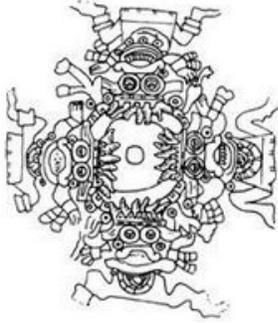


Figure 5. Richardo Sandoval Minero. *The Tlaloques: assistants of Tlaloc, god of the rain.*



Figure 6. *Costumed dancer*. Mogollon site, far west Texas.

The Hopi, the Zuni, and the Keresan tribes may be, at least in part, composed of Mogollon descendants. Linguistic evidence points to the three Mogollon-descended tribes' shared ceremonial vocabularies. The languages of the Hopi, the Zuni, and the Keresan are interrelated with one another. There are not only Keresan loanwords in Zuni but also Zuni loanwords in Hopi. At least ten Hopi terms referring to specific Katsinam spirits also exist in the

Zuni language.⁴⁹ For example, Hopi word “Heheya,” referring to a type of Katsina spirit in Hopi, is also presented in Zuni’s language, but possibly with a different meaning.⁵⁰ However, it remains unclear whether these shared terms were derived from their same ancestors or were borrowed from one another because of their close geographical proximity. There may be many reasons behind non-Hopi names for Hopi Katsinam, a topic beyond the scope of this paper. Yet, being neighboring pueblos and culturally related, the Zuni and Keresan are likely to share the Katsinam tradition as another cultural characteristic.

I have already noted that during the Katsinam ceremonies of the Home or Bean Dance, Katsinam spirits are not the only supernaturals present. Borrowed spiritual beings are not considered as Katsinam; however, the neighboring cultures could make claims as to overlapping religious practices with those of the Hopi. Those borrowed spiritual beings as Katsinam spirits, and because they shared those spiritual beings with those of the Hopi, making the argument in which they also had the right to replicate Katsinam, as Tammy Garcia claimed. The complexity of the Southwest in terms of archaeology, linguistics, and migration histories make the determination of the origin of the Katsinam religion difficult. However, it is clear that the Katsinam religion does not belong to all Pueblo people, especially the Navajo who mass-produce Katsinam figures.

⁴⁹ Doelle, William H. *Zuni origins: toward a new synthesis of Southwestern archaeology*. Edited by David A. Gregory, and David R. Wilcox (University of Arizona Press, 2009), 25.

⁵⁰ Maxson, Rachel Elizabeth. "A Kachina by Any Other Name: Linguistically Contextualizing Native American Collections." PhD diss., Master’s thesis (University of Denver, 2010), 90.

On the other hand, the Navajo are neither Mogollon descendants, nor do they practice Katsinam ceremonies. In fact, being descendants of Athapaskans,⁵¹ the Navajo share no common ancestor with the Navajo, the Zuni, or the Keresan. According to archaeological findings, the Navajo migrated from the north and are not Pueblo or Hopi related. According to archaeological studies, the first Navajo probably came from Asia, lived in western Canada one thousand years ago, and then migrated south into the Southwestern United States. However, their passage through several North American regions may suggest their versatility and resilience to adapt to changing living environments. This might extend to the pattern of Navajo commodifying and appropriating Hopi Katsinam for making profits to adapt to the modern consumers' tastes.

There is also no evidence of a history of Katsinam-related ceremonies in the Navajo tribe, which has approximately fifty different ceremonies. The *Kinaaldá* ceremony, which could be regarded as equivalent to the Hopi Katsinam Puberty ceremony, marked the transition of a girl to adulthood. The *Kinaaldá* ceremony lasted for four days, including running to the east three times, grinding corn, excavating a fire pit, and making a ceremonial corncake. No traces of Katsinam figures have ever been detected.⁵² There are no signs of *tihu* being presented to girls or adult Navajo men dancing in Katsinam faces in other ceremonies either.

⁵¹ Athapaskans. Also known as Dene. Athapaskans can be divided into three groups of contiguous languages: Pacific Coast, Southern (Apachean), or Northern.

⁵² "Kinaalda—Celebrating Maturity of Girls among the Navajo." Navajo People Culture History. Accessed March 25, 2016, <http://navajopeople.org/blog/kinaalda-celebrating-maturity-of-girls-among-the-navajo/>.

In fact, the conflict between the Hopi and the Navajo is worsened by the creation of the “joint use area,” which resulted from the ambiguous wording in the original executive order that created the reservation in 1882. As Dr. Leonard Carlson, economic professor at Emory University, points out “the system [of creating reservations by presidential executive order] was far from smooth.” The order in 1882 called for land to be reserved for the Hopi “...and other such Indians as the secretary of the Interior may see fit to settle thereon.”⁵³ This led to a long running dispute between the Hopi and Navajo as Navajo families were exiled and moved on to land set aside for the Hopi after their defeat under Colonel Kit Carson at Canyon de Chelly in Arizona in 1864. Because the Navajo are nomadic Native Americans and the Hopi are farmers settled in villages, they have distinct living styles. While the Navajo’s population and the number of sheep grew rapidly and took more and more their neighbor’s land, their neighbor, the Hopi, suffer from their shrinking territory owing to encroachment by the Navajo.⁵⁴

⁵³ Prucha, Francis Paul. *Atlas of American Indian Affairs* (U of Nebraska Press, 1990), 1176.

⁵⁴ John D. Loftin, 20.

1.3. Debate over sacredness

I first encountered the Katsinam issue when studying the travelling exhibition “Indigenous Beauty: Masterworks of American Indian Art from the Diker Collection” in Fall 2015 at Emory. At the previous venues, the exhibition had displayed the four Katsinam which had been chosen by the exhibition curator Dr. David Penney. He regarded Katsinam as “dolls” and thus as non-sacred. He argued that these Katsinam “dolls” are not supernatural spirits. Rather, they are gifts distributed by the Katsinam spirits at ceremonies to girls at their initiations. Unlike Faces, which he considered as sacred and therefore not to be displayed, Katsinam “dolls” are not secret or hidden because every Hopi except the uninitiated girls can touch and handle them. However, site curator Dr. Rebecca Stone’s concern for honoring the Hopi perspective and siding with the more conservative side put her at odds with him. She notes that the Hopi culture has twelve villages, each of which is under its own jurisdiction, and because of such complexity within the Hopi tribe, different Hopi people have different opinions regarding Katsina’s sacredness. She decided to not show them because “even though there’s just one person coming to my office saying I don’t want the Katsinam to be shown, I will respect him and take them off display.”⁵⁵ In fact, every Native American speaker who participated in the program related to “Indigenous Beauty” agreed with her opinions.

I must note that Dr. Penney failed to recognize that *tihu* do demand a measure of secrecy because they were hidden from the girls who were going to receive them. In general, there is

⁵⁵ Dr. David Penney (Associate Director of Museum Scholarship at National Museum of the American Indian) in discussion with the author. October 15th, 2016.

always secrecy that is associated with all that transpires in Katsinam ceremony initiations. First, the Faces are physically kept secret except during the ceremonial performances. Second, impersonators of Katsinam spirits hide their identities under their Faces. Third, the Katsinam impersonators keep the tangible figures of Katsinam hidden from the girls until their initiation is completed. Then, they handed their gifts of carved Katsinam figures to girls as they dance.⁵⁶ No songs or rituals accompany the making of the “doll.”⁵⁷ *Tihu* are unlike Faces, which are normally hidden from the whole community, because *tihu* are not supposed to be given to the whole community. They are just for girls, who are waiting to be initiated. However, Faces would periodically manifest the invisible spirits by impersonating them in front of the whole village. The dancers’ identities are largely secret as they dance, as well. The degree and timing of secrecy surrounding the various Katsinam spirits depends on the object’s audience.

Furthermore, even though Katsinam figures had been regarded as and called “dolls” for centuries, they are much more than mere “dolls” to Hopis. They were part of a girl’s rite of passage, to mark her maturing into full-fledged statues as a Hopi. *Tihu* also mark the other life stages that a girl goes through: when the girl is born, she is given a flat, simply-standing *tihu*, with no elaborate clothing and garments.⁵⁸ At age eight or nine, she is given the more elaborate *tihu* at her initiation.⁵⁹ Finally, when she is married, she will be given a real, lifelike *tihu*, special

⁵⁶ Kent McMannis, *A Guide to Hopi Katsina Dolls* (Tucson, AZ: Rio Nuevo Publishers, 2000), 40.

⁵⁷ Schlegel, Alice. "Hopi social structure as related to Tihu symbolism." (2008), 129.

⁵⁸ Pearlstone, Zena, 47.

⁵⁹ Schlegel, Alice, 129.

blessings for ideal motherhood.⁶⁰ Hopi girls usually hang their Katsinam ‘friends’ in their houses.

Importantly, these figures are not supposed to be passed from generation to generation, which means they are not transferred from the owner to anyone else, even a descendent.⁶¹ Thus, while their audience become the initiate family and friends of the initiate, her *tihu* are not on public display. The *tihu*, as their name “friend” implies, are like members of the family.

According to Laurence Martin Dallas, “Selling Katsinam is like selling your children, but people have to make a living.”⁶² As a result, girls’ *tihu* are their children and friends and never supposed to be traded. One of the households that I visited in 2016 had three daughters, each of whom had several Katsinam figures hanging on the wall. There were flat *tihu*, with paint simply outlining eyes, noses, and mouths, and there were more elaborate *tihu*, having carved wings and colorful clothes. These *tihu* are religious objects to this family associated with Hopi initiation. According to the father, though being a Katsinam carver, his daughters’ *tihu* absolutely should not supposed be sold.⁶³ In other words, at least to some Hopi, any ‘real’ ones that were gifted in the correct manner are off limited as commodities.

⁶⁰ Schlegel, Alice, 129.

⁶¹ Schlegel, Alice, 130.

⁶² Schlegel, Alice, 130.

⁶³ Gary Tso (Hopi guide) personal communication with author, March 5th, 2016.

Chapter Two

Poverty—the Cause of All Tragedies

“From poverty of a man, even his friends heed not his words. His power is laughed at; none desire his acquaintance, nor speaks to him with respect. Truly poverty is the sixth great sin.”—Sudrakah from “Mricchakatika.”

Poverty, a word that is familiar to hundreds of thousands of Hopi families, is the ultimate cause for the sale of Katsinam. Poverty has lured tens of hundreds of Hopi people into carving Katsinam for sale. By 2010, poverty rates on the Hopi reservation (thirty-five percent) are still more than twice as high as the Arizona state rates (twenty-four percent). Thirty-five percent of Hopi family live under the poverty line, nearly three times higher than the state rate of thirteen percent. Only forty percent of Hopi are employed.⁶⁴ However, the tribal government—which is supposed to pull its people out of poverty—has instead been convicted of corruption scandals.

Since the 1900s, the dominant capitalist system in the United States has influenced and split the Hopi into two distinct sides: the progressives, represented by the Hopi tribal government, and the conservatives, represented by the eight out of twelve Hopi villages.⁶⁵ The progressives, regarded as “assimilationists” and “puppets” of the Federal government by the conservatives, adopted the Western political model. The conservatives, having a traditional antipathy toward American government due to its abuses beginning with the first contact,

⁶⁴ Hopi Tribe. Planning and Development. *Demographic Analysis of the Hopi Tribe Using 2010 Census and 2010 American Community Survey Estimates*. By Arizona Rural Policy Institute, Center for Business Outreach, W.A. Franke College of Business, and Northern Arizona University, 32.

⁶⁵ Griffin-Pierce, Trudy. *Native peoples of the southwest* (UNM Press, 2000), 83.

disapprove of their tribal government because its ongoing corruption that has exhausted the resources that could have been used to pull the Hopi people out of poverty.⁶⁶

Thus, the disagreements among the villages and tribal government complicates the process of reaching consensus on most matters. Protecting Katsinam figures from commodification, for example, becomes almost impossible, given such deep and ongoing internal disputes.

⁶⁶ Gary Tso (Hopi guide) personal communication with author, March 5th, 2016.

2.1. Setting the Stage for Future Disputes

The first sale of Hopi Katsinam took place approximately between 1869 to 1872, when the famous geographer John Wesley Powell visited the Hopi mesas and offered several Hopi families a quarter for a Katsina “doll.” Powell left word that he would come back to purchase more Katsinam, and he returned and bought more material goods.⁶⁷ Although a quarter may not seem like a lot today, at the time it could purchase a twenty-five-pound sack of flour.⁶⁸ The fact that multiple families traded their valued and sacred Katsinam at that time underlined the economic pressure from which they were suffering.

The concept of value split the Hopi into progressive and the conservative factions. Since the mid-1890s, as the Hopi’s interaction with outsiders increased through traders, missionaries, and later Indian agents, the Hopi progressives, pro-Anglo, “friendly” faction accepted the idea of value for their products. The “friendly” one favored a Western lifestyle and capitalist economy, while the “hostiles” preferred a traditional tribal organization and maintenance of their original ways of living, which is the dominant view in the Hopi villages. The economic gains associated with these carvings meet the economic needs of the “friendly” group, leading many to carve *tihu* for sale. Since the demand in the art market has continued to fuel the sale of Katsinam, current progressives look for new ways to capitalize on Katsina

⁶⁷ Kuwanwisiwma, Lee J. "Introduction: From the Sacred to the Cash Register-Problems encountered in Protecting Hopi Patrimony." *Katsina: Commodified and Appropriated Images of Hopi Supernaturals* (2001), 16.

⁶⁸ Kuwanwisiwma, Lee J, 17.

imagery. Some invent new ways of illustrating Katsinam, while others apply Katsina imagery to different media, such as paintings, jewelry, and basketry.

By 1890, the split between the hostiles and the friendlies concerning the attitudes toward capitalism and the European settlers had become irreconcilable: conservatives had built their own kiva, circular religious structure, in Oraibi, the central and most populated village. During the same year, a number of the progressives moved to the trading post and established Kykotsmovi village, often known as New Oraib.⁶⁹ In 1906, the conservative leader, Lomahongyoma, drew a circle (or a line in some sources) and stood within it.⁷⁰ He said that if someone could push him out of the circle, he and his followers would move out of the village. He wanted this bloodless competition to determine the outcome. The moment he stopped talking, a man from the progressive side attacked him. Lomahongyoma fell out of the circle, and his followers attacked back. The Approximately 500 men from both sides engaged in a bloody fight.⁷¹ In the end, Lomahongyoma obeyed his promise and led his men to found the village of Hotevilla, leaving the central village of Oraibi to the pro-capitalists.⁷²

⁶⁹ John D. Loftin, 72.

⁷⁰ Griffin-Pierce, Trudy, 83.

⁷¹ Gary Tso, personal communication with author, March 5th, 2016.

⁷² John D. Loftin, 73.

2.2. A Pro-Capitalist Tribal Government

The complicated history of the Hopi politics and its problematic, possibly corrupted, central tribal government continued to evolve. The newly established tribal government was unable to bring all villages together and take any effective steps to protect their Hopi Katsinam from further cultural appropriation. After the Oraibi split, tensions still existed among villages. The situation only got worse when the federal government intensified its efforts to “civilize” the Hopi people and enacted the Indian Reorganizations Act (IRA) on June 18, 1934.⁷³ The IRA aimed to reverse the assimilation of Native Americans and envisioned Indian tribes establishing sovereignty and self-government by adopting constitutions and government forms similar to those of the United States. In a reversal of the damage caused by previous allotment acts, this self-government provision intended to end land allotment and promote economic self-sufficiency. However, the IRA, having little concern for reorganization of traditional Native Americans’ forms of government, neither brought the villages together nor alleviated the conflicts between the conservatives and progressives. Rather, the establishment of a central Hopi government set the stage for an increase in future tribal disputes.

The IRA was praised by some for its intentions to protect Native Americans’ interests, but it assumed that an Indian tribe was a government unit, and, worse, that the reservation and the tribe were one and the same. Rather than protecting Native American interests, the IRA

⁷³ United States Department of the Interior. *The Meaning of “Under Federal Jurisdiction” for Purposes of the Indian Reorganization Act* (Washington, DC, 2014), 2, <http://www.bia.gov/cs/groups/webteam/documents/text/idc1-028386.pdf>.

pushed its own interests onto them. Since the Hopi tribe has been and continues to be a collection of twelve independent villages, each of which is under its own jurisdiction and authority, the conflation of tribe with reservation does not match their internal organization. Unlike the English settlers who were once ruled by the English Crown, these Hopi people had never before experienced a central government. Instead, each village has always had a hereditary group of priests or chiefs.⁷⁴ As a result, the IRA's proposals imposed its own social and political ideas on Native Americans, directly resulting in referenda on the IRA in which in a sixty percent of the Indians rejected the adoption of Western-influenced constitutions and the formation of tribal councils.⁷⁵

However, tribal governments were still formed despite Native objections. In 1936, the Hopi voted on reorganization under the IRA. Each tribe had to vote to endorse the reorganization. Had there not been a clear majority of eligible tribal members voting such reorganizational provisions down, IRA would go into effect automatically. Only twenty percent of the Hopi eligible voters turned out to vote and less than fifteen percent of the total population actually supported the reorganization. The federal government, however, used only the reported numbers from those who voted and declared that Hopi tribal government was officially legal. However, the Hopi who did not vote refused to acknowledge the tribal government and demonstrated their opposition with silence. As Harry James stated in his *Pages from Hopi*

⁷⁴ Ojibwa. "Hopi Political Organization." Native American Netroots. Accessed March 25, 2016, <http://nativeamericannetroots.net/diary/1922>.

⁷⁵ Cowger, Thomas W. *The National Congress of American Indians: The Founding Years*. (University of Nebraska Press, 1999).

History, "...the Hopi who opposed the establishment of a tribal council were true to their traditional procedure in such matters and simply abstained from voting either for or against it."⁷⁶

Similarly, the majority of Hopi villages refused to send representatives to participate in their new tribal government. Skeptical towards the IRA and their alien government after suffering from centuries of broken treaties and promises, the Hopi avoided involvement in the new Hopi Council, just as they had refused to acknowledge the system during the reorganization election. Today's Hopi council consists of fourteen representatives from four villages of Upper Monekopi, Bacavi, Kykotsmovi, and Mishongnovi. However, the majority of the rest eight Hopi villages—Sipaulovi, Shungopavi, Oraibi, Hotevilla, Lower Moenkopi, and First Mesa Consolidated Villages (Walpi, Shitchumovi, and Tewa)—do not have a seat on the council.⁷⁷ According to Article IV, Section 6 of the Hopi Constitution: "No business shall be done unless at least a majority of members are present."⁷⁸ The "members" in this instance, as defined by the constitution, are a "union" of independent villages, not council representatives. Ironically, the Council, on which only four out of twelve village representatives sit, states on their official website that according to their constitution, the Hopi Tribal Council has the power and authority to represent and speak for the Hopi Tribe "in all matters for the welfare of the Tribe, and to

⁷⁶ Ojibwa. "Hopi Political Organization."

⁷⁷ "Tribal Government - The Hopi Tribe." The Hopi Tribe. Accessed March 25, 2016. <http://www.hopi-nsn.gov/tribal-government/>.

⁷⁸ "Hopi. Const. art. IV, sec 6. Web."

negotiate with federal, state, and local government, and with the councils or governments of other tribes.”⁷⁹

Gary Tso, a member of the Sun Forehead Clan and of the Village of Soongoopavi, personally confirmed to me that a significant portion of Hopi people here, including himself, resent their alien central government. Although he and his village are considered as “progressive,” he and many other Hopi opposed their central government, opposing it creating government-to-government relationships between the Hopi and the Federal and state governments. Apart from a traditional antipathy toward American government that has been part of their political culture since the first contact, Gary Tso’s and many of his peers’ distrust and discontent toward the Hopi government also resulted from the tribal government’s past failures in promoting the welfare of the Hopi.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ "Tribal Government—The Hopi Tribe."

⁸⁰ Gary Tso, personal communication with author, March 5th, 2016.

2.3. A Corrupted Tribal Government

Corruption scandals poison and plague the Hopi tribal government. For example, in 1966, the Hopi central government sold its water rights to Peabody Energy, who pumped from an aquifer that supplies drinking water for almost 10,000 Hopi.⁸¹ Promulgating the sale of Hopi coal and aquifer water directly resulted in the contamination of the water supply by uranium waste, drying up springs and washes, and wilting crops.⁸² Although the sale has brought the Hopi government sixty percent of their government's annual budget, \$1,365,000 dollars in 2013, a large number of Hopi people know that, instead of spending the revenue on its people, the tribal government spends it on itself. They trade lavish trips to Vegas and on infrastructure relevant only to the central government.⁸³

One story told to me by a Hopi man is particularly striking. One day when he was walking down a street, he witnessed a nice, big, black car, in his own words, "just like Obama's 'Beast,'" filled with their Council members dressed with their fancy, black suits. On the porch of the house, there were kids sitting with their mother watching the car. The car stopped, and these public servants—he called them "economic elites"—came out of their car with burgers and fries. The kids asked their mother if they could eat fries, too. She responded that they could not because their family had to sell something first to afford them. "Being hungry is one thing, but watch your kids suffering from hunger is another, and it is just heartbreaking," said this Hopi

⁸¹ Folger, Tim. "A Thirsty Nation." *Earth Magazine* (2004), 14.

⁸² Folger, Tim, 14.

⁸³ Nahsonhoya, Louella. "Hopi Tribe Receives \$1,365,000 Payment from SRP (Peabody Lease)." *Hopi Tutuveni*, April 7, 2015.

man. I did not have a chance talking to the Council members, so I cannot guarantee this story is true and has no additional invention and fabrication. I have to admit that there is possibility that people produce a story out of thin air. However, what if this story is true and that this man has actually seen the whole episode? No matter how reliable this story is, it is clear that a significant percentage of Hopi villagers resent their government. In another case, Jerry Honawa wrote a letter "Hopi Villages Split Because of Faulty Government" to *Navajo-Hopi Observer*. In it, Honawa cries out:

The council should not be paying themselves with monies that belong equally to all members of the Hopi Tribe. Chairmen cannot be doing government to government relationships with the federal and state governments. Hopi courts cannot be holding hearings. Hopi Council cannot be hiring lawyers. No re-negotiations with Peabody and owners of Navajo Generating Station can take place. Chairman Herman Honanie should hang a sign on the door to council chambers saying, 'Closed for business until further notice.'⁸⁴

Honawa further adds that the government "does not bring the villages together for the common good of the people as promised in the preamble to the constitution. Rather, [the constitution and the government] split villages into progressives and hostiles."⁸⁵

With such conflicts between the progressives and the conservatives, and between the government and its people, getting a consensus on the Katsinam issues would be complicated and formidable. In general, the poverty problem, which the government is unable or unwilling to address, adds another layer of difficulty with banning the sale of Katsinam. As the director of

⁸⁴ "Letter to the Editor: Hopi Villages Split Because of Faulty Government." Jerry Honawa to Editor. November 3, 2015, <http://nhonews.com/main.asp?SectionID=36&SubSectionID=796&ArticleID=17191>.

⁸⁵ "Letter to the Editor: Hopi Villages Split Because of Faulty Government."

Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Leigh J. Kuwanwisiwma puts it, given the fact that at least eight of the twelve Hopi villages did not recognize the legality of the Tribal government from the very beginning, it is challenging to reach a general agreement with all twelve entities which have different interests and concerns.⁸⁶ Some Hopi people, headed by Kuwanwisima, do not carve for commercial reasons and never did, and they probably never will. In “From the Sacred to the Cash Register—Problems Encountered in Protecting the Hopi Patrimony,” Kuwanwisima expressed his regret and powerlessness in the forced sale of the Katsinam. On one hand, he dislikes the current situation in which Hopi artists carve Katsinam for sale because he believes religious teachings should be kept private, and that one should only carve privately at appropriate times. Yet, on the other hand, he and many other people, especially those from the Katsinam clan, do not know what to do because the majority of his people live under the national poverty line. In short, their livelihood and basic survival depend on the Katsinam sale. In fact, Tso’s great grandfather, once the chief of the Bear clan, sold hundreds of thousands Katsinam to non-Hopis. Tso, upset and angry, asked his great grandfather why he agreed to sell Katsinam to non-Hopis. His great grandfather told him that when the white men came to the Hopi looking for resources, the Hopi had nothing to give them but Katsinam. Back then, the Hopi was already suffering from poverty. Rather than watching their children dying, their men decided to sell Katsinam. “Religion can never come before humanity,” said his great grandfather.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ Kuwanwisiwma, Lee J., 19.

⁸⁷ Gary Tso in discussion with author, March 5th, 2016.

Chapter Three

Economic Problems behind the Katsinam issues and Four Possible Development Directions

“if you do not commodify your religion *yourself*, *someone will do it for you.*”-- Robert Laurence Moore.⁸⁸

Older members of the Hopi community talk frequently of how their ceremonies, agriculture, and ultimately Hopi culture are victims of the “American Dream.” For young and middle-aged Hopis living on the reservation, finding work, especially well-paid work, is extremely difficult.⁸⁹ As early as 1993, besides agricultural jobs, well-paid jobs were limited to working for tribal or federal agencies or producing arts and crafts for the tourist trade, and the situation did not get any better subsequently.⁹⁰ As a result, this section analyzes the four possible directions of growth—the Agricultural Industry, the Manufacturing Industry, the Service Industry, and the Gaming Industry—in regards to both their advantages and disadvantages for the future economic development of the Hopi reservation. A possible economic improvement strategy that best fits the Hopi community and can pull people out of poverty possibly and reduce the Katsinam sale is proposed, namely a combination of the four.

⁸⁸ Moore, Robert Laurence. *Selling God: American religion in the marketplace of culture* (Oxford University Press on Demand, 1995), 11.

⁸⁹ Soleri, Daniela, and David A. Cleveland. "Hopi crop diversity and change." *Journal of Ethnobiology* 13, no. 2 (1993), 212.

⁹⁰ Soleri, Daniela, and David A. Cleveland. 213.

3.1. Agriculture

The Hopi are foremost among Native American farmers in the United States in retaining their indigenous commitment to agriculture: it has been an important component in the lives of the Hopi for centuries. However, regarding agriculture as the primary industry for future profits and tribal growth may not be the best choice and can be a challenging task because of the harsh, dry environment in which the Hopi are forced to live, the irresponsible Hopi tribal government, the sacredness of their crops, their present inability to support themselves agriculturally, and fewer future participants in agricultural activities.⁹¹

Firstly, although the Hopi, after hundreds of years of effort, have endured and developed a method to utilize the dry desert lands, which is called dry farming technique.⁹² However, their extreme environment and relatively less efficient farming techniques lead to an inability to mass produce their crops and generate large profits from agricultural products like that non-Native American farms can. First of all, they suffer from a challenging environment. Under the USDA Land Capability Classification System, soils of the Hopi Reservation (classes VI and VII) are considered unsuitable for cultivation and appropriate for only moderate to limited grazing.

⁹³Meanwhile, because of the reservation's high attitude, the high desert of northeastern Arizona has a short growing season of approximately 120-160 days, depending on the location. Also, the average rainfall for northern Arizona is about twelve inches or less. Frequent drying winds and

⁹¹ Hopi Tribe. Planning and Development, 34.

⁹² Dry-farming technique. A type of farming without irrigation.

⁹³ Soleri, Daniela, and David A. Cleveland, 213.

high summer temperatures produce high rates of evapotranspiration, the sum of evaporation and plant transpiration from land and ocean surface to the atmosphere.⁹⁴ Because of the extremely limited rainfall, water is a scarce resource that severely limits large-scale agricultural productions. The Hopi, therefore, cultivate their crops in small-scale fields, such as washes and the small valleys in between plateaus.⁹⁵

Secondly, farmers have consistently had issues with their tribal government, a body that was supposed to help them but in reality falls short in this regard. A survey was conducted by the University of Nevada Cooperative Extension between 2013 and 2014 and was based on primary data collected from interviews with 166 individuals, all residents of the Hopi Reservation and of Native American ethnicity. The survey reported that these Hopi farmers not only encountered a wide variety of agricultural and natural resource challenges in farming their lands, but also had to deal with their tribal government officials, who may not understand the challenges that the Hopi agricultural producers face (Table 2). The major concerns include lack of leadership and organization among tribal government, along with conflict among government officials, and a lack of tribal government support of youth involved in agriculture, the unavailability of water for irrigation and livestock, and water quality problems are not addressed by the tribal government.

⁹⁴ Soleri, Daniela, and David A. Cleveland, 210.

⁹⁵ Soleri, Daniela, and David A. Cleveland, 210.

Table 2: Agricultural and Natural Resource Issues of Concern on the Hopi Reservation

Item Rank	Agricultural and natural resource issues of concern to you based on your experience on your reservation	Mean	Standard Deviation	N
1	Lack of leadership among tribal government	4.39	0.996	166
2	Conflict among tribal government officials	4.36	1.078	162
3	Lack of organization among tribal government	4.33	1.028	164
4	Lack of tribal government support of youth involved in agriculture	4.31	1.051	163
5	Availability of water for irrigation and livestock	4.08	1.172	164
6	Invasive weed control	4.07	1.074	165
7	Responding to wildfire on reservations	4.05	1.123	164
8	Water quality management	4.03	1.071	162
9	Lack of reservation-wide plan for sustainable agriculture	3.97	1.253	166
10	Wildfire prevention on reservations	3.95	1.125	165
11	Access and delivery of water for irrigation and livestock	3.87	1.24	165
12	Animal disease traceability	3.76	1.201	163
13	Availability of veterinarian services	3.75	1.213	163
14	Grazing land previously burned by wildfire	3.71	1.292	164
15	Animal diseases (example: hoof/mouth disease)	3.69	1.319	165
16	Wildlife management	3.63	1.182	161
17	Fallowed or dewatered Indian agricultural lands	3.58	1.198	164
18	Livestock herd management practices	3.56	1.251	162
19	Horse herd management	3.53	1.307	163
20	Riparian area management	3.43	1.238	155
21	Lack of an Indian brand meat product	3.38	1.362	164
22	My time and organization management skills	3.32	1.248	165
23	Lack of an Indian brand organic agricultural product	3.31	1.311	166
23	Marketing American Indian crops	3.31	1.442	165
24	Cost of farm equipment	3.24	1.378	163
25	Land management issues associated with checkerboard lands	3.22	1.427	164
26	Improving or repairing individual credit score	3.21	1.374	165
27	The status of my Indian trust land preventing me from getting farm and ranch loans	3.19	1.497	166
28	Competing with non-Indians to lease reservation land for agricultural use	3.18	1.507	163
29	Marketing American Indian livestock	3.17	1.479	163
30	Duration and/or type of land lease hindering my ability to qualify for USDA program	3.13	1.397	164
31	Process required to convert fee-simple Indian land back to trust land	3.12	1.369	165
31	Land management issues associated with highly fractionated lands	3.12	1.377	165
32	Availability of farms and ranch loans	3.10	1.455	164
32	Competing with non-Indians to lease reservation land for purposes other than agricultural	3.10	1.508	166
33	Farm families' skills to manage finances	3.09	1.376	162
34	Process required to convert Indian trust land to fee simple	3.07	1.386	164
35	Interest rates on farm and ranch loans	3.02	1.461	163
36	Cost of grazing (fees) livestock on reservations	2.76	1.469	163

Rating Code: 1 = Not a Concern; 2 = Slight Concern; 3 = Neutral; 4 = Concern; 5 = Major Concern

Source: "People of the Land: Sustaining Agriculture on the Hopi Reservation."

Other issues concerning the sale of Indian farming products include: lack of an Indian brand meat product, lack of an Indian brand organic agricultural product, as well as little

marketing of American Indian crops and American Indian livestock.⁹⁶ Indeed, as in other areas with religious connotations, their cultural norm is opposed to the *sale* of crops, which makes capitalist mass-production of corn for the market difficult.⁹⁷

Thirdly, the Native belief in the sacredness of certain crops is another factor that contributes to the difficulty of making Hopi agriculture profitable. For example, corn is an essential ceremonial crop. The Hopi believe that corn was the first gift that Maasaw, guardian of the new world, gave to them when they migrated from the old world.⁹⁸ As a result, corn ceremonies mark the different phases of the Hopi agricultural cycle.⁹⁹ In their rich ceremonial life, large-scale consumption of traditional food made out of their native crops is considered essential.¹⁰⁰ According to the Hopi Farmer Survey conducted by the University of Arizona Cooperative Extension in 2003 based on primary interviews with 77 individuals, 96% cook and eat crops at home; 90% use crops for ceremonies; and 88.5% use their crops for weddings.¹⁰¹ Thus, a key crop, corn, is tied closely to the daily consumption and ritual uses of the Hopi.

Even though the Hopi would like to export their corn to non-Indians, this would be impossible, because the Hopi cannot even sufficiently support themselves agriculturally and have

⁹⁶ Singletary, Loretta. "People of the Land: Sustaining Agriculture on the Hopi Reservation." In *2016 AAAS Annual Meeting (February 11-15, 2016)*, 51.

⁹⁷ Soleri, Daniela, and David A. Cleveland, 212.

⁹⁸ Douglas R. Mitchell, Judy L. Brunson-Hadley, Dorothy Lippert. *Ancient Burial Practices in the American Southwest: Archaeology, Physical Anthropology, and Native American Perspectives*.

⁹⁹ Soleri, Daniela, and David A. Cleveland, 210.

¹⁰⁰ Soleri, Daniela, and David A. Cleveland, 212.

¹⁰¹ Livingston, Matthew, Flora, Dr. Cornelia B. and Moon, Debra. "Hopi Farmer Survey" (2002-2004), 4.

to import their own food from outside producers. According to the Hopi Farmer Survey, only nine percent sell their crops off the reservation and eleven percent sell their crops on the reservation.¹⁰² Forty-eight percent interviewed of those under fifty-five years old and seventy-one percent interviewed of those fifty-five and older did not grow enough corn for their families and had to borrow corn from relatives or purchase corn. Of those who purchased corn, forty-two percent did so outside the community.¹⁰³ Thus, instead of creating agricultural surplus, the Hopi are in the opposite situation of being dependent on others' surpluses.

Last but not least, it is predicted that there will be fewer future participants becoming agriculture producers in the Hopi farming industry. According to the Hopi Farmer Survey, fifty-eight percent of the farmers interviewed expected farming for their household in the future to be difficult.¹⁰⁴ Because farming techniques were traditionally passed from fathers to sons, with help from other male relatives in the family, fifty-seven percent of those interviewed were taught how to farm by their fathers. However, significantly, only thirty-three percent of fathers believe their sons will farm the land after they are gone. Falling from fifty-seven percent to thirty-three percent passing down agricultural knowledge, the declining trend in farming is clear. Among those interviewed, only six of the farmers received help from younger people.¹⁰⁵ Thus, the future does not look light for farming to reverse the economic position of the Hopi and to help them alleviate the need to sell Katsinam.

¹⁰² Livingston, Matthew, Flora, Dr. Cornelia B. and Moon, Debra, 3

¹⁰³ Livingston, Matthew, Flora, Dr. Cornelia B. and Moon, Debra, 4.

¹⁰⁴ Livingston, Matthew, Flora, Dr. Cornelia B. and Moon, Debra, 4.

¹⁰⁵ Livingston, Matthew, Flora, Dr. Cornelia B. and Moon, Debra, 4.

3.2. Manufacturing

Textile and clothing industries tend to play significant roles in the history of economic growth and development of various countries. In recent times, the textile industry has shifted from developed countries (England and the U.S.) to developing countries (China, India, and Vietnam). According to the U.S. Department of Commerce's Bureau of Industry and Security, the U.S. saw substantial reductions, approximately thirty percent, in their textile and apparel production over the past five years.¹⁰⁶ On the other hand, other countries gained GDP growth rates of thirty-five percent or more, with China gaining the biggest growth rate of sixty-five percent (Table 2).¹⁰⁷ In the short run, the textile and clothing industries provide relatively stable income sources and have created millions of jobs in developing countries, and some countries have benefited greatly.¹⁰⁸ In the long run, they attract foreign investments which contribute to and enhance long-term growth. Textiles, being light and portable, do not require as much technological investment in their production as compared to other industries such as computer science or architectural design. Thus, the textile industry has become the ideal industry for developing countries. This section considers the possibility of the Hopi reservation adopting a

¹⁰⁶ The United States. The U.S. Department of Commerce's Bureau of Industry and Security. *U.S. Textile and Apparel Industries*, https://www.bis.doc.gov/index.php/forms-documents/doc_view/75-u-s-textile-and-apparel-industries-2003.

¹⁰⁷ *Wages and Working Hours in the Textiles, Clothing, Leather and Footwear Industries: Issues Paper for Discussion at the Global Dialogue Forum on Wages and Working Hours in the Textiles, Clothing, Leather and Footwear Industries* (Geneva, 23-25 September 2014). Geneva: ILO, 2014. 5.

¹⁰⁸ Geneva International Labor Office. United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD): *World Investment Report 2013: Global Value Chains: Investment and Trade for Development*, United Nations, New York and Geneva, 2013.

similar textile industry and generating profits from textile production. The Hopi have two major advantages: relatively lower minimum wage and a closer location to the U.S. market compared to overseas competitors. However, developing a textile industry on Hopi land also presents obstacles: a relatively large percentage of the population is under-age, not available as a work force, plus there is a lack of water that would be needed in textile production.

The biggest advantage Hopi's have against Third-World textile producers is their low minimum wage compared to non-Native U.S. citizens. In 2015, the Industrial Commission of Arizona set the state's 2016 minimum wage of \$8.05.¹⁰⁹ If an Arizona mill were to open on non-Indian land and a textile worker were to work nine hours a day, five days a week at the minimum wage, his monthly income would be $\$8.05 \times 9 \times 5 \times 4 = \$1,449.00$. On the other hand, if a Hopi worker were to work at a Hopi mill, his or her minimum wage would be approximately \$2.10 per hour and his monthly minimum wage would be \$378.00.¹¹⁰ The textiles and clothing industries are characterized by generally low profit margins. Therefore, such a reduced cost for labor would be very advantageous. Competition is high at all levels, and players are constantly seeking ways to decrease costs and maintain or improve profit margins. According to Table 3 which surveys the minimum monthly wages in the clothing industry in 2014, among the twenty-five biggest textile producers, only one country (Korea) has a minimum monthly wage that surpasses a

¹⁰⁹ Gallon, Tim. "Here's What Arizona's Minimum Wage Will Be in 2016." *Phoenix Business Journal*, October 15, 2015, <http://www.bizjournals.com/phoenix/news/2015/10/15/heres-what-arizonas-minimum-wage-will-be-in-2016.html>.

¹¹⁰ Sorkin, Alan L. "Business and industrial development on American Indian reservations." *The Annals of Regional Science* 7, no. 2 (1973), 4.

thousand dollars. Chinese, Indian, and Vietnamese workers have an average income of less than three hundred dollars a month.¹¹¹ A higher wage for every worker at the mill would mean an increase in fixed costs and final product prices, which would make the whole process less competitive with other developing countries. As a result, the Hopi's low wages would make the Hopi mill comparable to players in developing countries in the textile industry. However, low wages can also be a bad thing: working nine hours a day and five days a week only produces an income of three hundred and seventy dollars, whereas selling a well-carved Katsinam can easily earn a profit of two hundred dollars or more. Therefore, such low wages may not necessarily curtail the sale of Katsinam.

Table 3: Formal employment in the textiles and clothing industries – Main producers

Formal employment in the textiles and clothing industries – Main producers				
Country	Employment in textiles industry	Employment in clothing industry	Total employment in textiles and clothing industries	Year
China	6 700 000	4 501 100	11 201 100	2010
India	1 379 264	862 689	2 241 953	2009
Viet Nam	195 551	844 069	1 039 620	2010
Brazil	308 155	671 356	979 511	2010
Indonesia	498 005	464 777	962 782	2009
Thailand	311 554	345 835	657 389	2006
Turkey	265 957	329 584	595 541	2009
Pakistan	438 657	62 388	501 045	2006
United States	290 804	130 340	421 144	2008
Italy	182 177	199 001	381 178	2008–09
Sri Lanka	35 264	260 308	295 572	2010
Japan	137 772	137 665	275 437	2010
Mexico	83 674	163 118	246 792	2010
Egypt	130 815	103 268	234 083	2010
Taiwan (China)	114 253	87 261	201 514	2006
Romania	27 763	154 547	182 310	2010
Republic of Korea	87 868	76 701	164 569	2008

Source: “Wages and working hours in the textiles, clothing, leather and footwear industries.”

¹¹¹ Geneva International Labor Office.

Another advantage is that the Hopi Reservation is located in Arizona, where land prices are relatively lower than on the East and West Coasts, but where there is closer access to the U.S. market compared to oversea developing countries such as India and China. This means a Hopi mill would save large sums in the transportation fees that Chinese and Indian textile producers have to pay, while being able to pay the same kind of wages that the Chinese and Indian textile mills are paying their workers.

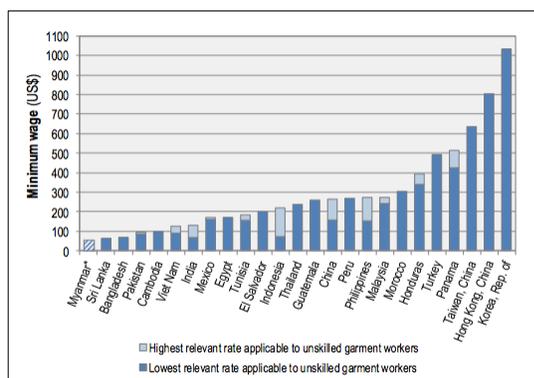
However, there are two major disadvantages for the Hopi. First of all, the Hopi lack infrastructure for manufacturing textiles. The Hopi people have no access to public transportation. Sixty miles within the Hopi Cultural Center, there is no restaurants and shops. Secondly, according to “Demographic Analysis of the Hopi Tribe based on 2010 Census,” conducted by Arizona Rural Policy Institute, the Hopi tribe is dominated by minors (Table 4 and Table 5). Approximately one-third of the tribe consists of teenagers under eighteen years old, which is significantly higher than the Arizona state percentage (twenty-five percent) or Navajo County (thirty percent).¹¹² Tribal members between the ages of 18 to 64, i.e., those eligible to work, account for only fifty-seven percent of the population, which is lower than the State percentage (sixty-one percent) but the same as the County percentage (fifty-seven percent).¹¹³ This means the Hopi tribe has a similar age profile to other Arizona tribes, all of which have a greater percentage of minors, which affect the poverty and workforce availability issues.

¹¹² Hopi Tribe. Planning and Development, 7.

¹¹³ Hopi Tribe. Planning and Development, 7.

Table 4: Minimum Monthly Wages in the Clothing Industry in 2014, selected countries

Minimum monthly wages in the clothing industry in 2014, selected countries



* Temporary rate for industrial zones, currently under review. Source: ILO compilation based on national sources. ILO Regional Office for Asia and the Pacific/Regional Economic and Social Analysis Unit, 10 Feb. 2014.

Source: “Wages and working hours in the textiles, clothing, leather and footwear industries.”

Table 5: Hopi Age Groups Distribution

Age by Five Year Cohorts	Arizona	Navajo County	The Hopi Tribe
Under 5 years	455,715	8,739	645
5 to 9 years	453,680	8,557	615
10 to 14 years	448,664	9,004	630
15 to 17 years	270,955	5,673	404
18 and 19 years	190,627	3,417	237
20 years	93,756	1,529	114
21 years	89,342	1,361	96
22 to 24 years	259,486	3,879	262
25 to 29 years	439,998	6,175	428
30 to 34 years	416,695	5,760	425
35 to 39 years	415,693	5,798	432
40 to 44 years	406,801	6,017	354
45 to 49 years	427,022	7,200	487
50 to 54 years	415,524	7,165	489
55 to 59 years	375,268	6,749	419
60 and 61 years	144,092	2,648	157
62 to 64 years	206,868	3,537	199
65 and 66 years	119,102	2,113	110
67 to 69 years	163,764	2,920	131
70 to 74 years	215,026	3,834	206
75 to 79 years	162,261	2,490	142
80 to 84 years	118,278	1,646	111
85 years and over	103,400	1,238	92
Total	6,392,017	107,449	7,185

Source: Census 2010 SF1

Source: “Demographic Analysis of the Hopi Tribe Using 2010 Census and 2010 American Community Survey Estimates.”

The textile and clothing industries are very labor-intensive industries and if the Hopi Tribe wishes to develop its textile industries now, the total number of Hopi members that are eligible to work is smaller than other Arizona tribes. That means should a mill or textile industry

open now on the Hopi land, a large number of Navajo members or other tribe members would take up positions that are supposed to be distributed among Hopi members. Obviously, one of the major purposes of building mills—creating more jobs for the Hopi—would not be met. However, the that Hopi population increased steadily from 6,946 in 2000 to 7,185 in 2010. If this growth rate continues for decades, the population between age 18 and 54 will account for a significantly larger proportion in the future compared to current data.¹¹⁴ If the Hopi Tribe wishes to develop the textile industry after a period of continued population growth, the advantages of an abundant labor force may make the textile industry prosper.

As a result, considering an increasing labor force, relatively low wages, and land rent, developing a textile industry may be their best alternative. However, because the textile industry requires immense quantities of water, the central government should reconsider its agreement with Peabody Lease. Since textile industry may also contaminate drinking water, it is important for the government to seek for a sustainable solution to the textile industry.

¹¹⁴ Hopi Tribe. Planning and Development, 6.

3.3. Service Industries

One of the biggest and fastest growing industries among service industries worldwide is tourism. From a purely economic view, tourism helps to inject wealth into a community and brings increased employment, opportunities for new services and products, and better infrastructure (roads, parks, and public transportations). However, it will adversely affect those who prefer a traditional Hopi life. It will also worsen the current situation of the appropriation and commodification of Native cultures, placing even more emphasis on selling Indian Otherness.

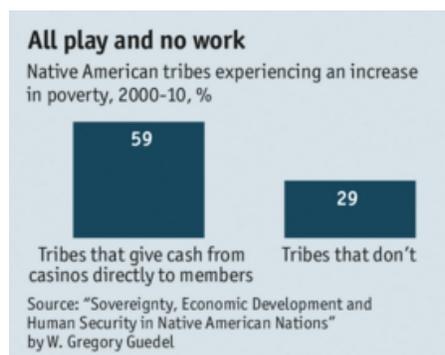
Although now tourism constitutes a large source of income for some Hopis (guides and local artists), the majority of Hopi villages still maintain their traditional way of living. For example, when I went to the Hopi reservation in March 2016, the majority of Hopi villages were closed for their ceremonies. Yet, ceremonies are one of the main reasons tourists visit the “indigenous” culture. More development of tourism would probably mean villages would have to increasingly remain open for tourists in the future. Therefore, the finely-made, religiously sacred Katsinam figures would continue to be sold as souvenirs. Thus, tourism is inherently contradictory to decreasing the sale of sacred Katsinam figures. Although ideally laws could ban specific designs and types of Katsinam, and clowns or other non-sacred performing figures could be produced as substitutes, it is very possible that such laws will be ignored as in the overall Hopi pattern of independent villages opposing the central government. Clearly, since it is not their practice in the past or today, opening villages for tourists would arouse social objections among most Hopi. As a result, if the Hopi government wants to consider tourism as an

alternative, they should understand how to draw a line between what can be seen and what cannot be seen. Yet, since more tourism likely will worsen the problem cultural appropriation, it may not be the best alternative.

3.4. Gambling

As a final consideration, in 1987 the Supreme Court of the United States ruled that federally-recognized Native American tribes, being sovereign, could operate casinos. It thereby removed almost all existing restrictions on Indian gambling. As a result, casinos popped up on reservations nationwide and soon developed into a huge profit-generating, rapidly growing industry. By 1996, 184 tribes operated 281 gaming facilities.¹¹⁵ The immensely profitable industry has had both advantages and disadvantages for Native lives. On one hand, it has created an increasing number of jobs and provided stable and relatively high incomes. On the other hand, perhaps controversially, it plunged more Native families into poverty (Table 7).¹¹⁶ In order to find the best gambling model for the Hopi case, it is necessary to analyze both outcomes by considering real-world examples.

Table 7: Native American Tribes Experiencing an Increase in Poverty, 2000-10.



Source: "Of Slots and Sloth: How Cash from Casinos Makes Native Americans Poorer."

¹¹⁵ National Gambling Impact Study Commission. "National gambling impact study commission report," (1999).

¹¹⁶ "Of Slots and Sloth: How Cash from Casinos Makes Native Americans Poorer." *The Economist*. Accessed January 17, 2015, <http://www.economist.com/news/united-states/21639547-how-cash-casinos-makes-native-americans-poorer-slots-and-sloth>.

There are successful examples in which tribes have entirely eliminated poverty using casino revenues. Jamestown S'Klallam in northern Washington, for example, has invested its casino profits into other businesses, including exporting mollusks to China. Similarly, Squaxin Island invested its casino profits in cigarette manufacturing and has successfully reduced its poverty rate from 31.4% in 2000 to 12.4% in 2010.¹¹⁷

However, there are also tribes that have slipped deeper into poverty after embracing gambling. Between 2000 and 2010, tribes in the Pacific Northwest doubled their total annual profit to two point seven billion, but their poverty rates rose by four percent, some by almost seven percent.¹¹⁸ Siletz tribe's poverty rate, for example, rose from twenty-one percent to thirty-seven percent. Unlike S'Klallam and Squaxin Island, leaders of the Siletz tribe gave forty percent of the casinos' revenues directly to their members. They only invested seventeen percent of their net revenue into economic development. The Siletz, among those surveyed, have the highest poverty rate.¹¹⁹ "These payments can be destructive because the more generous they become, the more people fall into the trap of not working," says Ron Whitener, a law professor, tribal judge and a member of the Squaxin Island Tribe in Washington state. Ten out of seventeen tribes that handed cash directly to members suffered from an increase in poverty rates (Table 6). Only two out of seven tribes that did not hand out cash experienced such an increase.¹²⁰

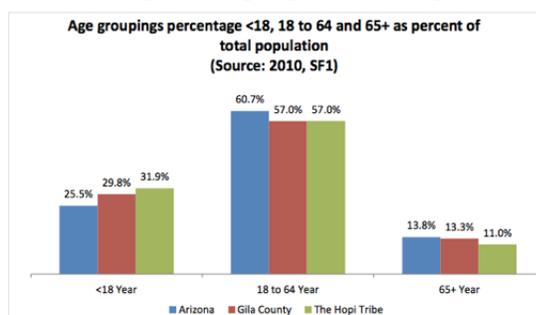
¹¹⁷ "Of Slots and Sloth: How Cash from Casinos Makes Native Americans Poorer."

¹¹⁸ "Of Slots and Sloth: How Cash from Casinos Makes Native Americans Poorer."

¹¹⁹ "Of Slots and Sloth: How Cash from Casinos Makes Native Americans Poorer."

¹²⁰ "Of Slots and Sloth: How Cash from Casinos Makes Native Americans Poorer."

Table 6: Age Groupings Percentage



Source: “Demographic Analysis of the Hopi Tribe Using 2010 Census and 2010 American Community Survey Estimates.”

The Hopi could choose either path. Under the Federal Indian Gaming Regulatory Act and Arizona law, the Hopi Tribe has an allocation of 900 slot machines and can build up to three casinos, if the tribe ever decides to accept gambling on its land. However, in 2004, ten years after the Hopi first voted down casinos, they did so for the second time (1051 against 784). Many eligible Hopi voters did not participate in voting at all; either be that they did not support the central tribal government or they voted with their silence once again.

It is possible that, while already suffering from problems with drugs and alcohol, the Hopi refuse to risk gambling addiction as well. When I went to the reservation several times, I heard a popular Hopi tale from the locals: when a man was addicted to gambling, he would first gamble his house, then he and his family would become homeless. Then he would gamble his wife, and his wife would become a prostitute. Then he would gamble his kids, and his kids would become slaves. When he lost all that, he would gamble his life, and soon he would be a dead man. As a result, gambling would only become beneficial to the Hopi economy unless the central government handle and manage the casinos as tribes such as the Siletz did, and that the Hopi people do not develop a gambling problem or gamble without it becoming a problem.

In evaluating the four possible economic directions for the Hopi, none is perfect; each potentially could harm Hopi tradition or their environment. Although many tribal members distrust their tribal government and feel it is corrupt, the best available vehicle for improving the incomes of the Hopi may be the tribal government, which serves as the best vehicle for promoting the welfare of tribe as a whole. However, I have to address the difficulty that the Hopi face, especially they have no tradition in centralized tribal government. Yet, if the reservation is to generate more income, the tribe may need to be an effective means.

I shall suggest that the Hopi government encourage small-scale farmers and provide them with well-constructed irrigation systems, and advertise their people's no-sacred farming products to non-Indians. I also believe the tribe could explore the possibility of establishing environmentally sustainable textile industries. They would help them as well. If the Hopi in a limited way developed tourism by investing in infrastructures (restaurants, resorts, roads, and parks) and if they considered in developing possible natural attractions that are not considered sacred and can be publically seen, they could participate in lucrative eco-tourism. If the Hopi voters would agree to limited developing of gambling and investing of net revenue in economic activities instead of spending revenues on public servants or giving revenues directly to Hopi tribal members as cash, gambling with a well-constructed budget plan might ultimately benefit the group as well.

Conclusion

The Hopi culture, along with that of hundreds of other Native American tribes, has been seen as “in a state of pupilage.” Tribal relationships to the United States “resemble that of a ward to his guardian.”¹²¹

One of these as pawns in the politico-economic situation, Hopi religious works of art, once ideally kept secret or partially so, have been used to exchange for shelter, food, and clothes. The Hopi people, deprived of choices, and even hungry, and have been forced to sell carved Katsinam for a living. Poverty, the root of all tragedies, is the fundamental driving force behind the continuation of selling their culture as an exotic Other to the non-Native audience. The decades-long conflict between the progressives and the conservatives, the central government’s inability to stimulate economy, the public servants’ corruption scandals, the lack of trust, confidence, and disapproval in the tribal government all contribute to the seemingly unbreakable poverty cycle.

In 2014, despite the Hopi representatives’ effort to halt a large auction sale of Katsinam in Paris, the French court ruled—as it had in December 2012, April 2013, and December 2013—that the sale was legal. Fortunately, the Annenberg Foundation stepped forward and anonymously bought twenty-four Katsinam figures at a total cost of \$530,000. Twenty-one of them will be returned to the Hopi, and three to the San Carlos Apache. Eric Geneste, an author and Native American art expert who has worked with French auction houses, did not understand

¹²¹ Cherokee Nation v. Georgia, 1831.

and expressed his consternation, "People didn't care before. So why now?"¹²² I believe people have begun to care because there is increasing awareness being raised on the importance of the preservation of sacred cultural objects. This kind of awareness is necessary in society, and would have not been possible if no one ever cared enough, ever. I believe people know that the selling of Katsinam is morally incorrect, and if we provide people with sufficient knowledge of the situation, more and more people would come to care about this issue. Tenakhongva, a Hopi cultural leader, concluded,

Hopefully this gesture is the beginning of a larger conversation to discuss and inform various communities about what is sacred and what is for sale. This issue extends far beyond us, and it is our hope that others who have seen our campaign will step forward and help to enlighten, educate and join us in protecting cultural heritage and value across the world.¹²³

¹²² "Annenberg Foundation and Hopi Nation Announce Return of Sacred Artifacts to Native American Hopi Tribe." *Advancing a Better Tomorrow through Visionary Leadership Today*, <http://www.annenbergfoundation.org/node/51351>.

¹²³ "Annenberg Foundation and Hopi Nation Announce Return of Sacred Artifacts to Native American Hopi Tribe."

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Figure 1. "Authentic Handcrafted Native American Jewelry," Gift Shop, Grand Canyon, Arizona. Photographed by Xiao Tan, 2016.



Figure 2. Hermes 2004 Baby Pink Katsinam Shawl. Painted by Oliver Kermit. 2004. Made in France. \$1850.



Figure 3. Stained glass “Katsina,” Gift Shop, Grand Canyon, Arizona. Photographed by Xiao Tan, 2016.



Figure 4. (c. 1938) *Koyaala*. Before 1938. Carved and painted cottonwood with attached corn husks, 31.115 cm x 10.4775 cm x 8.89 cm. Southwest Museum of the American Indian Collection, Autry National Center, Flagstaff, Arizona. Available from: <http://collections.theautry.org/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record;id=M178781;type=101> (accessed March 20th. 2016)

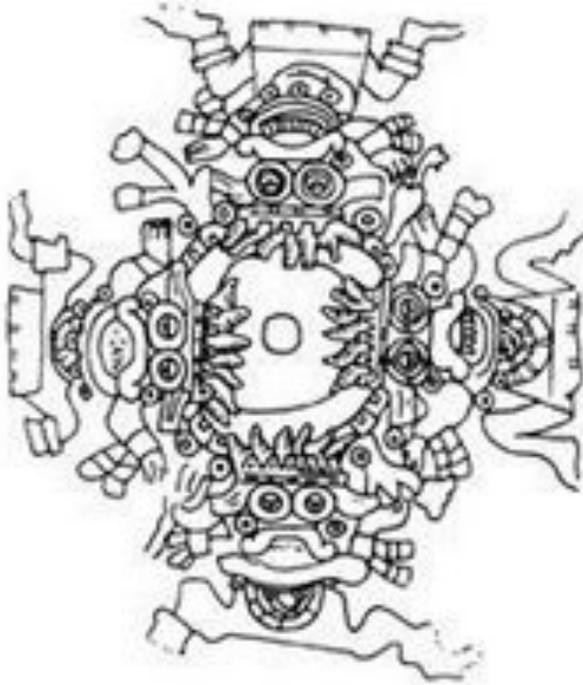


Figure 5. Richardo Sandoval Minero. *The Tlaloques: assistants of Tlaloc, god of the rain.* Available from: <https://sites.google.com/a/colgate.edu/colgatevr/citing-images/citing-images-chicago> (accessed March 21st, 2016)



Figure 6. *Costumed dancer*. Mogollon site, far west Texas. Available from: http://www.desertusa.com/ind1/ind_new/ind7.html (accessed March 20th, 2016)

List of Tables

Table 1: Hopi Ceremonies

Katsinam Season

December	Soyal or Winter Solstice Ceremony
January	Social Dances
February	Powamu, Bean Dance, or Pure Moon Ceremony
March	Night Dances
April	Hototom or Racing Katsinam
May	Hototom or Racing Katsinam
June	Katsinam
July	Niman or Home Ceremony

Non-Katsinam Season

August	Snake, Antelope,
September	Maraw or Harvest
October	Lakon O' waqut
November	Men's Societies
December*	Storytelling

*December appears twice due to the Winter Solstice being towards the end of the month

Source: "Hopi Cycle of the Year."

<http://www.crossingworlds.com/articles/hopicycle.html>

Table 2: Agricultural and Natural Resource Issues of Concern on the Hopi Reservation

Item Rank	Agricultural and natural resource issues of concern to you based on your experience on your reservation	Mean	Standard Deviation	N
1	Lack of leadership among tribal government	4.39	0.996	166
2	Conflict among tribal government officials	4.36	1.078	162
3	Lack of organization among tribal government	4.33	1.028	164
4	Lack of tribal government support of youth involved in agriculture	4.31	1.051	163
5	Availability of water for irrigation and livestock	4.08	1.172	164
6	Invasive weed control	4.07	1.074	165
7	Responding to wildfire on reservations	4.05	1.123	164
8	Water quality management	4.03	1.071	162
9	Lack of reservation-wide plan for sustainable agriculture	3.97	1.253	166
10	Wildfire prevention on reservations	3.95	1.125	165
11	Access and delivery of water for irrigation and livestock	3.87	1.24	165
12	Animal disease traceability	3.76	1.201	163
13	Availability of veterinarian services	3.75	1.213	163
14	Grazing land previously burned by wildfire	3.71	1.292	164
15	Animal diseases (example: hoof/mouth disease)	3.69	1.319	165
16	Wildlife management	3.63	1.182	161
17	Fallowed or dewatered Indian agricultural lands	3.58	1.198	164
18	Livestock herd management practices	3.56	1.251	162
19	Horse herd management	3.53	1.307	163
20	Riparian area management	3.43	1.238	155
21	Lack of an Indian brand meat product	3.38	1.362	164
22	My time and organization management skills	3.32	1.248	165
23	Lack of an Indian brand organic agricultural product	3.31	1.311	166
23	Marketing American Indian crops	3.31	1.442	165
24	Cost of farm equipment	3.24	1.378	163
25	Land management issues associated with checkerboard lands	3.22	1.427	164
26	Improving or repairing individual credit score	3.21	1.374	165
27	The status of my Indian trust land preventing me from getting farm and ranch loans	3.19	1.497	166
28	Competing with non-Indians to lease reservation land for agricultural use	3.18	1.507	163
29	Marketing American Indian livestock	3.17	1.479	163
30	Duration and/or type of land lease hindering my ability to qualify for USDA program	3.13	1.397	164
31	Process required to convert fee-simple Indian land back to trust land	3.12	1.369	165
31	Land management issues associated with highly fractionated lands	3.12	1.377	165
32	Availability of farms and ranch loans	3.10	1.455	164
32	Competing with non-Indians to lease reservation land for purposes other than agricultural	3.10	1.508	166
33	Farm families' skills to manage finances	3.09	1.376	162
34	Process required to convert Indian trust land to fee simple	3.07	1.386	164
35	Interest rates on farm and ranch loans	3.02	1.461	163
36	Cost of grazing (fees) livestock on reservations	2.76	1.469	163

Rating Code: 1 = Not a Concern; 2 = Slight Concern; 3 = Neutral; 4 = Concern; 5 = Major Concern

Source: "People of the Land: Sustaining Agriculture on the Hopi Reservation"
<https://www.unce.unr.edu/publications/files/ag/2014/cm1402.pdf>

Table 3: Formal employment in the textiles and clothing industries – Main producers

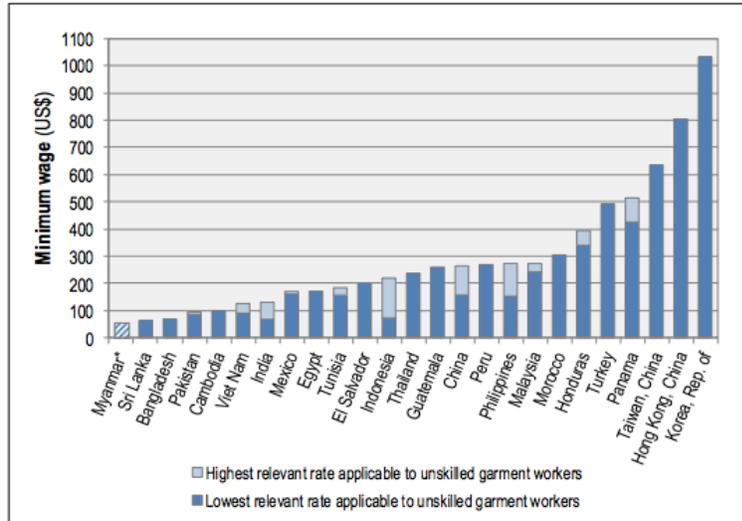
Formal employment in the textiles and clothing industries – Main producers				
Country	Employment in textiles industry	Employment in clothing industry	Total employment in textiles and clothing industries	Year
China	6 700 000	4 501 100	11 201 100	2010
India	1 379 264	862 689	2 241 953	2009
Viet Nam	195 551	844 069	1 039 620	2010
Brazil	308 155	671 356	979 511	2010
Indonesia	498 005	464 777	962 782	2009
Thailand	311 554	345 835	657 389	2006
Turkey	265 957	329 584	595 541	2009
Pakistan	438 657	62 388	501 045	2006
United States	290 804	130 340	421 144	2008
Italy	182 177	199 001	381 178	2008–09
Sri Lanka	35 264	260 308	295 572	2010
Japan	137 772	137 665	275 437	2010
Mexico	83 674	163 118	246 792	2010
Egypt	130 815	103 268	234 083	2010
Taiwan (China)	114 253	87 261	201 514	2006
Romania	27 763	154 547	182 310	2010
Republic of Korea	87 868	76 701	164 569	2008

Source: “Wages and working hours in the textiles, clothing, leather and footwear industries.”

http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/@ed_dialogue/@sector/documents/publication/wcms_300463.pdf

Table 4: Minimum Monthly Wages in the Clothing Industry in 2014, selected countries

Minimum monthly wages in the clothing industry in 2014, selected countries



* Temporary rate for industrial zones, currently under review. Source: ILO compilation based on national sources. ILO Regional Office for Asia and the Pacific/Regional Economic and Social Analysis Unit, 10 Feb. 2014.

Source: “Wages and working hours in the textiles, clothing, leather and footwear industries.”

http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/@ed_dialogue/@sector/documents/publication/wcms_300463.pdf

Table 5: Hopi Age Groups Distribution

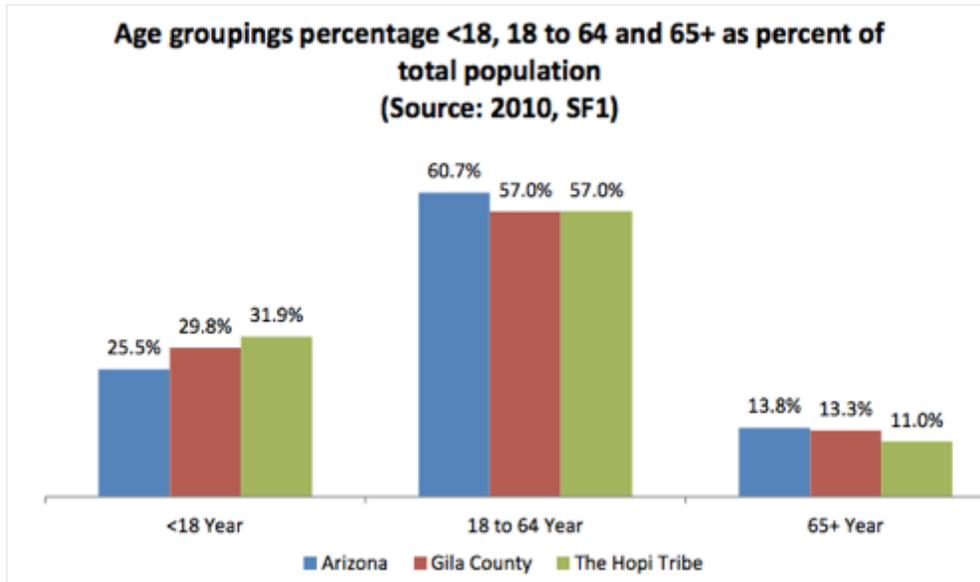
Age by Five Year Cohorts	Arizona	Navajo County	The Hopi Tribe
Under 5 years	455,715	8,739	645
5 to 9 years	453,680	8,557	615
10 to 14 years	448,664	9,004	630
15 to 17 years	270,955	5,673	404
18 and 19 years	190,627	3,417	237
20 years	93,756	1,529	114
21 years	89,342	1,361	96
22 to 24 years	259,486	3,879	262
25 to 29 years	439,998	6,175	428
30 to 34 years	416,695	5,760	425
35 to 39 years	415,693	5,798	432
40 to 44 years	406,801	6,017	354
45 to 49 years	427,022	7,200	487
50 to 54 years	415,524	7,165	489
55 to 59 years	375,268	6,749	419
60 and 61 years	144,092	2,648	157
62 to 64 years	206,868	3,537	199
65 and 66 years	119,102	2,113	110
67 to 69 years	163,764	2,920	131
70 to 74 years	215,026	3,834	206
75 to 79 years	162,261	2,490	142
80 to 84 years	118,278	1,646	111
85 years and over	103,400	1,238	92
Total	6,392,017	107,449	7,185

Source: Census 2010 SF1

Source: “Demographic Analysis of the Hopi Tribe Using 2010 Census and 2010 American Community Survey Estimates.”

<http://azcia.gov/Documents/Links/DemoProfiles/Hopi%20Tribe.pdf>

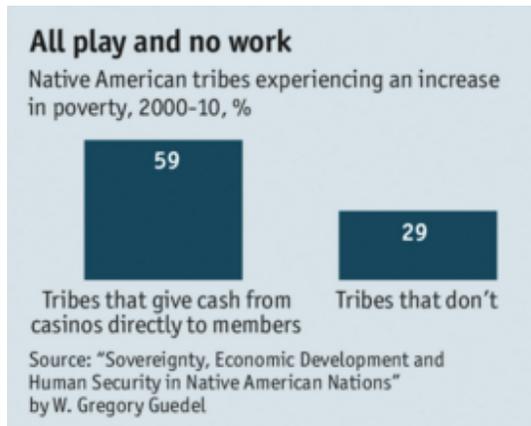
Table 6: Age Groupings Percentage



Source: “Demographic Analysis of the Hopi Tribe Using 2010 Census and 2010 American Community Survey Estimates.”

<http://azcia.gov/Documents/Links/DemoProfiles/Hopi%20Tribe.pdf>

Table 6: Native American Tribes Experiencing an Increase in Poverty, 2000-10.



Source: "Of Slots and Sloth: How Cash from Casinos Makes Native Americans Poorer."
<http://www.economist.com/news/united-states/21639547-how-cash-casinos-makes-native-americans-poorer-slots-and-sloth>