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Christine Zuni Cruz
*University of New Mexico - School of Law*

Gloria Valencia-Weber

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DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AND TRIBAL PROTECTION OF INDIGENOUS WOMEN IN THE UNITED STATES

GLORIA VALENCIA-WEBER
CHRISTINE P. ZUNI

INTRODUCTION

The essential Navajo value is that while men and women are distinct, they relate as complementary equals. That kind of relationship creates, or should create, an environment that views violence toward women as deviant behavior. Under Navajo common law, violence toward women, or mistreatment of them in any way, is illegal.¹

A man who battered his wife was considered irrational and thus could no longer lead a war party, a hunt, or participate in either. He could not be trusted to behave properly... He was thought of as contrary to Lakota law and lost many privileges of life and many roles in Lakota society and the societies within the society.²

What we do know is that in most Native American societies men’s and women’s roles were delineated in such a way that violence against

women among their own groups did not seem to be a common and regular practice.³

We were always taught that women were sacred and that everything in the home belonged to the women. Our extended families used to live together and no one would have ever thought of abusing women and children. It wasn’t until families started to move into town or to move away from each other that we started to hear stories about someone beating up his wife.⁴

The physical abuse of American Indian women is a subject now emerging from the netherland of ignorance which has surrounded the lives of contemporary indigenous people in the United States.⁵ That American Indian tribes have been recognized as the first sovereign within the boundaries of the United States is not a fact consciously acknowledged by many citizens governed by the other two sovereigns: the state and the federal governments. Many presume that American Indians are just another ethnic minority within this republic.⁷ Additionally, non-Indians often assume that the popular media’s depictions of contemporary Indian life are accurate.

The purpose of this article is to discuss openly the issue of the physical abuse of American Indian women in a manner that reflects the


⁵ The term “American Indian” shall be construed to include American Indians and Alaskan Natives for the purposes of this article. Alaskan Natives, Aleuts, Inuits, and native Hawaiians maintain distinct cultural identities, but these are not pursued for the purposes of this article. The term “tribes” is also used throughout the article; however, the indigenous nations use varied terms for their collective identity, e.g., nation, pueblo, band, community, rancheria, colony, and village. The most recent listing of “entities” which are federally recognized demonstrates the variety of self-designations used by the indigenous nations. See Notice, 60 Fed. Reg. 9250 (1995).

⁶ Although the incidence of domestic violence among American Indians is under-reported, some reports state as many as one-third of all women are physically abused during their lives. See James O. Mason, The Dimensions of An Epidemic of Violence, 108 PUB. HEALTH REP. 1 (1993).

authors’ knowledge of how American Indian people live.\textsuperscript{8} This article confronts presumptions or pre-existing notions about the indigenous people of the United States that pervade popular culture.

American Indian societies generally hold a common world view that seeks to achieve balance or harmony in all relationships.\textsuperscript{9} The cultural principles of American Indians, reflected in this world view, do not espouse or approve of the abuse of women. While this statement encompasses the approximately 550 tribes recognized by the federal government,\textsuperscript{10} the authors’ knowledge of the traditional values and beliefs of contemporary tribal people sustains the broad application. Although there are differences among the tribes, respect for the physical integrity of women is not an area where cultural values among tribes differ significantly. Individuals in any society have always attempted to use physical force to control others and American Indians are not exempt from what continues

\textsuperscript{8} The background for this study arises from the authors’ own experiences and from the generosity of tribal people who provided tribal codes, court orders, and descriptions of intervention programs. The authors are indebted to the courts of the tribes included in this survey: Tina Gouty-Yellow, Menominee Nation; Eileen Lente-Kasero and Judge William Bluehouse Johnson of the Laguna Tribal Court; Ada Pecos Melton and Eidell Wasserman of the National Indian Justice Center; Lemyra DeBruyn and Beverly Wilkins of the Special Initiatives Team, Mental Health Services, Indian Health Service; Mark Van Norman and the Cheyenne River Sioux; Chad Smith and the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma; Judge Carey Vicente and the Jicarilla Apache; James Zion, and the Judicial Branch of the Navajo Nation; Judge Violet Lui Frank and Demetria Valenzuela of the Pascua-Yaqui Tribal Court; Elsie B. Zion Redbird of Native Rights Advocates and Instructor, University of New Mexico; Toby Grossman at the American Indian Law Center; Evelina Z. Lucero, Instructor, University of New Mexico and UNM-Valencia Campus; Darlene Correa, Laguna Family Services, and Professor Margaret Montoya, our colleague at the UNM School of Law. The authors would also like to acknowledge the Albuquerque Women’s Shelter, Women’s Community Association and Connie R. Martin, Domestic Violence Commissioner, for statistical information provided on Native Americans. Additionally, the authors would like to acknowledge the legal research assistance of Sandy Gardner and Kyle Nayback.


\textsuperscript{10} Approximately 550 tribal government entities are the indigenous nations of concern in this paper. Entities recognized as sovereigns and eligible for benefits and services from the United States (primarily the Bureau of Indian Affairs) include 311 tribal entities in the lower 48 states and 226 Alaskan governmental entities. \textit{See Notice}, 58 Fed. Reg. 54364 (1993). Status as a sovereign nation, with the power of self-governance over communally owned territory, does not exist for some Alaskan organizations and corporations recognized by the federal government as eligible for federal programs. Additionally, there are some 230 “extant and functioning tribes” which have not been recognized by the federal government. Rachael Paschal, \textit{Comment, The Imprimatur of Recognition: American Indian Tribes and the Federal Acknowledgment Process}, 66 WASH. L. REV. 209 (1991).
to be an unfortunate human behavior. The fact that individual members of tribes, predominantly male, engage in the physical abuse of women does not mean that such behavior satisfies a culturally approved norm.

Like non-Indian jurisdictions in the United States that use various means to redress abusive situations, there are certain differences in the way tribes, as nations, protect their female members. Rather than a single Indian model, there are many; each tribe’s practices derive from a blend of its cultural, historical, and contemporary experiences.

Initially, this article will examine the sovereign nature of the tribal nations within the parameters of both international law and United States jurisprudence. This article will also address the way in which some international instruments relate to the rights and protection of indigenous people, including specific provisions for protecting women. Furthermore, this article will provide an overview of the American Indians’ shared world view, revealing values in sharp contrast to those of the majority of American society. The lives of indigenous peoples are anchored upon communal values, rather than individualism, as the primary guide to behavior. Finally, this article will demonstrate how some tribes seek to protect their female members through codes, customary law, and intervention programs which provide services to victims, abusers, and their families.

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11 Government agencies and the media sporadically report that tribal women are the victims of domestic violence. Three deaths among Navajos due to domestic violence, within a one month period in 1991, instigated the study and legislation enacted by the Navajo Nation. Mark Trahant, Native Perspectives, Gannett News Service, June 27, 1991, available in LEXIS, Nexis Library, GNS File. Obtaining protection is not easy for many Indian women because of jurisdictional uncertainties. Whether a state or tribal government enforcement agency can help depends on the ethnic identities of the victim and the abuser and where the conduct occurred. See, e.g., Beatrice Medicine, North American Indigenous Women and Cultural Domination, 17 AM. INDIAN CULTURE & RES. J., 121, 124-25 (1993); Robin Abcarian, A County Reaches Out to Help Battered Women, DET. FREE PRESS, May 13, 1990. Our review did not obtain national data reporting domestic violence according to ethnic identity. One county in New Mexico that collects and reports detailed data across four ethnic populations indicates that American Indians experience domestic violence as victims or abusers in proportions similar to the population as a whole. FAMILY CRISIS CENTER, INC., DOMESTIC VIOLENCE TASK FORCE SEMI-ANNUAL REPORT, SAN JUAN COUNTY 7 (1993) (noting that San Juan County Native Americans constitute 36% of population, 40% of victims and 37% of abusers in reported domestic violence incidents).

12 See infra notes 16-76 and accompanying text.

13 See infra notes 41-44, 56-70 and accompanying text.

14 See infra notes 77-129 and accompanying text.

15 See infra notes 130-341 and accompanying text.
I. THE INDIGENOUS NATIONS IN INTERNATIONAL AND U.S. LAW

The powers of Indian tribes are, in general, “inherent powers of a limited sovereignty which has never been extinguished.” Before the coming of the Europeans, the tribes were self-governing sovereign political communities. Like all sovereign bodies, they then had the inherent power to prescribe laws for their members and to punish infractions of those laws.\(^{16}\)

American Indian tribes existed as sovereign nations before the European invasion of the North American continent.\(^{17}\) This sovereign status persisted through the subsequent wars and resolutions of conflicts among the European powers. Each European power dealt in practical ways with the tribal nations to maintain a competitive advantage with other nations. France and England, for instance, recognized the tribes as sovereign nations if this recognition would give them an advantage over a competitor in trade or military alliances. Similarly, the newly formed United States treated the tribes as sovereign nation-states.\(^{18}\) The history of the encounters among all of the sovereigns reflects pragmatic concerns, with theoretical frameworks as a delayed or collateral development.

As noted, both European colonial powers,\(^{19}\) and the United States

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\(^{17}\) See Rachel San Kronowitz et al., Note, Toward Consent and Cooperation: Reconsidering the Political Status of Indian Nations, 22 HARV. C.R.-C.L. L. REV. 507, 511-14 (1987) [hereinafter San Kronowitz] (describing international law status of tribes as sovereigns during colonial period in United States). Undeniably, the separate and independent quality of tribal sovereignty changed over time. Nonetheless, the Supreme Court decisions limiting tribal power affirm the continuance of tribal sovereigns. See, e.g., Rice v. Rehner, 463 U.S. 713, 725, 733 (1983) (holding no single notion of tribal sovereignty nor presumption of preemption precludes state power where Congress delegated to tribes and states the regulation of liquor); Wheeler, 435 U.S., at 323 (rejecting double jeopardy where tribes exercise the sovereignty not withdrawn by treaty, statute, or by implication as necessary result of their dependent status); McClanahan v. Arizona State Tax Comm’n, 411 U.S. 164, 172-73 (1973) (noting that despite trend toward federal preemption, Indian tribes remain “a separate people, with the power of regulating their internal and social relation”); Williams v. Lee, 358 U.S. 217, 220 (1959) (“[T]he question has always been whether the state action infringed on the right of reservation Indians to make their own laws and be ruled by them.”).


\(^{19}\) See generally FELIX S. COHEN HANDBOOK OF FEDERAL INDIAN LAW 47-58 (1982) [hereinafter COHEN, 1982] (summarizing basic tenet under law of nations in pre-Revolutionary period that American Indian nations are sovereign powers whose governments and ownership of land should be honored). In this period, Francisco de Victoria and others established the recognition of this nation-state status which was not subordinated or obliterated by European powers’ claims based on divine rights or discovery. Id. Intense legal and religious disputes about
Constitution originally recognized American Indian Tribes as nations. Supreme Court decisions have continued to uphold this political status. The autonomy of Native American tribes to act as discrete governments persists even though congressional acts and federal court decisions have limited the power of the Indian sovereigns.

The American Indians' status as tribal nations immediately distinguishes them from other ethnic populations within the United States. The tribal status as a sovereign is both pre-constitutional and extraconstitutional. In jurisprudential terms, this means that the equal protection and due process doctrines do not necessarily resolve issues in Indian law.

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20 The Constitution, as interpreted by the Supreme Court, recognizes the inherent tribal sovereignty of Native American nations as distinct political communities. See supra note 17. The principles of sovereignty are rooted in the original intent of the Constitution and have been further clarified by Supreme Court decisions. Therefore, the sovereignty of the tribes is not dependent on explicit grant of powers by the federal government.

21 See supra note 21; 18 U.S.C. § 1151 (1994) (defining jurisdictional territory of tribal governments to include more than reservations or federal trust lands reserved for tribes). The term "Indian Country" includes dependent Indian communities and land held in fee by non-Indians if within tribal boundaries. See Sac & Fox Nation, 113 S. Ct. at 911 (affirming Indian Country statute).

22 See, e.g., infra note 255 (discussing federal government restrictions on tribal criminal authority over non-Indians).


Although a unique nation-to-nation status exists between tribes and the federal government, shifting federal policies since the formation of the United States have limited, defined, and complicated tribal autonomy. Legal complexity arises from the conflict inherent between tribal sovereignty and the concurrent doctrine of the federal government as trustee for the tribal dependent. Unlike other U.S. citizens, American Indians as individuals have overlapping citizenship rights within three sovereigns — tribal, state, and federal. The nature and extent of tribal autonomy is a recurring legal question that complicates interactions among these three sovereigns.

The tribal sovereign's status is key to understanding how American Indian governments act to protect women. Tribes use inherent authority and cultural means which are distinct from the authority and means used by state and federal governments. Like non-Indian jurisdictions, tribes protect women through governmental structures. Some tribal governments are similar to non-Indian governmental entities, where executive, legislative, and judicial branches are identifiable. These descriptors, however, do not necessarily define how these branches operate in tribal governments. In some Pueblo communities, for instance, domestic disputes are resolved through traditional proceedings conducted by the Governor of the Pueblo, who is not categorically a judicial officer.

The protection of women by tribal governments stems from cultural
values. Tribal societies retain and integrate cultural values into the contemporary responsibility of tribal governments. The goal of maintaining harmony among members of the community perpetuates traditional dispute resolution methods that employ elders, peacemakers, and designated persons (such as the Pueblo Governor) to serve as mediators and decision makers.\textsuperscript{31} Traditional tribal methods of dispute resolution do not fit within the adversarial model, but rather aim to restore harmonious relationships among spouses, domestic partners, family, clan, and community members.\textsuperscript{32} To be valid judgments about how women fare in these tribal communities must be based upon the legal and cultural frameworks that apply to the indigenous people of the Americas.

A. Indigenous Peoples in International Law

Recent attempts by the international community to address the status of the indigenous peoples of the world include an examination of Native American tribes.\textsuperscript{33} In the countries invaded by European powers, the natives resisted the invaders’ common initial practice of exterminating indigenous populations as human beings, nations, or as cultures. Historically, under international law, native populations became protected from annihilation and were allowed to assimilate into the dominant political society.\textsuperscript{34} In the post-colonial period, nation-states resisted recognizing distinct ethnic and cultural groups within a country’s boundaries.\textsuperscript{35} Whether in the former U.S.S.R. with its multitude of ethnic populations, numerous Latin American countries with Indians, or Sweden, Norway, and Finland with the Samis, the dominant nations argued that no distinctions existed among their citizens and that all possessed only one national identity.\textsuperscript{36} Later instruments, such as Convention 169, the Convention

\textsuperscript{31} See, e.g., Zion & Zion, supra note 1, at 423 (noting Navajo’s use of Peacemaker Court based on traditional tribal values).

\textsuperscript{32} O’BRIEN, TRIBAL GOVERNMENTS, supra note 29, at 202.


\textsuperscript{36} See, e.g., San Kronowitz, supra note 17, at 591-92 n.450 (discussing Latin American Nations’ full political integration).
Concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries of the International Labour Converenee ("ILO"),\textsuperscript{37} generated new ways of perceiving and respecting the rights of indigenous people in the collective and as individuals. International law is now wrestling with the persisting question of how to treat the distinct indigenous populations found everywhere in the world.

The emerging norms, most recently stated in the products of the U.N. Working Group on Indigenous Populations, expand the view of the indigenous peoples. Consequently, the nature of their rights is changing. Current dialogue involves the nation-states, the indigenous peoples (usually represented by nongovernmental organizations), and the international structure or forum such as the United Nations (U.N.), that mediates this dialogue.\textsuperscript{38} Significant differences exist among proponents about key concepts and definitions regarding the legal status of indigenous populations and land. One of the central disputes is the indigenous populations’ demand to qualify as autonomous nation-states and their resistance to a less autonomous status as “a people” or “a minority.”\textsuperscript{39}

American Indians continue to possess the key characteristics of the sovereign state: a distinctive permanent population; a defined territory, with identifiable borders; a government exercising authority over territory and population; and the capacity to enter into relationships with other nation-states.\textsuperscript{40} In this regard, the American Indian nations can generate models on how indigenous peoples can protect their communal interests, including the well-being of their female members.

\section*{B. Indigenous Women in International Law}

The protection of women as members of indigenous communities has not been specifically addressed by international legal doctrines. Rather, women have been considered in a generic sense. All women who are


\textsuperscript{39} Barsh, supra note 34, at 231-34.

\textsuperscript{40} See Montevideo Convention on the Rights and Duties of States; \textit{RESTATEMENT (THIRD) OF FOREIGN RELATIONS LAW OF THE UNITED STATES}, § 201 (Revised) (1987).
Pueblo v. Martinez,46 illustrates how the sovereignty doctrine47 distinctively affects the treatment of American Indian women. Both cases involved female tribal members who married non-members.48 The women's relationships with their tribes substantively changed as a result of their marriages to non-members. Sandra Lovelace, for example, lost her membership rights and benefits.49 In both cases, however, male members who also married outside the tribe were not subject to the same disqualifications.50

These similar factual situations, however, did not produce the same legal conclusions. In Lovelace, the U.N. Committee found gender discrimination in the Canadian law based on the provisions in the Covenant.51 Thereafter, the Canadian national government stated that it would enact a statutory revision.52

Martinez yielded a result opposite to Lovelace because of the different law used in a federal forum. The Supreme Court determined that the Santa Clara Pueblo, as a sovereign, was immune from suit and that protecting the sovereignty of the tribe precluded the federal government from interfering with the tribe's right to control qualifications for membership.53 Martinez is based upon U.S. law and the federal policy affirming tribal sovereignty54 as a legal doctrine. The Covenant provisions used in Lovelace

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48 Martinez involved a Santa Clara Pueblo woman married to a non-member American Indian.
49 Lovelace centered on a Maliseet Indian woman whose spouse was a non-member.
50 Lovelace opinion, supra note 44, at para. 1. In Martinez, a female member of the Santa Clara Pueblo challenged the constitutionality of a tribal ordinance that denied "tribal membership to the children of female members who marry outside the tribe, but not to similarly situated children of men of that tribe." Martinez, 436 U.S. at 49.
51 Lovelace opinion, supra note 44, at para. 17 (concluding that exclusion of Lovelace for sole reason of marriage to non-Indian violates Article 27 of International Covenant).
54 Tribes remain quasi-sovereign nations which, by government structure, culture, and source of sovereignty are in many ways foreign to the constitutional institutions of the Federal and State Governments. . . . [E]fforts by the federal judiciary to apply the statutory prohibitions of § 1302 in a civil context may substantially interfere with a tribe's ability to maintain itself as a culturally and politically distinct entity.
55 Federal policy on Indian sovereignty has not been consistent. But see Ralph W. Johnson, Fragile Gains, Two Centuries of Canadian and United States Policy Toward Indians, 66 WASH. L. REV. 643, 649 (1991) ("The study of Native American history teaches that the overriding, but rarely articulated, policy of Canada and the United States towards Aboriginals was to get them
probably could not apply in Martinez to obtain a decision favoring the female plaintiff and her children; the U.S. tribes have not signed the Covenant and are thus not bound by its provisions.\textsuperscript{55} Additionally, the Covenant favors indigenous people in their autonomy. It states that, “[a]ll peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.”\textsuperscript{56} It is not yet known where indigenous women as a specific class may obtain enforceable rights in the emerging picture in international law.

Indigenous women can seek the protection of their rights under international provisions that protect all women against rights abuses by nation-states.\textsuperscript{57} It is, however, doubtful whether these current instruments protect indigenous women within their tribal governments. Where the Covenant applies, as in Lovelace, indigenous women are not distinct from all women with identifiable rights and potential remedies. The provisions prohibit gender discrimination, abuse of women’s personal security, and loss of any rights or equality because the women are married.\textsuperscript{58}

Convention 169 of the ILO also prohibits gender-based discrimination.\textsuperscript{59} Yet, the ILO directs its force against nation-states with indigenous peoples within their boundaries, not against indigenous peoples and their governments. The ILO also provides that “the social, cultural, religious and spiritual values and practices of these peoples shall be recognized and protected.”\textsuperscript{60} The ILO does not, however, indicate if or how the individual rights of women are to be balanced against the interests of their indigenous community.

In 1992, the Working Group on Indigenous Population\textsuperscript{61} released the Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People (“Draft Declara-

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\textsuperscript{55} The authors are unaware of any tribes that have ratified this instrument.

\textsuperscript{56} International Covenant, supra note 43, at art. 1 (1). Other provisions of the article provide that parties to the Covenant “shall promote the realization of the right of self-determination and respect that right” of peoples. \textit{id.} at art. 1 (3).

\textsuperscript{57} See supra notes 41-43 and accompanying text (discussing Geneva Accords and International Covenant).

\textsuperscript{58} International Covenant, supra note 43, at arts. 3, 9 (a), 23 (4), and 26.

\textsuperscript{59} ILO, supra note 37, at art. 3(1).

\textsuperscript{59} \textit{id.} at art. 5(a).

While the Draft Declaration addressed “peoples” and their rights, it failed to delineate rights for individuals. The 1993 revisions to the Draft Declaration injected individual’s rights into the provisions, yet the document retained its collective focus. Therefore, tribal power and laws employed in *Martinez* may be valid under some provisions of the Draft Declaration. While the Working Group grounded the Draft Declaration’s provisions in a communal perspective of rights, there is a potential for conflict with law and instruments based on individualistic principles of gender equality. If gender equality becomes a fundamental

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63 See Pommersheim, supra note 62, at 448 (citing Williams, *Frontiers*, supra note 62, at 684-85). The rights discussed in the Working Group’s 1987 report can be separated into 4 groups: (1) the distinctive nature of indigenous peoples’ collective rights, (2) the centrality of territorial rights to indigenous survival, (3) the recognition of indigenous peoples’ right to self-determining autonomy, and (4) international legal protection of indigenous rights.” *Id.* These categories remained applicable to the Working Group’s 1992 report. The report focused upon the collective rights of indigenous people and did not establish individuals’ rights.

64 *U.N. Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, U.N. ESCOR, Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, 45th Sess., U.N. Doc. E/CN.4/SUB.2/1993/29 (1993) [hereinafter 1993 Draft Declaration]. The 1993 revisions added new provisions and included indigenous individuals, along with indigenous peoples, to the class to be protected. Part I. Article 2 provides that “[i]ndigenous individuals and peoples are free and equal to all other individuals and peoples in dignity and right, and have the right to be free from any kind of adverse discrimination, in particular that based on their indigenous origin or identity.” *Id.* at art. 2. Individual rights were injected into ten provisions: Part II, Articles 6, 7, 8, 9, 11 (a), (c); Part IV, Article 18; and Part IX, Article 43. *Id.*

65 See 1993 Draft Declaration, supra note 64, at art. 2 (revising some provisions from 1992 ILO, but retaining their substance to favor collective power). Article 33 of the 1993 ILO provides “[i]ndigenous peoples have the right to promote, develop and maintain their institutional structures and their distinctive juridical customs, traditions, procedures and practices, in accordance with internationally recognized human rights standards.” *Id.* at art. 33. The Santa Clara Pueblo’s rule on membership is supported by other articles in the 1993 ILO. See *id.* at art. 32. Article 32 provides:

Indigenous peoples have the collective right to determine their own citizenship in accordance with their customs and traditions. Indigenous citizenship does not impair the right of indigenous individuals to obtain citizenship of the states in which they live.

Indigenous peoples have the right to determine the structure and to select the membership of their institutions in accordance with their own procedures.

*Id.*

The 1993 revisions in the ILO created the potential conflict more directly than the 1992 version. In both versions “[i]ndigenous peoples have the collective right to determine the respon-
international norm, American Indian tribes could face challenges to their customary legal practices.66

The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women67 ("Women's Convention") created another potential conflict between international legal doctrine and federal law. The Women's Convention constructed its declaration on strict equality principles, but failed to specifically address indigenous people and tribal women.68 This Convention could prohibit a ruling similar to *Martinez* because the Convention's declaration provides that women shall have "equal rights with men with respect to the nationality of their children." 69 Similarly, the Women's Convention declared that a woman who marries an alien cannot lose her nationality, be forced to acquire her husband's nationality, or be rendered stateless.70 Since the Women's Convention does not specifically address indigenous peoples, it is conjectural to state definitively that this equality doctrine conflicts with U.S. law.

American Indian nations with recognized sovereignty are a contrast to other peoples who lack this source of jurisprudential power.71 Despite

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66 The potential conflict may occur because Native American belief generally is collective and communal in nature. Individualistic principals of gender equality will undoubtedly clash with the Native American legal practice, the foundations of which are premised upon primacy and centrality of the community as a whole. *See generally* Pommersheim, supra note 62, at 432-34 (discussing tribal court jurisprudence maintaining community); *James W. Zion,* Harmony Among the People: Torts and Indian Courts, 45 MONT. L. REV. 265 (1984) [hereinafter Zion, Harmony] ("[t]he legal systems of Indian peoples were based upon the idea of maintaining harmony in the family, the camp, and the community.").


68 Article 14, which requires state parties to take "all appropriate measures to ensure the application of the provisions . . . to women in rural areas" would probably allow the inclusion of non-urban Indian women into the protected class. *Id.* at art. 14.

69 *Id.* at art. 9.

70 *Id.*

71 But see San Kronowitz, supra note 17, at 509. While the San Kronowitz comment proposed that Native American tribal sovereignty existed implicitly in the Constitution and in the early years of the United States, the sovereign status of Native American tribes has diminished. *Id.* at 510. Despite the retention of the principle of tribal sovereignty in federal law, the tribes' power and influence as sovereign states has been restricted as a result of federal policies and the Supreme Court's effort to assimilate the people into the dominant culture. *Id.* at 622. *See also* Pommersheim, supra note 62, at 413 (offering guidelines and suggestions to aid in both "decolonizing federal Indian law and building on indigenous vision of tribal sovereignty").
these contrasts, the tribes can provide some models of governance and the
use of custom for contemporary indigenous peoples.\footnote{See Zion, Harmony, supra note 66, at 269-73 (1984) (discussing beneficial use of tribal custom in Indian courts); see also Bill Donovan, Peacemakers Do Justice to Navajos: Alternative Court Influences Behavior with Help of Family, ARIZ. REPUB., Apr. 5, 1993, at A1 (analyzing operation and effectiveness of Navajo court’s procedure of community involvement in dispute resolution). But see Zion & Zion, supra note 1, at 416-22 (noting highly disproportionate rate of domestic violence, but attributing violence to disruption of traditional lifestyles and economies).} Tribal governments are implementing models through their laws, courts, and intervention programs to protect their female members.\footnote{See infra notes 133-339 and accompanying text.} Martinez and the ongoing work in tribal communities to protect women are congruous. Both types of actions, defining membership and protecting members, are an exercise of the tribal sovereign’s power.\footnote{The U.S. Supreme Court first recognized an Indian nation’s right to define its membership in Roff v. Burney, 168 U.S. 218 (1897). See COHEN 1982, supra note 19, at 20-23.} Moreover, the use of the tribal sovereign’s powers is bound to the cultural context of the American Indian world.\footnote{See Pommersheim, supra note 62, at 424-57 (identifying Native American language, narrative, story, and justice as instruments to define and express Native American jurisprudence); see also Zion, Harmony, supra note 66, at 275-76 (indicating many Native American tribes apply own tribal customs and usages as civil law).} Both Martinez and the protective efforts of domestic violence laws are the product of important tribal values.\footnote{See, e.g., Chief Justice Tom Tso, The Process of Decision Making in Tribal Courts, 31 ARIZ. L. REV. 225, 227-34 (1989) (analyzing influence of Indian values and traditions on Navajo peacemaker courts); Zion & Zion, supra note 1, at 413-16 (tracing Navajo values embodied in Navajo legal institutions).} To understand the Martinez decision and the tribal laws, one must consider the world view which guides the indigenous people of the U.S.

II. INDIGENOUS NATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: A CULTURAL VIEWPOINT

For each tribe of men Usen created He also made a home. In the land for any particular tribe He placed whatever would be best for the welfare of that tribe. When Usen created the Apaches He also gave them their homes in the West. He gave them such grain, fruits, and game as they needed to eat. . . . He gave them a pleasant climate and all they needed for clothing and shelter was at hand. Thus it was in the beginning: the Apaches and their homes each created for the other by Usen himself. When they are taken from these homes they sicken and die.
Geronimo.77
And God blessed them, and God said unto them, Be fruitful, and
multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it; and have dominion over
the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living
thing that moveth upon the earth.
Genesis 1:28.78

A. A Shared Cultural Viewpoint

A commonality of values and perceptions exists among the many
indigenous peoples in the U.S., which contrasts starkly with the values and
views historically asserted by the majority culture in the United States.79
While this statement may generalize too broadly about both viewpoints, the
American Indians’ shared viewpoint about both their reality and the
contrast is evident. A comparison of the two groups’ viewpoints on
community, the individual, and conflict resolution reveals the difference
between the communal perspective of native peoples and the individual
rights focus of Euro-Americans.80

DEBO, HISTORY]. With the caveat that specific American Indians should be respected and
understood for their particular culture, Debo presented their commonly held views. In the
indigenous peoples’ relationship with nature, they adapt and respectfully coexist with animals,
plants, and the land itself. Id. at 3-18. The “white man sought to dominate and change the natural
setting.” Id. at 3.

78 Compare Genesis 1:28 (King James) (stating dominance-based view of Creation) with
DEBO, HISTORY, supra note 77, at 3 (quoting Geronimo’s account of Creation which stresses
coeexistence with nature). See generally RICHARD ERDOES & ALFONSO ORTIZ, AMERICAN INDIAN
MYTHS AND LEGENDS (1984) (discussing other tribe’s accounts of emergence and creation based
on coexistent relations rather than domination).

79 See Robin Paul Malloy, Letters From The Longhouse: Law, Economics and Native
American Values, 1992 WISC. L. REV. 1569 (1992) (containing letters written by members of six
native nations, including Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca and Tuscarora). It is
suggested that these individual populations of several Indian authors project a similar concern for
Native American values which are in conflict with those of the dominant culture in the United
States. Id. at 1587-1620. But see id. at 1621 (noting that some values are consistent with
dominant culture). While the authors agree with Malloy that some Native American values “seem
consistent and compatible with the dominant capitalist economic structure,” coincidence does not
reveal the underlying force for a cultural choice. Id. at 1621. We emphasize that the principle for
Native American values is communally based and frequently results in different approaches to the
enforcement of values. For instance, capitalism focuses on the individual engaged in rational self-
maximizing acquisition, ownership, and control of property. Individualistic capitalism is thus the
opposite of communally-held property requiring the responsibility of stewardship, whether the
tribal property (e.g., land) is used in communal ways or allocated for possessory use by an
individual, family or clan.

80 See infra notes 81 to 339 and accompanying text. Moreover, the difference between the
values of the dominant cultures and those of Native Americans has been a historical constant and
the justification for policies destructive of tribal life. Consider the statement of Senator Henry
TRIBAL PROTECTION OF INDIGENOUS WOMEN

The political philosophy of John Locke, influential in the formation of the United States government, presents communities as the basic political entity protecting individual rights.81 The drafters of the Constitution did not seek the participation of the Indian nations in the “mutuality of concession” that created the U.S. Constitution, the social contract that guides the majority culture in the United States.82 The preclusion of the

Dawes who sponsored the General Allotment Act of 1887, 24 Stat. 388 (codified as amended at 25 U.S.C. §§ 331-34, 339, 341-342, 348, 349, 381 (1994)). The Act explicitly sought to undercut the political and cultural identity of Indian nations by destroying their common ownership of land. Dawes, however, saw this system as flawed and in need of improvement: The head chief told us that there was not a family in that whole nation that had not a home of its own. There was not a pauper in that nation, and the nation did not owe a dollar. It built its own capitol, in which we had this examination, and it built its schools and its hospitals. Yet the defect of the system was apparent. They have got as far as they can go, because they own their land in common. It is Henry George’s system, and under that there is no enterprise to make your home any better than that of you neighbors. There is no selfishness, which is at the bottom of civilization. Till this people will consent to give up their lands, and divide them among their citizens so that each can own the land he cultivates, they will not make much more progress. ANGELA DEBO, AND STILL THE WATERS RUN 21-22 (1966) (quoting BOARD OF INDIAN COMMISSIONERS, ANNUAL REPORT, H.R. Doc. No. 104, 49th Cong., 1 Sess., 90-91 (1885), microfilmed in CIS Vol. 30, Fiche 2398.). Dawes made his observation after the forced removal of the Cherokees from Georgia to Oklahoma. In Oklahoma, the Cherokee’s success in rebuilding society on foreign soil failed to protect them from (or caused them to become subject to) the Allotment Acts. See Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock, 187 U.S. 553 (1903) (upholding constitutionality of Allotment Act). Allotment was only one component of federal Indian policy which imposed an individual rights model of society upon tribal peoples. See DEBO, HISTORY, supra note 77, at 316-31 (describing impact of government regulations promulgated after Allotment acts).


However one treats Lockian and republican principles in federal constitutionalism, both philosophies emphasize individual rights. The communal perspective of indigenous people, as discussed in this section, is inadequately addressed by these Western philosophies.

82 Blatchford v. Native Village of Noatak, 501 U.S. 775, 780-81 (1991). But see Venables, supra note 81, at 113 (1992) (discussing treaty between Confederation Congress and Delaware Indians in which parties offered to “work mutually toward the concept of an American Indian state joining the United States”). While not participants in the constitutional drafting and the predecessor Articles of the Confederation, various sources point to the Five Nations or Iroquois Confederacy, the
indigenous nations from the Constitutional Convention is not the sole explanation for the difference between indigenous and Euro-American cultures.\textsuperscript{83} Both cultures value the maintenance of community through law or customary rules of conduct, but this facial resemblance between the two societies cannot mask the differences.

In establishing the function of law derived from distinct values, indigenous people and the dominant U.S. culture do differ. Native American tribes subscribe to communal values as the guiding principle for the laws that govern an individual’s conduct.\textsuperscript{84} This preference does not mean that individual interests are ignored. Native American laws strive to protect individuals, at the same time preserving the cultural beliefs and practices of the collective framework.\textsuperscript{85} Thus, tribal societies are built on community or relational foundations.\textsuperscript{86} The relational foundation does not mean that individual rights are inconsistent with tribal interests. The key questions are: 1) which rights and values ought to exist; and 2) how can designated rights be held by an abstract individual, independent of social context, relationships with others or historical setting?\textsuperscript{87}

For tribal people, the real-life relational framework is the key to how individuals should treat each other.\textsuperscript{88} The Navajo Nation Peacemaker Court materials represent one example of this framework.\textsuperscript{89} The materials state as the operating principles for those before that traditional body: “K’ei is kinship which arranges correct conduct of the individuals within a family unit. . . . Doonee is the clan group where rules of correct

\textsuperscript{83} See Venables, supra note 81, at 13-124.

\textsuperscript{84} See, e.g., Williams, Jr., Medieval and Renaissance Origins, supra note 19 (examining development and origins of Western legal thought on nature and extent of Indian tribal sovereignty and rights). Western thought is of “individualistic orientation.” Id. at 4. “Through this exploitive process, white governments hoped to transform the Indian through contact with European materialistic and individualistic value structures and to inculcate him with those values.” Id. at 5.


\textsuperscript{86} See Zion, Harmony, supra note 66, at 269-73 (tracing Navajo values embodied in their legal institutions); see also Donovan, supra note 72, at A1 (discussing role of traditional cultural values in Navajo peacemaker courts).

\textsuperscript{87} Pommersheim, supra note 62, at 435-41 (building on MARSHA MINOW, MAKING ALL THE DIFFERENCE 149-52, 311, 382-83 (1990) in context of where relational structures guide proper treatment of individuals).

\textsuperscript{88} Id. at 149-52.

\textsuperscript{89} See Zion, Harmony, supra note 66, at 269-72.

\textsuperscript{90} The Navajo Nation Peacemaker Court: An Introduction 1 (July 7, 1992) (unpublished manuscript on file with the St. John’s Law Review).
conduct, with fellow clan groups of the same tribe, are foremost. . . . Bahoddaataah is the innate nature and responsibility of an individual[‘s] existence.” These concepts anchor the standards of respect and responsibility which the Peacemaker court employs to review members’ conduct when conflicts must be resolved. Conflict among individuals is a universal feature of human society. The survival of an organized community depends on the resolution of the inevitable conflicts between the interests of individual members and the interests of the community as a whole.

The resolution of conflicts and the maintenance of a universal harmony is a primary concern for indigenous nations and their members, but the cultural guide utilized is distinct from that of predominantly Western societies. Individual interests are considered as part of a larger perspective. The individual and the community are part of the kinship that exists among all life forms and the environmental elements. Harmony is the desired result of the relationship with all life forms, including humans, animals, and plants.

For tribal people, conflict arises when the individual is out of balance or in disharmony with other community members and elements in the universe. Restoration of the individual’s physical and mental well-being requires the involvement of others in understanding the problem and its

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90 Id. at 1-2.
92 See ZION, HARMONY, supra note 66, at 272-73 (offering three examples of traditional legal principles that stress importance of community involvement in dispute resolution).
93 Tso, supra note 76 at 233 (highlighting emphasis that Navajo courts place on people’s traditional relationship with nature). The Chief Justice of the Navajo Nation Supreme Court stated:

We refer to the earth and sky as Mother Earth and Father Sky. These are not catchy titles; they represent our understanding of our place. The earth and sky are our relatives. Nature communicates with us through the wind and the water and the whispering pines. Our traditional prayers include prayers for the plants, the animals, the water and the trees. A Navajo prayer is like a plant. The stem or the backbone of the prayer is always beauty. By this beauty we mean harmony. Beauty brings peace and understanding. It brings youngsters who are mentally and physically healthy and it brings long life. Beauty is people living peacefully with each other and with nature.

Id.; see also ZION, HARMONY, supra note 66 (providing introduction to value of harmony in legal systems of Indian people).
94 DEBO, HISTORY, supra note 77, at 3; see also Malloy, supra note 79 at 1623 (stating that Indians “appear to see themselves as connected directly to the earth, plants and animals of their life cycle.”)
95 See Tso, supra note 76, at 233-34 (describing critical role played by nature and community in Navajo judicial system).
resolution.96 Traditional forms of problem resolution include non-adversarial forums where respected elders, family, and clan members contribute to the outcome.97 When the resolution occurs, the individual and the community can resume a life that promotes harmonious relationships.98 Accommodation and compromise, not win-or-lose strategies, contribute to the desired traditional outcome.99 This type of accommodation and compromise of individual interests may not be understood or appreciated by persons outside the tribe.100 Internal decisionmaking and the resolution of intra-tribal conflicts have traditionally not included outsiders, including non-member Indians.101

B. Santa Clara Pueblo v. Martinez and Divergent Cultures

A non-Indian’s lack of appreciation for tribal autonomy and its importance in Native American communities is reflected in the articles

96 Id. at 231. Tso provides an example of community involvement in conflict resolution: What holds us together is a strong set of values and customs, not words on paper. I am speaking of a sense of community so strong that, before the federal government imposed its system on us, we had no need to lock up wrongdoers. If a person injured another or disrupted the peace of the community, he was talked to, and often ceremonies were performed to restore him to harmony with his world.

97 Id. (describing this community involvement as Navajo “talking” session, the effects of which did not create repeat offenders); see also Donovan, supra note 72, at A1 (stating that prior to imposition of American law, “the Navajos had a very successful system that allowed people in the family and in the community to get involved and try to work out a solution that was acceptable to everyone”).

98 Michael Taylor, Modern Practice in the Indian Courts, 10 UNIV. PUGET SOUND L. REV. 231 (1987). Taylor contends that:

In order to effectively represent an individual plaintiff with a claim for violation of civil rights against a tribal agency or official in an Indian court, a non-Indian lawyer must learn about the tribal culture, customs, and law that are the basis of the tribal concept of civil rights. This is especially important when the client is an Indian. The Indian client usually wants to remain an effective and respected part of the reservation society, whether his lawsuit is won or lost, and this result may be compromised if the goal of the lawsuit is not somewhat consistent with the tribal understanding of personal rights.

99 Id. at 255-56; see also Newman, supra note 91, at 47 (noting that “[t]he ultimate goal of dispute settlement is to return social relationships to their normal state”).

100 Id., supra note 98, at 255-56.

101 See generally id. at 231 (intending to provide reader with basic understanding of Indian court jurisdiction and practice). Generally a tribally-identified Indian client will shy away from a win at all costs strategy to prevent any rejection by the tribe.

102 The exclusion of nonmembers in the resolution of intratribal conflicts emphasizes the role of the community in Indian judicial systems. See Donovan, supra note 72, at A1. The modern Navajo peacemaker courts “make every effort to get as many of a person’s relatives and friends to show up as possible.” Id.
written about *Martinez*. *Martinez* disturbed many non-Indians, especially feminists, because the Court's holding denied full tribal membership to children of a female tribal member who married outside of the tribe.\(^{102}\) Some commentators made an equal protection argument, which would have the effect of treating a tribe-specific rule as common to all Native American tribal nations.\(^{103}\) Responses such as this overlook the unique status of


Whatever the reasons for the 1939 ordinance, it is not an "artifact" but a conscious twentieth century choice by a tribal community, an affirmative decision within the pueblo's sovereign power. Critics of *Martinez* argue about the authenticity of the 1939 ordinance based on some historical set point such as pre-contact values. See, e.g., *MacKinnon*, supra, at 66-7. Whether contact with Europeans injected patriarchal values into some tribes' social structure is certainly arguable. What is not arguable is that twentieth century tribal nations can use their sovereign's power to change laws about membership, wisely and unwisely, just as modern European nations like Switzerland and Germany have recently restricted who can obtain membership in their nations. See, e.g., Carla Christofferson, *Tribal Courts' Failure to Protect Native American Women: A Reevaluation of the Indian Civil Rights Act*, 101 YALE L. J. 169, 179-84 (1991) (proposing amendment to ICRA giving all Native American women equal protection within tribal lands, analogous to that enjoyed by all American citizens); see also John Marks, *A German's Lot is Still an Exclusive One*, U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT, Apr. 24, 1995, at 48 (discussing German citizenship requirements).


\(^{103}\) See, e.g., Christofferson, supra note 102, at 170. ("[T]he Santa Clara ruling has left Native American women virtually paralyzed within a system that subordinates women.") While it is possible that Christofferson directed this comment only at Santa Clara Pueblo, she proposes a broad general remedy that would control all tribes. *Id.* at 183. Christofferson proposes that the Indian Civil Rights Act be expanded to prohibit discrimination based on gender, waive tribal sovereign immunity, and insure federal court review after exhaustion in tribal courts. *Id.* at 183-84.
American Indian tribes as sovereigns outside the usual realm of American constitutional law. As a result, commentators ignore the repeated affirmations that issues in Indian law require a non-constitutional analysis. These non-Indian and feminist views overlook the premise that only the essential quality of a particular tribe’s sovereignty can explain outcomes similar to and different from Martinez. The tribe’s power to self-define by establishing the qualifications for membership is key to sovereignty and to understanding Martinez. It is not clear, for instance, how critics of Martinez respond to the Navajo Nation’s custom that empowers a matrilineal and matrilocal society, so as

104 See Vine Deloria, Jr., The Application of the Constitution to American Indians, in Exiled in the Land of the Free, supra note 81, at 281 (analyzing how powers authorized in Constitution have been applied to Indians and conflicts among state and federal governments and Indian sovereignty); see also Laurence M. Hauptman, Congress, Plenary Power, and the American Indian, 1870 to 1992, in Exiled in the Land of the Free, supra note 81, at 317 (asserting that doctrine of plenary power and present federal-Indian relationship must be altered from paternalism and interventionism to self-government).

105 See Morton v. Mancari, 417 U.S. 535, 555 (1974) (holding that employment preference for qualified Indians in Bureau of Indian Affairs provided by Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 did not violate non-Indian employees’ due process rights because it is rationally related to fulfillment of Congress’ “unique obligation toward the Indians”). The Court noted additional decisions upholding legislation that singled out Indians for particular and special treatment. Id. (citing Board of County Comm’rs v. Seber, 318 U.S. 705 (1943) (federally granted tax immunity) and Williams v. Lee, 358 U.S. 217 (1959) (tribal jurisdiction over non-Indians on reservations)).

106 See Williams, Jr., Gendered Checks, supra note 102, at 1023 n. 9. Williams, a Lumbee Indian, had this reaction to the criticisms of Martinez:

My own opinion is that the efforts and debates among non-Indian feminists about how Martinez ought to be understood underscore the need to come to grips with sexism and prejudice in traditional Indian communities in terms that have meaning for the individuals who comprise those communities. As Gretchen Bataille and Kathleen Muller Sands have warned, the scholarly literature about American Indian women accepting the view that Indian women are inferior in their cultures is based on research which “ignored the power of women within tribal structures or undervalued or inadequately valued it.” Id. (citing G. BATAILLE & K.M. SANDS, AMERICAN INDIAN WOMEN, TELLING THEIR LIVES VIII (1984)); see also Clara Sue Kidwell, The Power of Women in Three American Indian Societies, 6 J. ETHNIC STUD. 113, 120 (1978) (pointing out that Indian woman “is still a bearer of culture and identity of her people, and in this role there is still power”).

Cf. Beatrice Medicine, North American Indigenous Women and Cultural Domination, 17 AM. INDIAN CULTURE & RES. J. 121 (1993) (discussing the gender inequality resulting from “administered relationships” of patriarchy imposed on traditional cultures by the federal government and some negative effects from the Martinez decision). The retained cultural values that provide vitality to contemporary tribes is discussed: “Fortunately, the political and economic influence of women has grown since the 1960s. Women of the Northern Plains, in particular, have maintained a power base and prestige structure that is tied to artistic efforts, the manipulation of educational avenues, and welfare and economic enterprises, and ritual participation.” Id. at 129.

107 See Resnik, supra note 102, at 719-20 (discussing importance of membership in Santa Clara Pueblo).
to define important legal rights by the mother’s clan.\textsuperscript{108} In the Onondaga Nation, tribal males, whose rights and status are subject to the Onondaga Faithkeepers’ authority, can neither vote for these leaders nor have non-member spouses reside on tribal land.\textsuperscript{109} The Faithkeepers are selected and appointed by, and are accountable to, the Clan Mother.\textsuperscript{110} A broad brush approach demanding equality for women and men in all tribal situations would trample upon both the power of the tribal sovereigns and the values used to construct their governments.\textsuperscript{111}

Indian feminists have rejected the Western feminist approach to gender equality by retaining the cultural framework and a commitment to the tribal nations’ autonomy.\textsuperscript{112} Rayna Green, a Cherokee, states:

For Indian feminists, every women’s issue is framed in the larger context of Native American people. The concerns which characterize debate in Indian country, tribal sovereignty and self-determination, for example, put Native American tribes on a collision path with regulations like Title 9 and with Equal Opportunity and Affirmative Action. Tribes insist that treaty-based sovereignty supersedes any other federal mandate. While many Native American women have personal difficulty with the application of tribal sovereignty to affirmative action in tribal hiring, for

\textsuperscript{108} See Navajo Nation v. Murphy, 15 INDIAN L. RPT/ 6035 (Navajo Nation Supreme Court, 1988) (rejecting one foundation of marital privilege rule of evidence from Anglo-American law, that women have no independent legal status, because of Navajo’s matrilineal society).

\textsuperscript{109} See Williams, Jr., Gendered Checks, supra note 102, at 1039 (noting Iroquois, including Onondaga, for whom “the transmission of all titles, rights and property descended through the female clan line to the exclusion of the male.”); see also Winds of Change—A Matter of Promises (PBS television broadcast, 1990) (discussing Onondaga’s recent decision to exclude non-member spouses of male members from tribal lands).

\textsuperscript{110} Williams, Jr., Gendered Checks, supra note 102, at 1036-44.

\textsuperscript{111} See Christofferson, supra note 102 at 179-85; Mackinnon, supra note 102, at 68 (“I want to suggest that cultural survival is as contingent upon equality between women and men as it is upon equality among peoples.”); Williams, Jr., Gendered Checks, supra note 102, at 1037. Williams also acknowledges:

There are, of course, many Indian tribes and communities, and therefore many different Indian cultural contexts. Gender roles differ radically among various Indian tribes . . . Such variability across the broad spectrum of traditional and contemporary American Indian cultural patterns makes any effort at generalizations about the positions of women in Indian societies difficult, if not impossible, to sustain beyond just a few instances.

\textit{Id. at 1037.}

\textsuperscript{112} See Green, Native American Women, supra note 102, at 248. A Cherokee feminist, Green contended that Indian feminist writing bears very little resemblance to non-Indian feminist analysis of women’s lives. \textit{See id. at 264; see also Rayna Green, Native American Women: A CONTEXTUAL BIBLIOGRAPHY (1983) [hereinafter GREEN, BIBLIOGRAPHY] (reviewing material on Native North American women from late seventeenth century). Medicine, supra note 106, at 124 (“At the present time, there are many instances of legal inequities in the lives of Indians, both male and female.”).}
example, most agree that sovereignty is best debated without special exception.\textsuperscript{113}

This statement, acknowledging that contemporary Indian women experience personal difficulties, is not that of an atypical Indian feminist.\textsuperscript{114} Rayna Green notes, however, that conservatism and innovation continue to exist in tribal societies because Indian women insist on taking their traditional places as healers, legal specialists and tribal government leaders.\textsuperscript{115} The return to tradition, retraditionalization, coupled with the evolution of gender roles in American Indian society continue the complementary and mutual roles enjoyed by women and men.\textsuperscript{116}

\textsuperscript{113} Green, \textit{Native American Woman}, supra note 102, at 248, 264.

\textsuperscript{114} Id. at 264-65. We present a view different from feminists such as MacKinnon, but not because we reject the worth of equality principles. Rather, as women of ethnic identity, we know well that our admission into the law professorate, notwithstanding our qualifications, was propelled in part by the equality movements and affirmative action. The development of multiple ways of seeing and knowing the world and the construction of jurisprudence that acknowledges the truth of various perspectives is critical in our view. See Martha Minow, \textit{Feminist Reason: Getting It and Losing It}, 38 J. LEGAL EDUC. 47, 51 (1988) ("[W]hile, when it comes to our own arguments and activities, do feminists forget the very insights that animate feminist initiatives, insights about the power of unstated reference points and points of view, the privileged position of the status quo, and the pretense that a particular is the universal?"). See generally Harris, supra note 102, at 588 (rejecting gender essentialism, theory of "monolithic 'women's experience' that can be described as independent of other facets of experience like race, class and sexual orientation... "). Mari J. Matsuda, \textit{When the First Quall Calls: Multiple Consciousness As Jurisprudential Method}, 14 WOMEN'S RTS. L. REP. 297, 300 (1992). Matsuda states, "[i]n arguing for multiple consciousness as jurisprudential method, I don't mean to sweep up and thereby diminish the power of many different outsider traditions. Our various experiences are not co-extensive." Id. We believe that the unique status of American Indian women as members of sovereign tribal nations cannot be separated completely from their experiences, positive and negative, as females. Further, issues affecting tribal women cannot be analyzed in isolation from the extraconstitutional doctrines of tribal sovereignty.

\textsuperscript{115} Green, \textit{Native American Woman}, supra note 102, at 264-65 (listing female political leaders who have emerged from tribes); see also Williams, Jr., \textit{Gendered Checks}, supra note 102, at 1034-35 n. 21 (discussing meaningful forms of power exercised by women in their significant roles as executives of tribes and as legislators). Of the twenty reservations in Arizona in 1989, six were led by women holding the position of tribal chairperson. Id. To have a comparable amount of power in U.S. politics, non-Indian women would have to gain fifteen of the fifty governorships. Id.

\textsuperscript{116} For many Indian women, positions of authority and prominence are natural evolutions of their caretaking role and they see their actions as personal rather than organizational... It is important to recognize that retraditionalization efforts on the part of Indian women are often inconsistent with some goals of the current majority-culture women's movement. Non-Indian feminists emphasize middle-class themes of independence and androgyny whereas Indian women often see their work in the context of their families, their nations, and Sacred Mother Earth. Preservation and restoration of their race and culture is at least as important to Indian women as are their individual goals for professional achievement and success, although many Indian women clearly have made important professional commitments and value the role of work in their
Complementary roles arise from the deepest traditional beliefs tribal people hold about how they were created and should function in the universe. One Indian feminist, Paula Gunn Allen, echoes a pervasive understanding "that primary power—the power to make and to relate—belongs to the preponderantly feminine powers of the universe." The strictly drawn gender lines of the majority culture fail to explain much in indigenous belief systems where the creative force is exclusively feminine. Although this spirit or creative force can change forms (including manifesting itself as a male if necessary), the maintenance of a complementary social structure remains essential if a tribe is to deal effectively with internal and external matters. In the complementary relational system of the tribe, membership in the tribe and who can undertake roles are key concerns.

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117 ALLEN, supra note 102, at 17. "Traditional tribal lifestyles are more often gynocratic than not, and they are never patriarchal. These features make understanding tribal cultures essential to all responsible activists who seek life-affirming social change . . ." Id. at 2.

118 See id. at 13-16 (maintaining that quintessential spirit made earth, creatures, plants, and light, and that central to all is woman without whose blessing nothing is sacred). Thought Woman, Spider Woman, Corn Woman, Earth Woman and White Buffalo Woman are spirits said to possess this creative force.

119 Id. at 18-20; see Linda J. Lacey, The White Man's Law and the American Indian Family in the Assimilation Era, 40 ARK. L. REV. 325 (1987). Under the federal assimilation policies of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the conversion of the Indians to be was of utmost importance if Indian families were to resemble white families. Such was the goal of the assimilation policies. Religious groups, notably the evangelical Protestants, had a sharp influence over these policies. They sought to reconstruct the American Indian family to comport with the gender restrictions of majority society, as well as to force the adoption of the concepts of individualism and property ownership. Id. Lacey describes some American Indian family practices, primarily those of Plains Indians, which shocked the white missionaries. For instance, tribal women did more strenuous physical labor than white women of the upper-class; some tribes allowed women to accompany men on hunting parties; and Indian women played a central role in religious ceremonies. Id. at 335.

120 Outsiders historically misinterpreted the role of indigenous women, often because of ignorance or misplaced interests of the external society. See Rayna Green, The Pocahontas Perplex: The Image of Indian Women in American Culture, 16 MASS. REV. 698 (1975). The Pocahontas Perplex suggests that "Indian women have to be exotic, wild, collaborationist, crazy, or white to qualify for 'white' attention." Green, Native American Women, supra note 102, at 257. Green's historical review of these misconceptions is demonstrated in Medicine's account of how ethnographers interpreted the White Buffalo Calf Women as a way to validate the subjugation of women. See Beatrice Medicine, Indian Women: Tribal Identity As Status Quo, in WOMAN'S NATURE: RATIONALIZATIONS OF INEQUALITY 63 (Marion Lowe & Ruth Hubbard eds., 1983). Medicine contrasts one ethnographer's Oedipean analysis of White Buffalo Calf Women with the analysis of two traditional male Lakota religious leaders, who explain that this feminine creative power keeps the tribe alive and is part of the complementary roles of men and women. Id. at 66-68.
The tribal nation’s ability to define membership, its qualifications, benefits and responsibilities is explicitly connected to the customary values of a tribe. The tribes face enormous challenges in melding traditional values with the demands of operating a contemporary government responsive to members’ needs. Tribes manage this task by relying on a historically successful approach: they conserve and innovate. Through a combination of conservation and innovation in their customs and practices, the indigenous peoples of the Americas survived the injection of European populations, life forms, and ideas into their lives. Consequently, it is foolhardy to think that American Indians can be unchangingly defined by a historically set point. Such a view treats American Indians as living artifacts and ignores their ability to develop by reinterpreting custom. The reinterpretation of traditional beliefs and behavior has led numerous tribes to select women as the tribal nation’s chief official. In sharp contrast, the United States has yet to entrust the Presidency to a woman. It is not surprising that tribes have acted to share leadership roles with women.


122 See, e.g., WILMA MANKILLER & MICHAEL WALLIS, MANKILLER: A CHIEF AND HER PEOPLE (1993). Mankiller recently completed multiple terms as the Principal Chief of the Cherokees. Her occupation of this role is not unique in light of the fact that numerous tribes have, through tradition and evolution, entrusted women to lead their nation. These women include Ada Deer of the Menominees (Assistant Secretary for Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior), Juanita Learned of the Cheyenne-Arapahoe, and Verna Olguin Teller of Isleta Pueblo. See also, ALLEN, supra note 102, at 31, (citing 1981 report that sixty-seven American Indian women were heads of state).

123 See, e.g., Zion & Zion, supra note 1, at 412 (discussing women’s equality, the Navajo culture and women’s ownership of land); Williams, Jr., Gendered Checks, supra note 102, at 1039 (commenting on women’s power and property rights).
Tribes in the nineteenth century ensured women their own property rights. This was long before the state or federal governments allowed women to own property or treated women as legal or political actors.

The contents of tribal domestic abuse codes appear to be grounded in the traditional willingness of tribes to respect women in complementary roles which promote tribal well-being. The protection of the physical security of female tribal members is considered critical for two reasons: it maintains continuity with customary values, and it meets the duties of a government to promote the well-being of all members.

Despite problems associated with poverty, unemployment, alcoholism, and inadequate education, contemporary tribes strive to return to their traditional values and beliefs. A failure to do so can only lead to increased problems, as abused individuals treat others in an abusive manner. For instance, abuse of female tribal members frequently results in abuse to children, and eventually spreads throughout the tribal community. Resolution, remediation, and prevention must reach beyond the individual female victims and incorporate offenders into the process. Additionally, any steps taken should preserve cultural values which honor families and clans in relational networks. Effective tribal law and intervention results in the protection of individuals and the restoration of offenders to community participation. Both outcomes are needed to strengthen a community.

In essence, tribes should strive to protect their female members through a system which preserves the cultural values of the tribe.

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124 See Angie Debo, The Road to Disappearance 124-25, 305-08 (1984); see also Angie Debo, A History of the Indians of the United States 300 (1970) (describing Indian resistance to Allotment Act scheme of allocating land to male “head of family” as alien concept in their cultural systems where women and children had property rights).

125 See Norman A. Graebner et al., A History of the American People, 458 (1975). As late as the early nineteenth century, women had no legal control over property and could not vote. Id. Louis B. Wright et al., The Democratic Experience (Revised), A Short American History 230 (1968) (noting that American women in the mid-nineteenth century did not enjoy full rights to own property, be educated, or enter many occupations).

126 See, e.g., Navajo Nation Domestic Abuse Protection Act Navajo Trib. Code, tit. 9, § 1602 (1993) (stating that domestic abuse has long-term effects on abused individuals, entire family and clan, and Navajo Nation as whole).

127 Id.

128 It is the policy of the Navajo Nation to demonstrate respect for members of the Navajo family and clan. . . . Abuse against persons in a domestic setting has a lasting and detrimental effect on (1) the individuals who directly experience the abuse, (2) the entire family and clan, as members indirectly experience the abuse, and (3) the Navajo Nation, as the victims and abusers carry the adverse effects of domestic abuse out of the family and into society itself.

Id.: see also Zion & Zion, supra note 1, at 425-26.
Without culturally appropriate means to lessen the social disruption, tribal societies risk losing their identity as distinct cultures and sovereigns. A commitment to traditional relational values, such as those which stress family and clan honor, should help to alleviate problems associated with the physical and psychological abuse of female tribal members. A review of some protective models from American Indian tribes demonstrates that tribes are engaged in an earnest effort to preserve their tribal uniqueness through codes, court orders, and interventions which stress the protection of women.\textsuperscript{129}

III. CUSTOM AND TRIBAL CODES, ORDERS, AND PROGRAMS TO PROTECT WOMEN

In prереsеrvаtіоn society, bеlіеfs ... were handed down by all the people to the coming generations. In order for a tiyospaye to live in unity and cooperation, it was necessary for all to live according to the same beliefs/laws/values. This resulted in unity. When people living together do not share the same beliefs/laws/values, there will be confusion. Individuals will not have a foundation from which to guide their self-conduct. Individuals will live according to different values, and the society made up of those individuals will exist in confusion as to what is considered proper behavior.\textsuperscript{130}

A. Scope of Review\textsuperscript{131}

This portion of the article will focus on contemporary tribal activities, tribal laws, the common law of tribal courts, and tribal intervention programs in operation. This approach is distinguishable from anthropological studies, in which information is gathered by interviewing members of a society about their perceptions\textsuperscript{132} or reliance on Human Relations Area Files (reports compiled by anthropologists detailing their observations and

\textsuperscript{129} See infra notes 138-339 (discussing codes of Indian tribes).
\textsuperscript{130} Plume, supra note 2, at 71.
\textsuperscript{131} The computerized databases WESTLAW and LEXIS do not incorporate tribal court decisions and do not create specialized databases for tribal law. The Indian Law Reporter is published by the American Indian Lawyer Training Program. Much of the information used for this section of the article was obtained directly from tribal people. Tribal codes, court opinions, orders, and intervention programs are not available through standard legal reporting systems. The Indian Law Reporter serves in a limited way to publish some tribal court opinions.
\textsuperscript{132} See generally RUTH M. UNDERHILL, PAPAGO WOMAN 48 (Barbara A. Babcock ed., 1979); PUEBLO MOTHERS AND CHILDREN: ESSAYS BY ELsie CLEWS PARSONS 1915-1924 (Barbara A. Babcock ed., 1991).
interpretations of the societies studied). We have reservations about how salient some of these studies are to contemporary tribal people in the United States. Practices reported in some studies do not comport with what we have observed in contemporary tribal societies. Consequently, this article offers a review which is an emerging picture of how tribes protect their female members.

This review presents a discussion of the legal treatment of domestic violence by fourteen United States tribes. It is not intended to be a description of the state of the law among all 537 tribes. Rather, this article is a general survey of existing tribal law on domestic violence. The selected tribal laws were not chosen to represent the way that all tribes should approach domestic violence. Instead, they serve as a starting point from which to analyze the issues that arise when tribal communities confront issues of domestic violence. The laws demonstrate the effort of tribes to ensure the physical security of women within their respective jurisdictions.

Of the tribes examined, almost all have specific laws which address domestic violence. Many of these tribal codes have common provisions. The most frequently recurring provisions are those defining

133 See David Levinson, Family Violence in Cross-Cultural Perspective 7 (Frontiers of Anthropology series, No. 1, 1989).
134 Id. at 34 (citing Arapaho practice of husband punishing suspected adulterous wife by cutting off tip of her nose or slashing her cheeks). While historically some tribes used mutilation to mark those who had broken tribal customs, such punishments are not contemporary practices. Id. Although such practices are no longer prevalent, Levinson points out that the attitudes towards them are still mixed. Additionally, the theoretical frameworks examining these practices remain useful to illustrate the repercussions of violent behavior. Id. The issue of cultural bias or misinterpretation concerns us, but that is beyond the purview of this article. See supra note 111 (discussing outsider misinterpretation of native women’s status and roles). See generally Glenda Riley, Some European (Mis) Perceptions of American Indian Women, 59 N. M. Hist. Rev. 234 (1984) (discussing inaccurate portrayal of American Indian women by reviewing and critiquing writings of eighteenth and nineteenth century European explorers, travelers, and commentators).
136 The Fort Belknap Indian Community, Navajo Nation, Zuni Pueblo, Jicarilla Apache, Standing Rock Sioux, Pascua-Yaqui, Cherokee Nation, Menominee, Oglala Sioux, Rosebud Sioux, and Crow have specific domestic violence code provisions. The Pueblo of Laguna and the Salt River Pima-Maricopa do not have specific code provisions which address domestic violence. Rather they utilize general criminal code provisions. These tribes will be examined as examples of how tribes without specific domestic violence provisions address the problem. The law of the Blackfeet tribe is not included in this survey of tribal law. This article only examines its domestic violence prevention program.
domestic violence and identifying the persons protected under the law.\footnote{137} While our focus is on the protection of women, these laws are framed in much broader terms. In this review, we look closely and consider these codes not only in terms of the protections they afford women, but also in terms of the protections afforded to all members of tribal society.\footnote{138} Additionally, we also consider how the laws reflect and impact tribal society. A discussion of the above identified provisions will follow. Unique provisions will also be discussed in so far as they reveal the cultural perspectives that distinguish tribal societies.

B. Terms and Definitions

She tried finding all those words of expression
How to explain these feeling beyond depression
A true man
A true man's love
Is it too much to ask?\footnote{139}

We begin with an overview of the persons protected by tribal law and the behavior proscribed by these codes. All of the tribal codes reviewed identify the persons protected and set forth what constitutes domestic violence, domestic abuse, or spousal abuse. The tribal provisions vary in that some tribes ascribe protection to a broad group of persons, while others protect a narrow group of persons. Generally, women who are spouses and family and household members are protected persons.\footnote{140} Tribes, however, vary in their provisions by further qualifying the definition of "spouse" and "family and household member" or by further expanding the protected class.\footnote{141} A minority of tribes restrict the

\textsuperscript{137} Other common provisions are those addressing reporting, arrests, holding offenders in custody, protections afforded, requirements for counseling and participation in domestic violence programs, access to property and support, and requirements for peace bonds. See, e.g., Navajo Nation Domestic Abuse Protection Act, NAVAJO TRIB. CODE, tit. 9 \S\S 1602-1604 (1993) (recognizing that domestic abuse affects all members of Navajo society); STANDING ROCK SIOUX CODE OF JUSTICE, tit. XXV, \S 25-101 (1990) (discussing purpose and intent of code); JICARILLA APACHE TRIB. CODE, tit. 3, \S (1992) (noting that domestic violence is "a serious crime against society"); STANDING ROCK SIOUX CODE OF JUSTICE tit. XXV, \S 25-101 (1990) (discussing purpose and intent of code); ROSEBUD SIOUX TRIB. CODE Ch. 38 (1989) (indicating purpose section recognizes domestic abuse as "serious crime against . . . society").

\textsuperscript{138} See infra app. A (illustrating variations among tribes in their definition of "spouse" and "family or household member").

\textsuperscript{139} Id.
definition by age and marital status.\footnote{See, e.g., ROSEBUD SIOUX TRIB. CODE, ch. 38, § 1 A (1989) (stating that “[f]amily member or household member shall mean a relative, spouse, former spouse, adult, or elderly person related by marriage”); CROW TRIBE OF INDIANS, CROW LAW AND ORDER CODES, DOMESTIC ABUSE CODE, (1991).}

Most tribes broaden the definition to include relationships without reference to marital status or age. The Navajo Nation clearly identifies the protected class and uses the identification to expand the class beyond that of several state family violence protection provisions in the United States.\footnote{NAVajo TRIB. CODE tit. 9, § 1605(b) includes, for example, members and former members of an abuser’s immediate residence area, clan members, and any person who interacts with the abuser in an employment, academic, recreational, religious, social or other setting. None of the states in which the Navajo Nation is located (Arizona, New Mexico or Utah), nor any of the states in which the other tribes lie, have comparable provisions which would clearly include these relationships. For example, the protected class under the New Mexico Family Violence Protection Act is household members. “Household member” is defined as “a spouse, former spouse, family member, including a relative, parent, present or former stepparent, present or former in-law, child or co-parent of a child, or a person with whom the petitioner has had a continuing personal relationship.” Family Violence Protection Act, N.M. STAT. ANN. § 40-13-2(D) (Michie Supp. 1995).}

Others protect a broad class through the use of a general term such as “persons” when describing the individuals protected.\footnote{The Ogala Sioux tribal code and the Salt River Pima-Maricopa Dept. of Public Service Policy use the term “persons.” See infra app. B, charts 1-5 (comparing tribal and state laws).}

The Navajo Nation, the Jicarilla Apache tribe, and the Standing Rock Sioux have provisions which specifically identify a broad class of protected individuals.\footnote{The “definitions” section of the Navajo Code specifically provides that all definitions be construed liberally to protect all individuals who may be subject to domestic abuse. NAVajo TRIB. CODE tit. 9, § 1605 (1995). Similarly, the purpose of the Jicarilla Code is that “the entire community” is to be treated with respect. Jicarilla Apache TRIB. CODE tit. 3, § 1 (1992).} The Navajo Nation Domestic Abuse Protection Act\footnote{NAVajo TRIB. CODE tit. 9, §§ 1601 et seq. (1993). On July 28, 1993, President Peterson Zah signed into law the Navajo Nation Domestic Abuse Act, Resolution No. CJY-53-93, governing civil proceedings for domestic violence restraining orders. The Act did not affect existing criminal law or procedures developed by the court governing conditions of release and sentencing, but did have a small impact on the 1992 Rules for Domestic Violence Proceedings which required some revision. See James W. Zion, Solicitor, Navajo Nation Judicial Branch, Law Alert (Aug. 18, 1993). Domestic violence was brought to the public forum as the result of a two-day public hearing held by the Judiciary, Public Safety, and the Health and Human Services committees of the Navajo Nation Council, in cooperation with the Navajo Nation Judicial Branch in October, 1991. The testimonies at the hearings shocked the committees and left only one option: to take action. See Zion & Zion, supra note 1, at 407-08.} specifically and unequivocally provides for the protection of a wide class of persons. Under this law, the protected class includes persons who have been directly affected by domestic abuse.\footnote{NAVajo TRIB. Code tit. 9, § 1605(b) (1993).} The Act specifically includes any current or former member of the abuser’s household or immediate
residence area; anyone currently or previously involved in an intimate relationship with the abuser; any person who interacts with the abuser in an employment, academic, recreational, religious, social or other setting; any offspring of the abuser; any relative or clan member of the abuser; any elderly person; or any vulnerable person, including the emotionally and physically disabled. The Rules for Domestic Violence Proceedings for the Courts of the Navajo Nation require that the definition of domestic violence, which makes reference to the protected parties, be supplemented by Navajo common law principles, such as the principle that recognizes that special reciprocal relations exist in Navajo society among spouses and family members.

A succession of violent acts resulting in the death of Navajo women at the hands of their husbands and boyfriends brought domestic violence to the center of Navajo public attention. Witnesses presented testimony to subcommittees of the Navajo Nation Council at public hearings held in conjunction with the Navajo Nation Judicial Branch. “Jane Begay,” the name used by one witness who did not wish to reveal her true identity, was one woman who offered testimony. A portion of her testimony, as related by one observer, is as follows:

He would wait until she was asleep, then violently pull her from bed to confront her about her infidelity or the illegitimacy of the older child. It got to the point where she was afraid to sleep. She once stayed up four days in a row. She would do the chores, but forget what she was doing. The last night, when she was completely exhausted, she ran from the house without her shoes. She went up into the mountains, and covered herself with pine needles so she couldn’t be found . . . . The audience was still as she told her story. She told it quietly, with soft emotion and tears and people were ready to join in them. She softly told the story of being trapped by a brutal cowboy, naively tied to him by a belief she was “married” to him. She was driven from her grandparent’s home by rape

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148 Id. The broad class protected by the Navajo Nation is reflective of the traditional Navajo legal system which is based on clan relationships and the two dynamic forces of traditional Navajo law: K’ee and K’ei. See Philmer Bluehouse & James W. Zion, Hzohooji Naat’aaamii: The Navajo Justice and Harmony Ceremony, 10 MEDIATION Q. 327 (1993). K’ee includes positive values such as compassion, cooperation, friendliness, unselfishness and peacefulness which create solidarity in society. Id. at 329. “K’ei is a special kind of k’ee: it refers to the clan system of descent relationships and groups of relatives a person is connected to, tied by the virtues of k’ee.” Id. (citations omitted).

149 RULES FOR DOMESTIC VIOLENCE PROCEEDINGS, COURTS OF THE NAVAJO NATION, Rule 1.5.

150 See Zion & Zion, supra note 1, at 407-08.

151 Id.
and molestation, severely treated by her parents, treated as a captive by
the denying father of her children, and given more abuse by her own
family when she returned to it. She painted the picture of a brutal, male
world, where abuse, accusations of sexual misconduct, and attempted rape
were commonplace.\textsuperscript{152}

Women on the Council, on the Navajo Nation bench, and within the
government and the community were instrumental in the lengthy process
involved in the passage of the Act. This involvement ranged from insisting
that the issue be addressed to drafting the law and working on its passage.

The voice that “Jane Begay” found that day was heard. Perhaps she
spoke because the reality of domestic violence was too important to be left
to the boredom and detachment of statistics and official reports. What she
related required tremendous courage. She exposed herself and her relatives
to those who knew her, and her story dealt with taboo subjects: mistreat-
ment by men and sexuality.\textsuperscript{153} Her family’s response revealed the
breakdown of her “special reciprocal relations” in Navajo society that
should have shielded her. Her story was filled with relatives she shared
households with: grandparents, aunts, parents, and cousins. The Nation,
in the resolution approving the Domestic Abuse Act, speaks of the Navajo
tradition of protecting household members from violence.\textsuperscript{154} Jane’s story
illustrates the breadth of the household.

The Jicarilla Apache Tribal Code broadly defines domestic violence as “[a]n act of abuse by a perpetrator on a family member or household
member of the perpetrator.”\textsuperscript{155} Included within the definition of a
“member” of the perpetrator’s family or household are current and former
spouses,\textsuperscript{156} people related by blood, people related by an existing or prior

\textsuperscript{152} James W. Zion, Jane Begay’s Story 6,7 (1991) (unpublished manuscript on file with the

\textsuperscript{153} See generally Zion & Zion, supra note 1, at 416-22 (discussing causes of institutionalized
violence against Navajo women).

\textsuperscript{154} Res. CJY-53-93(5), Navajo Nation Tribal Council (1993).

\textsuperscript{155} See JICARILLA APACHE TRIB. CODE \textit{et} al. 3, \textsection 2(C) (1992).

\textsuperscript{156} Id. \textsection 2(E). Jicarilla’s current code provisions protecting spouses contrast sharply with
accounts of the prior interaction between Apache spouses. While the accuracy of such accounts is a separate inquiry (and one which concerns the authors) it must be underscored that such
accounts often create the false impression that the observed or documented practice was the
accepted norm. See Levinson, supra note 133, at 34 (discussing punishments used by husbands).
H. Henrietta Stockel, for example, states: “An Apache woman could expect to be beaten by her
husband for any infraction of his rules; a woman who committed adultery ran the risk of having
her nose cut off at its tip by her enraged husband . . . if she were caught.” H. HENRIETTA
Code establishes a contrary norm, which is more in line with another practice observed by the
Apache. See id. at 15 (“When Apache women had to walk far from home or camp to find food.
marriage, people currently or formerly residing with the perpetrator, or a person with whom the perpetrator has a child in common, regardless of whether the parents of the child have been married or have lived together at any time.\textsuperscript{157} Under the purpose section of the code, elders, adults, and children are identified as intended beneficiaries of the code.\textsuperscript{158}

The domestic abuse chapter of the Standing Rock Code\textsuperscript{159} also protects a broad class of individuals under the definition of “family” or “household members.”\textsuperscript{160} While the Standing Rock Code protects the same parties as the Jicarilla Code, the Standing Rock Code also includes persons who are in a dating relationship\textsuperscript{161} and, for purposes of the issuance of a domestic violence protection order, any other person with a sufficient relationship as determined by the court.\textsuperscript{162} The purpose section of the code states that it is the intent of the Council that “criminal laws be enforced without regard to whether the persons involved are family members, are or were married, cohabitating, or involved in a relationship.”\textsuperscript{163}

The above tribal codes clearly extend the protected class beyond the conventional boundaries of the nuclear family.\textsuperscript{164} The persons protected by these tribal codes reflect the extensive degree of interaction in the Indian community between and among extended family members and within societal units unique to tribal society, such as clans.

Other tribes, such as the Salt River Pima-Maricopa and the Oglala Sioux, protect a broad class through use of the term “persons.”\textsuperscript{165}

\textsuperscript{158} Id. § 1.
\textsuperscript{160} See id. § 25-102(C).
\textsuperscript{161} Id.
\textsuperscript{162} Id.
\textsuperscript{163} Id. § 25-101.
\textsuperscript{164} See supra notes 144-162 (discussing broad range of protection afforded by tribal codes).
\textsuperscript{165} \textit{Oglala Sioux Trib. Code} Section 99.2, §§ 1-23 \textit{passim} (1982) (using “persons” throughout code). Enacted in 1982, the Oglala Sioux Domestic Abuse Code was the first in Indian code to recognize spouse abuse as a crime. The Sacred Shalwi Women’s Society—\textit{Sica Wakan Win Okolakiciye}—lobbied for its enactment by the Oglala Sioux Tribal Council. See Plume, supra note 2, at 67. The Oglala Lakota Women’s Society and the Tiwahe Gluwinhayu, a victims’ advocate group against child abuse and domestic abuse, were instrumental in getting enough resolutions passed in various districts so that the ordinance could be passed. See Avis Little Eagle, \textit{Pros and Cons of Mandatory Arrest Policy at Pine Ridge}, \textit{The Lakota Times}, Dec. 4, 1990, at A10 [hereinafter Little Eagle, \textit{Pros and Cons}] (discussing mandatory arrest code).
Although the Oglala Sioux Domestic Abuse Code does not define the protected class as clearly as other codes, the arrest provisions of the code reveal who is to be protected. It is mandatory to arrest someone pursuant to the code for: assaulting another "person" he/she lives with or used to live with; contacting a "victim" in violation of an order of protection; threatening with a dangerous weapon; and placing the "victim" in immediate fear of bodily harm following a call to the police. The terms used to refer to the protected class are "persons" and "victims." The only restriction on the term "persons" is that the persons currently reside or formerly resided together. The term "persons" apparently encompasses both immediate and extended family members, within or without a legally recognized marriage relationship, as well as others without blood relationship. Likewise, the Salt River Pima-Maricopa Tribe's Department of Public Safety Policy (DPS) protects "persons" with whom the alleged assailant currently resides or formerly resided. Therefore, the Oglala Code and Salt River Policy exceed most

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166 The title section of the code states that the code may be cited as the domestic abuse code or the spouse abuse code. OGLALA SIOUX TRIB. CODE sec. 99.2, § 1 (1982). "Abuse" and "spouse" are then defined in § 2 but neither definition identifies the protected class. Id. § 2. Instead, terms such as "persons," "victim," "parties," and "family and household member" are used when referring to the protected class, but none of them are defined. See id. Therefore, it appears that the code could be interpreted to apply to a much broader group of persons than to those typically included under the term "spouse". Additionally, even though the term "spouse" is defined, the definition is framed in relation to the abusing party, rather than the protected party. See id. ("Spouse" means a person with whom the victim is currently living . . . ). This provision makes it quite clear that neither marital status nor present cohabitation circumstances are to be considered when applying the law to offenders.

167 OGLALA SIOUX TRIB. CODE sec. 99.2, § 3(a). The manner in which the code limits the term spouse to include only the abusing party raises some interesting issues in relation to the arrest provisions. The abusing class—as defined by the term "spouse"—is larger than the class which can be arrested for assault. Spouse is defined as the abusing party who has currently or in the past lived with a victim, or with whom the victim has had a child in common regardless of marital status or cohabitation. Id. § 2(b). Under the arrest provisions, a person (including the abusing spouse) can only be arrested for assault if the person assaulted is currently residing or has in the past resided with the person to be arrested. Id. § 3(a). Excluded from arrest is the abusing party defined under "spouse" with whom the victim has had a child, but who has not cohabited with the victim.

168 Id. § 3(c). No term is used to identify the protected class under the provision which provides for arrest for threat with a dangerous weapon. An assumption is made here that the protected class would be "persons" in general; whether present or former cohabitation would be required is not clear from the code provisions.

169 Id. § 3(d).

170 Id. §§ 3(a), (b), (d).

171 OGLALA SIOUX TRIB. CODE, Section 99.2, §§ 3(b), (d).

172 Salt River Pima-Maricopa, Dept. of Public Safety, General Order No. 89-25 (Mar. 23, 1988). The Department of Public Safety (the tribal police department) developed a policy
other tribal provisions in “persons protected,” by using the general term
“persons,” to include persons without regard to age, marital status, or
blood relationship. The Salt River Pima-Maricopa DPS Policy also
illustrates how some tribes protect victims of domestic abuse through the
use of existing criminal code provisions.173

While the term “persons” in the Oglala Code and Salt River Pima
Policy encompasses a potentially limitless class, the requirement that
“persons” currently reside or formerly resided together arguably restricts
protection to those individuals who typically live together, such as family
members and couples. Despite this, all persons in a domestic living
arrangement are essentially protected, no matter what relationship exists
between the parties.

There are other tribal provisions which are narrower in comparison to
the above mentioned provisions. Generally, these codes protect household
members and relatives from acts of violence. While these provisions are
more limited, it is important to note that the majority of these codes protect
the broader relational network which exists in Indian communities. Take
for example, the protections afforded under the law of the Pascua-Yaqui.
The Pascua-Yaqui law specifically protects children under fifteen who are
the victims of domestic violence174 and for all other offenses requires that
the relationship between the victim and the defendant is one of marriage
or former marriage, or of persons of the opposite sex residing or having
resided in the same household, or [that] the victim and the defendant or
the defendant’s spouse are related to each other by consanguinity or
affinity to the second degree.175

Thus, the protected class would include married and divorced persons, a

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173 Many tribes, such as Laguna Pueblo, that do not have domestic violence codes also
prosecute acts of domestic violence under existing criminal codes. See Interview with Judge
William Bluehouse Johnson, Laguna Pueblo Court in New Mexico (Mar. 24, 1994). In addition,
the enacting resolution for the Crow Tribe’s Domestic Abuse Code acknowledges that acts of
domestic violence were previously punished as disorderly conduct, assault or assault and battery.
Res. No. 91-16, Crow Tribal Council (Jan. 12, 1991).

174 PASCUA-YAQUI TRIB. CODE ch. 11, § 1101(A) (1992). The specific crimes proscribed
are second degree murder, aggravated assault resulting in serious physical injury committed by
the use of a deadly weapon or dangerous instrument, sexual assault, molestation, sexual contact,
sexual exploitation, child abuse, kidnapping, sexual abuse, taking a child for the purposes of
prostitution, child prostitution, and involving or using minors in drug offenses. Id.

175 Id. § 1102(A). The language used by the Pascua-Yaqui is similar to the language used in
that Arizona state law serves as a model for the Pascua-Yaqui code in two areas: the parties
partner or unrelated individual of the opposite sex currently or previously residing in the same household, children and stepchildren of the defendant, and other relatives of the defendant or the defendant’s spouse, who are related by blood, ancestry or marriage to the second degree.

Another example can be found in the Cherokee Nation Code. The Cherokee Nation’s “protected class” includes those who are most in need of protection by society: the aged, the young, and the physically challenged.\(^\text{176}\) Additionally, the tribe’s code covers “parents.”\(^\text{177}\) Parents often are targets of abuse from older teenage children, alcohol- or chemically-dependent adult children, or mentally unstable adult children. In tribal communities, it is not unusual to have extended family members live in one household. Often, adult children remain in their parents’ household or parents will move in with their adult children. Households consisting of three generations are not unusual in Native American society.

A substantial number of tribal domestic violence codes, however, limit their protections to adults only. Some tribal codes are more restrictive than others. These tribes include the Rosebud,\(^\text{178}\) Crow,\(^\text{179}\) Fort Belknap,\(^\text{180}\) Zuni,\(^\text{181}\) and the Menominee.\(^\text{182}\)

Rosebud and Crow domestic violence codes contain similar provisions regarding “protected parties.”\(^\text{183}\) Both codes cover family or household members. Under Rosebud law, a “family” or “household member” is “a relative, spouse, former spouse, adult or elderly person related by marriage or an adult or elderly person who resides or formerly resided in the residence.”\(^\text{184}\) The purpose section of the domestic abuse code indicates

\(^{176}\) Protection From Domestic Abuse Act, CHEROKEE NATION CODE tit. 22, § 60.1(2) (1993). Cherokee Code provisions are very similar to Oklahoma law. See infra App. B. Chart 5.

\(^{177}\) CHEROKEE NATION CODE tit. 22, § 60.1(2) (1993). Research on parent abuse is not as extensive as research on child, spouse, or elder abuse. U.S. DEPT. OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES, FAMILY VIOLENCE: AN OVERVIEW 16 (1991) [hereinafter FAMILY VIOLENCE]. Parents can be severely injured by children, particularly when assaulted by older youths and adolescents. Id. Occasionally, these assaults result in the death of a parent (parricide). Parricide may be explained as a response to parental abuse directed toward the youth, adolescent, or another family member. Id. Parents who are abused report that they are ashamed of their children’s violent behavior and are afraid they will be blamed for its occurrence; as a result few parents seek help and few community services are available. Id.

\(^{178}\) See ROSEBUD SIOUX TRIB. CODE ch. 38 (1989).


\(^{180}\) See FORT BELKNAP INDIAN RESERVATION, DOMESTIC ABUSE (1989).


\(^{182}\) See MENOMINEE NATION, ORDINANCE NO. 93-21, DOMESTIC VIOLENCE (1993).

\(^{183}\) See ROSEBUD SIOUX TRIB. CODE Ch. 38 (1989); CROW TRIBE OF INDIANS, CROW LAW AND ORDER CODES, DOMESTIC ABUSE CODE (1991).

\(^{184}\) ROSEBUD SIOUX TRIB. CODE ch. 38, § 1(A) (1989).
that the protected class includes people regardless of whether they “are family members, were or are married, cohabiting or involved in a relationship.”\textsuperscript{185} While the terms “relative” and “spouse” ensure the protection of minors such as teenage spouses and children, the inclusion of “adult,” in reference to persons presently or formerly residing together, excludes minors who cohabit or reside in the household but are not related.

Under Crow Law, “family member” or “household member” is defined as a spouse, adult person related by marriage, or adult person who resides or formerly resided in the same residence.\textsuperscript{186} Due to the use of the word “adult” and the definition of “spouse” which excludes the victim spouse, this code apparently provides no protection to minors unless they are emancipated by marriage. Its narrow protection, however, is expanded in situations where the victim has been placed in immediate fear of bodily harm.\textsuperscript{187} The code allows a law enforcement officer to arrest a perpetrator when responding to a domestic violence call involving “persons (of any age) residing together or who have resided together in the past.”\textsuperscript{188} The protected class is small and centered around relationships created by marriage or residency. Adult status is required unless the relationship involving a minor is created by a legal marriage. The requirement of marriage or co-residency combined with adult status limits the class. Blood

\textsuperscript{185} Id. (Purpose).

\textsuperscript{186} \textit{See} CROW TRIBE OF INDIANS, CROW LAW AND ORDER CODES, DOMESTIC ABUSE CODE § 3(c) (1991). “Adult” is defined as anyone age 18 or older or emancipated as husband and wife. \textit{Id.} § 3(c)(1). “Spouse” is defined as:

\begin{quote}
\begin{itemize}
\item a person with whom the victim is currently living or who has lived with the victim in the past, regardless of whether they are/were married, OR, a person with whom the victim has a child in common regardless of whether they have been married or lived together at any time.
\end{itemize}
\end{quote}

\textit{Id.} § 3(b) (emphasis added). As in the Oglala Code, “spouse” is defined so as to describe the abuser only and does not include the victimized spouse. \textit{Id.; see also} OGLALA SIOUX TRIB. CODE sec. 99.2, § 2(b) (1982). An argument can be made that the inclusion of spouse under the Crow definition of “family member or household member” requires an interpretation of the code which includes victim spouses as protected persons. CROW TRIBE OF INDIANS, CROW LAW AND ORDER CODES, DOMESTIC ABUSE CODE § 3(c). If victims are included in the definition of “spouse,” the victim is protected if the parties are currently living or have lived together in the past, regardless of marital status or cohabitation. \textit{Id.} § 3(b). Further, the definition of “spouse” contains no requirement that the spouse be an adult. \textit{Id.}


\textsuperscript{188} \textit{Id.} Notice the similar use of the term “persons” in the Crow law and the Oglala Code. \textit{Cf.} OGLALA SIOUX TRIB. CODE sec. 99.2 § 2(b) (1982). Nevertheless, a different interpretation results because the Crow code definition of abuse describes the class protected, i.e., family or household member, while the Oglala Code defines abuse but does not specifically clarify the class protected. \textit{See id.} § 2.
relations are included only if the residency and adult requirements are met.

The Fort Belknap Code defines “abuse” without reference to the protected class.\textsuperscript{189} However, the protected class can be found in the provisions for arrest. Persons can be arrested for past or future domestic abuse of a “spouse” or “family member,” \textsuperscript{190} but as with both the Crow\textsuperscript{191} and Oglala Codes,\textsuperscript{192} it is only the abusing spouse who is included in the definition of “spouse.”\textsuperscript{193} The Fort Belknap Code defines “family members” as “a spouse, former spouse, adult person related by blood or marriage [or] any person residing in the home who is dependent upon the head of the household,” including elders and children.\textsuperscript{194} The Fort Belknap provision is more expansive than the Crow provision, as it includes adult blood relatives and dependents of any age that reside in the home.

The protected class is also limited under both Menominee law and Zuni law, to include a spouse or former spouse, adults residing together, adults who formerly resided together, and adults who have had a child together.\textsuperscript{195} The Zuni Code also protects “persons” who have a child or had a relationship with the offender.\textsuperscript{196} This provision does not require the “person” to be an adult. Otherwise, the Zuni and Menominee codes only protect those within a legal marriage or adult relationships involving cohabitation or children.

Restricting protection to adults is significant. Generally, restrictions to adults occur when describing relationships between couples. These restrictions may occur because domestic violence is typically thought of as occurring only between married couples and because marriage is generally thought of as occurring between adults. Restricting a protected category to adults excludes minors from the class.

This result has varying degrees of impact. Under codes which are not entirely restricted to adults, certain minors are protected nevertheless.

\textsuperscript{189} FORT BELKNAP INDIAN RESERVATION, DOMESTIC ABUSE (Definitions) (a) (1989).
\textsuperscript{190} Id. (Mandatory Arrest Provision) (a).
\textsuperscript{192} See OGLALA SIOUX TRIB. CODE Section 99.2, § 2(b) (1982).
\textsuperscript{193} Id. (Definitions) § (a); see supra note 186 and accompanying text (discussing interpretation of law necessary to include victim spouses in protected class).
\textsuperscript{194} FORT BELKNAP INDIAN RESERVATION, DOMESTIC ABUSE (Definitions) (c) (1989).
\textsuperscript{196} ZUNI TRIB. ORDINANCE NO. 52, DOMESTIC VIOLENCE CODE (Definition) (1991).
because they fall within other categories that do not require adult status.\textsuperscript{197} On the other hand, minors who cohabitate or who have had a child out of wedlock are excluded in some of the aforementioned codes.\textsuperscript{198} Yet abusive behavior may begin in the dating relationship of minors.\textsuperscript{199} Additionally, the high rate of teen pregnancy may result in couples living together prior to attaining adult status. Thus, restricting the protected class to adults is likely to exclude minors in need of the same protections as adults. Abuse which occurs between minor siblings\textsuperscript{200} and against parents by minors may also be excluded in codes which apply to adults only.

The extended family plays a significant role in tribal life. Evidence of this role may be noted in the statutory presence which the extended family has in most tribal laws regarding domestic abuse.\textsuperscript{201} Many of the tribes clarify their intent to include members of the immediate and extended family by expressly listing children, the elderly, persons related by blood, and persons related by marriage within the protected class.\textsuperscript{202} Additionally, some tribes even protect persons who fall outside the extended family.\textsuperscript{203} These protections demonstrate the great emphasis certain tribes place on addressing group disharmony and maintaining proper relationships within tribal communities.

\textsuperscript{197} See Fort Belknap Indian Reservation, Domestic Abuse (Definitions) (c) (1989) (protecting family members, including minors who “reside[s] in the home [and are] dependent upon the head of the household.”).

\textsuperscript{198} See Menominee Nation, Ordinance No. 93-21, Domestic Violence § III (A) (restricting domestic violence and domestic abuse to enumerated acts “engaged in by an adult person against his or her spouse or former spouse, against an adult with whom the person resides or formerly resided or against an adult with whom the person has created a child”).

\textsuperscript{199} See Asoteytor, supra note 4, at 2.

\textsuperscript{200} Although knowledge about sibling abuse is limited, there are some factors that appear to contribute to its occurrence. See Family Violence, supra note 177, at 17. Society accepts sibling rivalry as part of family life, and it is not unusual for siblings to use violence as a means of gaining control. Id. When parents fail to intervene to stop the violence, they are giving tacit permission for the sibling abuse to occur and recur. Id. Children tend to learn about violent behavior from the mass media and, sometimes, from their parents or peers. Id. Children who witness or experience such violence tend to use it against their siblings. Id. Finally, some children and parents suffer from emotional problems or personality disorders that are manifested through sibling abuse and parental failure to protect the child victim of the abuse. Family Violence, supra note 177, at 17.

\textsuperscript{201} See, e.g., Rosebud Sioux Trib. Code ch. 38, § 1(A) (1989) (stating that family member includes any adult or elderly person who resides or formerly resided in same residence).


\textsuperscript{203} See, e.g., OcGyala Sioux Trib. Code sec. 99.2, § 3(c) (1982) (stating that officer can arrest any person who threatens another with dangerous weapons).
The charts in Appendix A reveal some similarities between tribal laws concerning “protected persons” and domestic violence statutes of the state where the particular tribes are located. To the extent tribes are interested in protecting the same relationships as do states, this influence is understandable. To the extent, however, that tribes seek to develop laws to protect relationships inherent in the particular tribe, to reflect the composition of tribal households, and to describe the households and relationships commonly occurring on the reservation in the protected class, state law may be either too narrow or too reflective of mainstream society. The unique relationships among tribal people may add parties uncommon to state law, or require different descriptors.

The importance of protecting and maintaining the relationships within the extended family is also reflected in tribal court opinions and orders. In Moran v. Rosebud Housing Authority, for example, the Rosebud Sioux Court of Appeals narrowed a broad injunctive order issued to protect a victim of abuse from violent behavior. The tribal court took this action to allow the defendant and her children to visit the defendant’s grandmother. This decision was in accord with the important concept of tiyospaye, the Lakota word meaning “the relatives living together.” Among Navajos, where clan and kinship relations are central and create strong duties and responsibilities, members may say of a wrongdoer, “He acts as if he has no relatives.” This statement is intended to describe a person who fails to act responsibly toward members of his own clan.

See, e.g., Wike v. Tarasiewicz, 14 Indian L. Rptr. 6020, 6022 (Rosebud Sioux Tribal Ct. 1987) (refusing to grant deference to State court order granting custody to children’s mother on grounds that children’s welfare and interest of tribe is in maintaining father’s custody which provides benefits of “extended family kinship”); see also Arizona Pub. Serv. Co. v. Office of Navajo Labor Relations, 17 Indian L. Rptr. 6105 (Navajo Nation Sup. Ct. 1990) (holding employer hiring policy denying jobs to “relatives by marriage” but allowing jobs to “blood relations” is discriminatory since marriage is central in Navajo custom of extended family and clan); In re C.D.S. & C.M.H., 17 Indian L. Rptr. 6083 (Ct. of Indian Offenses for the Delaware Tribe of W. Okla. 1988) (determining customary belief and practice of extended family and providing visitation right for grandparent).  


Id. at 6108.

Plume, supra note 2, at 68. Tiyospaye is defined in the glossary as relatives living together; a band or division of a tribe. See Pommersheim, supra note 62, at 438 (discussing relational fabric of tribal life and law, inseparably manifest in “legal decision whether to grant ‘standing’ in a custody dispute to a member of the extended family or tiyospaye who is neither the mother nor the father of the child”).

See Ariz. Pub. Serv. Co., 17 Indian L. Rptr. at 6112 (quoting popular Navajo saying to describe someone who has committed wrong against society).

Other tribes share in this belief and practice of respecting extended family relationships. These beliefs are reflected in enacted codes\textsuperscript{210} or through the recognition of these beliefs and through tribal common law.\textsuperscript{211}

C. Behavior Proscribed

It is the intent of the Jicarilla Apache Tribal Council that the official response to cases of domestic violence shall be that violent behavior is not to be tolerated or excused, whether or not the abuser is intoxicated. The elders, adults, and children of our Tribe, and of the entire community residing on the Jicarilla Apache Reservation, are to be cherished and treated with respect.\textsuperscript{212}

The behavior proscribed by the tribal codes varies from a broad range of behavior to certain criminal offenses against persons generally associated with domestic violence.\textsuperscript{213}

The Oglala Sioux Domestic Abuse Code defines abuse as “physical harm, bodily injury, assault or the infliction of fear of imminent physical harm, bodily injury or assault.”\textsuperscript{214} The Crow provisions differ slightly from the Oglala Sioux code. In addition to the acts included in the Oglala code, abuse under Crow law includes bodily “harm” or imminent bodily “harm” to any family or household member.\textsuperscript{215} Under the Salt River Policy, an officer can arrest a person for simple assault or battery,\textsuperscript{216} aggravated assault and battery,\textsuperscript{217} and a violation of an order of protection restraining the person or excluding the person from the residence.\textsuperscript{218}

The Rosebud Sioux and the Menominee codes are similar in that they proscribe abusive acts committed with specific intent. The Rosebud Sioux define domestic abuse as a crime\textsuperscript{219} and prohibit purposely or knowingly

\textsuperscript{210} See infra App. B, charts 1-5.
\textsuperscript{211} See Valencia-Weber, supra note 30, at 250.
\textsuperscript{212} JICARRILLA APACHE TRIB. CODE tit. 3, § 1 (1992).
\textsuperscript{213} See infra App. B, charts 1-5 (comparing behaviors proscribed by tribes with those of states in which tribes lie).
\textsuperscript{214} OGLALA SIOUX TRIB. CODE sec. 99.2, § 2(a) (1982). Both the Standing Rock Sioux and Fort Belknap Indian Community domestic violence laws proscribe the same acts as the Oglala.
\textsuperscript{215} FORT BELKNAP INDIAN RESERVATION, DOMESTIC ABUSE (Definition) (a) (1989); STANDING ROCK SIOUX CODE OF JUSTICE tit. XXV, § 25-102(A) (1990) (defining “abuse” and “domestic violence,” respectively, with same terms used to define “abuse” by Oglala Sioux Tribal Code).
\textsuperscript{216} CROW TRIBE OF INDIANS, CROW LAW AND ORDER CODE, DOMESTIC ABUSE CODE § 3(a) (1991).
\textsuperscript{217} Id. ¶ 1 (citing to § 6.52 - Aggravated Assault and Battery).
\textsuperscript{218} Id. ¶ 3 (citing to § 6.42 - Disobedience to Lawful Orders of Court).
\textsuperscript{219} ROSEBUD SIOUX TRIB. CODE ch. 38, § 2 (1989).
causing bodily injury or apprehension of bodily injury to a family member or household member. Bodily injury includes physical pain, illness, or an impairment of one’s physical condition. Causing apprehension includes any physical act intended to cause another person to reasonably fear imminent serious bodily injury or death. Under the Menominee Code domestic violence is defined as intentional infliction of physical pain, physical injury or illness, intentional impairment of physical condition, or a physical act that may cause the other person to reasonably fear imminent engagement in any of the above.

The Zuni Pueblo, Jicarilla Apache, and Navajo tribes broaden the behavior which is categorized as domestic violence. This is accomplished by including other types of offenses proscribed under the tribes’ general criminal code. Under Zuni law, domestic violence includes any act or incident which constitutes a crime under the Zuni Tribal Code resulting in physical harm, bodily injury, or assault, or a threat which places a person in reasonable fear of imminent physical harm or bodily injury. The Jicarilla Apache Domestic Violence Code states that abuse includes, but is not limited to, assault and battery as defined in the Jicarilla Apache Tribal code. Navajo law incorporates criminal offenses more liberally by proscribing “domestic violence,” including any conduct that constitutes an offense under Navajo law.

The Navajo domestic violence law includes the following acts upon a victim: assault, battery, threatening, coercion, confinement, damage to property, emotional abuse, and harassment. In addition, any other conduct that constitutes a tort under Navajo law qualifies as domestic violence. Navajo law also clearly provides that domestic abuse does not include a victim’s reasonable act of self-defense. Under the Rules for Domestic Violence Proceedings, when parties fall out of harmony, they

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220 Id. § 2(1)-(2).
221 Id. § 1(B).
222 Id. § 1(C).
227 Id.
228 RULES FOR DOMESTIC VIOLENCE PROCEEDINGS, COURTS OF THE NAVAJO NATION Rule 1.3 (b).
229 NAVAJO TRIB. CODE tit. 9, § 1605(a)(2) (1993).
must proceed in a cautious way in their relations with each other (hozhōn), and any definition of domestic violence must be interpreted in such a way as to identify any instances of disharmony.\(^{190}\)

The Navajo, the Jicarilla Apache, and Cherokee Nation codes also specifically include sexual offenses in their definition of abuse.\(^{211}\) The Cherokee Nation further defines domestic abuse as causing or attempting to cause serious physical harm or threatening another with imminent serious physical harm.\(^{212}\) This definition includes, but is not limited to, assault, battery, and aggravated assault and battery against family or household members.\(^{213}\)

The Pascua-Yaqui Tribal Code forbids behavior by specifying acts beyond assault, physical injury, and intimidation. The code defines domestic violence as any act which is a dangerous crime against children.\(^{214}\) These acts range from murder to drug offenses.\(^{215}\) Domestic violence also includes custodial interference, unlawful imprisonment, kidnapping, criminal trespass, and disorderly conduct.\(^{216}\)

D. Tribal Remedies and Sanctions

There was no evidence of penal systems. Only the worst lawbreakers were labelled, but remained an integral part of the community because of their important roles in defining the boundaries of appropriate and inappropriate behavior. Their actions were viewed as the result of natural human error which required corrective intervention by elders. Customary penalties were used for the purpose of helping the offender make amends and to restore self-respect and dignity. The goal was to cure and cleanse the offender of the bad thoughts causing the negative behavior. This was accomplished by having the offender apologize and be forgiven by the victim, their relatives, and village officials who were present at a gathering. (The terms gathering and family gatherings are translated words used to describe the traditional court process for conflict and

\(^{290}\) RULES FOR DOMESTIC VIOLENCE PROCEEDINGS, COURTS OF THE NAVAJO NATION Rule 1.5.


\(^{212}\) Id. tit. 22, § 60.1(1) (1990).

\(^{133}\) Id.

\(^{214}\) PASCUA-YAQUI TRIB. CODE ch. 11., § 11-1102(A) (1992).

\(^{215}\) Id. § 11-1101(A)(1-13).

\(^{216}\) Id. § 11-1102(A) (citing §§ 11-1101(H)-(L)).
dispute resolution. In this process the first level of intervention begins with the family patriarch or other related elder designated by the family). The objective of this process was not to punish the offender; rather, the focal point of customary justice and sanctions was atonement by the offender to the entire social group.

This viewpoint towards crime has continued with some variations. Criminal and civil acts have been redefined in written law and order codes adopted by most Pueblos and approved by the Secretary of Interior. Formal structures such as tribal courts and law enforcement exist in most Pueblos. Research conducted in two Pueblo communities indicate that tribal [traditional] methods for handling offenders are still being used to deal with contemporary problems.237

The majority of the tribal codes reviewed provide greater or equal protection to victims of domestic violence when compared to the states in which these tribes are located.238 This is accomplished by proscribing a wide range of acts and behavior, and by protecting the physical integrity of an expansive class. The effectiveness of these provisions obviously is contingent upon the enforcement and actual reporting of incidents, as well as the final action taken against perpetrators.

Some tribes blend methods of traditional dispute resolution into the formal judicial process. This practice is evident in the specific provisions of the Navajo Nation’s Domestic Abuse Protection Act and Supreme Court Rules for Domestic Violence.239 The judges of the Navajo Nation courts

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238 See Family Violence Protection Act, N.M. STAT. ANN. § 40-13-2(C) (Michie Supp. 1995) (defining domestic abuse as any incident resulting in physical harm, severe emotional distress, bodily injury or assault, threat causing imminent fear of bodily injury, criminal trespass, criminal damage to property, repeatedly driving by a residence or workplace, telephone harassment, stalking, harassment, or harm threatened harm to children); see also infra App. A and B (illustrating charts).
239 Navajo Trib. Code tit. 9, § 1652 (1993); Rules for Domestic Violence Proceedings, Courts of the Navajo Nation Rule 2.3. The Supreme Court may allocate authority to the Navajo Peacemaker Court to address domestic abuse in cases in which the victim consents. Navajo Trib. Code tit. 9, § 1652 (1993). The victim does have the option of going before a peacemaker or the Family Court. Id. § 1652(a). Parties may initiate a proceeding in the peacemaker court. Additionally, the district and family courts may refer all or part of a domestic violence matter to a peacemaker court. Rules for Domestic Violence Proceedings, Courts of the Navajo Nation Rule 2.3. The peacemaker courts of the Seneca Nation in New York also acted as traditional dispute resolution institutions and served as a model for the Quakers in America. See Oren Lyons, Land of the Free, Home of the Brave, in INDIAN ROOTS OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY 30, 33-34 (Jose Barrerro ed., 1992). Their jurisdiction was recognized since the mid-19th century and remains so under New York State Law, and their judgments are to be enforced by state courts. N.Y. INDIAN LAW Art. 4, § 46 (McKinney 1950). New York law provides for the jurisdiction of the Seneca peacemaker courts over three Indian reservations: the
established the Peacemaking system in 1982.240 Peacemakers work with people to help them take care of their problems on their own.241 Peacemakers are community leaders who employ the traditional Navajo method of “talking things out” to resolve problems. The Peacemakers use traditional methods of mediation and arbitration, but it should be noted that Navajo mediation and arbitration is different from the American “mediation” and “arbitration” models.242 Many counselors to victims of domestic violence feel that mediation is inappropriate between the victim and the abuser.243 The Peacemakers are tied to each of the seven district courts of the Navajo Nation.244

Other tribes, such as the Pueblos, accomplish this blend through the general recognition of traditional methods of dispute resolution. One example is the Pueblo of Laguna. The tribe incorporates the traditional method of dispute resolution into its formal judicial system.245 The Pueblo recognizes the traditional authority of village officials to assist village members in resolving disputes without resorting to the court. The person seeking relief, however, possesses the choice of utilizing the traditional method of dispute resolution or of going to court. In addition, the Pueblo has a special method of dispute resolution for married couples, involving sponsors of couples who marry in the traditional manner.246

Allegany, the Cattaraugus and the Tonawanda, Id.

241 See id. at 1.
242 See Bluehouse & Zion, supra note 148, at 327 (addressing differences between Navajo mediation and arbitration and general American models of mediation and arbitration); see also Zion & Zion, supra note 1, at 423-25 (noting that Navajo process of mediation and arbitration not only involves particular families, but also includes clan); Donovan, supra note 72, at A1 (noting that function of peacemaker courts, mediation, and arbitration is to preserve harmony among families and Indian community).
243 See Zion & Zion, supra note 1, at 423; see also Family Violence Protection Act, N.M. Stat. Ann. § 40-13-3(D) (Michie Supp. 1995) (“If any other domestic action is pending between the petitioner and the respondent, the parties shall not be compelled to mediate any aspects of the case arising from the Family Violence Protection Act unless the court finds that appropriate safeguards exist to protect each of the parties and that both parties can fairly mediate with such safeguards.”).
244 Zion & Zion, supra note 1, at 423.
245 PUEBLO OF LAGUNA CONST., art. V, § 5.
246 See Eileen Lente-Kasero, Laguna Tribal Court, Family Mediation - Focus on Family Disputes (marriage/divorce) in the Native American Community 2 (Dec. 2, 1991) (unpublished manuscript, on file with the St. John’s Law Review). Lente-Kasero reports that:
[each partner would have a set of sponsors/witnesses. The parents usually would make the selection because of the role which the sponsors play. They are charged with the responsibility as advisors and mediators for the newlyweds. The sponsors/witnesses are usually an older couple within the community or sometimes}
The sponsors assist married couples in resolving their disputes by reminding them of their marriage vows, counseling them, and bringing the extended family into the dispute resolution process. This method is available to those couples who choose to use it. This practice is common to other New Mexico Pueblos. Sponsors, however, have now assumed more of a ceremonial role in the traditional marriage ceremony. As a result, couples are less inclined to utilize this traditional method. The Pueblo of Laguna, like several other Pueblos and tribes, does not have a specific code on domestic violence.

Primarily the domestic abuse codes reviewed are divided into three basic categories. The Zuni, Pascua-Yaqui, Standing Rock, Oglala, and Jicarilla tribes have enacted provisions which combine criminal and civil sanctions and remedies. Other tribes, such as the Navajo Nation and the Cherokee Nations, have enacted codes which provide civil remedies and sanctions only. While these codes refer to the criminal sanctions available, the actual prosecution for acts of domestic violence is treated separately under a tribe’s criminal law. The domestic violence codes of the Rosebud Sioux, Crow, Fort Belknap, and the Menominee Nation qualify as another category. Under this category, the tribal codes are strictly criminal in nature. Civil remedies and sanctions only are available

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Id. ("The sponsors/witnesses would be the responsible parties to bring the couple together along with their parents and elder family members.").


Interview with the Honorable William Bluehouse Johnson, Laguna Tribal Court Judge (Mar. 24, 1994). A Suquamish appellate court decision documents the use of the Tribe’s criminal code in an incident involving domestic violence, for which the defendant was charged and convicted of assault and battery by the Tribal Court. The defendant was jailed for 15 days, fined $120, ordered to perform 30 days of supervised community service and ordered to anger-management counseling with the Suquamish Tribal Social Services Department for one year. Suquamish Indian Tribe v. Mills, Sr., 21 Indian L. Rep. 6053 (Suquamish Tribal Court of Appeals 1991).


NAVADO TRIB. CODE tit. 9, §§ 1601-1667 (1993); Protection from Domestic Abuse Act, CHEROKEE NATION CODE tit. 22, §§ 60-60.7 (1990).

See MENOMINEE NATION, ORDINANCE NO. 93-21, DOMESTIC VIOLANCE (1993); CROW TRIBE OF INDIANS, CROW LAW AND ORDER CODES, DOMESTIC ABUSE CODES §§ 1-10 (1991);
under the civil law of the tribe.

1. Criminal

The purpose of this Chapter is to recognize domestic abuse as a serious crime against our society and to assure the victim of domestic abuse the maximum protection from abuse which the law and those who enforce the law can provide.253

Many tribal domestic abuse provisions include criminal sanctions and provide for arrest of those persons committing certain acts of domestic abuse.254 Both mandatory and discretionary arrest provisions are common. Those tribes with mandatory arrest provisions for the commission of certain acts of domestic abuse or violation of orders of protection include: Oglala, Jicarilla, Crow, Fort Belknap, Salt River Pima-Maricopa, Pascua-Yaqui, Zuni, Standing Rock, Rosebud, and Menominee.255 Even the

FORT BELKNAP INDIAN RESERVATION, DOMESTIC ABUSE (1989); ROSEBUD SIOUX TRIB. CODE ch. 38, §§ 1-10 (1989).
254 See, e.g., FORT BELKNAP INDIAN RESERVATION, DOMESTIC ABUSE (Mandatory Arrest Provision) (1989). The U.S. government, however, has affected tribal criminal authority over non-Indians, non-member Indians and member Indians. See Oliphant v. Suquamish Indian Tribe, 435 U.S. 191 (1978). The Supreme Court ruled that the tribe did not have criminal jurisdiction to prosecute a non-Indian for a criminal act committed within the tribe’s jurisdiction absent congressional delegation. Id. at 210. In Duro v. Reina, 495 U.S. 676 (1990), the Supreme Court ruled that the tribal court could not prosecute a non-member Indian for criminal acts committed on tribal land. Id. at 688 (“In the area of criminal enforcement, however, tribal power does not extend beyond internal relations among members.”). In addition, the Federal government has assumed exclusive jurisdiction over Indians involving fourteen crimes. See Indian Major Crimes Act, 18 U.S.C. § 1153 (1994); 18 U.S.C. § 3242 (1994). Whether this jurisdiction is exclusive to the federal government has not been decided; however, several tribes exercise concurrent jurisdiction over the criminal offenses listed in the Indian Major Crimes Act. Congress restored the tribes’ ability to prosecute member Indians in October 1991. See 25 U.S.C. § 1301 (1994). Tribes, however, continue to be prohibited from prosecuting non-Indians by the Oliphant decision. See Oliphant, 435 U.S. at 191. Thus, tribal criminal provisions on domestic violence are unenforceable against non-Indian offenders. See NAVAJO TRIB. CODE tit. 9, § 151(a)(5) (1993) (stating that criminal penalties apply only to those persons over which Navajo Nation has criminal jurisdiction). But see Taylor, supra note 98, at 247 n.80 (explaining that authority of Courts of Federal Regulations to exercise criminal jurisdiction over non-Indians is undecided issue). In addition, tribes are limited in the sanctions they may impose for criminal offenses as a result of the Indian Civil Rights Act. 25 U.S.C. § 1302 (1994). Tribes can only impose sentences of up to one year and/or a $5000 fine for any one offense. Id. § 1302(7). However, the existence of both civil and criminal remedies for domestic abuse allows tribes to deal in some way with all the people in their jurisdiction.
255 MENOMINEE NATION, ORDINANCE No. 93-21 DOMESTIC VIOLENCE § IV (1993); JICARILLA APACHE TRIB. CODE ch. 3, ch. 5, § 4 (1992); PASCUA-YAQUI TRIB. CODE ch. 11 § 11-1102 (1992); CROW TRIBE OF INDIANS, CROW LAW AND ORDER CODES, DOMESTIC ABUSE CODES § 4 (1991); ZUNI TRIBE, ORDINANCE No. 52 DOMESTIC VIOLENCE (ARREST WITHOUT
Navajo Nation, which has a civil domestic abuse code, provides for the mandatory arrest of persons who violate domestic abuse protection orders.256 Under some of these tribal codes, a mandatory cooling-off period of 12 to 72 hours or a holding period follows the mandatory arrest.257 In tribal communities, mandatory arrest serves the same purpose as in other non-Indian communities: protection of the victim's safety.258 The plain language in many provisions makes it clear that the arrest is intended to serve as a cooling-off period.259 It also serves as a period during which the abuser can regain his sobriety given the high correlation between alcohol and criminal arrests on tribal lands.260 Nearly all tribal codes that allow for mandatory arrest also permit a police officer to file a complaint or an arrest report with the prosecutor for further action.261 The victim is generally not required or file or to agree to the filing of a complaint.262


256 See, e.g., JICARILLA APACHE TRIB. CODE tit. 3, ch. 5, § 4(H) (1992) (not less than 12 hours); STANDING ROCK SIOUX TRIB. CODE OF JUSTICE tit. XXV § 25-105 (1990) (not to exceed 72 hours); see also MENOMINEE NATION, ORDINANCE NO. 93-21 DOMESTIC VIOLENCE § VI(A) (1993) (not to exceed 36 hours, excluding Saturday, Sunday and official holidays or unless held over by order of commitment), CROW TRIBE OF INDIANS, CROW LAW AND ORDER CODES, DOMESTIC ABUSE CODES § 5 (1991) (held without bail until arraignment).

257 See, e.g., MENOMINEE TRIB. ORDINANCE NO. 93-21, DOMESTIC VIOLENCE § VI (B) (1992) (providing for release only if jailer party agrees to apply for and comply with restraining order).


259 The Tender Hearts Against Family Violence, Inc., a crisis intervention program on the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation reported the following statistics: for the period October 1, 1989 to September 30, 1990 and October 1, 1990 to September 30, 1991, 95% of all violence towards victims was alcohol-related. Tender Hearts Against Family Violence, Inc., Statistics For Tender Hearts Program 1 (1992) (on file with St. John's Law Review). For the period October 1, 1991 to September 30, 1992, 95% of all violence toward victims treated by the program was alcohol-related. Id. Tender Hearts also reported that from the time that bars on the reservation were closed in December, 1991, a decrease in violence resulted. Id. at 4 ¶ (A). Statistics compiled by the Networking Office of the Council on Abused Women’s Services for the North Dakota State Health Department show alcohol was used by the abuser in 43% of domestic violence incidents, and by both partners in 16% of the incidents. Id. at 10.

260 See, e.g., STANDING ROCK SIOUX TRIB. CODE OF JUSTICE tit. XXV, § 25-105 (1990) (providing that law enforcement officer making arrest must file complaint against offender on behalf of tribe); FORT BELKNAP INDIAN RESERVATION, DOMESTIC ABUSE (Filing a Complaint) (a) (1989) (requiring arresting officer to sign complaint on behalf of community).

Mandatory arrest is not without its unique problems in tribal communities. Incarceration has never been a traditional method of punishment in Indian societies. In this respect, mandatory arrest and incarceration are serious measures as well as reminders of the loss or breakdown of traditional constraints on tribal societal behavior. In 1883, incarceration was introduced into tribal societies by the federal government with the advent of Courts of Indian Offenses and Indian police. While incarceration has been present in some tribes for at least one hundred years, inadequate jail facilities pose problems. Many tribes do not have jail facilities, and must utilize other tribal or state facilities, at high costs. The utilization of non-tribal jail facilities can also require distant trips for law enforcement and family members.

In addition, some tribal community activists challenge mandatory arrest provisions as violative of the rights of alleged abusers, including the

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officer files complaint); CROW TRIBE OF INDIANS, CROW LAW AND ORDER CODES, DOMESTIC ABUSE CODE §§ 4(a), (d) (1981) (police officer informs police captain and prosecutor); STANDING ROCK SIOUX TRIB. CODE OF JUSTICE tit. XXV, § 25-106 (A) (1990) (law enforcement officer signs complaint); FORT BELKNAP INDIAN RESERVATION, DOMESTIC ABUSE (Filing a Complaint) (a) (1989) (indicating complaint is considered filed on behalf of community, notwithstanding victim’s wishes); SALT RIVER PIMA-MARICOPA, Dep’t of Pub. Safety, General Order No. 89-25, ¶ 4 (Mar. 23, 1988). Some tribes do not grant the victim discretion to withdraw the complaint by judicial or prosecutorial policy. See, e.g., Telephone Interview with Chad Smith, Attorney General of the Cherokee Nation (Oklahoma) (Mar. 21, 1994) (stating that as prosecutor, he refuses to dismiss charges even if spouses have reconsidered). Attorney General Smith and Chief Judge William Bluehouse Johnson of the Laguna Pueblo Tribal Court both adopt the position that a tribal interest is at issue, requiring prosecution to follow. See id.; see also Telephone Interview with William Bluehouse Johnson, Chief Judge of the Laguna Pueblo Tribal Court (Mar. 23, 1994). Smith and Johnson both say that they do not agree to probation or remedies that simply allow the abuser to apologize and reconcile with the victim. Attorney General Smith also requires abusers to undergo mandatory counseling, especially when children have observed or experienced the abuse. Telephone Interview with Chad Smith, Attorney General of the Cherokee Nation (Oklahoma) (Mar. 21, 1994); see also STANDING ROCK SIOUX TRIB. CODE OF JUSTICE tit. XXV, § 25-116(B) (providing that counseling include children of both defendant and victim when there is evidence of pattern of abuse). Smith also says the Cherokee Nation and the State of Oklahoma have an agreement to enforce each other’s orders so that abusers cannot seek to escape what is necessary to change future behavior. CHEROKEE NATION CODE tit. 22, § 60.7 (1990).

263 See generally ROBERT N. CLINTON ET AL., AMERICAN INDIAN LAW: CASES AND MATERIALS 36-37 (3d ed. 1991) (regarding CIO/CRF Courts as response to Ex parte Crow Dog, 109 U.S. 556 (1883)). In Crow Dog, the Court denied authority to try and punish an Indian for the murder of another Indian because tribes retained their self-government power absent explicit renunciation by the tribe or removal of the power by Congress. Id. at 572.

264 See INDIAN BUREA.U, REGULATIONS OF THE INDIAN DEPARTMENT 71-88 (1884) (stating regulations of Court of Indian Offenses).

265 See generally Tim Vollman, Criminal Jurisdiction in Indian Country, 22 KAN. L. REV. 387 (1974) (noting that tribal governments often lack resources to punish crimes over which they have jurisdiction).
presumption of innocence until guilt is proven. As in the non-Indian world, there is concern that the mandatory arrest provision will be abused by women who employ it against their spouse without sufficient grounds. Despite these countervailing factors, a significant number of tribes include mandatory arrest provisions in their laws addressing domestic violence in their communities.

Once a defendant is found guilty, the tribal code provisions generally provide for incarceration, fines, probation, or counseling. The Jicarilla and Oglala codes, for example, provide that a court may require chemical dependency evaluations if alcohol or drugs are a factor in a particular case. The Menominee, Jicarilla, and Oglala require that the defendant participate in a domestic violence program. The Jicarilla and the Oglala also require the counselor, domestic violence program, or other service provider to make reports to the court; sanctions against the perpetrator are provided for failure to comply with a court order requiring counseling, treatment, or participation in a program.

In terms of sentencing, Pascua-Yaqui law specifically allows probation for a first offense and dismissal of the charge if probation is successfully completed. The Pascua-Yaqui court also may require a defendant to pay restitution and undergo counseling. The Oglala Sioux allow for the

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267 See Little Eagle, supra note 165, at A10.

268 See supra note 255 and accompanying text (listing tribal laws providing mandatory arrest provisions).

269 See, e.g., JICARILLA APACHE TRIB. CODE tit. 3, ch. 5, § 5(D)(4) (1992) (providing court discretion to order treatment in lieu of fine); STANDING ROCK SIOUX TRIB. CODE OF JUSTICE tit. XXV, § 9 (1990) (providing for minimum sentence for first offender of ten days).

270 See JICARILLA APACHE TRIB. CODE tit. 3, ch. 5, § 5(C) (1992); OGLALA SIOUX TRIB. CODE Sec. 99.2, § 4(f) (1982); See also MENOMINEE NATION, ORDINANCE NO. 93-21 § VII(A) (1993) (requiring alcohol and other drug abuse assessment of all persons convicted of crime in domestic violence situation, as well as completion of Domestic Violence/Abuse Treatment Program).

271 See MENOMINEE TRIBAL LEGISLATURE, Ord. No. 93-21, § VII(A) (requiring completion of Domestic Violence/Abuse Treatment Program).


273 PASCUA-YAQUI TRIB. CODE ch. 11, § 11-1102(G) states: "The terms and conditions of probation shall include those necessary to provide for the protection of the alleged victim and other specifically designated persons . . . ."

274 Id.
suspension of a jail sentence for a first offense.\textsuperscript{275}

Most tribes that will provide criminal sanctions, however, set
minimum jail sentences ranging from 10 days to 30 days to a maximum
sentence of 6 months for a first offense.\textsuperscript{276} For a second offense, tribes
require minimum jail sentences ranging from 10 to 90 days with a
maximum of 6 months.\textsuperscript{277} For a third or subsequent offense, the Fort
Belknap Indian Reservation requires a 6-month minimum sentence.\textsuperscript{278}
while the Rosebud Sioux Code mandates a minimum of 30 days.\textsuperscript{279}
Many tribes require a $500 maximum fine, and in addition to imprison-
ment, provide counseling for substance abuse, anger control, and domestic
relations.\textsuperscript{280} Also, both the Fort Belknap Indian Community and the

\textsuperscript{275} See OGLALA SIOUX TRIB. CODE sec. 99.2, § 4(e) (1982). Sentences are to be for 30 to
60 days. When a sentence is suspended the defendant must cooperate completely with the orders
of the court requiring cooperation with the domestic violence program. \textit{id.}

\textsuperscript{276} MENOMINEE NATION, ORDINANCE No. 93-21, DOMESTIC VIOLENCE (1993) § VII
(providing separate criminal penalties); PASCUA-YAQUI TRIB. CODE ch. 11, § 11-1102(F) (1992)
(offenses classified in criminal code); JICARILLA APACHE TRIB. CODE tit. 3, ch. 5, § 3(A) (1992)
(providing incarceration not to exceed six months but no minimum sentence); CROW TRIBE OF
INDIANS, CROW LAW AND ORDER CODES, DOMESTIC ABUSE CODE § 5(c) (1991) (10 days to 180
days); ZUNI TRIBE, ORDINANCE No. 52 DOMESTIC VIOLENCE CODE (1991) (indicating domestic
violence as Class C offense); STANDING ROCK SIOUX TRIB. CODE OF JUSTICE tit. XXV, § 25-
116(A) (1990) (imposing sentences of 10 to 90 days); FORT BELKnap INDIAN RESERVATION,
DOMESTIC ABUSE (Penalties) (a) (1989) (30 days to 180 days); ROSEBUD SIOUX TRIB. CODE ch.
38, § 9(A) (1989) (indicating 10 to 180 days); OGLALA SIOUX TRIB. CODE sec. 99.2, § 4(e)
(imposing 30 to 60 days for a first offense which can be suspended).

\textsuperscript{277} MENOMINEE NATION, ORDINANCE No. 93-21 DOMESTIC VIOLENCE (1993) § VII
(providing separate criminal penalties); JICARILLA APACHE TRIBE CODE tit. 3, ch. 5, § 3(A) (1992)
(providing incarceration not to exceed 6 months but no minimum sentence); PASCUA-
YAQUI TRIB. CODE ch. 11, § 11-1102(F) (1992) (offenses classified in criminal code); CROW
TRIBE OF INDIANS, CROW LAW AND ORDER CODES, DOMESTIC ABUSE CODE § 5(d) (1991) (30
days minimum); ZUNI TRIBE, ORDINANCE No. 52 DOMESTIC VIOLENCE CODE (1991) (indicating
domestic violence as Class C offense); STANDING ROCK SIOUX TRIB. CODE OF JUSTICE tit. XXV,
§ 25-116(A) (1990) (imposing sentences of 10 to 90 days); FORT BELKnap INDIAN RESERVATION,
DOMESTIC ABUSE (Penalties) (b) (1989) (90 days to 180 days); ROSEBUD SIOUX TRIB. CODE ch.
38, § 9(A) (1989) (indicating 10 to 180 days); OGLALA SIOUX TRIB. CODE sec. 99.2, § 4(e)
(imposing 30 to 60 days for a first offense which can be suspended).

\textsuperscript{278} FORT BELKnap INDIAN RESERVATION, DOMESTIC ABUSE (Penalties) (c) (providing 180
days minimum and maximum sentence).

\textsuperscript{279} ROSEBUD SIOUX TRIB. CODE ch. 38, § 9(B) (establishing 30 days to 180 days).

\textsuperscript{280} JICARILLA APACHE TRIB. CODE tit. 3, ch. 5, § 3(A) (1992) (maximum $500 fine and
domestic violence treatment); PASCUA-YAQUI TRIB. CODE ch. 11, § 11-1102(G) (1992)
(imposition of fine, counselling and diversionary programs in conjunction with probation); CROW
TRIBE OF INDIANS, CROW LAW AND ORDER CODE §§ 5(c)-(d) (1991)
($500 maximum fine and mandatory counseling); STANDING ROCK SIOUX TRIB. CODE OF JUSTICE
tit. XXV, § 25-116 (1990) ($500 maximum fine and mandatory counseling); FORT BELKnap
INDIAN RESERVATION, DOMESTIC ABUSE (Penalties) (a)-(c) (1989) ($500 fine maximum and
mandatory counseling); ROSEBUD SIOUX TRIB. CODE ch. 38, § 9 (1989) (maximum $500 fine and
mandatory counseling).
Rosebud Sioux Tribe provide counseling by a medicine man recognized in the community by those persons who practice traditional Indian religion.\footnote{See generally Foundation Grant Leads Assault on Pine Ridge Domestic Violence, LAKOTA TIMES, Sept. 12, 1989, at 7 [hereinafter Assault on Pine Ridge]. Marlin Mousseau, project coordinator of the Oglala Sioux Cantokicignakapi [Loving One Another] project, made the following statement: “[t] is essential that any programs addressing issues of violence in Indian Country utilize culture as a foundation for reteaching traditional values.” Id.}

The importance of allowing counseling by traditional or professionally trained counselors from within the Indian community cannot be overstated. The counselors approach issues from a cultural and traditional perspective with an understanding of the impact that contact with Western culture has had on the roles of tribal men and women. Utilizing these counselors affirms native people in their own culture and provides a basis for confronting the problem from a tribal perspective.\footnote{See generally Foundation Grant Leads Assault on Pine Ridge Domestic Violence, LAKOTA TIMES, Sept. 12, 1989, at 7 [hereinafter Assault on Pine Ridge]. Marlin Mousseau, project coordinator of the Oglala Sioux Cantokicignakapi [Loving One Another] project, made the following statement: “[t] is essential that any programs addressing issues of violence in Indian Country utilize culture as a foundation for reteaching traditional values.” Id.} Putting domestic violence in the proper cultural perspective is critical in Indian communities.\footnote{See generally Foundation Grant Leads Assault on Pine Ridge Domestic Violence, LAKOTA TIMES, Sept. 12, 1989, at 7 [hereinafter Assault on Pine Ridge]. Marlin Mousseau, project coordinator of the Oglala Sioux Cantokicignakapi [Loving One Another] project, made the following statement: “[t] is essential that any programs addressing issues of violence in Indian Country utilize culture as a foundation for reteaching traditional values.” Id.}

Accomplishing this goal requires a general knowledge of historical events regarding Indian people as well as specific knowledge of a tribe’s history.\footnote{See generally Foundation Grant Leads Assault on Pine Ridge Domestic Violence, LAKOTA TIMES, Sept. 12, 1989, at 7 [hereinafter Assault on Pine Ridge]. Marlin Mousseau, project coordinator of the Oglala Sioux Cantokicignakapi [Loving One Another] project, made the following statement: “[t] is essential that any programs addressing issues of violence in Indian Country utilize culture as a foundation for reteaching traditional values.” Id.} It also necessitates a familiarity with a specific tribe’s traditional concepts of male/female relations and counseling skills.\footnote{See generally Foundation Grant Leads Assault on Pine Ridge Domestic Violence, LAKOTA TIMES, Sept. 12, 1989, at 7 [hereinafter Assault on Pine Ridge]. Marlin Mousseau, project coordinator of the Oglala Sioux Cantokicignakapi [Loving One Another] project, made the following statement: “[t] is essential that any programs addressing issues of violence in Indian Country utilize culture as a foundation for reteaching traditional values.” Id.}

Tradition and culture can play a role in modifying behavior to the extent that either traditional or trained counselors in the community can provide information to reinforce both victims and abusers with an understanding of traditional values and traditional male/female relations. Using tradition to approach contemporary issues in Indian society is what many call “retraditionalization.”\footnote{See generally Foundation Grant Leads Assault on Pine Ridge Domestic Violence, LAKOTA TIMES, Sept. 12, 1989, at 7 [hereinafter Assault on Pine Ridge]. Marlin Mousseau, project coordinator of the Oglala Sioux Cantokicignakapi [Loving One Another] project, made the following statement: “[t] is essential that any programs addressing issues of violence in Indian Country utilize culture as a foundation for reteaching traditional values.” Id.}

It is also important that the needs of both abusers and victims be
addressed because of the relational structure of Indian tribes. In tribal societies, men, women, and children are related not only to one another, but to the larger community. In this respect, tribes differ from small town and city populations. This approach is of tremendous value, whether tribes utilize peacemakers, medicine people, sponsors, or other persons to provide a traditional approach to contemporary problems.

2. Civil

Tribal codes also provide civil remedies and sanctions to curb domestic violence. The majority of tribal codes allow for the issuance of protective orders on an emergency basis, regardless of whether the codes permit only civil remedies or both criminal and civil remedies. The Jicarilla Code allows a court to issue a temporary order of protection as a condition of release of the defendant when the defendant is before the court after mandatory arrest. This court can issue the temporary orders at its own discretion, without an application to the court for a civil protection order. Under the Jicarilla Code, an order of protection can provide for the temporary exclusion of the defendant from the residence and for restricted contact with the victim. The Menominee Ordinance contains an interesting provision regarding orders of protection. It provides that a judge may release if the accused agrees to apply for and comply with a judge’s order prohibiting any interference with the other party.

Significantly, the Oglala Code maintains that when there is an allegation of an imminent and present danger, a standing order of protection will exist pending a full hearing. The order may restrain acts of domestic abuse, exclude the abusing party from a shared residence, and prohibit contact with the victim. The Jicarilla and Standing Rock Sioux Codes also permit the issuance of a temporary restraining order

267 See Assault on Pine Ridge, supra note 283, at 7. ("Domestic violence is not Lakota tradition, . . . . We will not end violence in our communities by continuing to provide services only to victims. The situation will continue until perpetrators of violence receive treatment.").
268 See infra notes 290-99.
270 Id.
271 Id. § 6(1)-(3) (1992).
272 MENOMINEE NATION, ORDINANCE NO. 93-21, DOMESTIC VIOLENCE § VI (B) (1993). A
hearing before a trial judge is held within 10 days, and the restraining order is in effect until vacated or modified. A permanent restraining order may be issued for a period of time not to exceed five years. Id.
274 Id. § 8(a)(2).
under similar conditions. Most other tribes allow for the issuance of a temporary restraining order without further hearing if, upon the court’s review of the pleadings and evidence, there is reasonable cause to believe that an act of domestic violence may be or has been committed.

Most temporary protection orders grant limited relief to the victims of domestic violence. This relief includes: restraining the abusing party from acts of domestic abuse; excluding the abusing party from a shared residence; restraining contact with the victim; restricting proximity to the victim; awarding temporary custody; and establishing temporary visitation of minor children. Upon award of a final restraining order, some tribes provide for counseling, give temporary use and possession of property to the victim, require an accounting for all transfers made after the order is entered, mandate payment of rent and child support, and allow any other relief necessary.

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256 Navajo Nation Domestic Abuse Protection Act, Navajo Trib. Code tit. 9, § 1655 (1993) (allowing for issuance of ex parte temporary protection orders based on evidence proving emergency situation); Pascua-Yaqui Trib. Code ch. 11, § 11-1103(F) (1992); Cherokee Nation Code tit. 22, §§ 60.2 - 60.4 (1990) (allowing for issuance of emergency ex parte orders for good cause shown at ex parte hearing held same day petition is filed).

257 See Navajo Trib. Code tit. 9, § 1660(a) (1992) (restraining aggressor from acts of domestic abuse, excluding aggressor from residence, restraining aggressor’s contact with victim, awarding temporary custody of children, awarding possession of personal property, providing for nondisposition of property, ordering law enforcement supervision of return to residence, and granting other relief); Jicarilla Apache Trib. Code tit. 3, ch. 5, § 6(C) (1992) (providing court with power to exclude abusing party from dwelling, restrain contact with victim, restrain respondent from committing further acts of domestic violence, award temporary custody or establish temporary visitation rights, provide child support and temporary support, order temporary guardianship, award temporary use and possession of property of respondent, restrain party(ies) from affecting property, order payment of debts, supersede prior orders of court relating to domestic matters, and provide any other lawful relief deemed necessary for protection of claimed or potential victims); Pascua-Yaqui Trib. Code ch. 11, § 11-1103 (1992) (restraining party from further acts of domestic violence, excluding one party from home, restricting party’s contact); Cherokee Nation Code tit. 22, § 60.3 (1990) (excluding abusing party from dwelling, restraining abusing party from further acts of violence or interference with victim, restraining abusing party from contact with victim); Standing Rock Sioux Trib. Code of Justice tit. XXV, § 25-109(B)(1)-(3) (1982) (restraining abusing party from acts of domestic abuse, excluding abusing party from residence, awarding temporary custody of children, restricting or supervising visitation of minor children).

258 In addition to the protections afforded under a standing order for protection, the Oglala domestic violence law provides temporary visitation with minor children, counseling and social services, treatment or counseling for the abusing party, temporary use of property, prevention of parties from disposing of property, and other relief necessary for protection of family and household members, including orders which direct the public safety division of the tribe. Oglala Sioux Trib. Code sec. 99.2, § 7 (1982). The Navajo Nation provides for counseling, temporary use and possession of property, prevention of both parties from affecting property,
E. Reporting

Telling

Her face is wide, innocent, clear.
She tells me things.
They are secrets. “He did this to me. He told me not to tell. I never
told until now.”
Her face twists for an instant,
then returns to its rightful beauty.
I listen.
She doesn’t cry, but my eyes feel the familiar moisture seeping out,
dropping on my hand that holds her’s. How dare these tears appear when
she — who has the courage to tell — doesn’t weep.
She gives me this.
Secrets.
Beth Brant (Mohawk)299

Four tribes have provisions in their codes requiring mandatory
reporting of possible domestic violence.300 All four require reporting by
medical personnel, such as physicians, nurses, and community health
workers.301 Moreover, the Oglala and Crow Codes require physician
assistants, hospital interns, residents, field health nurses, and dentists to file
a report when they suspect domestic abuse.302 Additionally, the Standing
Rock and Jicarilla Codes require mental health workers to report domestic

payment of rent and mortgages, payment for alternative housing, child support, court costs and
other relief including those listed as available under temporary orders. NAVAJO TRIB. CODE tit.
9, § 1660(a) (1993). The Cherokee court can award attorney’s fees and court costs in a final
protective order in addition to the protections available under an emergency ex parte order.
CHEROKEE NATION CODE tit. 22, § 60.4(D) (1990); see also STANDING ROCK SIOUX TRIB. CODE
OF JUSTICE tit. XXV, § 25-108(D) (1990) (allowing court to recommend or require party(ies) to
obtain counseling from domestic abuse program or another agency, order support, and award
temporary use of property).
299 RETURNING THE GIFT: POETRY & PROSE FROM THE FIRST NORTH AMERICAN NATIVE
WRITERS’ FESTIVAL 50 (1994).
300 JICARILLA APACHE TRIB. CODE tit. 3, ch. 5, § 12 (1992); CROW TRIB. OF INDIANS,
CROW LAW AND ORDER CODES, DOMESTIC ABUSE CODE §§ 6-9 (1991); STANDING ROCK SIOUX
TRIB. CODE OF JUSTICE tit. XXV, § 25-111 (1990); OGLALA SIOUX TRIB. CODE sec. 99.2,
301 JICARILLA APACHE TRIB. CODE tit. 3, ch. 5, § 12(A) (1992); CROW TRIBE OF INDIANS,
CROW LAW AND ORDER CODES, DOMESTIC ABUSE CODE § 7 (1991); STANDING ROCK SIOUX
TRIB. CODE OF JUSTICE tit. XXV, § 25-110(A) (1990); OGLALA SIOUX TRIB. CODE Sec. 99.2,
§ 16 (1982).
302 CROW TRIBE OF INDIANS, CROW LAW AND ORDER CODES, DOMESTIC ABUSE CODE § 6
Outside of the medical profession, the Jicarilla Code mandates that school teachers, social workers, and probation officers report domestic abuse. The Standing Rock Code requires social workers, counselors, and personnel of domestic violence programs and shelters to report suspected situations of domestic abuse. The Oglala and Crow Codes additionally require social workers, parent aides, adult service workers, law enforcement officers, court workers, alcohol program workers, and domestic violence personnel to report domestic abuse. Under Oglala, Jicarilla, and Crow Law, the failure to report domestic abuse is a criminal offense.

F. Codes Generally

We want none of your laws or customs that we have not willingly adopted for ourselves. We have adopted many. You have adopted some of ours—votes for women for instance—we are as well behaved as you and you would think so if you knew us better.

Edward Ahenakew, Cree, 1920

There is often a difference between what the law provides and what is actually implemented. This is as true in Indian communities as it is in non-Indian communities. Therefore, the existence of a domestic abuse code does not necessarily mean that all aspects of the code function as the written law mandates. This is often the result of uneven enforcement and the lack of resources within a tribal community, and/or the effectiveness of those resources. This review of the domestic abuse codes of

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308 See Little Eagle, Mandatory Arrest, supra note 266, at A8. Project Medicine Wheel, a program that counsels abusers and refers victims to shelters and services, found that the Oglala Sioux Tribal courts were not following up on sentences for domestic abuse violations. Judges, in turn, charged that the code is contradictory to existing code provisions and was not provided to the court, and that the system’s lack of probationary services hinders the implementation of the code. Id.; see also Little Eagle, Pros and Cons, supra note 165, at A10 (expressing concerns about application of Oglala code).
309 Little Eagle, Pros and Cons, supra note 165, at A10.
tribal communities is only a part of the picture. Another part of the picture comes from a look at the actual impact being made in these communities. It is important to reflect on what the codes themselves reveal, before we address intervention work at the community level.

In certain respects, the codes reflect the tribal influence as it is represented by the many references to the extended family, the allowances for restitution, and counseling by medicine people. In other ways, the codes directly incorporate tribal thought, such as in the policy, finding, and purpose sections of the Navajo code.

Mostly, the tribal codes evidence the incorporation and influence of western jurisprudence. Perhaps this is inevitable in light of the Indian Civil Rights Act (ICRA), and the tendency of tribes to look at both state and other tribal codes for guidance when developing their particular code. When tribes develop laws to deal with areas of such critical social concern as domestic abuse, careful deliberation is required when outside laws and procedures are considered. Equal consideration should be given to indigenous concepts of law and to traditional methods of dispute resolution when developing tribal law. ICRA standards notwithstanding, tribes can infuse their law with principles and methods which reflect their values, precepts, and approaches to dispute resolution in far greater ways than present codes currently reflect.

G. Implementation of Orders and Intervention

Life goes on

310 See, e.g., Navajo Nation Domestic Abuse Protection Act, NAVAJO TRIB. CODE tit. 9, § 1602 (1993) (outlining general policy of Navajo nation and concern for effects of violence on entire Navajo family and clan); ROSEBUD SIOUX TRIB. CODE ch. 38, § 9(a) (1989) (providing for counseling by medicine man for those practicing traditional Indian religion).
311 NAVAJO TRIB. CODE tit. 9, § 1602 (1993) (stating that Navajo policy is to demonstrate respect for Navajo family and clan). The purpose section reads, "[t]he purpose of this Act is to protect all persons; men, women, children, elders, disabled persons, and other vulnerable persons, who are within the jurisdiction of the Navajo Nation, from all forms of domestic abuse as defined by this Act and by Navajo Nation law." Id. § 1604.
313 See Zion & Zion, supra note 1, at 416 (stating that Navajo domestic violence court rules are based partially upon Anglo-American common law).
314 See id. at 415-16.
315 Id. at 423-24.
no matter
no matter
what we do
what we do
have to get past
these rough waters
she's going through\textsuperscript{117}

The stage when a court implements orders and intervention occurs is
the most critical point in the entire dispute resolution process. To
successfully address domestic abuse in Indian communities, the needs of
both the abused and the abuser require attention. Both parties need insight
into their behavior and must take action to foster change based on this
insight.\textsuperscript{318} Typically, “needs” are met as a result of intervention.
Intervention may occur as the result of a court order or through informal
methods, such as through a person’s self-referral to a counselor or through
traditional dispute resolution.

A list of grantees of federal assistance for victims of federal crimes in
Indian country\textsuperscript{319} reveals that thirty-seven tribes received funds in 1994
to provide assistance for victims of domestic violence.\textsuperscript{320} These recipi-
ents include the Native Indian Crisis Association (NICA) Domestic Abuse
Shelter run by the Blackfeet of Montana. The primary purpose of this
program is to provide shelter for abused victims and their children.
Victims residing at the shelter are provided transportation, legal advocacy,

\textsuperscript{317} Trudell & Shark, supra note 139.

\textsuperscript{318} See generally Power & Control: Tactics of Men Who Batter 16 (Domestic Abuse
Intervention Project ed.).

compensate victims of crime).

\textsuperscript{320} See National Indian Justice Center, Inc., Assistance For Victims of Federal
Crime in Indian Country: State and Subgrantee Award List (Fiscal Year 1993 &
1994). The grantees are: White Mountain Apache Tribal Guidance Center; Navajo Nation Victim
Witness Program; Gila River Indian Community Tribal Social Services; Nez Perce Tribe Victim’s
Assistance Project; Shoshone/Bannock Victims of Crime Services; Kickapoo Tribe of Kansas; Lac
Vieux Desert Indian Reservation; Bay Mills Indian Reservation; Mississippi Band of Choctaw
Indians; Native Indian Crisis Association Domestic Abuse Shelter; Crow Victim Assistance
Program; Fort Peck Tribe; Walker River Paiute Tribe; Reno-Sparks Indian Colony; Ely Shoshone
Tribe; Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Council; Pueblo of Zuni; Jicarilla Apache; Pueblo of
Laguna; Fort Berthold Coalition Against Domestic Violence; Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa
Indians; Tender Hearts, Inc.; Miami Tribe; Tonkawa Tribe; The Confederated Tribes of Warm
Springs; Red Horse Lodge; Victims of Crime Assistance Pine Ridge Reservation/Oglala Sioux;
Women’s Circle Support Services; Ute Indian Tribe; Lummi Victims of Crime; South Puget
Intertribal Planning Agency (SPIPA); Menominee Indian Tribe of Wisconsin, Menominee Tribal
Police Department, Crime Victims Office; American Indian Justice Center, Ft. Washakie, Wyoming.
counseling, and assistance in locating permanent safe housing. The tribe
provided an alternate home for the project while the house, which opened
in May of 1990, was undergoing renovation. Previously, the nearest
available shelter had been located 130 miles away. A counselor staffs the
program and provides group and individual counseling on education and
job skills. There is also a victim advocate/house parent who provides
support, advocacy, and assistance to victims.  

Another example is Tender Hearts Against Family Violence, Inc., a
program which began in 1988 with Victims of Crime Assistance funding.
Located in Fort Yates, North Dakota, the program is seeking to set up a
satellite office in McLaughlin, South Dakota, for those victims who reside
on the South Dakota side of the Standing Rock Reservation. The
Reservation straddles the boundaries of the two states. The Tender Hearts
program is a crisis-intervention program and works in conjunction with
other tribal, state, and IHS resources. The program has support groups for
men and women with most of the participants attending as a result of a
court-order. The program assisted in the effort to enact the Standing Rock
Domestic Abuse Code. For the years 1991 and 1992, Tender Hearts found
that 95% of domestic abuse victims were women.  

A total of 211 cases of
domestic violence were prosecuted through Standing Rock Tribal Court
from October 1990 to September 1991.  

The Sacred Shawl Society is an example of an intervention program
which provides a cultural context in which to deal with domestic violence.
This approach is, at once, comforting and challenging to Indian people.
Sacred Shawl is located in Pine Ridge Village on the Oglala Sioux
reservation, with a reservation-wide network of counselors and safe-
houses. The Society provides services such as family and victim
counseling, legal assistance, emergency shelter, transportation, and limited
financial assistance. Sacred Shawl receives no federal or tribal funds,
but it receives grant assistance and benefits from grassroots fund raising.

The Society’s work revealed that the general public, the court system,
the abuser, the children, and the victims were living in ignorance of Lakota
values regarding domestic violence. As a result, the Society began to
provide education regarding Lakota thought and philosophy on domestic

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321 Id.
323 Id.
324 Plume, supra note 2, at 67.
325 Id.
326 Id. at 72.
violence. In her article on the work of the Society, Debra White Plume describes the pre-reservation Lakota philosophy regarding spousal abuse, the role of adult men and women in pre-reservation society, and the Lakota values and social law regarding wife battering using Lakota words.\textsuperscript{327} Plume explains the concept of \textit{tiyospaye} — relatives living together in unity and cooperation, which is based on people living together according to the same beliefs, laws, and values.\textsuperscript{328} She describes how the Lakota society has been affected by the dissolution of traditional ways.\textsuperscript{329} Traditionally, wife battering was neither accepted nor tolerated. Spousal abuse, however, emerged as the result of the disintegration of Lakota ways of life and with the introduction of alcohol into the society.\textsuperscript{330}

The Sacred Shawl Society’s approach to domestic violence first involves articulating the traditional concepts of Indian society relative to the relationship between men and women. Further, the present relationship between men and women in tribal society is examined against the backdrop of these traditional concepts. An important aspect appears to be an examination of the treatment of domestic violence in the society before outside influences affected the concepts. Contemporary tribal societies face problems because of the disruption of the roles of men and women, the displacement of traditional values, and the introduction of countervailing and contrary values.\textsuperscript{331} This culture-oriented approach plays a role in any action taken by tribal communities to address domestic values. In tribal communities, both the abused and the abuser can gain from this knowledge.

The use of community members in intervention and counseling programs can result in the development of counseling methods which draw on the strengths of the culture. Developing a domestic abuse approach premised on the Indian value of harmony within a community ensures that the needs of the direct and indirect victims of violence, as well as the perpetrator, will be considered. Indian societies are based on different values and beliefs than other societies. Borrowing an individualistic approach focusing on the victim from outside tribal society only adds to the conflict.

\textsuperscript{327} \textit{Id.} at 68-71.
\textsuperscript{328} \textit{Id.} at 71.
\textsuperscript{329} Plume, \textit{supra} note 2, at 72.
\textsuperscript{330} \textit{Id.}; see also Pommersheim, \textit{supra} note 62, at 438-39 (discussing implications of laws on tradition and culture of tribal life); \textit{cf.} Zion \& Zion, \textit{supra} note 1, at 408.
\textsuperscript{331} See Plume, \textit{supra} note 2, at 72.
IV. INDIANS OUTSIDE THE TRIBAL SYSTEM

When I first came into a shelter in the city, I felt confused. I tried to explain my feelings but nobody understood. . . . I couldn’t just go and do what they asked of me. . . . I didn’t have a phone. I had no neighbors. Abuse on the reserve can be very hidden.332

We have focused on tribal laws and systems, but we must also consider the large urban Indian population.333 Generally, a large part of the urban Indian population maintains ties with the reservation, by moving between the reservation and urban areas. The urban centers, however, are increasingly becoming permanent homes to a large number of Indian people.

For this reason, it is important to consider the needs of the urban population. For those who maintain close ties to the reservation, tribal resources remain available. Urban Indians are no less Indian than Indian people who reside on the reservation. Thus, state judges and service providers must be aware of the need for approaches to domestic violence which consider the cultural needs of Indian people. The need for approaches to domestic violence which take culture into consideration is just as great among urban Indian families as it is at the tribal level.

Indian women and other women of color confront the same cultural insensitivity and racism at urban domestic violence shelters as they do elsewhere.334 These shelters can be unaware of the cultural resources which should be used to assist Indian victims of domestic violence.335

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332 Eva Ferguson, Out from the Shadows: Native Women Find Haven From Abuse at New Shelter, CALGARY HERALD, Mar. 11, 1993, at B1 (comments of Marilyn Fraser-King, vice-president of board for new shelter for native women in northwest Calgary, Alberta).

333 The total population of American Indian, Eskimo or Aleut persons is 2,015,143. BUREAU OF CENSUS 1990 CENSUS OF POPULATION, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS, UNITED STATES tbl. 1. 768,135 Native Americans live in urban areas. Id. at tbl. 4.

334 Pat Prince, Vision Becomes Reality, Shelter for Battered Indian Women to Open in St. Paul, STAR TRIB., June 1, 1991, at 1B. “Women of color end up having to choose between going to the white community to feel safe from battering and going to their own community to be safe from racism.” Id. (comments of Marsha Frey, director of Minnesota Coalition for Battered Women). Canadian Indian women experience problems in this area similar to those of urban Indian women in the United States. Many Indian women must leave the reservation (U.S.) or reserves (Canada) as victims of domestic violence. In the United States, some leave the reservation because their tribes do not address domestic violence, as do the tribes whose law we reviewed, or because no resources are available on the reservations. Others simply choose to leave.

335 “Other women’s shelters are unable to offer the access to traditional teachings, resources and practices that can play such a powerful role in helping Indian women in crisis ‘find their way home.’” Id. at 1B (comments of Ellie Favell, Cultural Programming Coordinator for Eagle’s
Consequently, shelters which provide services specifically directed at Indian women in urban centers are greatly needed. The Eagle’s Nest, in St. Paul, Minnesota, is such a program. The program is the result of the work of the Women of Nations, an advocacy group for battered American Indian women. The program provides shelter to native victims and uses traditional teachings, resources, and practices to overcome the damage that results from the abuse. These practices range from burning sage and cedar to calm the spirit to teaching traditional craftwork and survival skills. Participation in spiritual ways familiar to Native women is also available.

In urban centers with large Indian populations, statistics reveal the presence of native people at shelters and within the court system. Just as tribes cannot successfully address tribal domestic violence by adopting the same approaches to domestic violence as the non-Indian society, neither can individual Indian people and their families be expected to completely benefit from programs operated for majority clients.

The intertribal community is a resource which can be utilized to assist in dealing with domestic violence in the Indian urban community. Urban Indian centers, with the multi-tribal membership among service providers and recipients, are important in providing varied and culturally appropriate intervention services to Indian victims and offenders. Tribal input from local reservations, from which the urban Indian community populations come, can assist in efforts to assess the needs of the urban population.

State courts have jurisdiction when domestic violence occurs outside tribal boundaries. The state courts and human services allied in

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Nest, women’s shelter for Indian victims of domestic violence in St. Paul, Minnesota).

336 Id.
337 Id.
338 For a three month period, July 1 through September 30, 1993, the Women’s Community Association, which operates the Women’s Shelter in Albuquerque, NM, showed that it served 736 clients. Of that amount, 137 were Native American. San Juan County Domestic Violence Task Force figures for 1993 show that Native Americans made up 36% of the population, and comprised 29% of the family crisis clients, 40% of the victims and 40% of the suspects. San Juan County has three towns, Aztec, Bloomfield and Farmington, which border the nearby Navajo Nation. See FAMILY CRISIS CENTER, supra note 11, at 7.
339 See Kimberle Crenshaw, Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color, 43 STAN. L. REV. 1241, 1246 (1991) (“[I]ntervention strategies based solely on the experiences of women who do not share the same class or race backgrounds will be of limited help to women who because of race and class face different obstacles.”).
domestic law proceedings can work to cooperate with the urban Indian organizations and centers as well as with local tribes. This cooperation should also include state subsidies for services, like those subsidies provided to other entities. Financially limited urban Indian organizations and centers cannot be expected to relieve the state of its responsibilities for intervention and its costs. Agreements between states and tribes are essential so that the urban and reservation Indians can obtain culturally appropriate and effective assistance to remove domestic violence from their lives.\textsuperscript{341}

CONCLUSION

You see, we have power. Men have to dream to get power from the spirits and they think of everything they can — songs and speeches and marching around, hoping that the spirits will notice them and give them some power. But we have power . . . Children. Can any warrior make a child, no matter how brave and wonderful he is?

Chona (Tohono O’Odham)\textsuperscript{342}

In the instance of the Cherokees, we are fortunate to have many strong women. I have attained a leadership position because I am willing to take risks, but at the same time, I am trying to teach other women, both Cherokees and others, to take risks also. . . . Friends describe me as someone who likes to dance along the edge of the roof. I try to encourage young women to be willing to take risks, to stand up for the things they believe in, and to step up and accept the challenge of serving in leadership roles. . . .

If I am to be remembered, I want it to be because I am fortunate enough to have become my tribe’s first female chief. But I also want to be remembered for emphasizing the fact that we have indigenous solutions to our problems. Cherokee values, especially those of helping one another and of our interconnections with the land, can be used to address contemporary issues.

Wilma Mankiller\textsuperscript{343}

Our review of some tribal methods of protecting women from

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{341} The Navajo Nation Code provides that foreign court orders shall be recognized and accorded comity upon a determination of the foreign court’s jurisdiction, NAVAJO TRIB. CODE tit. 9, § 1666 (1993); see also CHEROKEE NATION CODE tit. 22, § 60.7 (1993) (providing statewide validity of tribal court orders); N.M. STAT. ANN. § 40-13-6(D) (Michie Supp. 1995) (stating “state courts shall give full faith and credit to tribal court orders of protection”).

\textsuperscript{342} UNDERHILL, supra note 132, at 92.

\textsuperscript{343} MANKILLER & WALLIS, supra note 122, at 250-51.
\end{flushleft}
domestic violence affirms two continuing foundations in the life of indigenous people in the United States. The first of these foundations is the persisting role of the tribe as a sovereign, the first sovereign within the national boundaries of the United States. Tribes retain their sovereignty in the context of international law, especially in the law of nations relating to indigenous people. International norms and emerging instruments, however, address tribal people in the collective, as distinct groups within a larger nation-state. The status and rights of indigenous women in relation to their tribal communities have only recently been directly addressed in international law. Consequently, it is the sovereignty of tribes within the United States borders that most directly affects the way indigenous women are protected in their tribal communities.

The power of the sovereign remains integral in drafting tribal law, rendering judicial orders, and establishing intervention programs to protect women. This is in contrast to other ethnic populations in the United States who use non-governmental organizations to promote their interests. The tribe's status as a separate governmental entity allows tribes to address their concerns regarding the well being of women, families, and tribal members through enactment of tribal law. The tribe's separate status affects the relationship between tribes and the state and federal governments and it is the tribe which provides the first line of protection to women within their jurisdiction.

Second, this review addresses the societal resources which tribal governments use in resolving family, clan, and tribal disputes, as well as the use of cultural beliefs and practices in addressing domestic violence. The resulting tribal codes, court orders, and intervention programs can be distinct in multiple ways. The traditional models of tribal law and practice contrast with the Euro-American approaches within the United States borders, but some are distinct among the over 500 tribes. The use of Peacemakers by the Navajo and the Seneca is one generalized response to any relational dispute. The use of traditional marriage sponsors in Laguna Pueblo, who take on a responsibility to the couple at betrothal expecting to assist the couple if marital problems arise, is another. Each tribe's experiences, in combination with other factors, produce a model of law and practice tailored to a tribe's needs. In the aggregate, the tribes produce many models. Yet underlying the tribal variation is the common world view that is of key importance to American Indians. The indigenous peoples of the Americas have a shared belief that achieving harmony and balance are the goals of their societies.

Both men and women in a tribal society are guided by communal rather than individualistic values; the pursuit of harmony and balance
extends to the roles and responsibilities of each. Consequently, any
analysis of the way that tribes respond to the needs of female victims of
violence must include a concern for, and response to, the abuser, the
children, and other members of the extended family, clan, and tribe. A
strict gender equality model of law and practice ignores the traditional and
evolving ways in which tribal societies structure complementary roles for
their members. The constitutional equal-protection-based criticism of
Martinez reveals how narrow perspectives miss much about contemporary
tribal life. Besides ignoring the legal doctrine of tribal sovereignty, the
gender equality viewpoint fails to recognize both the indigenous peoples’
view of male/female relationships as complementary and the abilities of
indigenous people to conserve and innovate in order to promote tribal
interests and continuity. The approach of retraditionalization through
intervention programs, which restore men and women to complementary
relationships, relies on applying long-held tribal values in a contemporary
context. The tribal ability to use these customary values is demonstrated
when tribal nations select women as their governmental leaders and in
tribal efforts to protect women from violence.

While the tribal codes reveal some similarities to state codes, several
reveal an expansive view of the protected class of individuals and
relationships. The non-restrictive view of protected persons reflects the
belief and policy that violence reaches beyond individual victims within the
immediate family and damages the extended family and others in the tribal
community. The behaviors that trigger the protective measures include not
only the threatened and resulting injury to victims, but also to property.
Additionally, protected relationships can justify a legal response from law
enforcement agents and the courts. Especially noteworthy is the protection
provided by the Navajo tribe in the workplace and educational environ-
ment. If violence occurs or is threatened, the victim and others can invoke
protective measures.

The tribal courts mandate a mix of temporary and permanent remedies
that are both similar and dissimilar to those utilized in non-Indian
jurisdictions. Mandatory jailing for short-term cooling off, sentencing, and
mandatory completion of counseling and remediation programs bear some
similarity to state laws. Some tribal intervention programs operate on
culturally-based goals distinct from non-Indian programs; more is involved
than stopping the abuse cycle. The goal of intervention programs like the
Sacred Shawl Society is to restore victim and abuser to a functional and
productive status within the personal and tribal network. The problems of
alcoholism, drugs, poverty, inadequate housing, and high unemployment
among Indians are formidable, but the culturally-based programs do not
allow these elements to excuse the abusive behavior. These contemporary aggravations make difficult the critical task facing tribal people and their government of using every resource, old and new, to promote the safety and well-being of all members.

The tribal codes, court orders, and programs in this study demonstrate the initial effort involved to deliver the justice promised in words. Like all other governments, the tribes will be judged by their performance; the test is whether women believe that tribal action affirmatively protects them. The indigenous nations in this study provide encouraging models for protecting women inseparable from the nations’ distinct tribal sovereignty. These tribes also demonstrate that the indigenous cultures within the United States are vital contemporary societies, rather than mere historical artifacts.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Domestic Abuse Code</th>
<th>Mandatory Arrest</th>
<th>Issuance of R.O.S.</th>
<th>Exclusion of Abusing Party</th>
<th>Award Temp. Use &amp; Poss. of Property/Child Support</th>
<th>Abuser Held Until Arraigned</th>
<th>Program</th>
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<td>* Chap. 38, Sec. 7(c)</td>
<td>§ 99.2, Sec. 7(d)</td>
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* Relief available under Temporary Restraining Orders/Restraining Orders.

1 This is a comparison of some of the provisions of the tribal codes reviewed. Information on elder abuse codes and shelters is not comprehensive. It is based on code provisions or information provided to the authors.
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<td>Ord. No. 93-21, with some restrictions Sec. IV</td>
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<td>p.2 ¶ 5 if no arrest</td>
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1 This is a comparison of some of the provisions of the tribal codes reviewed. Information on elder abuse codes and shelters is not comprehensive. It is based on code provisions or information provided to the authors.
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<th>J - Navajo</th>
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<td>Shelter</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elder Abuse Code</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>JATC, tit. 3, ch. 5, Sec. 1; Sec. 1(D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crim. Code Provisions Utilized</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments</td>
<td>Info. obtained from NIJC packet-VOCA grantees P.5 Montana</td>
<td>Rules for DV Proceedings; Broad def. of DV</td>
<td>Elderly included in protections of DV Code</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
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<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dom. Violence/Abuse Defined</td>
<td>+ Navajo Rules for Domestic Violence Proceed., Rule 1.5-Ref. to Navajo C.L § 1605(a) (10 acts self def. not incl.)</td>
<td>Zuni, N.M., Ord. No. 52 (Oct. 24, 1991)</td>
<td>JATC, tit. 3, ch. 5, Sec. 2(A)&amp;(C) Sec. 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persons Protected</td>
<td>+ § 1605(b) very broad Rule 1.5</td>
<td>Zuni, N.M., Ord. No. 52 (Oct. 24, 1991)</td>
<td>JATC, tit. 3, ch. 5, Sec. 2(E)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Relief available under Temporary Restraining Orders/Restraining Orders.
+ NAVAJO TRIB. CODE, tit. 9.

1 This is a comparison of some of the provisions of the tribal codes reviewed. Information on elder abuse codes and shelters is not comprehensive. It is based on code provisions or information provided to the authors.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>M Standing Rock Sioux Tribe</th>
<th>N Pascua-Yaqui Tribe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tribe</td>
<td>M Standing Rock Sioux Tribe</td>
<td>N Pascua-Yaquí Tribe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
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<td>----------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mandatory Dom. Viol. Program</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Tribe</td>
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<td>N Pascua-Yaqui Tribe</td>
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<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Program Mandatory</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Shelter</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elder Abuse Code</td>
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<tr>
<td>Utilized</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments</td>
<td>Requires keeping statistics</td>
<td>Pascua-Yaqui Trib. Code, Domestic Violence, § 11-1102 (G) (allows for Probation of accused)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tribe</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
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<td>------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Standing Rock Sioux</td>
<td>Pascua-Yaqui Tribe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tribe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Relief available under Temporary Restraining Orders/Restraining Orders.

1 This is a comparison of some of the provisions of the tribal codes reviewed. Information on elder abuse codes and shelters is not comprehensive. It is based on code provisions or information provided to the authors.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Terms</th>
<th>Zuni(^1)</th>
<th>Jicarilla Apache(^2)</th>
<th>Navajo(^3)</th>
<th>New Mexico(^4)</th>
<th>Utah(^5)</th>
<th>Arizona(^6)</th>
<th>Pascua-Yaqui(^7)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Former or Present Legal Male</td>
<td>Adult Spouse</td>
<td>Former Spouse</td>
<td>Adult Spouse</td>
<td>Former Spouse</td>
<td>Member or former member of abuser's household. Anyone currently or previously involved in an intimate relationship with abuser.*</td>
<td>Spouse Former Spouse</td>
<td>Spouse Former Spouse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\)\(^2\) \(^3\) \(^4\) \(^5\) \(^6\) \(^7\)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relatives by Blood or Marriage</th>
<th>Zuni\textsuperscript{2}</th>
<th>Jicarilla Apache\textsuperscript{2}</th>
<th>Navajo\textsuperscript{3}</th>
<th>New Mexico\textsuperscript{4}</th>
<th>Utah\textsuperscript{3}</th>
<th>Arizona\textsuperscript{6}</th>
<th>Pascua Yaqui\textsuperscript{4}</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Co-Parents</td>
<td>Person with whom offender has a child.</td>
<td>Person related by blood. Person related by an existing or prior marriage.</td>
<td>Relative Clan member Offspring of abuser</td>
<td>Family Member Relative Child</td>
<td>Person related by blood or marriage. Child residing with a cohabitant.</td>
<td>Victim and defendant or defendant's spouse related by consanguinity or affinity to second degree.</td>
<td>Victim and defendant or defendant's spouse related by consanguinity or affinity to second degree.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Zuni¹</td>
<td>Jicarilla Apache¹</td>
<td>Navajo³</td>
<td>New Mexico⁴</td>
<td>Utah¹</td>
<td>Arizona⁵</td>
<td>Pascua-Yaqui¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>Adults formerly/ presently residing together. Person with whom offender has had a relationship.</td>
<td>Person who resides or formerly resided with the person.</td>
<td>Member/former member of abuser’s household or immediate residence area. Anyone currently or previously involved in an intimate relationship with abuser.</td>
<td>Person with whom petitioner has had a continuing personal relationship.</td>
<td>Person presently or formerly living as if a spouse to the other party. Person resides or has resided in the same residence.</td>
<td>Persons of opposite sex residing or having resided in the same household. Victim or defendant pregnant by other party. Child under age 15.</td>
<td>Persons of the opposite sex residing or having resided in the same household. Minor under 15 years of age.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Zuni&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Jicarilla Apache&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Navajo&lt;sup&gt;3&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>New Mexico&lt;sup&gt;4&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Utah&lt;sup&gt;5&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Arizona&lt;sup&gt;6&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Pascua-Yaque&lt;sup&gt;7&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Any person who interacts with abuser in an employment, academic, recreational, religious, social or other setting. Elderly person. Vulnerable person, including physically disabled and impaired.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* (Both of these broad categories would include former or present legal mates.)
** (These broad category would include co-parents of a child.)
*** (Cohabitation is not necessary.)
**** (Person must be emancipated or 16 years or older. Term does not include relationship of natural parent, adoptive parent or step-parent to a minor.)

<sup>1</sup> Zuni, N.M., Ordinance 52 (Oct. 24, 1991).
<sup>3</sup> NAVAJO TRIB. CODE tit. 9, § 1605 (b)(1)-(7) (1993).
12. PASCA-YAGUI TRIB. CODE, DOMESTIC VIOLENCE, § 11-1101(A), 11-1102(A).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Terms</th>
<th>Ft. Belknap Indian Comm.</th>
<th>Standing Rock Sioux</th>
<th>North Dakota</th>
<th>South Dakota</th>
<th>Oglala Sioux</th>
<th>Rosebud Sioux</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Family Member&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Family or Household Member&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Family or Household Member&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Family or Household Member&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Person&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Family or Household Member&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Former or Present Legal Mates</td>
<td>Spouse Former Spouse</td>
<td>Spouse Former Spouse</td>
<td>Spouse Former Spouse</td>
<td>Spouse Former Spouse</td>
<td>Covered by broader categories below.</td>
<td>Spouse Former Spouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relatives by Blood, Marriage or Law</td>
<td>Adult person related by blood or marriage.</td>
<td>Family member Parent Child Persons related by blood or marriage.</td>
<td>Family member Parent Child Persons related by blood or marriage.</td>
<td>Persons related by consanguinity, adoption or law.</td>
<td>Family member (Sec. 99.2.5(a) and Sec. 99.2.7(g) - order of protection)</td>
<td>Relative Adult or elderly person related by marriage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co-Parents</td>
<td>Persons who have a child in common whether they have lived together or are or have married.</td>
<td>Persons who have a child in common regardless of whether they have lived together or are/or were married.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ft. Belknap Indian Comm.(^8)</td>
<td>Standing Rock Sioux(^9)</td>
<td>North Dakota(^10)</td>
<td>South Dakota(^11)</td>
<td>Oglala Sioux(^12)</td>
<td>Rosebud Sioux(^11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
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<td>----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>Any person residing in the home dependent upon the head of household (elders/children).</td>
<td>Persons in a dating relationship. Persons who presently or formerly resided together. Any other person with a sufficient relationship as determined by court (for issuance of Dom. Violence Prot. Order).</td>
<td>Persons in a dating relationship. Persons who presently or formerly resided together. Any other person with a sufficient relationship as determined by court (for issuance of Dom. Prot. Order).</td>
<td>Persons living in same household. Persons who have lived together.</td>
<td>Persons residing or formerly residing together. (Sec. 99.2.3(a) &amp; (d) - Mandatory Arrest prov.) Household Member (Sec. 99.-2.5 (a) Sec. 99.-2.7 (g) - Order of Protection)</td>
<td>Adult or elderly person residing/formerly resided in residence.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^8\) **Fort Belknap Indian Community, Domestic Abuse Ordinances, Definitions (c)** (1989).


\(^12\) **Oglala Sioux, Domestic Abuse Code** §§ 99.2.3 (a), (d), 99.2.5 (a), 99.2.7 (g).

\(^13\) **Rosebud Sioux, Domestic Abuse Ordinance**, ch. 38, § 1(A).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><strong>Menominee</strong>&lt;sup&gt;14&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th><strong>Wisconsin</strong>&lt;sup&gt;15&lt;/sup&gt; (Parties protected under criminal Dom. Abuse provisions)</th>
<th><strong>Wisconsin</strong>&lt;sup&gt;16&lt;/sup&gt; (Parties protected for purposes of Dom. Abuse restraining orders and injunctions)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Terms</strong></td>
<td>Not Applicable</td>
<td>Not Applicable</td>
<td>“Adult family or household member”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Former or Present Legal Mates</strong></td>
<td>Spouse Former Spouse</td>
<td>Spouse Former Spouse</td>
<td>Spouse Former Spouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Relatives by Blood, Marriage or Law</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Person related by consanguinity to another person.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Co-Parents</strong></td>
<td>* Adult with whom the person has created a child.</td>
<td>Adult with whom person* has a child in common.</td>
<td>Adult with whom the person* has a child in common.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menominee</td>
<td>Wisconsin†</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Parties protected for purposes of Dom. Abuse provisions)</td>
<td>(Parties protected under criminal Dom. Abuse provisions)</td>
<td>Person currently/formerly residing with another person, *</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult presently or formerly residing with the person, *</td>
<td>Adult with whom person* resides or formerly resided.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* person refers to adult engaged in domestic violence or domestic abuse.
† MENOMINEE NATION, ORDINANCE NO. 93-21, DOMESTIC VIOLENCE § III A (1993).
‡ WIS. STAT. ANN. § 968.075 (1)(a) (West Supp. 1994).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Terms</th>
<th>Crow(^\text{17})</th>
<th>Montana(^\text{18})</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Former or Present Legal Mates</td>
<td>Spouse</td>
<td>Spouse Former Spouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relatives by Blood, Marriage</td>
<td>Adult person related by marriage.</td>
<td>Mother, father, children, brother,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or Law</td>
<td></td>
<td>sister and other past or present</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>family members of a household,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>including relationships created by</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>adoption or remarriage regardless of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>age or residency in same household.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co-Parents</td>
<td>Adult person who resides or formerly resided in</td>
<td>Persons previously or currently in a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>residence.</td>
<td>dating or ongoing intimate relationship with the opposite sex.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{17}\) Crow, Domestic Abuse Code § 3(c) (1991).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Terms</th>
<th>Cherokee&lt;sup&gt;19&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Oklahoma&lt;sup&gt;20&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Former or Present Legal Mates</td>
<td>&quot;Family or household members&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Family or household member&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouses</td>
<td>Former Spouses</td>
<td>Spouse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Relatives by Blood, Marriage or Law | Parents  
Children  
Persons otherwise related by blood or marriage. | Parents  
Children  
Person otherwise related by blood or marriage. |
| Co-Parents                   | Persons living in the same household or who formerly lived in the same household, including elderly and handicapped. | Biological parents of the same child, regardless of marital status or whether they lived together at any time. |
| Other                        | Present spouse of ex-spouse, persons living/formerly living in the same household.  
Elderly and handicapped. |
Cherokee Nation Tribe Code, Title 22, § 60.1 (2).

### APPENDIX C

**COMPARISON OF TRIBAL LAW WITH STATE LAW**

**“BEHAVIOR PROSCRIBED”**

**CHART 1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zuni¹</th>
<th>Jicarilla Apache²</th>
<th>Navajo³</th>
<th>New Mexico⁴</th>
<th>Utah⁵</th>
<th>Arizona⁶</th>
<th>Pasqua-Yaqui⁷</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>“Domestic Violence” includes:</em></td>
<td><em>“Abuse” includes:</em></td>
<td><em>“Domestic Abuse” includes:</em></td>
<td><em>“Abuse” includes:</em></td>
<td><em>“Domestic Violence” includes:</em></td>
<td><em>“Domestic Abuse” includes:</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Any act or incident which is a crime under the Zuni Tribal Code and which results in physical harm,</td>
<td>- Infliction of bodily harm · bodily injury · sexual assault · Infliction of the fear of</td>
<td>- assault · battery · threatening · coercion · confinement · damage to property</td>
<td>- physical harm · severe emotional distress · bodily injury · bodily assault</td>
<td>- attempting to cause or intentionally or knowingly causing physical harm</td>
<td>- dangerous crime against children · 2nd deg. murder¹⁰ · agg. assault resulting in serious physical injury w/ deadly weapon or instr.</td>
<td>- dangerous crime against children · 2nd deg. murder · agg. assault resulting in serious physical injury w/ deadly weapon or instr.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Source: Zuni Tribal Code
² Source: Jicarilla Apache Tribe
³ Source: Navajo Nation
⁴ Source: New Mexico State Law
⁵ Source: Utah State Law
⁶ Source: Arizona State Law
⁷ Source: Pasqua-Yaqui Tribe

¹⁰ Homicide is a specific offense and is not included in the list of domestic violence offenses.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zuni¹</th>
<th>Jicarilla Apache²</th>
<th>Navajo³</th>
<th>New Mexico⁴</th>
<th>Utah⁵</th>
<th>Arizona⁶</th>
<th>Pasqua-Yaqui⁷</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bodily injury, or assault, or a threat which places a person in reasonable fear of imminent physical harm or bodily injury.</td>
<td>· imminent phys. harm or · bodily injury · sexual assault Includes, but not limited to the following criminal offenses under Jicarilla Apache Code - assault - assault &amp; battery</td>
<td>· emotional abuse · harassment · sexual abuse · other conduct that constitutes an offence or tort under Navajo Law</td>
<td>· threat causing imminent fear of bodily injury by any household member · criminal trespass · criminal damage to property · repeatedly driving by residence or workplace · telephone harassment</td>
<td>· intentionally placing another in fear of imminent physical harm</td>
<td>· sexual assault · molestation of child · sexual conduct with minor · commercial sexual exploitation · sexual exploitation of minor</td>
<td>· sexual assault · molestation of child · sexual contact with minor · commercial sexual exploitation of a minor · sexual exploitation of a minor</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
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<td>child abuse</td>
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<td>kidnapping</td>
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<td>sexual abuse</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>minor in drug offense</td>
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<td>cont. sexual abuse</td>
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<td>involving or using minors in drug off.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>physical injury</td>
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</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>threatening or intimidating</td>
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<td></td>
<td>serious inj.</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[^b]: [Pasqua-Yaqui](#)

[^f]: [Utah](#)

[^j]: [Zuni](#)

[^i]: [Navajo](#)

[^k]: [Apache](#)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>Crime</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zuni</td>
<td></td>
<td>assault, aggravated assault, custodial interference, unlawful imprisonment, kidnapping, trespass, disorderly conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navajo</td>
<td></td>
<td>assault, aggravated assault, custodial interference, unlawful imprisonment, kidnapping, trespass, disorderly conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apache</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Mexico</td>
<td>Arizona</td>
<td>assault, custodial interference, unlawful imprisonment, kidnapping, trespass, disorderly conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utah</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Apache TRIB. CODE 3, ch. 5, § 2(a).
New Mexico STAT. ANN. §§ 40-13-2, 49-10-1 (Mifflin 1994).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standing Rock Sioux Tribe</th>
<th>Fort Berthold Indian Com.</th>
<th>Oglala Sioux</th>
<th>Rosebud Sioux</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Domestic Violence</strong></td>
<td><strong>Domestic Abuse</strong></td>
<td><strong>Abuse</strong></td>
<td><strong>Abuse</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>includes:</td>
<td>includes:</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>physical harm</td>
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<td>assault</td>
<td>assault</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>infliction of fear of imminent</td>
<td>infliction of fear of imminent</td>
<td>infliction of fear of imminent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>assault</td>
<td>assault</td>
<td>assault</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>harm</td>
<td>harm</td>
<td>harm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>assault</td>
<td>assault</td>
<td>assault</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"Abuse" includes:
- purposefully or knowingly causes;
- bodily injury;
- apprehension of bodily injury.

Cited:
3. OGLALA SIoux, DOMESTIC ABUSE CODE § 99-2.2(a).
4. ROSEBUD SIOUX, DOMESTIC ABUSE ORDNANCE, ch. 38, § 21(1), (2)(a).
### Comparison of Tribal Law with State Law

**"Behaviors Proscribed"**

**Chart 3**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Menominee&lt;sup&gt;21&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Wisconsin&lt;sup&gt;22&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“Domestic Violence” “Domestic Abuse” include</td>
<td>“Domestic Abuse” includes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- intentional infliction of</td>
<td>- intentional infliction of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- physical pain</td>
<td>- physical pain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- physical injury</td>
<td>- physical injury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- illness</td>
<td>- illness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- intentional impairment of physical condition</td>
<td>- intentional impairment of physical condition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- physical action causing reasonable fear of imminent</td>
<td>- sexual assault - 1st, 2nd, 3rd degree&lt;sup&gt;23&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- physical pain</td>
<td>- threat to engage in intentional infliction of&lt;sup&gt;24&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- physical injury</td>
<td>- physical pain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- illness</td>
<td>- physical injury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- impairment of physical condition</td>
<td>- illness</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>21</sup> *Menominee Nation, Ordinance No. 93-21, Domestic Violence § III(A)(1)-(3) (1993).*


<sup>23</sup> *Id. §§ 940.225(1), 940.225(2), 940.225(3).*

<sup>24</sup> *Id. § 968.075(1)-(4).*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Montana</th>
<th>Crow[^25]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“Abuse”</td>
<td>“Domestic Abuse” includes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- purposefully or knowingly causes bodily injury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- negligently causes bodily injury in connection with a quarrel, fight, or abusive behavior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- purposefully or knowingly causes bodily injury in fight, assault</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>physical harm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bodily harm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>assault</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>infliction of fear of imminent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>physical harm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bodily harm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bodily injury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>assault</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cherokee</th>
<th>Oklahoma</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“Domestic Abuse” includes</td>
<td>“Domestic Abuse” includes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- causing or attempting to cause serious physical harm</td>
<td>- any act of physical harm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- threatening another with imminent serious physical harm</td>
<td>- threat of imminent physical harm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- includes, but not limited to:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- assault</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- battery</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- aggravated assault and battery</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>