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What Happened to Navajo Relocatees from Hopi Partition Lands in Pinon?

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INTRODUCTION

Forced relocation has become an affliction. The Navajo-Hopi land dispute has led to the relocation of 2,940 households, more than 10,000 Navajo people, with another 440 households certified but not yet relocated.[1] This is the largest forced relocation of American citizens in the United States since the World War II-period internment of 110,000 people of Japanese ancestry—most of whom were American citizens. This paper describes the post-relocation experience of Navajo relocatees in Pinon, Arizona, a Navajo reservation community.

For centuries, Navajo and Hopi peoples lived side by side in the Black Mesa region of northern Arizona. After Spanish arrival to the Southwest in the sixteenth century, white settlers, the slave trade, and the Navajo pastoral lifestyle compelled scores of Navajo to move closer to Hopi villages.[2] Altercations between the two peoples over land increased in frequency after the 1882 formation of the Executive Order Area (EOA) for the "Hopi and such other Indians as the Secretary of the Interior may see fit to settle thereon," as well as with the expansions of the Navajo Reservation. Navajos living on the EOA gradually outnumbered the Hopi, a factor that widened the scope of the initial land disputes.

In 1962, a U.S. District Court in Prescott, Arizona ruled in *Healing* v. *Jones* that the Navajo and Hopi tribes have undivided equal rights to the surface and subsurface of the EOA with the exception of Grazing District Number Six (located in the heart of the EOA). This region (fig. 1)[3] became known as the Joint Use Area (JUA). Following the court decision, the Hopi tribal council sought to protect the JUA's grazing resources from further Navajo encroachment. The Hopi initiatives resulted in a series of federal actions having serious repercussions for the social and economic fabric of Navajos living in the JUA. On July 1, 1966, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) froze all residential,

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commercial, and infrastructural developments in the JUA unless the Hopi tribe approved them. Later, in 1972 proceedings, an Arizona District Court ordered drastic reduction in Navajo livestock and restricted construction in the JUA to improvements authorized by both tribes. After a series of congressional hearings, the United States Congress passed, in 1974, the Navajo-Hopi Land Settlement Act, Public Law 93-531. The act ordered equal partitioning of the JUA and the relocation of people residing on land partitioned to the other tribe. It also established the Navajo and Hopi Indian Relocation Commission (hereafter referred to as "commission") as the executive arm. More than ten thousand Navajo and just over one hundred Hopi people were slated for relocation.

Some aspects of Navajo relocation from the former JUA have been examined. Brugge provided a detailed personal historical account on *Healing* v. *Jones*.[4] Early studies that focused on the expected outcome of Navajo relocation anticipated correctly that consequences of the relocation would be significant and adverse.[5] Other studies focused on the population subject to relocation. Gilbert, for example, described disrupted lifestyles, an increase in psychological stress, and the impact of this stress on relocatees.[6] Topper reported higher levels of mental health service utilization among Navajos who were slated for relocation than among those who were not.[7] A study focusing on the importance of Navajo livestock economy in the disputed area concluded that young, western-educated, wage-earning Navajos are at less socioeconomic risk from relocation than older Navajos with little or no formal education whose subsistence depends on livestock.[8] Joe assessed the social and psychological impacts of the Land Settlement Act on individuals and families in the Hard Rock Navajo community that lost large portions of their land base.[9] She concluded that traditional relocatee households experience increased family discord. She also attributes their health problems to relocation.

Only a few post-removal studies have been conducted thus far. A study on Navajo relocatees in Winslow, Arizona shows that relocatees tended to be younger people from nearby reservation communities who were familiar with urban life. Their major problems were associated with low income and high living expenses.[10] Shaw-Serdar and Yazzie provided information on the various problems associated with the sale of homes by Navajo relocatees.[11] A more recent research project focused on socioeconomic responses of Navajo hosts and relocatees in a reservation community.[12] Aberle evaluated Navajo relocation according to the World Bank's guidelines and pointed out some failures usually associated with underdeveloped countries.[13]

Navajo relocation has also attracted numerous support groups from around the country and elsewhere in the world, including the Big Mountain Legal Defense/Offense Committee and the highly visible American Indian Movement. Writers responded to the public interest, publishing descriptive and provocative books and articles on the subject.[14] Others produced documentary films (*Broken Rainbow*, *Troubles in Big Mountain*) and special reports (*20/20* on 19 June 1986).

One shortcoming in publications on Navajo relocation is the lack of in-depth ethnographic description of the experience of Navajo relocatees fol-

lowing relocation. This paper focuses on relocatees' experiences in a reservation community and addresses variation in relocatee households' social, cultural, and economic responses to the relocation experience.

The Disputed Lands: The 1962 Division

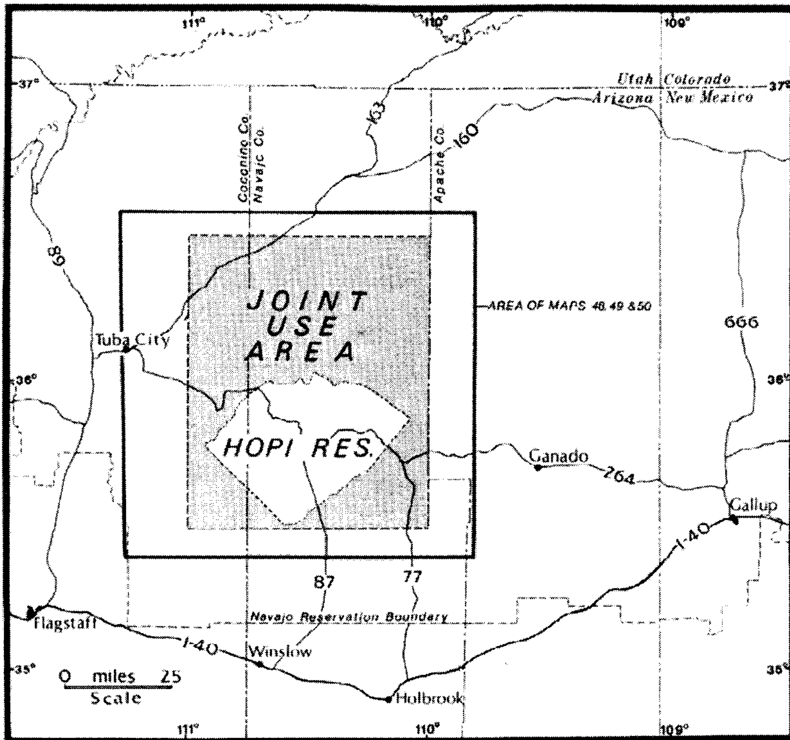

Figure 1. Source: The Navajo Atlas, 1982.

RELOCATEE POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS

This study is based on fieldwork I conducted from October 1987 through January 1990 in Be'ek'id Baa 'Ahoodzanni, the "Place Where the Water Comes from the Ground," or Pinon, as it is commonly known. Pinon encompasses 107,250.40 acres of land[15] and is located on the southern portion of Black Mesa, approximately fifty miles west of Chinle and 250 miles north of Phoenix, Arizona (fig. 2).[16] During the first year of my stay in Pinon, I lived in a Navajo household in the center of the village. While living there, I contributed food, transportation, and labor, and was invited to participate in the extended family's daily and ceremonial activities. I explained my presence in terms of my aspiration to understand the community's reactions to the relocation. Members of my host family explained my presence in the community when others inquired and presented me as one of their own. After the first year and until the end of my stay in Pinon, I lived at Saint Mary of the Rosary Catholic Mission in Pinon, a few yards from my former residence. Chapter

The 1977 Dispostion of the Joint Use Area

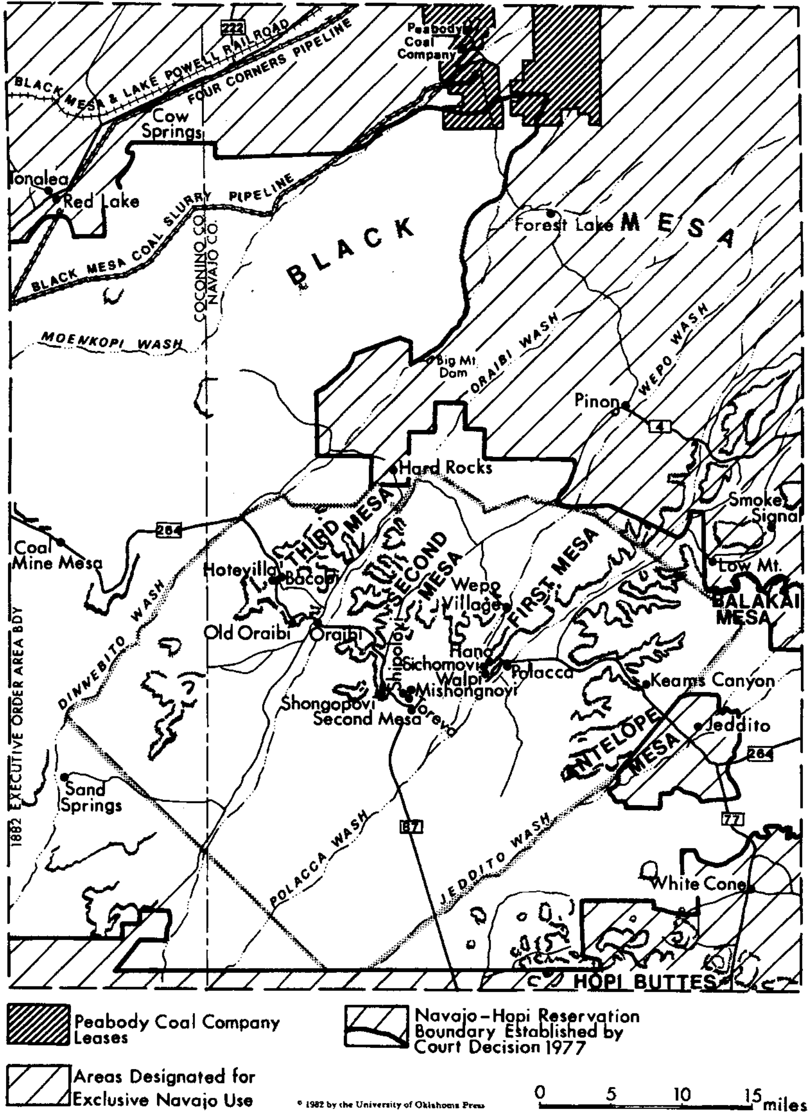

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Figure 2. Source: The Navajo Atlas, 1982.

officials provided me with an office in the chapter house and invited me to participate in both chapter and planning committee meetings.

At the time of the study, forty-seven relocatee households (171 individuals) had already relocated to Pinon.[17] Of this group, two households were from Hard Rock, two from Law Mountain, two from District Six,[18] and forty-one from sections of Pinon designated Hopi Partition Land (HPL).[19] Five of the relocatee households contained multiple nuclear families. Married couples

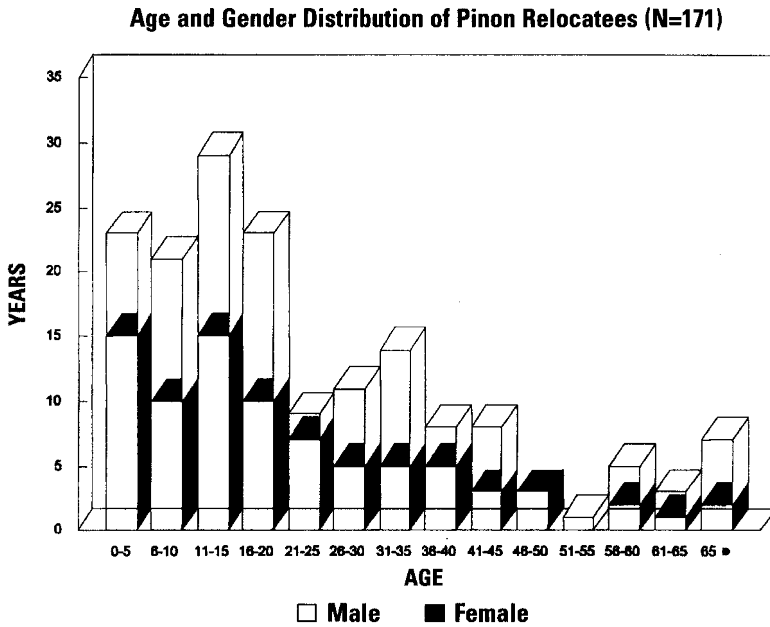

FIGURE 3.

headed the majority (thirty-seven) of the households, but widowed individuals headed three households and persons who were divorced or separated headed seven. A typical relocatee household in Pinon was composed of a number of people who were related to each other either by kinship or marriage. Only two households of relocatees were composed of one person; both were part of a group move (see below). The average size of a relocatee household in Pinon during the research period was 4.7 persons. I interviewed adult members from all relocatee households. All the ethnographic interviews were conducted with the help of an interpreter in Navajo and English. These interviews were tape-recorded and later transcribed. Simultaneously, I conducted ethnographic interviews with members of all eleven host households and survey interviews with members of 187 (77 percent) of the other 243 households in Pinon.

Twenty-seven relocatee households, 57 percent of the total, were relocated in five group moves. Group moves refer to those Navajo families that have relocated as a unit from HPL and are now living in replacement homes in close proximity to each other. Group moves have enabled extended families that prior to relocation lived in the same residence group to maintain their traditional familial support system. Two of these groups were large, composed of nine and eleven households. The commission relocated the rest, and indeed the majority of all reservation relocatees, on a household-by-household basis. In so doing, the commission overlooked the traditional Navajo subsistence and residence group of multi-generation, related households.

Pinon relocatees were relatively young with a median age of 18.3 years (fig. 3). Their youth is positively reflected in their education attainment and

relative fluency in English. On the average, Pinon relocatees have compiled 7.7 years of education (table 1). Most relocatees were fluent in both English and Navajo, but many older relocatees spoke only Navajo, and some children spoke only English. Slightly more than one-third of the relocatees said that they exclusively follow traditional Navajo or Native American Church (NAC) religions, but all Catholic and most Mormon relocatees said that they also participate in Navajo and NAC ceremonies. In general, most relocatees described themselves as traditional Navajos.

Table 1
Relocatees' Average Formal Schooling by Age Group and Gender

Age Group	Men	Women	Combined
18–40	9.8	10.2	10
41–60	6.1	5.4	5.44
61 >	7.3	0	0.4

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

There is a marked tendency for reservation Navajos in general to be un- and underemployed. For example, in 1987 the unemployment rate for the Navajo Nation was 30.4 percent and 58.6 percent for Chinle agency, of which Pinon is a part.[20] This tendency results from the dependent nature of reservation economies, low educational attainment, distance from potential employers, and other similar factors. Unemployment in the Pinon area was even higher than that of the wider Navajo Reservation and Chinle agency. It is therefore remarkable that of the thirty-six relocatee households, whose exact income sources are known, thirty-two, or 89 percent, received income from wages for at least part of 1988 and 1989. Unearned income, however, was the second largest contributor of relocatee cash income and was received in 31 percent of the households, followed by income from craft and livestock (wool, mohair, meat) sales. There is, however, a significant economic difference between the livestock sector relocatees and the rest of Pinon's population. Nearly all the residential complexes in Pinon had some livestock, compared to only five relocatee households. Livestock remains an important subsistence economic sector in Pinon because employment opportunities are few and volatile.[21] In any event, the five herds that belong to relocatees are very small, ranging from five to twenty sheep and goats. This is because relocatees had to surrender their grazing permits before qualifying for relocation, and only a few managed to purchase or lease new permits.

Most of the income in relocatees' households derived from a combination of wages and welfare, although some also received income from non-salaried production activities (handcrafts and livestock). Prior to relocation, the average combined annual income of households whose exact income sources are known was $21,630 (median was $14,731, N=36) per household. Two-thirds of this income was obtained from wages and at least one individual in two-thirds

of the households held a job. Significant changes occurred after relocation: the average combined annual income of a relocated household whose exact income sources are known dropped to $11,191, just half the pre-relocation figure but 40 percent higher than other households in Pinon that did not have to relocate. I do not have solid comparative data on income sources or income level of households that were not slated for relocation for the 1970s and early 1980s. Since relocatees comprise less than 20 percent of Pinon households (not an adequate statistical sample), their higher average annual income might be a coincidence. What is more significant than the overall average annual income level, however, is the relative proportion of earned income other sources. Further, while at least one individual in two-thirds of the relocatees' households was still earning wages, these earnings measured only 38 percent ($3,323) of a relocated household's income. While the proportional contribution of post-relocation wage earning dropped, the combined proportion of supplement income from handicrafts and livestock rose to 15 percent.

Pinon relocatees spend more than half their income on transportation (table 2). The overall size of the Navajo Reservation and relative distance of most relocatees from Pinon's village significantly increases transportation costs. This is because most relocatees live at the periphery of Pinon and must travel on rough dirt roads eight to ten miles each way to haul water, collect mail at the post office, buy groceries, and so on. Moreover, relocatees, as well as other Pinon Navajo residents, traveled even greater distances to the nearest bank (ninety miles each way), and to Chinle, Arizona and Gallup, New Mexico (ninety and 250 miles round trip, respectively) to buy groceries because grocery prices in the community were high. The price difference on staple food products that Navajos commonly purchase (flour, mutton, chicken, coffee, sugar, salt, eggs, potatoes, beans, canned goods) make long-distance shopping trips to chain supermarkets in Chinle and Gallup more economical than shopping in Pinon. On average, relocatees spent about one-third of their income on groceries due to the large size of their households, loss of subsistence pastoral lifestyle, and the high prices of groceries in reservation stores.

Table 2
Average Annual Expenditure in Relocatee Household by Category
(% From Average Income $11,191)

Category	Subcategory	Total
Groceries		$3,601 (32.2%)
Transportation		$6,636 (59.3%)
Gasoline	$1,327	
Car payments	$5,309	
Utilities		$951 (8.5%)
NTUA	$317	
Kerosene/Butane	$552	
Wood/Coal	$82	
Feed		$3 (Insignificant)

THE RELOCATION EXPERIENCE

Obtaining a Relocation Replacement Home

Officially, the first relocatees from HPL received their replacement homes in Pinon in 1982. Most of them moved to their new homes between 1984 and 1986. In reality, however, many households had moved out of HPL years before receiving new homes and other relocation incentives (cash bonuses, paid search and moving expenses, etc.). A few moved to live with relatives in Pinon, but most joined relatives who live in reservation communities outside the disputed area or moved off the reservation. They were pressured to do so by restrictions on construction of infrastructure, housing, schools, and clinics; by lack of job opportunities; by the livestock reduction program; by pressure from the commission; and by threats and sabotage activities of some Hopi neighbors.

Here, for example, is the case of Joe and Nellie Tso (all names used are pseudonyms). Both were in their seventies. Before relocation they lived on Joe's mother's customary land-use area, now in HPL. They moved as a group with their married children onto homesites provided by one of Joe's maternal relatives in Pinon's Navajo Partition Land (NPL). The Tso's home is close to the HPL-NPL boundaries and miles away from a paved road. Joe attended school for a few years; Nellie never went to school. She took care of the children and tended the family herd. Until being forced to move out of HPL, the Tsos had more than 300 sheep, goats, cattle, and horses. They occasionally butchered for mutton and sold cattle when they needed cash. At the time of the research they had less than twenty sheep and goats, and they butchered only when they were "very hungry for mutton." Joe explained:

> We relocated because of the Hopi. They shot at us sometimes and also they did not like our horses that we used for pulling a wagon and for traveling. All of our horses were impounded in Keams Canyon. Some of our cattle was impounded, too. The Hopis told us to move off our land, and we moved here [in 1977]. It was then that we built this ugly hogan [traditional octagonal or rounded Navajo home]. It was built in a hurry, that's why is not good. Those relocation houses were not here then. Later [in 1984], we got these relocation houses built for us....
>
> Before we moved, people from the commission came and measured our cornfield—seven acres—where we used to grow our corn, watermelon, and squash. The also measured the house we used to live in, twenty-five feet by sixteen feet. We also had a hogan, a sweatlodge, and sheep corrals. We also had cottonwood trees that we planted ourselves. My daughters used to live nearby in separate houses with their families. We used to get our water from the Hopi, and get firewood from Forest Lake and from around here. At that time people did not complain like they do now.

The relocation replacement home is wired for electricity and has water pipes. Still, four years after moving to their new home, they did not have running

water or electricity. The Tsos spent the winters in a small hogan that they built in 1977 when they left HPL because it was easier and cheaper to heat with wood and coal than to buy the expensive butane needed to heat their new relocation replacement home.

Another relocatee contended that it was commission intimidation that pressured the family to leave their HPL home.

> We never had any problems with the Hopis. Sure, their government chased us out of our land, but my husband and I, we used to go there and talked to them. We now know that it was not the Hopi that chased us out of HPL. They [the Hopi] are relocating themselves and we can relate to them. What they say is that the white people are chasing the Navajo out. The JUA police was impounding livestock, not the Hopi. Before the land dispute we didn't have problems with the Hopi.

Replacement homes and cash bonuses constitute the principal incentives available to eligible relocatees. When a Navajo household is relocated from HPL, the decision about where to relocate is not just a matter of individual choice. For most, the decision involved a mixture of factors, including availability of homesite, accessibility of natural resources (water, fire wood, grazing), proximity to pre-relocation customary land-use areas or school bus routes, and availability of jobs. Each HPL household that lost its entire customary land-use area and relocated to Pinon was entitled to a homesite of only one acre—an inadequate size for maintaining a traditional Navajo lifestyle, since it lacks the natural resources needed for traditional forms of subsistence.

Obtaining a homesite required the approval of the family claiming customary use of the land, the community, the tribe, and the commission.[22] The process of identifying, securing, and acquiring a relocation replacement home on a one-acre homesite in Pinon was long and complex. At the local level, it involved community members and officials. It also involved three bureaucracies—the Navajo Nation, the BIA, and the commission. For Pinon relocatees, the application process took, on average, seven years. During the application process, prospective relocatees, who were required to leave their HPL homes, usually did not have a home of their own. Many had to crowd in with relatives:

> It took a long time, eight years, to move into this relocation house since the day we applied. Until we moved, we lived in my mother's house along with my sister, her husband, and their children. It is good to have our own home.

Some relocatees found ways to dodge the restrictions the construction freeze imposed:

> In 1974 we were told not to construct new housing. At that time we were building a hogan. We finished the base and were told not to build. We moved to this relocation house only two and a half years

ago. Before that we had a trailer parked right here until they [the commission] built this house for us. We were told not to build a hogan, but nobody told us not to move our trailer here.

Photo 1. A relocation home with a hogan.

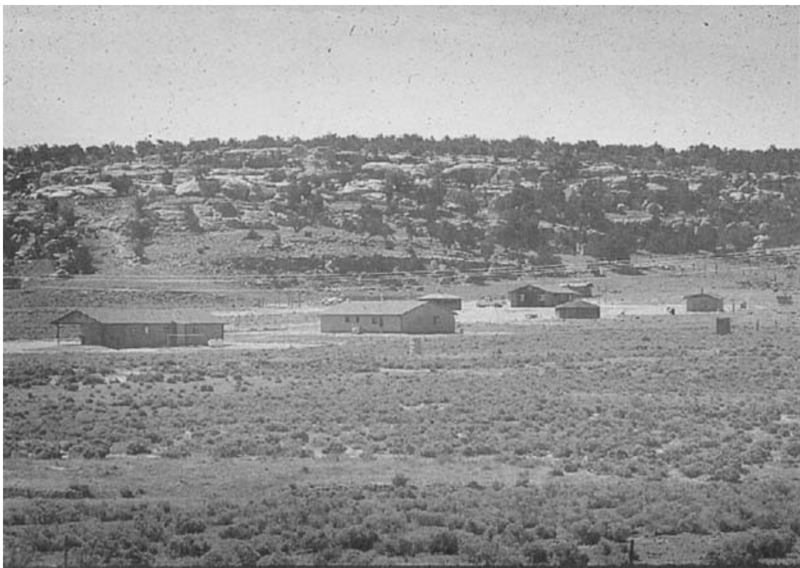

Photo 2. Group move relocation homes with a hogan.

Other relocatees resorted to renting homes in off-reservation communities. Here, for instance, is the case of Joe and Alice Bahe who were born and raised in Pinon. Joe had worked for sixteen years for an energy company and his salary, by reservation standards, was high. The Bahes applied for a relocation replacement home in 1982. Six years later their house was nearing completion. In the interim, Joe, Alice, and their five children lived with no running water or electricity in a trailer that they purchased from another relocatee who moved to a new replacement home. The Bahes first viewed relocation incentives as a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to get a nice house, but later started complaining about the long process:

> We moved to this trailer about two years ago. Before that we have been moving around. Because of the freeze we could not build a place of our own to live in. We lived in New Mexico, in Utah, and all over Arizona. I am happy to get this relocation house. It is the fact that they [the commission] told us to move out [from HPL] that bothers me. Like other relocatees we lived here and there. To give us a house is like to make us bloom for the first time after many years.

When a household relocates, the head of the household selects and purchases a relocation house. Relocatees can choose from twenty commission-approved basic house plans.[23] The commission makes payments on behalf of the government. The person who sells the house receives the cash benefits from the commission and transmits the home's title.[24] The commission usually also pays $500 to reimburse a household for moving expenses; and an average of $550 for search expenses.[25] The cost of a relocation replacement house in Pinon averaged $61,871.

Pinon relocatees live in large wood-frame houses built by contractors according to standards set by the commission. Several relocatees added hogans, which they use for ceremonies and for residence, near their relocation houses (photos 1, 2). Each of the Navajo households that relocated to a customary land-use area other than their own was provided with a one-acre homesite. The Navajo Nation applies certain restrictions to relocatees who seek homesites on a customary use area other than their own: a home-site can be used only by certified relocatees; it may not be used for sub-leasing; and livestock is not allowed on a relocatee homesite. Still, three relocated households kept some of their sheep and goats, an act that resulted in ongoing grazing disputes with their hosts. Six households that relocated from HPL to portions of their own customary land-use area in NPL were more fortunate. Retaining portions of their land allowed them to keep some of their livestock. They were familiar with the land and many of the above restrictions did not apply to them.

SOME RELOCATION CONSEQUENCES

For most relocatees in Pinon, relocation has been painful. Relocation from HPL particularly taxed the well-being of traditional Navajos for whom physical and spiritual life, identity, and customary land-use area are one. Partition

of the former JUA eliminated their lands forever by apportioning them to the Hopi. This notion is unacceptable to most Navajo, and, for many elderly Navajo, it is unintelligible. A seventy-eight-year-old widow, who moved to live near her sister on her maternal family's customary land-use area near the NPL-HPL boundaries, explained the agony of forced relocation:

> It nearly killed me just even to move a short distance. I prefer the old place, although we lived poorly. We had space, privacy, and livestock. We had everything. Then we were told to move. I was really depressed, and went to hospitals. I am still drained mentally and physically. I was in a hospital in Albuquerque, and when I got back here my condition got bad again for two more years. I moved here because I do not know other places. There are quite a lot of us that never lived in places like Winslow or Flagstaff, especially us older people. We decided to remain here where my grandmother and grandfather were born, raised, and had their cornfields.

In fact, most Pinon relocatees resettled in the outskirts of Pinon near the partition boundaries close to their previous HPL homes. The following explanation was typical:

> This is our birth land. We were born and raised there at home. My sisters and me, we lived there with my mom when we were children, our umbilical cords were buried in the corral. We used to live over there, on the hill. We decided to move just over the [HPL] fence to here. I can still see the place that used to be my home.

The distribution of relocatees who moved to Pinon from other chapters is more variable. They lost their entire customary use area and moved to Pinon because they could not find a homesite in their community of origin closer to their customary use area.

Another common result of the relocation is the relocatees' loss of a sense of place. As youngsters, most relocatees attended their family herd, learned where medicinal herbs grow, and knew when and where to collect Navajo tea and wild spinach. They were also familiar with the area's springs and washes. A young woman explained that relocation left them disoriented:

> The hardest part was just to move out. Because, you know, I was born and raised down there and had to move out. It is like being out in the desert. You don't know anybody. You start living here not knowing what is ahead.

A middle-age relocatee, whose one-acre homesite was part of a group move, added:

> It is very hard to move. We have lived down there all our lives. All my relatives lived there. There are many burials of my family there. We, all the people that live here, we lived together for a long time and got along very well. Although we have got different religions, we get along

> because we all used to live in the same place, little ways from each other.

Even relocatees who moved into portions of their own customary use area suffered stress that they attributed to their relocation experience:

> Relocation has caused us many heartbreaks and problems. I cannot understand why this had been done to us. This is the second time we have been moved as I remember. First, we were moved from behind where the fence was referred to as District Six. Again we were told to move to where we are now by the commission officials.... Because of this relocation we have a lot of heartbreaks and problems. I feel emptiness and despair, all because of this JUA relocation. The whole thing makes me angry and sad. Where we live now was our winter sheep campground. The only thing is that our grazing land is real small and there isn't enough vegetation to graze year-round.

Some relocatees felt that relocation stole their independence, initiative, and self-respect. Joe Bahe explained:

> It doesn't bother me to move, what bothers me is that I feel completely dependent on the federal government. They are those who told me to move, and they are those paying for the house. I didn't mind to get a relocation house. It is the fact that they told us to sell our livestock that bothers me. It is like cutting off one of our arms.

Eugene and Mary Chee were frustrated that many Navajo were not sensitive to the plight of relocatees. They are both high school graduates and fluent in both Navajo and English. They moved with their five children to a large four-bedroom relocation replacement home that is part of a group move cluster. All the homesites in the cluster were provided by one of Mary's maternal kin. Their house, located near the NPL-HPL boundary line, is modern. It has large windows, an overhanging roof, and is fully furnished. The Chee's house is equipped with two bathrooms and a laundry room, but there was no running water or electricity. Their refrigerator, which uses propane and photovoltaic cells, provides them with enough power for one light bulb in each room. On cloudy days, the cells drain fast and the Chees resort to using propane and oil lamps. Eugene Chee said that,

> The commission just moves you out and that's it. You have no other place to go except this one acre. That's all you have. And, you know, it seems like we got stuck right in the middle, or right in this place. All these people [in the group move], we are from Pinon chapter and we registered in Pinon. Now people say "well, you sold your land, you already gotten chased off your land." What can we do? The commission told us to move out and, you know, people don't look at it this way. The hardest part was the jealousy. At first people in Pinon took it the other way, you know, that we are going to be relocated. They did not realize what kind of home we were going to get and things like that.

Overall, relocation was particularly hard on Navajo women, because it is mainly through them that land and traditional Navajo identity are passed on to succeeding generations. Annie Begay, an elderly relocatee from Pinon, decorated the walls of her tidy two-bedroom relocation house with pictures of her children and with Navajo pottery. Her house was far from the nearest paved road and although it had pipes and wires, she still did not have running water or electricity four years after the move. She heated her home with wood and a coal cast-iron stove, used propane lamps for light, and a butane stove for cooking. Like other traditional women, she wore Navajo garb and sturdy shoes, knotted her long black hair in *tsiiyel* (bun), and wore turquoise beads and bracelets. She spoke in Navajo very softly, almost whispering, about her relocation:

> I have not been feeling well in the past few months. I miss my land, my home, my livestock. I am very lonely. I come from down there [about a mile]. As I talk about it I am crying over the land. I am very hurt from this relocation. I moved over here three years ago and have been like that since the move. I had some Native American Church meetings and some traditional sings done for me that made me feel better. I had sheep, now I don't and it is really hard on me. There is nothing for me to do. It is like being buried alive.[26]

Another elderly woman, Mae Yellowhair, lived with her adult son in a three-bedroom relocation house near HPL. This was her second relocation. She was first forced to leave her home in District Six, and later was told to leave her hogan, where she lived for twenty-nine years, because it was on HPL.[27] Her relocation house was built on a tract of her customary land-use area near her old winter sheep camp. Five years after moving to the relocation replacement home, the house was connected to the new electric power line, but she still did not have running water. She was able to keep some of her sheep and goats, and occasionally butchered one for mutton. Yellowhair continued spending her days herding sheep and weaving rugs that she sold at Hubbell Trading Post in Ganado, but she still missed her old house in HPL:

> Relocation has caused us many heartaches and problems. I cannot understand why this had been done to us. This is the second time we have been moved as I remember. First we moved from where the fence was referred to us District Six which was built by the Hopi. Again we were told to move to where we are now by JUA [commission] officials. As I remember, my parents always lived in a place where it is now called Hopi Partition Land. Maybe some of these people in the commission do not believe me when I tell them that I always lived in my former home which is now HPL, but I was born south of the old District Six fence and all my children were born at home, our former home.
>
> The JUA housing may have all the modern facilities and may look good, but I miss my old way of living. The cornfield where I grew corn and squash that I used for food all year. Now I don't have a field to farm. The grazing area for my sheep and horses was larger. Here I have hardly enough range for my livestock. The worst part is that we

> have no water nearby. In the old place we had a spring nearby. Because of this relocation we have lots of heartaches and problems. I am very lonely and depressed. This whole relocation makes me angry and sad at the same time.

A younger Navajo woman in her forties expressed similar sentiments:

> It was very hard for me to move. All my relatives have lived down there [about a mile south], my great grandmother lived there, there are many burials of my family down there.

Adding to disorientation, stress, and identity crises are problems associated with the replacement houses. Relocation replacement homes are bigger and more modern than traditional homes in Pinon. Typical relocation replacement houses in Pinon ranged from 840 to 1,620 square feet and had two to five bedrooms. They were equipped with modern appliances (refrigerator, butane cooking stove, cast iron wood, and coal heating stove) and are fully carpeted. However nice they may look from the outside, many were missing several basic features. At the time of the research, 78 percent did not have running water, and although all the homes were wired, 27 percent still did not have electric power. In addition, many relocation replacement homes in Pinon needed repairs after only a few years of occupation. Here, for example, is Mae Yellowhair's testimony:

> When we moved to this house, the JUA officials did not provide us with an orientation. We were just given the key and moved in. I am having a hard time adjusting to my new life. Although it was only a few years ago that we moved into this house, the house is already defected in a number of places. My front door does not close good and the frame had shifted badly. I reported it to the commission, but they did nothing. I always say that my old house was good, strong built, nice, and warm.

Annie Begay, who at the time of the study had lived in her relocation replacement home for only three years, added:

> They [the commission] built this house for me, and than I moved. But the house was not built well. We have found some defects. Some of the appliances furnished with the house were also defective. The refrigerator looked used and was all dented. The commission told me that the appliances that come with the house will be new. Instead, some were broken items that were put back together, and the stove pipe was assembled backward. I reported all this to the commission. They said that they had nothing to do with the house anymore. I have tried and tried. They promised that if there should be any repairs of any sort, they will fix it. I reported such things but nothing was ever done.

For most relocatees the actual move from their homes in HPL to the relocation houses in NPL was stressful and traumatic. A major contributor to the stress was their strong attachment to their livestock and the land where they

grew up. Structural problems with the replacement houses contributed to post-relocation problems.

RELATIONS WITH THE HOST FAMILIES AND THE HOST COMMUNITY

Six relocated households moved onto portions of their own customary land-use area in NPL. The rest, relocatees who lost their entire customary land-use area, moved to one-acre homesites that were provided by host families, typically close relatives. Some relocatees felt that their host families were reluctant to provide homesites:

> My aunt sort of did not want to let people move here because she had sheep and horses grazing here. We had no place to move and we had to move. Finally, she said OK and signed the papers.

Another relocatee also complained:

> The commission just moves you out [of HPL] and that's it. You have no place to go except this one acre. You know, it seems I got stuck right here in that one acre. Dela Chee [the host] still thinks that she can run her sheep and goats and come into my house any time she wants. She acts as if this house is hers.

Other relocatees felt welcomed by their host families, but alienated by other community residents:

> My grandmother, she wanted us to stay so that when she passes on the land won't be lost. So, although there is a tendency among educated people to relocate to town, we decided not to. We lost all our livestock, all of it. We are just trying to get it but in chapter meetings they always tell us, "you got a house and bonus money." That's why we hate going to chapter meetings.

Territorial buffers between residence groups and outfits have virtually disappeared for many relocatees who lost their entire customary land-use area, changing the interaction within and between households. Some relocatees felt crowded: "My neighbors are good to us, but we are too close to one another." Often, the disappearance of territorial buffers resulted in relocatee-host land disputes that ranged from verbal assaults to vandalism to violence. Such disputes severely altered the quality of the relocatees' life, especially of older women who traditionally used to manage the family herd and enjoyed respect and authority within their household and residence group. Relocatees blamed land disputes with hosts on the relocation. Joe Tso conveys:

> There are Navajo who hate us. We found ourselves in the middle, unwanted by the Hopi and by Navajo relatives of ours. We [relocatees and hosts] have the same blood, but why hate each other? It is not right. At the present time it is the same. We do not visit with relatives,

> the hate still continues. I hear a lot of bad words about us, but I just let it be and do not bother with it. Our hosts also complain about our livestock. They say "you relocatees already got new houses." But we cannot even have herd sheep around here. Our relatives tell us not to use their land for grazing. At times we are even scared to go out to improve our living conditions, so we just stay in one place. We brought with us only a few sheep from our previous home. They want us to take our sheep somewhere else and not graze around here. Some of our relatives turned against us, no communication with them.

Another relocatee complained about acts of vandalism that she attributed to the host family:

> We do not get along very well [with the hosts] because we are having problems. They broke our window frames in the living room. The problems started when the [relocation] house was built. Before that they wanted very much that we move out here. They [NHIRC] said that when we move they [the hosts] will probably get running water and electricity. But once the house was completed, the problems started.

Relocatees who moved within their own customary land-use area retained at least some of their preexisting territorial buffers. Their post-relocation experience was typically different from that of relocatees who lost their entire customary land-use area and moved to a one-acre homesite lease. Mae Yellowhair explains:

> We do not have any problems or any grazing disputes with our close neighbors. Besides, where we live now was always our winter sheep camp. The thing is that our grazing land is real small now. We have a hard time because we have fewer sheep and horses. These sheep belong to my children and to myself. We raise our sheep for food or sell them when we need some money. I have been told that my grazing permit is not good now, but I am keeping it because that what the BIA issued to me long time ago for keeping my livestock.

Host-relocatee disputes stemmed from the inevitable pressures that exist between poor people living in an area of limited resources, the jealousy linked to the large relocation replacement homes, and the disappearance of preexisting territorial buffers.

SUMMARY

Relocatees lost their most important assets: land, home, and livestock. The loss of customary land-use area and homes had compelling effects on Navajo relocatees. Traditional Navajo explained that by leaving their hogans, relocatees violated a basic tenet of Navajo culture. Typically, Navajo only abandon hogans that are naturally dilapidated, are contaminated by death, or are struck by lightning. Relocation from HPL forced Navajos to abandon their hogans, submitting themselves to an external, secular, non-natural force—a

transgression in Navajo culture. Relocatees, especially older women, emphasized their intimate relationship with their hogans and with their land and linked their illnesses and despair to loss of their customary land. Many relocatees could not accept or comprehend this loss.

Relocation and loss of land also deprive Navajo relocatees of their customary social relations and livelihood. The relocation "benefits" do not adequately compensate for the emotional and financial loss of large customary land-use areas and pastoral subsistence activities. Discussions with relocatees indicated that there were strong feelings of emptiness and helplessness among relocatees, especially among older women. Loss of land and livestock left many relocatees without their daily non-salaried occupation, without their source of pride, and without an important and renewable source of subsistence production. The generally high unemployment rate in Pinon further hampered the relocatees' adjustment process.

For most Pinon relocatees, moving into a relocation replacement house did not end their suffering. Often, soon after a relocatee moved onto a one-acre homesite provided by a host family, they were involved in land disputes with their hosts. Relocatees who moved onto portions of their own customary land-use area did not attribute occasional land disputes to relocation. All Pinon relocatees felt alienated by some Pinon residents and felt that the latter stigmatized them as having sold out by accepting relocation.

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NOTES

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3. James M. Goodman, The Navajo Atlas, Map 45, in *The Disputed Lands: The 1962 Division* (Norman and London: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1982), 96.

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5. Angela Johnson-Conner, *Preliminary Analysis of Interviews Conducted with Three Family Groups Living on and Adjacent to the Hopi Partition Land* (Window Rock: Navajo-

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6. Betty B. Gilbert, "Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute: Impacts of Forced Relocation on Navajo Families" (M.A. Thesis, School of Social Work, Arizona State University, 1977).

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10. Orit Tamir, "Some Consequences of Compulsory Relocation on Navajo Socioeconomy" (Substitute M.A. Thesis, Anthropology Department, Arizona State University, 1986).

11. David Shaw-Serdar and Eugene Yazzie, "The Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute: Sale of Replacement Homes by Navajo Public Law 93-531 Relocatees" (Substitute Thesis, School of Social Work, Arizona State University, 1986).

12. Orit Tamir, "Relocation of Navajo from Hopi Partition Land in Pinon," *Human Organization* 50:2 (1991): 173–78; "Socioeconomic Response Variation of Navajo to Relocation from Hopi Partition Land" (Ph.D. diss., Department of Anthropology, Arizona State University, 1993).

13. David F. Aberle, "The Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute and Navajo Relocation," in *Anthropological Approaches to Resettlement,* eds. Michael M. Cernea and Scott E. Guggenheim (Washington, DC: The World Bank, 1993).

14. Emily Benedek, *The Wind Won't Know Me: A History of the Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute* (New York: Alfred A. Knof, 1992); Catherine Fehr-Elston, *Children of Sacred Ground: America's Last Indian War* (Flagstaff: Northland Publishing, 1988); Jerry Kammer, *The Second Long Walk* (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico, 1980); Anita Parlow, *Cry Sacred Ground Big Mountain USA* (Washington, DC: Christic Institute, 1988).

15. Navajo Nation Fax 88, A Statistical Abstract, (Window Rock: Navajo Nation, September 1988), 34.

16. Goodman 1982: Map 46P. 96, "The Disposition of the Joint Use Area."

17. Occasionally interviewees did not answer all the questions. I therefore use the "N" of the actual responses in tables and figures.

18. Following the 1943 expansion of District Six (the Hopi reservation), more than one hundred Navajo families were moved out. About fifteen households stayed in the Echo Canyon portion of District Six where they retained grazing permits. In 1966, the district court ordered those families to move. They appealed the decision. On 18 February 1972, the Supreme Court upheld the decision. Because relatives of District Six relocatees lived within the former JUA, moving to their land was impossi-

ble due to the construction freeze. The Navajo tribe placed District Six relocatees in trailers on the Navajo tribal fair grounds. The commission provided relocation replacement homes years later.

19. The final partitioning of the former JUA in 1979 designated 16,235 acres of Pinon's land base (16.4 percent of the community's territory) as HPL, forcing its Navajo residents to relocate. Many of Pinon's HPL relocatees moved only a short distance to the outer margins of Pinon's NPL.

20. Navajo Nation, *Overall Economic Development Program 1987* (Window Rock: The Navajo Nation, 1987), 20.

21. Tamir, "Socioeconomic Response Variation," 139–143.

22. Office of Navajo and Hopi Relocation, Plan Update, November 1990:17.

23. Ibid, 23.

24. Shaw-Serdar and Yazzie, "The Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute," 22.

25. Ibid., 23

26. Tamir, "Relocation of Navajo," 175.

27. In 1936 the BIA slated Grazing District Six for exclusive Hopi use. The area was expanded in 1943, causing the relocation of approximately one hundred Navajo households (U.S. Congress, Senate, 1973: 242–313).