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that has to be done in many other areas of anthropology. Nelson Graburn's *Ethnic and Tourist Arts: Cultural Expressions of the Fourth World* (Berkeley, 1976) can serve as a guide to what has been written in this direction so far.

Parezo's book is the work of a pioneer. She went to the reservation and documented the change while it was occurring. She had no written material to support her research. Parezo collected valuable data, but she did not interpret it. This lack of interpretation may be the book's strength or its weakness. It is left to the reader to ask questions about the stability of a society whose traditional structure has been invaded by non-Indian concepts of commercialism and by art for money instead of art for the supernaturals.

The contents of this book are not the interpretations and hypothesis of an academic reflecting on Navajo culture. Parezo interviewed more than three hundred Navajo sandpainters about their reasons for what they do. "Sandpainters all believe they are producing objects of beauty, which will show the world how Navajo see beauty. . . . In this way, Navajo sandpainters feel they are bringing happiness and blessings to the world" (p. 191).

Nancy Parezo has long been interested in the cultural change reflected in Indian arts and crafts. In 1982, during a postdoctoral fellowship at the Smithsonian Institution, she analyzed the role of anthropologists and museums in the development of Southwest Indian craft and art. She is one of the few anthropologists who are concerned with contemporary ethnic cultures, instead of looking back at what has been lost. This book is and will be a valuable resource for anyone who is interested in the Navajo culture today.

Cornelia S. Feye

Property Rights and Indian Economies. Edited by Terry L. Anderson. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 1991. 320 pages. \$44.00 cloth.

Property Rights and Indian Economies is the product of a 1989 conference held by the Political Economy Research Center of Bozeman, Montana. The Research Center promotes what it calls the *new resource economics*. Most economists would classify the center's approach as fitting within Nobel prize winner James Buchanan's school of public choice economics. Public choice economics has as its primary goal a detailed analysis of rent-seeking

behavior in association with property rights. The largest body of research within this field has been directed at establishing the degree to which government policy is based on self-interest, with a strong emphasis on the governmental bureaucracy as one of the strongest special interest groups. In economic circles, the public choice school is thought to make Milton Friedman's Chicago school of economics look liberal in comparison.

Like most edited collections, *Property Rights and Indian Economies* has some unevenness in its focus. However, all of the articles in the book demonstrate a strong research effort. They are systematic in their approach, well documented, and specific as to their conclusions. The four or five strongest articles make the book worth acquiring. Peter Usher's article on the Inuits' negotiations with the Canadian government regarding Inuit hunting rights is excellent. On a historical note, Leonard Carlson presents a very interesting article on Indian farming prior to the Dawes Act of 1887, and Lee Alston and Pablo Spiller do an excellent job of analyzing the players involved in the property rights dispute of the Cherokee Outlet in 1891.

Rodney Smith has one of the most thought-provoking articles in the book, with his contention that, under certain conditions, a negotiated settlement to Indian water rights claims may be preferable to litigation. His contention can be extended to cases where the Indian tribe involved expects to win in court. Duane Champagne's article on Indian culture and economic development extends his previous work regarding the possible adverse impact some cultural traits may have on economic development if it is viewed only from a non-Indian perspective. Stephen Cornell's and Joseph Kalt's article on Indian economic development is also an extension of their previous work, which stresses that the diversity of sociocultural traits among the Indian tribes requires a political/institutional structure tailored-made for the reservation in question if economic development is to be successful. Their article provides the definitive framework for the study of Indian economic development.

The two quantitative articles in the book, while interesting, contribute very little to an increased understanding of Indian economies. In the best tradition of conspiracy theory, Fred McChesney purports to "prove" statistically that the BIA's on-again, off-again approach to land allotment, starting with the Dawes Act, is just an attempt to maximize the bureau's budget. It could be, but one is inclined to think there may be more to it than

just the BIA's budget. Terry Anderson and Dean Lueck's statistical "proof" involves the assertion that reservation farm land, while of equal quality with nonreservation land in the same region, is not as productive. Their proof of equal quality between reservation and nonreservation land rests with a land survey of thirteen reservation regions. However, based on a sample of thirteen cases, and with a land quality definition that is very broad, they proceed to make the somewhat heroic assumption that what is true for these thirteen cases must also be true for the thirty-nine reservations covered by their study.

All in all, this is a good book but, as noted above, a book that has some problems in its focus. To put it another way, the book has a somewhat split personality. Its theme is incentives for Indian economic development. In Champagne's view, economic development is for profit; most economists, however, would be more inclined to follow the definition of Cornell and Kalt, which states that Indian economic development has as one of its primary objectives the improved economic well-being of tribal members in terms of quality of life and opportunity for productive activity leading towards an improved standard of living.

The role of the federal government, and its failure to provide positive incentives for tribal economic development, has been well documented in the literature on Indian economies. Government bashing, especially BIA bashing, is accepted as conventional wisdom in this literature. Therefore, the articles by McChesney, Benson, Roback, and others are very much in the mainstream of Indian economic literature. These articles document the BIA's ineffectiveness in promoting Indian economic development. They go on to suggest that, historically and currently, part of the explanation for this failure is the BIA's pursuit, as a government agency, of multiple agendas that often go beyond simply improving Indian economies.

Agreed. Now one adds into this equation the growing emphasis, within Indian economies, on self-determination. If the tribes are finally free to dictate their own economic development strategies, what direction do they take? Additionally, and of increasing importance today, is the question of what type of institutional/political structure is established to carry out this strategy. Cornell and Kalt state unequivocally that creating the correct political/institutional structure for the determination of economic priorities and the operation of economic enterprises is the key aspect of an economic development process. They believe that this structure

must be matched with the sociocultural uniqueness of each Indian tribe if economic success is to be achieved. The establishment of an appropriate structure is, in their opinion, much more important than the economic resources the tribe has to work with. It is also more important than the extent to which tribal members are traditional in culture, or how the tribe in question selects its council members.

Cornell and Kalt's article is fascinating, in part because it is so definitive in its approach. The next question they might want to address is why some tribal governments select appropriate structures and others do not. Is it due to specific leadership, insight, or just plain luck? Alternatively, what might be especially useful to tribal economic development planners would be some suggestions as to how, on those reservations with inappropriate political/institutional structures, one goes about eliminating the existing structure and establishing the correct one. As a number of other articles in the book have made clear, any bureaucracy, tribal or otherwise, has a vested self-interest that ensures it will not simply disappear for the good of the whole.

It is at this point that the book's split personality really becomes evident. Well over one-half of the articles have a strong public choice emphasis and clearly view governmental organizations as a problem that stands in the way of successful development for the Indian economies. Consistent with the public choice perspective, successful economic activity is assumed to be based on the individual and individual enterprises. Therefore, to be consistent, this group of authors must see tribal government, with its bureaucracy, as a structure that is apt to impede reservation economic incentives in the same way that the BIA does. However, it has been well accepted in Indian economic literature that cultural values may dictate a more group-based operation of economic enterprises than is commonly found off-reservation. The public choice-inclined authors recognize that, in writing about Indian economies, they would be exhibiting bad form if they stressed individually based capitalism as the only approach to successful economic activity. Yet that is exactly where their school of economic thought takes them.

In his discussion of property rights on page 116, McChesney comes very close to stating flatly that the Dawes Act may have suffered from too little privatization of land. Anderson and Lueck, in their conclusion on page 163, suggest that trust constraints, which include, in their view, tribal rules and customs, tend to

reduce the productivity and value of Indian resources in comparison to privately owned resources. What these authors really are avoiding saying is that, in effect, privatization carried to its logical conclusion represents termination of the Indian reservation as a separate structure.

Indian tribes have no problem with the distinction between self-determination and termination. They see the difference as comparable to the magnitude of the Grand Canyon. But, in addressing the question of economic incentives for the Indian economies, many of the book's authors may see such incentives as a logical extension worth considering. Economists have always had trouble incorporating political and cultural objectives into their analysis. Many of the public choice-based articles in this book have the same problem. Jennifer Roback, in her article on exchange and sovereignty, clearly recognizes this difficulty. On the one hand, she documents why government structures and their associated bureaucracy are not economically efficient; on the other hand, she states that there may be reasons why individualism is not the way for many Indian tribes to go in their economic development process.

I believe a quote from Roback's concluding section on page 24 best explains the book's strengths and weaknesses:

I recall that when the Political Economy Research Center began this project on Indians and Property Rights, we had high hopes of discovering a property rights innovation that would help the Indians become richer. In many respects, we began with all the enthusiasm of the "Friends of the Indian" who initiated the disastrous Dawes Act. I am now much less hopeful that the Indians will learn anything from us. On the other hand, we have learned a great deal from them.

David L. Vinje

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The Skulking Way of War: Technology and Tactics among the New England Indians. By Patrick M. Malone. Lanham, MD: Madison Books, 1991. 133 pages. \$29.95 cloth.

The prime virtue of Malone's book is the way in which he has managed to combine sound scholarship with the visual seductiveness—almost—of *Life* magazine. The text, which, on its own,