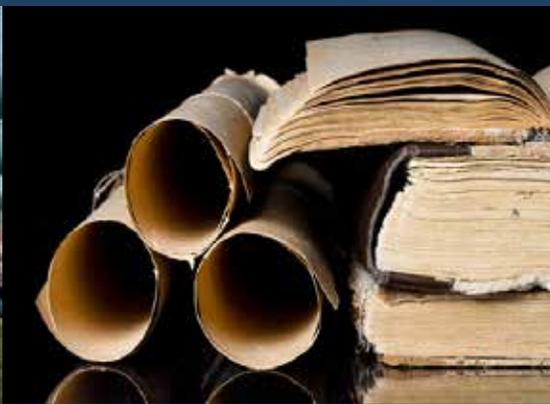
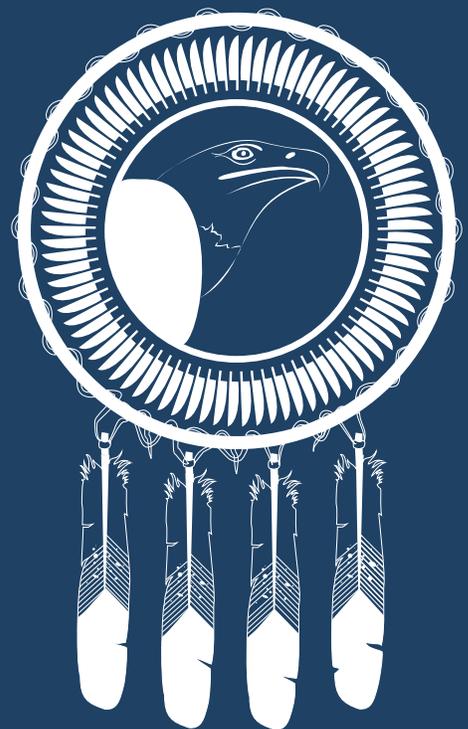


HONORING NATIONS ALL-STARS PROFILE



Constitutional Reform
Citizen Potawatomi Nation



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Figure 1: Infographic courtesy of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation.

OVERVIEW

Forced relocations, loss of lands, and the economic necessity of moving away from home and community are common histories in Indian Country. Yet, despite these tragic circumstances, tribes continue to assert their sovereignty in order to improve the lives of their people. One of these remarkable stories comes from the Citizen Potawatomi Nation (CPN). In 2007, tired of bandaging a failing constitution that did not meet the cultural needs of the Nation, CPN citizens ratified a new governing document that resulted in a significant transfer of power and realigned the constitution to Citizen Potawatomi culture. The Nation moved from a five-member business committee with representatives only from Oklahoma to a sixteen-member legislative body with regional representatives for all CPN citizens, wherever they reside. In addition, it established checks and balances and further clarified roles and responsibilities within the governing system. Perhaps most important of all, it strengthened the Nation’s self-governance by removing the clause that required the US Secretary of the Interior to approve future changes to CPN’s constitution.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Origins in the Great Lakes

Today, the CPN capital is located in Shawnee, Oklahoma. Previously, however, the Potawatomi people lived in the Great Lakes region and built a thriving economy around agriculture, hunting, trapping, and trading.¹ In the late 1700s, they controlled approximately eighty-nine million acres in the region. Over the next 100 years, wars and numerous treaties greatly reduced their land holdings, and the Potawatomi moved into smaller and smaller village sites.² Eventually, the Potawatomi were forced to cede their remaining land

to the US government in exchange for reservation land in what would become Kansas.³

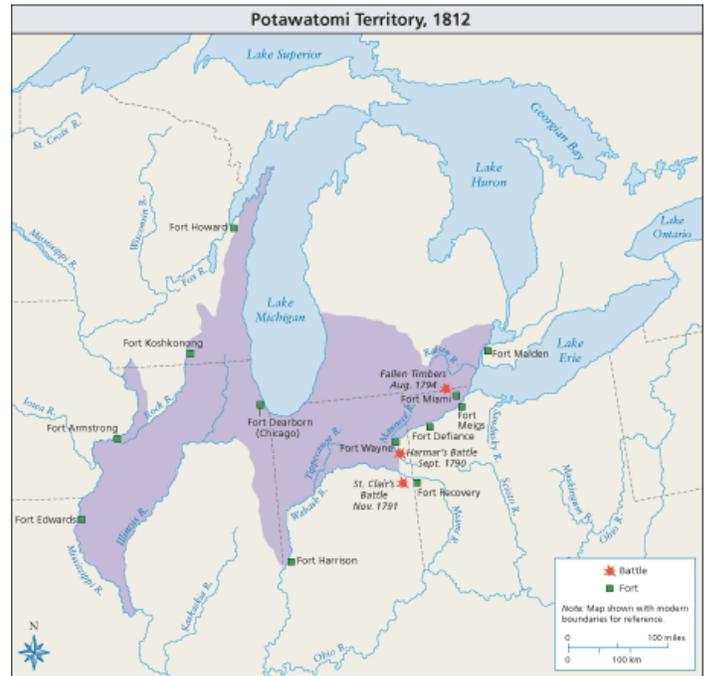


Figure 2: Map of Potawatomi Territory in 1812. (Source: Facts on File.)

Forced Relocations

The Potawatomi experienced up to four removals from the 1830s to the 1850s.⁴ Although the Potawatomi attempted to prevent their removal from Indiana in the 1830s via the US court system, they were denied access because they were not United States citizens⁵ — and ended up walking 660 miles from Indiana to Kansas under gunpoint.⁶ While in Kansas, pressure from settlers and railroad companies led to an 1861 treaty with the US government.⁷ But reactions to the treaty split the Potawatomi into two groups.⁸ The first refused the terms of the treaty and became known as the Prairie Band Potawatomi Nation. The second accepted the terms and eventually became known as the Citizen Potawatomi Nation.⁹

Under the terms of the 1861 treaty, the Citizen Potawatomi received individual land allotments and became citizens of the United States (with all of citizen-

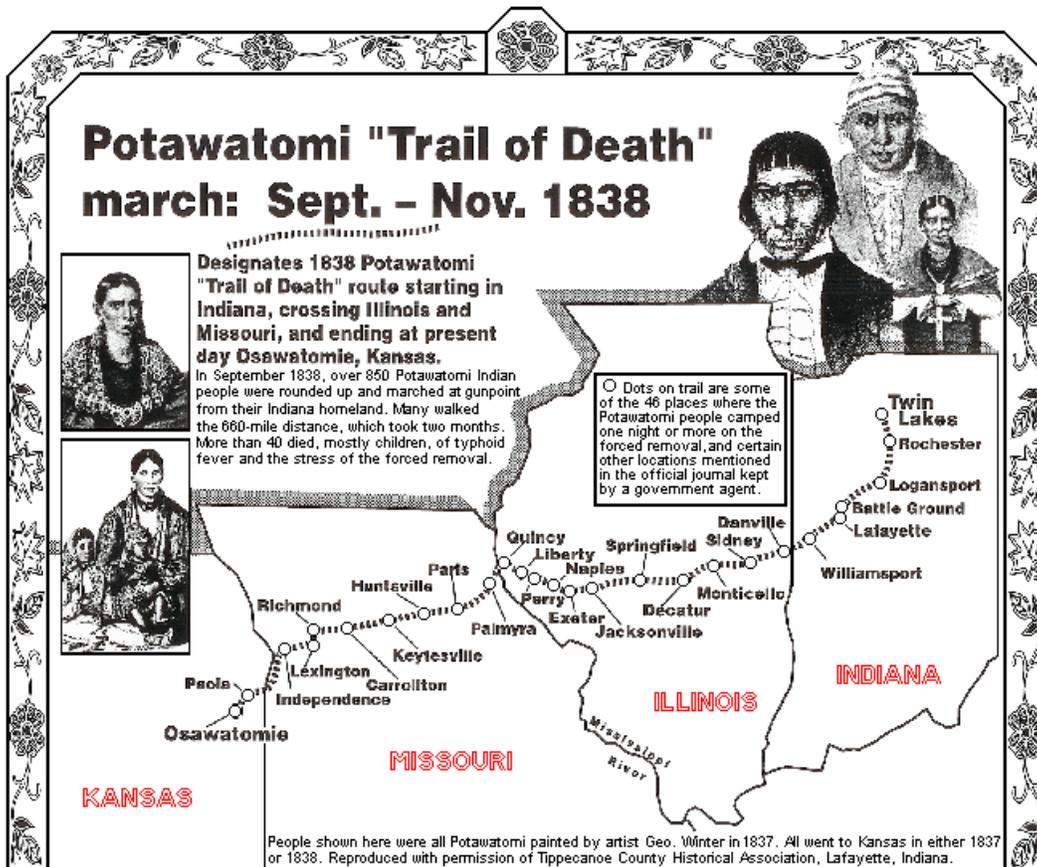


Figure 3: Map of the 1838 Potawatomi "Trail of Death." Image courtesy of the Potawatomi Trail of Death Association.

ship's legal protections).¹⁰ Based on these changes, scholars have argued that the 1861 treaty signatories were asserting their desire to start anew, especially given the fresh memories of multiple removals.¹¹ In fact, as the tribe struggled in Kansas, it was able to use a clause in the 1861 treaty to establish a new reservation in Indian Territory (what is now Oklahoma). During this time, the Potawatomi established a "business committee" to formally represent the tribe in treaty negotiations (e.g., "Treaty with the Potawatomi, 1866"), documenting what is perhaps CPN's first recorded instance of government reform.¹²

Obstacles to Staying Together

The obstacles to staying together that the Citizen Potawatomi people already had faced (forced relocations, loss of land, and settler pressures, etc.)

continued to plague them in Oklahoma. Land runs further reduced land holdings, and economic hardship forced others to leave the reservation area.¹³ Oil booms—initially in CPN's region of Oklahoma, but then in places as far away as California and Texas—provided much needed employment.¹⁴ Oklahoma statehood further complicated matters by weakening tribal government authority while also supporting national assimilation efforts of Indians. The tribe saw more Potawatomi families move away during the "Dust Bowl" of the 1930s.¹⁵

Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act

In the mid-1930s, federal legislation began to affect CPN's governing system. Like the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) of 1934, the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act (OIWA) of 1936 sought to end the US gov-

ernment's policies of allotment and assimilation and promote the re-organization of Indian governments in Oklahoma.¹⁶ The Citizen Potawatomi Nation adopted its first written constitution in 1938 under the OIWA, using the model provided by the IRA and OIWA.

Obstacles Continue

During the 1950s and 1960, federal Indian policy continued to affect the tribe. Congress passed House Concurrent Resolution 108 in 1953, authorizing the termination of tribal governments. Five tribes were named in the resolution, including “the Potawatamie [sic] Tribe of Kansas and Nebraska”¹⁷—and Citizen Potawatomi understood that termination could quickly become a reality for them, too. Adding to the threat of possible termination, aggressive policies such as the Bureau of Indian Affairs' Urban Indian Relocation Program provided more incentives for Potawatomi people to leave Oklahoma for training and employment opportunities in urban areas.¹⁸

By the 1970s, CPN citizens were scattered throughout the United States. The natural and financial resources of the tribe itself had shrunk to two and a half acres of land and \$550 in the bank.¹⁹ It struggled to function under a weak constitutional framework (under the

OIWA) that was more suited for a club organization than a government, and the tribal government's decisions were always subject to the approval of the US Secretary of the Interior.²⁰ Even though CPN enacted a number of amendments, bandaging the 1938 constitution did little to create the stable institutions necessary for a strong and reliable government.

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM

Failings of the 1938 Constitution

The 1938 constitution was amended ten times over five decades (1956, 1960, 1961, 1971, and 1983). Through those amendments, CPN implemented needed governance improvements, including increased citizen representation on and participation in the general council, expanded citizen eligibility for elected positions, and clarified roles and responsibilities for government officials.

The original document defined the governing body of the tribe as the “General Council,” made up of all “members of the Citizen Band of Potawatomi Indians residing in Oklahoma, 21 years of age and older.”²¹ But with its citizenry scattered, how could the government truly be representative of the Citizen Potawatomi people if its governing body only consisted of those living in Oklahoma? Citizens who left—regardless of their reasons—were still Citizen Potawatomi, and so were their children. In order to re-engage these citizens with the governance of the Nation, CPN amended its constitution in 1960 to remove the provision requiring general council members to live in Oklahoma (see Appendix A). From that point forward, all citizens of age were eligible to participate in the general council, as long as they were able to attend the annual general council meeting in Shawnee.

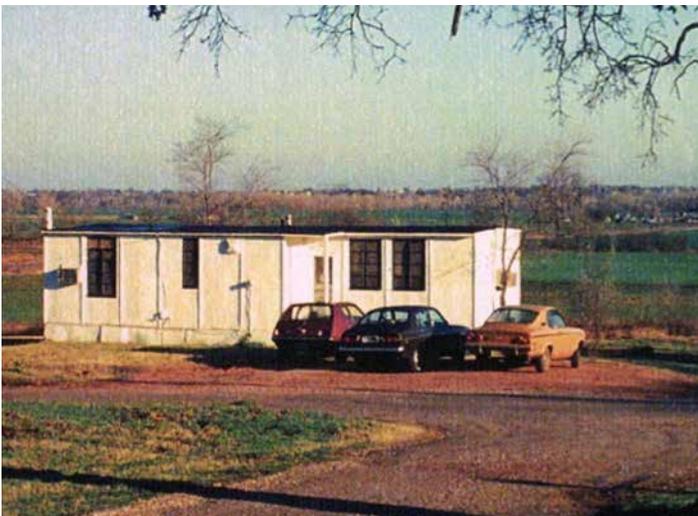


Figure 4: Photo of CPN tribal headquarters in 1970s. Image courtesy of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation.

According to the 1938 constitution, the officers of the tribe included the positions of chairman, vice-chairman, secretary-treasurer, and two councilmen. The officers held two-year terms and had strict residency requirements. This constitution officially designated the CPN business committee (established sometime between 1861 and 1866) as the entity authorized to “transact business and otherwise speak or act on behalf of the Tribe...”²² In 1971, CPN expanded the residency boundaries to include Pottawatomie County and its six contiguous counties in Oklahoma (see Appendix A). This change increased the number of citizens eligible to hold office, while also helping ensure that the officers would still have close ties to Shawnee.

Even with the significant improvements brought about by enacted amendments, the tribal constitution was still failing. For example, under the original constitution, the tribe addressed major decisions and transactions during its annual, day-long general council meeting. However, the business committee, chairman, or group of twenty-five or more general council members could at anytime call for a “special meeting” of the general council. Opposing groups often organized “special meetings” to overturn decisions, and general council meetings became hostile and sometimes violent as opposing factions argued over the tribe’s limited resources. Eventually, citizens stopped coming to general council meetings, making it difficult for the tribe to achieve a quorum to vote on referendums. Adding to the dysfunction, the Nation lacked basic codes and ordinances and the means to enforce them.²³ Chairman John “Rocky” Barrett describes the early 1970s for CPN:

We didn’t have laws, we didn’t have a court, we didn’t have anything other than this [general council] meeting and

it was contrary to our culture. Our tribe had governed itself for thousands of years by having the clan heads [elect] a village chief, the village chiefs all met to elect an overall leader... The imposition of this general council [under the OIWA] on all of the 39 tribes in Oklahoma led to a constant turnover of government, a constant system of chaos, it held us back for many, many years...²⁴

Without clear roles and responsibilities and checks and balances, the CPN political system invited apathy, political turmoil, and abuse of power. These ongoing weaknesses in the CPN governing structure made it especially difficult for the Nation to take advantage of changes in federal policy—like the Indian Self-Determination and Educational Assistance Act of 1975—that provided tribes with more opportunities for self-governance.²⁵ Fortunately, by the mid-1980s, the political environment within CPN was ripe for additional constitutional reform efforts.

The 1985 Constitution Reform

According to Chairman Barrett, “If you’re not in the constitution-fixing business, you’re not in economic development; you’re not in self-governance; you’re not sovereign.”²⁶ This statement succinctly describes CPN’s ongoing efforts to strengthen its sovereignty and protect Potawatomi interests—and is especially descriptive of reform efforts from 1985 onward.

In the 1985 constitutional reform effort, the Citizen Potawatomi Nation did away with the standardized governing document provided under the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act and wrote a new framework that better reflected the structural needs of the Nation. The ratified constitution provided basic self-governance

necessities such as a description of the tribe’s jurisdiction,²⁷ and established more complex institutions such as a judicial system with law enforcement and relevant courts.²⁸ It also included a recall and removal ordinance,²⁹ provided for absentee voting,³⁰ further clarified the roles of the executive officers (e.g., the secretary-treasurer, not the chairman or vice-chairman, disperses funds by check),³¹ and expanded the powers of the business committee (e.g., business committee can enact legislation and conduct business on behalf of the tribe, powers previously held by the general council).³² The 1985 constitution also clarified and expanded the requirements for calling a special meeting, while also specifying the amount of time to provide advanced notice for citizens. The specific intent behind each of these changes was to decrease apathy and increase the stability of the Nation.

two years to four years (1989), and adopting “Citizen Potawatomi Nation” as the official name of the tribe (1996). The tribe also implemented regional meetings to help inform and educate voters.

Economic Successes

With governmental stability and institutional capacity reinforced by the 1985 constitution and subsequent amendments, a new era of economic success ensued. The tribe leveraged its relatively minor profits from ventures in cigarette sales and bingo for reinvestment in the tribal economy. The Potawatomi guiding philosophy, “never eat your seed corn,” meant that the Nation did not take bountiful years for granted. It continuously sought new opportunities to expand its economic base as a means of providing better services and more options for its citizens—for both current generations and generations to come.

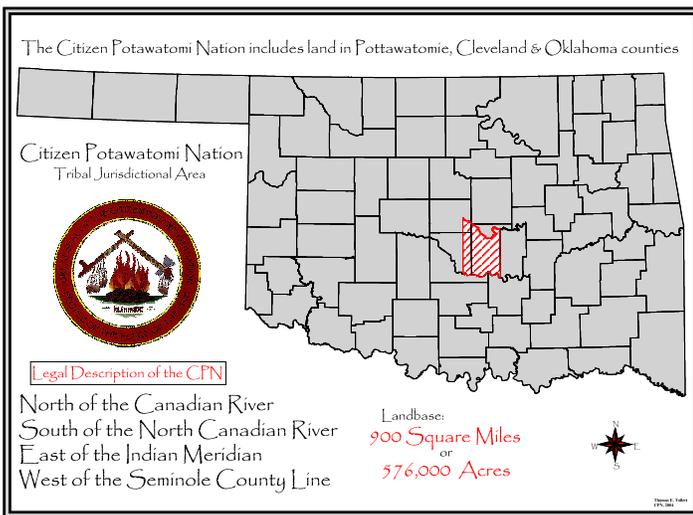


Figure 5: Map of CPN geographic jurisdiction. Image courtesy of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation.

The Citizen Potawatomi Nation tested its new constitution over the next decade and worked to identify areas in which further improvement was needed. It enacted five amendments to the 1985 constitution. These included changes such as adjusting enrollment requirements from blood quantum to descent (1989), lengthening the terms of elected officers from

CPN enterprises grew to include a golf course, national bank, farm, and a casino resort.³³ The tribe was the second largest employer in Shawnee in 2001, employing over 600 people and contributing over \$55 million annually to the local community and the state of Oklahoma.³⁴ By 2006, CPN was the largest employer in Shawnee, employing over 2,200 people and generating an economic impact of almost \$350 million.³⁵

Economic success allowed the Nation to make significant investments in community development. CPN developed world-class health, education, housing, and social services, which spurred benefits for its citizens, other American Indians, and even non-Indians that live within its jurisdictional area.³⁶

Many of these services focus on increasing individual self-sufficiency. For example, CPN’s educational efforts include both scholarships and training and lead-



Figure 6: Infographic courtesy of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation.

ership programs; one example is its masters of business administration program offered in collaboration with a local university.³⁷ The wide range of services provided through the Housing Authority includes low-income housing, elder home repair, emergency home repair, homebuyer education, and down payment assistance (which is available to CPN citizens wherever they live in the United States).³⁸ The Nation even developed its own community development financial institution (CDFI) to further promote a healthy economy that includes small businesses and entrepreneurs.³⁹ The CDFI services are available to CPN citizens and employees nationwide as well as American Indian owned-businesses throughout Oklahoma.

Weaknesses in the 1985 Constitution

Even as CPN’s government, economy, and services continued to grow, the Nation never became complacent in its reform efforts. CPN identified the following vulnerabilities in the 1985 constitution:

Apathy from Inadequate Representation and/or Waning Cultural Identity

Under the 1985 constitution, the business committee remained the primary decision-making body of the government. It was composed of elected citizens from any of the following eight counties in Oklahoma: Pottawatomie, Seminole, Pontotoc, McClain, Oklahoma, Lincoln, Cleveland, or Okfuskee. But after a decade and a half of increased engagement with the government, citizens outside Oklahoma also wanted greater representation in CPN’s government. They were no longer satisfied only to attend regional meetings, vote by absentee ballot, and be represented by Oklahoma-based tribal citizens.

There was also a cultural dimension to the call for improved representation. The regional meetings had expanded beyond government activities and were slowly reinvigorating (and in some instances reviving) Potawatomi ways of life with citizens outside of Oklahoma.⁴⁰ Patricia Roberts, a CPN citizen living California, described regional meetings as “always having cultural presentations...for language, they have comic books for kids and audio tapes for adults...if people are new to our ceremonies, the protocols are explained and they are told why we do things a certain way... Potawatomi etiquette is even shared at the annual family festival.”⁴¹ Citizens attending the regional meetings specifically requested more cultural education (e.g., ceremonies, language, arts and crafts, and storytelling). Nonetheless, some citizens still did not attend the regional meetings—and coupled with time and distance away from the tribal homelands, Potawatomi identity was suffering. Cultural practices, language, and extended family ties were forgotten and sometimes lost. Tribal leadership and active citizens thought that more meaningful political representation might be a way to address these concerns.

Need for Clearly Defined Governmental Powers

Even though the 1985 constitution vastly improved the governing system under the OIWA, there still were conflicting interpretations of roles and responsibilities within government. In one instance, there was a disagreement between some members of the business committee and the chairman over the interpretation of executive authorities held by the chairman’s position.⁴² A lawsuit was filed in CPN’s district court and eventually raised an issue of constitutional interpretation for the tribe’s supreme court. According to the opinion of the supreme court: “We do not read one part of the Constitution as more important or authoritative than another part of the same Constitution, but rather must attempt to reconcile the various parts so that each may be given their true meaning.”⁴³ Both the business committee and the chairman believed they held a particular authority because the constitution was unclear about roles and responsibilities. This case demonstrated that the rule of law the tribe established in the 1985 constitution had grown roots within the Nation, but that other parts of the constitution still needed attention.

Approval from the Secretary of the Interior

Even in the 1980s—whether due to tribal reluctance or Bureau of Indian Affairs resistance—most tribal constitutions developed in response to the Indian Reorganization Act and the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act provided substantial authority to the US Secretary of the Interior. The 1985 CPN constitution was no different. It still gave the US Secretary of the Interior approval authority over tribal decisions ranging from citizenship rules to constitutional amendments. Beyond being a bureaucratic and financial burden for the Nation to spend time and money going through the Department of the Interior, this prevented CPN from fully realizing its self-determination: an outside

government had the authority to approve or reject any change the Nation might make to its governing structure.

These constitutional arrangements were a cultural mismatch: they did not reflect the Potawatomi people’s deep-seated understandings of “appropriate government.” The government model built around the business committee did not match Potawatomi expectations or desires for a representative government. The Potawatomi established the business committee during desperate times in the mid-1800s and had used it to slowly reestablish a stable, effective government and thriving economy. The tribe had accomplished much with a system that didn’t feel as if it were “theirs.” But success also amplified the tension between how the CPN government was organized and how citizens felt it *should* be organized. In particular, it was becoming clear that CPN needed to reinstitute its Potawatomi tradition of a representative form of government.

The 2007 Constitution⁴⁴

In 2002, the Nation began discussing constitutional amendments at the annual general council meeting and followed up by mailing a questionnaire to over 12,000 households. From 2003-2006, a technical working group and elected leaders held meetings in Oklahoma and around the United States, gathering input from citizens and building consensus⁴⁵ on what the government might look like and how it could oper-

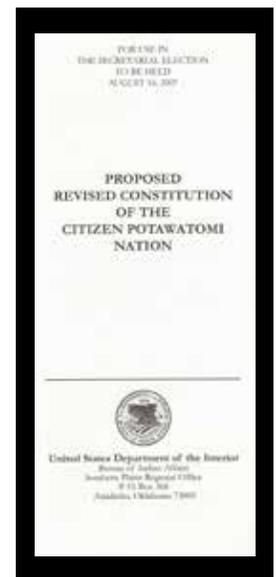


Figure 7: Photo of the Secretarial Election ballot. Image courtesy of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation.

ate. The meetings took a lot of time and patience as the citizenry debated major changes, but this created a sense that the process and document were owned not only by the working group and elected officials but also by CPN citizens. The working group painstakingly drafted and redrafted the new constitution, and on August 16, 2007, approximately eighty-three percent of voters approved the document.⁴⁶

The 2007 constitution specifically addressed—and remedied—the major governance issues that the Citizen Potawatomi had been struggling with from 1985 onward.

Reestablishing a Representative Form of Government

The 2007 constitution supports the Potawatomi tradition of representative government by creating a sixteen-member tribal legislature. Five legislators are elected from within Oklahoma, eight legislators from districts outside of Oklahoma, and the remaining three positions are held by the executive officers of the tribe. In the words of Representative Roy Slavin from dis-

trict one in Missouri, “Our nation has always been oriented toward the people, like when we established the regional meetings. Having districts makes this even better because there’s stronger representation...it gives direct representation to the people.”⁴⁷ Now all citizens of the Nation, regardless of where they live, have geographically based and proportional representation on the legislature. This matches how Potawatomi clans historically chose village chiefs to represent the people from a particular village.⁴⁸

The governance structure also supports the Potawatomi value of consensus building. Should conflicts arise based on where people live, the legislature’s even split of representatives living in and out of Oklahoma will force a deadlock, requiring the legislators to work together to find a solution.⁴⁹

Increasing Participation

Citizen engagement increased within the CPN after adoption of the 1985 constitution, but the 2007 reform encouraged and fostered civic participation in additional ways. First, the representative government ex-

panded the number of leadership positions on the legislature and increased the number of people eligible for such positions. Second, CPN began holding its quarterly legislature meetings online. Citizens are able to observe proceedings and witness discussions on specific resolutions; they also can access archived meetings on the tribe’s website. Third, the tribe uses a number of different communication strategies—such as newsletters, social media, district meetings, and regular articles in the tribal newspaper—to keep citizens informed about what is hap-

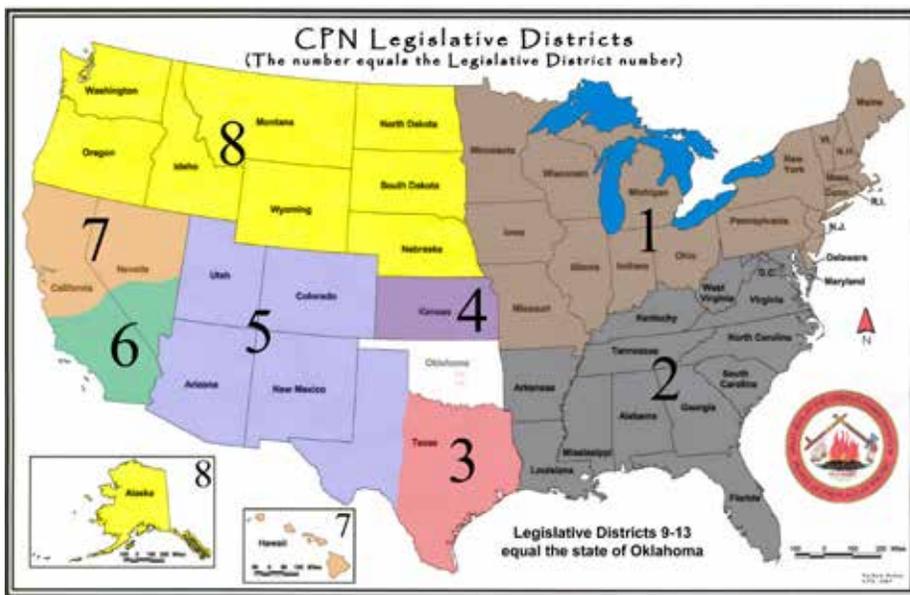


Figure 8: Map of CPN legislative districts. Image courtesy of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation.



Figure 9: Photo courtesy of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation.

pening within their districts. District meetings continue in the same spirit as the former regional meetings and provide an important question-and-answer venue regarding tribal benefits (e.g., health benefits, educational scholarships, small business loans, and housing benefits) and cultural opportunities (e.g., ceremonial gatherings, cultural workshops, and language classes).

The tribe has already seen an increase in civic participation. From 2006 to 2009, voter participation rose over 100 percent, from 1,145 voters to 2,533. Since the ratification of the 2007 constitution, the tribe also has always achieved a quorum at the annual general council meetings. Attendance at the tribe’s annual reunion grew about twenty-seven percent from 2006 to 2009, reaching an average attendance of more than 4,800 in the period 2010-2013.⁵⁰

Citizens are taking advantage of the services available to them, and at the same time, they are helping the government better understand their various needs. Representative David Barrett emphasizes, “We are building the key [economic] necessities

so we can provide benefits for our citizens.”⁵¹ Indeed, CPN delivers a wide variety of services and benefits for its citizens and, in some cases, for tribal employees and American Indians living within its jurisdictional area.⁵² Patricia Roberts described the tribe and its benefits as follows, “Everyone [in the tribe] is important, and it helps with unity when you share the benefits [of the tribe] with everyone.”⁵³

Cultural opportunities are also an important way for citizens to engage with the Nation. The Cultural Heritage Center educates citizens and non-citizens about the tribe’s history, and shares important aspects of life today.⁵⁴ The Nation also invests in language efforts to increase fluency, offering resources and tools through its website.⁵⁵ CPN has seen a rise in ceremonial practices (such as naming ceremonies). As a result, citizens feel a deeper Citizen Potawatomi connection and identity, particularly those people who lost familial ties or have forgotten their cultural practices.

Clearly Defining Governmental Powers

To better define governmental powers, the 2007 constitution specified that CPN would have a three-branch

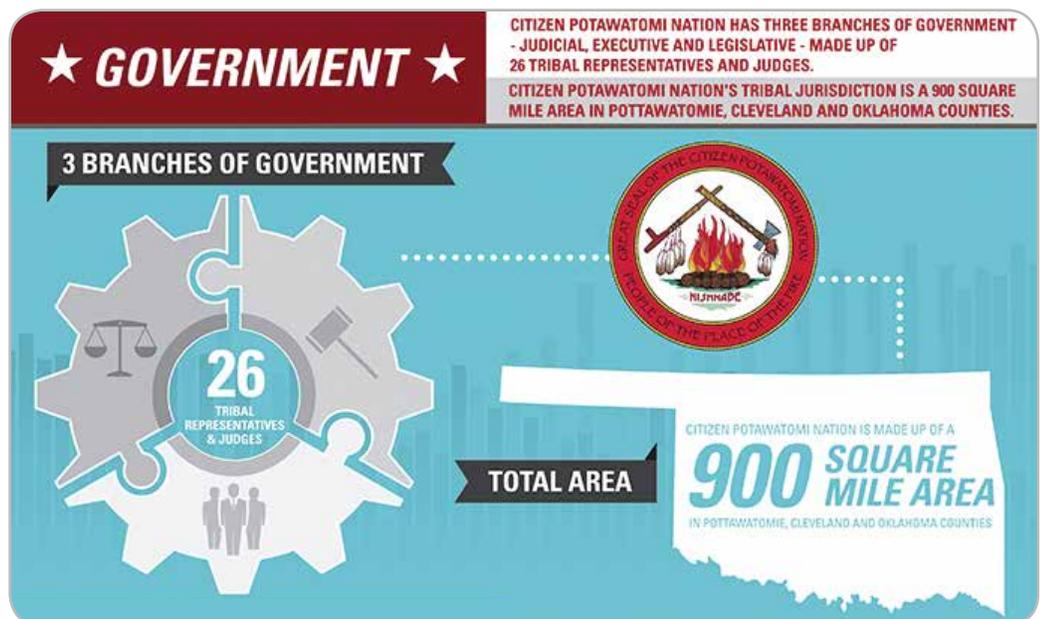


Figure 10: Infographic courtesy of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation.

government, composed of a legislative, executive, and judicial branch. The sixteen-member legislature is as described above. The officers of the government (chairman, vice-chairman, and secretary-treasurer) became the executive branch, and the tribal courts became the judicial branch. Described by Representative David Barrett, “The three branches are not like the US [federal] or state [governments].”⁵⁶ Rather, the CPN model reflects its transition to further separate and clarify governance powers and add additional checks and balances.

Strengthening Self-Governance

Lastly, the 2007 constitution brought about an important assertion of self-governance as it eliminated the federal secretarial approval on any future amendments to the constitution. Held over from the 1938 constitution, the clause previously stated that any amendments “may be proposed by a majority of the Business Committee or by a petition signed by thirty percent (30%) of the adult members of the Tribe, and *if approved by the Secretary of the Interior*, shall be submitted to a referendum vote of the members of the Tribe, and shall be effective if ratified by a majority vote.”⁵⁷ The clause now gives the approval authority

to Citizen Potawatomi voters. It is important to note that removing the approval clause in no way releases the federal government from any treaty obligations or trust responsibility. Rather, this reclamation of authority means that the Citizen Potawatomi Nation is no longer required to seek approval from an outside entity in how it governs itself. The Citizen Potawatomi voters decide for their nation, thereby directly tying the tribal government’s accountability to its people.

CONCLUSION

Similar to other tribal governments across the United States, Citizen Potawatomi works tirelessly to provide its citizens with an effective system of self-governance. Even after multiple forced relocations and failed assimilation attempts, Citizen Potawatomi Nation demonstrates that it is possible for a tribe to reassert control of tribal government and remove the ineffective, standardized governance structures created by outsiders.

CPN also shows that it is possible to redesign tribal government to align with traditional values. CPN’s constitution, through all its reform, continues to strengthen the foundation of the Citizen Potawatomi



Figure 11: Infographic courtesy of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation.



Figure 12: Photo courtesy of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation.

Nation. It defines the citizenry, describes the governing structure, outlines powers of authority, institutes checks and balances, and establishes a rule of law that includes enforcement authority, all through the Citizen Potawatomi perspective. What makes the Citizen Potawatomi story unique is that it shattered archaic notions of boundaries by redesigning its legislature to represent all of its citizens, even those outside Oklahoma. Trusting in the cultural foundations that supported the Potawatomi people long before settlers arrived, the Citizen Potawatomi Nation, once again, governs itself with an inclusive Potawatomi model.

Perhaps the most important aspect of the constitution is that the citizens feel ownership over it, appreciating it as a living document that they can change and modify as necessary. Constitutional revisions have made it possible for CPN to strengthen its self-governance, expand its economy, and invest in cultural priorities. In the end, it is about fulfilling the dreams of their ancestors: to live the Potawatomi way on Potawatomi lands. Once, that meant wherever the US government moved them; today, that means Shawnee, Oklahoma and anywhere their citizens may reside. Reflecting of what Citizen Potawatomi Nation will look like 100

years from now, Mary Elizabeth Jäger (a citizen living in Missouri) responded, “[The constitution] will look different, but it will be Potawatomi...we have a good future ahead of us because we are keeping the people together.”⁵⁸



Figure 13: Seal of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation. Image courtesy of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation.

APPENDIX A

History of the Constitution of the Citizen Potawatomi Nation⁵⁹

12/12/38		First tribal Constitution and By-laws of the Citizen Band of Potawatomi Indians of Oklahoma
9/27/56	Amended Article VIII of Constitution	Vacancies in any elective office shall be filled for an unexpired term at any special or regular meeting of the Business Committee (instead of Council)
	Amended Article IV, §2 of By-laws	Changed quorum requirement from 4 Business Committee members to 3
12/27/60	Amend Article III of Constitution	Membership of Council Removed the provision that members had to live in Oklahoma
6/29/61	Amend Article II of Constitution	Membership of Tribe Added the 1/8 blood degree and defined “member of the Band” with burden of proof prescribed to the applicant
4/17/71	Amend Article VI, §1 of Constitution	Meetings Changed annual meeting of the Council from last Thursday in June to the last Saturday in June
	Amend Article II of By-laws	Qualification of Officers Changed residence requirement from Shawnee Indian agency to Pottawatomie County or 6 surrounding contiguous counties
	Amend Article VII of Constitution	Provided for staggered terms of office
	Amend Article XI of Constitution	Removed the term “adult members of the Council” and replaced with “members of the Council” regarding amendments to the Constitution and ratification thereof
	Amend Article X of Constitution	Added new section “The protections guaranteed by Title II of the Civil Rights Act of 1968 against actions of a Tribe in exercising its powers of self-government, shall apply where appropriate to the Citizen Band of Potawatomi Indians of Oklahoma.”
4/20/83	Amend Article II of By-laws	Added provision No convicted felon may hold elective office
5/29/85	NEW Constitution	No By-laws Power given to Business Committee to transact business with exception of 1) trust funds; 2) sale of trust land; and 3) settlement of claims against United States

4/22/87	Amend Article VI, §3 of Constitution	Deleted portion relating to succession of Vice Chairman to Chairmanship in case of vacancy
4/3/89	Amend Article III, §1 of Constitution	Changed enrollment from blood quantum to descendency
	Amend Article VI, §1 Article VII, §1 Article XII, §11 and §3 of Constitution	Changed from two year terms to four year terms
2/29/96	Amend Article I of Constitution	Change name to Citizen Potawatomi Nation
	Amend Article III, §1 of Constitution	Expanded Health Aides eligibility
8/16/07	NEW Constitution	Sixteen member legislature (8 in-state and 8 out-of-state districts) Removed Department of Interior oversight Members may not be enrolled in another tribe

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4. Kelli Mosteller, “The Cultural Politics of Land: Citizen Potawatomi Allotment and Citizenship in Kansas and Indian Territory, 1861-1891,” *Trans-Scripts* 1, (2011): 84, accessed April 7, 2014, http://www.humanities.uci.edu/collective/hctr/trans-scripts/2011_01_08.pdf.
5. John “Rocky” Barrett, “A Sovereignty ‘Audit’: A History of Citizen Potawatomi Nation Governance” (presentation, Emerging Leaders Seminar, Native Nations Institute for Leadership, Management, and Policy, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona, October 11, 2012), accessed February 1, 2014, <http://nnidatabase.org/db/video/john-rocky-barrett-sovereignty-audit-history-citizen-potawatomi-nation-governance>.
6. “History of 1838 Trail of Death,” *Potawatomi Trail of Death Association*, last modified June 30, 2006, <http://www.potawatomi-tda.org/ptodhist.htm>.
7. *Ibid.*, 86-87.
8. *Ibid.*, 82.
9. “Citizen Potawatomi,” *Oklahoma Historical Society’s Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History & Culture*, accessed February 1, 2014, <http://digital.library.okstate.edu/encyclopedia/entries/p/po024.html>.
10. “Treaty with the Potawatomi, 1861,” *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, vol. 2, ed. Charles Kappler (1904; repr., Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1972) 824-28, accessed February 1, 2014, <http://digital.library.okstate.edu/kappler/Vol2/treaties/pot0824.htm>.

11. Mosteller, *The Cultural Politics of Land*, 83, “While allotment was often used as a means to exploit Native Americans and assimilate them into Anglo-American society, the policy was also manipulated by the Citizen Potawatomi as a way to express their agency, protect their interests, and provide a sense of security for their families.” *Ibid.*, 84, “[Citizen Potawatomi] intended to take allotments and titles to their lands in the same way a white settler would and to embrace citizenship that supposedly came along with the security of US laws that protected the white settlers who had dispossessed them of their land time and again.”
12. “Treaty with the Potawatomi, 1866,” *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, vol. 2, ed. Charles Kappler (1904; repr., Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1972) 916, accessed February 1, 2014, <http://digital.library.okstate.edu/kappler/vol2/treaties/pot0916.htm>. The treaty is between the United States and “the undersigned business committee, acting on behalf of said tribe, and being thereunto duly authorized, in manner and form following ...”
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28. See “Article 11- Courts” in “Proposed Constitution,” *HowNiKan* (Shawnee, OK), May 1985, accessed February 1, 2014, <http://www.potawatomi.org/pubinfo/HowNiKan/Volume07No021985.pdf>.
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59. Table provided by the Citizen Potawatomi Nation’s Office of Self-Governance.

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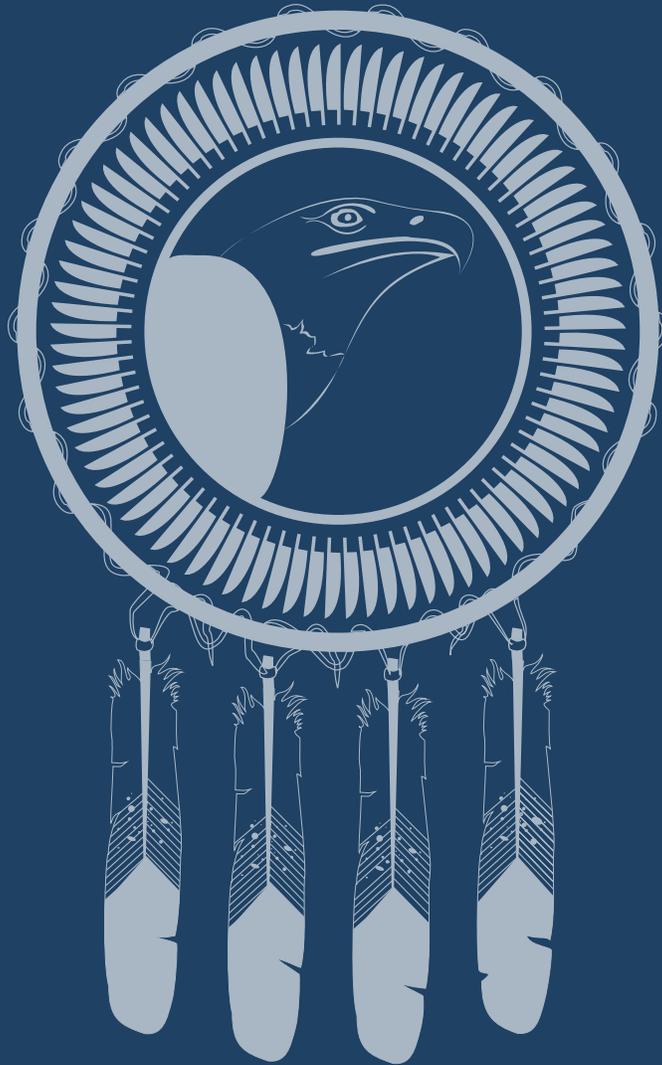
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