

If authentic models of indigenous education are to be incorporated with authentic content, the task of improving education must begin with leaders who understand this. Improving education through community-based leadership begins with educational leaders who respect the deep knowledge that lies within each community. The goal of educational sovereignty is to produce educational leaders trained to not only respect but also implement culturally relevant and responsive programs that serve their specific indigenous populations. Part II, focusing on process, includes chapters that discuss salient points of educational leadership. One chapter describes templates from corporate management models in which the author stresses the importance of taking “into account the essential link between the well-being of the institution and the well-being of the community” (109). The key component here is that well-trained Native leaders are in a unique position to bring school content and community together in ways that break down institutional barriers put in place by the foreign majority society. By knowing the community and the relationships involved the leader will have insight into what works or what is a good reasonable fit for that community. Another chapter focuses on the testimonies of Native American doctoral students in mainstream universities, the rigors these students faced (as advocates for culturally relevant education while still satisfying federal mandates), and the very practical solutions that were found. Two other chapters deal with innovative approaches to Native American leadership. One describes the findings of two special grants that Northern Arizona University received to train Native teachers with reservation-based experiences to become effective principals. The preliminary findings of “getting it right” were clearly described and provide a blueprint for the future. The other presents findings of a Native American Innovative Leadership grant. It entailed a thirty-nine-hour graduate credit distance-learning program so the participants could remain in their school positions while earning administrative licensures. The conclusions drawn through qualitative and quantitative analysis revealed a common set of principles that were practical and functional.

For Native educators, this book is a missive to the choir. What this volume can do is educate and bring new congregants into the American Indian educational community in a meaningful and practical way. The findings in these papers offer a roadmap to success.

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Wampum: How Indian Tribes, the Mafia, and an Inattentive Congress Invented Indian Casino Gaming and Created a \$28 Billion Gambling Empire. By Donald Craig Mitchell. New York: The Overlook Press, 2016. 359 pages. \$29.95 cloth; \$14.16 electronic.

If, after scanning the title of this book, the reader nevertheless expects an informed and evenhanded account of the rise of Indian gaming, surely the first line of the book’s introduction presages a salacious slant: “On February 8, 2007 the buxom tabloid celebrity Anna Nicole Smith died of a prescription drug overdose in her suite on the sixth

floor of Anna Nicole's favorite venue: the Hard Rock Hotel & Casino in Hollywood, Florida" (1). A connection seems implicit, though the causality between location and Anna Nicole's unfortunate demise is spurious, at best, while such sensationalism is quite distant from the contemporary daily realities of tribal casinos—or any casinos. And yet, in addition to scandal, the author also strives to infuse organized crime, fraud, corruption, and even murder-for-hire throughout his book, which otherwise is an engaging and readable story of entrepreneurship, opportunism, and the benefits of regulation in the rise of an incredibly successful industry that has transformed lives and communities across the United States.

The author asserts at the start of the book that American Indian tribal sovereignty is a "sophistry" (12) and a "mythology" (15) that was "invented" (22) in the twentieth century and titles the final chapters "Fake Tribes" (ch. 14) and "Fake Reservations" (ch. 15). Sandwiched between is a detailed, journalistic account of the advent of Indian gaming on a number of reservations, the consequential development of federal case law, and, ultimately, the federal Indian Gaming Regulatory Act (IGRA).

In the 1970s and 1980s, several tribes, most notably in Florida and California, experimented with high-stakes bingo to raise much-needed revenue in reservation communities. As the author notes in passing, few economic development strategies were available to tribes at the time, and tribes had little capital to invest. Bingo, with relatively low start-up costs and a competitive advantage over state-regulated games, was immediately successful—with two important caveats. First, tribally owned and operated bingo spurred key legal questions and political disputes surrounding state and tribal authority to regulate the games; and second, early exploitative management agreements for the operation of the games seemed to take advantage of American Indian people and communities while fueling greed, and worse.

At its high points, the book provides both insightful and colorful commentary to fill in the oft-told stories surrounding Congress's enactment of IGRA in 1988. Starting with the Seminole Tribe's Florida bingo hall in 1979, which triggered the case of *Seminole Tribe v. Butterworth*, and the bingo hall built by the Barona Group of the Capitan Grande Band of Mission Indians in California a few years later, with the resulting case of *Barona Group v. Duffy*, the author draws from contemporary news media and personal interviews.

In the author's telling, Seminole Management Associates (SMA), the company that built and managed the bingo hall on the Seminole Tribe's Hollywood reservation (now known as Seminole Casino Hollywood), was a partnership that included known organized-crime associates. Under the terms of the management agreement, SMA received 45 percent of the net profits for twenty-five years. By 1983, the bingo hall was profitable enough that SMA's share was more than \$2 million. "That was the on-the-books profit" (53); the author recounts allegations that SMA associates "pack[ed] bundles of cash into cardboard boxes" and mailed them to a Caribbean casino (55). Amid post-IGRA challenges to the validity of SMA's management agreement, the tribe bought out the agreement for \$60 million in 1996. The author quotes James Billie, then-chair of the tribe, as explaining, "Sixty million was really nothing. . . . So we came up with the money, because I needed to honor these Mafia guys here in Florida so they'd know the Seminoles are honorable people" (57).

In California, the author credits Allan Drake, a comedian who played Rodney Victor on the television comedy series *Sanford and Son*, for bringing bingo to the Barona Group. Barona entered into a management agreement with American Amusement & Management, Inc. (AAMI) to operate a bingo hall in the tribe's community center in exchange for 45 percent of the profits. The makeshift bingo hall was so successful that within two weeks AAMI had decided to build a \$2.5 million, 2,000-seat bingo palace on the tribe's reservation. AAMI then hired Steward Siegel as the bingo operation's manager. Less than a year later, however, Siegel had resigned and the FBI had opened a criminal investigation. Siegel was indicted in 1986 for a scheme to rig bingo games that skimmed \$139,000; he eventually pled guilty. "[W]as that the only money he or anyone else skimmed?" asks the author, but without providing much of an answer (68). What is "certain," he writes, is that "there were bingo halls on Indian reservations in Florida, California, and elsewhere that were riven with mob influence" (76).

In subsequent chapters, the author provides similar accounts related to the Shakopee Mdewakanton Sioux Community in Minnesota, the Pascua Yaqui Tribe in Arizona, the Eastern Band of Cherokee in North Carolina, and the Cabazon and Morongo Bands of Mission Indians in California. The book then turns to a highly detailed account of Congress' consideration of IGRA's precursor bills, including the impact of the US Supreme Court's 1987 decision in *California v. Cabazon Band*. The book is best taken as a convincing case that Congress did the right thing in enacting IGRA's comprehensive regulatory scheme for Indian gaming, as tribal gaming is—by reliable accounts—a regulatory success story.

It's disappointing, then, that the the book ends with the "Fake Tribes" and "Fake Reservations" chapters. As with the opening discussion of the author's take on tribal sovereignty as an "invention," these chapters undermine the author's credibility, despite the book's back cover crediting him as "a recognized expert on federal Indian law." Federal acknowledgment of tribes since the 1970s, for example, is described as resulting from either "the disinterested inattention of Congress" or the "unilateral (and unlawful) administrative action" of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (254).

The book's epilogue reprises the author's insistence that tribal sovereignty is an illegitimate concept. He recounts a hearing before the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs at which Ernie Stevens Jr., then-chair of the National Indian Gaming Association, stated that any discussion of Indian gaming must begin with tribal sovereignty. "Ernie Stevens . . . likely knows nothing of the story" of the invention of the doctrine of inherent tribal sovereignty because "[i]f he did know, Stevens might understand that Indian gaming has nothing to do with tribal sovereignty" (305). Such paternalism is ignorant, at best, and denigrates the savvy and success of some 240 tribes operating a now-\$30-billion industry in twenty-eight states that generates more than 600,000 jobs, and is the only form of gaming regulated at three levels of government: tribal, state, and federal.

At least Anna Nicole Smith doesn't make another appearance.

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