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# Global Marketing of Indigenous Culture: Discovering Native America with Lee Tiger and the Florida Miccosukee

**DENNIS WIEDMAN**

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## INTRODUCTION

At the largest exhibition of tour operators in the world, a map of Native America on the wall of one exhibit draws the attention of convention-goers. After carefully studying the map for ten minutes, a middle-aged German asks if there are any tours to the whale-hunting Makah tribe in the northwest corner of the United States. Lee Tiger, a Miccosukee from the opposite-most southeastern point of the United States, brings the German's attention to a laptop computer screen on which a listing of US Indian tribes suddenly appears. Clicking on "Makah," he reviews information about the tribe's location, history, and economics. But most importantly for this inquirer, Lee and his guest review the traditions of carved masks, songs, and dances, as well as the Makah Cultural and Research Center, resort and conference facility, recreational vehicle park, and campgrounds. Now acquainted with DiscoverNativeAmerica.com (DNA), the inquisitive tour operator not only knows that the Makah welcome visitors to their enterprises but also how to locate Native American tour destinations for his German clients easily.<sup>1</sup>

Lee repeats this promotion of Native American culture for the six days of the International Tourism Exchange (ITB) in Germany. With his specialized map, Native American art, and accompanying intertribal dancers, Lee also appears annually at the World Trade Market in London and the Travel International Association, which is held at various world locations. Sporting a colorful Miccosukee patchwork vest and long, black hair, Lee conveys the

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aura of a rock star at these events. Each year thousands of people, mostly tour operators looking for adventure and cultural-heritage tour packages, discover Native America in this Miccosukee way. Nearly 178,000 visitors viewed the 11,000 exhibits at the 2008 ITB exhibition in Berlin.<sup>2</sup> A small tribe of barely five hundred members, with one hundred years of successful tourism and entertainment experience, developed this targeted marketing of indigenous America on a global scale. What began in the 1970s as a purposeful pursuit to bring visitors to their small villages thirty-five miles west of Miami, Florida, now brings international visitors to Native American reservations and businesses throughout the United States. A 2007 *News from Indian Country* article announced the founding vision of this new Native-owned and -operated business enterprise:

“Tribal tourism is not considered a high priority in most states—Arizona and New Mexico being the exceptions,” Tiger said. “DiscoverNativeAmerica.com can help to change that situation through collaborative efforts. We stand ready to help all tribes educate and promote their destination and Native American nature/heritage tourism activities.”<sup>3</sup>

Indigenous scholars such as Seminole/Shawnee historian, Donald Fixico, drew attention to the lack of academic literature about the proactive, planned, and strategic actions of indigenous peoples.<sup>4</sup> Most histories portray indigenous peoples as responding, accommodating, and assimilating to non-Indians and the US government. This article highlights the successful entrepreneurial skills of the Miccosukee from the perspective of Lee Tiger while providing an opportunity for this story to be told in the academic literature from the Native perspective. This story reveals the agency, empowerment, and voice that are part of self-generated tourism, cultural education, and the marketing of indigenous culture. This is an example of how one tribal group lives the intentions of the UN indigenous rights statement calling for indigenous communities to be in control of their own electronic media, economic development, and cultural practices.

Overall, this article adds to our knowledge of indigenous-led proactive endeavors, providing a model for indigenous communities throughout the world that strive to sustain their community’s economic, cultural, and environmental integrity. It also raises critical issues about tourism, the commodification of tribal culture, and indigenous forms of capitalism.

## HERITAGE TOURISM AND INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

Tourism is one of the world’s largest and most global industries and is a major factor in the cultural and economic sustainability of local communities.<sup>5</sup> The hundred-year history of tourism among the Miccosukee of South Florida provides an example of purposeful self-generated tribal tourism in which indigenous peoples maintain control of the enterprise’s management and profits through their own strategic decisions. This small group of Native

Americans began organized tourism in the early 1900s on the Miami River. By the 1930s, their villages in the Everglades west of Miami were Native-owned and -operated tourist destinations. In the 1980s, their promotional efforts produced a flow of international travelers from Europe, and by the 1990s they shared their tourism and international marketing capacities with other tribes by promoting Native America at the global level. During this period, the Miccosukee transitioned from Everglades hunters and traders to casino resort managers, from families striving for everyday survival to CEOs of a diverse array of economic enterprises that employ thousands of people.<sup>6</sup> Their related neighbors, the Seminole, have a similar success story with tourism, gaming, and entertainment entrepreneurship. In 2007 the Seminole purchased Hard Rock International, making them the CEOs of more than one hundred Hard Rock cafes, hotels, and casinos in more than forty countries throughout the world.<sup>7</sup>

This history of Miccosukee business and entrepreneurial enterprises incorporates the perspective of Lee Tiger and his father Buffalo Tiger, the first chairman of the Miccosukee tribe.<sup>8</sup> Buffalo Tiger is known among Native Americans for his leadership in obtaining federal recognition of the Miccosukee Tribe of Indians of Florida in 1962, and for being at the forefront of the sovereignty and self-determination movement for US tribes.<sup>9</sup> Lee Tiger's career as a spokesperson for the Miccosukee tribe and now promoter of indigenous America was facilitated by his lifelong musical career. With his brother Stephen, they formed the rock band Tiger Tiger, and in 2006 the Native American Music Awards honored them with the Lifetime Achievement Award.<sup>10</sup> From this background as the son of a tribal leader and as a rock-and-roll performer, Lee Tiger's marketing and promotional skills facilitated the entrepreneurial successes of the Miccosukee, the Seminole, and many other tribes across the country. Using a life-history approach, this article combines personal interviews with ethnohistorical methods in order to triangulate observations at events, archival documents, and existing publications.<sup>11</sup>

Tourism is a major industry and a major factor in the globalization of the world today as well as a dynamic force homogenizing societies and commodifying cultures across the globe. But promises of economic benefits and community development often bring uneven development. Developers and outside entrepreneurs receive most of the benefits, while the local people who bear the cost of development receive inadequate rewards. Rather than providing real benefits to local people, it often has a detrimental transformative role in changing local socioeconomic relationships: it destroys local cultural practices and converts cultural objects into commodities that can be bought and sold.<sup>12</sup>

Global tourism is operated primarily by large companies that promote the latest trend for tourists, usually from the developed to the underdeveloped countries. These first-world tour operators, hoteliers, and travel agencies always seek new destinations. Ecotourism, alternative tourism, and heritage tourism are packages developed to meet the needs of specific types of tourists who are looking for particular types of experiences. In some cases, first-world tour operators gain economic and political control over the natural resources

of an economically poor but environmentally rich locality. In many cases, the local indigenous peoples are physically excluded from the lands they have used for centuries.<sup>13</sup>

As compared to other countries, the United States has few trained guides and limited tourist packages for destinations off the beaten path, places where foreign tourists might observe “real Americans.” The United States devotes relatively little money to promoting itself as a tourist destination. According to Tim Wallace, “Tourism is one of the many change factors and thus is neither good nor bad but must be recognized for its role as one of the world’s largest and most global ‘Industries.’”<sup>14</sup> From this perspective, tourism can be viewed as one kind of strategy that a community can choose as indigenous communities seek ways to formulate, clarify, or validate their cultural identities. This story about the Miccosukee provides an example of an indigenous people who aggressively promote the tourism and entertainment industry for their own peoples, their neighboring tribe the Seminole, and indigenous peoples of the Americas. With increased knowledge, indigenous communities can better plan, manage, and control tourism as an industry and as culture change.<sup>15</sup> In this way, future indigenous communities can produce, organize, and control tourism activities that are sustainable, ethical, and responsible.

### SOUTH FLORIDA TOURISM

The history of Miami and South Florida reflects the history of global tourism. Miami has long been a destination for travelers, initially by boats from Havana, the Bahamas, and the northern United States. With Standard Oil magnate Henry Flagler’s construction of the Florida East Coast Railroad in 1896, wealthy tourists from the North came by the trainload seeking refuge from the cold winters. From the Flagler Royal Palm Hotel on the north side of the Miami River, tourists could view the Brickell Trading Post on the south side of the river where it flows into Biscayne Bay. For decades Seminoles had traveled downriver from the Everglades in their long cypress canoes in order to trade pelts and bird plumes for cooking pots, cloth, sewing machines, guns, coffee, sugar, and other items.<sup>16</sup> The places where they pulled up their canoes along the river and camped for the night became the first tourist destinations.

The earliest promotional documents extolling the highlights of visiting Miami included photographs and descriptions of the Seminole. For example, “Miami: Jewel of the South,” printed in 1920, states that “they pitch their camps within a short distance of the city and their . . . interesting appearance form a source of revenue from tourists who wish to get snapshots or curios. The canal along the Tamiami Trail is the principal thoroughfare for the Indians at this time.”<sup>17</sup> Similar early promotional materials usually included directions on where and how to view the Seminole, primarily by motorcar or boat. By the early 1920s, organized tour companies facilitated group tours. Flyers from the Brown Line Tours described a two-and-a-half hour tour including a stop at Musa Isle Indian Village and Alligator Farm.<sup>18</sup>

Several of these camps developed into the first commercial tourist attractions in South Florida, most notably Musa Isle and Coppinger’s Tropical

Gardens. (Coppinger's continued under various names such as Pirates Cove and Tropical Paradise until it closed in 1969.) Patsy West's *The Enduring Seminoles: From Alligator Wrestling to Ecotourism* presents a detailed analysis of this tourism economy in which the Seminole and the Miccosukee lived an exhibition lifestyle while refining their business and negotiation skills.<sup>19</sup>

Following World War I, Miami grew into a major resort area with the growing number of people driving popular-priced automobiles from the North. As "motoring" became the most popular form of American recreational activity, hundreds of thousands of transient tourists visited Miami each year.<sup>20</sup> From a town of 5,471 people in 1900, Miami, including the cities of Miami Beach, Coral Gables, Hialeah, and Opa-Locka, grew to 29,571 in 1920 and 110,637 in 1930. These numbers doubled with tourists during the winter months.<sup>21</sup>

With the number of hotels in Miami and Miami Beach proliferating during the first half of the 1900s, so did the enterprises competing for the tourists' attention and dollars. Most provided a relatively short day trip of three hours. The Monkey Jungle, which started in 1933, and the Parrot Jungle, which started in 1936, were the earliest among these destinations.<sup>22</sup>

During the 1940s, international plane travel placed Miami in the hub of the Americas, and the population swelled. A predominantly tourism economy ended abruptly with the Castro Revolution of 1959, when hundreds of thousands of Cubans migrated to Miami, settling along Tamiami Trail, Southwest Eighth Street, just west of downtown Miami. Thereafter, immigrants from numerous Caribbean and Latin American countries populated and transformed Miami into a Latin capital of the world.<sup>23</sup> Today Miami and South Florida are an international cosmopolitan area with full-time residents from all over the world. More than five million people reside along the eastern coast from Palm Beach to Key West. Although its diverse economy is now dominated by the global flow of goods, money, and people, tourism continues as a major industry. Jay Mechling views the Seminoles and Miccosukee as key symbols in the social construction of Florida as a tourist destination, especially for those who imagine Native Americans living an enviable authentic life in touch with nature.<sup>24</sup> Considering this century of South Florida history, one could say that the Miccosukee enterprises are the longest continuously operating tourist and entertainment attractions in South Florida.

### MICCOSUKEE BUSINESS AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP

The Miccosukee originated primarily from what is now northern Florida and southern Georgia. Oral traditions place speakers of the *i:laponki*, or Mikasuki language, around the town of Miccosukee near present-day Tallahassee. In the early 1700s, the more northern Creek—speakers of Muscogee, or *ci:saposhni*—and related groups moved into Florida as British and US settlers moved westward. By the end of the three nineteenth-century Seminole wars in 1858, as many as six thousand were killed or removed to Indian Territory, now Oklahoma. A small number resisted by moving deeper into the interior of South Florida. Creek speakers settled primarily in the northern area near

Lake Okeechobee, and the Miccosukee speakers settled mainly in the Big Cypress area and on small tree islands, called hammocks, in the Everglades. These determined people formed the nucleus of today's Seminole and Miccosukee tribes.

Beginning in the late 1870s, the Miccosukee began an intensive commerce in otter pelts, bird plumes, and alligator hides—valuable commodities for the international fashion industry. These commodities were hunted and gathered throughout the glades, then brought by canoe to the coastal trading posts: the Brickell Trading Post at the mouth of the Miami River, the Stranahan Trading Post on the New River in present-day Fort Lauderdale, and west to Smallwood's Store on the Gulf Coast island of Chokoloskee. Rather than trading or bartering, they exchanged commodities for cash, which was used to purchase iron tools, bolts of cloth, coffee, tea, and manual-powered sewing machines. In this traditionally matrilineal society, women played a limited role in the economic transactions at the trading posts, preferring to stay in the background communicating their wishes through the men. As a result, it was the men who developed the ability to speak English in order to negotiate cash transactions.<sup>25</sup>

With the arrival of the Florida East Coast Railway, the numbers and kinds of Indian and white interactions increased. Tourists came by bus and by boat to visit Indian camps along the river. The oldest documented occasion of Seminoles and Miccosukees purposefully sponsoring a tourist attraction was a weeklong Christmas celebration in 1915. This occurred at their camp on the banks of the Miami River as a joint attraction with the alligator farm of "Alligator Joe," established in 1911 just two blocks away.<sup>26</sup>

Beginning as places for hotel tourists to travel to by boat up the Miami River, the non-Native-owned Musa Isle Grove and Coppinger's Tropical Gardens became major tourist attractions. Here they sold tours of their tropical landscapes, locally grown fruits, and homemade jellies. Beginning in 1918, Jack Tiger Tail and family members resided at Coppinger's for the tourist season from the beginning of January to the end of April. Traveling from their Everglades camps west of Miami, many families continued to make this their seasonal home.

Most importantly, during 1919 the land next to Musa Isle was leased to Willie Willie, establishing the Native-owned and -operated Musa Isle Trading Post. Here Seminole families from the Everglades came to trade, staying three or four nights while hunting and gathering coontie, a starch plant and one of their primary traditional foods, from the surrounding pinelands. Years before, Willie Willie's father, Charlie Willie, had an establishment in the Everglades west of Miami where white and Native hunters traded. Pelts and hides could now be shipped from that location to Willie's Musa Isle Trading Post. Selling directly to the market, they eliminated the non-Indian middleman, substantially increasing their self-reliance and profits by learning the skills necessary to operate in a capitalist economy. West states, "One insider estimated that Willie Willie's various business interests at Musa Isla cleared \$50,000 annually."<sup>27</sup>

Life in these urban camps continued in many ways as it did in the Everglades camps. Matrilineally based families lived in open-sided

thatched-roof *chickees*. Women cooked over a central campfire. Traditional beliefs and practices continued outside the view of tourists, while the Native-white tourist gazes and exchanges were limited to the times when tour boats or carloads of non-Indians arrived.

With the passing years, women began to take a more active economic role, selling their baskets, buckskin moccasins, and alligator-teeth necklaces.<sup>28</sup> Also, clothing and craft production grew into a significant part of the daily routine, and sales to tourists influenced the increasingly complex and unique patchwork designs that women created on their hand-crank and foot-treadle sewing machines.<sup>29</sup> By the 1930s almost 100 percent of the Seminole and Miccosukee families participated in this tourist economy, if not by living in these villages, then by harvesting and producing products to be used and sold at them.<sup>30</sup>

To reclaim land from the Everglades for homes and agriculture, the state of Florida began draining the Everglades with steam-driven dredges. Canals dug from Lake Okeechobee to the Miami River significantly lowered the Everglades water level within just a few years of 1905. This led to a dramatic decline in wildlife and available hunted food. By the start of World War I, the European markets for furs and feathers were cut off.<sup>31</sup> Begun in 1916, the building of a road across the Everglades from Miami to Naples and then to Tampa forever changed not only the life of the Miccosukee but also the entire ecosystem of South Florida. The Tamiami Trail, completed in April 1928, continues to block the flow of water from Lake Okeechobee south to the Gulf of Mexico. It significantly affected the range of numerous animal species and the canoe trails that were the primary transportation routes of the Miccosukee. The intrusive road and the unnatural flow of water forever disrupted families that lived on the southernmost tree-island hammocks of the Everglades.

As the Everglades dried up and the seasonal water became irregular, the Miccosukee found it exceedingly difficult to travel by canoe. Now a constant flow of cars and trucks traveled east and west across the Tamiami Trail, some stopping to view the Everglades and others to hunt. As they did for generations, Miccosukee men worked as hunting guides, setting up temporary camps along the trail. Families gradually moved from the Everglades tree islands and Miami to the Tamiami Trail. Spread along the Tamiami Trail for more than fifty miles, they built their family camps on high ground adjacent to the road that was shielded from view by palm-thatched or wooden walls. Opening their camps to travelers for a fee, they continued the exhibition economy refined at the Miami River camps. Visitors walked through the camp viewing the thatched-roof cooking and living *chickees*, garden plants, caged animals, and craft items for sale. These year-round camps facilitated an independent economy, enabling the Miccosukee to withstand government interventions and welfare programs.<sup>32</sup> With a steady tourist-based cash economy, these "trail Indians" developed a strong sense of social solidarity, tribal autonomy, and sovereignty, leading to their creation of the Miccosukee Tribe of Indians of Florida.



Government agents, Christian missionaries, health officials, and citizen groups deplored the commercialization of the tourist camps with Indians on exhibition. Instead they promoted agriculture and cattle ranching for the more northern Big Cypress and Brighton reservations. It was not until the 1950s that the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) recognized tourism as a viable economy by building a tourist center and craft outlet at the Seminole Hollywood Reservation.<sup>33</sup>

With the closing of Musa Isle and Coppinger's Tropical Paradise in the late 1960s, as Lee Tiger would say, the "Indians on display" era ended. "Alligators, monkeys, Indians, parrots. We were just one of the attractions."<sup>34</sup> Lee was eight or nine years of age when his family moved from Musa Isle, when many Miccosukee had already moved out to the trail.

My father and higher medicine people convinced the people. What they said is "go back to Everglades. Build their own, have it for themselves." That's what we did. We could be exposed to visitors by them coming to our cultural center but it is ours, not somebody else's like an Italian or a German.<sup>35</sup>

#### MICCOSUKEE CONTRACTING AND SELF-DETERMINATION

To this day, the Miccosukee adamantly maintain their independence as a people. Wanting nothing to do with the federal government, they oppose any government action that would impair their way of life in the Everglades.

When the federal government instituted tribal termination policies in 1954, Indian communities throughout the United States recognized this as the government's attempt to eliminate services and their tribal responsibilities. The intentions of termination policies were to allow Indians freedom from government restrictions so they could pursue their own economic interests. Rather than terminating tribes, these policies had the effect of mobilizing and solidifying Indian communities to pursue federal recognition while defining tribal sovereignty and federal responsibilities more clearly.<sup>36</sup>

When the more northern Miccosukee and Creek speakers obtained federal recognition as the Seminole Tribe of Florida in 1957, the trail Indians once again resisted and continued to maintain their independence following their own medicine men and council.<sup>37</sup> Although the state of Florida chartered the Miccosukee in 1957, the BIA and the US government opposed the recognition of another Florida tribe separate from the Seminole. This changed when Buffalo Tiger and a delegation of eleven other Miccosukees accepted an invitation from the new government of Fidel Castro to attend a 1959 celebration in Havana. Following the *Miami Herald* front-page story about the Cuban government's recognition of the Miccosukee as a sovereign nation, the US government recognized them as a separate tribe if they agreed to discontinue contact with Cuba.<sup>38</sup> This small group of indigenous people purposefully used "cold war" politics and public media to their advantage, forcing the federal government to recognize them as the Miccosukee Tribe of

Indians of Florida in 1962 and granting them the use of more than 180,000 acres of Everglades wetlands.<sup>39</sup>

Since that time, the Miccosukee tribal council governed their fifty-foot-wide and five-and-a-half-mile-long reservation along the south side of the Tamiami Trail. Tribal services were supported by the limited income from a restaurant and service station. The BIA managed the day school, health care, and police from offices fifty miles away in Homestead. However, the Miccosukee never lived under BIA control and never wanted any part of federal programs. When President Nixon's message to Congress in 1970 promoted tribes to take over and operate their own programs, the Miccosukee were the first to take action. When Buffalo Tiger encountered BIA reluctance, it was "recommended to Tiger that the tribe should simply form a corporation. Tribes have the inherent authority to charter corporations that are distinct legal entities from the tribe." Since 1971 the Miccosukee have operated all of their BIA services, making them pioneers in practicing self-determination through "contracts." This set the precedent for the 1975 Indian Self-Determination Act that now affects how all tribes in the United States operate their business enterprises.<sup>40</sup>

#### PROMOTING INDIGENOUS CULTURE FROM THE LOCAL TO THE GLOBAL

Seven intertribal dancers from across the United States and Canada stood proudly on the amphitheater stage at the 34th Annual Miccosukee Indian Arts Festival in 2008. Each represented major contemporary intertribal dance styles such as the men's Fancy Feather Dance, Northern Traditional Dance, and Grass Dance, and also the women's Jingle Dress and Fancy Shawl Dance. Lee Tiger, the host of the fourteen-day event, introduced them as "World Champions," the winners at the Schemitzun Powwow sponsored by the Mashantucket Pequot tribe of Connecticut. Each day of the festival thousands of visitors traveled more than thirty-five miles along the Tamiami Trail past the 256-room Miccosukee Hotel and Resort, Buffalo Tiger's Airboat Tours, and the tribe's restaurant to the Miccosukee Indian Village and Cultural Center. Here they discovered Native America with all-day performances of dance, music, and storytelling in the amphitheater and more than twenty palmetto-thatched *chickees* with indigenous artists from Peru to Canada exhibiting their work. The visitors tasted food prepared by Miccosukee cooks, watched alligator wrestling, listened to a Cherokee storyteller, walked through the Miccosukee Museum, touched the Miccosukee NASCAR race car, or experienced an airboat ecotour in the Everglades.

The Miccosukee Indian Village and Cultural Center now accommodates individuals, families, or busloads of visitors year round. Among the dozen or so villages along the Tamiami Trail, it was Jimmy Tiger's Indian Village that transformed into this focal point of Miccosukee tourism. In this family village and at Musa Isle, Lee Tiger learned the Miccosukee ways from his elders and uncles. Buffalo Tiger and his wife Ann had two boys, Stephen and Lee, while they lived in Allapattah, a few miles north of Musa Isle and the Miami River.<sup>41</sup>

By the age of fourteen, Lee and his brother Stephen formed their own band and performed at sock hops and school events at Hialeah High School, from which Lee graduated. Being an integral part of the late 1960s rock-and-roll scene in Miami, their band, Sun Country, played at major concert theaters and pop festivals performing with such notables as Cream, Jimi Hendrix, Led Zeppelin, and Chuck Berry. Recorded in Memphis, they cut their first album as the band Tiger Tiger in 1974.

Brother Stephen was more like an artist. I was like a business man. That was good for the band. He created the music; I did some too. He pushed that part of it. I would get us the gigs and contracts to get us work. Led me into what I am now. Started playing in Hialeah school sock hops, little dance halls, roller rinks. Had to scrape up money for instruments. Don't know how we did it. But we did it.<sup>42</sup>

After several years of performing in New York and then Los Angeles, they returned at the urging of their father, who wanted them to do community outreach for the tribe. Being musicians and not really knowing how to help, their father asked them to develop musical concerts and festivals at the Miccosukee Indian Village and invite non-Indian visitors to come and learn about the tribe, take an airboat ride, and maybe have lunch at the tribe's restaurant.<sup>43</sup> Since then, there have been two permanent tribal events each year: the Miccosukee Indian Arts Festival, held between Christmas and New Year's, and the Miccosukee Music Festival held in June. Advertised on television, these events brought the fact that there are two different tribes in Florida—Seminole and Miccosukee—to the public's attention for the first time.

For years, the Miccosukee Indian Arts Festival has featured Indian tribes and intertribal powwow dancers from across the country and Canada. The intertribal powwow, begun in the 1940s among the Ponca of Oklahoma, now brings together various tribes from all across America into a pan-Indian culture with performances of dance and music not sacred to individual tribes. Traditionally, Plains Indian tribal powwows are annual homecomings, a family renewal with deep spiritual meanings. When outside of that cultural context, exhibition dancers become professional performers.<sup>44</sup> Lee recalls those early years:

When we first started maybe thirty-five years ago we were out back behind the school. We brought in dancers, mainly Miccosukee and Seminole arts and crafts because we did not know how to get in contact with the other tribes. But my father knew. He said let's do it really right next year, I will call my friends from upstate New York, Canada, out west. So we brought in bone carvers, stone carvers, rug weavers, clothes making, beadwork, silver, turquoise stuff. It went over very well.<sup>45</sup>

By celebrating intertribal culture at the Miccosukee Indian Arts Festival, the arts, dance, and music of indigenous America are performed and promoted. Miccosukee public performances are limited to alligator wrestling and an afternoon fashion show, during which tribal members display their patchwork clothing on the amphitheater stage.

In 1976 when the tribe received a grant to build up Jimmy Tiger's village into a cultural center, Lee got involved by building short boardwalks out from the village into the Everglades. Lee considers this an Indian-initiated transformation of this tourist attraction beyond the era of Indians on display.

A lot of it was already built up, because Jimmy Tiger knew how to do it. To make it look like a village. It wasn't somebody else coming from outside saying we will give you this grant to do this. It was the tribe's idea; they had grant writers. So we got a grant, a big one from an institution in Denver. Tribe bought out Jimmy Tiger; he sold it to the tribe. Museum, boardwalk, now it is very nice. Now it is the Miccosukee Indian Village and Cultural Center.<sup>46</sup>

Further ending the era of Indians living on display, families in the village moved into the wooden modular homes that the tribe was building to the west on the south side of Tamiami Trail. Set back from the road and blocked from view by a wall of plants, individual and family privacy was maintained. After finishing it, Lee said:

Well how do I market this place? I am a musician, I do not know how to get the buses that come out to the Everglades or down to Key West. So I called the bus companies. They said "those are charter buses you have to find the tour operators." Well, where are they? "They are all over the world, mainly in Europe that come to Miami." That is one thing that inspired me to get out in the global market place to educate the people as to what we had then. I also took classes at the Florida International University Hotel Management school. It was very good. I also served as an intern for a marketing and PR company for a year. They were located on Miami Beach, Helen Balm and Associates.<sup>47</sup>

Then in 1979, becoming more involved with the South Florida tourist promotion industry, Lee traveled with Stephen and their father to Latin American countries with a delegation of Florida promoters—Disney World, Sea World, bus companies, and anyone who wanted to promote their products in Latin America. They traveled to Columbia, Chile, Peru, Ecuador, and Brazil. They soon realized that the Miccosukee villages were not a big draw to the South American visitor; there are many indigenous people in South America, so they are not interested in Native culture. He convinced his father to go to other places. Lee considers that the biggest change in visitors happened after he went to travel and tourism shows in Europe.

In 1980, we put together eleven top dancers, world champion dancers. It was put together, paid for and sponsored by Pan Am Airlines and Swabin International, a company out of Stuttgart, Germany. They have a travel show there where they sell to the public outdoor camping equipment. This gentleman, his name was Peter Vossey who owns that company Swabin International, called me and asked me to put together a dance troupe, shows, Indian dances. He said they had stages set up. He was very popular at that time. He must have been doing pretty well; I made the deal with him in Twin Towers in New York in 1980. He was a travel agent. He made his business by selling tours. He had stores all over Stuttgart, probably other parts of Germany too. He was an outbound tour operator with tours from Germany to America. He sold Florida, New York, Chicago, anywhere people wanted to go.

I saw such a big attraction when we got there. First day the press was all over us like superstars, kind of funny. Real nice to us. They did not care for regular white Anglo Saxon Americans but they loved the Indians.<sup>48</sup>

Lee finally found the global market with the fascination of Europeans who would travel great distances to experience American Indians.

I will tell you how that happened. A lady came up to us and said she wanted to go to America to meet Winnetou. She wanted to meet him. Later, she came to Florida. I did not believe she would do it. I was out in the village with my father, he was painting signs and a taxi shows up. She said "Lee, I told you I would come over. I want to see Winnetou. I want to meet him." Lee said: "There is no Winnetou." "But I want to meet him. How about meeting a chief," she says. Lee says, "My father is the chief." She then meets Buffalo Tiger, and asks, "Can I stay in your village?" She stayed in a *chickee* for about a year.<sup>49</sup>

Winnetou, a Mescalero-Apache chief, was the fictive character created by Karl May, the German author who wrote many books about American Indians from 1875 to the 1910s. Upon his death, the Karl May Society continued his legacy with a museum and additional publications. In the 1960s, a series of films continued the impact of his fictional characters. May had only visited the United States briefly late in his life, so all of his books were completely fictional.<sup>50</sup> Dagmar Wernitznig's *Europe's Indians, Indians in Europe* (2007) details the European perceptions of Native cultures and asserts that May is responsible for synchronizing the minds of generations of Germans in their understanding of an Indian otherness. May books continue to be part of the basic literature of German children and young adults, similar to Mark Twain in the United States. In German-speaking countries, the impact of the character Winnetou "is close to a cultural narrative. It virtually penetrates every cultural stratum, and its prevalence ranges from media and entertainment to politics and arts."<sup>51</sup> May is just one of many authors who promoted a fascination with Native Americans throughout western and eastern Europe.

Of special importance were Buffalo Bill's Wild West shows of the 1890s, which brought the cowboy and Indian story of the American West directly to Europeans. Today thousands of European "American Indianists" assemble Indian regalia, dance at powwows, and some even learn Native languages.<sup>52</sup>

To inform tribes of the German market opportunities for tourism, in 2005 the US Department of Commerce compiled a detailed business profile of Germans. They find nature-oriented trips and cultural experiences most attractive with individual tours preferred over group tours for one day to three weeks.<sup>53</sup> Whereas the Latin Americans were too close to indigenous peoples, the more distant Europeans, who are fascinated with Indians, are now the targeted market for the Native-owned cultural-heritage industry.

Learning of this European fascination with Indians in 1980, Lee started going to the World Travel Market in London, the second-largest international travel show. Then eventually he went to the biggest one, ITB, which has been held every year for more than thirty years.

I have been going for the last fifteen years. First five years going for my tribe, the Miccosukee Tribe, then the Seminole Tribe asked me to do it for them. It's quite expensive but really good way to get your culture and educate people around globally. There is over one hundred twenty countries represented. ITB is for the travel professionals, but also for two days they let in the public and a lot of school kids. It is held in Berlin, Germany.<sup>54</sup>

### MICCOSUKEE AND SEMINOLE TOURISM

After twenty-one years as Miccosukee tribal chairman, Buffalo Tiger lost the 1985 tribal election, and Lee transformed his role as tribal spokesperson to individual entrepreneur. The *Miami Herald* reported that Lee incorporated with the state of Florida as Lee Tiger and Associates, Inc., a private tour-promotion firm.<sup>55</sup> He then promoted Discovery Cruise Lines and five other South Florida attractions. Beginning in 1991 Lee served as consultant to the Florida Seminole for eight years in order to develop and promote their tourist enterprises.

Right around that time James Billie was building this Kissimmee Billie's Swamp Safari. He asked me what I did for the Miccosukee, would I do it for him. He said he would build up the park. He asked me to build up the image, find out what pricing should be. And then get it all together and start selling it when it was ready. It was very minimal when it first started out. We had a few cabins; we did not have a restaurant. That went up a little later. We had these small Jeeps that could hold only three people. Finally, we started building these swamp buggies, two stories high that could hold a dozen people.<sup>56</sup>

Located on the Seminole Big Cypress Reservation, fifty miles north of the Tamiami Trail, Billie Swamp Safari recreated many of the features that were proven elements from Musa Isle and the Tamiami Trail Village experiences but on a much grander scale. Opening in 1993, it had palmetto-thatched *chickees*; winding paths through a lush tropical garden with a variety of plants, parrots, and reptiles; an alligator wrestling pit; airboat rides; and a gift shop with Native arts and crafts where visitors made their exit. Building upon these traditional attraction elements, tourists could also travel in large swamp buggies to observe the 2,200 acres of saw grass and hardwood hammocks stocked with animals roaming in the wild. For the most part, non-Indian tour guides, who are informative and funny, now entertain the visitors. Tourists could then eat in an air-conditioned restaurant serving fry bread and alligator tail. Rather than the “Indians living on display,” tourists can live here by renting a *chickee* specially designed with screened walls and doors in order to help keep the mosquitoes on the outside. More than fifty miles from the coast and high-population areas, this was a high-risk business venture in which good advertising and promotions were critical. Of all the projects the Seminole invested in with their gaming profits, anthropologist Jessica Cattelino, when writing on Seminole gaming, considers the Billie Swamp Safari perhaps their best example of successful diversification with ecotourism appealing to the consumer’s image of the Indian’s connection to the land and the Everglades.<sup>57</sup>

This was just one of many cultural resources that the Seminole were building with the diversification of profits from gaming. Opening in 1997, the Ah-Tah-Thi-Ki Museum became the primary repository of Seminole material culture and a focal point of the Seminole Cultural Resources programs. Its dramatic and professional displays portrayed the Seminole from their perspective. Lee Tiger worked with Billy L. Cypress, the first museum director, to promote and advertise the opening of the facility, which included traveling with Lee to European tourism shows.

Once the Seminole attractions were sufficiently developed, Lee produced the public relations materials and advertising plans. In 1996, he led a contingent of fifteen Seminole to promote their tourist enterprises at ITB in Germany. This was the Seminole tribe’s first unified effort in establishing themselves in the world marketplace, and where they invited visitors to travel to Florida and the greater Fort Lauderdale area.

The “Florida Seminole Tourism Press Kit” that Lee compiled contained colorful brochures for the various attractions from the Seminole reservations and enterprises. Its header proclaimed “Florida Seminole Tourism: A True American Indian Adventure.” Five tours and attractions were listed with prices for each: the Billie Swamp Safari Day Package, Billie Swamp Safari Buggy Tour, Billie Swamp Safari Overnight Package, Ah-Tah-Thi-Ki Museum, and Florida Everglades Airboat Tour. It also contained brochures for the Discover Native America Powwow that the Seminoles were sponsoring in St. Petersburg, Florida, in January 1997.<sup>58</sup> The press release, “Florida Seminole Tourism 1997,” described the occasion as an effort to create American Indian cultural awareness worldwide and stated that:

The Tribe has introduced their unique tourist activities and attractions through their new tourism co-op in Germany which was held on March 9–13, 1996, at the I.T.B. 30th International Tourism Exchange, with brochures reading “Play Florida with Real Natives!”

Printed on the inside of the cover was a picture and message from Seminole Tribal Chief James Billie.

Che-hun-tamo! (Hello) People throughout this world visit us at our Big Cypress Seminole Indian Reservation located in the heart of the Everglades. You can join us for the day, or stay overnight. Night “buggy” riding has always been my favorite. You can see star formations, and your guide may pass on the legends of how they were formed. We tell stories by the campfire or sing songs. If I’m around, I’ll pull your leg a little so, if you get down our way . . . stop by. Sho-na-bish! (Thanks)

With the Tribe’s increasing growth of tourism projects, partially funded through Tribal gaming revenues, American Indians are able to become a more viable Cultural/Natural attraction in the International Market Place. This in turn is encouraging the retention of their culture and helping the Tribe become more self-sufficient.<sup>59</sup>

To sell and manage the tour reservations, Lee Tiger and Max Osceola, Seminole council representative for the Hollywood reservation, established the Web site [SeminoleTours.com](http://SeminoleTours.com). Staff in a Miami office, managed by Lee, answered the phone calls from around the world to make reservations for tour packages with travel, hotel, and meal combinations destined for the Seminole and Miccosukee enterprises. Each booking made a profit for the tribes. This Internet marketing of tours taught Lee the elements that would later become part of DNA.

Then Lee Tiger worked for five years with the eleven tribes of Wisconsin, the Great Lakes Intertribal Council. Wisconsin tribes also have a long history of Native entrepreneurship and the commodification of cultural practices for tourists.<sup>60</sup> With his expertise they moved from a local to a global level of marketing indigenous culture. He designed and set up booths at international tourism exhibitions, made contracts, advised them on brochures and posters, and so forth. Important for business success, he helped them to understand the payment structure in which three levels receive a percent of a tour commission: the tour operator, wholesaler, and receptive operator. To be competitive and successful in this world market, he emphasized that these need to be priced reasonably.<sup>61</sup>

Billy L. Cypress, founder of the Seminole’s Ah-Tah-Thi-Ki Museum, also was one of the three original organizers of the American Indian Alaska Native Tourism Association (AIANTA). Cypress asked Lee Tiger to be his alternate on the AIANTA board, on which Lee served for eight years, ending in 2007.<sup>62</sup> As a tourism leadership network, AIANTA cooperatively identifies cultural benefits, markets, and tourism opportunities in order to enhance



tribal business and economic strategies. They now have an annual conference, training workshops, and an online knowledge base.<sup>63</sup> At planning meetings during 2000 and 2001, Lee Tiger helped initiate and plan the AIANTA Web site that now offers prospective visitors a wide array of tribal tourist opportunities. Following Lee Tiger's departure from the AIANTA board, Seminole/Miccosukee leadership continued with the appointment of Tina Osceola, director of the Seminole Cultural Division and the Ah-Tah-Thi-Ki Museum. In 2008, she became the AIANTA president.

Recognizing the benefits of cooperation from an early date, Lee Tiger built tribal and personal relationships with tourist and business associations. At the local level he developed long-term relationships with the local chambers of commerce of Fort Lauderdale and Hollywood. Regionally, he helped organize and design EvergladesGateway.com, a collaboration of Fort Lauderdale, Greater Miami, and the two tribes, in order to draw visitors to "Discover Southeast Florida's Untamed Wilderness" and an extensive array of tourist attractions. At the state level, in 2002 Florida Governor Jeb Bush appointed Lee to serve on the Florida Commission on Tourism's statewide Nature-Based and Heritage Tourism Advisory Committee and to the board of directors of Visit Florida for six years. VisitFlorida.com is the Florida Commission on Tourism's public-private partnership responsible for the growth of Florida's tourism industry. From 1999 to 2004, Lee served on the board of directors for Friends of State Parks where he contributed to the promotion of Florida's natural landscapes. At the national level, he served on the National Membership Committee of the Travel Industry Association of America.<sup>64</sup>

In 2000, the US government recognized tourism as a sustainable economic base for tribal sovereignty with the passage of the Native American Business Development, Trade Promotion, and Tourism Act (Public Law 106-464, 114 Stat. 2012-2018). Establishing the Office of Native American Business Development within the Department of Commerce, it provides for tribal business-development technical assistance and administrative services in order to develop international markets for Indian goods and services. It specifically targets tourism development with support for feasibility studies, market analyses, and participation in tourism and trade missions. It also authorized a few tribal tourism demonstration projects on a tribal, intertribal, and regional level.<sup>65</sup>

Today, the Miccosukee tribe supports many public events in South Florida and has a visible presence in the local media advertising the Miccosukee hotel and resort, golf course, village, and festivals. Considering it important for the Miccosukee to project a positive and friendly neighborhood image in the media, Lee further explains:

To make sure that the cultural part is not forgotten. So that people do not just think the Miccosukee as just bingo-playing Indians. The truth is known that we are a culture and have a history. We are people out in the Everglades. We are "the" people that live out in the Everglades. Our advertising used to just be on the golf course or hotel; now they

are recognizing the culture. Promoting the cultural is important for a couple of reasons: one, politically; two, public relations-wise; and three, it is just the right thing to do to retain our tradition and culture.<sup>66</sup>

## INTERNET GLOBAL MARKETING

From the beginning of the Internet, Lee was marketing his products with Tiger-Tiger.com and SeminoleTours.com. By being part of the management or advisory team on Florida's VisitFlorida.com and EvergladesGateway.com, he learned to design DNA as a technological tool that will allow American Indian tribes to self-promote and participate on a collective basis. The number of tribes developing their tourist enterprises was growing, and they needed to advertise in order to be successful. A 1994 survey of 337 Indian tribes indicated that 86 percent of 118 tribes responding received visitors and 66 percent of the tribal governments were involved in tourism.<sup>67</sup> Even with a well-designed tribal-tour Web site, how can people be drawn to it? Similar to a travel magazine, DNA does this by referring to tribal tourism Web sites, bringing worldwide marketing attention. With sponsorship primarily from the Miccosukee tribe, DNA not only promotes tribes with casinos and fancy Web pages but also small tribes with few resources for advertising.

A 2007 story in *News from Indian Country* announcing the start of DNA presented this philosophy.

American Indian tourism is in the development stage and aims to become an integral part of the world's largest industry: tourism. Globalization is a natural fit for Native tourism, for tribes possess unique cultural, historical and natural environmental opportunities that visitors covet. DNA provides instantaneous Indian country-wide perspective and viewpoints, pulling together all tribal tourism resources in a single snapshot to be shared with the world.<sup>68</sup>

The development and availability of DNA encourages communication among Indian tribes, informs tourists and travelers of the various tribes that offer cultural events and activities, and welcomes visitors to these Native American locations. When asked why he created DNA, Lee Tiger responded:

Let me put that in a capsule. After all these tourism shows and travel, and learning and going to them, with people asking about the little tribes all over the country, I said there has to be a site. I looked all over the Web looking for a site and could not find a good one. There has got to be a Native-owned Web site. All our information comes from the tribes. We collect the content and we write it. We developed that information from the tribes.<sup>69</sup>

This indigenously envisioned, developed, owned, and financed Web site expresses the indigenous voice and perspective in a positive way. It is targeted to a worldwide audience, with versions in various languages from Japanese to German. Its design provides a format and a place for large and small tribes to promote their culture while inviting visitors to their lands and enterprises. The site features an online Native radio, kids' zone, a calendar of monthly events, national Native news updates, and travel offerings ranging from Everglades adventures in Florida to tribal locations across the United States.

The very strong Miccosukee viewpoint of nongovernment, non-US involvement is at the basis of DNA by making it a Native-owned, self-supporting, business-type operation and by refusing to take government funds.<sup>70</sup>

### CULTURAL HERITAGE TOURISM

Lee Tiger de-emphasizes Indian casinos at his international exhibits and when giving advice to tribes. Many tribes are not successful at gaming, and those that are should diversify their gaming profits in order to prepare for the future, when gaming may not be so lucrative. This philosophy is best expressed in Lee's words:

The interest in Native American tourism worldwide is becoming more and more of a trend. At trade shows we can have casino stuff on the table. They do not want it. Oh, we have casinos here in Europe, we want to see the Indians and we want to spend the night in an Indian house and try the Indian food. Native American adventure tourism is becoming very popular. Because it is one of the last activities that is untouched worldwide by the visitors from all over the world that travel. Been there, done that at Disney World for thirty years. Most have been to New York, a lot out west. They just do not have enough information about Native Americans. They want it. They would like to meet a Native American, have a Native experience. Tour operators are seeing that. And so that's why I am pushing it. The United States has had a problem with image. Beautiful areas of country. But few quality tours promoting American heritage to Europeans.<sup>71</sup>

Lee contends that other tribes could replicate certain features in order to make a cultural-heritage attraction a success.

What it takes is the authenticity, the realness of it, the authenticity of the area. Then guides that know the history and know how to deal with the public and know how to make them laugh, be friendly, interact with them. To make it happen, you have to have something to show them, have someone who has a certain personality. Even if they can't talk good English, they can say some jokes to make a happy tour. Of course, there needs to be some highlights, for example, people love to see the alligator wrestling or some want to hold a small alligator.<sup>72</sup>

When Lee speaks at Native American events or at organizations like AIANTA he promotes cultural-heritage tourism.

If tribes have casinos, I try to encourage them to diversify and get involved in the nature heritage tourism because it is big time. They can make a lot of money, plus educate people and preserve their culture through educational tourism, or adventure tourism. I down-play casinos, it is nice to say that Indian tribes can be prosperous and can do anything else anyone else can. For a long time we did not have anything. Nowadays we are getting back a little of what you can call the American Apple pie. I mainly talk about cultural tourism, and the importance of it. To get their village or whatever they have that is their tradition they can share with other cultures. And then go out and promote it. Go to the ITB or the World Travel Market, or go to your convention and travel bureau or chamber of commerce. You can make the most beautiful thing, village, canoe rides, and whatever, but if you do not let people know about it they will not come.<sup>73</sup>

#### EMPOWERMENT WITH INDIGENOUS CAPITALISM

Fortunately located within thirty miles of one of the premier tourist destinations in North America, the Miccosukee have purposefully sought ways to enhance control of their own economic well-being while maintaining their distinct language, religion, and culture. Considering the broad resistance of indigenous peoples to the globalization of the capitalistic system, it is important to record and analyze this successful indigenous form of capitalism.

A number of strategies have been reported in the literature in which indigenous communities are empowered to participate in the decisions involving tourism and tourists, and in which they benefit economically and culturally from the enterprises.<sup>74</sup> One model used in Amazonia is “participatory tourism development,” in which private enterprises established by non-Indians purchase property, employ and train local Natives, then turn the infrastructure over to the local community that would then become the owner.<sup>75</sup> Counter to this approach, the Miccosukee use their own business skills and practices to contract those they desire to participate with, thereby maintaining control over their own enterprises. In this way they, not outsiders, legitimize the versions of heritage events, artifacts, images, narratives, and performances.

Cattelino has clearly presented the ways that the Seminole use the power of money to enact their sovereignty and cultural identities.<sup>76</sup> The Miccosukee have innovated a form of indigenized capitalism hybridizing their own ways of entrepreneurship, ethnic marketing, and the use of the capitalist business model in order to succeed at the local and global level. In this way, the American business model enables the Miccosukee to maintain corporate business entities that follow the business and tax laws of the state and nation. By operating within the business model, the federal and state governments are

limited in telling them what to do. By excelling at business negotiations and contracting, they are maintaining separation from the BIA and federal Indian programs that have led other tribes into dependence and the continued loss of self-determination.

Five hundred years of global expansion of European culture and a market economy has greatly affected Native Americans as their resources were exploited, populations subjugated, and social systems transformed by the capitalist cash-based economy.<sup>77</sup> Tribal cultural-heritage enterprises develop within these global political and economic systems, in which profit-oriented business entities emerge based on the local, regional, and international flow of people and money. The Miccosukee espouse a form of indigenized capitalism in which indigenous peoples can gain power and control of their lives through their purposeful endeavors to build local and global linkages to the world economy.

With strong religious traditions based around elders and the annual Green Corn ceremony, they have few dances or cultural performances that they are willing to share with outsiders. This value for cultural confidentiality and the small number of tribal members who could continually perform for the daily flow of tourists have influenced the Miccosukee to call upon other tribes and non-Indians for these roles.

Tour guides, alligator wrestlers, artist vendors, store keepers, and airboat guides limit the visitor to a small range of behaviors and localities, thus limiting their interaction with members of the tribe and maintaining the privacy of their residences. By using these limiting and structured formats, the current ways of life, sacred sites, and continued use of the Miccosukee language and religion are protected from outside intrusions. In a postmodern sense, during these staged encounters the Miccosukee are empowered to counter colonial hegemonic discourses and stereotypes about "Indians" and to create the spaces and select the objects viewed. It is during these moments that the Miccosukee have the opportunity to express purposefully their values, lifestyles, histories, and futures to the others.<sup>78</sup>

The promotion of the world champion dancers recruited from the best of the intertribal dancers provides recognition to those who excel at dance and offers their families two weeks in warm and sunny South Florida during the Christmas and New Year holidays. Similarly, the appearance of these champions at international tourism shows in Europe brings additional recognition and income to these professional performers. The Miccosukee selectively commodify elements of their own culture while marketing the culture of other indigenous peoples. In this way, thousands of people throughout the world discover Native America through the marketing, coordination, and financing skills of the Miccosukee.

Building upon more than one hundred years of entrepreneurial and tourism experience, DNA is the latest way to promote Native American culture by using the information technologies and a capitalist business model in order to bring a sustainable flow of economic benefits to the Miccosukee and other tribes throughout the Americas. This research portrays the transformational nature of globalization in linking local populations to the

increasingly interconnected and interdependent global flow of people, information, resources, and commodities. It is an example of how this indigenous community experiences globalization, making and constructing their own unique form of indigenized capitalism, then transforming digital technologies to connect other indigenous communities through the Internet to this global market so they too can benefit from these global flows of people, monies, and resources.<sup>79</sup>

Tribal sovereignty and the value of refusing federal government help form a core cultural theme in the Miccosukee's continued survival in a capitalist society. This form of indigenized capitalism structures relationships based on the profit motive, the commodification of ethnicity, and cash-based contracts while maintaining traditional Miccosukee values. In this kinship-based corporate structure, profits are devoted to maintaining and developing the communally owned tribal institutions and business enterprises. It is this hybridity of capitalism and kin-based community values that are of interest to other indigenous and research communities. It is an example of an indigenous community living and working within the constraints of globalized capitalism while upholding independence from others; respect for traditions, elders, land, and language; and a close family life. These are some of the values and life pursuits that the Miccosukee development of a tourism and entertainment economy has enriched and even empowered.

## CONCLUSION

This article began with a goal expressed by indigenous scholar Donald Fixico, to provide an example of proactive, planned, and strategic actions rather than the common portrayal of indigenous peoples as reacting, accommodating, and assimilating. By using an ethnohistorical and life history methodology, this article builds a one-hundred-year context of entrepreneurship that shows that the Miccosukee continue a long tradition of self-generated, self-promoted cultural-heritage enterprises in order to maintain a sustainable economy for their people.<sup>80</sup> With empowerment and individual agency, Lee Tiger promotes indigenous America while influencing social, cultural, and economic changes at many levels.<sup>81</sup> He is an example of the growing numbers of transnational individuals who are global change agents, easily moving between local, regional, national, and global settings. During the past twenty years, especially due to the political efforts to enact the 2007 United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, geographically separated indigenous populations have been building a hybridized global indigenous culture, with common purposes, goals, and identities.<sup>82</sup> New forms of indigenous capitalism based on cultural-heritage tourism are an example of this hybridization.

By providing a voice in the academic literature for a Miccosukee perspective about the global marketing of indigenous culture, this article raises an array of practical, ethical, and research questions that require further careful analysis and discussion.

1. How can tribes best assess the potential impact, positive and negative, of tribal tourism?
2. What are the ethical, political, and cultural implications of “staged authenticity” and of meeting versus challenging tourists’ preconceptions?
3. How can tribes best use the profits earned to the benefit of the community?
4. How can tourism be conducted so as to enhance, rather than undermine, tribal distinctiveness?
5. What is the impact of affluent visitors upon the goals and values of tribal youth?
6. How can the privacy of tribal members be maintained?
7. How can the views of tribal members, as opposed to the tribal government, regarding such enterprises be best determined and respected?
8. How can the integrity of sacred sites, spiritual practices, and the environment be maintained?
9. How do indigenous kinship-based corporations resolve the inherent conflict in capitalism between managers and workers, between host tribes and performing tribes?

Miccosukee cultural-heritage enterprises bring a continuous flow of people from around the world to visit their little place in the Everglades. With each encounter they tell their story of survival and continued way of life in the Everglades. Finding cultural-heritage tourism as a viable way to make a living while maintaining a distance from the federal bureaucracies, the Miccosukee promote these strategies with other tribes as a way to survive.<sup>83</sup> Through the global marketing of Miccosukee and Native America they share this model of a sustainable tourist-based economy with other tribes. Tribes now realize that through global cultural-heritage tourism people will travel to remote places and leave their monies with those who organize and accommodate them. The Miccosukee promote a form of indigenized capitalism as a way for Native America to thrive within the increasingly globalized world economy while maintaining and even enhancing distinct tribal cultural identities and traditions.

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