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# Two Models to Sovereignty: A Comparative History of the Mashantucket Pequot Tribal Nation and the Navajo Nation

SIoux HARVEY

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*"Tribes have always asserted their sovereign status and their ability to govern themselves," said Henry Sockbeson, an attorney for the tribe. "You're limited, however, by your financial ability to exercise sovereignty." What's happening for the Pequots, Mr. Sockbeson said, is that monetary muscle is finally coinciding with the powers and rights that have long existed for Indians primarily as theory. "If we want a police force we just go out and buy one," he said. "That's true sovereignty, and that's something that not many tribes have had an opportunity to really exercise nationally."*<sup>1</sup>

*I see the atrocities committed to their people and their lands in the name of "progress" and "civilization." I am mortified to be associated with a culture in which these atrocities continue. In which our government, politicians and big-business are still riding in like General Custer, with their self appointed superiority over all other peoples and lands. They covertly manipulate their self interests, invading lives, lands and cultures. And ultimately disempower all of these from their natural state to an unnatural one. Gaming is no different. Couched in terms of, "more jobs" and "economic growth and stability" for Native Americans.*

*Sure the instant gratification of "easy money" and/or "big money" is an attractive solution. But don't be so naive. Gambling on this level is not*

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*of spirit. Nor does it concern itself with the needs of The People, the whole, or your Sacred land that you have fought violently and passionately to keep!*<sup>2</sup>

These two quotes show disparate attitudes about Indian gaming expressed by a representative of the Mashantucket Pequot Tribal Nation and a writer for the *Navajo Times*, respectively. In the past six years alone, gambling run by Indian tribes has spread to nineteen states.<sup>3</sup> Gaming has been shown to be an important stage in assisting Indian nations to gain true sovereignty. The financial clout from gaming revenue has brought Indian tribes new economic strength and made them part of the economic power base in America. Economic strength is of vital importance in helping tribes gain true sovereignty.<sup>4</sup>

This year gaming should bring tribes several billion dollars in profits.<sup>5</sup> These large sums of money have made economic independence and self-sufficiency a reality for many tribes. To fully understand the magnitude of change that has occurred in tribes over time, we must examine the shift in Indian power from a historic standpoint. This research paper will use a “local” focus and compare three factors—leadership, cultural reproduction, and mode of production—in exploring the economic decisions made by the Pequot and the Navajo and measuring how each tribe defines and approaches sovereignty.

We will compare our results with those of the Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development. Stephen Cornell, an associate professor of sociology at the University of California, San Diego, is the codirector of the project, along with Joseph P. Kalt, a professor of political economy at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. For the last seven years, the Harvard Project has been carrying out an extended study of the conditions under which self-determined economic development can be successful on Indian reservations. Cornell’s and Kalt’s research was prompted by two developments: First, federal policy shifted in the 1970s toward tribal self-determination; second, in regards to self-determination, tribes have made different choices in their development paths, with very different results. The project found that some tribes are moving forward—under their own definitions of *forward*—while others appear to be stuck in place.<sup>6</sup>

Research by the Harvard Project discovered “that culture and the institutions of governance are a crucial pair of factors in

economic development.”<sup>7</sup> They found that, unless there is a fit between the culture of the community and the structure and powers of its governing institutions, those institutions may be seen as illegitimate and their ability to regulate and organize the development process may be blocked. Without a match between culture and governing institutions, tribal government cannot consistently do its basic job: creating and sustaining the “rules of the game” that development in any society requires.<sup>8</sup>

Our research of the Pequot and the Navajo proved this to be correct. The role of culture is complex and cannot easily be reduced to simple “if this, then that” statements that apply universally to all tribes. Nevertheless, by tracing the history of two powerful tribes, we can draw some conclusions about the role culture plays in tribal development.

This paper will argue two points: First, sovereignty is crucial to tribal development, but it seems to develop simultaneously with a sound economy. Tribes must be able to make decisions and have control over the running of tribal resources. However, they usually learn how to become independent by building a sound economy. Cornell and Kalt indicated in their study that tribes need to be sovereign before they can develop sound, nondependent economies. This paper argues that sovereignty and economic strength are more intertwined than the Harvard Project has indicated. The Pequot and the Navajo are building their sovereignty by the experience of strengthening and then running their economies. This research indicates that the statement should read, “Tribes learn how to become sovereign by establishing sound, nondependent economies.”

Second, leadership should be added to the Harvard Project’s list of important development factors. The issue of personality is important to a tribe’s development. Good leadership can make ideas gel faster, push the tribe forward at a rate they are comfortable with, and keep them united in their efforts. Successful tribal enterprise is dependent on enthusiastic and effective leadership. The teamwork and social cooperation necessary to ignite tribal fires comes from the person with a good spark.

By following the historical development of two tribes’ paths to sovereignty since 1950, this paper will seek to define the relationship between leadership, cultural reproduction, and mode of production. Our research indicates that these elements are far more interconnected than previously indicated. In two parts of America, the Northeast and the Southwest, the Pequot and the

Navajo have carved out their economies and built sovereign nations. Their history, size, culture, and economies have developed separately, but they are two of the most financially powerful tribes in America. How have they developed independently to reach full sovereignty in the case of the Pequot, and close to sovereignty in the case of the Navajo? How does culture relate to economic decisions? How does the leadership of the tribe influence culture and economic decisions? What are the paths these tribes chose and why? These questions will assist in informing our research on each tribe.

The two tribes are the Mashantucket Pequot Tribal Nation in Ledyard, Connecticut, and the Navajo Nation in Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah. We chose these two tribes for several reasons. Until Indian-run gaming ushered in a new chapter in tribal sovereignty, the Navajo were considered the model for self-sufficiency. The Navajo have been able to maintain cultural coherence because they have remained in their traditional homeland. Their experience taught them that in order to protect their culture they must take a slow approach in their economic decisions. In the tribal election of 8 November 1994, they defeated gaming as an economic option. A majority of Navajo believed that gaming would destroy their culture. They are the only tribe in America in the last fifteen years to have voted down gaming. Currently, 157 out of the five hundred tribes in America offer some form of gaming as an economic enterprise. The number of tribes that own bingo parlors or Las Vegas-type casinos has been growing by two or three per month since the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act passed in 1988.<sup>9</sup>

The Mashantucket Pequot are the most self-sufficient and the most financially independent tribe in the United States. They have set the new standard for self-sufficiency in the contemporary sense. The Pequot's history has led them to use the millions of dollars of profit from gaming to rebuild their tribe and their culture. The Pequot own the largest casino in the Western Hemisphere—more than 1.5 million square feet of Las Vegas-style gaming. In 1995, they expected to earn close to one billion dollars in profit. This success happened after only eleven years of federal recognition as a tribe. How did the tribal structure form to allow this? How have the three variables historically paved the way for building sovereignty?

These tribes' historical experience has led them to two different approaches in their economic choices, each reflecting a separate

idea of tribal sovereignty. Indian-run casinos have allowed tribes that had been unsuccessful in other attempts at economic self-sufficiency to gain huge amounts of capital, allowing for the beginnings of true economic independence from the United States government. What, historically, led the Pequot to embrace gaming and the Navajo to turn away from it?

## BACKGROUND AND POPULATION HISTORY

### The Pequot

The Pequot people were about thirteen thousand strong when the Europeans arrived in the early 1600s. The tribe had dominated the southern New England area before contact and continued to do so until European diseases began to decimate the native population. The smallpox epidemic in 1633, along with cases of tuberculosis, syphilis, and other diseases that were exacerbated by contact and changing local conditions, diminished their numbers to three thousand. So many Native Americans died from disease after European contact that most tribes lost a considerable amount of knowledge about their traditional cultures and political systems; most of what is known about Indian societies is based on documents of the post-1700 societies.

The Pequot Massacre of 1637 further reduced their numbers to about one thousand. Captain John Mason's small army of ninety men, supplemented by two hundred Mohegan and Narragansett allies, attacked and burned the Pequot fort in Mystic, Connecticut. The battle, which lasted about an hour, killed about seven hundred Pequot people. Captain John Underhill wrote,

Many were burnt in the fort, both men, women and children. Others (were) forced out, and came in troops . . . 20 and 30 at a time, which our soldiers received and entertained with the point of the sword . . . those that (e)scaped us fell into the hands of Indians that were in the rear of us.<sup>10</sup>

The postwar Treaty of Hartford, in September 1638, between the colonists and their Indian allies mentions two hundred Pequot males to be divided equally between the Mohegan and the Narragansett. The treaty also forbade the survivors from returning to their land or ever again being called "Pequot." The Pequot people were then divided into three main groups. It is believed that approximately two hundred to three hundred Pequot war-

riors and their families were incorporated into the Mohegan tribe after the war. A second group, living in southwestern Rhode Island with a Pequot/Niantic sachem named Wequash, numbered 120 males. A third group was under Mohegan domination and lived in five villages ranging in size from eight to twenty wigwams, with a total of seventy-three wigwams. These people became the Eastern and Mashantucket Pequot. According to documents, there were approximately 350 to 400 individuals living in Mashantucket in the mid-seventeenth century.<sup>11</sup>

Due to disease, war, and the forced breakup of the tribe, Pequot society was now in a sociological crisis. Ideological, religious, political, and personal stress prevented Pequot individuals from completing even the most routine tasks such as farming, fishing, preparing meals, or collecting wood for fires. With additional epidemics and intermittent warfare causing high rates of mortality, the Pequot suffered a complete breakdown of their normal customs.

The Pequot population continued to decline throughout the eighteenth century. In the middle of the century, the population on the reservation was between 150 and 230 people. By the 1771 census, there were only 151 tribal members. By the early 1800s, this number had fallen to between thirty and forty, with an unknown number living off of the reservation. By 1950, there were only four or five Pequot on the reservation. These numbers continued to decline until 1970, when there were only two women living on the reservation. The demise of the Mashantucket Pequot Nation was almost complete.<sup>12</sup> In 1974, however, all of this changed when Richard Hayward became chairman and began the tribe's resurgence. By 1980 there were thirteen people on the reservation; by 1990 there were 110. In 1995, 317 Pequot were living on the reservation.<sup>13</sup>

## The Navajo

The word *Navajo* was first used by the Spanish in 1630 to describe this people, who numbered in the few thousands. The small bands were kin-based and unorganized. The Navajo were not a united people until after their forced march to Bosque Redondo in 1864. Even then, they still were not as organized as the Pequot had been three centuries earlier. They reached their lowest number after the forced march, when many starved or died of exposure. Since then their numbers have continued to increase. For example in 1865

they numbered 8,000; in 1897, 20,000; in 1947, 55,000; in 1967, 120,000; and in 1995 they numbered more than 240,000.<sup>14</sup>

The Navajo are now the second largest Indian nation in the United States, residing on twenty-five thousand square miles of land. Their annual population growth rate is close to 4 percent, which means they may be close to 300,000 by the year 2000. Because of the arid quality of most of the Navajo Reservation, population density is low per square mile. However, with approximately 5.4 persons per square mile, the reservation is actually crowded, if we consider the unproductive nature of the land. It has been estimated that, through agriculture, the reservation can support only about 35,000 people at a minimum subsistence level.<sup>15</sup>

The Navajo Reservation contains a variety of terrain. This land of desert and canyon has high, flat mesas covered with small pine trees called piñons, forest-covered mountains, mountains with little or no vegetation, and flat, alluvial valleys that only occasionally are graced by flowing streams. This is a land of extremes, with cold winters and very hot summers.<sup>16</sup>

The arid nature of the reservation, along with outside pressure from Euro-American settlement, has been a factor in the organization of the tribe. Until the Spanish and, later, the Euro-Americans entered their land, there was no strong reason to organize. The Navajo population, although large when compared to other Indian groups, lived in an environment that was not conducive to a large state structure without external resources. When the Spanish arrived, outside pressure became sufficiently strong to force unity among traditional Navajo factions.

In 1864, the Navajo were forced to march to incarceration at Bosque Redondo, or Fort Sumner, New Mexico; this was called *ninada' iishjideedaa* in Navajo, the "Long Walk" in English. The Americans hoped to make the Navajo self-sufficient by forcing them to learn Euro-American culture at the fort. When this effort failed, the Navajo were allowed to return to their lands.

Although Bosque Redondo did not make the Navajo self-sufficient, it did foster a new sense of tribal unity. The Long Walk is remembered by Navajo people as a time when their forefathers persevered against terrible odds: More than two-thirds of those who made the walk perished of starvation at the fort. It also is remembered as a time when their traditional religious beliefs helped them return to their homeland. The Treaty of 1868 allowed the Navajo at Fort Sumner to return to a portion of their old home



territory. But it was now a reservation with strictly defined borders of about 3.5 million acres.<sup>17</sup>

Until the early 1900s, when oil was discovered in Navajo territory, the Navajo were virtually ignored by the American government. Euro-Americans considered the reservation land worthless, even for Texas longhorn cattle production. But when oil was discovered in 1922, the federal government began to pressure the Navajo. It organized the Navajo government, because it needed a formal entity to approve mineral leases on Navajo lands. In the first decade of the twentieth century, the federal government created five Navajo agencies with corresponding agency headquarters in each. This development slowed the creation of a sovereign Navajo government, because it increased Bureau of Indian Affairs activity, segmented the reservation, and created dependency among the tribal members.

In the 1930s the issue of overgrazing and soil erosion would bring in another government plan—stock reduction. Livestock reduction was “the most devastating experience in Navajo history since the imprisonment at Fort Sumner from 1864–1868,” said Sam Ahkeah, Navajo Tribal Council chairman from 1946 to 1964.<sup>18</sup> This plan destroyed the Navajo economy and drastically increased dependency on the government. However, as stock reduction continued throughout most of the 1940s, it galvanized the Navajo to begin to organize themselves. The trauma of stock reduction caused the Navajo people to look at new ways of coping with their changed circumstances, because established ways of accommodation were not proving wholly satisfactory.<sup>19</sup>

While the Navajo mindset was changing, World War II was beginning, and the war would prove to be a turning point in Navajo history. Those Navajo who participated in the war effort would bring home with them new ideas that would change the Navajo world permanently. Those who served in the military belonged to the last generation to experience the old way of life.

## LEADERSHIP

The factor of leadership among the Pequot and the Navajo has shown itself to be of primary importance. Marshall D. Sahlins’s article outlining the aspects of leadership aids in our understanding of the roles Navajo and Pequot men have played in their respective tribes.<sup>20</sup> Sahlins’s research on the cultures of Melanesia and Polynesia was composed of an extended series of experi-

ments in cultural adaptation and evolutionary development. He found that one criterion of Polynesian political advance was historical performance. Almost all of the native peoples of the South Pacific were brought up against intense European cultural pressure in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Yet only a handful successfully defended themselves by evolving what Sahlins explains as “countervailing, native-controlled states.”<sup>21</sup> Embedded within the grand differences in political scale, structure, and performance, Sahlins discovered a more personal contrast, one in the quality of leadership.

Sahlins found that institutional distinctions could not help but be manifested within the individual differences of bearing and character, appearance and manner—in other words, personality. He drew “characters” of two primary forms of leadership: “big-men” and “chiefs.” For Sahlins, the indicative quality of the big-man authority was the same everywhere; it was *personal* power.

In Melanesia Sahlins found the big-man to be thoroughly bourgeois, reminiscent of the free-enterprising, rugged individual of American heritage. The big-man combined an ostensible interest in the general welfare with a profound measure of self-interest, cunning, and economic calculation. This man became not so much a leader but some sort of hero. Sahlins found that big-men did instigate mass action but only when they had established extensive renown and the personal relations of compulsion or reciprocity with other center-men. A big-man was one who could collect a “fund of power,” which was how he created and used the social relations that gave him leverage over others’ production and the ability to siphon off excess product—or sometimes he cut down on consumption in the interest of the siphon. These big-men acted in a way that promoted long-term societal interests. Their power was made by the demonstration of personal superiority.

The chief model was discovered in Polynesia. The political geometry in Polynesia is pyramidal. Polynesian leaders are usually developed by ranked lineages. A chief need not stoop to obligate this man or that man, need not by a series of individual acts of generosity induce others to support him, for economic leverage over a group was inherent chiefly due. Instead of the Melanesian scheme of small, separate, and equal political blocs, the Polynesian polity is an extensive pyramid of groups capped by the family and following of a paramount chief. Sahlins believed that the Polynesian plan solved some of the “defects” of the Melanesian plan. He found the Melanesian leader type to be

undeveloped when he measured its historical performance against the Polynesians.

Sahlins's study can help to clarify how the four Navajo leaders, and the one Pequot leader, Richard Hayward, have organized and led their tribes. Sahlins's focus was on the South Pacific, and obviously many of the historical circumstances that occurred there were different from those of the Indian tribes. Nevertheless, the experiences of the Pequot and the Navajo form interesting examples of how leadership arises and is maintained in indigenous cultures in response to outside pressure. The importance of leadership in the general welfare of these two tribes cannot be overemphasized. The Navajo and the Pequot responded to pressure in a similar fashion: They chose big-men to lead them.

The defects that Sahlins found in the Melanesian big-man do not exist in the Native American model.<sup>22</sup> The big-man personality is similar, but the Indian leaders enhance their strength by building consensus, not by coercion. They accumulate a fund of power that is used not to create leverage over others' production or to serve their own selfish interests, but to build a power structure that benefits the tribe. Leaders serve as models of responsibility and altruism.

The Navajo have picked four men to lead them since 1950: Raymond Nakai, Peterson Zah, Peter MacDonald, and Albert Hale. The Pequot were rebuilt and reconstituted largely due to the efforts of Richard Hayward, who was first elected in 1974 and still remains chairman. These men respect their native traditions and seek to build tribes that can be successful and move the traditions with them. This has proven to be far more difficult for the Navajo, who have a solid cultural tradition that has lasted for generations. The Pequot, who essentially lost much of their culture after contact, have used their tremendous financial clout to hire experts (anthropologists, archaeologists, ethnohistorians) to recreate their culture.

### Pequot Leadership

The Pequot story of leadership since 1950 is brief but intense. Between 1940 and 1960, the number of Indians living on the Mashantucket Reservation declined. According to tribal members, the BIA agent in Connecticut refused to let any Indians move back onto the reservation once they had moved away. The agent used the argument that the blood purity of those who wanted to

return to the reservation was questionable. Two women, Elizabeth Plouffe and her half-sister, Martha Langevin Ellal, were the only two Pequot living on the reservation in 1970. These two women fought to preserve their tribe by protesting the state's treatment and trying to secure minimal services from the government, protection for the Pequot's unique status, and assurances of the maintenance of their land base. They died without securing the housing they desired, but they did preserve the land base, the meager financial resources of the tribe, and the tribe's identity.<sup>23</sup>

Amos George became the tribal leader after the deaths of Plouffe and Ellal. Under George, the tribe held a series of meetings, determined tribal membership, and wrote a tribal charter. By 1974, the tribe had prepared a Mashantucket Pequot tribal constitution for approval by the membership.<sup>24</sup> In 1974, Richard "Skip" Hayward was elected president at the annual tribal meeting. Under Hayward's leadership the tribe set two major goals: to develop adequate housing on the reservation and to become economically self-sufficient.

As in the big-man model, Hayward began a series of acts that would elevate him as the leader of the tribe. He did the research himself to gain federal status for the tribe; he wrote grant proposals; he filed suit in the U.S. District Court to regain eight hundred acres in northeast Ledyard that the tribe claimed was tribal land; and he began a ten-year economic development plan. Hayward knew he needed federal recognition to make the tribe eligible for HUD loans, which could provide much-needed housing.

Skip Hayward is the grandson of Elizabeth Plouffe. In 1973 she visited him at his Mystic, Connecticut, restaurant and urged him to become the Pequot's representative to the new Connecticut Indian Affairs Council. He declined. Shortly before Plouffe passed away in 1974, her last words to him were, "Hold the land."<sup>25</sup> Plouffe had earned the name "The Iron Lady" because, for a time, she was the only Pequot living on the reservation and because she led a successful campaign against the state's plan to turn the reservation into a state park upon her passing. She was the historical conduit to Hayward and other young Pequot people. When they were children and would come to visit on the reservation, she would walk them through the woods to the burial grounds and tell them Pequot history. For Richard Hayward and his sister Teresa, Plouffe provided pride and identity at a time when white classmates in elementary school called them "injun" and "squaw."<sup>26</sup> Hayward said that his grandmother taught him

that “[a]ncestral lands are the strongest symbol of tribal identity the Indians have left. Without our land we have nothing.”<sup>27</sup>

Hayward’s sense of Pequot culture, history, and heritage came from his grandmother’s stories. With the knowledge he gained from her, he decided upon four goals for the Pequot tribe:

1. Bring tribal members back to the reservation.
2. Make the reservation larger than 216 acres to house all the returning members and give them a job to keep them on the reservation.
3. Create a self-governing and self-supporting tribe.
4. Make the reservation a center for Native American Research, build a museum, rebuild historic roots, and teach the public about Indians.<sup>28</sup>

Hayward knew that the money available from the government would help the tribe fulfill its vision. “We don’t expect federal help forever,” Hayward said. “We just need seed money. We want to support ourselves. The group will succeed where individuals might not.”<sup>29</sup> Regaining tribal lands was also high on Hayward’s list. He and other tribal members researched the history of land transfers to non-Indians. Thus they learned of the Indian Nonintercourse Act, passed by Congress in 1790, which forbade any sale of Indian-owned land except with the approval of the federal government.

In 1976 the Pequot tribe enlisted the aid of the Native American Rights Fund (NARF) and Jack Campesi, an expert on federal Indian policy who has assisted many tribes in negotiating with the government, to file suit to gain federal recognition and regain lands taken from the tribe. Campesi authored the *Petition for Federal Acknowledgment Submitted by the Mashantucket Pequot Tribe to the United States Department of Interior*. The lawsuit argued that any sale of land after 1790 was void, specifically the sale of 713 acres in 1855 and eighty acres in 1880. The tribe was careful to claim only undeveloped land; there were no homes on these eight hundred acres. Hayward had studied the experience of the Passamaquoddy tribe in Maine, whose members, when suing to regain tribal lands, had realized they would create less opposition if they claimed undeveloped land.

In 1983 Congress passed the Mashantucket Pequot Land Claims Settlement Act. The act awarded federal recognition to the Mashantucket Pequot and settled the land claim suit, laying the cornerstone for the tribe’s economic and cultural resurgence.<sup>30</sup> Hayward’s use of Campesi, experienced lawyers, and other non-

Indians to achieve the success the tribe desired is an example of his collaborative genius.

In 1976 Hayward also had begun to seek grants from state, federal, and private sources. That year, the tribe received its first federal revenue-sharing check for \$127.00.<sup>31</sup> By 1980, six years after Hayward had assumed office, the Pequot had collected more money per capita than any other Indian tribe in the country. They received \$1.19 million dollars from HUD for an Indian housing project.<sup>32</sup> This money made it possible for fifteen families of one-eighth heritage to establish homes on the reservation. Hayward's personal power, as Sahlins called it, combined with his interest in the general welfare of the tribe, led him to pursue a profound measure of selfless action for the Pequot people. Hayward became not so much a leader as a hero.

The ten-year economic development plan that Hayward and the tribe unveiled contained a plan for a \$1 million dollar museum, a trading post, and tourist attractions, as well as farming and high-technology business ventures. Under Hayward's leadership, members of the Pequot tribe slowly began to return to the reservation. By 1980 there were thirteen members on the reservation. Hayward put them to work clearing trees and working in the various businesses the tribe was running.

### Navajo Leadership

Since 1950, the Navajo have continued to choose leaders who have a formal education, facility with the English language, and wider experience with the world beyond the reservation. The Navajo, unlike the Pequot, retained much cultural tradition. They lived on their ancestral lands, their language was alive, and until the early 1950s they were not nationalistic. In their book *The Navaho*, Clyde Kluckhohn and Dorothea Leighton saw the beginnings of this "tribal" or "national" consciousness. They wrote, "The People are becoming increasingly conscious of common background, common problems, a common need to unite to protect their interests against the encroachment of whites."<sup>33</sup> This evolution was brought about primarily by World War II and the termination policies of the federal government. Termination had forced many Navajo to move off the reservation to small towns or large cities. For thousands of Navajo, this was their first experience with the outside world, and it convinced many of them of the necessity of formal education for their children. These episodes

ushered in the potential for new leaders to move the tribe toward sovereignty.

Aside from the tribal chairmen, who will be discussed shortly, an important lawyer, Norman Littel, was hired by the Navajo in 1947. Hired by Chairman Ahkeah, he proved to be a fundamental step in Navajo political development. Littel became the tribal attorney and an important figure in the Navajo government. He was a Rhodes scholar and helped draft resolutions for tribal council consideration. His efforts gained the Navajo far greater control over the operation of their government and helped to limit potential state intervention in tribal affairs. Littel helped to lay the political foundation upon which other leaders would build. Peter Iverson, author of *The Navajo Nation*, refers to the 1950s as the period when the Navajo Nation was born.<sup>34</sup> According to Iverson, this was the era in which Navajo leaders were engaged in broadening the scope and ambition of Navajo government in order to carry out new ideas.<sup>35</sup>

All of the Navajo chairmen elected since 1950 have used their personalities to direct the tribe toward sovereignty. Raymond Nakai, elected tribal chairman in 1963, had served in the navy in the South Pacific during World War II. Once elected, he began a series of administrative and cultural programs designed to enhance tribal life and build the Navajo economy. He promoted the installation and use of irrigation systems, the construction of a hotel-motel-restaurant complex, and the establishment of Navajo Community College.<sup>36</sup> Nakai helped to usher in a new era in Navajo politics and life. His election proved that a virtual outsider to the Navajo Tribal Council could go to the Navajo people and gain the highest office. The big-man leader in Nakai was successful even though he was not well known, because he had the ability to communicate successfully on several vital issues.

All of these Navajo chairmen had to deal with the complexity of a large, unorganized population that had sharply differing opinions. There was the Old Guard, who wanted to maintain traditional lifestyles; the Tribal Council, who sought to make political, economic, and cultural changes to Navajo life; and Nakai's loyal followers. During Nakai's administration, the factionalism resulting from these pressures became apparent. The divisiveness caused tremendous dissension as the Navajo tried to decide on a direction for the tribe.

The most famous and infamous Navajo chairman was Peter MacDonald. MacDonald became executive director of the Office

of Navajo Economic Opportunity (ONEO) in 1965. He gave the program continuity and expanded ONEO so that it touched almost every person on the reservation. ONEO developed many programs, including a far-flung preschool program, a small business development center, a Neighborhood Youths Corps summer program that involved 3,500 youth, a reservationwide recreation and physical fitness program, a home improvement training seminar, a Navajo cultural center, alcoholism and Head Start programs, Operation Medical Alert, migrant and agricultural placement, and local community development. ONEO worked because it was well funded and involved bread-and-butter issues, because it encouraged local involvement, and because it had Navajo administrators.<sup>37</sup>

MacDonald held the executive director position until 1970, when he resigned to run for chairman of the Navajo Nation. His first term as chairman is considered a significant turning point in the history of Navajo tribal government, away from past trends in Navajo affairs and towards self-determination.<sup>38</sup> MacDonald served a record three terms in office, during which he fought to renegotiate the leases through which outside industrial interests gained access to minerals on Navajo land and sought a more favorable policy for controlling Colorado River water rights. He worked tenaciously to keep industrial development under tribal control and tried to expand Navajo influence by encouraging participation in elections. He was also an outspoken judge of the abuses of the BIA on Navajo land.<sup>39</sup>

MacDonald argued for the Navajo people to take control of their resources and their institutions. Many authors have asserted that MacDonald ushered in a significant new era in Navajo life. He brought to his people a plan for self-determination and the idea of Navajo nationalism. In his Ten Year Plan, he said,

What is rightfully ours, we must protect; what is rightfully due us, we must claim.

What we depend on from others, we must replace with the labor of our own hands and the skills of our own people.

What we do not have, we must bring into being. We must create for ourselves.<sup>40</sup>

MacDonald's experience as a Navajo codetalker in World War II gave him a sense of his own value. He returned to the reservation believing very much that his culture was worth saving, but also believing that the Navajo must depart from the past and



control their own destiny. Under MacDonald's leadership in the early 1970s, the Navajo began to alter their social, political, and economic position in the American Southwest and in the world.<sup>41</sup>

In his first term, MacDonald promised to claim funds due to the Navajo as citizens and to throw off the bonds of forced dependency. His government selected new legal counsel, continued legal assistance to Navajo individuals, developed the Navajo judicial system, made strides toward greater control over educational and medical services, promoted economic self-sufficiency, encouraged greater involvement in local and state politics, made the media aware of the conditions in border communities, and realigned the tribal government.<sup>42</sup>

The theme of MacDonald's second term was the emerging Navajo Nation. This period saw the Navajo Nation become an important economic, social, and political force. MacDonald focused on improving the daily lives of his people, furthering the education of young people, easing the burdens of the elderly, gaining the respect of the federal government and the BIA, and improving relations with the states in which the reservation was located. Unfortunately, these achievements were overshadowed by MacDonald's indictment for conspiracy and bribery, which caused scandal and factionalism in the tribe<sup>43</sup> and slowed its progress toward self-sufficiency.

Peterson Zah became tribal chairman in 1990 and president of the Navajo Nation in 1992.<sup>44</sup> In the late 1960s, Zah had joined DNA-People's Legal Services, Inc., a nonprofit group chartered by the state of Arizona to help indigent and other economically disadvantaged Indian people. Zah was also intimately involved with Navajo education. He was chief fundraiser for the Navajo Education and Scholarship Foundation, a nonprofit organization that solicited funds for needy Navajo students. He also founded a private firm that provided educational services to school districts on and off the reservation.

Recently an interesting tie-in between the Mashantucket Pequot and the Navajo occurred. In March 1995, Peterson Zah joined the Foxwoods Management Company (owned by the Mashantucket Tribal Nation, with a minority holding by G. Michael Brown, president/ chief executive officer of Foxwoods Resort Casino) as a consultant. Zah will work with the development company to enable southwestern tribes (read Navajo) to enjoy success with gaming. Zah said, "The Mashantucket Pequots want to assist other Indian tribes to achieve economic security and indepen-

dence, and I will help accomplish this. Extending their expertise in the gaming industry and financing to help their brothers and sisters is especially appealing to me. It's a case of a financially-successful Indian tribe helping other Indian tribes, and that's something all we Indian people need to do: utilize each other's talents and experience."<sup>45</sup> He also remarked that, since the federal government is cutting social programs and all Indian-related funding programs, Indian people need to work together to generate their own revenues to be self-sufficient. He added, "The Mashantucket Pequot Nation's success, through gaming, demonstrates that tribes can become fully independent if they so desire."<sup>46</sup>

On 8 November 1994, Navajo voters elected Albert Hale president. This was the same election in which 27,022 Navajo had voted in favor of holding a gaming referendum and then 21,998 voted against gaming.<sup>47</sup> The *Navajo Times* viewed the election of Albert Hale as a vote to change the direction of the tribe.<sup>48</sup> An editorial piece described the change as follows: "If Hale is able to carry out his campaign goals, the tribal governmental process will be a lot different at the end of this century with chapters, for the first time, having the right to make decisions that affect such things as homesite and business site leases."<sup>49</sup> The article also brings up the fact that for Hale to be able to accomplish his goals, he may need to raise more funds, "which bring[s] us to the second top story of the year—the attempt to bring gaming to the Navajo reservation."<sup>50</sup> The issue of gaming and the Navajo will be discussed further in the section on mode of production. But Hale will be revisiting this issue soon, because Peterson Zah has been hired to try to bring the issue to another vote—this time with the Pequot financial muscle behind him.

### Leadership as an Impetus for Change

Indian nations that are rebuilding or restructuring themselves are far more successful when they have enthusiastic and effective leadership. The teamwork or social cooperation necessary to move the tribe forward to self-sufficiency depends directly on leadership. A charismatic leader helps to organize the tribe's thinking, creates institutions, and provides a vision that the tribe will support. Men like Skip Hayward, Raymond Nakai, Peterson Zah, Peter MacDonald, and Albert Hale recognize that the old days are gone. They have become accustomed to the dominant

culture to the point that they do not seek to return to the “old ways.” Instead they seek to build a society on the reservation that favors the advancement and self-determination of the tribe. These men also respect their native traditions and seek to build a tribe that can be successful and move the traditions with it.

Other scholars have recognized how Indian leaders must provide impetus for change. For example, Walter Williams, in his book *Indian Leadership*, writes that a successful Indian leader

must have a vision for the betterment of his/her people. He must recognize the primary importance of holding onto control of the land base. He must unite an appreciation for progressive techniques with an almost reverent respect for traditions, thus avoiding factional conflicts. He must operate not on the basis of amassing a simple majority of supporters, but on drawing on as many different elements of the reservation population as possible. He must show generosity toward tribal members, and an aggressive competition toward outsiders.<sup>51</sup>

All of the Indian leaders discussed have used their personal power to instigate actions that led their tribes toward achieving sovereignty. They have used the “big-man” model to collect a “fund of power”; they have created and used social relations to give them leverage to lead the tribe in the direction they believe will be most beneficial. They all have promoted long-term societal interests and have built the institutions the tribes need to support sovereignty. They have been free enterprisers for the general interests of their tribes. However, they have not expressed the self-interest (with the exception of Peter MacDonald) that Sahlins outlined. In the case of the Navajo leaders, each built a foundation that his successor could build upon; in the case of the Pequot, one man, Richard Hayward, had a vision. All of these tribal leaders deserve credit for bringing their people toward sovereignty—one of the foundations of a sound economy.

### CULTURAL REPRODUCTION

Since the late 1960s there has been a new focus in anthropological theory. This change has been stimulated by changes in the world: decolonization, the civil rights movement, the fuller emergence of a global economy, and the massive interventions of development. Renato Rosaldo, James Clifford, and George Marcus are three of

the anthropologists who argue for an increased emphasis on history and politics in the contexts of inequality and oppression, based on factors such as Westernization; media imperialism; invasions of commodity culture; and differences of class, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and gender. In light of these influences, the work of Rosaldo, Clifford, and Marcus emphasizes human diversity, historical change, and political struggle over the usual focus on the timeless universals and the sameness of human nature.<sup>52</sup>

These new cultural thinkers assert that neither ethnographers nor their subjects hold a monopoly on truth. Human beings always act under conditions they do not fully know and with consequences they neither fully intend nor can fully foresee. Rosaldo believes there is no monopoly on truth because whoever does the truth-telling is relying on what he/she believes, not on how "other" people think of the world. He knows that you cannot study culture from a neutral position, but you should be honest about your partisanship, interests, and feelings. This is not an "us" against "them" debate. It is an attempt to understand how the operation of a capitalist political economy affects the everyday lives of minority people. This is not to say that Indian people are just "victims"; we are trying to learn how macrosociological questions about the causes of events or the constitution of major systems affect them historically.

The attempt to understand how Indian people change their cultural positions in reaction to capitalism is one focus of the following discussion of Pequot and Navajo cultural reproduction. In order for sovereignty to become a reality, the culture of both tribes has to support their governmental and economic institutions. This is not to say all these must be completed beforehand. Culture is not static. But support for change has to come from the culture, the people.

An article by Ronald L. Trosper gives us a good framework for understanding how culture affects economic development and sovereignty on reservations.<sup>53</sup> Trosper examines aspects of the mindsets that Indians and various groups in the larger society bring to the problem of economic development. He analyzes the implications of certain mindsets for economic development policymaking and relates those implications to some of the recommendations made in the Harvard Project.

Trosper argues that a new range of issues is presented to Indian leadership when self-determination moves tribal governments

toward control of economic development. Such control challenges tribal leaders to be innovative. The Harvard Project pointed out that proper employment of a community's shared ideas can be helpful in economic development. The Harvard researchers propose that "formal institutions of governance are public goods that are ultimately produced by a society's culture."<sup>54</sup> They also discovered that economic and political development should be undertaken in ways that do not contradict values. Trosper reasons that if tribal leaders and their advisors determine their community's values, they can adjust their economic strategy to accommodate or to change these values.

Trosper believes that a better understanding of mindsets could illuminate some of the puzzles encountered as an Indian tribe struggles to adapt institutions from the dominant society to the specific desires of the tribal members. In the activity dimension, Kluckhohn refers to one's "mode of expression." He writes, "Does one express oneself spontaneously (the *being* mode), or does one express oneself through one's accomplishments (the *doing* mode), or does one pursue development (the *being in becoming* mode)?"<sup>55</sup> Using these categories, Trosper found that Indian tribes emphasize accomplishment rather than spontaneity. Thus they fit into a *doing* orientation. They agree on ranking doing above becoming, and becoming above being.

Indian people subordinate their personal goals to those of the group. In turn, of course, individual goals are among of the factors considered during establishment of tribal objectives. This holistic view does not necessarily lead to one truth. Each tribe has a different perspective that informs the shape of its unified whole. This "group relational value" means that agreement in a group is by consensus and that groups are best led by charismatic individuals rather than by a bureaucracy. Trosper asserts that, to be successful, a charismatic leader must embody goals that nearly everyone agrees to. The leader's charisma can assist in building consensus.<sup>56</sup>

The four contrasting mindsets, with the three variants from the dominant paradigm, lead to four very different attitudes toward economic development. Trosper found that "[c]harismatic leadership styles are best able to change mind sets."<sup>57</sup> In addition, he found that "[s]upport for sovereignty suggests a community should be allowed to adjust as it wishes; the modern market provides both pressures to adopt the dominant mind set and opportunities to survive without doing so."<sup>58</sup> The suggestion is that a tribe needs to build institutions that can perform three tasks:

1. Mobilize the community in support of particular strategies;
2. Efficiently carry out strategic choices; and
3. Provide a political environment in which investors—large or small, tribal members or nonmembers—feel secure.<sup>59</sup>

Trosper asserts the following observations about mindsets and economic development: First, the categories of mindsets provide ways to evaluate the match between economic development strategy and culture. Economic development must match the community's mindset; if it does not match, it will cause dissension and disagreement within the tribe. The rules the tribe decides on as models will be found in its own history and culture. The power of the federal government often forces tribes to accept rules from the dominant society—rules that the tribes are not comfortable with. Many tribes have had to conform to rules that comply with federal law or face withdrawal of federal funds. Cornell and Kalt argue that tribes can use their sovereign status to address this conflict by passing laws that satisfy them, if the federal government will be flexible in the application of its laws. This is exactly what happened when Congress passed the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act, which relaxed federal law so that American Indian tribes could build their economies.

Indian tribes must build economies that match their mindsets and their cultural institutions. The Mashantucket Pequot and the Navajo have developed their economies over time by doing just that—selecting new forms of economic action that are consistent with old ways of thinking and practice.

### The Pan-Indian Paradigm

Before a map of each tribe's cultural reproduction can be drawn, we must examine how the pan-Indian paradigm differs from that of the dominant culture. The pan-Indian view was a result of the increased focus on civil rights for Native Americans in the 1960s. Originally pan-Indian ideology arose from several "radical" American Indian groups who were instrumental in educating the American public about the plight of their people brought about by bad government policy. This viewpoint now, as then, seeks to embody a new unity within the diverse population of Native Americans. Pan-Indianism is a set of ideas that Indian people recognize as their own when compared to how dominant society views them.

There is a great deal of diversity among American Indian tribes. The pan-Indian viewpoint does not exactly fit any one tribe, but there are certain commonalities. For example, American Indian religions teach that people should live in harmony with their surroundings. Many tribes now share the Iroquois view that any plans made should include consideration of their effect on the seventh generation. Tribes worry about how their grandchildren will interpret their decisions. The present and the future are seen equally and are more important than the past. The goals of the group have a greater pull on the modern American Indian than do his or her personal goals.<sup>60</sup> These ideas are only a general representation, but they serve as a way for Indian people to communicate their cultural ideology to people who, for the most part, were exposed to Indian culture through stereotypical images in movies, on television, and in other forms of popular culture.

## Sources of Cultural Reproduction

### Navajo Cultural Reproduction

Cultural reproduction for both tribes occurs in two places: at home and at school. For Navajo children, home is where they learn about their Indian culture from their parents, grandparents, and other kin. The fact that the Navajo people have more traditionalists than the Pequot means that there is more defense of the "old ways" than in the Pequot tribe. The holistic vision among American Indians differs with each tribe's perspective. The Navajo, by maintaining more of their holistic view, have been less apt to adopt the ways of the dominant culture, and so their view of economic growth follows. Culturally they have had to adapt to the institutions that would make economic growth agreeable with their cultural perspective.

Peter MacDonald writes that this home education had a purpose: to teach wisdom, not just knowledge. He says that he and other children gained knowledge from the work they had to do each day. They learned how to care for the animals and the land. They learned how to use every part of the sheep and cattle that they slaughtered. They learned how to make clothing, tools, and weapons from the materials all around them. They learned how to assist at birthing, if necessary, and how to treat injuries in the field. His understanding of Navajo culture was as follows:

We had no written laws. The rules under which we live were given to us by the Great Spirit, and thus were fair to all. They were mastered by the elders, who orally passed them from generation to generation. They were applied equally to everyone, and since they were the same laws by which the great spirit judged us, we had no problems with mutual respect.<sup>61</sup>

MacDonald returned from World War II appreciating his culture and, at the same time, eager for the knowledge that the outside world offered. He wanted to share the new things he had learned with his family, friends, and neighbors. For example, MacDonald learned that the earth was round, something that was contrary to Navajo religious beliefs. He returned to the reservation and told the medicine man what he had learned. The medicine man told him never to say those things again, because that information was “bad.” MacDonald writes,

Some of our older Navajo, however, accepted this new information. They would search for stories from our past that would explain it, then add the new concepts to our culture. But the medicine men and the elders could not accept information that was a direct challenge to what they believed, so they had to deny it. It was as though a Christian died, went to heaven, discovered that Judas was sitting on the right hand of God and Jesus was in hell, and then returned to earth to tell other Christians what he had learned. It was easier to deny the new information than to consider changing the beliefs that had been a part of our culture from earliest times.<sup>62</sup>

The factionalization that appeared after World War II is still found on the reservation. It has been apparent in elections, in attitudes toward religious freedom, and in approaches to economic decisions. The Navajo are gradually choosing which direction to move in. They discuss ideas at length before they act. Their culture is the center of their life, worth preserving, and they want to make a measured decision. This blending must proceed at a moderate pace for them to feel comfortable.

The cultural clash many Navajo experienced during World War II caused them to compare their traditional spiritual beliefs with the Euro-American belief system. MacDonald found that the Navajo way was in harmony with many of the teachings of Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, and many other faiths. In



contrast, however, until the forced changes of the Livestock Reduction Act, the war years, and the BIA educational system, the Navajo, in his eyes, had achieved a society so caring that, at the very least, it should be preserved. MacDonald maintains that it might serve as a beacon of understanding or an example for a more advanced civilization in the twentieth century.<sup>63</sup>

The oral tradition was to be learned by all tribal members over the years.<sup>64</sup> Young Navajo children learned the Coyote stories, which became more complex as the years passed so that the children would learn more appropriate guidelines as they matured. The elders told the children other, more sophisticated stories also, especially during the winter months when there was less to do. These stories deal with issues of morality, ethics, history, and religion. Before World War II, Navajo parents resisted the BIA schooling of their children because they knew that they and the elders could teach the children all they needed to know about how to make a living, how the world came to be, and how one should live in the world.<sup>65</sup> The Navajo and the Euro-Americans disagreed about Navajo educational philosophy because of culturally determined values and perspectives.<sup>66</sup>

Unfortunately for most American Indian children, their Indian identity was often viewed by the American government as an obstacle to be overcome if they were to succeed in the modern world. The history of federal Indian policy has been to separate Indian children from their culture. The main thrust of Indian policy since the close of the Indian wars has been to break up the extended family, the clan structure, to detribalize and assimilate Indian populations. In schools on the Navajo and other reservations, the practice of Indian religions was banned, and children were punished for speaking their own language. The government even cut off rations to Navajo parents who refused to send their children to government boarding schools. Until the mid-nineteenth century, it was conform or starve.<sup>67</sup>

In 1946 hearings were held before the House Committee on Indian Affairs. The Navajo who testified declared that increased educational opportunities were the key to improving Navajo well-being. The result was the Special Five-Year Navajo Educational Program, which placed a heavy emphasis on vocational training and promoted the assimilation of Navajo students into the general American population. In addition, federal legislation in the 1950s made possible the creation of a public school network on the reservation, permitting an increasing number of Navajo

high school students to attend school locally instead of being removed from their families to attend a boarding school. By 1960–61, public school enrollment on the reservation nearly equaled that of the BIA reservation school system.<sup>68</sup>

Lack of understanding on the part of BIA-run schools has often meant failure for Indian children. Educators unaware of cultural differences often viewed Indian children as being “cognitive deficient.” This changed in the early seventies. With the growth of minority awareness and activism, the government became more open to restructuring Indian education programs. The Navajo Nation and the Association of American Indian Affairs worked together to help the tribe take over and run schools formerly run by the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs. The Navajo developed and implemented new education programs more suited to the background and special needs of Indian students.<sup>69</sup>

World War II was a pivotal time in the Navajo world. Peter Iverson wrote that the war gave many Navajo long-term experience with societies beyond their homeland. This, coupled with termination policies that encouraged Navajo people to relocate off the reservation, brought a new point of view into many Navajo lives.<sup>70</sup> The men who joined the armed forces or who relocated found a world outside the reservation that caused them to question their traditional beliefs. They realized that the Navajo religion did not explain what they had seen and experienced. They also came to understand that the difference between Indians and whites was not that white people were inherently superior but that they were educated. Peter MacDonald wrote about his feelings after the war:

It was as though someone had taken a culture that had been carefully nurtured for thousands of years and suddenly labeled it a false promise. Everything the Navajo knew, all the ways we had lived and survived now seemed like a fraud. We had to find new ways but we had no way to determine what those might be.<sup>71</sup>

These feelings were mirrored by many other families and individuals with similar experiences. The problem was that the BIA ran all the schools on the reservation. Indian children were taught that they were inferior to whites and always would be. They learned history from the Euro-American point of view, which assumed that all Indians were uneducated, superstitious savages and that the only advances in civilization were made by whites.<sup>72</sup>

In the 1950s, the tribal government, now staffed with many men who had experienced the changes in thinking brought about by World War II, became formally involved in Navajo education. The tribal education council was established under the leadership of Dillon Platero of Cañoncito. Platero helped organize annual conferences on Navajo education and urged greater participation by the tribe in the education of Navajo children. In 1961, a joint educational statement was issued by the Navajo Tribal Council and the BIA, signaling the start of a new era of tribal involvement in education.<sup>73</sup>

There were five policy objectives to be reached in this agreement:

1. Providing schooling for Navajo children through grade 12 on the Navajo Nation so that "all children may be near their parents";
2. Developing public schools for Navajo children at all grade levels;
3. Using existing off-reservation schools for Navajo as long as needed, providing educational opportunity for the mentally and physically handicapped;
4. Encouraging Navajo high school graduates to utilize fully further educational or training opportunities; and
5. Providing adult education.<sup>74</sup>

The new emphasis on education continued to evolve on the Navajo Reservation through the 1960s and 1970s. In 1975 the Indian Self-Determination Act was signed into law,<sup>75</sup> dramatically increasing the number of Indian-controlled schools throughout the nation. Then, in the early 1980s the innovative research of Professor Reuven Feuerstein, an Israeli educator, had a profound effect on Navajo education. Feuerstein found that like many Israeli children, American Indian children were found to be "culturally deprived" or mentally deficient on the basis of culturally biased testing and educational programs. He developed a "cognitive-oriented approach" that proved to have special significance for Native American people and for the future of Indian education. The Navajo invited Feuerstein to Shiprock, New Mexico, in 1982 to develop a program to assist their children. In his primary address at the workshop, Feuerstein said,

A major problem that we face in the biology and psychology of both individuals and groups is the preservation of the very delicate balance that exists between two seemingly antagonistic

needs: the need to exist and the need to live. To exist means to continue, to be the same, to be unchanged. To be alive is almost the opposite. It means to be involved in a constant process of change. The problem therefore is: How do we maintain the proper equilibrium between the need to retain a feeling of identity with the past through all the changes that occur in us and the need to grow and develop? For it is when the equilibrium between these two antagonistic needs is disturbed that the individual or the group faces a real threat. If the individual or group stops changing, there is stagnation that threatens the continuation of life. On the other hand, the continuation of life is also threatened if changes are too rapid and discontinuous, thereby causing the feeling in individuals or groups that their identity has been disrupted.<sup>76</sup>

Feuerstein wanted to find a way to preserve an equilibrium between the two antagonistic forces in the face of strong pressure for diversity and change. One of the ways he found was to foster the capacities of the individual to adapt to new situations volitionally, through an act of will, and not just because he or she is carried away by conditions that impose change. In Israel he developed an innovative teaching approach called Learning Potential Assessment Device (LPAD) and Instrumental Enrichment (IE). Feuerstein found that people could decide how to preserve and adapt their own equilibrium by asking the following questions: "How do I want to adapt? How do I preserve my past? What is important for my identity so that I will be the same today as I was yesterday and tomorrow as I am today?"<sup>77</sup>

Feuerstein and the Navajo adapted his techniques to the schools on the reservation. Feuerstein provided an intervention program aimed at remediation of deficient cognitive functions in the low-functioning Navajo child and adolescent, and development of habits and attitudes that may be prerequisites for turning the low-functioning Navajo child into an active and autonomous performer within his or her own culture.<sup>78</sup>

In August 1981, the entire teaching staff, school board, and support staff of Shiprock Alternative High School, Shiprock, Diné Nation, were trained in Phoenix in the Instrumental Enrichment (IE) process. The school board approved the implementation of the program in September 1981 for all nine classes at the school, and throughout 1981–82 academic year the high school followed the program.<sup>79</sup>

The IE program has had much influence. Although not all the teachers were happy with it, one-half decided to keep it. In 1982

the IE classes were voted the most popular in the school. School attendance rose from 38 percent in 1979–80 to 82 percent in 1982–83. Teachers report that the program has helped them become more “precise and accurate” and more cognizant of their need to be proficient and organized in their daily lives and work.<sup>80</sup>

Through programs like IE, the Navajo are influencing their schools. Shiprock Alternative High School has developed Feuerstein’s ideas further and has now added the Goal 2000 program to its curriculum.<sup>81</sup> However, complete school control, both financial and cultural, is something to which the Navajo still aspire. Additionally, they have two other tasks to finish. First, they must completely remove government control from their schools, and they have made strides in this direction. Schools such as the Shiprock Alternative School are operating like private nonprofit organizations. They have more autonomy than they did previously, but they still have to report to the U.S. government. Second, the Navajo are not yet self-sufficient financially and cannot afford to send their children to private schools they support, as the Pequot do. This would give them the real sovereignty they desire in their children’s education. Without financial independence, this alternative cannot become a reality.

### Pequot Cultural Reproduction

The idea of respect forms the foundation of the Pequot belief system, guiding the tribe and its members in their decision-making. This philosophy is all-pervasive and includes three main tenets:

1. Honor the tribe’s heritage and tradition, believing that balance must exist in all things.
2. Ask yourself if this decision, act, or thought honors the Creator.
3. Ask yourself how this decision will affect the next seven generations of Pequot<sup>82</sup>

In 1995, I interviewed Pequot tribal member Chris Pearson and asked him several questions about contemporary cultural reproduction. Pearson’s responses parallel many of the “pan-Indian” concepts that arose in the 1960s. The Pequot believe that the group is responsible for its members’ welfare; they are tolerant of diversity and employ a consensus method for determining group

goals. Tribal members have experienced the racism, the ethnocentrism, and the paternalism that have characterized government policy toward American Indians. Pearson provided several examples of the injustices the Pequot have suffered and described how they are choosing to define their culture for the future. Like the Iroquois, their neighbors to the west, the Pequot believe that decisions should be made in light of their effects on the next seven generations.

All contemporary Pequot tribal members grew up in the white culture, although they had connections with their Indian past. Most of the current reservation population has moved back there in the past six years. The challenge for the Pequot people now is to decide how they want to define their cultural ideology. They did not grow up on a reservation; most of them never even spent much time there as children. So they are learning and defining together what their culture is and what it will be.

Chris Pearson outlined what he considers important for him and his family to know about being Pequot. The main theme that he teaches his children is an understanding of the word *respect*—for others at “every level”; for tribal traditions, management, and political leaders; and for the Creator. Pearson wants his children to learn about the struggles that the Pequot people endured before Foxwoods Resort and Casino was built. For example, he remembers that when he was a child the reservation had only three dilapidated homes, including a trailer. He told me the story of his aunt who married and moved off the reservation to live with her new husband in Florida. After moving, she decided that she really wanted to live at least part-time on the reservation. When she came back to Connecticut to make arrangements so she and her husband could return, she found that her home had been burned down by the BIA, because they said it was unfit to live in. She rebuilt her home and took a job as a domestic for a non-Indian family. After she had worked for the same family for eight years, giving them a small Christmas gift each year, they finally gave her a gift: a used maid’s uniform that had not been cleaned and still smelled from the last owner. She never went back to her employers’ home and never spoke to them again. Chris Pearson wants his children to understand the disrespect and the indignity that was part of Pequot life before the glory of the Foxwoods Casino.<sup>83</sup>

Pearson wants to teach his children about the racism the tribe experienced and that their faith helped them to stay on course. He

wants his children to understand that regardless of the racism, the hardships, the intensity with which the government attempted to destroy the Pequot, they refused to give up. He is teaching his children about the sacrifices that Pequot people have made in order to survive; he wants them to understand that the foundation for this inner strength is the wisdom that comes from faith in the Creator. Although Pearson's children are growing up in a nonnative culture, he wants them to know they are not like everyone else. He believes that Pequot people have survived because of an unshakable faith in the Creator, and he wants his children to appreciate that fact.

Pearson said that the main factors that inform the Pequot educational system are the tribe's heritage, culture, and spirituality—the only things that the tribe can teach Pequot children that Euro-American educators cannot. He wants his children to understand the importance of knowledge. He knows that a lack of practical knowledge caused the Pequot people to suffer. Although government assistance was available, they did not know where to get information. Had they been better educated, many of the hardships they experienced could have been averted. Pearson said government money was available to build new houses on the reservation, but until Hayward did the research, no one in the tribe knew the money was there.

The tribal elders participate in teaching Pequot culture. "The elders are active at every level," Pearson stated. They do not conduct formal classes, but they are important "living examples" of how to act. They serve on tribal committees and attend all tribal functions and the monthly tribal meetings. It is at tribal functions that the Pequot children observe and interact with the elders, noting that they are treated with respect and honor. Thus the children learn the importance of the elders' position in Pequot society.

The tribal events that Pearson considers most crucial for the preservation and enrichment of Pequot cultural values are the powwows and Schemitzun, or the Feast of Green Corn and Dance, which for the past three years has been the world's largest gathering of Native Americans. Schemitzun, which focuses on the heritage of Native Americans, is a competition between Indian song, dance, and drum performers. In 1994, more than twelve hundred performers from 250 tribes competed. These events, along with the new cultural center, will constitute a continuing means to preserve Pequot culture and values. The center will grow and carry information into the future.

Because of their new financial power, the Pequot now have the freedom to restructure surrounding institutions to reflect their belief systems. Tribal member Judy Bell, Richard Hayward's sister, said, "We have a choice now—years ago there was no choice."<sup>84</sup> They are aware of the importance of education, and they have aggressively intervened to alter the curriculum of a local private school, the Pine Point School, to give their children the foundation they require. "The future of the tribe is going to be education."<sup>85</sup>

The tribe chose Pine Point, a kindergarten through ninth-grade school that routinely sends graduates to excellent private high schools such as Choate, Loomis Chaffee, and St. George's in Newport, Rhode Island. Pine Point has a seven-to-one student ratio, which is one-third that of other private schools. Even before the first tribal enrollment, Pine Point was borrowing from American Indian themes for programs in the arts, music, and dance. Now it will continue to do so, but with the Pequot as full partners. Indeed, tribal parents are considered an important curriculum resource. The school now presents regular programs of American Indian dancers and storytellers.<sup>86</sup>

The Pequot's most important cultural project is currently under construction: a \$130 million museum and research center due to open in 1997. This project, which has been a goal of the tribes since they gathered on their reservation in the mid-1970s, will frame the tribe's success and tell its story to those who visit the complex. According to Judy Bell, "Building the museum has long been a dream of the Tribe's. We want to tell our story to the world. After 13 years of planning and waiting, we are finally able to do it and do it right."<sup>87</sup> The purpose of the complex will be to educate the public about Pequot culture. Museum exhibits will be divided into three historical segments: the era from the glacial period of twenty thousand years ago to European contact; the age of colonization, with emphasis on the increasing English aggression that led to the Pequot Massacre of 1637; and the recent history of Mashantucket since the massacre.<sup>88</sup>

Adjacent to the museum will be the research center, containing a 30,000-square-foot library, climate-controlled laboratories and storage rooms, an herbarium, photo/technical rooms, a restaurant and gift shops, a 300-seat auditorium, and two 100-seat theaters. To facilitate library research, the tribe seeks to purchase every dissertation, book, and government series ever written about Indian people of every tribe.



### LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

Many Native American languages became extinct after European contact and were replaced by English, French, or Spanish. The Navajo have managed to maintain their language, and through it they have been able to keep much of their precontact culture. The survival of the Diné language has helped the Navajo preserve a specific set of practices, a distinct way of life. Although their language was once forbidden in school, today Navajo children are taught in both English and Diné.

The Pequot language died out early in the nineteenth century. It is not known exactly when this happened. In 1903, two anthropologists, J. Dyneley Prince and Frank G. Speck, conducted research on about fifty Pequot people living south of Norwich, Connecticut. These individuals, who worked as farm or factory hands and saw their Indian relatives only occasionally, were not full-blooded Pequot but a mix of Pequot-Mohegan and European stock. Prince and Speck described them as being light-complexioned.<sup>89</sup> According to the researchers, these Indian people knew few, if any, words of their native language. Prince and Speck were able to discover only two short Pequot vocabularies published in the 1720s. The tribe does not teach the language on the reservation today.

### MODE OF PRODUCTION

In his book *Social Change in the Southwest, 1350–1880*, Thomas D. Hall makes some observations that can be useful in understanding how American Indian economics played significant and frequently vital roles in the processes that affected them. Hall assumes that, from their first appearance, states have absorbed smaller, less complex social groups. He also argues that social change is least at low levels of incorporation. As long as small social groups remain loosely incorporated into the core economy, relatively small changes in degree of separation do not have profound effects on local social organization. Hall sees that there is a large power differential between the American state and the various Native American tribes in the twentieth century. This power differential between core states and peripheral areas shapes the incorporation process.<sup>90</sup> It is true that outside pressure shapes the incorporation process for tribes. In addition, there has to be an inner balance on the reservation between the culture of the

community and the structure and powers of its governing institutions. This balance is essential to regulate and organize the tribe's development process, or it will be undermined.

Hall writes that the Navajo were on the "periphery of the periphery." For the most part, their homelands were in the borderlands, out of the way of state action. Because of their weak integration into the Mexican and, later, the American state, the Navajo's social, cultural, and economic conditions were highly variable. They were on the edge of activity; once gold was discovered in California, their homelands were essentially "skipped over" for greener capitalist pastures to the west. They maintained their kin-ordered mode, where wealth is accumulated by the proliferation of kinship ties. The Pequot Nation, on the other hand, was centrally located in the hub of European activity. At contact, the Pequot people were maintaining a loose kinship system, and in fact their organization resembled a state. The Pequot, then, were forming a state before European arrival; in contrast, the Navajo did not develop a state until the twentieth century.

The Harvard Project found that, in the development arena, the single factor that most clearly differentiates "successful" tribes from "unsuccessful" ones is their ability to exercise their sovereignty effectively. Tribes learn to be sovereign through the experience of forging a sound economy. Building institutions is the key to success. The following economic histories examine how the Pequot and the Navajo built their economies.

### The Pequot Economy

It is believed that the territory under Pequot control at the time of contact was about 250 square miles between the Thames and Pawcatuck rivers and along Long Island Sound. The Pequot language and that of other southern New England Indians belonged to the Algonquian family.<sup>91</sup> Subsistence activities centered around horticulture; hunting, gathering, and fishing provided supplemental foods.

The mode of production for the Pequot was initially based on controlling the wampum trade in southern New England. The white and purple shell beads used by the Pequot are most familiarly known in the wampum belts of the Iroquois. After contact, the production of these beads increased dramatically. In her article "Wampum as a Peripheral Resource in the Seventeenth-

Century World-System," Lyn Ceci argues that the function of wampum among northeastern natives had shifted from gift-giving and reciprocal exchange to a more capitalistic market exchange which, in turn, engendered intertribal competition and conflict. This wampum economy lasted only about twenty years for the Pequot because of huge population losses due to disease and war and the shock that resulted from these events.<sup>92</sup>

The Pequot Reservation was established in 1666 when the commissioners of the United Colonies decreed that about three thousand acres were to be set aside for the use of the Mashantucket Pequot. At this time, farming and hunting, as well as some trading, constituted the Indians' mode of production. The next three hundred years saw the Pequot trying to maintain a land base and thus an economy. They lived in less than ideal conditions, fought continuous battles with whites encroaching on their land, and tried to hunt, farm, and fish in an area where competition for wild food was considerable. By the early nineteenth century, most Indians lived and worked off the reservation and would continue to do so until the mid-1970s. There was no industry on their reservation, which had continued to shrink in size from its original three thousand acres in 1666 to just 213 acres in 1970.

The Pequot reorganized under the leadership of Richard Hayward when he was elected chairman in 1974. Under his guidance the tribe established a pattern for economic development—a mixture of self-financing and external funding. It also created an efficient on-reservation administration to carry out the projects it had initiated. Among these was a garden that supplied vegetables to tribal members; the surplus was sold for profit. Maple syrup production began in 1976 after acquisition of a maple syrup evaporator. The Pequot sold lumber, raised swine, and built a hydroponic greenhouse to grow lettuce. They also opened a gravel pit and purchased a Mr. Pizza restaurant. All of these projects produced a modest profit, but not enough for the tribe to support itself. The Pequot needed to find a more successful economic enterprise.

In the meantime, while these economic projects were under way, the tribe sought to rebuild its economic and social base by increasing its land holdings. A settlement with the United States government in 1983 gave the tribe a \$900,000 trust fund, which could be used for land acquisition and economic development. In 1984 the Pequot secured grants from the Farmers Home Adminis-

tration and the Department of Housing and Urban Development totaling \$703,000 and \$27,700, respectively, to develop the tribe's central water system. In 1985 the tribe issued a second bond issue in the amount of \$173,500 to construct a health administration building. By 1989 the Pequot had purchased an additional 1,638 acres.

The experience the tribe gained from dealing with the government, writing grants, and achieving minor business successes set the stage for its next business venture—a bingo hall. In 1980 the Seminole tribe in Florida opened a high-stakes bingo operation that paved the way for Indian-run gaming elsewhere. In *Seminole Tribe v. Butterworth*, a Florida court applied the Bryan decision to Florida bingo laws.<sup>93</sup> The court determined that the state could not prohibit Indian bingo, because it did not have regulatory authority over the tribe. Meanwhile, Richard Hayward had begun to realize that the cultural projects planned by the Pequot would require larger sums of money than they were earning from their small economic projects. He noted, "Without something like an Indian bingo project, such a project as a museum might never be realized."<sup>94</sup>

In 1986, the Pequot opened a bingo hall, generating \$13 million in gross sales and netting a \$2.6 million profit in the first year. Over a period of twenty-eight months, the bingo operation netted the tribe more than \$4.5 million, allowing them to support their government functions, create opportunities for employment, and make further, much needed, economic development plans a reality. Meanwhile, the bingo hall continued to bring in about eight hundred people per session. By 1988 revenue was substantial enough that the tribe officially ended its three-year management agreement with the Penobscot Indians and gained full control of the high-stakes bingo hall. In addition, bingo profits allowed the Pequot to purchase fifteen hundred acres of land, renovate their restaurant, enlarge the tribal workforce, and support charities.<sup>95</sup>

During this time, the tribe began to seek investors to build a larger bingo and casino structure next to the 2,100-seat bingo hall. The Pequot found a Chinese investor who loaned them an undisclosed sum. In February 1992 they opened a 46,000-square-foot gaming area with 170 table games: roulette, poker, craps, blackjack, and more. The \$60 million facility also included an expanded, 250,000-square-foot bingo hall. The tribe, which now employed 2,300 people,<sup>96</sup> named its new enterprise Foxwoods High Stakes Bingo & Casino.

The Pequot reached an agreement with the state of Connecticut in January 1993 to offer slot machines. The tribe would pay the state 25 percent, or a minimum of \$100 million of its overall slot revenues each fiscal year. This agreement would be nullified if casinos were legalized elsewhere in Connecticut. The casino/hotel/resort has continued to expand. The tribe has spent \$350 million dollars to remodel the casino to its current 1.5 million square feet; build a new slot machine room; expand the parking garage; and add an international food court, a new bingo hall/entertainment room for headline performances, and boxing events. The tribe, which now employs ten thousand people, is one of the top ten employers in Connecticut.<sup>97</sup> This year the Pequot could earn close to a billion dollars in profit.

### The Navajo Economy

The Navajo had a diversified economy by the time the Americans arrived in the nineteenth century. However, they were not a united people, and they had no organized government; their society was loosely structured, based on kinship. They farmed independently, raised stock, and hunted and gathered over a large area of land. Between 1933 and 1947, the BIA demanded that the Navajo reduce the numbers of their stock voluntarily in order to prevent what the government saw as overgrazing of the land. If the Indians ignored the order, the government slaughtered the animals. Stock reduction destroyed the traditional economy, embittered the Navajo toward the BIA, and incited them to organize in opposition to the BIA's damaging control of tribal resources.

The Navajo Nation has vast holdings of mineral resources, including oil, uranium, and coal. Since 1950, the tribe has moved the BIA out of its controlling position and has run these enterprises tribally. However, because the BIA "administered" all tribal business ventures until the early 1970s, the Navajo people remained dependent on the government. They needed to develop business skills and aptitudes that had taken the industrial world generations to develop.<sup>98</sup> A report published in 1973 states that the Navajo's economic problems stemmed from the strong dependence of the reservation economy on agriculture and a few modest extractive industries. It was not diversified, it did not have a significant manufacturing sector, and it did not have an adequately developed business community. The lack of a business community meant that most of the income from the reservation's basic

industry flowed off of the reservation without generating additional jobs or secondary sources of income in the Navajo economy.<sup>99</sup>

The Navajo belief system also made change to a capitalistic economy difficult. Gilbreath noted that numerous small business ventures failed on the reservation because many Navajo overextended credit to family members. Traditionally, economic cooperation has been common among Navajo families, making it extremely difficult for merchants to refuse credit to relatives. This practice extends to neighbors and friends as well; some Indian people refer to it as the "Indian social security system."

Navajo religious beliefs deem that money or property is necessary to obtain access to supernatural power. However, this power must be in balance. Too much wealth makes other Navajo suspicious and can lead to accusations of witchcraft. Gossip surrounding rich people in traditional Navajo culture frequently took the form of implications that the rich got their start by stealing jewelry and other valuable items from the dead.<sup>100</sup>

Another cultural aspect that initially kept the Navajo from accepting capitalism was their attitude toward individualism. The Navajo people practice what Gilbreath describes as "a blend of individualism in many personal affairs and a degree of dependency on the family in larger social and economic matters."<sup>101</sup> This noncompetitive or "familistic individualism" discourages aggressive or authoritarian leadership.

After the election of Peter MacDonald, an attempt was made to turn some of these attitudes into more effective, procapitalist views. In 1972, in his first term as chairman, MacDonald authored the Ten Year Plan, which was designed (1) to close the gap between the living conditions of the Navajo and those of the average American; (2) to provide full employment; and (3) to develop productive enterprises. MacDonald knew that, if substantial progress was to be made toward these goals, a large public investment would be necessary. He also expected that, after the Navajo economic plan had gained some momentum, (1) public expenditure for welfare services would be increasingly replaced by private Navajo earnings; (2) Navajo savings and investments would be generated; and (3) increased tax revenues from Navajo country would offset public expenditures.<sup>102</sup>

Around the time when MacDonald presented his Ten Year Plan, the world was beginning to search for alternative sources of energy as a reaction to the substantial increases in oil prices announced by OPEC. This was an ideal time for the Navajo to

renegotiate leases on their supplies of oil, gas, coal, and uranium.<sup>103</sup> Unfortunately, the institutions required for implementation of the Ten Year Plan were not in place when the energy crisis hit, so there was a delay while the Navajo organized themselves into a business entity. By 1978, the tribe had successfully renegotiated one coal lease. The foundation had been laid, and the Navajo began to take over the responsibility of managing their natural resources.

In April 1971 Exxon entered into a joint venture with the Navajo Nation for the purchase of uranium. This brought in nearly \$100 million dollars over the next fifteen years and made it possible for the Navajo to employ two hundred of their own people in the mining operation. Thus uranium became as important as oil as a revenue source. MacDonald said the most significant aspect of the agreement with Exxon was that it "allowed the Navajo nation to participate . . . as joint owners in the production and marketing of their resources."<sup>104</sup>

Another aspect of the Navajo economy that MacDonald developed was agricultural products and industries. A master plan for timber management set guidelines for achieving tribal objectives for forest management, beginning with "development of the Navajo forest to its fullest productivity in perpetuity."<sup>105</sup> This plan was originally drawn up in 1953, but under MacDonald's first term it became more scientific and profitable. This tribal enterprise approach was one prong of a three-prong attack to improve the Navajo economy. The other two prongs were the establishment of many small businesses on the reservation and the creation of many more on reservation jobs.<sup>106</sup>

In 1970, 80 percent of the trading posts on the reservation were owned by non-Navajo people; in fact, 62 percent of all businesses on the reservation were non-Navajo-owned.<sup>107</sup> The existence of the non-Navajo trading posts fostered dependency and discouraged Navajo economic development. Navajo people who shopped at trading posts paid more than they would have outside the reservation and more than they would have at the few large-volume stores on the reservation. Navajo ownership of small businesses was part of MacDonald's plan.

By the mid-1970s, the Navajo people had registered impressive gains on the ownership of retail establishments. They now owned a majority and were beginning to take control of the Navajo national economy. Energy development continued, and the reservation economy became diversified. Today, although the Navajo Nation is not yet self-sufficient, it has closed the gap considerably. According to the *Navajo Times*, the Navajo Nation could earn tens

of millions of dollars in profits from a gaming casino once the startup expenses have been paid.<sup>108</sup> Twelve tribes in New Mexico have signed gaming compacts with Governor Gary Johnson. Will the Navajo soon negotiate their own compact?

In this writer's opinion, the issue of gaming will be addressed by the Navajo soon in another election. Two months before the 1994 election in which the proposal to introduce gaming was defeated, the *Navajo Times* carried letters to the editor on the subject of gaming. Many people wrote to express their fear that gaming would create a generation of Navajo gambling addicts who would lose their wages or their welfare checks regularly in the casino. Others felt that reservation gaming was another move by the American government to destroy Indian people.

Peterson Zah, the Navajo Nation president at the time of the election, said that at meetings he attended on the issue, the number of people who spoke out in favor of gaming seemed equal to the number who opposed it. Tribal economic development officials were optimistic that the Navajo people would approve gaming. After the election, however, these officials said that they had been concerned from the very beginning that not enough time had been given them to educate the Navajo public about gaming.<sup>109</sup> Edison Wauneka, chairman of the tribe's election board, said the board had been given only six weeks when it should have had six months. Public hearings to discuss the issue of gaming were held in the larger communities but none in the smaller communities. Election officials also commented that tribal members seemed to have a lot of misinformation when they voted. One interpreter said that when he translated the gaming question from English to Navajo for elderly Navajo voters, many of them asked if this meant that the Mafia was coming onto the reservation. Beverly Coho, a spokeswoman for Albert Hale, said that many Navajo believed that gaming on the reservation would cause social ills. "In some cases, they equated gaming with alcoholism as a form of addiction," she said.<sup>110</sup> However, if only 35 percent of registered voters, or thirty-eight thousand people, sign a petition asking for a special election, it could be held.

## CONCLUSION

The mindset of the Mashantucket Pequot Tribal Nation allowed them to adopt gaming as an economic enterprise. The tremendous financial windfall from their casino has given them a broad array



of choices as to how to proceed culturally and economically. The Navajo Nation possessed a different cultural ideology that did not embrace capitalism as readily as that of the Pequot. This is not a matter of the Pequot being smarter or better than the Navajo. The Pequot people grew up in the dominant culture, and they were much more accepting of an economic structure that the government supported and promoted. The Navajo first had to wrestle control of their land, their education, and their future away from the government before they could make decisions as a tribe about their economy. The important fact is that the experience of building their economy gives Indian people the foundation they need in order to become truly sovereign.

According to the Harvard Project, an assumption has existed that, if tribes wish to become sovereign, they must first establish sound, nondependent economies. Cornell's and Kalt's research found that just the opposite is true—sovereignty must come first—for two reasons: First, sovereignty brings with it accountability. Those whose resources and well-being are at stake are the ones who are in charge. Without accountability, sustainable development on reservations is virtually nonexistent. Second, the sovereign status of tribes offers distinct legal and economic market opportunities, such as reduced tax and regulatory burdens for industry, and unique niches for gaming and the commercial use of wildlife.<sup>111</sup>

The research objective of the Harvard Project was to explain why tribes differ in their economic development strategies and in the outcomes of those strategies, and to discover what it takes for self-determined economic development—development that meets tribal goals—to be successful. The key development ingredients were external opportunity, internal assets, and development strategy. *External opportunity* refers to the political, economic, and geographic settings in which reservations exist and by which they are linked to the surrounding society. The Harvard Project research found that the critical factors are

1. political sovereignty;
2. market opportunity;
3. access to financial capital; and
4. distance from markets.

*Internal assets* refers to the characteristics of the tribes themselves and the resources they control that can be committed to development. These factors are

1. natural resources;
2. human capital;
3. institutions of governance; and
4. culture.

*Development strategy* refers to the decisions that tribes make regarding their plans and approaches to economic development. The important choices are (1) overall economic system and (2) choice of development activity.<sup>112</sup>

Cornell and Kalt found that their research kept pointing to culture and institutions of governance as a crucial pair of factors in development. They also discovered that the successful tribes had paid prior and ongoing attention to the structure and powers of their political and economic systems. Two factors distinguished the successful from the unsuccessful tribes: *de facto* sovereignty and effective institutions of self-government.<sup>113</sup> Sovereignty is crucial because as long as the BIA or some other outside organization carries the primary responsibility for economic conditions on Indian reservations, development decisions will tend to reflect these outside agendas.

According to Cornell and Kalt, the three crucial factors for development are sovereignty, institutions, and development strategy. They found that tribes that pay appropriate attention to these factors can overcome significant disadvantages in other areas such as natural resources, workforce experience, or location. The Mashantucket Pequot Tribal Nation possessed this crucial piece of the development puzzle: They had the power to make decisions about their own future. They also had the good fortune to be able to gain support from Congress and local politicians, the courts, and—after a carefully executed public relations campaign—the public. Their pieces fit into an ideal pattern that allowed their self-sufficiency to occur rapidly.

The Navajo did not have the power to make decisions on their own; the government acted as their managing partner. However, the tribe had strong leaders who moved them forward while they learned how to be sovereign. The Navajo had to wrestle control of their institutions away from the BIA. Congress was slow to act, the courts were not of much assistance, and the public was uninvolved. The Navajo had to build their own tribal institutions slowly, from within, to fight the BIA grasp. Because of the immense size of the reservation and the population, and variety of attitudes on the reservation, all of these changes took years.

Institution building is a key transition factor. The timeframe for building the necessary institutions depends on the tribe's leadership, size, culture, and economic status. According to Cornell and Kalt, the tribe must develop governing institutions that can pass two tests: First, they must be effective at solving the problems of sovereign societies. The researchers refer to this as *adequacy*. Secondly, the institutions must not work only in the abstract; they have to fit the tribe's informal institutions—the culturally derived norms and preferred ways of doing things of the tribal community. The researchers call this *appropriateness*. The Pequot developed governing institutions that functioned both adequately and appropriately. The Navajo had a much more complex set of issues to work through to build their institutions and far more people involved. All of this retarded the process.

The third factor is development strategy. The tribes need to choose their economic policies and the specific development projects to pursue. Once again Cornell and Kalt found that adequacy and appropriateness are important. The Pequot and the Navajo had to confront the realities of the external market and of their own natural, human, and capital resources. In addition, both tribes had to see that their economic policies and their selection of development projects paid close attention to their communities' culturally derived norms and preferences.

The research conducted for this paper led to two main conclusions: First, sovereignty is crucial to tribal development, but it seems to evolve simultaneously with a sound economy. Tribes must be able to make decisions and control tribal affairs, but they usually learn how to do these things by building a sound economy. The two are more intertwined than the Harvard study has indicated. The Pequot and the Navajo are advancing their sovereignty by building up and running their economies. Cornell and Kalt indicated that tribes need to be sovereign before they can develop sound, nondependent economies. My research indicates that, in fact, tribes that wish to be sovereign must first learn how to establish sound, nondependent economies.

Second, a very important factor for tribal development is leadership. Good leadership can make ideas gel faster, push the tribe forward at a comfortable rate, and keep the tribe united in its efforts. Successful tribal enterprise depends on enthusiastic and effective leadership. The teamwork and the social cooperation that are necessary to ignite tribal fires come from the person with

a good spark. Wise and progressive leaders like Richard Hayward, Raymond Nakai, Peterson Zah, and Peter MacDonald are a necessary ingredient. It is still too early to tell what Albert Hale will bring to the Navajo people.

The factors of leadership, cultural reproduction, and mode of production are all interwoven to create the "sovereign blanket." The Pequot were working to build their economy while they were waiting for federal recognition; thus, when they finally gained federal recognition, they already had some experience building an independent economy. At that time, Indian-run gaming was just getting under way. The Pequot capitalized on the Penobscot experience and began a joint venture to run their own bingo hall. The substantial income generated by the bingo hall enabled the tribe to implement its other economic plans, and the institutions were in place when the money began to come in. The Pequot had tribal political, cultural, and economic support. None of these factors alone will guarantee success for self-determination, but they build on each other. The tribal members learn by direct experience to determine the course of their sovereignty.

The Navajo were already federally recognized in 1950. However, because of the complexity of the issues they had to resolve, self-determination took longer to achieve. Their cultural ideology was amended as they gained economic experience. They needed to learn how to manage vast natural resources, distribute information about the options to a large, diverse population, and, from this, build a tribal economic plan. This learning process took time. The tribal leaders played an important role by laying the foundation for change.

For Indian people, nation-building will vary according to their culture, their economy, and their leadership. American Indians tend to see knowledge in a holistic way, while Euro-American society separates it into compartments. The Indian approach to building sovereignty also takes a holistic approach. Indian tribes need their sovereignty in order to be politically independent; they need good leadership to support their political independence; and they need economic independence as a foundation for sovereignty. Each tribe has a distinctive mindset and unique institutions. No matter what the pattern, sovereignty is a result of a sound economy, and a sound economy can be realized when tribes gain sovereignty.

## NOTES

1. Kirk Johnson. "An Indian Tribe's Wealth Leads to the Expansion of Tribal Law," *New York Times*, 22 May 1994.

2. *Navajo Times*, Letter to the Editor, 23 November 1994.

3. "The Next Throw," *The Economist*, 18 March 1995.

4. *Sovereignty* as it is used here means that tribes have genuine control over decision-making regarding tribal affairs and tribal resources.

5. Congress has created three classes of gaming: Class I includes traditional forms of Indian gaming that do not require state-tribal gaming contracts; class II includes bingo and related games; and class III includes all other gaming, notably casino-type games such as roulette, blackjack and other table games, parimutuel betting, lotteries, and video terminals. (See "Facts on Gambling in the United States" from the National Indian Gaming Association, telephone [703] 351-5064.) The biggest moneymaker for tribes is class III, or casino gaming. Gross revenue from class III gaming has grown from a negligible amount in 1990 to an estimated \$3 billion in 1994, according to industry consultant Eugene Martin Christiansen. One hundred eight tribes in twenty-three states have entered into 124 compacts for class III gaming through February 1995. *The Blood Horse*, 1 April 1995.

6. Stephen Cornell and Joseph P. Kalt, *What Can Tribes Do? Strategies and Institutions in American Indian Economic Development* (Los Angeles: UCLA, American Indian Studies Center, 1992), 3-5.

7. *Ibid.*, 8-13.

8. *Ibid.*

9. The Indian Gaming Regulatory Act (IGRA) was enacted by Congress to provide a legal basis for the operation and regulation of gambling by federally recognized native tribes. Indian gaming began to grow in 1980, when the Seminole tribe of Florida won a lawsuit against the sheriff in Broward County. A Florida court ruled that Congress did not confer authority on states to regulate activities on Indian land. Since the state of Florida permitted and regulated bingo, it could not regulate or limit bingo on Seminole land. In 1987, the United States Supreme Court affirmed the Florida ruling in the case *California v. Cabazon Band of Mission Indians*. In essence, the two cases found that an earlier act, PL 83-280, did not give states the authority to regulate gaming on Indian land. With the industry booming, regulatory legislation was deemed necessary by competitors and opponents of Indian gaming. The Indian Gaming Regulatory Act was that legislation. (This information provided by the Mashantucket Pequot tribe.)

10. Information from "The Mashantucket Pequot Tribal Nation," a booklet that the tribe gives to researchers and the media. Available from the Mashantucket Pequot Tribal Nation, telephone (203) 536-7200.

11. Laurence M. Hauptman and James D. Wherry, eds., *The Pequots in Southern New England: The Fall and Rise of an American Indian Nation* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), 104-105, 107, 125, 197, 213.

12. *Ibid.*

13. Ibid.
14. Peter Iverson, *The Navajo Nation* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1981), 3–11.
15. Kent Gilbreath, *Red Capitalism* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973), 3–4.
16. Ibid.
17. Iverson. *The Navajo Nation*, 3–11.
18. Ibid., 23.
19. Ibid., 39.
20. Marshall D. Sahlins, "Poor Man, Rich Man, Big-Man, Chief: Political Types in Melanesia and Polynesia" *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 5:3 (April 1963): 285–303.
21. Ibid., 288.
22. Sahlins makes the judgment that Polynesian chiefs perform a higher function than Melanesian big-men. One of the reasons for his conclusion was historical performance. Sahlins did not have the benefit of the scholarship of the later 1960s, which would have caused him to examine the role of colonialism in the Melanesian world. It may be that the circumstances were so different for each group that this comparison would not be valid. Because of their political accomplishments, he sees the Polynesians as possessing political genius, but he does not provide enough historical background or details to assist us in coming to the same conclusion.
23. Jack Campesi, "Mashantucket Pequot Tribe, 1637–1975," in *The Pequots in Southern New England: The Fall and Rise of an American Indian Nation*, 137–38.
24. Ibid., 138.
25. *The Day* (newspaper), 30 August 1980.
26. Samuel G. Freedman, "Indian Land Claim Rekindled in Connecticut," *New York Times*, 11 April 1983.
27. Nick King, "Native Americans May Finally Win One," *Boston Globe*, 31 July 1983).
28. This newspaper article is on the first page of the first of three tribal scrapbooks the Pequot maintain in their research center. It is on a page with articles from local newspapers all dated 1975, so I assume the article is from 1975.
29. "Pequots Have Visions for Land," *The Day*, 25 June 1977.
30. Information from "The Mashantucket Pequot Tribal Nation."
31. Ibid., 139.
32. *New Haven Register*, 20 July 1980.
33. Clyde Kluckhohn and Dorothea Leighton, *The Navaho* (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1962).
34. Iverson, *The Navajo Nation*, 68.
35. Ibid.
36. Duane Champagne, ed., *The Native North American Almanac* (Detroit: Gale Research Inc., 1994), 1112–13.
37. Iverson, *The Navajo Nation*, 90–100.

38. Ibid., 177.
39. Champagne, *The Native North American Almanac*, 1098.
40. Philip Reno, *Navajo Resources and Economic Development* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1981), 143.
41. Peter MacDonald with Ted Schwartz, *The Last Warrior: Peter MacDonald and the Navajo Nation* (New York: Orion Books, 1963), 125.
42. Ibid., 131–32.
43. Iverson, *The Navajo Nation*, 179.
44. The title of *president* was a new position created when the tribal government was reorganized. He was the first elected president.
45. “Navajo Leader Zah Joins Tribal Company,” *Pequot Times* 4:3 (March 1995), 1.
46. Ibid.
47. “People Choose Hale-Atcitty,” *Navajo Times*, 10 November 1994.
48. Bill Donovan, “Hale to the Chief,” *Navajo Times*, 29 December 1994.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid.
51. Walter Williams, *Indian Leadership* (Manhattan, KS: Sunflower University Press: 1984), 6.
52. For more on these arguments, see Renato Rosaldo, *Culture and Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989, 1993); James Clifford and George E. Marcus, eds., *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986); James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988); Smadar Lavie, Kirin Narayan, Renato Rosaldo, eds., *Creativity/Anthropology* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993); James Clifford, *Person and Myth: Maurice Leenhardt in the Melanesian World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).
53. Ronald L. Trosper, “Mind Sets and Economic Development on Indian Reservations,” in *What Can Tribes Do?*, 303–33.
54. Cornell and Kalt, “Where’s the Glue? Institutional Bases of American Indian Economic Development,” Project Report Series, Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University (February 1991), 9.
55. Trosper, “Mind Sets and Economic Development on Indian Reservations,” 311.
56. Ibid., 313.
57. Ibid., 323.
58. Ibid.
59. Ibid., 324.
60. Ibid., 303–11.
61. MacDonald, *The Last Warrior*, 16.
62. Ibid., 75.
63. Ibid., 86.
64. Ibid., 17.
65. Iverson, *The Navajo Nation*, 16.

66. Ibid., 42.
67. Association on American Indian Affairs, *To Sing Our Own Songs: Cognition and Culture in Indian Education*, report from a workshop for American Indian educators on the Learning Potential Assessment Device and Instrumental Enrichment programs (Shiprock, NM: NiHa'Alchini Ba Educational Center, 1982), 13. Remarks by executive director Steven Unger.
68. Iverson, *The Navajo Nation*, 56–63.
69. Ibid.
70. Ibid., 220.
71. MacDonald, *The Last Warrior*, 72.
72. Ibid., 41–51.
73. Iverson, *The Navajo Nation*, 64.
74. Ibid.
75. The Indian Self-Determination and Education Act established the current federal Indian policy with ensuing legislation and federal programs to assist tribal governments, Indian communities, and organizations. The Self-Determination Act enabled tribal governments, Indian communities, and organizations to contract and administer federal services to Indian communities. See Champagne, *The Native North American Almanac*, 492.
76. Iverson, *The Navajo Nation*, 21–22.
77. Ibid.
78. Association on American Indian Affairs, *To Sing Our Own Songs*, 39.
79. Ibid., 47.
80. Ibid., 48.
81. Interview with Nellie Sandoval, administrative assistant for the Shiprock Alternative School, 5 May 1995. Sandoval said the curriculum is now coordinated with the National Indian Board Association. She did not recognize Feuerstein's name, but when I described IE she said that was the school's approach; they just did not call it by that name. She said the school is 100 percent Navajo and has a very strong self-determination approach. This year the school adopted the Goals 2000 program in affiliation with other schools around the United States.
82. Interview with Chris Pearson, Pequot tribal member, at the Mashantucket Pequot Tribal Research Center on the reservation in Ledyard, Connecticut, 7 February 1995.
83. Telephone interview with Chris Pearson, 2 April 1995.
84. "Gambling Helps Tribe Invest in Education and the Future," *New York Times*, 21 February 1995).
85. Ibid.
86. Ibid.
87. Information from the "Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Center," promotional information given to me by the tribe.
88. Ibid.
89. J. Dyneley Prince and Frank G. Speck, "The Modern Pequots and Their Language," *American Anthropologist* 5:2 (April–June 1903): 193–212.
90. Thomas D. Hall, *Social Change in the Southwest, 1350–1880* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1989).



91. Information from "The Mashantucket Pequot Tribal Nation."
92. Lyn Ceci, "Native Wampum as a Peripheral Resource in the Seventeenth-Century World System," in *The Pequots in Southern New England: The Fall and Rise of an American Indian Nation*, 48–64.
93. In *Bryan v. Itasco County*, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that states have civil and criminal jurisdiction but not regulatory jurisdiction over Indian tribes.
94. "Mashantuckets Thinking B-I-N-G-O May Spell Independence," *Hartford Courant*, 19 November 1984.
95. Marcus Chan, "Pequots Gain Full Control of High Stakes Bingo Hall," *The Day*, 29 July 1988.
96. Information from "The Mashantucket Pequot Tribal Nation."
97. *Ibid.*
98. Reno, *Navajo Resources and Economic Development*, 155.
99. Gilbreath, *Red Capitalism*, 6.
100. Reno, *Navajo Resources and Economic Development*, 81–100.
101. *Ibid.*, 89.
102. *Ibid.*, xiii–xiv.
103. *Ibid.*, xiv.
104. Iverson. *The Navajo Nation*, 160–67.
105. Reno, *Navajo Resources and Economic Development*, 95.
106. Iverson, *The Navajo Nation*, 167.
107. Gilbreath, *Red Capitalism*, 129–130.
108. Donovan, "Hale to the Chief."
109. "Legalization of Gambling Could Be Dead-end Issue," *Navajo Times*, 10 November 1994).
110. *Ibid.*
111. *Ibid.*, 15–16.
112. *Ibid.*, 8–13.
113. By *de facto sovereignty*, they mean genuine decision-making control over tribal affairs and the use of tribal resources.