

INDIGENOUS POLICY

JOURNAL OF THE INDIGENOUS STUDIES NETWORK (ISN)

Vol. XXVIII, No. 2

Fall 2016

On The Web at: <http://www.indigenouspolicy.org/>
COMPILED September 21, 2016 - ISSN 2158-4168

~~~~~  
*Indigenous Policy (IPJ)* publishes articles, commentary, reviews, news, and announcements concerning Native American and international Indigenous affairs, issues, events, nations, groups and media. We invite commentary and dialogue in and between issues.  
~~~~~

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ISN and <i>IPJ</i> information	p. 1
Upcoming Events	p. 4

PROCEEDINGS OF THE WESTERN SOCIAL SCIENCES ASSOCIATION AMERICAN INDIAN STUDIES SECTION MEETING APRIL 2015

Richard M. Wheelock, PhD, "Experiences in Indian Self-Determination: Nativizing concepts of Journalism To empower Indigenous Communities" p. 18

Stephen M. Sachs and Christina A. Clamp, "Returning to Reciprocity: Reconceptualizing Economics and Development Through an Indigenous Economics for the Twenty-First Century" p. 35

Articles

As *IPJ* is a refereed journal, articles may be posted on a different schedule from the rest of the journal. We will send out an e-mail announcement when the next set of articles are posted when they are not posted with a regular new journal, and they can be downloaded as a pdf file. **Current articles are available with list on line at: <http://www.indigenouspolicy.org/>.**

Ph.D. Dissertations from Universities Around the World on Topics Relating to Indians in the Americas	p. 95
Useful Websites	p. 96

Co-Editors:

Phil Bellfy, American Indian Studies Program, Michigan State University, 262 Bessey Hall, East Lansing MI 48824, (517)432-2193, bellfy@msu.edu.

Thomas Brasdefer, thomasbrasdefer@gmail.com, Web Master.

Thaddieus (Tad) Conner, Mew Mexico State University: conner03@nmsu.edu.

Jonathon Erlen, Ph.D., History of Medicine Librarian, School of Medicine, University of Pittsburgh (412)648-8927, erlen@pitt.edu.

Leo Killsback, American Indian Studies, Arizona State University, Discovery Hall, Room 356, P.O. Box 874603, Tempe, AZ 85287-4603, (480)727-0061, lkillsba@asu.edu.

Paula Mohan, Political Science Department, 305 Salisbury Hall, University of Wisconsin, Whitewater, Whitewater, WI 53190 (262)472-5772 (o), (608)233-2812(h), paulamohan@gmail.com.

Ignacio Ochoa, M.A., Director, Nahual Foundation / Fundación Nahual, A Think Tank by and for the Indigenous Peoples of the Americas, 2a Avenida Norte 6 B, Antigua Guatemala, Sacatepéquez. Guatemala. Of: (502)7832-0167, Cell: (502)5985-4954, ignacio@fundacion-nahual.org, ochoa.ignacio@gmail.com, www.nahualfoundation.org, www.fundacion-nahual.org.

Michael Posluns, Daytime & Cell: (416)995-8613, mposluns@accglobal.net.

Annalise Romoser (410)230-2800 ext. 2845, aromoser@lwr.org.

Steve Sachs, 1916 San Pedro, NE, Albuquerque, NM 87110 (505)265-9388, ssachs@earthlink.net, Senior Editor, Coordinator of Editorial Board.

Jay Toth, M.A., Professor of Anthropology, SUNY Fredonia , jtoth@atlanticbb.net.

Rick Wheelock, WHEELOCK_R@fortlewis.edu, Editor.

William (Bill) Taggart, New Mexico State University, Department of Government, Box 30001, MSC 3BN, Las Cruces, NM 88003, (575)646-4935, witaggar@nmsu.edu.

Mark Trahant, Atwood Journalism Chair, University of Alaska Anchorage, marktrahant@thecedarsgroup.org.

David Weiden, Assistant Professor of Political Science and Native American Studies, Metropolitan State University of Denver, King Center 494, Campus Box 43, P.O. Box 173362, Denver, CO 80217-3362, 303-556-4914, dweiden@msudenver.edu, Book Review Editor

ISN Program Co-Chairs:

Sheryl Lightfoot, University of Minnesota, slightft@umn.edu.

Laura Evans, evansle@u.washington.edu.

~~~~~\*~~~~~

### **Advisory Council**

Our thanks to all the members of the advisory council who review article submissions: David Armstrong, Phil Bellfy, JoLee Blackbear, Bennis Blue, Stephen Brandon, Patricia Campbell, Ward Churchill, Shane Day, Larry French, Susan Gorgan, Burke Hendrix, Sheree Hukill, Liliias Jarding, Ezra Rosser, Mickey Poslum, and Stefanie Wickstrom.

### ***IPJ* IS SEEKING TO BUILD AN EDITORIAL COMMITTEE TO WORK WITH THE NEW EDITOR IN RUNNING THE ARTICLE REFEREEING PROCESS**

***IPJ* is seeking volunteers to join the Editorial Committee to collaborate with Rick Wheelock, our a new Editor in coordinating the refereeing process for submitted articles, sending submissions round to advisory committee members for review, and making final decisions on articles based on reviewers' advice. If you are interested in on the Editorial Committee, please contact Rick Wheelock, [WHEELOCK\\_R@fortlewis.edu](mailto:WHEELOCK_R@fortlewis.edu).**

***IPJ* INVITES VOLUNTEERS TO SERVE ON ITS ADVISORY COUNCIL, REFEREEING SUBMITTED ARTICLES. If you are interested in being a reviewer of submitted articles in the *IPJ* refereeing process, please contact Rick Wheelock, [WHEELOCK\\_R@fortlewis.edu](mailto:WHEELOCK_R@fortlewis.edu).**

**Book Review Committee:**

*IPJ* has a book review committee. People wishing to review books, often receiving a free copy to review, and those wishing to have a book review should send a copy, to David Weiden, Assistant Professor of Political Science and Native American Studies, Metropolitan State University of Denver, King Center 494, Campus Box 43, P.O. Box 173362, Denver, CO 80217-3362, 303-556-4914, dweiden@msudenver.edu.

~~~~~  
DEADLINE FOR SUBMISSIONS FOR THE NEXT ISSUE IS December 8
~~~~~

**INDIGENOUS POLICY PLANS FOR 2016-17 - WE INVITE YOUR HELP AND INPUT**

We wish you a fine fall season. *Indigenous Policy* journal is available on the web with e-mail notification of new issues at no charge. *Indigenous Policy* puts out two regular issues a year (Summer and Winter), and since summer 2006, what is now a fall issue serving as the *Proceedings of the Western Social Science Association Meeting American Indian Studies Section*. We are seeking additional editors, columnists and commentators for regular issues, and editors or editorial groups for special issues, and short articles for each issue. We have via our web site, **a regularly updated and searchable data base of Ph.D. Dissertations from Universities Around the World on Topics Relating to Indians in the Americas**, compiled by Jonathon Erlen and Jay Toth from *Dissertation Abstracts*, with recent dissertations also listed separately in each of our regular Summer and Winter issues.

As *IPJ* is a refereed journal, articles may be posted on a different schedule from the rest of the journal. New articles may go up either at the same time as regular issues, or be added to already posted issues, and may or may not remain up when issues change, until replaced by new articles. Notices go out to our list serve when new issues are posted, and when new articles are posted. **To be added to the list to receive e-mail notice of new postings of issues, and new postings of articles, send an e-mail to Steve Sachs: ssachs@earthlink.net.**

Jeff Corntassel and colleagues put together a special winter 2002 issue with a focus on “federal recognition and Indian Sovereignty at the turn of the century.” We had a special issue on international Indigenous affairs summer 2004, on Anthropology, Archeology and Litigation – Alaska Style spring 2012, on Exploring the Governance Landscape of Indigenous Peoples and Water in Canada, Spring 2014, and are about to have additional special issues. **We invite articles, reports, announcements and reviews of meetings, and media, programs and events, and short reports of news, commentary and exchange of views, as well as willingness to put together special issues.**

**Send us your thoughts and queries about issues and interests and replies can be printed in the next issue** and/or made by e-mail. In addition, we will carry Indigenous Studies Network (ISN) news and business so that these pages can be a source of ISN communication and dialoguing in addition to circular letters and annual meetings at APSA. In addition to being the newsletter/journal of the Indigenous Studies Network, we collaborate with the Native American Studies Section of

the Western Social Science Association (WSSA) and provide a dialoguing vehicle for all our readers. This is your publication. Please let us know if you would like to see more, additional, different, or less coverage of certain topics, or a different approach or format.

**IPJ is a refereed journal. Submissions of articles should go to Rick Wheelock, [WHEELOCK\\_R@fortlewis.edu](mailto:WHEELOCK_R@fortlewis.edu), who will send them out for review. Our process is for non-article submissions to go to Steve Sachs, who drafts each regular issue. Unsigned items are by Steve. Other editors then make editing suggestions to Steve. Thomas Brasdefer posts this Journal on the IPJ web site: <http://www.indigenouspolicy.org>.**

### GUIDE TO SUBMITTING WRITINGS TO IPJ

We most welcome submissions of articles, commentary, news, media notes and announcements in some way relating to American Indian or international Indigenous policy issues, broadly defined. Please send **article submissions electronically attached to e-mail to Rick Wheelock, [WHEELOCK\\_R@fortlewis.edu](mailto:WHEELOCK_R@fortlewis.edu)**, who will send them out for review. **All non-article submissions (including Research Notes, which usually are non refereed articles) go via e-mail to Steve Sachs: [ssachs@earthlink.net](mailto:ssachs@earthlink.net), or on disk, at: 1916 San Pedro, NE, Albuquerque, NM, 87110.** If you send writings in Word format, we know we can work with them. We can translate some, but not all other formats into word. **If you have notes in your submission, please put them in manually, as end notes as part of the text. Do not use an automated footnote/end note system that numbers the notes as you go and put them in a footer** such automated notes are often lost, and if not, may appear elsewhere in the journal, and not in your article, as several writings are posted together in the same file. **If you use any tables in a submission, please send a separate file(s) for them**, as it is impossible to work with them to put on the web when they are an integral part of a Word text. Some other format/style things are helpful to us, and appreciated, but not an absolute requirement. As we publish in 12 point Times font, with single spacing, and a space between paragraphs, it saves us work if we receive writings that way. Many thanks. We look forward to seeing what you send us.

==+==+==+==+==+==+==+==+==+==+==+==+==+==+==+==+==+==+==+==+==+==+==+==+==+==+==+==+==+==+==+==+==+==+==

### UPCOMING EVENTS

#### **ISN PROGRAM AT APSA 2017 in San Francisco, CA, August 31 - September 3, 2017**

**The Indigenous Studies Network (ISN) intends to put on at least one panels and a business meeting/networking session at the 2017 American Political Science Association (APSA) Meeting, in San Francisco, CA, August 31 - September 3, 2017.** For more information and to submit proposals for papers contact **ISN Program Coordinators: Laura Evans, [evansle@u.washington.edu](mailto:evansle@u.washington.edu) (University of Washington) and Sheryl Lightfoot (University of British Columbia): [sheryl.lightfoot@ubc.ca](mailto:sheryl.lightfoot@ubc.ca).** Deadline for submitting proposals may be in November 2016. More information about the APSA meeting is available, eventually including the program, at: <http://www.apsanet.org/>.

\*\*\*\*\*

#### **WSSA 2017 AMERICAN INDIAN STUDIES SECTION PROGRAM, April 12-15, 2017**

**The American Indian Studies Section of the Western Social Science Association**, at its 59<sup>th</sup> meeting, expects to again have a full program of panels at the association's meeting at the 2017 conference in **San Francisco, CA**, at the Hyatt Regency San Francisco (Embarcadero), 5 Embarcadero Center, San Francisco, CA 94111, April 12-15, 2017. Paper/panel proposals for the American Indian Studies Section can either be submitted on line by going to: <http://www.wssaweb.com>, or by sending them (preferably by E-mail) to AIS section coordinators: Michelle Hale, [Michelle.Hale@asu.edu](mailto:Michelle.Hale@asu.edu) and Tennille Marley: [Tennille.Marley@asu.edu](mailto:Tennille.Marley@asu.edu). **Deadline for proposals, including abstracts, is December 1, 2016.** Information, which will eventually include the preliminary program, can be accessed on line at: <http://www.wssaweb.com>.

~~~~~

A list of Indigenous Language **Conferences** is kept at the **Teaching Indigenous Languages web site at Northern Arizona University**: <http://www2.nau.edu> and also among a large number of **linguistic conferences** of all types at: <http://linguistlist.org/callconf/browse-current.cfm?type=Conf>, and for **bilingual education** in the U.S. (and some beyond) at Dual Language Education of New Mexico: <http://www.dlenm.org>.

The D'Arcy McNickle Center for American Indian and Indigenous Studies at the Newberry Library, in Chicago, has an **on going Newberry Library Seminar in American Indian Studies** on Wednesdays from 5:30 - 7:30 pm at the Newberry, 60 West Walton Street, Chicago, Illinois with a meal included. "We will pre-circulate papers to those planning to attend. If you cannot attend and want to read a paper, please contact the author directly. To receive a copy of a paper, email mcnickle@newberry.org or call (312) 255-3552. Papers are available for request two weeks prior to the seminar date. Please include your email address in all correspondence." There are other occasional events. E-mail: mcnickle@newberry.org or call (312)255-3564 to receive a copy of the paper via E-mail. For more on this and other events at the Newberry Library go to: <http://www.newberry.org/mcnickle/AISSeminar.html>.

Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR), Heat Advisory Speaking Tour: *Heat Advisory: Protecting Health on a Warming Planet* Tentative Calendar of Events, with senior scientist Alan Lockwood, MD FAAN, is **September 8-October 27, 2016**: September 8-9: Evansville, IN; September 20: Lancaster, PA; Sept. 22-23: Philadelphia, PA; September 26-28: Asheville, NC; October 4: Tallahassee, FL; October 5: Miami, FL; October 6: Tampa, FL; October 19-20: Madison, WI; October 27: Chicago, IL; Dates TBA: Columbus and Cleveland, OH. For more information visit: <http://www.psr.org/news-events/events/heat-advisory-speaking-tour.html>. **Tribal Leaders Preparatory Meeting to the 2016 White House Tribal Nations Conference** is September 25, 2016 at the Washington Plaza Hotel located at 10 Thomas Cir, NW, Washington, DC 20005. For details visit: <http://www.ncai.org/conferences-events>.

2016 White House Tribal Nations Conference is September 26-27, 2016, in Washington, DC. For details visit: <http://www.ncai.org/conferences-events>.

The **2016 National Cultural and Linguistic Diverse Worker's Conference: Drivers in Diversity**" will be held at the Hervey Bay, Australia Community Centre scheduled for the 26th –

28th September 2016. For details visit: <http://www.indigenousconferences.com/#!2016-cald/c1mhi>.

Seeds of Native Health Conference on Native American Nutrition is September 26-27, 2016, at Mystic Lake Casino Hotel - Prior Lake, Minnesota. For details visit: <http://www.ncai.org/conferences-events/ncai-events>.

ATNI 63rd Fall Annual Convention 2016 is September 26-29, 2016 at Tulalip, Washington. For details visit: <http://www.ncai.org/conferences-events>.

2016 WINHEC Annual Meeting is in New Zealand, September 26-October 1, 2016. For information visit: <http://www.aihec.org/who-we-are/calendar.htm>.

AAIA's Indigenous International Repatriation Conference is September 26-28 in Albuquerque, NM. For details visit: www.indian-affairs.org.

NICWA Training Institute is September 27-29, 2016, at Oklahoma City, OK. For details visit: <http://www.ncai.org/conferences-events/ncai-events>.

American Indian Higher Education Consortium (AIHEC) 2016 Annual RCCA Conferences at Orange Beach, AL, September 28-30, 2016. For information visit: <http://www.aihec.org/who-we-are/calendar.htm>.

UNITY: Today's Native Leaders (TNL) Training – Alaska is September 30 - October 2, 2016, at Sheraton Anchorage Hotel & Spa, 401 E 6th Ave., Anchorage, AK 99501. For details go to: <http://unityinc.org/events/>.

The National Association for Multicultural Education (NAME) may be in October 2016. For details visit: http://www.nameorg.org/2015_name_conference_name2015.php.

The 24th EPA Region 9 Conference (Pacific Southwest Region of the EPA), covering 148 tribal nations) conference is October 25-27, 2016 in San Francisco, CA. For information visit: <http://region9tribal-epaconference.com>.

CILLA VIII may be in October 2016, Convocatoria **Congreso sobre los Idiomas Indígenas de Latinoamérica**. For details go to: http://ailla.utexas.org/site/events_sp.html.

NIEA 2016 Convention & Trade Show is October 4-8, 2016 in Reno, NV. For details visit: <http://www.niea.org>.

National Indian Education Association 47 Annual Conference and Trade Show is October 5-8, 2016, in Reno, NV. For details visit: http://niea.site-ym.com/events/event_list.asp.

American Indian Higher Education Consortium (AIHEC) 2016 Fall Board Meeting is October 6-8, 2016 is in New Orleans, LA. For information go to: <http://www.aihec.org/who-we-are/calendar.cfm>.

9th Annual Tusweca Tiospaye 2016 Lakota Dakota Nakota Language Summit and First Nations Education Summit is October 6-8, 2016, at the Rushmore Plaza Civic Center, Rapid City, SD. For details visit: <http://tuswecatiospaye.org/>.

The Indigenous Studies Area of the Midwest Popular Culture Association at the annual Midwest Popular Culture Association/American Culture Association conference is, October 6-9, 2016 at the Hilton Rosemont/Chicago O'Hare. For more information about the conference please visit the conference website at www.mppcaaca.org/conference.

Governance Institute for Student Success TCUs (GISS-TCU 2) is in New Orleans, October 7-9, 2016. For information go to: <http://www.aihec.org/who-we-are/calendar.cfm>.

NCAI 73rd Annual Convention and Marketplace is in Phoenix, AZ, October 9-14, 2016. For details visit: <http://www.ncai.org/conferences-events/ncai-events>.

National Tribal Water Summit is October 9, 2016 in Phoenix, AZ. For details visit: <http://www.ncai.org/conferences-events/ncai-events>.

The 2016 International Conference of Indigenous Archives, Libraries, and Museums October 9-15, 2016 (Conference dates are October 11-12) at the Sheraton Wild Horse Pass Resort & Spa, Gila River Indian Community, Phoenix, AZ. For information, visit: <http://www.atalm.org>. Please direct questions to atalminfo@gmail.com.

Annual, Sunrise Gathering on Alcatraz Island: Day of Solidarity with Indigenous People is October 10th 2016. For details go to: <http://www.iitc.org/conferences-events/community-events/>.

SACNAS: National Diversity in STEM Conference is in Long Beach, CA, October 13-15, 2016. For information go to: <http://www.aihec.org/who-we-are/calendar.cfm>.

The **48th Algonquian Conference** is at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, October 13-16, 2016. For information visit: <http://uwm.edu/eqi/wp-content/uploads/sites/130/2016/06/48th-Algonquian-CFP.pdf>, or <http://www.ssila.org>.

MSI Convening on Student Success: Using Data to Effect Change is October 14-15 in Dallas, TX. For information go to: <http://www.aihec.org/who-we-are/calendar.cfm>.

Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR), Climate Change and the Growing Risk of Nuclear War: A Health Care Perspective, A one-day Symposium to examine the catastrophic public health consequences of climate change and the ways that climate change will increase the risk of conflict, including nuclear war, is October 15, 2016, in Boston, Massachusetts. For details visit: <http://www.psr.org/news-events/events/>.

2016 NAICJA National Tribal Judicial & Court Personnel Conference is October 18-21, 2016, at Morongo Casino Resort & Spa, Palm Springs, CA. For details visit: <http://www.ncai.org/conferences-events/ncai-events>.

Sixth International Conference on Language Immersion Education is October 20-22, 2016 , in Minneapolis, MN. For details visit: <http://www.carla.umn.edu/conferences/LTE2015/>.

American Indigenous Research Association Meeting is October 21-22, 2016 in Joseph McDonald Health and Fitness Center, Salish Kootenai College in Pablo, Montana. Preconference workshop is October 20. For details go to: <http://americanindigenousresearchassociation.org/meeting/>.

USET SPF Annual, hosted by Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians, is at Harrah's Cherokee Casino, Cherokee, NC, October 24-26. For details go to: <http://www.usetinc.org/meetings-events/uset-annual-expo/2016-2/>.

NAAS 2016 International Research Conference is October 24-26, 2016, at the Isla Grand Beach Resort on South Padre Island, Texas. For details visit: <https://www.naaas.org>.

SGAC/TSGAC Self Governance 4th Quarter Advisory Committee Meeting is October 25-27, 2016 at Washington, DC. For details visit: <http://www.niea.org>.

5th International Conference on Language, Education and Diversity (LED 2015) may be in Auckland, New Zealand, in November 2016. For details visit: <https://led.education.auckland.ac.nz>.

2016 NACA Annual B2B Conference & Expo is November 1- 3, 2016, at Tulsa, Oklahoma. For details visit: <http://www.niea.org>.

FALCON Annual Conference is November 5-7, 2016 in Albuquerque, NM. For information go to: <http://www.aihec.org/who-we-are/calendar.cfm>.

Tribal Interior Budget Council is November 7-9, 2016 at Washington Plaza, 10 Thomas Circle NW, Washington, DC. For details visit: <http://www.niea.org>.

The 8th Annual Honoring Native Foodways is Thursday, November 10, 2016 from 11:00 a.m. – 1:00 p.m. in the University Center Annex, University of North Carolina, Pembroke. For information go to: <https://uncpphoto.smugmug.com/Events/2015/Native-Foodways/>.

RES New Mexico is November 14-17, 2016, in Santa Fe, NM. For details visit: <http://www.ncai.org/conferences-events/ncai-events>.

First Nations Language Keepers Conference is November 23-24, 2016 at the Saskatoon Inn and Conference Centre in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, Canada. Details area available at: <http://www.sicc.sk.ca/>.

Annual, Sunrise Gathering on Alcatraz Island: Indigenous Peoples' Thanksgiving is November 24, 2016. For details go to: <http://www.iitc.org/conferences-events/community-events/>.

Alaska Native Education Program: Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA) Listening Session is Nov 27, 2016, at the U.S. Department of Education - Lyndon Baines Johnson Building Training and Development Center (TDC) 400 Maryland Avenue, SW, Washington DC. For details visit: <http://www.ncai.org/conferences-events/ncai-events>.

USHRN Bi-annual Human Rights Conference may be in December, 2016, at the Sheraton Austin at the Capitol, 701 East 11th St., Austin, TX. See more at: <http://www.ushrnetwork.org/events/advancing-human-rights-2015-sharpening-our-vision-reclaiming-our-dreams#sthash.U5xxHMf1.dpuf>. For more information and registration: <http://www.ushrnetwork.org/>.

XVI International Conference on Minority Languages will be in 2017 at the University of Jyväskylä in Finland.. For details go to: <http://linguistlist.org/callconf/browse-conf-action.cfm?ConfID=185476> or <https://www.facebook.com/pages/The-15th-International-Conference-on-Minority-Languages-ICML-XV/1415639588738595>.

2016 International Indigenous Allied Health Conference is at Pullmans Hotel International. Cairns, Queensland, Australia, December 1-3, 2016. For information visit <http://www.indigenousconferences.com/#!indigenous-allied-health-world-conferenc/cccl>.

Language Documentation and Linguistic Theory 5 is December 3-4, 2016, at Russell Square: College Buildings, University of London, London, England. LDLT5 aims to bring together researchers working on linguistic theory and language documentation and description, with a particular focus on innovative work on under-described or endangered languages. For information visit: <https://www.soas.ac.uk/language-documentation-and-linguistic-theory-2016/>.

NICWA Training Institute is December 6-8, 2016 in Portland, OR. for details go to: <http://www.ncai.org/conferences-events/national-events>.

CERCLL 2017 Intercultural Competence Conference: Traditions and Transitions: Sixth International Conference on the Development and Assessment of Intercultural Competence May be in January, 2017 in Tucson, Arizona. For details visit: <http://cercll.arizona.edu/>.

The **8th Annual Earth Care Summit, "Breath of Life: Earth's Atmosphere"** may be in January 2017. For details visit: <http://www.psr.org/news-events/events/>.

SSILA 2017 Annual Meeting held jointly with the 91st Linguistic Society of American (LSA) Meeting is in Austin, TX, January 5-8, 2017. For details visit: <http://www.ssila.org/meetings/ssila-2017/>.

The **13th International Conference on Environmental, Cultural, Economic, and Social Sustainability** is at Biomass and Water Management Research Center, Fluminense Federal University, Niterói, Greater Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, January 19-21 2017. The On Sustainability knowledge community is brought together by a common concern for sustainability in a holistic perspective, where environmental, cultural, economic, and social concerns intersect. For details

visit: http://onsustainability.com/the-conference/call-for-papers?utm_source=S16a%20dans%20promo&utm_medium=S16a%20dans%20promo&utm_campaign=S16a%20dans%20promo.

SGAC/TSGAC Self Governance 1st Quarter Advisory Committee Meeting is January 24-26, 2017. For details go to: <http://www.ncai.org/conferences-events/national-events>.

WSF2017 The 6th World Sustainability Forum is in Cape Town, South Africa, on 27 and 28 January 2017. For details go to: <https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/6th-world-sustainability-forum-matthias-burkhalter?articleId=6059646020671807488>.

5th International Conference on Language Documentation and Conservation (ICLDC) - a biennial meeting; may be in February 2017. For details visit: <http://events.hellotrade.com/conferences/international-conference-on-language-documentation-and-conservation/>.

UNITY 2017 Mid-Year Conference may be in February 2017 at the Phoenix Marriott Mesa, Mesa, AZ/ For details go to: <http://www.unityinc.org>.

NAAS & Affiliates 25th Annual Conference is February 13, 2017, in Dallas, TX. For details go to: <http://www.naaas.org>.

10th International Conference on Language Teacher Education is at the UCLA, February 2-14, 2017. For details go to: <http://nhlrc.ucla.edu/nhlrc>.

USET Impact Week is February 6-9, 2017, at Crystal Gateway Marriott, Arlington, VA. For details visit: <http://www.ncai.org/conferences-events/ncai-events>.

American Indian Higher Education Consortium (AIHEC) 2017 Winter Board Meeting is February 6-9, 2017 in Washington, DC. For information go to: <http://www.aihec.org/who-we-are/calendar.cfm>.

NCAI 2017 Executive Council Winter Session is February 13-17, 2017, in Washington, DC. For information visit: <http://www.ncai.org/conferences-events/ncai-events>.

The National Association for Ethnic Studies (NAES) 45th Annual Conference: Resistance: Borders and Power, Social Justice and Community may be in March, 2017. For details contact National Association for Ethnic Studies (NAES), Department of Ethnic Studies, Colorado State University, 1790 Campus Delivery, Fort Collins, CO 80523-179, www.ethnicstudies.org.

The 40th Annual California Conference on American Indian Education may be in March 2017. For more information, contact: Achel McBride: (530)895-4212 x 110, Irma Amaro: (707)464-3512, or Judy Delgado at 916-319-0506, judelgado@cde.ca.gov, or go to: <http://www.ccaie.org/>.

SWCOLT (Conference on Language Teaching) is March 2-4, 2017 in Oklahoma City. For information go to: <http://www.swcolt.org/>.

RES Las Vegas is March 13-16, 2017 in Las Vegas, NV. For details visit: <http://www.ncai.org/events/2017/03/13/res-las-vegas>.

29th Far West PCA/ACA (Popular and American Culture associations), which likely has at least one American Indian section, is February 26-28, 2017; Las Vegas, NV. For information go to: <http://www.fwpca.org/>.

American Indian Higher Education Consortium (AIHEC) 2017 Student Conference, March 19-17, 2017 at Best Western Ramkota Hotel and Conference Center Rapid City, SD. For information go to: <http://www.aihec.org/who-we-are/calendar.cfm>.

SGAC/TSGAC Self Governance 2nd Quarter Advisory Committee Meeting is March 28-30, 2017. For information visit: <http://www.ncai.org/conferences-events/ncai-events>.

Workshop on Structure and Constituency in the Languages of the Americas (WSCLA 2016) may be in April 2017. For details go to: <https://sites.google.com/site/wscla2016/>.

Alaska Native Studies Conference 2017 may be in April 2017 at the University of Alaska Fairbanks campus. For information go to: <http://alaskanativestudies.org>.

Washington Association of Bilingual Education: Annual Conference may be in April 2017, in Bellevue, WA. For details go to: <http://wabewa.org/>.

45th Annual Symposium on the American Indian may be at Northeastern State University, University Center, Tahlequah, OK, in April 2017. For details visit: <http://www.cts.nsuok.edu/NSUSymposium.aspx>.

NICWA Annual Conference is April 2-5, 2017 in San Diego, CA. For information visit: <http://www.ncai.org/conferences-events/ncai-events>.

National Indian Child Welfare Association (NICWA) 35th Annual Protecting Our Children National American Indian Conference on Child Abuse and Neglect is April 2-5, 2017, in San Diego, CA. For information go to: <http://www.nicwa.org/>.

Federal Bar Association's Indian Law Conference is Apr 6-7, 2017, at Talking Stick Resort, 9800 E. Indian Bend Road, Scottsdale, AZ 85256. For information visit: <http://www.ncai.org/conferences-events/national-events>.

Thirteenth Annual Southeast Indian Studies Conference is being held on campus at the University of North Carolina, Pembroke, NC, at the University Center Annex, April 6-7, 2017. Conference details will be posted to the American Indian Studies <http://www.uncp.edu/ais/> and Southeast American Indian Studies <http://www.uncp.edu/sais/> websites as they become available.

The 9th International Conference on Climate: Impacts and Responses is at Anglia Ruskin University, Cambridge, UK April, 21-22, 2017. The Climate Change Conference is for any person with an interest in, and concern for, scientific, policy and strategic perspectives in climate change. It will address a range of critically important themes relating to the vexing question of climate change. Plenary speakers will include some of the world's leading thinkers in the fields of climatology and environmental science, as well as numerous paper, workshop and colloquium presentations by researchers and practitioners. For details go to: <http://on-climate.com/the-conference>.

American Indian Cultures and Literatures area of the PCA/ACA (Popular Culture Association/American Culture Association) National Conference 2017 is in San Diego, CA, April 12-15, 2017. For details Visit: <http://www.pcaaca.org/conference/national.php>.

The Western Political Science Association (WPSA) 2016, April 13-15, 2017, is at the Hyatt, Vancouver, BC, and will likely include one or more Race, Ethnicity and Politics panels that could include Indigenous issues. For details go to: <http://wpsa.research.pdx.edu/>

The 12th Giving the Gift of Language: A Teacher Training Workshop for Native Language Instruction and Acquisition, SILC: Strengthening Indigenous Languages and Cultures: A Teacher Training Workshop for Native Language Instruction and Acquisition is April 14-16, 2016, at Missoula, MT. For information visit: <http://www.nsilc.org/index.htm>.

2017 Annual Tribal Self-Governance Consultation Conference is April 23-27, 2017. For information visit: <http://www.ncai.org/conferences-events/ncai-events>.

United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII) <https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/unpfii-sessions-2/sessions.html> 16th Session will be held at the United Nations Headquarters in New York from April 24 to May 5, 2017. For information visit: <https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/unpfii-sessions-2/sessions.html>.

The 12th Annual Conference on Endangered Languages and Cultures of the Americas may be in May 2017. For details go to: <http://www.cail.utah.edu>, or contact Jennifer Mitchell: cail.utah@gmail.com.

24th Stabilizing Indigenous Languages Symposium may be in June 2017. For information visit: <http://sils2016.com>.

The 8th Native American and Indigenous Studies Association Annual Conference may be in May, 2017, in Tucson, AZ. For more information go to: <http://naisa.ais.arizona.edu/>.

20th Annual Workshop on American Indigenous Languages (WAIL2016) may be in May 2017, at UCSB Department of Linguistics. For information visit: <http://www.linguistics.ucsb.edu> or <http://osl.sa.ucsb.edu/org/nail/WAIL>.

9th Austronesian and Papuan Languages and Linguistics Conference may be in May 2017, in London, UK. For information go to: <https://www.soas.ac.uk/linguistics/events/apll8-conference/>.

21st Navajo Studies Conference may be at Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, Arizona, may be in May 2017. For details go to: <http://www.navajostudies.org>.

24th Annual Stabilizing Indigenous Languages Symposium may be at the University of Hawaii at Hilo, in June 2017. Information will become available at www.uhh.hawaii.edu.

Heritage Language Research Institute may be in 2017. For details go to: <http://nhlrc.ucla.edu/>.

AsiaLex 2017 may be in June 2017. For information go to: <http://www.adelaide.edu.au/australlex/>.

The Native American Student Advocacy Institute may be in June 2017. For details visit: <http://nasai.collegeboard.org/>.

Fostering Indigenous Business and Entrepreneurship in the Americas Conference: FIBEA 2017 may be in June 2017. For information and to make submissions contact fibea@mgt.unm.edu, or visit <http://conferences.mgt.unm.edu/fibea/> or <http://fibeamanaus.mgt.unm.edu/defaultENG.asp>.

2nd Annual Stabilizing Indigenous Languages Conference and 6th Western Symposium on Language Issues (WeSLI) may be in June 2016. For details go to: <http://jan.ucc.nau.edu/~jar/AIE/conf.html>.

6th Annual Indigenous Peoples' Rights Course & Field Visit in Costa Rica by Human Rights Education Associates (HREA) and University for Peace (UPEACE), Costa Rica: E-Learning Course Indigenous Peoples' Rights: may be June - July, 2016; Field Visit: Amburi, Talamanca, Costa Rica: August, 2017. For details go to: http://www.hrea.org/index.php?base_id=1457&language_id=1

The Society of American Indian Government Employees (SAIGE) is a national non-profit organization that advocates for American Indian and Alaska Native federal employees. **SAIGE 14th Annual National Training Program** may be in June 6, 2017. Information is available from the Society of American Indian Government Employees, P.O. Box 7715, Washington, D.C. 20044, www.saige.org.

Breath of Life / Workshop for California Indian Languages is in June 2016, For details visit: <http://www.aicls.org>.

UCLA American Indian Studies Center Summer in Montana may be in June 2017. For details see: www.aisc.ucla.edu/news/.../Summer%20in%20Montana%20flyer.pdf.

Dene Languages Conference may be in June 2017, and will likely be held in the Southwest, in Apache country. For information go to: <http://www.uaf.edu/alc/>.

SYLAP 2017 (Shoshonian language summer program) may be in June and July 2017 on the campus of the University of Utah. For details go to: <http://shoshoniproject.utah.edu/2015/12/sylap-2016-application/>.

The Northwest Indian Language Institute Summer 2017 may be in June 2017, at the University of Oregon, Eugene, OR. For details go to: <http://pages.uoregon.edu/nwili/>.

7th International Conference on Bantu may be in June 2017. For details go to: <http://linguistlist.org/callconf/browse-conf-action.cfm?ConfID=190196>.

The **Breath of Life Language Restoration Workshop for California Languages** may be in June 2017. For details visit, <http://www.aicls.org>.

The **2017 Institute on Collaborative Language Research (CoLang)** may be in June and July 2017. For information about SSILA go to: www.ssila.org

NCAI 2017 Mid Year Conference is June 11-14, 2017, at Uncasville, CT. For information visit: <http://www.ncai.org/conferences-events/ncai-events>.

7th American Indian and Indigenous Education Conference is at Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ, June 16-18, 2016. To get updated information on this conference visit: <http://nau.edu/AIE>.

(Australia) National Indigenous Justice Conference is June 19-20, 2017, in Sydney, Australia. For information go to: <http://www.indigenousconferences.com/2017-conferences>.

The 2017 Institute on Collaborative Language Research (CoLang) may be at the University of Alaska, Fairbanks is in June 20, 2017. For details go to: <http://www.ssila.org>.

2017 International Stolen generations Conference, is June 29-30, 2017, in Sydney, Australia. . For details go to: <http://www.indigenousconferences.com/2017-conferences>.

9th International 3L Summer School: Endangered Languages: From Documentation to Revitalization may be in July 2017. For details visit: <http://www.ddl.ish-lyon.cnrs.fr/> .

NCAIS Graduate Student Conference at the Newberry Library in Chicago may be in July 2017. “The Consortium offers graduate students from NCAIS member institutions an opportunity to present papers in any academic field relating to American Indian Studies at the Graduate Student Conference. We encourage the submission of proposals for papers that examine a wide variety of subjects relating to American Indian and Indigenous history and culture broadly conceived. For details go to <http://www.newberry.org/>.

NCAIS Summer Institute, May be in July and August, 2017. For more information go to: www.newberry.org/mcnickle.

The **12th Annual Vine Deloria, Jr. Indigenous Studies Symposium** may be in July 2017 and

will be held at the Coast Salish Institute Building on Lummi Campus. For details contact Native American Studies, Northwest Indian College, 2533 Kwina Rd., Bellingham, WA 98226 (360)392-4307, www.nwic.edu.

The 6th Cambridge Conference on Language Endangerment may be July 2017, at the University of Cambridge, Cambridge, UK. For information go to: <http://www.mml.cam.ac.uk/news/fifth-cambridge-conference-language-endangerment>.

12th Lancaster Postgraduate Conference in Linguistics and Language Teaching (LAEDG 2017) may be in July 2017. For details go to: <http://www.lancaster.ac.uk/fass/events/laelpgconference/index.htm>.

Australia: 2017 Indigenous Justice Conference may be in July, 2017, in Sydney, Australia. For information visit: <http://www.indigenousconferences.com>.

American Indian Higher Education Consortium (AIHEC) 2017 Summer Board Meeting is July 13-15, 2017 in Denver, CO. For information go to: <http://www.aihec.org/who-we-are/calendar.cfm>.

SGAC/TSGAC Self Governance 3rd Quarter Advisory Committee Meeting is July 18-20, 2017. For information visit: <http://www.ncai.org/conferences-events/ncai-events>.

The **2017 annual meeting of the Linguistic Association of Canada and the United States, the 44th LACUS Forum** may be in August 2017. For details visit: <http://lacus.weebly.com>.

52nd International Conference on Salish and Neighboring Languages may be in August 2017. More information is available at: <http://icsnl.org> or <http://linguistlist.org/callconf/browse-conf-action.cfm?ConfID=208896>.

NAAAS (including The National Association of Native American Studies) International Research Forum may be in August 2017. For details visit: <https://www.naaas.org/view-calendar/>.

Syntax of the World's Languages VII (SWL VII) may be in August 2017. For details visit: <http://swl-7.weebly.com/>.

2016 World Indigenous Business Forum may be in August 2017. For details go to: <http://wibf.ca/>.

AustraLex Conference 2017: *Intersections between oral narratives, traditions, lexicography and new media* is August 28-29, 2017 at the University of the South Pacific, Rarotonga, Cook Islands. For information visit: <http://www.adelaide.edu.au/australlex/>.

14th Language is Life Biennial Conference may be in September 2017. For details, visit: <http://www.aicls.org/>.

9th Minnesota Indigenous Language Symposium may be in September 2017. For details go to:

http://www.grassrootsindigenoustmultimedia.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=69&Itemid=137, or <http://conta.cc/12Rgb2u>.

4th Language and Language Teaching Conference (LLTC) 2017 may be in September 2017. For details visit: <https://sites.google.com/site/usdlltc/>.

Colorado Association for Bilingual Education (CABE) Conference may be in September 2017. for details visit: <http://www.cocabe.org>

46th Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Association of the Southwest may be held at the University of Texas at Austin, in September 2017. For details go to: <http://clas.ucdenver.edu/lasso/index.html>.

National Indian Health Board (NIHB) Annual Consumer Conference is in the Billings, MT Area, September 25-29, 2017 (<http://www.ncai.org/events/2017/09/25/nihb-annual-consumer-conference>).

The 13th biannual International Conference on the Mediterranean Coastal Environment may be in October 2017. organized by MEDCOAST. For details contact: medcoast@medcoast.net, <http://www.medcoast.net/>.

NIEA Annual Conference is October 5-7, 2017 in Orlando, FL. For details visit: <http://www.aihec.org/who-we-are/calendar.cfm>.

NCAI 74th Annual Convention and Marketplace is October 15-20, 2017, in Milwaukee, WI. For details visit: <http://www.ncai.org/conferences-events/ncai-events>.

SGAC/TSGAC Self Governance 4th Quarter Advisory Committee Meeting is Oct 24- 26, 2017. For details visit: <http://www.ncai.org/conferences-events/ncai-events>.

Puliima 2017 (6th Indigenous Language and Technology Conference) may be in October, 2017. For information go to: <http://www.puliima.com>.

NCAI 2018 Executive Council Winter Session is February 12-15, 2018, in Washington, DC. For details visit: <http://www.ncai.org/conferences-events/ncai-events>.

American Indian Higher Education Consortium (AIHEC) 2018 Winter Board Meeting is February 12-15, 2018 in Washington, DC. For information go to: <http://www.aihec.org/who-we-are/calendar.cfm>.

National RES Las Vegas is March 5-8, 2018, in Las Vegas, NV. For details visit: <http://www.ncai.org/conferences-events/ncai-events>.

American Indian Higher Education Consortium (AIHEC) 2018 Spring Board Meeting is March 9-10, 2018 in Rapid City, SD. For information go to: <http://www.aihec.org/who-we-are/calendar.cfm>.

American Indian Higher Education Consortium (AIHEC) 2018 Student Conference is March 11-14, 2018 in Rapid City, SD. For information go to: <http://www.aihec.org/who-we-are/calendar.cfm>.

Federal Bar Association's Indian Law Conference is April 5-6, 2018, at Talking Stick Resort, 9800 E. Indian Bend Road, Scottsdale, AZ 85256. <http://www.ncai.org/conferences-events/ncai-events>.

NICWA Annual Conference is April 15-18, 2018 in Anchorage, AK. For details visit: <http://www.ncai.org/conferences-events/ncai-events>.

NCAI 2018 Mid Year Conference & Marketplace is June 3 - Jun 6, 2018, in Kansas City, MO. For details visit: <http://www.ncai.org/conferences-events/ncai-events>.

13th Biannual Advocates for Indigenous California Language Survival may be in September 2018. For details visit: <http://www.aicls.org>.

NIEA National Convention is in Hartford, CT, October 10-14, 2018. For details visit: <http://www.ncai.org/conferences-events/ncai-events>.

NCAI 75th Annual Convention & Marketplace is October 21- 26, 2018 in Denver, CO. For details visit: <http://www.ncai.org/conferences-events/ncai-events>.

2019 Mid Year Conference & Marketplace is Jun3 23-26, 2019, in Reno, NV (Contracts pending). For details visit: <http://www.ncai.org/conferences-events/ncai-events>.

2019 Annual Convention & Marketplace is Oct 20, 2019 - Oct 25, 2019, in Albuquerque, NM (Contracts pending). For details visit: <http://www.ncai.org/conferences-events/ncai-events>.

2020 Mid Year Conference & Marketplace is Jun 7, 2020 - Jun 11, 2020, in Anchorage, AK (Contracts pending). For details visit: <http://www.ncai.org/conferences-events/ncai-events>.

2020 Annual Convention & Marketplace is Oct 25, 2020 - Oct 30, 2020, in Sacramento, CA (Contracts pending). For details visit: <http://www.ncai.org/conferences-events/ncai-events>.

....._///////////////_.....

**PROCEEDINGS OF THE WESTERN SOCIAL SCIENCES ASSOCIATION
AMERICAN INDIAN STUDIES SECTION MEETING
APRIL 2016**

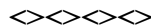
**Experiences in Indian Self-Determination:
Nativizing concepts of Journalism
To empower Indigenous Communities**

By Richard M. Wheelock, PhD

April 15, 2016

Abstract

After a long career, mostly in academia but also in tribal communities and in American mass society, this author's current endeavor is to reflect holistically upon the lessons today's older generations of Indigenous people might share with emerging Native scholars from lifetime experiences with "Indian self-determination." This paper will focus upon the use of journalistic principles intended to meet communications challenges Native people have faced as Indian Self-Determination has developed into a viable policy. The "nativization" of mass society's journalistic concepts has had great impact, raising hopes that useful understandings of the very human process of effective communications can be found as Native communities continue the struggle to maintain and strengthen tribal sovereignty into the future.



In this paper, I hope to continue to develop my life-long fascination with the challenges of tribal communications created by the so-called Indian Self-Determination policies that began as I came of age in the 1970's. In doing so, I realize that tribal identity, sovereignty and self-governance did not really begin at that time, but from the perspective of many of my generation of Native people, the federal policy has resulted in both opportunities and confusing challenges for today's indigenous people, both as individuals and as self-governing and sovereign peoples. In some ways, the daunting challenges Native Nations face today are deeply rooted in human nature and development, in that the basic relationships between the individual and the tribal community remain a key element contributing to the complexity of tribal sovereignty today. It is no great revelation that communications between the many interested parties under the self-determination policy remain strained over many aspects of tribal sovereignty today. Poor communications remain a major part of the continuing struggles tribal peoples face, not only with the surrounding settler society that has dominated and threatened tribal identity and sovereignty in the past, but among members of tribal communities themselves. It is the purpose of this paper to examine some of ways in which Native people and their tribal governments have attempted to deal with the sometimes vast gulf of ignorance and misunderstanding that seem endemic in tribal self-determination. As a member of the Oneida Nation of Wisconsin, I hope my comments will spur some discussion about the overall impacts of Native journalism as I focus upon the communications environment of my own Nation in my analysis.

A Lifetime of Experience: Evolution of a Personal Perspective and Philosophy

It is important here to establish some basic tenets of this author's perspective on communications in Indian country. In doing so, I hope I will not alienate readers! After all, everyone has an opinion. Why should one older person's viewpoint be of any more value than someone else's? My only justification for imposing this perspective on readers is to appeal to the ideas of traditional respect for advancing age and the value Native peoples have given to experience in the development of their own shared paradigms over the generations. It is hard to imagine the appropriate means for communicating one's own experience in scholarship, of course. Scholarship has always been charged with some of the same values that journalism as a profession imposes upon journalists. Unbiased, objective pursuit of the truth is often considered to be crucial to success in both. Among Native peoples, though, the tenuous nature of the tribal identity has always imposed a very personal examination of elements of our lives that support that identity. Sustaining our tribal identities remains the challenge that guides many of us in our daily lives. Vital to that identity is the intergenerational experience we struggle to share, against all odds. That daily shared experience and the individual experience of the elders among us remain our personal connection to each other and to the cosmos, as Vine Deloria, Jr. asserted in many of his writings. I can only hope that my own experience can at least provide a useful perspective as today's Native people consider how they might participate in and help direct tribal community development and governance. It is worth a try!

When I was younger, I had the good fortune to gain some amazing experiences that should have given me great advantages in working for tribal self-determination under the emerging federal policies of the 1970's. In fact, some of the precursors of the Indian Self-Determination took place around me when I was far too young to appreciate the growing social and political storm that began well before the idea was enunciated by Presidents Johnson and Nixon, gaining bi-partisan, yet still somewhat shaky support over the years. After all, the policy was quite an affront to the purveyors of the assimilation policies aimed at Native people. By the 1960's, though, Euro-Americans were beginning to broaden their views and to reconsider some of their own questionable reluctance to recognize the rights of other peoples. Even in the midst of the Red Scare era after WWII a decade earlier, many began to see the wisdom of reversing racism and intolerance in civil rights for Black People and of recognizing the long-standing desires of "Indians" to survive as self-governing peoples, if for no other reason than to bolster America's claim to being the beacon of justice to the world. The WWII experience and the US presence and leadership in the United Nations helped create an introspective viewpoint in those involved in Indian affairs. Some came to see parallels in the kinds of decolonization efforts in the international realm and the need to deal with distinct Native populations in the domestic realm. Americans supported candidates for public office who supported broader application of the idea of "...freedom and justice for all." At least for a time, support for tribal self-government as a concept within the federal system seemed both a moral issue and a pragmatic, expedient one, deserving of government support. Those who had supported the earlier Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 must have felt vindicated! For Native peoples and especially for some of the Native leadership that emerged in Washington, DC at the time, though, the time was right for the political maneuvering that resulted in displacing Termination policies with the Indian Education Act of 1972 and the Indian Self-Determination and Educational Assistance Act of 1975.

Native activists joined in social justice movements of the times, often educating Americans about their responsibilities in supporting the survival of Native peoples and in honoring the promises made to them in treaties. The actions of groups like the American Indian Movement, United Indians of All Tribes, and the National Indian Youth Council are well documented in this struggle. Many Native people within the bureaucracy that was supposed to move Indian peoples toward Termination found ways to empower tribal entities in new ways, too, contributing to the needed experience that would be crucial for tribal administration as the policies developed. Though I wasn't aware of that dynamic shift within the bureaucratic Bureau of Indian Affairs in the mid-1950's, my father's career within the BIA coincided with that of his lifelong friend, Robert L. Bennett. Bennett and my dad served in Ignacio, Colorado, at the headquarters of the Unified Ute Agency in the 1950's, where he was superintendent. When he was transferred to that agency in 1952, a local newspaperman wrote that "Mr. Bennett stated that the policy of his office will be to have all news items concerning the Ute tribe to come from the Ute Tribal Council, rather than the Agency office because, as he expressed it, the Ute Tribe is a permanent institution, while the Indian Service is on its way out."¹ The comment seems incompatible with the stated goals of the Termination era of that time, showing that even within the administration of the federal government's BIA, Indians like Oneida tribal member Robert Bennett were working toward self-determination, not Termination, of tribes. Fourteen years later, Bennett was appointed to the top position in the BIA, becoming commissioner of Indian Affairs in the formal move by the Lyndon B. Johnson administration toward the Indian self-determination policy that would finally be announced by President Nixon in 1970.

There are many examples of initiatives of Native people who worked both outside and inside the federal government structure to end Termination and frame the new Self-Determination policy, sometimes in specific initiatives of presidential actions, as when President Johnson created the Native Americans for Indian Opportunity in his vice president's office in 1968 in executive order 11399. Though activists sometimes reviled those who worked inside the federal system as "Washington redskins" or "apples," their work did much to create the legislative and administrative underpinnings for Self-Determination for native nations through the 1970's and later. Of course, the Red Power Movement included many from outside the bureaucracies of the federal government, generating a story of great personal commitment to the ideas of tribal survival in America and to a global movement that has resulted in the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. This author joins with many others in the hope that indigenous peoples will continue to exist, exercising the rights to sovereignty and governance over their own homelands into the future!

My own experience as a young, uninformed Native person was one of observing two branches of the movement for self-determination among Native people. First was the activist, civil rights movement led by AIM which was founded in Minneapolis in 1968 among the intertribal urban Indian population. Another strand of this branch of activism was based in the struggles of Native tribal nations where activists like Nisqually fishing rights advocate Billy Frank, Jr. confronted Washington State in struggles over treaty-protected tribal rights. The much-publicized media campaigns of both strands of Native activists were often championed by Indian-controlled media in addition to the mass media that also covered their sometimes intentionally staged public events, giving Native people across the country a feeling of participation in often distant conflicts.

The second branch of the movement for policy change was rooted in the prolonged efforts of Native bureaucrats who struggled pragmatically in the belly of the beast to help federal policy-makers respond to Native opposition to Termination. The National Congress of American Indians often carried the demands for tribal rights and the rights of individual Indians into the policy-making circle by passing and circulating resolutions that became the fuel for legislation and federal policy change. It was an amazing crucible for our generation to grow up in! Though many of us Native people born in the 1950's weren't immediately drawn into the activism of the times, we were soon swept into the processes of institutionalization of self-determination for Native people. Notably for the purposes of this paper, Native news publications carried the movements forward, often clarifying key concepts that the mass media missed. Thus, the *Akwesasne News*, the *Lakota Times* and many other smaller Native publications took over the advocacy for Native rights that had been a part of Indian newspapers since the 1830's advent of the *Cherokee Phoenix*. I recall thumbing through copies of the *American Indian Historian* and the *Wassaja*, wondering how Indian people could ever hope to win the day against the forces of the termination policy and later corporate collusion that those advocacy publications so stridently condemned.

In an earlier paper I wrote for the 2014 American Indian Studies section of the Western Social Science Association conference in Albuquerque, I described my experiences of working on a public school program as its coordinator in southwest Oregon beginning in 1976 under the Indian Education Act.² I joined some amazingly motivated people there as we created appropriate cultural and educational programs for and about Native peoples for a county-wide consortium of school districts. And, we began a newsletter, the *Indian Education News*. Amid the exhilarating confusion of those creative times, I began to see the power of the media when it could be wielded by Native people. It was a new beginning for me at the tender age of 26, one that began a life-long quest to find a path to effective communications that would help bring Indian self-determination to fruition, I hoped!

In 1979, my wife Liz and I moved to the Oneida Nation in Wisconsin as teachers in the new tribal school that opened its doors that year. In another creative community initiative, that school began its development at a key moment in Oneida history. At that time, the tribe was in the aftermath of the assimilationist-created chaos of land allotments and termination of federal services. In a tremendous community effort, a huge turnabout was made in saving the Oneida nation, one that speaks of the strength that can emerge from a unified effort of community members. Though no one would claim that Oneidas were without their differences, both petty and philosophical, for that moment in tribal history, a consensus of values motivated Oneidas to find creative adaptations within the tribe's traditions and the pragmatism of the moment.

After a year as a teacher there, I became the editor of the tribe's newsletter, the *Kalihwisaks*. I soon met Native journalists whose ideas would become guiding lights in my thinking about the opportunities Native people had in media they controlled. Paul DeMain, who still edits *News From Indian Country*,³ offered his mentorship. The tribe soon sent me for training in Utah, where a Bureau of Indian Affairs program taught a small group of neophyte tribal newspaper personnel from around the country about the basics of journalism. Then, at a National Indian Media Conference in Albuquerque in 1980, co-sponsored by the American Indian Film Institute and the Native American Public Broadcasting Consortium (now Vision maker Media),⁴ it became clear to me that Native journalism was more than a few isolated individuals trying to produce useful news

items for their tribal community's readers. Though that level of the struggle in media remains a challenge for tribal journalists, a much larger philosophical and intellectual movement among Native people was taking place across the continent. And, tribal journalists like myself were an integral part of it!

That media conference extended my personal connections to key individuals who were helping develop Native media at the time. I met people like Frank Blythe, for instance, then of the Native American Public Broadcast Consortium, now Vision Maker Media, and realized that Native-produced documentaries were being produced regularly, opening another avenue for journalistic expression for Native media professionals. I also met or observed in conference sessions many other highly motivated Native media workers at various levels of training and professionalism. Later, I would meet many others, especially Native journalists as I continued my own efforts in tribal news publication. A list of Native journalists and others I have met who have been closely involved in the "early" development of Native journalism as a crucial element of tribal sovereignty and personal freedom for Native people under self-determination include: Paul Skenandore, Mark Trahant, Richard V. LaCourse, Frank Blythe, Tim Giago, Paul DeMain, Suzan Shown Harjo, Minnie Two-Shoes, Karen Lincoln Michel, Jodi Rave, Gary Fife, Tom Arviso, Loren Tapahe, Mary Polanco, Jeff Bear, Russell Diabo, Wilma Mankiller, Daniel Littlefield, and Keith Skenandore (I have not included the media organizations they have associations with, since over the years, most of them have worked for several). I include here names of some people who are now, or have been at some time, not only Native journalists, but professionals in another area of expertise. Suzan Shown Harjo, for instance, has always been dedicated to the development of indigenous journalism, yet has had a primary interest in influencing public opinion and government policies through her Morning Star Foundation in Washington, D.C. These people are by no means in complete agreement over all issues of Native journalism, yet in my own experience, they have set the bar high for those who will follow in serving the information needs of Native people and for others who wish to understand issues facing indigenous peoples today.⁵

A crucial development was the creation of Native journalism associations. As my interest in Native journalism began in the 1970's, the American Indian Press Association (AIPA) was formed, partly by people like Charles Trimble and Suzan Shown Harjo, both of whom would become executive directors of the National Congress of American Indians later in their careers. They and Richard V. LaCourse, who became the executive director of AIPA, were instrumental to the organization's early successes, helping to stop federal termination of the Colville tribal peoples, in early coverage of the Red Power movement, and in participating with the National Council on Indian Opportunity, created under the vice president's office as a step toward the self-determination policy.⁶ Soon after the AIPA disbanded, the Native American Press Association was founded in 1984 by a number of Native journalists. In 1990, that organization became the Native American Journalists Association, partly to assure that broadcast and later, internet journalists could be more consciously included.⁷ The organization has remained a center of development of Native journalism and includes journalists from many tribal nations among its members. Its advocacy for freedom of the press in Indian country and its emphasis on appropriate training and ethics are vital parts of the development of appropriate standards that tribes can look to with confidence as they build their own communications media.

Shortly after my experiences as editor of the *Kalihwisaks* in Oneida, I returned to my undergraduate alma mater, Fort Lewis College, to pursue a career in higher education. In 1982, when it became clear I would need the credentials and knowledge of advanced degrees, I enrolled in the American Indian Studies Master's Degree program at the University of Arizona where I focused my scholarly study on the budding field of Native journalism and its implications in a mass society. I was fortunate in meeting and taking classes from people like Vine Deloria, Jr., Thomas Holm and Robert K. Thomas in that program. I also took classes from Ophelia Zepeda and N. Scott Momaday. In 1995, while still working at Fort Lewis College, I completed my dissertation for the PhD in American Studies, with a dissertation title of "Indian Self-Determination: Implications for Tribal Communications Policies."⁸ Again, I was lucky: my dissertation committee included Sam Deloria and Ted Jojola in addition to American Studies professors Vera Norwood and Jane Young.

Over the nearly 30 years since I was editor of the *Kalihwisaks*, I was first an instructor at Fort Lewis College, then an assistant professor, and finally, an associate professor of Native American and Indigenous Studies, a new department I helped create with the amazing support of many Native and non-Native students staff and faculty at the college. For more than 25 years of that time, I taught courses in federal Indian policies, current issues in Native America, Native Communications and, with great humility, Native philosophies and Indigenous Economics. I worked with students to produce the *Intertribal News*,⁹ relying upon my combination of experience and education in the field. Though I have only a few course credits in formal journalism, my advanced study in communications and native responses to federal policies helped me provide what I hoped was a good basis for students to develop their own perceptions of Native America as they wrote about their own media environments. Through it all, I remained a wanna-be Native journalist, dedicated to the idea that journalism should aim to provide accurate, accountable information and knowledgeable editorial opinion based on factual analysis so that the People can exercise their sovereignty knowledgeably. It is a heart-felt aspiration, one that I know I share with many Native journalists. I recently retired from Fort Lewis College, completing my transitional year to retirement in 2012 as emeritus faculty of Native American and Indigenous Studies.

Indigenization: Can Elements of Formal Journalism Become a Part of Tribal identity?

Tribal communities themselves continue to define the role of their own news media in laws and even in tribal courts. Today, quite a number of tribes include provisions for a free press and other aspects of journalism in their constitutions or among their duly enacted laws. A number of tribal journalists, though, still experience censorship, since tribal courts are often inaccessible as a course of redress for journalists who feel their rights under tribal law have been violated.¹⁰ Thus, the intratribal, internal realm of dialogue, is still the primary one for determining how each tribal community determines how concepts of journalism will be employed in their own sovereign decision-making. Yet NAJA has won some key endorsements for their recommendations for the idea of freedom of the press in tribal communities. In 2003, NAJA representatives were able to successfully urge the National Congress of American Indians to pass a resolution favoring free press provisions among members of NCAI.¹¹ While the resolutions of NCAI are advisory, rather than binding on tribal governments, the fact that the broad membership of the national organization has gone on record in support of freedom of the press indicates solid support for the idea. As tribes consider their own internal media environment, then, they have some important guidance and support of those in NCAI who voted for the resolution and from the years of experience that has

led Native journalists to create the NAJA website. Yet the legal framework is only one aspect of “Nativization,” a concept that provides some useful analysis of evolving tribal communications efforts.

In attempting to document a coping strategy that Native peoples have developed for themselves over the generations, I have tried to compile a list from many sources for my classes in Native and Indigenous Studies at Fort Lewis College. The entire list is included here so that the reader can consider my comments on “indigenization” of media with some background. Please note that since it was created for college classroom use, it retains some of the characteristics of an overhead projection.

Coping In Indian Country
And the Indigenous World
“Maintaining Peoplehood”

While individual Indian people may seek their destinies in their own ways, tribes must work to maintain a sense of identity despite the pressures of the mass society that surrounds them. Here are a few ways tribes have maintained a SHARED sense of their own “*peoplehood*” over the centuries.

- Enclavement
- Compartmentalization
- Nativization/Indigenization
- Religious and Spiritual Movements
- Intertribal Alliances/Pan-Indianism
- Language and Culture Preservation/Renewal/Resurgence
- Activism and Decolonization
- Economic Self-Sufficiency
- Seeking Mutual Respect – Advocating Pluralism in relations with others

Each of the above “strategies” deserves much fuller discussion than can be provided here. Instead, I will leave those other characteristics of historical adaptation and indigenization for another writing and focus upon “nativization/indigenization” in my comments.

I first learned about the concept of nativization from Robert K. Thomas during my study in the University of Arizona’s American Indian Studies Master’s Degree program in 1982.¹² I believe the concept is congruent with the term I later heard for this dynamic process, that of “indigenization.” I now use the terms interchangeably, though I assume others have found good reasons to choose one or the other.

Nativization describes a process that Thomas believed tribal peoples used for millennia, even before “contact,” as they adapted to new situations and to the need to deal with neighboring peoples. The basic idea is that with enough time, a tribal community can adopt or consciously reject, cultural innovations from other societies without disrupting their own sense of identity, which could make them susceptible to assimilation into other cultures. Time is needed so that some sort of dialogue or other process can take place among the People so that the cultural innovation may be brought into harmony with other aspects of the People’s shared worldview and belief system. In that way, the tribal identity is preserved, even if lifestyles are changed, sometimes dramatically. The common example Thomas relied upon was that of tribal adaptations and cultural

adoption of the horse among Plains peoples. In that case, the horse was recognized as a sacred being and took its place among the other relationships Plains tribes have maintained with non-human beings. It is an example of nativization to a degree that may be hard to ascribe to more recent processes of cultural adaptation, since tribal oral traditions were one major portion of the adoption of the horse into tribal cultures, which one imagines were more cohesive than they are today.

In today's somewhat fragmented tribal communities, one wonders whether that depth of cultural adaptation can occur. Tribal identity has evolved in major ways, another topic that deserves continued research and evaluation from the perspective of tribal people themselves. Still, the idea of nativization poses a useful insight as tribes consider how they might view the new technological communications processes which tribal members seem forced to deal with. After all, another coping strategy listed above, enclavement, where a tribal people simply agree somehow to ignore or resist the adoption of a "foreign" cultural element, doesn't seem to be an option today since media are so ubiquitous. Tribal groups seem forced to create their own media in self-defense, in fact, in order to compete with mass media¹³ in defining what their beliefs are, since mass media has a long history of commodifying and stereotyping "exotic" peoples.¹⁴

High-minded aspirations among Native journalists cannot assure that values of journalism can be effectively nativized by tribal communities. The real challenge for the idea of adapting journalistic news production and distribution in tribal communities remains within what I have called the intratribal, internal community sphere of communications. That means that tribal members themselves must not only recognize the value of an independent Native news production function, they will need to come to support that idea in their intellectual, cultural, social and political lives. In other words, true indigenization of values created outside the community, as America's sometimes threatened free press provisions were, must become a part of the very identity of community members for the principles of Native journalism to have staying power when powerful community interests, or government officials do not wish to have their actions reviewed in public. As many scholars have noted, the broad adaptation of values once seen as those of "outsiders" is truly an organic, intellectual and even spiritual aspect of community control. After all, it is clear from the rocky history of the First Amendment protections of media in the United States that changing conditions are constantly challenging the idea of a free press, even in the mass society which produced the ideas in the first place.

For tribal communities to create a flexible position for journalism with free press provisions, then, a number of practical and economic challenges must be considered in addition to the cultural adaptations that already seem to be in motion. Fairness and objectivity must be recognized as crucial, even when one's own ideas are duly contrasted with other views, as journalism's tenets demand. The impersonal, unbiased presentation of events and ideas and the editorial examination of potential solutions to issues have to be supported in practical ways, becoming a part of tribal members' own approach to consuming and making use of information they gain from media. Members' approach to dialogue on issues is clearly affected when such values become part of the process, as they now may pepper their opinions with support from recognizable sources. Still, there are many barriers to the success of this model. Even when journalists are also tribal members, other members of tribal communities and tribal government itself must subject themselves to the review of their actions by a relatively new position that journalists take on in the community. Their

training and orientation to the community are certainly part of the uncertainty that needs to be dealt with so that people have enough confidence in the quality of their work. Since legal systems have not clearly defined the limits and breadth of tribal journalistic practice within many tribes, Native journalists often face censorship from a number of sources. Somehow, those barriers to the free press would need to be overcome for full nativization of Native journalism practices to emerge.

The fact that most tribal publications are financed substantially by the tribal government has severely restricted editorial positions and selection of news items over the years. Many tribal government officials see the role of the tribal publication as one of a kind of conduit of information from government to the people rather than as a “fourth estate” with the power to review and critique the actions of government, powerful individuals or business organizations with contracts with the tribe - or to otherwise upset the status quo government officials hope to establish. In theory, this is exactly what journalism is supposed to do. As a kind of adversary of the powerful forces that could usurp the sovereign powers of “the People,” journalists in the mass society are expected to challenge arbitrary or even corrupt authority as they fulfill their “watchdog” role as a champion of the people’s “right to know.” Of course, tribal news organizations also report on the positive aspects of community development and the accomplishments of individual citizens, not just provide a watchdog role on tribal government. Generally, they are assumed to keep the citizenry informed so that they can exercise their sovereignty knowledgeably so that community identity remains strong and functional.

Obviously, tribal members would be hard-pressed to pay directly as subscribers for the high level of journalistic practices needed to sustain effective journalistic coverage of the conditions and issues tribes face. It is a key sticking point, since the economic independence of news organizations has always been the basis of concepts of free press and journalism in the United States. Advertising is by far the largest source of revenue for news organizations, except where non-profit organizations have been created. In both cases, it can be argued that those that fund the publication are likely to be favored in editorial direction and in news reporting if publications become dependent on the good graces of large advertisers or finicky public donors. Even as tribal publications have appealed to tribal traditions to gain support among tribal members for their efforts, economic necessity brings the role of journalism in tribal communities into question as tribal news seems controlled by government.

Despite such barriers, tribal members have come to rely upon a number of adaptations of the journalistic models that have arisen in mass media. These adaptations have developed in only a few generations since the self-determination policy was announced, so it is important now to ask the questions: how are tribal citizens participating in informed decision-making? Can tribal publications provide crucial information and analysis in that process?

Seeking Consensus in the process of Indigenization of Tribal Journalism

Practical limitations, of course, largely define parameters of human communications, yet the basis of human commitment to the goals and aspirations of intra-group adaptation must be sought with the heart as well as with the intellect. It will not help to be gullible or naïve in this discussion of course, but unless people of good will are willing to examine their own value systems relative to the needs of their community, indigenization is a distant goal. It might be argued that people

naturally fall into certain adaptations because of the needs of the moment, but the prospect of broad commitment to values in journalism is limited by the amazing complexity of tribal conditions. Outside media coverage of tribal affairs and the resulting publicity frequently give little opportunity for Native peoples to caucus effectively on the issues they face. And, of course, people are simply too busy to contribute to internal discussions designed to clarify how tribal journalism should respond to daily information needs of tribal members.

The internal chaos many see today in internal tribal dialogue on tribal policies is reason enough to seek better ways to find the “truth” in tribal public affairs. The complexity of tribal issues, in other words, demands that Native people themselves find ways to improve internal communications and meaningful dialogue in the decision-making processes that will determine the future of tribal nations. Yet accurate information, provided by accountable sources, would seem crucial, especially now when consensus seems more elusive than ever.

The value of journalism for tribal communities has undergone some careful scrutiny by members of the Native American Journalists Association, mentioned earlier. NAJA has been a partner of the Society of Professional Journalists and the Radio Television Digital News Association in working for ethical professional standards for Native journalists.¹⁵ While professional standards in concert with the “main stream” journalism are often the focus of NAJA conferences and on their web page, important steps toward of the process of “nativization” or “indigenization” of those values appear among NAJA’s recommended resource materials. An important service of NAJA is its webpage, which includes the “NAJA Legal Resource Room” with a bibliography of useful materials, including those on legal issues concerning journalism in Indian country such as freedom of the press, libel, privacy and access, freedom of information and access to it, plagiarism, and intellectual property rights, including issues of tribal traditional knowledge. NAJA’s “11 Essential Elements of an Independent Tribal Media” is another valuable resource. Besides providing support for tribal journalists in their privileged role in the information order, a long list of materials about ethics in journalism can help remind Native journalists of their responsibilities in producing accurate, accountable information.¹⁶ The organization is not the only forum for such discussions, of course. Internal tribal dialogue is needed to advance these concepts within a tribal community.

Tribes, too, have both nativized and improvised when it comes to the communications policies that have evolved since the Self-Determination Policy began. In the case of the Oneida Nation in Wisconsin, some interesting developments have taken place to assure that “accurate, accountable information” is provided so that tribal members can exercise their sovereignty knowledgeably. Though the tribe’s efforts may not have met with total success, these developments are clearly intended to meet the challenge of sustaining those journalistic values.

Tribal communities today are surprisingly diverse, with a multiplicity of perspectives that may seem daunting for Native journalists as they work to help the community find solutions to pressing problems. Though key principles of tribal traditional identity remain, Native American communities are fragmented and factionalized by the forces of colonialism and by forced assimilation processes that still persist in Indian country. Another point to consider is the fact that most tribal communities retain a rural character. Native journalists cannot remain as aloof from the people they are writing about as urban, mass media’s journalists can. Kinship and other

personal, local cooperative relationships are always fragile, and are generally less flexible in public discourse than among urban populations. For Native journalists who are members of the tribe where they work, these basic relationships require some personal consideration by both the journalist and by community members who recognize the challenges of thrusting authority upon journalists who are often poorly paid and frequently only partially trained in what some feel is the “art” of journalism in small communities. One need only check other local, rural newspapers to see that they are rarely in a position to conduct probing investigative research into controversial situations as mass media’s more urban journalists often do.

Though tribal journalists share many of those characteristics within their readership/audience with rural, non-Native journalists in nearby towns, they work within the parameters of communities in the midst of constant struggle over their political and cultural right to exist among the municipalities, counties and states of the union in which they are located. Native journalists, then, must be prepared to work in a unique cultural, political and economic environment, one that only partially fits the kinds of community relationships from which formal journalism models have arisen in America. A review of the laudable journalistic ethics of major news associations¹⁷ reveals that they are based upon relationships arising in a mass society, not ones that exist in an often self-conscious, surveilled relationship as tribes have with the pervasive powers of the mass society and its governing agencies. Though the Indian Self-Determination policy created a federal policy environment that is apparently intended to free tribal nations from mass society’s many threats to their existence, experiences in the communications realm should make it clear that “federally recognized tribes” are special, distinct communities which find themselves in frequent conflict with some of their non-Native neighbors.

Yet in their decision-making, participatory role of citizens of their own democratic governance, tribal members have come to rely upon a number of adapted journalistic values. In the case of the Oneida Nation in Wisconsin, for instance, some encouraging developments have taken place to meet the information needs of the community.

Tribal Communications Policies in Oneida –steps toward adapting and nativizing some of journalism’s principles

The people of the Oneida Nation of Wisconsin share a long history of endurance and innovation in the face of negative federal policies. Among their common experiences are removal from their original homelands in what is now New York beginning in the 1820’s. They have also experienced the ravages of the Allotment Policy of the 1880’s and its concurrent boarding school policy. And, tribal members have sometimes experienced discrimination from some of their non-Indian neighbors who feel compelled to oppose tribal existence in their midst. Somehow, after generations of those attacks on tribal identity and political existence, the Oneida people formed a constitutional government under the 1930’s Indian Reorganization Act. After surviving the Termination Policies of the 1950’s and its concurrent Public Law 280, designed to strip tribes nationwide of their legal jurisdiction, the Oneida Nation has struggled to survive under the current federal Indian Self-Determination policy, begun in the 1970’s. Despite the lingering anguish caused by negative policies of the past, the Oneida Nation has had some stunning successes in economic enterprises, especially in its Oneida Casino operations, taking advantage of what has sometimes been its nemesis, its location on the boundaries of a large, urban and corporate

development known as the City of Green Bay. In fact, for many of the nearly 50 years of the Self-Determination policy, Oneida has maintained good relationships with its neighboring governmental jurisdictions, though those relationships are constantly tested by political trends in American economic and political cycles.¹⁸

Yet Oneida has been rocked by internal controversies, too, ones that contribute to the urgency many tribal members feel for improved civil discourse and more satisfactory decision-making on community issues and conditions. Conflicts of authority have arisen between the tribe's nine-member Oneida Business Committee (OBC), empowered to handle the day-to-day governance tasks of the nation, and the Oneida General Tribal Council, where adult tribal members, meeting en masse, may overturn past actions or direct specific policies of the OBC. Of major concern to many tribal members is the less-than civil atmosphere that often accompanies these conflicts. Those conflicts have the potential to undermine tribal operations and even the tribe's economic development aims. Improved communications and a better atmosphere for dialogue and debate and dialogue among tribal members, then, are crucial needs for the tribal nation.

To meet that need, the tribe's news publication, the *Kalihwisaks* is a vital instrument. In an effort to strengthen the role the *Kalihwisaks* plays, despite its dependence on tribal subsidies, it has occasionally been insulated somewhat from tribal government influence with an advisory board to oversee its development and to help news staff deal with issues of censorship and scarce resources. In its August 7, 2014 edition, the *Kalihwisaks* published its updated policies and procedures in order to assure its readers that its staff are well-versed in their responsibilities and in their commitment to serving the information needs of readers. The carefully edited chapters of the policies take up two full pages of that issue. It is a remarkable statement of the publication's values and the values of the Oneida community. It is worth quoting at length here

It is the mission of the *Kalihwisaks* to inform the Oneida Tribal membership about issues of interest by providing timely, accurate, complete and balanced information about the Oneida Tribe that is relevant to the membership, employees, administrative units and government. The *Kalihwisaks* will continuously investigate, and report on, organizational and social developments that affect the Oneida identity and expression; building our community through a shared sense of Twahwahtsilayu' – All of us are family.

We are committed to preserving and honoring our Tribal heritage, culture and values. We will preserve and uphold the democratic ideals that have guided the Oneida Tribe throughout history; by providing thorough and objective information so that the Tribal membership can make informed decisions and hold our leadership accountable.

Good faith with our reader is the foundation of journalism. The *Kalihwisaks* seeks to maintain that good faith by publishing a newspaper that provides full and accurate coverage of Oneida life, and that exhibits sound judgment and reasoning in columns and editorials.

Our readers deserve a newspaper that leads, informs, instructs and entertains; a newspaper that is driven by the four essential qualities of accuracy, integrity independence and responsibility.¹⁹

The statement goes on to delineate priorities for coverage, standards that assure neutrality and avoid conflicts of interest, a commitment to accuracy and balance, policies for dealing with errors and omissions, how editorial notes will be provided, policies for submissions by non-staff members, editorial discretion and authority, disclosure guidelines for information that may prove sensitive, standards for opinion and editorial content, including a commitment to “kaliwi.yo,” a traditional concept that mandates the use of “good words about ourselves,” meaning that civil discourse will be the goal of editorial comment. Guest editorials, letters to editor, prohibited content that leads to disruptive, rather than civil discourse, tribal and other election guidelines, advertising standards, fair access that leads to balanced and equal coverage of elections, and methods of amending the policies and procedures are all explained in the statement. It is an impressive acknowledgement of the relationship the publication intends to maintain with community members. When it succeeds in those aims, it clearly achieves many of the goals of “nativization” of tribal journalism.

Interestingly, the *Kalihwisaks* is not the only communications channel among members that the tribe relies upon, nor is mass media the only way the tribe is dealing with the need to adapt to the rapidly changing conditions of tribal self-determination. Recently, the *Kalihwisaks* has included articles written by members of the tribe’s Trust and Enrollment Committee that are intended to deal with a surprising threat to tribal survival. A series of community meetings, entitled “Sustain Oneida,” have been held around the community that explain the dangers of relying upon “blood quantum” as a qualification for tribal membership. “...The total number of Oneida enrolled members is expected to decline in the next 10 years,” the article claims. “The goal of these articles is to generate community conversations about citizenship and belonging so that we may explore our options.”²⁰ It is an open-ended conversation, intended to help Oneidas reach a consensus on a very loaded issue, demonstrating that members of the tribe are pursuing solutions to vital problems in face-to-face conversations as well as through tribal media, though media helps document and report the outcomes of some of those conversations.

In addition to such ad hoc community meetings, the tribe also aims direct mailings and produces a webpage intended to meet information needs of tribal members. And, in semi-annual meetings of the Oneida General Tribal Council, all tribal programs, enterprises and the Oneida Business Committee are required by the tribe’s constitution to report on their activities and reveal their budgets for approval. Special meetings of the OGTC can be called via a petition of 75 adult members. In those meetings, the commitment to open and shared information is considered paramount for good governance. As noted earlier, though, the issue of the relative authorities of the Oneida Business Committee and the OGTC have sometimes come into question and spirited debate of issues can sometimes become uncivil.

The tribal nation’s web sources include a “members only” link that requires members to obtain a user name and password for entry. Here the tribal government hopes to provide a conduit to its members, since the rather direct provision of information on the actions of government and even archival meeting information is provided so members can gain greater depth of information about

issues facing the tribe. Other, more confidential information of vital interest to members is also occasionally included. Surveys and other input devices are also provided to assure that two-way communications are facilitated by the “members only” link.

Seeking Consensus: Journalism’s Possible Role in Resolving Internal Tribal Conflicts

As tribal nations find themselves struggling with internal decision-making and even with what appears to be disruptive and divisive behavior of individual tribal members, it seems crucial that tribal members come to some sort of balance between their own individual desires and the needs of the community. This balance has always been among the greatest crises for any democratic institution. How does a community come to consensus when many among its membership have been alienated by what some scholars have called historical trauma,²¹ for instance? What about those who are categorically opposed to the very existence of their own tribal government, since it represents to them a colonial structure created by a federal law? Are some members of the tribe so upset with the reactions of non-tribal members in their social sphere that they are willing to disrupt tribal actions to regain respect within their personal lives? Is the fact that many of the children of today’s members will not meet tribal enrollment standards a part of the crisis in managing tribal resources for the long term? Do some members feel so marginalized and powerless in the daily actions of their tribes that they are willing to strike out at whatever source of authority they can, relying upon the voting power of their kin group to do so? Does the fact that so many tribal members live outside the reservation community create a conflict in how tribal resources are distributed? What can be done to heal such persistent wounds and uncertainties among the membership so that community-wide needs can be met by the people themselves, acting as an interdependent community?

As an off-reservation member of the Oneida Nation, I can only hope that my comments are in harmony with the ideas of those who will deliver a message of unity and hope that might heal the wounds that tribal identity has sustained over the years. From my perspective, though, such debilitating, unresolved issues facing tribal members remain among the most troubling aspects of the self-determination era. There are answers to each of these questions, but in the end, tribal members themselves as individuals must at least occasionally come to consensus with others and cooperate in the face of the many threats to tribal sovereignty that continue to arise from elements of the surrounding mass society that benefit from a tribe’s internal weaknesses. In a time when the federal government seems powerless to shield tribes from the attacks from intolerant non-Indian groups or even take once-allotted lands re-acquired by tribes into trust, it seems intratribal cohesion is more essential than ever.

It is obvious that tribal media policies alone cannot solve this internal crisis that seems to be taking place across Indian country. It seems trite to say that solutions must arise among the people themselves, yet unless people of good will can come together on the issues facing tribes in these dire times, the future seems bleak indeed for Indian self-determination. Journalists can provide the needed accurate, accountable information. They can even take editorial positions that can help shed light on specific interpersonal differences, making it possible to achieve some form of reconciliation. But it will be up to the People themselves to recognize and reconcile their own unwillingness to cooperate with others. Perhaps now is the time again to reflect on traditional knowledge to understand the depth of interpersonal relationships that are necessary to generate a

new level of commitment to the success of tribal societies. In the case of the Haudenosaunee, the story of the Peacemaker and Todadaho seems especially appropriate. Oneidas can consider details of that story and the solution that the People found once their eyes and hearts were opened to the problem Todadaho presented. It is a kind of timeless parable, one that forces all that hear it to consider their own intransigence and to become empathetic toward others who seem to be uncooperative. The story reminds me that all of us will need to consider how we contribute to disharmony among the People. If one can hear that message, one can recognize one's own elemental weaknesses and resolve to recognize the needed interdependency that tribal survival demands in the self-determination era. While Native-based journalism may never be able to deliver such a message as the Peace Maker did, one can hope that somehow, no matter what personal conflicts individuals deal with, they will come to acknowledge the need to support their community's efforts to survive as peoples.

Conclusions: Indigenizing tools of mass communications

It seems clear that in the case of the Oneida Nation of Wisconsin, as in many other tribal nations, the adaptation of mass media to the purposes of tribal self-determination is a well-established and on-going process. As new conditions demand efficient and expedient consensus among a tribe's membership, it appears tribal media will respond, taking on the role of an imperfect, yet vital servant for the survival of tribal identity into the future. In some ways, that is a mythic role. In other ways, especially when its weaknesses as a human institution reign, it can be a messy, blunt instrument, seemingly out of touch with its purposes. But from my perspective, it is a necessary and pragmatic tool, one that provides a framework for internal decision-making, even when it fails in its highest purposes.

In Oneida, on-line video is now included in a section of the nation's webpage entitled "This Week in Oneida," for instance. It is an innovation that allows people to view some of the community happenings in a more intimate way, broadcasting events, including sound and images, to people who wish to access the "feel" of the community, even if they could not attend an event. As I watch one segment of video, I recognize people I had not seen for years as they enjoy a kids' lacrosse game. It is affirming in an emotional way that print journalism cannot easily capture. While many may not see such media products as journalism, I believe technologies like video and even live webcasts can truly strengthen tribal identity among the diverse membership of the Oneida Nation if people can make these media tools a part of the process of nativization, making them integral tools for expressing tribal identity. It will be interesting to see whether new media, like social media, can transmit experiences that affirm tribal identity among the People in the years ahead. We shall see. In the meantime, the role of tribally-based journalism will continue to develop. In the years ahead, perhaps new forms of indigenized journalism will become even more highly respected and Native journalists will be inspired to reach new levels of quality in their work in support of Native self-determination!

Endnotes

1. "Introducing Supt. Robert L. Bennett Now at Agency." *Ignacio Chieftain and Bayfield Blade*, Vol. 44, No. 40, June 11, 1954, p. 1.

2. Richard M. Wheelock, "Experiences in Tribal Self-Determination: Strengthening Native Community Identity and Dealing with Public Perceptions Since the 1960's," presented in the American Indian Studies Section of the 56th Western Social Sciences Association Conference, Albuquerque, NM, April 3, 2014.
3. Mr. DeMain's current efforts as a primary developer of Native journalism can be found at www.newsfromindiancountry.com/. Included off this webpage are some impressive developments in on-line video.
"Three Decades: Native American Public Telecommunications," Vision Maker Media, http://www.visionmakermedia.org/sites/default/resources/three_decades_report.pdf, accessed, 4 April, 2016.
4. "Three Decades: Native American Public Telecommunications," Vision Maker Media, http://www.visionmakermedia.org/sites/default/resources/three_decades_report.pdf, accessed, 4 April, 2016.
5. The list of Native Journalists I've included are only of those people in the profession who I have met in my work over the years. There are quite a few more of equal influence whom I never had the pleasure to meet.
6. Suzan Shown Harjo, "Trimble: The American Indian Press Association ...A Look Back," published on *Indian Country Today* Media Network.com. <http://indiancountrytodaymedianetwork.com>, accessed 4 April, 2016.
7. "History," Native American Journalists Association. <https://www.naja.com/about/history>. Accessed 5 April, 2016.
8. Richard M. Wheelock. "Indian Self-Determination: Implications for Tribal Communications Policies," Diss. University of New Mexico, 1995.
9. A precious few of the issues of the *Intertribal News* are still on-line. <http://blogs.fortlewis.edu/intertribalnews/>, accessed 5 April, 2016.
10. The Native American Journalists Association has compiled a number of examples over the years of the suppression of the Native press in Indian country. Their currently available example is Aaron Mackey, "Tribal Council shuts down Native American Newspaper," Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press, July 6, 2011. <http://www.rcfp.org/browse-media-law-resources/news/tribal-council-shuts-down-native-american-newspaper>. Accessed 5 April, 2016.
11. "National Congress of American Indians, Resolution #ABQ-03-042," Nov. 21, 2003. www.ncai.org, accessed 4 Apr. 2016.
12. Robert K. Thomas, "Community and Institution Among American Indians." In *Traditional and Non-Traditional Services in American Indian Mental Health*, eds. Yvonne A. Red Horse, Edwin Gonzalez-Santini, Patricia A. Tolson-Gonzalez and Sidney Bean, 316-330. Tempe: Arizona State University School of Social Work, no date.

13. I use the term “mass media” here advisedly, since its referent of “mass society” is not as popular in scholarly circles these days. I still feel the term mass society makes sense, though, especially from the tribal perspective. See Kurt Lang and Gladys Engel Lang, “Mass Society, Mass Culture, and Mass Communication: The Meaning of Mass,” *International Journal of Communication* 3 (2009), 998-1024. <http://ijoc.org/index.php/ijoc/article/viewFile/597/407...>, accessed 5 April, 2016.

14. Happily, there are exceptions to the rule that mass media has poorly represented Native people. One comes from an especially well-prepared journalist who clearly did his homework on tribal views and obtained the Native side in his coverage of a coalition of tribes who are supporting a proposal to make lands that are sacred to some of them a national monument. See Jim Mimiaga, “Utes, Navajo Seek Monument to Preserve Canyon.” *Durango Herald*, Durango, CO. 30 Mar. 2016. <http://www.durangoherald.com/article/20160330/NEWS06/160339948/Utes-Navajo-seek-monument-to-preserve-canyon>. Accessed 12 April, 2016.

15. “Native American Journalists Association to partner with SPJ, RTDNA for Excellence in Journalism Conference in 2016.” *SPJ News*, www.spj.org/news.asp?ref=1381, Sept. 18, 2015. Accessed 4 April, 2016.

16. “NAJA Legal Resources Room,” Native American Journalists Association. <http://www.naja.com/resources/>. Accessed 4 April, 2016.

17. “Code of Ethics,” revised Sept. 6, 2014. Society of Professional Journalists. <http://www.spj.org/ethicscode.asp>, accessed 5 April, 2016.

18. Oneidas are sometimes disappointed in the lack of cooperation with surrounding jurisdictions. Recently, the City of Green Bay has cancelled a service agreement with the tribe, surprising many who thought that agreement signified an important element of coexistence between the two jurisdictions. See “Oneida disheartened by ending of Green Bay service agreement,” <http://oneidanation.org/newspaper/page.aspx?id=42190>, Accessed 5 April, 2016.

19. “Kaliwisaks Updated Policies and Procedures,” *Kalihwisaks*, August 7, 2014, p. 14.

20. Oneida Trust and Enrollment Committee, “What is Blood Quantum and What Does It mean for the Future of Oneida?” *Kalihwisaks*, January 8, 2015, p. 4A.

21. The term “historical trauma” and other helpful analysis appears in Eduardo Duran and Bonnie Duran. *Native American Postcolonial Psychology*. NY: The State University of New York Press, 1995. Another more recent publication is also helpful in understanding the intergenerational effects of colonialism. It is Eduardo Duran, *Healing the Soul Wound: Counseling With American Indians and Other Native Peoples*. NY: Teacher’s College Press, 2006.

Returning to Reciprocity: Reconceptualizing Economics and Development Through an Indigenous Economics for the Twenty-First Century

Stephen M. Sachs, IUPUI

and

Christina A. Clamp, Southern New Hampshire University¹

This is the second of two papers on the theme of what contemporary societies would be like if they functioned according to traditional economic values. The first paper, on politics and government, given at the 2014 Western Social Science Association Meeting was published in revised form as, "Expanding the Circle: Developing an American Indian Political Theory for Living Well in the Twenty-First Century," in *Indigenous Policy*, Vol. XXV, No. 2, Fall 2014, www.indigenouspolicy.org. Some topics on economics were developed in that paper, and thus are only covered briefly here, with reference to the first paper.

Returning to Reciprocity

Many of the world's current major problems are directly related to the narrow, reductionist² approach of much of mainstream economics (particularly neoclassical economics), with the focus on economics as profit and loss mostly of the individual firm or economic actor, with inadequate concern for public goods or externalities (though some economists, including many macro-institutional, environmental and certain socialist economists, do much better).³ This is particularly the case concerning the environmental crisis (as developed in "Climate Change, Environmental Decay, and Indigenous People: An Indigenous Approach to Reclaiming the Circle of the World," given at the 2008 Southwest Popular/American Culture Meeting). But it is also the case with much of the suffering and violence troubling the world. Failure to develop and maintain adequate, balanced economies providing high levels of employment and fulfilling human needs in a sufficient and relatively equalitarian manner has produced and worsened many damaging developments, though there are also other causes.

For example, much of the turmoil in the Middle East since 2000 has economic causes and accelerants. The Arab Spring in Tunisia, and across the region, for instance, arose in part from very high youth unemployment and other economic problems.⁴ Similarly, the Syrian Civil War was triggered by the government's failure to deal with the huge number of impoverished people forced off their farm land by the agriculture destroying drought,⁵ an impact of global warming induced climate change. This environmental crisis resulted largely from business and government economic values that focused primarily on profits with little concern for externalized costs and public goods, and a development model which emphasized the maximizing of unending growth, measured largely in terms of gross national product (GNP), emphasizing increasing income (especially corporate profits) and jobs, but little else. Similarly, racism, has become much more serious because of economic inequities, as when jobs, and/or good jobs, are hard to get, many people feeling threatened look for someone to blame, and all the more so if they are viewed as competitors for jobs.⁶ This can be seen in western Europe in 2014, suffering from a tenuous economy and high unemployment, in the rising feelings against Middle Easterners and North

Africans (mostly Muslims), as well as East Europeans coming to their countries either directly or indirectly in large part for economic reasons.⁷

From a Native viewpoint, as previously discussed, economics needs to be about relationships, and working to maintain, and recreate a balanced web of relations among people, and with all beings including the Earth. Thus economics is primarily a sociology⁸ that includes not only relations among people, but with the environment of which it is becoming clearer and clearer that human beings are a part, and have to take into account for their own welfare. American Indian societies, and Indigenous nations around the world, have generally done quite well in creating and maintaining such balances. Out of necessity, they have refrained from taking more from their environment than needed, and have undertaken long term, as well as short and medium term, planning in their decision making, taking into account their relations with the environment, and amongst the members of their band, tribe or confederacy. Similar short, medium and long term planning is needed in contemporary societies.

Moreover, as developed in the previous paper, decision making about economics as well as other aspects of public policy needs to be participatory. That requires an informed citizenry and transparent governmental and economic processes. Further, from the point of view of pragmatic Indigenous peoples, policy approaches, and the policies themselves, need to be based on principles and factual findings long observed as being correct and viable (today one would say based on sound science): aimed at appropriate ends and in fact designed to attain, or at least sufficiently move toward, them. As is developed here, much of mainstream economic policy meets neither standard, and an alternative approach is much needed.

An important factor in the socio-economic success of most traditional tribal societies has been that assisting others, particularly those less well off, and the nation as a whole has been highly honored, while advancing one's own interest at the expense of the community, including accumulating without sharing, was considered dishonorable. In tribal and band societies, community pressure - positive and negative - generally has been sufficient incentive to keep almost all community members advancing community interests in the course of furthering their own interests. This was partly so because as a practical matter in labor intensive communities people need the cooperation and support of each other. Indeed, a major aspect of being tribal is identifying with the community to the extent that one feels good about oneself largely in terms of one's ability to contribute to and assist the community and its members.

At the current stage of societal evolution, such moral and public opinion incentives are helpful, but insufficient to achieve socially beneficial behavior, particularly in what is normally considered economic activity. Today, significant economic incentives quite often are necessary as a major instrument to keep individual economic and business behavior socially beneficial, and to keep society in balance. Mainstream market economic theory, going back to Adam Smith, John Locke and their colleagues, claims to achieve this through competition in the market, but because of a combination of the failure of current economic incentives to adequately take into account externalities and public goods, combined with imbalances in the economy, resulting from and contributing to, great differences in market power, the contemporary market in current capitalist societies too often divisively promotes private interest over the public good. Thus, as some socialist critiques of capitalist markets assert, instead of promoting the general welfare, too often

the concept of the invisible hand of the market is a cover for the dirty hand of the antisocially behaving economic actor.⁹

Creating, Maintaining and Restoring Economic Balance

Economic systems, whether they are market based or take some other form, are human creations, put into effect by governments. These systems operate following the decisions and non-decisions made consciously or unconsciously by those who create, maintain and modify them. The outcomes of the interactions within an economic system, as within a game, are determined by the actions (and non-actions) of the participants - including those who are supposed to carry out or enforce the "rules" of the system or game, in given circumstances. This includes how perceptive and creative participants are in understanding and acting upon their opportunities. Economic systems will function differently according to the circumstance, and may be modified or transformed either by changes in circumstance, or by conscious or unconscious actions or inactions by those who govern the system. For example, a market system often tends to concentrate wealth over time in fewer and fewer hands, as those with some advantage or good fortune gain market power, which allows them to further increase their share of market power and wealth. Consequently, an equalitarian "free" market may be transformed into an oligopolistic or monopolistic economic system with no change in governance. But changes in governance - in the rules that actually apply - may also change, or prevent a change, in the operation of the system.

As developed at length in the previous paper on politics, Native societies generally functioned quite well for almost all their members because they operated in a participatory equalitarian fashion on the basis of mutual respect, dispersing and essentially equalizing power, including economic power and wealth. To obtain equivalent benefits for citizens of communities today, the same equalitarian values need to be applied to create, maintain and renew participatory societies. In the economic sphere this requires establishing and maintaining relatively equal distribution of wealth and of control of economic institutions, and, indeed, of economic, as well as all other sources of power.¹⁰ This can only be attained and maintained in a fully participatory society, with a participatory economy, in which virtually all institutions, including economic institutions are participatory. Such an economy, except for very small enterprises, would be composed of democratically operated worker cooperatives, and supporting participatory institutions, such as the Mondragon Cooperatives, briefly considered in the preceding paper on politics, and discussed more fully below.

But, just having an economy of democratically run business and related institutions is not sufficient. For instance, in the case of Yugoslav self-management, as was shown in the preceding paper, without adequate antitrust laws and other regulation and balancing actions, in what some called "*laissez faire* socialism, the market moved rapidly toward a quite oligopolistic economy. Movement toward oligopoly and monopoly is a multifold problem. As discussed in the politics paper, concentration of power undermines political democracy. It also is an economic aberration, first because it skews the market towards the interests of the larger firms that can use their market power for their own economic interest over others, so that market forces no longer function for economic efficiency. For example, a large firm with more resources can hold out longer in a price war than a more efficient smaller one that may be able to offer better products at a lower cost. If the larger firm can drive enough of its competition out of business through temporarily sustaining

losses by selling at below cost prices, then, in the absence of effective competition, it can raise prices as high as the market can bear.

In addition, larger firms have advantages of economy of scale that increase their market power over smaller ones. For example, a large firm may receive discounts for purchasing in larger quantities, than a small firm, leading to lower costs. In addition, a large firm can attract more customers through a greater ability to advertise, than a smaller firm offering the same product with higher quality, even at a lower price. Thus, larger less efficient firms can gain monopoly positions allowing them to charge more than properly operating market forces allow, and to readily sell lower quality or less desirable products to consumers, who due to the absence of meaningful competition have little or no choice. Moreover, there are diseconomies of scale. For instance, beyond a certain point, the larger an organization becomes, which at least potentially gives it more power, the less efficient it becomes, as the Mondragon cooperatives, discussed below, discovered.¹¹

A major problem for the effectiveness and economic efficiency of firms as they grow is the increase in communication and coordination costs. In hierarchical organizations this leads to increasing numbers of managers with a rising ratio of managers to productive workers in an increasing number of layers of organization. As discussed in the previous paper, this increases the cost of communication and lessens the accuracy of information on which higher-level decisions are based, while lowering the accuracy of understanding of decisions as the communication distance grows. Democratic organizations have a similar rise in communication cost with growth. Either teams become unwieldy as they grow, or as the firm enlarges the number of teams expands, requiring additional coordinating teams, and more time discussing issues. In both the case of hierarchical and democratic organizations, the larger the organization becomes, often above 200 - 300 members, the less people know and understand each other. Like everything else, this has some advantages, but these tend to be outweighed by the disadvantages. A partial solution to the problems of size is decentralizing the firm to become a federation. In the postmodern world of great complexity, this well may be the best practical approach to balancing the needs of organizational and economic efficiency with other aspects of effectiveness, but it is important to note that it does not fully minimize economic and organizational cost related to size.

One aspect of the problem of size was the subject of a study of the financial sector in the United States by Stephen G Cecchetti and Enisse Kharroubi, the Bank for International Settlements, "Why does financial sector growth crowd out real economic growth?," in February 2015.¹² The authors found that financial sector "growth disproportionately harms financially dependent and R&D-intensive industries." large banks, in order to protect their investments, tend to invest in firms that have sufficient collateral, often in real property. But these are often the less entrepreneurial organizations than those that are researching and making new developments that in the medium and long term contribute more to the economy. Thus large financial institutions underfund research and development, and developers of new ideas and products often need to seek funding from smaller venture capital organizations. But as money becomes more concentrated in large financial organizations, less funding becomes available for venture capital. In addition, as financial institutions grow and become a larger portion of the economy, they attract an increasing number of talented people who otherwise would apply their brainpower and productivity in organizations directly producing and developing products and services. Moreover, as the financial

sector has grown in the United States, it has more and more been found to act for its own and not society's advantage. Further, the financial sector accounted for 15 to 25 percent of the overall increase in wage inequality from 1980 to 2006.¹³

Thus government must be vigilant in foreseeing, and seeing and correcting developing imbalances in market power, and other misbalancing forces and practices, that naturally will occur quite frequently, employing whatever means are appropriate. This can include such measures as changes in: regulations, taxes, subsidies, services, government interventions in purchasing, ease of obtaining credit, and so forth. But this also requires strategic planning to harmonize public and private interest and power for the public good.¹⁴

The "Economic" advantages of a Democratic Economy

It needs to be noted that in general, an economy well balanced in terms of equality of wealth, and economic and market power tends to be more efficient, productive and stable than one hierarchically structured in terms of wealth and power.¹⁵ To begin with, the basis of a modern economy is "bottom up". Experience has shown that "trickle down" economic policies produce less total wealth. When money is available at the bottom and middle of the economy it is more quickly spent in the community, particularly in socially more valuable items, and recirculated with a multiplier effect, than is the case with money at the top of the economy. Thus, the same amount of wealth has a greater power when it is more evenly distributed in a society than when it is concentrated in fewer hands. Similarly, with higher employment, more people are contributing to the economy, and fewer who are simply taking from it.

Thus austerity policies which try to balance government budgets, by lowering spending, have the negative effect of lowering employment and making less money available to consumers. This reduces consumer spending and economic activity. This in turn tends both to deflate prices as well as sales, lowering tax income, and hence government income. The result tends to be a continuing downward spiral, as has occurred in the Great Recession beginning in 2008 in Spain,¹⁶ Portugal,¹⁷ and Greece (where the economy shrank 25%),¹⁸ and in Germany in the 1930s, helping to bring Hitler to power.¹⁹ By contrast in the Great Depression of the 1930s in United States, the New Deal spending on programs and people stopped the collapse, and expanded the economy while investing in infrastructure of many kinds and assisting people, largely by putting them to work in rebuilding the economy, but also increasing education and training which in an expanding technological age is essential for individual and societal economic advancement. But when the government cut back on spending in 1937, the recession increased, until returning to more public spending again decreased it.²⁰ The economist J. M. Keynes advocated governments spending money and increasing public debt in the downturn of economic cycles, and balancing that by increasing taxes relative to spending in strong economic times to pay off public debt and build up a surplus, while curbing inflation.²¹

The approach of cutting taxes, particularly on the wealthy, rather than increasing government spending, has been a much less effective means of stimulating the economy. Government spending significantly increases the amount of money going to low and middle income people, who spend most of it, giving the economy a boost. By contrast, with tax cuts, people of low to moderate incomes receive a relatively smaller amount of money, which may increase their spending, but only to a limited extent (or may not increase spending, to the extent

people use the additional money to pay bills or reduce debt). Meanwhile, only a small portion of the larger amount of money that tax cuts give to wealthier people gets spent. And while the well to do may be more able to make investments that would lead to more job creation, there is no incentive to do so if there is little or no demand for additional products or services.²² Thus during the recent Great Recession, many large firms simply sat on large amounts of saved capital, and much unneeded money held by wealthy individuals went into speculative spending, which contributed very little to the economy. Indeed such speculation often creates bubbles, which when they break, bring economic downturns, which can be deep recessions or depressions. This has happened repeatedly in U.S. history,²³ including the real-estate collapse triggering the stock market crash that began the Great Depression, the 1980s Savings and Loan Scandal, and the insecure mortgage scandal of the early 2000s that brought on the Great Recession.²⁴

Consequently, there have been calls by some for highly graduated income taxes, which tend to promote equality of wealth and discourage speculation, as well as small transaction taxes on sales of securities that also tend to discourage speculation. Indeed, the great economic collapses in modern economies have generally taken place when income disparities and concentration of wealth have been quite great, in large part because of the factors discussed here. (It is important to note in dealing with actual situations, that many factors are always involved and one needs to look at the uniqueness of each situation in order to have a good understanding of it, something that is too often missed in the reductionist over simplification of neoclassical economic theory).

A society or an organization that supports all its members is making a financial investment that reaps considerable economic reward, in the traditional sense, for the whole society, in addition to improving the overall quality of life. Social research makes this very clear. For example, on the basis of surveying the literature in the field, the 2007 GAO Report to Congressional Requesters, *Poverty in America: Economic Research Shows Adverse Impacts on Health, Status and Other Social Conditions as well as on the Economic Growth Rate*, found,

Economic research suggests that individuals living in poverty face an increased risk of adverse outcomes, such as poor health and criminal activity, both of which may lead to reduced participation in the labor market. While the mechanisms by which poverty affects health are complex, some research suggests that adverse health outcomes are due, in part, to limited access to health care as well as exposure to environmental hazards and engaging in risky behaviors. For example, some research has shown that increased availability of health insurance such as Medicaid for low-income mothers led to a decrease in infant mortality. Likewise, exposure to high levels of air pollution from living in urban areas close to highways can lead to acute health conditions. Data suggest that engaging in risky behaviors, such as tobacco and alcohol use, a comparatively sedentary lifestyle, and a low consumption of nutritional foods can account for some portion of the health disparities between lower and upper income groups. The economic research we reviewed also points to links between poverty and crime. For example, one study indicated that higher levels of unemployment are associated with higher levels of property crime. The relationship between poverty and adverse outcomes for individuals is complex, in part because most variables, like health status, can be both a cause and a result of poverty. Regardless of whether

poverty is a cause or an effect, the conditions associated with poverty can limit the ability of individuals to develop the skills, abilities, knowledge, and habits necessary to fully participate in the labor force.

Research shows that poverty can negatively impact economic growth by affecting the accumulation of human capital and rates of crime and social unrest. Economic theory has long suggested that human capital—that is, the education, work experience, training, and health of the workforce—is considered one of the fundamental drivers of economic growth. The conditions associated with poverty can work against this human capital development by limiting individuals' ability to remain healthy and develop skills, in turn decreasing the potential to contribute talents, ideas, and even labor to the economy. An educated labor force, for example, is better at learning, creating, and implementing new technologies. Economic theory suggests that when poverty affects a significant portion of the population, these effects can extend to the society at large and produce slower rates of growth. Although historically research has focused mainly on the extent to which economic growth alleviates poverty, some recent empirical studies have begun to demonstrate that higher rates of poverty are associated with lower rates of growth in the economy as a whole. For example, areas with higher poverty rates experience, on average, slower per capita income growth rates than low-poverty areas.²⁵

People who feel supported, generally feel good about themselves and the community that empowers them, and though other factors are involved, generally achieve more and contribute more to their communities. Moreover, providing quality education and training to all who have the ability to succeed in education appropriate to them is essential for the high quality workforce necessary for an economy to function well. Those who may have difficulties in achieving in educational processes, if properly supported, usually can succeed and ultimately contribute significantly to society. Conversely, people who do not have educational opportunity or necessary support may not be employable, or may only be minimally employable. Thus, society loses their contributions to the economy and the quality of life in the community, while they become economic drags on society. If there are many such people, the failure to make the relatively small investment to support their development has a high cost to society.

In addition, social services impact productivity. For example, people who are supported by adequate healthcare and other services are more likely to participate in the workforce, and contribute consistently and well. Those lacking health and other services they need, usually will participate in the workforce at a lower rate, and will more often perform less well, or inconsistently. For example people who are working, but have physical or mental health problems for which they do not have adequate, or any, treatment, are more likely to miss work, to work unevenly, make more mistakes and cause more accidents than those who are healthy or have adequate treatment. This may also lead to higher turnover in organizations, bringing additional costs to employers and ultimately the economy as a whole.

The Need for Adequate Measures and Policy Driving Research

In the multifaceted world of today, maintaining a society providing a high quality of life for all of its citizens, which is well balanced in all of its internal and external relations, as well as with the environment, not only for the moment, but into the near and more distant future, requires appropriate,²⁶ adequate measures and institutions to research them, with careful nonpartisan analysis to make well-crafted policy proposals. In a complex and continually changing world, in which there are always unintended consequences of actions, as well shifting conditions and needs, review of ongoing policy and its application, along with developing policy requirements, needs to be continually undertaken and reported .

Examples of the kinds of research institutions which are needed include the Congressional Budget Office (CBO) which advises the U.S. Congress on the past and likely future outcomes of existing and proposed policies, as well as on the problems and alternative means of improvement in the operation of government agencies.³⁷ Similarly, The Governmental Accountability Office (GAO), "the audit, evaluation, and investigative arm of the Congress, exists to support the Congress in meeting its constitutional responsibilities and to help improve the performance and ensure the accountability of the federal government for the benefit of the American people. We examine the use of public funds; evaluate federal programs and policies; and provide analyses, recommendations, and other assistance to help the Congress make informed oversight, policy, and funding decisions."²⁸ Such high quality nonpartisan research groups are likely needed at every level of government, and in every field of concern, to advise those public entities and the public about relevant issues and developments. In a participatory society, policy related research needs to be aimed at enhancing public discussion, through such vehicles as are discussed in the preceding politics paper, with private research organizations contributing to the discussion, while the findings of public think tanks are readily available to the citizenry, restricted only by appropriate protections for privacy and security.

Such measures and research ought to be aimed at instituting and adjusting policies continually to provide good quality of life for all citizens, so as to empower people to develop and unfold who they are. This should be undertaken to provide the maximum meaningful positive choices that are personally and socially beneficial in a continually changing world. In traditional economic terms, this means investing in people and their development. The research to do this properly involves advising on what services and regulations are, and are not, required, and how to undertake and revise them as needed. This means ending programs that are no longer useful, beginning new efforts where required, and adjusting all that is done to changing needs and conditions. This also means allowing individuals and private organizations to do for themselves and each other whatever they are able to do well, and, when appropriate, empowering them with well constituted incentives (e.g. tax deductions for charitable contributions, and tax credits for investing in solar panels to generate electricity). It means, as is discussed in the politics chapter concerning "reinventing government," deciding when it is better for a public service to be carried out by government organizations, and when it is best to contract out the work of achieving public ends. This also encompasses deciding when regulation is best undertaken directly setting and enforcing standards, and when it is more effective and beneficial to regulate indirectly through an incentive system, to make the regulation process as economically efficient as possible (such as

reducing global warming producing carbon dioxide pollution through a carbon trading program, if properly undertaken, which most have not been).²⁹

Thus ongoing research is needed to continually reinvent government, debureaucratizing it as much as possible, making it as effective and efficient as practicable in terms of attaining its objectives, while minimizing costs and keeping the administrative process as participatory as possible.³⁰ Just as participatory businesses find it increases their effectiveness to use as many relevant qualitative and quantitative measures of their operation and performance as possible, so it is with government.

Some Examples of Appropriate Measures

In order to make good public decisions in a participatory society, and keep all its many dimensions and aspects in balance, a great many qualitative and quantitative measures need to be taken and appropriately analyzed covering every aspect of society. Traditional mainstream economic statistics are relevant for some of the technical aspects of keeping the economy moving appropriately - such as looking at the rates of inflation and employment. However, it is important to put a heavy emphasis on quality of life indicators, which are most directly related to the ends of society, and to realize that those measures are ultimately, and often directly, impacted by all the others - and that interrelationship needs to be kept in mind.

Several organizations in the United States have developed sets of measures that are suggestive of what needs to be undertaken. Measure for America, a Project of the Social Science Research Council, provides "easy-to-use yet methodologically sound tools for understanding well-being and opportunity in America and to stimulate fact-based dialogue about issues we care about: health, education and income."³¹ *The Measure of America 2013–2014*, applies the Human Development Index and other data to produce national, state and major urban area reports on how people in the U.S. are faring in the three areas.³² Similarly, Opportunity Nation tabulates the Opportunity Index, "an annual composite measure at the state and county levels of economic, educational and civic factors that foster opportunity and is designed to help identify concrete solutions to lagging conditions for opportunity and economic mobility. From preschool enrollment to internet access, from volunteerism to access to healthy foods, expanding opportunity depends on the intersection of multiple factors. The Opportunity Index was jointly developed by Opportunity Nation and Measure of America, and measures 16 indicators, scoring all 50 states plus Washington DC on a scale of 0-100 each year. In addition, more than 2,600 counties are graded A-F, giving policymakers and leaders a useful tool to identify areas for improvement and to gauge progress over time."³³

Indicative of some of the many other concerns is the *National Index of Violence and Harm* (NIVAH), "developed in 2000 by a team of researchers at Manchester College. The goals of this project are to quantify levels of violence and harm done to people in the United States and identify trends over time. The initial version of the Index, spanning the years 1995-98, was released in December, 2000."³⁴ NIVAH measures both personal and societal violence and harm relative to the baseline year 1995. The personal index encompasses measures of both interpersonal and intrapersonal violence and harm, with the interpersonal foci: homicide, sexual offenses, battery, robbery, and reckless behavior) and the intrapersonal variables: suicide/self-

injury and deaths from substance abuse (smoking, alcohol, and other drugs). The societal index includes institutional and structural indicators. Institutional violence is violence caused by the action of societal institutions and their agents carrying out their institutionally defined roles, in government - in this case by law enforcement and correctional institutions - and by corporations - consisting of air pollution, injuries from products, and occupational injuries - and by the institution of the family - covering domestic violence and child abuse/neglect. Structural violence is violence that arises from the structure or hierarchies of United States society. This encompasses several items.

Social negligence represents basic human needs which are left unaddressed by society at large. We have defined “basic” needs to include food, housing, health care and education, and have incorporated related measures of unmet need. Infant mortality and life expectancy, while not direct indicators of structural violence, provide general indicators of the quality of life and health care that is provided through the overall organization of society. Hate crimes occur due to prejudice and enmity between various social and ethnic groups. Employment discrimination is a measure of active bias on the part of those with economic/decision-making power against groups with lesser power. Poverty disparity measures imbalances in the poverty levels between different sub-populations such as racial, age, and gender groups. Gang membership is used as a marker for those who are deprived of basic family and community resources (or are otherwise disenfranchised from the mainstream culture) and are thus less likely to benefit from societal improvements in education, employment, health care, economics, etc.³⁵

Measures Concerning the Environment and Its Relationship to the Economy

Measures relating to the environmental conditions and related public policy are always important, but have become most essential in the current set of environmental crises. Dealing with environmental issues involves complex short, medium and long term questions involving numerous aspects of relations between people and the physical environment, especially concerning human economic activity, from the local to the regional, national and international levels. A great deal of data analysis and projection of alternative futures depending on how people and governments respond to environmental problems is already being undertaken by a variety of scientific and policy organizations and networks. Most notable is the international Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), which regularly reports on the extent of global warming induced climate change, its likely progression including its impacts on human beings depending on what action is taken to slow and possibly eventually stop it.³⁶ This includes statements of targets needing to be attained if global warming is not to reach extremely disastrous levels. Various private and governmental agencies have been applying this, and other scientific data to propose and make environmental policies, such as the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency's fuel economy standards for automobiles,³⁷ or existing state and proposed U.S. policy for requiring percentages of electricity generation to be by other than global warming increasing burning of fossil fuels.³⁸ Similar research and science based policy proposal has been taking place on other environmental issues. While some more scientific research related to the environment is desirable, the primary current problem is to develop the political will to act appropriately on available information, in the face of resistance by wealthy fossil energy interests

seeking to maintain and increase profits, and by other business interests desiring to keep their costs low by having less regulation.³⁹

Some further development of measures linking environmental quality and the environment would be quite useful, however. Faced with growing serious environmental degradation stemming from stressing narrowly defined economic development regardless of other costs, China has come up with a system for linking environmental and economic policy, that may be valuable in itself, and is suggestive what else might be done about balancing economic development with maintaining environmental quality.

In September 2015 the Chinese government initiated the Circular Economy (CE) policy linking environmental and economic policy.⁴⁰ It will be somewhat unclear just what the system actually involves and how appropriate and effective it really is until it has been sufficiently put into effect. At the outset, it includes a multilevel system for accounting of natural resources and environmental ecosystem services, ecological compensation and market based instruments for environmental management. CE is intended to function with a new business model in which resource use is optimized through waste prevention, reuse and recycling. It is to include industrial ecosystems, closed loop supply chains, broad-based recycling and waste recovery. The idea is to increase resource use efficiency (using less and polluting less) to prevent and reduce urban and industrial waste through requiring and encouraging exchange and reuse networks and behaviors, so that economic activity and growth may continue while reducing environmental degradation and increasing the quality of life. An important element is to shift from quantitative to quality oriented development, reducing consumption and resource use while increasing the quality of living. The plan shifts from an emphasis on degradation or partial reclamation at the end of extraction, manufacturing and transporting, to a focus on holistic transformation aimed at improving the quality of life, while dealing with environmental issues. The problems of making CE work in practice are complex and challenging, so that as of mid-2016, it remains to be seen how useful and suggestive CE will turn out to be.

Thoughts on the Needed Measures

The specific measures to be used to assist all areas of public policy related research need to be chosen to properly fit the particular circumstance and need to be sufficiently accurate and detailed to provide all the relevant information (while avoiding irrelevant information that tends to cloud comprehension), making appropriate changes as new concerns and conditions develop or are discovered. In improving and otherwise changing measures, however, care needs to be taken to provide consistent reporting across time so that long term developments and policy impacts are clear. This may mean adding rather than replacing measures in some instances. Among the aspects of having sufficient detail, so that important variations are not missed amidst averages or larger groupings, is to be sure to include breakouts of all the relevant populations and subgroupings. In terms of populations, this means including all the geographical, socio-economic, ethnic or other categories of people who may need particular consideration. In the United States, for example, American Indians and Alaska Natives are an important set of populations with specific concerns and policy needs. Although the situation is improving, census and other data often has not included Native Americans as a separate category, and at times when it has done so, has not done so consistently over time. In addition, there has been

the difficulty of obtaining sufficient and accurate data, particularly relating to people who have been socially marginalized. Finally, it essential to insure that the measures used, and the data collection process, are impartial, and are not subject to political manipulation.⁴¹

Qualitative information also needs to be considered, because Quantitative indicators need to be reconsidered as well as related qualitative information since they may not be fully accurate or considerably in error. Such indicators are indicating that there is measurable and significant change but they are not necessarily a causal explanation of what we are studying. They cannot present a full picture of what they are intended to measure and are subject to interpretation as to their meaning.. Moreover, especially in a participatory society, all data must simply be one input into a discussion with the people concerned as to what real situations are, and what needs to be undertaken.⁴²

All of the above, and the many other, indicators are simply information, which then needs to be subject to analysis and problem solving debate as to what the causes are, and what the alternative courses are for improvement with the full range of their costs and benefits over time, including side effects. Such an approach provides a necessary basis for discussing and deciding what the best courses of public and private action are.

Concerning the policies and actions of businesses, including corporations, it needs to be kept in mind that, while they have instrumental goals of bringing in income and making reasonable profits, they should be operated with reference to providing public goods and avoiding doing harm. Thus, businesses should be guided by practical ethics, and regulated to the extent necessary and proper for their acting consistently with public purposes.

Rethinking "Development"

All of the above relates to rethinking “development” as not being ever increasing economic growth, with the goals of endlessly increasing income and jobs. Rather, it is a process of human and community development aimed at improving the quality of life efficiently - minimizing costs in terms of money, resources, the environment, and people. To achieve human development, income and jobs are a necessary means, but they are not the ends. Similarly, this approach includes moving away from an emphasis on people obtaining more and more new things, to maintaining and advancing the quality of life, which in an age of rapid technological advancement encompasses updating and acquiring, at a reasonable rate, items that improve the quality of work, and life more broadly.

Examples of undertaking development as personal and community development quite successfully are to be found among quite a number of American Indian tribes,⁴³ an instance of which is discussed below. This largely involves the application of traditional values, though the long history of physical and cultural genocide have, to varying degrees, reduced the extent of their being followed in different communities. Because most Native nations were first denied the right to govern themselves, and then were limited to having inappropriate forms of representative government, many Indian nations have been struggling to return to more traditional, participatory decision making. Their development efforts, though generally quite good, have not been carried out in as democratic a manner as was traditional, nor are they appropriate for a contemporary

participatory society.⁴⁴

An important point is that once colonization occurred, American Indian economic development was not very successful until Native nations gained sufficient self-determination to have at least a major say, if not control, of the development process.⁴⁵ Imposed development, however well intended, generally failed to take account of tribal values, culture and local conditions. Not deeply understanding the people and conditions in question, and not involving the concerned population in the development process, has been a general failing of much of western development. Often there has not been sufficient understanding that good general principles need to be applied according to the specifics of each place, and that different situations and locations require different approaches.

Narrow Attempts at Development

An illustrative example, involves U.S foreign aid to Afghanistan, shortly after World War II.⁴⁶ At the beginning of the Cold War, the U.S. Government decided that the world would shortly become bipolar, with all nations allying either with the U.S. or the USSR. On the basis of this miscalculation, it was decided that it was important for the United States to try to win over all non-aligned nations, including Afghanistan. The foreign aid question was whether to pave the streets of the Afghani capital or build a dam in the back country, that few would see, but which would provide flood control, irrigation for agriculture and electricity for eventual economic development. Only U.S. economists were asked for advice, and no discussions on the details of the alternative proposals or the local conditions were undertaken with Afghanis. The economists correctly pointed out that Afghanistan had little motorized traffic that would benefit from paving the streets, and that once paved, the streets would be costly to maintain, as this would require new capital investment. Therefore, the economists advised building the dam as a step toward long-term economic development, and the U.S. constructed the dam. The Russians, then paved the streets of the capital. Since the Afghani government could now say they were becoming a modern nation, as everyone could see that the streets of Kabul were paved, the Russians won whatever prestige or benefit was to be gained in the foreign aid competition.

The U.S. then decided that building roads was the way to win influence, and proceeded to construct a series of highways across Afghanistan, that did not connect to road systems in any other country, in a land locked nation with extremely few motor vehicles. For the second time, the aid providers failed to take into account the wishes or the culture of the recipient people. Where paving the streets of the capital had significant symbolic value, creation of a paved rural road system did not, and there was little benefit to the Afghans from building the roads, which soon would deteriorate if the government did not invest in maintaining them.

Moreover, the decision makers failed to research the history, geology and geography of the area. Providing irrigation water was useless for the area in question, since earlier irrigation had carried salt into the fields so that agriculture was no longer practical. Furthermore, rivers in the region carry large quantities of silt as they rush down the mountains, which then settles out on the river bottoms when the waters slow as they reach relatively flat valleys. This causes the river bottoms to rise, so that every few years these rivers overflow their banks and shift their course. This happened soon after the dam was built, leaving it with no water behind it!

Another example involved a group of international agricultural experts who were involved in developing a new variety of cotton that was much hardier and produced a greater quantity of cotton than existing varieties. They went to a village in India where they asked the inhabitants if they would like to try the new cotton. The agriculturists explained the plants advantages, but never discussed with the villagers what their agriculture involved or what they used the cotton plants for. Most of the villagers tried the new variety of cotton. However, when the agricultural experts returned five years later, they found that only a small percentage of the cotton grown in the village was the new variety. It was only then that the agriculturalists discussed with the villagers how and why they undertook farming, in the course of which the agriculturalists learned that the villagers grew cotton plants partly for their cotton, and partly for their stalks to use as fuel. The stalks on the new variety did not burn very well.

In any case, but especially in a participatory community, development needs to be undertaken in a participatory manner. Whether local or outsiders, experts and providers need to act as facilitators and resource providers (whether on information, funding or materials) helping people decide what to do within relevant guidelines, rather than deciding for them.⁴⁷ This is not only important for the success of the project itself, but for carrying out its important empowerment function of building and maintaining strong community relations. The best builder and maintainer of good participation, is high quality participation, which in turn is a major element in effective development.

While not fully participatory, the successful American Indian development work has been facilitated and led by tribal leaders, with significant community participation. One of many good examples is that of the Mississippi Choctaw.

Mississippi Choctaw Economic Development in Collaboration with Their Neighbors

The Choctaws who remained in Mississippi after the tribe was removed to Indian territory, now Oklahoma, in the 1830s, had to persist in a difficult struggle for survival as a people and as individuals.⁴⁸ With the United States government failing to fulfill its treaty obligation to provide allotments to most of those remaining in Mississippi, many tribal members were reduced to share cropping on what had been their own land, for \$.50 a day. Thus, amid poverty and harsh living conditions the Nation's population declined to just over 1200 in 1910. In 1918 the federal government finally acknowledged its responsibility and established the Choctaw Agency with a few minimally funded programs. In 1921 the federal government created a dispersed reservation with the purchase of 17,000 scattered acres. By 2013 the tribe had acquired more land than in the original purchase, expanding the reservation to 35,000 acres, comprising seven communities. Yet in the early days of the reservation, conditions remained so dire that it was not until the 1960s that the birth rate began to exceed the death rate, with the new federal policies of, first, the War on Poverty, and then, Self-Determination, empowering the tribe to begin its own process of holistic development, including building an economic base. Business efforts began with the sale of tribal timber, allowing the tribe to hire one of its members as a business manager.

By the late 1960's the Choctaw had established a construction company, building and renovating homes, and an 80-acre industrial park, that by the late 1980s contained six

manufacturing plants, three of which were owned by the nation. One of these, Chata Greeting Enterprises (now American Greetings), before the end of the '80s became the fourth largest producer of greeting cards in the world, by volume. The plant was financed primarily under a compact with the city of Philadelphia, MS, through the city passing the first industrial bond issue in the United States used for Indian economic development.

A second Choctaw firm, Chata Enterprises, began supplying General Motors with wire harnesses for automobile instrument panels in 1983. The plant was expanded to become the fourth largest employer in the state with many non-tribal workers, again in collaboration with the city of Philadelphia, passing a bond issue. In 1999 Chata Enterprise opened a plant in Sonora, Mexico. In 1985, the Choctaw set up a credit union to provide much needed banking services to tribal members and three years later completed the Choctaw Shopping Center housing a bank, a grocery store, a restaurant, a barber and beauty shop, a gas station and other businesses. As of 2003, the nation owned and operated a broad portfolio of manufacturing, service, retail and tourism enterprises throughout Mississippi, the Southeast and into Mexico, including two casino resorts with hotels, golf courses, a water theme park, and two lake recreation areas. The nation also ran a number of festivals and other events that attracted tourists.

The Choctaw, in 1985, provided more than 8,000 permanent, full-time jobs, 65% of which were held by non-Indians. With an annual payroll of more than \$123.7 million, the Choctaw Nation had become one of the 10 largest employers in Mississippi. In addition, tribal revenues had helped the Choctaw to reinvest more than \$210 million in economic development projects in Mississippi. Some tribal enterprises, such as the Choctaw Farmers Market, provided non-economic as well as economic benefits to tribal members, in this instance, enhancing nutrition in the course of increasing tribal farmers' incomes.

By the end of 2013, while the United States, and particularly Mississippi and some of its neighboring states, were still recovering from the Great Recession that began in 2008, the Mississippi Choctaw Nation remained among the ten largest employers in Mississippi, though the number of its employees had dropped to around 6000. By that time the nation's investment in economic development in the state had exceeded \$500 million.

On this economic base, the Choctaw have funded tribal, and broader community development, in collaboration with surrounding localities and governments, for mutual benefit. Before the end of the 1980s, this already included an education program from pre-school through high school and a training and vocational center for adult education. This provided learning in a culturally appropriate manner along with Choctaw culture, which had led to more than 60 tribal members earning college degrees by late in that decade. By 2013 education on the reservation had grown to run the largest unified reservation school system in the United States, with 1,700 - 1,800 students, with newer programs including child care, post-secondary education and all levels of post-secondary education counseling, scholarships and student support services.

In 2013, the education program included ECCC Integrated Technologies Training Center (ITTC), a partnership between East Central Community College and the MS Band of Choctaw Indians (MBCI), which featured short-term technical classes, five levels of an Industrial Maintenance Technician Apprenticeship program, capacity to earn Industrial Maintenance

Technician Apprenticeship credentials, access to an on-line technical training library for Industrial Maintenance technicians, and financial assistance options for those interested in these training sessions. The Nation operated a museum and offered a variety of Choctaw culture and language programs, to preserve and revitalize the traditional culture and knowledge and to enhance tribal member competence in traditional activities, arts and crafts. Revitalizing Choctaw culture has been important to tribal members knowing who they are, and feeling good about themselves and the nation. This has provided personal confidence for success, and enhanced tribal solidarity.⁴⁹

The Choctaw Department of Agriculture and Rural Development, in 2013, was operating a number of programs that provide assistance and education to farmers and gardeners, along with education for homemakers. The tribe also was offering agricultural programs in partnership with the Mississippi State University (MSU) Extension Services,

The department's conservation, nature and education programs, in 2013, combined with those of the tribe's Environmental Program Office to manage and protect the reservation environment and provide for sustainable development. The nation received consulting from the U.S. Department of Agriculture Natural Resource Conservation Center (NRCS) on good stewardship of its lands and wild life habitats. The tribe monitored air and water quality and ran its own water treatment plant for drinking water and undertook solid waste treatment. Core tribal government had also become well financed by 2013, with its expansion including a court system, corrections and a police and fire department.

During the '80s, the health program encompassed a 40 bed hospital with three satellite clinics, a 120 bed nursing home, mental health and substance abuse programs, an ambulance service serving nearby communities as well as the nation, a community nursing and training program, and monitoring of sanitation and water quality. As of 2013, the health center averaged 100,000 patient visits per year. The rural clinics averaged approximately 3,000 visits per year. The health center has provided full service to tribal members and residents of the reservation, and emergency care to reservation residents and reservation visitors. In 2015, the nation completed construction on a new comprehensive health care center. Health services have been enhanced with a dental clinic, a Diabetes Management Center, dietary and nutrition programs, non-emergency medical transportation, a Women's Health Center and a WIC (Women, Infants and Children) program.

The Choctaw Housing Authority, by 2013, was providing general maintenance, emergency maintenance, housing placement, resident services and the holistic Drug Elimination Program. Community Services came to encompass a full range of programs, including Child Welfare Service, Foster Care, Handicapped and Elderly Services, Pathway House, S.T.O.P. Domestic Violence, food and emergency services, and behavioral health programs.

The nation, in 2013, ran a number of youth programs including Boys and Girls Clubs, 4 H, and Boy, Girl and Cub Scouts, as well as recreational activity including the Native American Sports Association (NASA), which promoted "a standard of excellence in the performance among Native American players and coaches," and enhanced "good sportsmanship, honesty, integrity, sobriety, and a good relationship with Native America." Big Brothers Big Sisters program involved Choctaw high school volunteers providing successful mentoring relationships for children 5 to 15

years old, wishing to participate, who could benefit from a positive role model in their lives. Mentoring activity included such things as helping a child with school work, teaching Choctaw basket weaving or beadwork, reading together, conversing, playing on the playground, eating lunch together at the school, and playing basketball. The volunteer's main role was to be a friend and a role model.

Over all, the Mississippi Choctaws' business success has allowed the tribe to be more self-reliant (it continues to receive federal Indian and other funding), and to make significant economic contributions to the surrounding non-Indian communities with whom it enjoys largely collaborative relations. Indeed, the Choctaw undertaking of development as tribal and member development, often in collaboration with neighbors, has improved relations both within the tribe and with surrounding communities. Much of the success of Choctaw enterprises follows directly from its supporting its members with income, education, health and other services. This has served as a direct empowerment while enhancing their bond with, and concern for, the community. This is much the same as what has made collaborative enterprises successful, as is further developed in the discussion, below, of the Mondragon federation of worker cooperatives. This begins to give a picture of what a cooperative economy might look like, which is developed in more detail in the case of Mondragon.

II. The Example of The Mondragon Cooperatives

The Mondragon Cooperative Corporation (MCC), a system of worker cooperatives located in the Basque country of Spain, is considered to be one of the most significant models of worker ownership and participatory community economic development, in the world. The Mondragon Cooperative Corporation (MCC) is a highly complex federation of cooperatives bound together by much more than a formal contract of association. Currently, the MCC is comprised of 257 businesses of which 110 are cooperatives and 147 are subsidiaries. MCC employs 74,060 people.⁵⁰

Today, Mondragon adheres to ten principles: (1) open admission, (2) democratic control; (3) sovereignty of labor; (4) participation in management; (5) instrumental and subordinate nature of capital; (6) wage solidarity; (7) inter-co-operation; (8) universality; (9) social transformation and (10) education.⁵¹ There is clearly an influence and overlap with the cooperative principles as articulated by the International Cooperative Alliance.⁵²

Open admission means that there is no discrimination in hiring for anyone who accepts the cooperative principles. This includes adherence to a principle of ideological neutrality including adherence to a secular identity. In the first 15 to 20 years, the co-operatives had a strong influence of Catholic social doctrine that informed the leadership of the cooperatives. In recent years, a more pragmatic, economic and secular identity has replaced it.⁵³

The cooperatives adhere to a principle of one worker, one vote. There are 4 types of cooperatives in the Basque country: consumer cooperatives; credit unions; educational cooperatives; and, research and development cooperatives. The Mondragon group incorporates elements of these. Eroski, the consumer cooperative includes two classes of members – consumer and worker – and includes both groups in the governance of the firm. Caja Laboral Popular (the federation's development bank) has worker members but in the governance provides greater

control to the borrowing member firms. In the university and educational centers, governance is shared between faculty, staff and students.⁵⁴

Sovereignty of labor means that workers are the highest authority in the firms through the power of the general assembly. The participation of workers in management provides the means of insuring systems of participation, transparency, consultation and negotiation that includes the voice of rank and file workers. It recognizes that workers are essential to the profitability of the firms. In turn the cooperative should provide opportunities to all its members.⁵⁵

Capital is subordinated to labor through the 5th principle which prioritizes the creation and provision of jobs over the marginal return on investments. Compensation should be just and sufficient to allow for savings and to meet members' needs. The members contribute an initial purchase of a membership share, additional obligatory capital investments and other voluntary investments. The cooperatives need to balance compensation of workers against the capital requirements to insure the ongoing well-being of the firm.⁵⁶

Wage solidarity establishes a ratio of no more than 1:6 times between the lowest and highest paid workers. In the early years, the ratio was 1:3 for lowest to highest paid members. Over time, it was necessary to widen the range in order to attract and retain more highly skilled members,⁵⁷

Inter-co-operation refers to the principle of working cooperatively with other co-ops. The Mondragon cooperatives recognized the importance of this early on in their history. It is key to their success. It has allowed them to experience greater stability in economic downturns. The firms share the benefits and losses at the level of the groups. In the early years the groups were regional and then later became sectoral groups. As they entered into global markets, the institutional cooperation as MCC gave them the ability to adapt to changing markets.

Universality refers to the value of working with all who are working to promote economic democracy. Through the investment of resources in Otalora (focusing on education, training and co-operative dissemination), the foundation Mundukide and the university, the Mondragon cooperatives have served as inspiration and a resource for the creation of other worker cooperatives.⁵⁸

The 9th principle reflects the commitment of the co-ops to support and invest in social change. The social change priorities have been the promotion and preservation of Basque language and culture and the revitalization of the Basque language as a national language; community development; the promotion of a cooperative system of solidarity and responsibility; and the advancement of the Basque working class.⁵⁹

Lastly, the 10th principle reflects a commitment to transmit the cooperative experience and its values to its members and especially in elected positions; and, professional education especially for those in the boards of directors to insure that they understand their responsibility for and accountability to the workers. The education principle also reflects a commitment to provide education for new generations of cooperators starting with social formation of the children.⁶⁰

The adherence to these values serve the cooperatives well. They served to guide them in rebuilding after the civil war and continue to do so.

A Brief History of the Mondragon Cooperative Experience: Setting the Stage

The Mondragon story actually begins not with the industrial cooperatives but with a dedicated group of young men and a young priest committed to building a better community out of the ashes of the Spanish Civil War. The Basques are an ethnically and linguistically separate people located on the French and Spanish border on the Cantabrian coast of Spain. In this first phase, it was the local and national environment which dominated in the structuring of the first cooperatives. The postwar period left Mondragon with shortages of food and fuel. According to José María Ormaetxea, one of the founders of the Mondragon cooperatives. The Basque region suffered for the role it had played in the Civil War because it sided with the Republican government in opposition to Franco. The valley of Alto Deva was a battle field from September 1936 to April 1937. Military installations in Mondragon were bombed as were other parts of the Basque region. Many basic goods such as wheat, cooking oil, and coal were rationed. Indigence and tuberculosis were serious problems.⁶¹

Heiberg, in *The Making of the Basque Nation* (1989: 92), described this as a period of political and cultural humiliation for the Basques, due to their alliance with the Republic in the Civil War. Vizcaya and Guipuzcoa were declared traitorous provinces after the war. This resulted in the revoking of their fiscal autonomy, which had been assured under the foral regime, local laws and customs dating back to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,⁶² Most important of these laws were the *fueros*, which were guarantees of exemption from state imposed taxation and Spanish custom duties. The *fueros* continued to be honored by the Franco government in Navarro and Alava, the two other Basque provinces because of their allegiance to Franco during the war.

Drawing inspiration from the Catholic Action Movement, and having researched guild socialism and the cooperative movement (discussed in Chapter 3, Section 6), Don José María Arizmendiarieta, a 26 year old priest and journalist, began in 1941 to form study circles with youth from the community of Mondragon to identify local problems that they could work to resolve. Catholic Action was a social movement that originated in Belgium, and was dedicated to social reform, guided by Christian social doctrine. Franco sought through the repression of Basque culture, and especially the language, *Euskera*, to remove the Basques as an organized threat to the Spanish government. This external source of repression only served to strengthen and focus the efforts of the founders of the Mondragon group to develop the cooperatives.

Basque culture was historically based on bonds of universal nobility and egalitarianism and formalized in the *fueros* for Vizcaya in 1526 and Guipuzcoa in 1610.⁶³ Heidberg's understanding of these values are documented in the work of Manuel de Larramendi, a Jesuit priest in his *Corografía de Guipuzcoa*. "The traditional *baserritar* cultivating the land and governed by the rural values of austerity, social harmony and egalitarianism in social relations was for Larramendi, the original Basque in a state of grace.⁶⁴ According to Heidberg,⁶⁵ these are *baserri* values. She found them expressed by nationalists in her anthropological study of Elgeta, a village outside of Mondragon as: the dignity of work, religion, honesty, egalitarianism and individual autonomy. Nuñez, in his book, *Clases sociales en Euskadi* further reinforces this connection:

the philosophy of the Mondragon cooperatives is imbued with the values of the farmers and above all the workers and artisans of the industrialized rural and semi-urban zones of Guipuzcoa and Vizcaya (excluding the capitals). There it nurtured and grew dynamically and creatively, with initiative and entrepreneurship, aligned with work, valuing the organization and discipline, a spirit of saving and in opposition to all wastefulness, with a collective feeling of love of the Basques, and appreciation of work well done, skeptical of a top down Socialism . . . ⁶⁶

The Mondragon group had strong local labor roots, a democratic internal ideology but without a confrontational approach to capitalism and the terms of market economies. Nuñez observed that “they are mindful of the efficient functioning of the cooperative enterprises and the welfare of the workers relies on their ability to function within the norms of the market economy.”⁶⁷ These values were key to the social form of entrepreneurship that emerged in the Mondragon cooperatives.

The Launching of the Cooperatives

The Mondragon Cooperative Corporation founded its first enterprise, Ulgor (Fagor Electrodomesticos) in 1956, as a maker of portable cook stoves, It was soon joined by three other cooperatives, in a growing federation supported by a bank (Caja Laboral Popular), a set of consumer and housing cooperatives, educational institutions and a research and development cooperative. Several aspects of the federation contributed to its success, demonstrated in its rapid expansion from one cooperative of four members in 1956, to 123 cooperatives in 1978, and 170 in 1986 employing over 20,000 members. Meanwhile, Ulgor grew to become Spain’s leading manufacturer of stoves, refrigerators and other household appliances.⁶⁸

Caja Laboral played a central role as an investment bank and business incubator for the cooperatives. It gained capital as a result of the economic system of the cooperatives. With some similarity to employee stock ownership plans (ESOPs) in the United States, if a worker cooperative made money, a share would go into each of its workers’ accounts in the bank, on which a small amount of interest was paid. These were essentially retirement accounts, as in most cases money could only be withdrawn from them by the worker when the member left the cooperatives. This gave members a financial stake in their coops and an economic incentive to be good workers. As in the early days the membership was mostly young, capital collected quickly as few members left. The accounts also provided some financial insurance to the cooperatives, for if they lost money, funds would be withdrawn proportionally from the accounts of workers of that coop to help cover the loss. As the cooperatives were very successful for many years, little money went out and capital grew for investment, including in starting new cooperatives and expanding existing ones.

A key aspect of the bank was that it researched carefully before making an investment in a new cooperative enterprise, and then incubated it via a group of advisors, called the god fathers, until it was decided the new venture was ready to go on its own. The bank also would help cooperatives in difficult times with low interest loans and technical assistance. After 1987, the incubator section of the bank, which also assisted cooperatives experiencing difficulties, became a separate consulting cooperative, LKS.

The Mondragon cooperatives also, early on, launched educational cooperatives – including Mondragon University and training entities - a research and development division, and a number of service and consumer cooperatives. The latter included establishing housing cooperatives, as there was not enough housing in Mondragon to meet the needs of the rapidly expanding worker cooperatives. Later, constructing housing for members became no longer necessary, and this effort ended. Similarly, later on, with free Spanish educational institutions available, many of the educational functions were discontinued by the federation. The research and development cooperative has remained an important asset, providing crucial research that the individual cooperatives could not afford to undertake on their own. For example, as manufacturing developed early on, the research cooperative was able to design robots to keep fabrication comparatively productive and efficient. In addition to serving the worker cooperatives, the federation also supported the wider community, including through its consumer cooperatives and supporting Basque culture and language activities.

Largely because of their somewhat participatory worker ownership (though other factors including Basque pride and solidarity played a role), the cooperatives were highly successful, at least in the early years returning about 25% more return on investment than conventional businesses in Spain. Moreover, no co-op failed, at least through the 1980s, which is remarkable, especially for new businesses.⁶⁹ Moreover, the democratic and financial structure of the federation made it quite innovative and flexible in meeting changing circumstances. This was especially evident when the serious recession of the late 1970s - 1980s hit Spain and the rest of Europe. Some business, particularly Ulgor, met the loss of domestic business by shifting 25% of their sales to the international market, especially in Latin America. Meanwhile, a combination of low interest loans from the bank (some of which were not repaid), money to help cover losses from worker accounts at the bank, some reduction of pay, switching workers from cooperatives that did not momentarily need them to those that did, and sending unneeded workers back to school, largely for work related training, kept the cooperatives functioning without layoffs until economic conditions improved.

The Mondragon federation also learned from experience. For example, a rapidly growing Ulgor after a few years developed strained labor relations which broke into the only strike the federation experienced in the early period. Two changes came out of the experience to seek to insure good cooperative relations, and satisfied members. The first was the decision that Ulgor had become too large for good community communications, and no cooperative would henceforth be allowed to exceed 300 members. If an enterprise were still expanding when it reached that size, rather than let it continue to grow in members, a new coop would be started. The second was the establishment of a member elected Social Council, operating in each cooperative, serving some of the functions of a union, giving members ongoing input into enterprise decision making and a vehicle for raising concerns. As in the 1980s and 1990s the Social Council was not always very active in many cooperatives. A number of cooperatives experimented with various forms of employee involvement. While what is best will vary with the circumstances, cooperative organizations only function well if they operate fully inclusively, with all members views and concerns heard, and their interests represented. To achieve this, in most instances an appropriate form of team process is necessary, as is discussed in the proceeding chapter, “Applying American Indian Principles of Harmony and Balance To Renew the Politics of the Twenty First Century.”

The Developing Structure of the Federation

Thus the Mondragon group has grown significantly since its initiation and been economically able to adapt and respond to the development of the global marketplace. The formal organizational structure of the inter-cooperative relationship has also grown more complex over time. The structure of the Mondragon Cooperative Corporation has evolved in response to the needs of the cooperatives and in response to external factors. The basic building blocks of the system have not changed dramatically since the inception of the first cooperatives, but the superstructure of the group has.

One of the adaptations was to take geography into account as the cooperatives spread to new places. The first group of 4 cooperatives was created in and around Mondragon in 1965. The period 1975-1985 was one of profound economic crisis in Spain. The Mondragon Group expanded with new cooperatives across the Basque country. Faced with a major economic crisis in Spain, between 1974 and 1985, the cooperatives decided to develop regional cooperative groups which would provide some security against market downturns through solidarity in their allocation of labor's earnings, as well as adding an element of local control. Between 1978 and 1986, thirteen additional regional groups were created.

The further spread of the federation around Spain and internationally brought new inter-cooperative communication issues, particularly for scattered enterprises in the same field. Thus, in 1991 a congress of the cooperatives moved to replace the regional cooperative groups with sectoral groups of cooperatives in related economic activities. It was also decided to further integrate federation operations in the creation of the Mondragon Cooperative Corporation.

The structure of the federation developed in stages, over time. In the beginning inter-cooperative relations were either informal, in piecemeal agreements, or centered on ties to the bank. As early as 1982, the Mondragon group had begun to explore other means for increasing the intergroup solidarity. In that same year, the group began to develop plans for greater intergroup solidarity. A cooperative congress was convened in 1984 for the purpose of developing the elements of a constitutional superstructure for the cooperatives. The cooperative congress was convened again in 1987. At this second congress, the group established policies governing basic principles, compensation of managers and the norms for social capital and the establishment of an Intercooperative Solidarity Fund designed to help cooperatives in crisis.

The Governance Structure of Mondragon

Today, the group operates as a large multinational with both worker members and nonmember workers. The superstructure is formalized through a cooperative congress which is the equivalent of a general assembly in the base cooperatives. The assembly has 650 representatives. Each cooperative is entitled to one representative per ten co-op members and the remaining seats are allocated with a maximum of 2 per cooperative. There is also a delegate for each of the divisions (financial area, 12 industrial sectors; distribution; education and research). The cooperative congress meets annually to address issues of cooperative norms and oversees the central operational departments such as budgeting; admission of new cooperatives and the division structure.⁷⁰

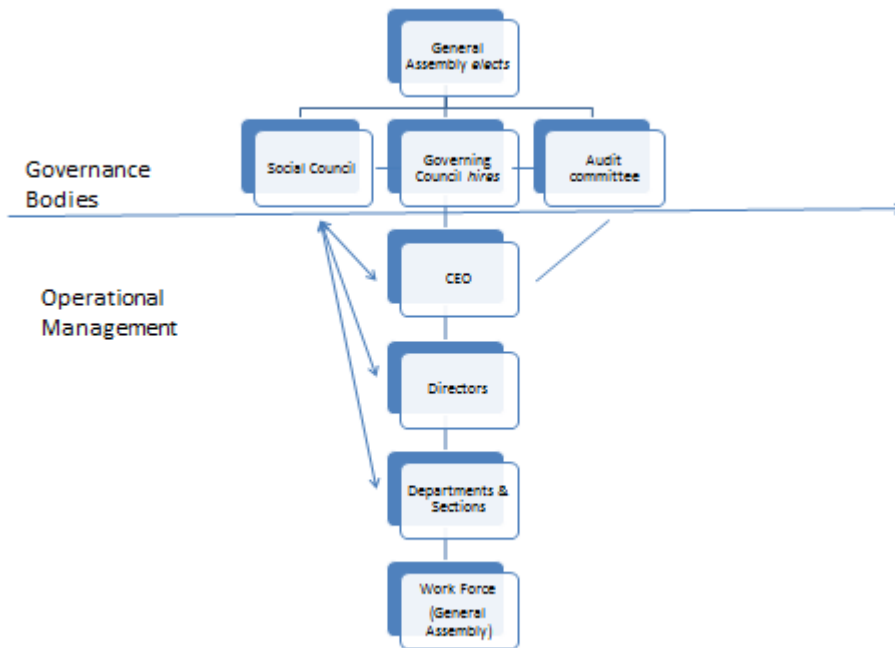
The permanent commission has delegated authority from the cooperative congress. It meets during the period when the congress is not in session. It is comprised of elected representatives designated by the ruling board of the divisions, who must be members of a cooperative to serve. The industrial area has 14 seats and 12 votes. Distribution has 4 seats and 4 votes. Finance has 2 votes and 2 seats. Education and Research has 1 seat and 1 vote.⁷¹

The third managerial unit is the general council which serves as the board of directors for the cooperatives. It is comprised of a president, 8 vice-presidents from the various divisions, 2 directors from the central offices; and the secretary general of the group who has a voice but not a vote. The congress president may also attend and speak but has no vote. This body provides strategic oversight for purposes of coordination and control. This body provides institutional leadership in promotion of new innovations and in the advancement of political priorities of the group. In instances where intervention is needed into an individual cooperative as in the case of the failure of Fagor Electronica, the general council determines the nature of the intervention to be taken.⁷²

Contrast this with the structure prior to their global investments. In 1982, the system was comprised of one hundred and seventy cooperatives with a common historical experience, cultural identity and social and economic goals. Instead of divisions by business sector, the cooperatives were organized into cooperatives by location. The regional divisions shared profits and losses to support one another during economic downturns. Ninety percent of all workers in the cooperative group were worker members and became worker members within three to six months after a probationary period.⁷³

As of 2016, each cooperative had a governance model in which workers vote to elect the governing council, the social council and the audit committee members. The governing council in turn hires the CEO. The CEO handles the administration of the cooperative. The organizational

structure is summarized in figure #1:



Cooperative law allows for a maximum of 20% nonmember workers. There is not necessarily the same common bond felt by all workers, since 1 in 5 may not be members of the cooperatives. The cooperative structure was intended to insure that ultimate authority would always remain in the hands of the members of each individual cooperative while the creation of the superstructure intended to provide them the benefits that can be realized by the economies of scale of larger firms. When the cooperatives entered global markets, the acquisition and joint ventures did not incorporate cooperative ownership and principles, usually because of local law or practice, or the structure or wishes of the partner firm. Had Mondragon been dealing with other cooperative firms in its joint ventures – as would be the case within a fully cooperative society – the cooperative principles would have been maintained. Mondragon subsidiaries account for the rest of the nonmember employees. As of 2008 only about one third of the workforces were members of the cooperative.⁷⁴

The system of cooperatives has become more complex, the skills and training requirements of managers have increased and the strong local ties while still present play a lesser role in the operation of the cooperatives. The superstructure gives the cooperatives a stronger presence in global markets through Mondragon International. Mondragon does not have to take all business decisions at the level of the individual cooperatives. This is critical to their ability to work effectively in a global business environment. On the downside, it has resulted in greater distance of strategic governance and decision makers from the members of the base cooperatives.

The Sovereignty of Labor Principle & the Challenges in Practice

One of the core principles of Mondragon is a belief in the sovereignty of labor. One of the policies that reflects this principle is the commitment to limits on pay differentials. There is a pay

differential restriction that limits the pay of a manager to no more than six times the salary of any worker in the co-op and no more than 38 percent greater between the highest and lowest paid within the entire group of cooperatives, according to Josu Ugarte, the president of Mondragon International.⁷⁵

Early on the coop members realized that they could not commit to 100% worker ownership and remain sustainable in a market economy. In the early years, they maintained no more than 10% nonmember worker employment.⁷⁶ They also had a strong commitment to create employment in the Basque country for the Basque people out of ethnic pride. They were concerned that extending a share of ownership to workers employed outside of the Basque country could dilute this control or result in plants seceding from the group.

Given the significant role of various industrial cooperatives in the automotive industry, Mondragon had to go where business opportunities took them. As they grew and expanded outside of the Basque country, this led them to consider how to address the place of non-Basques workers in the cooperatives. Overseas, all workers are managed based on the norms of the country where the plant is located. Workers and managers in the overseas firms are typically not membership track employees of the MCC. This has been the source of one of the most enduring conflicts of values and practice for the group. Copreci, a manufacturer of components for household appliances has had a factory in Mexico for many years. They developed a program to bring workers from the Mexican plant to work and shadow cooperative members in the cooperative as a way to socialize them into the cooperative work culture.

The MCC's goals of local control and ownership of resources coupled with a commitment to the cooperative principles resonate with the desire to create greater democracy in the workplace and better quality jobs that would not disappear when the corporation sought cheaper labor pools elsewhere. The conflict of values led Mondragon to develop plans to incorporate greater numbers of workers into cooperative ownership. This policy ground to a halt with the Great Recession of 2008. MCC reports the following data regarding the current number of members and nonmember employees:

By the end of 2008, the average number of employees at MONDRAGON was 92,773. 39.7% of these employees work in the Basque Country, 44.2% in other parts of Spain and 16.1% work abroad.

As a result of the rapid growth experienced over the last few years... only somewhat less than a third of the Corporation's workers are cooperative members at present. The non-members mainly work in the distribution sector outside the Basque Country and at the industrial plants that are also based outside the Basque Country, either in other parts of Spain or abroad.

This percentage of worker-members will have substantially increased ... when Eroski has completed its cooperativisation process for all its non-member employees, who work mainly outside the Basque Country and Navarra. When this process is complete, the percentage of cooperative members in the Corporation as a whole could be over 75%.⁷⁷

The Cooperative Approach to the Great Recession

The Great Recession of 2008, which was especially debilitating in Spain, was difficult for the Mondragon group as well. But they have a history of setting aside reserves in good times for weathering tough times. In the machine tool sector, they had 2 years of reserves going into the recession and weathered the recession well. Most affected were the firms involved in consumer durables and retail operations, in particular Fagor Electronica and Eroski.⁷⁸ By 2011, with the Spanish economy still in tatters, Fagor Electronica, the largest and first of the cooperatives along with two other smaller firms, Ortza and Egurko failed. Eroski which is a retail cooperative with stores throughout Spain is now the largest of the cooperatives. It had bad years in 2014 and 2015.

In 2011, the oldest and largest of the cooperatives, Fagor Electrodomesticos declared bankruptcy. The co-op made a strategically bad decision when it purchased a French firm, Brandt. The severity of the 2008 recession halted all new housing construction in Spain which was Fagor's strongest market. As the losses increased, the co-op continued to pay its members instead of implementing cuts in compensation. The co-op continued to produce products till they simply ran out of funds and materials. The group did invest funds in an effort to save Fagor and concluded a second bailout would not resolve the problem. There have been other failures in the past but none of the scale of Fagor.

The failure of Fagor illustrates both the role of solidarity in the group and the challenges to sustaining a democratic ownership culture in larger firms. The other co-ops attempted to save the co-op with a bailout. There were individuals who also made voluntary investments in the firm. Some were retirees and others were individuals with other co-ops. Workers in Fagor did not cut their anticipated earnings at the same rate that workers in other firms were accepting to contribute to the bailout of Fagor. All those funds cannot be recouped with the bankruptcy. The workers who lost their jobs received two years of benefits which ran out in October 2015. Other cooperatives absorbed workers from Fagor as they were able. For example, the bank, Laboral Kutxa, hired 150 of the Fagor workers. As of June 2015, there were 150 workers who were still unemployed. They were typically older workers with limited education and physical limitations or mental health issues. An outside firm bought some parts of Fagor that were profitable and hired some of the Fagor workers. Those with greater education and higher skill levels had a much easier time in securing new positions.

Moving into the Future

As of 2016, *Baserri* values are not as strong as they once were. The communitarian orientation has been displaced by an increasingly individualized orientation as people have become more integrated into mass culture. Had Mondragon existed in a collaborative economy and society, this almost surely would not have occurred. Forerunners often become diluted by the problems of the society they are attempting to overcome. The years of prosperity have also led workers to be less willing to accept austerity and to make sacrifices, according to one MCC representative. There is much reflection and discussion occurring within the Mondragon cooperative group as they attempt to move forward after the failure of Fagor Electrodomesticos. The cooperatives are considering how they can best proceed strategically. They see three options. They can proceed as they have without policy changes. They can adopt greater centralization and integration to allow

for intervention and more oversight of capital requests. The third option would be to increase the autonomy of the individual co-ops and with it reduce the centralized role as it currently exists within the Mondragon cooperatives.

Regardless of which strategic option the cooperatives choose, the group sees its future not in sunset industries, but in new technologies and knowledge based sectors. Staying at the forefront of innovation is their strategy for maintaining jobs in the Basque Country. Blue collar work was the focus of their efforts in job creation when they began in 1955. Today, they see the need to develop a highly educated workforce that can lead in fields such as alternative energy, mass transit and tourism and knowledge sectors of the economy. Ten percent of Mondragon's investments are in new co-operatives, new investments and greater internationalization; 8% is in research and development; and, 21.4% is in sales in the industrial area for new products and services that did not exist five years previously.

The importance of the Mondragon Model

Why is Mondragon still an important model? Mondragon's cooperatives ability to work together is key to their strength. The co-ops contribute 10% of net profits into the Central Fund for Inter-cooperation and Laboral Kutxa contributes up to 20%.⁷⁹ They also treat labor as a fixed cost. This is only feasible because of their intercooperative agreements. The co-ops are able to do this due to 3 policies: the recycling of workers between co-ops that are countercyclical; the commitment to preserve good jobs in the Basque Country while emphasizing engineering innovation; and their social insurance program which is funded based on a 2% contribution from workers earnings. The social insurance program gives workers economic security in hard times. The intercooperative agreement provides another layer of security. When workers need to be furloughed, there are three avenues for them. Blue collar workers are given the option of working in another co-op or attending community college or university. Public universities are free (€1200 fees). If workers are furloughed, they can receive compensation but will be asked to make up the hours at a later time. If workers are laid off, they receive 80% of their wages. Unemployment benefits are paid by Lagun Aro, the social insurance program which is funded by 2% of workers earnings in 146 of the cooperatives. This covers 30,000 workers in the group. The fund contribution changed in 2010 from 1% due to the higher costs during the recession. When workers are transferred to another firm, they receive a differential if their job in the other plant would be paid at a lower rate than they were paid in their co-op. The social insurance also pays the cost of any retraining.⁸⁰

Although it is not perfect, Mondragon continues to serve as an impressive example of successful cooperative and community development for a number of key elements. To begin with, it was developed in a hostile political environment and without government subsidies in the early years. More important, it has been a good, if not complete example of participatory organization extending from the individual workplace to the federation of businesses, serving the community, not only by providing jobs and generating income, but through providing services to the community (though not as extensively as in the case of the Mississippi Choctaw). The cooperatives and the federation have attempted to operate inclusively and democratically internally, with the exception of foreign and joint ventures where they have been constrained by local law and business practice. They have worked to adopt that democracy to changing geographical, business and

economic circumstances. The model could be improved, particularly by a higher degree of participation in workplaces, including the utilization of appropriate forms of full team process, as exemplified by such firms as Gore Associates, discussed in the proceeding chapter.

Particularly notable is, that largely because of its collaborative process, and consistent with the usually high performance of participatory work places, the Mondragon cooperatives have been strikingly successful economically. They produced a significantly higher return on capital than conventional businesses in Spain. With the assistance of their development bank they were able to grow rapidly, adopt to new conditions easily, and weather harsh economic times, usually without layoffs and without business failures. It was exceptional, that in the extremely deep Great Recession, they were forced to close three enterprises and layoff some workers with benefits. It is notable that during the period after the 2008 recession, the Basque region has had a rate of unemployment consistently below that of the rest of Spain. Youth unemployment while high was also significantly less than the rest of Spain for the period 2008 to 2010.⁸¹ Overall, the extent of success, and the dearth of failures has been phenomenal.

Significantly, with the Mondragon cooperatives, the Basque country continues to be a region dominated by locally owned and controlled businesses with a strong cooperative ownership of the firms, providing benefits for the local community with which it has collaborative relations. Moreover, the federation is a good example of how more democratically and organizationally effective small enterprises can have the economy of scale of large organizations, but with more flexibility and democracy than is usually possible in large firms. For these reasons, it has had tremendous appeal as a model for building local economies, and as basis for large scale participatory economy.

Implementing The Cooperative Federation Model

Just how the Mondragon model, improved by making it fully participatory from the shop floor or office to the center of the federation, would apply elsewhere would vary according to the circumstances. Indeed, one of the strengths of Mondragon has been its flexibility in adapting to new conditions. Application would involve applying the following principles appropriately to the specific conditions at hand, as they exist at the outset, taking into account projected needs for future developments.

First, and most important, as discussed in the politics paper, individual enterprises or organizations and their sub units need to be structured as flat, equalitarian (as opposed to hierarchical), team process entities with full participation decision making from the shop floor, office, sales, or service unit to the center. Decisions would be made by those who are impacted by them. Thus, issues involving a single unit or team would be decided by its members. Issues involving two or more units or teams would be jointly decided by them, or by an inter unit team or committee, with input from the members of the concerned teams who would have the opportunity to review and check, and perhaps have to approve, the final decisions. Issues involving an entire division, or the whole organization would be decided at those levels in a similar fashion. Thus, an organization would operate as a network of participatory teams. In turn, individual organizations would network participatively with each other, and where appropriate be parts of highly democratic federations. If and as appropriate, an enterprise could be involved in multiple

networks and possibly more than one federation, for different purposes, so long as the basic principles of participatory economy were preserved in balance. For example, a firm making computers might be part of a local business federation or network; an industry network or collaborative organization for research and development, and perhaps political representation; and possibly separate networks or cooperative organizations for purchasing supplies, obtaining certain services, and marketing. Also, as appropriate, it might be advisable to mix organization member participation with customer or community input, as occurs, for example, in consumer cooperatives that have employee participation. The simplicity or complexity of organization and participation structures should depend on circumstances, and change with them, consistently with the basic principles.

Second, the system of incentives or rewards needs to be appropriate to engage members meaningfully as owners while, enhancing the goals of the organization and wider public goods.⁸² Participation in decision making, when it is genuine and of good quality, is rewarding, providing a feeling of ownership and solidarity with the unit, the organization and fellow workers, and tends to promote good organizational behavior. Collaborative education, good respectful and collaborative standards of behavior and treatment, and other moral incentives may also have an important role. This can include awards or statements of praise for good work or behavior, and penalties or reprimands for inappropriate or inadequate actions. But like other incentives, to promote solidarity with the group and organization, they need to function in a fashion that team members consider fair and appropriate. Otherwise they create dissension, even if they attain some of the intended behavior.

Also important are concrete rewards which can be in money, services and material commodities (e.g. food, housing, use of vehicles or equipment) sufficient to make members be and feel fairly treated by the organization. These need to be structured so as to promote good work as a team member, and member of the organization as a whole. Thus team or unit awards for productivity increases or cutting costs, and organization profit or income sharing are generally appropriate, while individual piecework payments are not, except in limited amounts for special purposes, as they tend to promote competition rather than collaboration among team members. It may also be desirable to have financial rewards that are either, or both, immediate incentives and/or promote long term concern for the organization. As immediate feedback often makes incentives more effective, rewards for productivity increases or profit sharing over short periods, for example for the month or quarterly, may be advisable. At the same time long term commitment to the organization can be promoted by such practices as payments into retirement accounts, such as the workers accounts at Mondragon, or U.S. 401k and employee stock ownership plans (ESOPS) retirement accounts.

Another consideration is structuring incentives to give team members a sense of reasonable security. This can be accomplished by having a sufficiently high basic wage, with other variable rewards or compensation above that. The ultimate key is to have the appropriate balance of rewards and incentives that fit the circumstances. To promote solidarity and organizational commitment in a cooperative organization, this means limiting the earnings differential between the highest and lowest compensated team, organization or federation member, as has been done at Mondragon. Also, as discussed above, for a participatory society, it is important to have a reasonably equal distribution of wealth, which can be accomplished both through a limited range of compensation

or income and a progressive tax structure that is sufficiently steep at its high end.

Third, to properly mix the needs of humanly small individual enterprises and other organizations with economy of scale and adequate provision of member and organization needs, a number of services need to be provided by the cooperative federation itself, external organizations including other federations, or by government, as illustrated by the case of Mondragon. One of the strengths of the federation has been having its own bank and business incubation. Similarly, the federation has been indebted to having its own research and development cooperatives, while it created housing and educational cooperatives, until sufficient housing was otherwise available and the Spanish government provided much of the needed free university education.

It is important to note that cooperatives are a flexible form, and that all kinds of cooperatives are possible, including adopting them to new and changing conditions. In addition to what we have already discussed, are producer cooperatives, as have been used by artists, artisans and small farmers to market their products.⁸³ The internet and cell phones with apps have recently spawned platform cooperatives in which individual producers market over the internet.⁸⁴ Services can be cooperatively provided over the internet with apps, along the lines of taxi and limousine service as carried out by firms like Uber, linking drivers to rides. In the cooperative version of such services, the drivers or other service providers would own the cooperative, as is the case with Union Cab in Madison Wisconsin.⁸⁵

Finally, as the goal of a collaborative economy is to provide a well working society for all its citizens, it is important that individual participatory enterprises and cooperative federations have good collaborative relations with the larger communities of which they are a part. This has been achieved, in part, at Mondragon, not only by providing needed employment and income in the community, but in such things as launching consumer cooperative stores and restaurants, while sponsoring Basque clubs and cultural activities. Similarly, in the instance of the Mississippi Choctaw, a considerable amount of economic development was undertaken jointly by the tribe and the nearby municipality, creating employment both for tribal members and citizens of neighboring communities. Meanwhile, among other things, the tribe has provided ambulance service both for its members and people in the surrounding community. This is all part of the aim of a collaborative society with a participatory economy to honor and enjoy the benefits of diversity in the context of a fully integrated society of friendly relations and mutual support, living harmoniously with its neighbors and the physical environment.

III, Transnational Economic Relations

The relationship of communities to each other, as we have seen, is extremely important for their wellbeing. It has been shown, in the Mississippi Choctaw case, that collaborative relations between communities within a nation are extremely beneficial to the concerned communities, though even in the best of relationships there are always conflicts. However, it was shown in the discussion of restorative justice in the politics paper, that to the extent possible, it is beneficial for everyone involved for the parties to see a conflict as an opportunity to undertake collaborative problem solving for mutual advancement. This is equally true internationally.

For the purpose of this discussion, there are two areas of the very complex field of transnational economics where it is important for nations to maintain as much balance as is practicable: in having appropriate tariffs and regulations on imports, and in moving to equalize wealth and quality of life among nations, so far as possible, in a world in which what happens anywhere already has significant impacts everywhere, and this is more and more the case, where independent actions impact on an international stage.

Maintaining an Appropriate Balance in Trade

Neoclassical economists often assert the great value of tearing down tariffs and international trade barriers, and moving to "free trade." Experience tells us that just as they like to tell us that "there is no such thing as a free lunch," in pointing out that everything has costs as well as benefits, these economists need to realize, "there is no such thing as free trade." One nation almost always benefits at the expense of the other under so called "free trade." Thus for at least one nation it will always be "expensive trade." While different people gain or lose differently in any trade arrangement, over all, beginning with the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), instituted in 1994, among the United States, Mexico and Canada "free trade" agreements have been very costly for the United States. Indeed the overall impact of NAFTA was negative to all three countries, with the major beneficiaries, a small group of multinational corporations and their stockholders.

Prior to the institution of NAFTA, the agreement's supporters predicted that the U.S. and Canada would gain far more jobs than would be lost from NAFTA's implementation.⁸⁶ At least through 2001, the reverse was true, particularly in manufacturing. Analysis shows that, overall, the net impact was a loss of jobs in the U.S., and a slowing economic development in Mexico. Particularly telling in Mexico was the impact upon agriculture, where a few producers, particularly of grains, gained, while many others have suffered considerable losses. International food imports into Mexico from the U.S. often sold below Mexican small farmers production costs, driving them out of business. This was particularly the case with the import into Mexico from the U.S. of U.S. government subsidized corn, which sold in Mexico at lower prices than indigenous people could produce it. This triggered the Zapatista revolution, leading to increased repression of the Indigenous communities involved by the government and paramilitary groups.

There are substantial food exports from Mexico to the U.S., but predominantly by large farmers, most especially by multinational corporations.⁸⁷ This tends to concentrate wealth, as most of the income to the business goes to owners and upper level managers, and less to the lower level workers who are by far the largest part of most of these workforces. One of the difficulties is that free market arrangements such as NAFTA tend to drive wages (and hence living standards) down in the developed world, when what needs to be done is to focus on bringing wages and living standards up in the underdeveloped world, an issue to be discussed below. In general, the primary gainers from NAFTA have been top management and stockholders of a group of large multinational corporations, at an overall cost to the U.S., Canada and Mexico as a whole.

NAFTA and the other essentially similar free trade agreements are only part of much larger economic problems across and between nations caused by neoliberal approaches to the

globalization that is sweeping the world. These problems need to be overcome by a broader approach which aims at creating and maintaining balance in various dimensions. The larger free trade problem indicated by the agricultural problems that arose from NAFTA in Mexico is shown more fully by what happened to manufacturing in the United States, and to other aspects of the U.S. economy with the application of neoliberal economics, including free trade, beginning with the Reagan administration in 1980.⁸⁸

Beginning with Alexander Hamilton's eleven point plan in 1791 to build manufacturing in the United States, until the Reagan administration in 1980, U.S. economic policy was to protect and enhance the growth of industry in the country with tariffs. Numerous factors were involved, but this and related assistance to industrial development policy played a major role in the United States becoming, and for some time remaining, the world's largest manufacturing country. In 1980 the U.S. was the world's largest creditor nation, related to the fact that it was the largest importer of raw materials and exporter of manufactured goods. In the 1960's about 37% of the U.S. labor force worked in manufacturing.⁸⁹ That declined somewhat to about 30% by 1980, because of the ongoing combination of improving productivity in industry and rising demand for services, plus increasing foreign competition, especially from East Asian nations working very actively to build and protect manufacturing, including exports.⁹⁰ This has generally continued, but after 1980 became a minor factor, when President Reagan began vetoing tariff legislation and undertook other free trade action. Bill Clinton and later Presidents then expanded the free trade policy with participation in the international trade agreements such as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and the World Trade Organization (WTO),⁹¹ and with NAFTA and later trade agreements. Almost entirely as a result, the United States had so much of its manufacturing move overseas that by 2012 it had been transformed into the world's largest debtor, as the balance of trade reversed, and the United States now had become the world's largest exporter of raw materials and the world's largest importer of manufactured goods. For a huge number of products made in the United States prior to 1980, it is virtually impossible to find any in stores in 2015 that are U.S. made. During the 2000-2010 decade, alone, 50,000 manufacturing plants closed down in the U.S. at a loss of 5 million jobs. Many of these jobs have been replaced by service jobs, but these generally were considerably lower paying. Moreover, with the neoliberal reduction in tax rates on higher incomes and reductions in corporate taxes, begun under Reagan, since 1980, U.S. wages which had been rising along with productivity, have essentially remained level. At the same times, productivity, along with top executive compensation and corporate profits largely going to the wealthy and institutions, have continued to increase.⁹²

International trade agreements have also increased environmental problems, and had other negative side effects for people. For example, firms have often moved to locations where there are less environmental, labor and other regulations. For example, NAFTA was supposed to include environmental protections, but only continued environmental decline. This was particularly so in the free trade zone in Mexico where numerous companies built or moved, where environmental enforcement was less than in the United States, and where considerable pollution further degraded the local, and some times more distant and even world environment.⁹³

Mexico's problems from trade agreements, have also been related to, and made worse by, other internationally imposed neoliberal policies. This began with Mexico's agreement with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to restructure its massive foreign debt in 1982, which preceded

the creation of NAFTA.⁹⁴ When the drop in the price of oil, a major Mexican export, left Mexico unable to keep up with foreign debt payments, it agreed to a "structural adjustment program (SAP)" with the IMF in order to restructure the debt. SAP was intended to make Mexico more competitive in the world economy and thus more able to pay its debt, by cutting government expenditures and reducing regulations and tariffs, making Mexico more open to the international market. The result was just the opposite, however. Mexico's ability to pay its foreign debt became weakened as many sectors of the economy were undermined, while under the terms of the agreement with IMF, the government was less able to act to create economic development or to assist those who were suffering from economic decline. NAFTA exacerbated the situation by further reducing tariffs and the government's ability to regulate. Thus, at the end of NAFTA's first year, Mexico was suffering economic collapse with the peso suddenly losing half its value. In the following year, over 2 million people lost their jobs in Mexico, 1.8 million peasants and indigenous farmers were forced to leave their homes, the purchasing power of the average wage declined by 54% as inflation, in 1995, soared 50%. One third of Mexican businesses declared bankruptcy in the first nine months of that year, and the Gross Domestic Product declined by 7%.

East European Problems with Neoliberal Economics and Free Trade

Similar problems with the adoption of neoliberal economic policies were experienced by former Soviet block East European countries on their exit from communist economies after 1989. While numerous neoliberal economic policies contributed to the East European post-communist economic and quality of life decline, one piece of the transition to the market program adopted by all nine countries is particularly relevant for this discussion.⁹⁵ This was the combination of rapidly privatizing state owned enterprises, without making any investment to improve their ability to produce marketable products, while ending subsidies and eliminating tariffs and other import barriers. Among other ill effects, this led to potentially viable firms being unable to compete with imported products, leading to drops in production, increasing unemployment, and a worsening balance of payments, as sales of imports rose, while the sale of domestic products declined. A better strategy would have been to invest in the improvement of potentially viable firms, prior to privatizing them, and selectively and progressively lowering import duties as domestic enterprise productivity and efficiency rose, as a stimulus to continued growth in competitiveness. From 1968-1975, Hungary made significant gains with just such a policy for liberalizing its communist economy.⁹⁶ Similarly, the economic advancement, since World War II, achieved by a number of East Asian nations, was accomplished by a careful process of incubation in which governments played a major role, in contrast to the neoliberal approach.⁹⁷

However, the very aggressive approach of a number of east Asian nations, doing anything they could get away with to keep foreign competition out of their home markets, while taking excessive action to gain market share abroad, at almost any cost (often by "dumping", selling products at a considerable loss, often with government financial support), goes too far to the other extreme from free market policies. An appropriately balanced import policy would follow the principles of Hungary's example: for mature industries, setting tariffs and import restrictions just high enough to make up for a foreign nation's lower labor cost; government subsidies and lower costs because of lack of regulation, in order to keep domestic firms competitive, while pressuring them to operate efficiently and effectively. With developing or transitioning industries, an

appropriate policy would be just what Hungary did, setting tariffs and import regulations (or conversely, providing offsetting levels of subsidies or other incubation assistance) progressively lower to match increases in productivity of developing domestic firms. In addition, foreign firms could be penalized by higher tariffs or import regulations for their own or their nation's improper actions, such as inhumane labor practices or contributing to environmental degradation.⁹⁸

Appropriately achieving such balanced policies is often politically difficult. However, in a sufficiently equalitarian participatory nation, there is likely to be a sufficient diffusion of power and balance of interests so that with good participatory problem solving processes, reasonable solutions should be achievable balancing the interests of industries and their employees in sufficient tariff and regulation protection on the one side, with consumer interest in low prices and product availability. Moreover, since finding such a balance is generally in the long term economic interest of most people, there is a common interest in finding that balance that is encouraged to come to the fore by the kinds of good participatory processes discussed in the preceding chapter.

Moving Away from Harmful Neoliberal Globalization Toward a Balanced World Economy

The neoliberal globalization which has been in progress in the world through the World Bank, the World Trade Organization and a growing series of treaties, plus the policies of some nations, has caused considerable problems for numerous nations, and generally favored the concentration of wealth in a few individuals and multinational corporations, at the short run expense of most everyone else. Because neoliberal policies tend to cause long range harms, such as the increase of global warming induced climate change, and other serious instabilities, in the longer term these measures are against everyone's interest. Much of the problem with neoliberal economics is that, with its very narrow focus, it suffers from a serious reductionism, that includes failing to take into account numerous externalities and essential public goods – particularly concerning social costs - as well as failing to include, or properly understand, important factors that are central to its concerns. This is made clearer by considering, briefly, a few more aspects of neoliberal globalization.

Among other problems, Neoliberal globalization has encouraged the development of crops for export at the expense of food self-sufficiency. This often involves reducing agricultural diversity (in itself an ecological concern) in order to produce one or a few crops for export. While there are benefits of foreign trade, there are also risks, especially when food self-sufficiency is reduced, because international prices for agricultural produce (and raw materials where economic development focuses upon extracting minerals for export) often fluctuate widely. For example, the Americas Program reported in March 2004 that coffee, which is not indigenous to Mexico, had evolved into a central aspect of economic, social and cultural life with 320,000 growers, 65% of whom are indigenous, mostly on small farms in twelve states, employing over 3 million people, in rural areas directly effecting 25% of the population economically.⁹⁹ 84% of Mexico's coffee growing townships had high or very high levels of poverty, in 2004. 85% of Mexico's coffee was exported. International prices paid to producers dropped severely over the preceding years, with Mexican growers receiving record lows in 2002. At that time, coffee growers were unable to break even, but the lack of other options kept them trapped in a downward spiral. Producers were left few defenses in the neoliberal global context, with neoliberal economic polices having brought the

Mexican government to dismantle the national production-processing-marketing board (Mexican Coffee Institute-Inmecafe), in 1989. Thus most growers were left to function on their own, without the resources or infrastructure to deal effectively with the buying oligopoly.

A major difficulty has been the increase of large multinational corporations taking part in a variety of large scale economic projects that force local, often Indigenous, people off their land and/or do huge damage to the environment, often making it no longer a viable place for the inhabitants of the surrounding area to live, and often causing massive serious health problems.¹⁰⁰ Such projects have included mining and drilling for oil, building dams to produce electric power - sometimes for export, and constructing large farming operations, particularly for palm oil. While the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund have been funding some of these mass development projects (but have become more conscious of the harm some of them cause), and several aspects of neoliberal economic policies facilitate them, the problems of extraction and large scale development extend beyond neoliberal approaches. Perhaps no nation has done as much damage to its environment and people with its large scale efforts at development, as China, in its aggressive nationalist economics mode,¹⁰¹ and other nations whose economic policies are less easily classified, have also undertaken destructive development, failing to realize the need to define it as human and community development, as laid out above

An overview of the problems of neoliberal globalization fostered by the U.S., government, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund was published in 2002. A global network of over 1000 nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), The Structural Adjustment Participatory Review International Network (SAPRIN), completed a four year review, in 2002, of the impact of the World Bank's structural adjustments program (imposing austerity measures on governments and encouraging privatization of public services) with the aim of improving national economic performance and reducing external debt. The report, "The Policy Roots of Economic Crises and Poverty," concludes that structural adjustment measures have significantly increased poverty, inequality and social exclusion in the 10 countries studied. This resulted in loss of domestic productive capacity and jobs; a reduction in small farm agriculture which brought on food insecurity; diminishing real wages, workers rights and job security; and reduced access to affordable quality services.¹⁰² Following the imposing of structural adjustment policies, some reduction in the rise of external debt did occur. However, since the economies were weakened by the structural adjustments, those policies cannot be credited with the small reduction in the increase of external debt (and even if they were the entire cause, the cost would hardly be worth the relatively small gain).

A little over a decade later, many of the negative trends noted in the SAPRIN study were found to have significantly worsened, though changes in the politics and policies of some of the nations in that study, particularly in Latin America, had shifted, achieving much improved economic and human results. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) 2014 study, "How Was Life? Global Well-Being Since 1820," used historical data from eight world regions to present "systematic evidence" of trends in areas such as health, education, inequality, the environment, and personal security over the past 200 years.¹⁰³ The report found that great strides had been made in some areas, including literacy, life expectancy, and gender inequality, noting that "People's well-being has generally progressed since the early 20th century across a large part of the world," However, while income inequality, as measured by pre-tax

household income among individuals within a country, fell between the end of the 19th century until around 1970, it began to rise markedly at that point, perhaps in response to globalization. The study noted, "The enormous increase of income inequality on a global scale is one of the most significant—and worrying—features of the development of the world economy in the past 200 years. It is hard not to notice the sharp increase in income inequality experienced by the vast majority of countries from the 1980s. There are very few exceptions to this." OECD secretary-general Angel Gurría, noting the impacts of the still present Great Recession, called on world leaders to "strengthen our efforts to reduce inequality. The financial and economic crisis has exacerbated rising inequality and fueled a social crisis. In OECD countries the income of the top 10 percent of the population is 9.5 times that of the bottom 10 percent, up by more than 30 percent in 25 years. Anchored poverty has increased by approximately 2 percentage points between 2007 and 2011, with much larger increases in countries that have experienced the deepest and longest downturns. The number of those living in households without any income from work has doubled in Greece, Ireland, and Spain. And worryingly for our future, the youth have now replaced the elderly as the group experiencing the greatest risk of income poverty."

An Overall Approach to Appropriate Globalization

To restore balance and harmony to the world, an approach to international economics is needed that avoids the extremes of neoliberal globalization, with its "leave everything to the market" and "free trade approaches" on the one side - which allow almost free reign to extremely wealthy multinational corporations, and on the other of aggressive nationalistic policies found in some East Asian nations.¹⁰⁴ What is needed are policies that respect each nation and all their inhabitants, along with the world environment, and all its local ecosystems, while working to bring balance among the nations of the world. This is an Indigenous approach, and indeed, since Indigenous people have in many instances been suffering the worst impacts of both neoliberal globalization and national neoliberal policies, and in some cases of aggressive nationalist policies, some of them have been organizing and networking in participatory processes to work toward putting an Indigenous face on globalization.¹⁰⁵

The main thrust of such an approach to globalization would involve countries having fair trade levels of tariffs and import regulations just to the point of putting their own businesses on an even playing field with foreign firms, as developed above, and a respectful system of collaboration and assistance to facilitate less developed nations and communities in raising their living standards to equivalents of those of the more developed world. This would require a transformation of international institutions, including the World Bank and the International Monetary fund, to function transparently following this approach, focusing on raising everyone up, rather than moving toward equalization by pulling nations down - which is a net effect of many of the current approaches - but which are in fact increasing disparities.

This would involve appropriate participatory consulting with all the people involved in a target area, in the course of providing funding, appropriate technology transfer, and technical assistance according to the wishes of the receiving people, and within the guidelines of the assistance project. Appropriate transfers of capital and technology are needed, taking into account long run impacts, especially concerning the environment.¹⁰⁶ In the face of the huge dangers, and already occurring damage, of global warming induced climate change, technology moves to safe

renewable energy and other green development, with financial transfers to put them into effect, are essential. Currently, just as financial disparities are causes of many tensions within nations, so they are between nations. Thus steps must be taken, and vehicles put in place, to reduce the disparities appropriately. Where resources, such as water, are in short supply, collaborative transnational problem solving is needed on how best to conserve and share them, taking into account the interest and input of everyone concerned. So far as possible, the world needs to become more participatory and collaborative, selecting policies that in practice are for the long term good of all.

End Notes

1. Considerable thanks are due to Donna K. Dial, Professor of Economics Emeritus, IUPUI. in helping develop this paper. Dial provided and suggested readings and sources for researching this paper, and made numerous helpful comments and suggestions for developing and improving it.

2. Reductionism is the narrowing of concern to the specific factors that appear most relevant. This can be a powerful tool, as has been the case in western science, but often fails to address many factors that may be extremely important, leading to false understandings and actions producing unintended, sometimes quite serious, side effects. As is developed below, this has been a serious shortcoming of much of mainstream western economics. For a further discussion of reductionism see the opening of the next chapter, "Indigenizing the Greening of the World: Applying an Indigenous Approach to Environmental Issues."

3. Ladislav Ruzmich and Stephen M. Sachs, *Lessons From the Failure of the Communist Economic System* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2003). Also that traditional, and some non-traditional economics too narrowly considers human nature, see Albert O., Hirschman, *The Passions and the Interests* Princeton: *Political Arguments for Capitalism before Its Triumph* (Princeton University Press, 2013) and *Essays in Trespassing: Economics to Politics and Beyond* (Cambridge University Press, 1981). For a good overview of the main streams of economic theory, with discussion of many of the central debated issues, see Ernesto Screpanti and Stefano Zambagni, *An Outline of the History of Economic Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

4. The causes of the Arab Spring (and lack of it in some Arab countries) are complex, as shown in the discussion, that after some focus on the role of media, briefly looks at other causes, showing among them, several important economic factors: Muzammil M. Hussain and Philip N. Howard, "What Best Explains Successful Protest Cascades? ICTs and the Fuzzy Causes of the Arab Spring" *International Studies Review*, Vol. 15, No. 1, March 2013, <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/misr.12020/full>. A similar but somewhat different analysis, also showing economic conditions among the causes is Filipe R. Campante and Davin Chor, "Why was the Arab World Poised for Revolution? Schooling, Economic Opportunities, and the Arab Spring," *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (Spring 2012), pp. 167-187, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41495309>.

5. Peter H. Gleick, "Water, Drought, Climate Change, and Conflict in Syria," *Weather, Climate, and Society*, Vol. 6, No. 3, July 2014, <http://journals.ametsoc.org/doi/abs/10.1175/WCAS-D-13-00059.1>; and Francesca De Chantel, "The Role of Drought and Climate Change in the Syrian

Uprising Untangling the Triggers of the Revolution,” *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 50. No 4, January 18, 2016.

6. Michel Reich, *A Political Economy of Racism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981); and Charles W. Mills and Tom Mills, "Racism and the Political Economy of Dominion," *New Left Project*, first published: 1 April 12, 2012, http://www.newleftproject.org/index.php/site/article_comments/racism_and_the_political_economy_of_domination.

7. For example, see Andrew Higgins, "Populists' Rise in Europe Vote Shakes Leaders," *The New York Times*, May 26, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/05/27/world/europe/established-parties-rocked-by-anti-europe-vote.html?ref=todayspaper>, reported, "An angry eruption of populist insurgency in the elections for the European Parliament rippled across the Continent on Monday, unnerving the political establishment and calling into question the very institutions and assumptions at the heart of Europe's post-World War II order. Four days of balloting across 28 countries elected scores of rebellious outsiders, including a clutch of xenophobes, racists and even neo-Nazis. In Britain, Denmark, France and Greece, insurgent forces from the far right and, in Greece's case, also from the radical left stunned the established political parties. President François Hollande of France, whose Socialist Party finished third, far behind the far-right National Front, addressed his nation on television from the Élysée Palace on Monday evening, giving a mournful review of an election that he said had displayed the public's 'distrust of Europe and of government parties.' He added: 'The European elections have delivered their truth, and it is painful.'"

8. From an Indigenous point of view, a proper economics is a "sociology," because it is about social relationships, including with the environment and all beings, in contrast to most of contemporary mainstream western economics, which primarily focuses on monetary matters, often in terms of such things as: profit and loss; monetary costs and benefits; efficiency and productivity in the use of resources, particularly from a monetary point of view; and so forth. All of these concerns are important in an Indigenous economics, as they effect relationships, but it is the relationships and the condition of the relating parties that is the primary concern.

To say that an Indigenously oriented economics is a "sociology" is not to say that such an economics, or "sociology," necessarily uses the methods and concepts of any school of past or present western sociology. It is just to point out its concern is primarily about the full set of relationships among people, and with the environment (encompassing all beings including the Earth), and with the condition of all entities. In this broad sense, the current western disciplines of anthropology and sociology are both "sociologies," though they each use somewhat different concepts and methods, which has made difficult some attempts to merge them into a single discipline (For example see, "What are Sociology and Anthropology?" Gustavus Adolphus College, <https://gustavus.edu/soc-anthro/sociologyandanthropology.php>, accessed May 26, 2015; and Edward L. Kain, Theodore C. Wagenaar, and Carla B. Howary, "Models and Best Practices For Joint Sociology-Anthropology Departments," A project of the ASA's Academic and Professional Affairs Program, 2006, http://www.asanet.org/documents/teaching/pdfs/Sociology_and_Anthropology_Joint_Departments.pdf). Some might prefer to say that all the disciplines named above are social sciences. From an Indigenous viewpoint, however, much of contemporary western economics is an asocial science

because it does not sufficiently concern itself with social (and in terms of human beings alone, trans-social) relationships.

For a discussion of an Indigenous view of economics from an Amazonian Native perspective with contemporary application, see Fernando Santos-Granero, Ed., *Images of Public Wealth or the Anatomy of Well-Being in Indigenous Amazonia* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2015);

9. Rasmusen and Sachs, *Lessons From the Failure of the Communist Economic System*, p. 126. That the "invisible hand" of the market fails to have the beneficial effect of aligning private with public interest that *Laissez Faire* economists claim for it, but instead leads to increased concentration of wealth and inequality of wealth, in the course favoring private over public interests, while encouraging a low level of needed research and development activities, see John Kenneth Galbraith, *The Affluent Society* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1958), *The New Industrial State* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), and *Economics and Public Purpose* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1973).

10. Rasmusen and Sachs, *Lessons of the Failure of the Communist Economic System*, Part II. J.K. Galbraith discusses one aspect of keeping economies in balance through countervailing government power, in, *American Capitalism: The Concept of Countervailing Power* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1952).

11. In addition to the discussion here, and below in relation to the Mondragon Cooperatives, Barry Stein, *Size, Efficiency, and Community Enterprise* (Madison: The Center for Community Economic Development, 1974) provides some interesting consideration of the size of an organization and efficiency, relating to its function.

12. Stephen G. Cecchetti and Enisse Kharroubi, "Why does financial sector growth crowd out real economic growth?," Bank for International Settlements, February 2015, <http://www.bis.org/publ/work490.htm>. The report is discussed in Gretchen Morgenson, "Smothered by a Boom in Banking," *The New York Times*, February 28, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/03/01/business/economy/smothered-by-a-boom-in-banking.html?ref=todayspaper>.

13. Gretchen Morgenson, "Smothered by a Boom in Banking," *The New York Times*, February 28, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/03/01/business/economy/smothered-by-a-boom-in-banking.html?ref=todayspaper>, referred to in the Morgenson article: refers to, on financial sector Behavior: Luigi Zingales, *A Capitalism for the People: Recapturing the Lost Genius of American Prosperity* (New York: Basic Books, 2012); On portion of financial sector wage inequality: Thomas Philippon and Ariell Reshef, "Wages and Human Capital in the U.S. Financial Industry, 1909-2006," National Bureau of Economic Research, Working Paper 14644, January 2009, <http://www.nber.org/papers/w14644>.

On this and other issues of major systemic problems in the U.S. economy and what can be done to correct them, see Joseph E. Stiglitz, *Rewriting the Rules of the American Economy: An Agenda for Growth and Shared Prosperity* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2015).

14. John Kenneth Galbraith, *The Nature of Mass Poverty* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), and *The Anatomy of Power* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1983).
15. Thom Hartmann, *The Crash of 2016* (New York, Twelve, 2013), Ch. 4, particularly pp. 65--66.
16. Landon Thomas, Jr., "Europe Fears Bailout of Spain Would Strain Its Resources," *The New York Times*, May 30, 2012, <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/05/31/business/global/if-spain-is-rescued-who-foots-the-bill.html>; and Andrew Higgins, "Europe Facing More Pressure to Reconsider Cuts as a Cure," *The New York Times*, April 26, 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/04/27/world/europe/eu-is-pressed-to-reconsider-cuts-as-economic-cure.html>.
17. Raphael Minder, "Bailout Is Over for Portugal, but Side Effects Will Linger," *The New York Times*, May 5, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/05/06/business/international/bailout-is-over-for-portugal-but-side-effects-will-linger.html>.
18. Paul Krugman, "Europe's Greek Test," *The New York Times*, January 30, 2015; and The European Debt Crisis, *The New York Times*, http://topics.nytimes.com/top/reference/timestopics/subjects/e/european_sovereign_debt_crisis/index.html?8qa, accessed February 22, 2015.
19. "Hitler's rise to power," *Bitsize*, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/schools/gcsebitsize/history/mwh/germany/hitlerpowerrev1.shtml>, p. 1, accessed February 22, 2015.
20. *Timeline of the Great Recession*, http://www.hyperhistory.com/online_n2/connections_n2/great_depression.html, visited February 22, 2015.
21. John Maynard Keynes, *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* (London: Macmillan, 1936 and 2007).
22. Paul Krugman, *The Return of Depression Economics and the Crisis of 2008* (New York: W.W. Norton Company Limited, 2009); Paul Krugman, "How Much Of The World Is In a Liquidity Trap?," *The New York Times*, March 17, 2010, http://krugman.blogs.nytimes.com/2010/03/17/how-much-of-the-world-is-in-a-liquidity-trap/?_r=0; and Janet L. Yellen, "A Minsky Meltdown: Lessons for Central Bankers," Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco, April 16, 2009, <http://www.frbsf.org/our-district/press/presidents-speeches/yellen-speeches/2009/april/yellen-minsky-meltdown-central-bankers/>.
23. Hartmann, *The Crash of 2016*, Ch. 1. and Yellen, "A Minsky Meltdown: Lessons for Central Bankers." A listing with brief discussion of the depressions and recessions in U.S. history is in, San Jose State University Department of Economics, *The Economic History of the United States*, *applet-magic*, <http://www.sjsu.edu/faculty/watkins/useconhist.htm#DEPRESSIONS>, accessed February 23, 2015.

24. On the savings and loan scandal: "Savings and Loan Scandal," *In the 80s*, <http://www.inthe80s.com/sandl.shtml>, accessed February 22, 2015; T. Curry, and L. Shibut, "The Cost of the Savings and Loan Crisis;" *FDIC Banking Review*, Vol. 13, No. 2, 2000, pp. 26-35; and G.A. Akerlof, and P.M. Romer, (1993). "Looting: The Economic Underworld of Bankruptcy for Profit". *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity* Vol. 2, 1993, pp. 1–73. On the Great Recession: Hartmann, *The Crash of 2016*, Ch. 1. and Ch. 6; and David B. Grubsky, Bruce Western and Christopher Wimer, eds., *The Great Recession* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2011).
25. United States Government Accountability Office (GAO), Report to Congressional Requesters, *Poverty in America: Economic Research Shows Adverse Impacts on Health Status and Other Social Conditions as well as the Economic Growth Rate*, January 2007, <http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d07344.pdf>, "Results in Brief.
26. We emphasize “appropriate” because too often the measures taken do not really measure what is needed to be known, just as too often actions are not “appropriate” because they do not take into account everything significant in the circumstances, as western culture and science often fails to realize the extent of difference in different locations (in time or geography) or circumstance.
27. The Congressional Budget Office, <https://www.cbo.gov/>, accessed February 21, 2015.
28. The Government Accountability Office: GAO Missions and Operations: GAO: Summary of Performance and Financial Information Fiscal Year 2014, GAO-15-2SP: Published: February 17, 2015. Publicly Released: Feb 18, 2015, <http://www.gao.gov/products/GAO-15-2SP>.
29. Some of the problems with existing carbon trading and similar programs are discussed in REDD Declaration (Reduced Emissions from Deforestation and Degradation), FYI, “Protecting the World's Forests Needs More Than Just Money” (2008). *Indigenous Policy*, Vol. XIX, No. 1, Spring 2008. See also the statements of Indigenous and Environmental groups on the proposed World Bank Carbon program in the same issue of *IPJ* in “Ongoing Activities: International Activities.” In addition, see Kanter, James (2008). “The Trouble with Markets for Carbon,” *The New York Times*, June 20, 2008, pp. C1 and C5. Some well working examples of this kind of program are discussed in *Citizens Power*. 18/2, Fall 1992, published by Citizens Action Coalition, 3951 N. Meridian St., Suite 300 Indianapolis, IN 46208, which contains several articles on this topic. Osborne and Gaebler (1992), pp. 299-395 touches on this issue in environmental regulation and discusses some other incentive based approaches to environmental regulation.
30. Osborne and Gaebler, *Reinventing Government*.
31. Measure for America a Project of the Social Science Research Council, <http://www.measureofamerica.org>, accessed February 19, 2015.
32. *The Measure of America 2013–2014*, Measure of America, June 19, 2013, http://www.measureofamerica.org/measure_of_america2013-2014/, offers PDFs: Full Report, Key Findings, Media Releases, Download of Data Tables, Methodology Note, and MP THE DATA.

33. Opportunity Nation, <http://opportunitynation.org/opportunity-index/>, accessed, February 20, 2015.

34. *National Index of Violence and Harm* (NIVAH), a project of the Manchester College Peace Studies Institute and the Bentley Alliance for Ethics and Social Responsibility, December 18, 2007, <http://www.manchester.edu/links/violenceindex/>.

35. *The 2007 National Index of Violence and Harm* — a project of the Manchester College Peace Studies Institute and the Bentley Alliance for Ethics and Social Responsibility — released on December 17, 2007, <http://www.manchester.edu/links/violenceindex/2007/2007Overview.pdf>.

36. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, <http://ipcc.ch>.

37. "Fuel Economy: Regulations and Standards," EPA: United States Environmental Protection Agency, <https://www3.epa.gov/fueleconomy/regulations.htm>.

38. "Renewable Energy Standards," SEIA: Solar Industries Association, <http://www.seia.org/policy/renewable-energy-deployment/renewable-energy-standards>.

39. For example, Nika Knight, "New Report Details Big Oil's \$500 Million Annual Climate Obstructionism," *Common Dreams*, April 7, 2016, <http://www.commondreams.org/news/2016/04/07/new-report-details-big-oils-500-million-annual-climate-obstructionism>, reported, "'While the world came together in Paris to embrace climate action in 2015, Exxon was doubling down with Big Tobacco tactics and obstruction'

The dark channels through which corporations influence legislation are notoriously hard to trace, but a new detailed report estimates that the world's largest fossil fuel companies are spending upwards of \$500 million per year to obstruct climate laws.

Published Thursday by the UK-based non-profit InfluenceMap, the report (pdf) looked at two fossil fuel giants (ExxonMobil and Royal Dutch Shell) and three trade lobbying groups, discovering that all together the five companies spend \$114 million dollars a year to defeat climate change legislation.

More significantly, InfluenceMap says, 'Extrapolated over the entire fossil fuel and other industrial sectors beyond, it is not hard to consider that this obstructive climate policy lobbying spending may be in the order of \$500m annually.'

'It's remarkably useful to see exactly how much Exxon and its brethren are still spending to bend the climate debate,' responded (pdf) Bill McKibben of 350.org in a statement. "There's a shamelessness here that hopefully will be harder to maintain in the full light of day.'

How much big oil spends on obstructive climate lobbying:

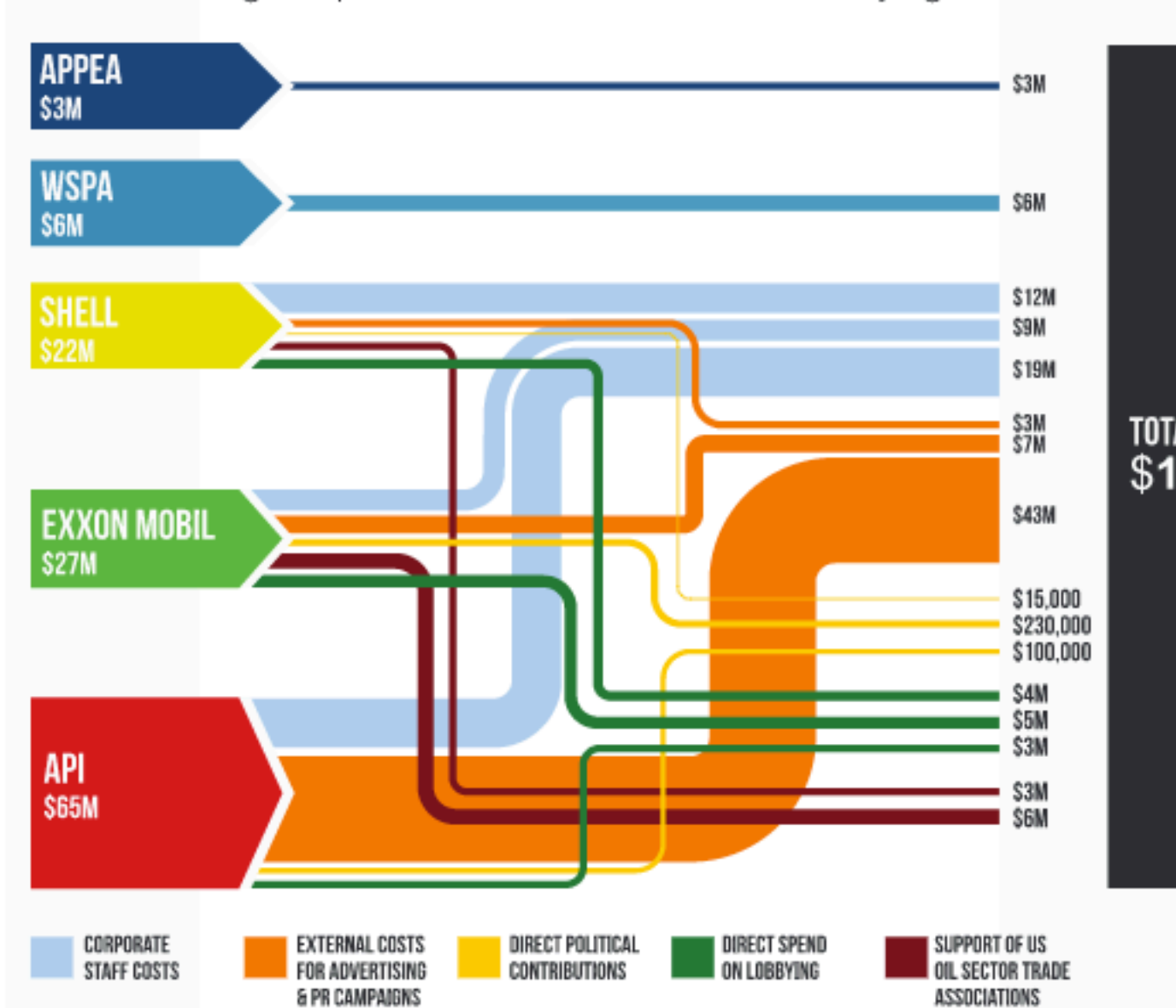


Photo: InfluenceMap

The group drew particular attention to the sinister lobbying group American Petroleum Institute (API), 'one of the best funded and most consistently obstructive lobbying forces for climate policy in the United States,' as InfluenceMap notes:

With a budget in excess of \$200m, we estimate, through a forensic analysis of its IRS filings and careful study of its lobbying, PR, media and advertising activities, that around \$65m of this is highly obstructive lobbying against ambitious climate policy. We estimate that ExxonMobil and Shell contribute \$6m and \$3m respectively to API's obstructive spending of \$65m. Its CEO

Jack Gerard received annual compensation of just over \$14m in 2013, probably one of the world's highest paid lobbyists. In the run up to COP21 last year, he dismissed the Paris process as a 'narrow political ideology'.

InfluenceMap created the report to help concerned investors see how fossil fuel corporations were obstructing legislation to combat climate change. Since the #ExxonKnew scandal broke last year, such tactics have been under increased scrutiny from shareholders. 'So far in 2016 alone,' the non-profit said, "there have been over 15 shareholder resolutions filed by investors in the US with fossil fuel companies on the issue of influence over climate policy.'

In addition, the 'sheer fuzziness of corporate influence prompted the project,' wrote *Bloomberg*. 'Nations hold companies to different standards—or none at all—for disclosures of how they are trying to influence public policy and what it costs.' *Bloomberg* explained the study's methodology:

To come up with its numbers, Influence Map first had to define what 'influence' actually means. The researchers adopted a framework spelled out in a 2013 UN report written to help companies align their climate change policies with their lobbying and communications strategies. It's a broad approach to understanding influence that includes not only direct lobbying, but also advertising, marketing, public relations, political contributions, regulatory contacts, and trade associations.

Unfortunately, though, because of poor regulatory standards the 'new report excludes so-called dark money, or money spent on think tanks and institutes, as identified by Drexel University sociologist Robert Brulle in 2013,' *Bloomberg* said, because 'the researchers were unable to determine how these groups are funded.'

'We now know that Exxon knew about climate change impacts for decades, and kept the public in the dark while they lobbied to prevent meaningful action,' Vermont Gov. Peter Shumlin pointed out. "This report shows that while the world came together in Paris to embrace climate action in 2015, Exxon was doubling down with Big Tobacco tactics and obstruction. We cannot change this corporation by engaging with it, we must instead bring change from the outside by using economic pressure and divesting from Exxon."

40. Yong Geng, Joseph Sarkis and Sergio Ulgiati, "Sustainability, Wellbeing, and the Circular Economy in China and World Wide," *Pushing the boundaries of scientific research: 120 years of addressing global issues*, a Sponsored Supplement to *Science* (Washington, DC: *Science/The American Association for the Advancement of Science*, 2016), pp. 73-76.

41. The problem of having adequate data, including having sufficient consistency across time, is illuminated in by the case of American Indians and Alaska Natives as discussed in Harris, Sachs and Morris, *Recreating the Circle*, Ch. 2. Similarly, this has been a sufficient problem for Indigenous peoples, world wide, that the issue has been discussed repeatedly by the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII), including at a session devoted to the topic at the UNPFII annual session in April and May 2015 (<http://undesadspd.org/indigenouspeoples/unpfiisessions/fourteenth.aspx>), in the 8th and 9th

meetings, April 24, 2015, <http://www.un.org/press/en/2015/hr5247.doc.htm>. This is also reported in the discussion of the UNPFII 2015 session in "International Developments," in *Indigenous Policy*. Vol. XXVII, No. 1 Summer 2015, <http://www.indigenouspolicy.org>.

One set of examples of the problem of politics interfering with making correct data and information available for the discussion of public issues has been several states, controlled by Republicans in the United States, not allowing scientific reporting of dangers to health and wellbeing related to carbon energy production to be reported publicly, because of lobbying by extracting and energy producing industries. This is discussed in Marcia McNutt, "Integrity - not just a federal issue," *Science*, Vol. 347, Issue 6229, March 27, 2015,

42. There is some useful discussion on measures and indicators, including the problems involved in working with them, in "Equal Access Participatory Monitoring and Evaluation Toolkit," http://betterevaluation.org/sites/default/files/EA_PM%26E_toolkit_module_2_objectives%26indicators_for_publication.pdf, accessed June 28, 2015, and in Garry M. Klass, *Just Plain Data Analysis: Finding, Presenting, and Interpreting Social Science Data* (Lanham, MD: Roman and Littlefield, 2008). The issue of quantitative v. qualitative research is considered, to an extent, at Explorable, <https://explorable.com/quantitative-and-qualitative-research>, accessed June, 29, 2015.

43. A partial, but fairly extensive, sampling of successful tribal development by a number of Indian nations is in the economic development section of Harris, Sachs and Morris, *Recreating the Circle: The Renewal of American Indian Self Determination*, Ch. 5, Section 1.

44. *Ibid.*, especially Chapter 2, giving an overview of continuing impacts of physical and cultural genocide (continued in each following section on an area of renewal work), and in Chapter 4, "Harmony Through Wisdom of the People: Applying Traditional Principles To Develop Appropriate and Effective Indian Tribal Governance."

45. *Ibid.*, Ch. 5, Part 1.

46. This Afghani case was discussed in Professor Morton Kaplan's introduction to international politics class at the University of Chicago in the spring of 1961, and confirmed and elaborated upon in Stephen Sachs discussion with an Afghani who had lived near the dam site.

47. Harris, Sachs and Morris, *Recreating the Circle: The Renewal of American Indian Self Determination*, Ch. 6.

48. Harris, Sachs and Morris, *Recreating the Circle: The Renewal of American Indian Self Determination*, Ch. 5, Part 1, which also develops additional examples of American Indian economic development as tribal and member development; Sharon O'Brien, *American Indian Tribal Governments* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989), Ch. 1. For updates on Choctaw tribal affairs, including economic development, go to the tribe's web site: <http://www.choctaw.org/index.htm>, which was used in this report. See also, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, *Choctaw Industrial Park* (Philadelphia, MS: Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, 1982); and John H. Peterson, Jr., "Three Efforts at Development Among the Choctaws of

Mississippi," in Walter L. Williams, Ed., *Southeastern Indians Since the Removal Era* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1979); and "Indian and Indigenous Developments: U.S. Developments: Economic Developments", *Indigenous Policy*, Vol. 14, No. 2, Fall 2003.

49. Stephen M. Sachs, "Renewing the Circle: Thoughts on Preserving Indigenous Traditional Knowledge," *Proceedings of the 2015 Western Social Science Association American Indian Studies Section*, in *Indigenous Policy*, Vol. XXVII, No. 2, Fall 2015.

50. "Frequently Asked Questions," Mondragon Cooperative Corporation website <http://www.mondragon-corporation.com/eng/co-operative-experience/faqs/> (Accessed January 7, 2015). Note that the background to the writing of the Mondragon section of this chapter is that its principal author, Christina Clamp, has been a long time researcher of the Mondragon cooperatives, who has made numerous visits to Mondragon and interviewed many of its members. Stephen Sachs, who contributed to this section visited the cooperatives at Mondragon for ten days in 1984, on a group study tour of worker cooperatives in Europe, and has spoken with a number of researchers of Mondragon over the years about its development.

51. Larraitz Altuna Gabilondo Ed., *La experiencia cooperativa de Mondragon* (Eskoriatza: Lanki, 2008) pp. 265-288.

52. The principles that overlap with the International Cooperative Alliance are open membership; democratic control; interco-operation; education and a concern for community which is embedded in the social transformation principle (<http://ica.coop/en/whats-co-op/co-operative-identity-values-principles>).

⁵³. Larraitz Altuna Gabilondo Ed. *La experiencia cooperativa de Mondragon* (Eskoriatza: Lanki, 2008) p. 267.

54. *Ibid.*, *La experiencia cooperativa de Mondragon*. (Eskoriatza: Lanki, 2008) p. 270,

55. *Ibid.*, *La experiencia cooperativa de Mondragon*. (Eskoriatza: Lanki, 2008) p. 271.

56. *Ibid.*, *La experiencia cooperativa de Mondragon*. (Eskoriatza: Lanki, 2008) p. 273.

57. *Ibid.*, *La experiencia cooperativa de Mondragon*. (Eskoriatza: Lanki, 2008) p. 278,

58. *Ibid.*, *La experiencia cooperativa de Mondragon*. (Eskoriatza: Lanki, 2008) pp. 284-285.

59. *Ibid.*, *La experiencia cooperativa de Mondragon*. (Eskoriatza: Lanki, 2008), pp. 282-283.

60. *Ibid.*, *La experiencia cooperativa de Mondragon*. (Eskoriatza: Lanki, 2008), pp. 265-288.

61. José María Ormaetxea *The Mondragon Cooperative Experience* (Mondragon: Mondragon Corporacion Cooperativa, 1993), pp. 31-32. In the early years of published work, Ormaetxea used the Castilian spelling of his name (Ormaechea) but later shifted to the Basque spelling. I have used the Basque spelling in deference to how his work is cited in Gabilondo's book.

62. Marianne Heiberg *The Making of the Basque Nation* (New York: Cambridge University Press), pp. 20-23.
63. *Ibid.*, *The Making of the Basque Nation.*(New York: Cambridge University Press), p. 26.
64. *Ibid.*, *The Making of the Basque Nation.*(New York: Cambridge University Press), p. 33.
65. *Ibid.*, *The Making of the Basque Nation.*(New York: Cambridge University Press), p.185.
66. Luis Nuñez *Clases sociales en Euskadi* (San Sebastian, Ed. Txertoa, 1977), p. 124.
67. *Ibid.*, *Clases sociales en Euskadi* (San Sebastian, Ed. Txertoa, 1977), p. 125.
68. Lucas Marín, unpublished paper, 1988; and Henk Thomas and Chris Logan, *Mondragon: An Economic analysis* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1982). On the earlier periods of the Mondragon cooperatives, see also, Alastair Campbell, et al *Worker Ownership: The Mondragon Achievement* (London: Anglo-German Foundation for the Study of Society, 1977); Terry Mollner, *Mondragon: A Third Way* (Shutesbury, MA: Trustee Institute, Inc., 1984); A. Gutierrez-Johnson and William Foote Whyte, "The Mondragon System of Worker Production Cooperatives," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, 31: 1, October 1977, pp. 18-30; A. Gutierrez-Johnson, "Compensation, Equity and Industrial Democracy in the Mondragon Cooperatives," *Economic Analysis and Workers' Self-Management*, Vol. 12, 1977, pp. 267-289; Robert Oakeshott, "Mondragon: Spain's Oasis of Democracy," in Jaroslav Vanek, ed, *Self-Management: The Economic Liberation of Man* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, Inc., 1975}, pp. 290-296; and Germal Medanie, "Mondragon: Your Add Is About to Run Out," *Grassroots Economic Organizing Newsletter*, No. 10, September/October, 1983.
69. No cooperative at Mondragon failed through at least the end of the 1980s once it had completed incubation. One conventional farm business facing shut down because of financial problems applied to become a coop at Mondragon during this period, and was incubated long enough to determine if it could be resurrected. When the god fathers determined that it could not become viable, it was allowed to shut down. Also during this period, a fishing business became a Mondragon cooperative, but was spun off, despite its financial viability, because it refused to follow cooperative principles and rules.
70. Larraitz Altuna Gabilondo Ed. *La experiencia cooperative de Mondragon* (Eskoriatza: Lanki, 2008), pp. 214-215.
71. *Ibid.*, *La experiencia cooperative de Mondragon*(Eskoriatza: Lanki, 2008), p. 217.
72. *Ibid.*, *La experiencia cooperative de Mondragon* (Eskoriatza: Lanki, 2008), p. 217-218.
73. Ulgor *Estatutos Sociales* (Mondragon, January, 1975), p. 5.
74. Mondragon Cooperative Corporation website <http://www.mondragon->

corporation.com/eng/co-operative-experience/faqs/ Accessed January 7, 2016) .

75. Sam Pizzigati, *Too Much* (Retrieved from Institute for Policy Studies: <http://toomuchonline.org/this-business-manufactures-inequality/> (Accessed June 1, 2015).

76. Christina A. Clamp, *Managing Cooperation at Mondragon* (Boston: Boston College Doctoral Dissertation, Sociology Department, 1986), p. 157.

77. Mondragon Cooperative Corporation website <http://www.mondragon-corporation.com/eng/co-operative-experience/faqs/> (Accessed January 7, 2015).

78. Material for this discussion of the recession is based on interviews with leaders in the Mondragon cooperatives in June and July 2015.

79. Larraitz Altuna Gabilondo Ed. *La experiencia cooperativa de Mondragon* (Eskoriatza: Lanki, 2008), p. 219.

80. Information on the intercooperative agreement and the social insurance program is based on a presentation by Lagun Aro staff in Mondragon, May 19, 2011.

81. Maite Martínez-Granado, Patxi Greño, and Mercedes. 2012. "The Basque Country, Spain: Self-Evaluation Report." *OECD Reviews of Higher Education in Regional*. Accessed July 24, 2015.

82. The structure of incentives is briefly discussed in Chapter 5. For a more detailed consideration, see Paul Bernstein, *Workplace Democratization: Its Internal Dynamics* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1980), Especially Ch. 5; Alan S. Blinder, ed., *Paying for Productivity: A Look at the Evidence* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1990); and Edward E., Lawler III, Susan Albers Mohrman and Gerald E. Ledford, Jr., *Employee Involvement and Total Quality Management: Practices and Results in Fortune 1000 Companies* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1992).

83. "Producer Cooperatives," *Grassroots Economic Organizing*, <http://www.geo.coop/taxonomy/term/139>, accessed March 30, 2016; "Types of Cooperatives," Nebraska Cooperative Development Center, <http://ncdc.unl.edu/typescooperatives.shtml>, accessed March 30, 2016; and the Producer Cooperative Association, <http://producerscooperative.com>, accessed March 30, 2016.

84. Tom Ladendorf, "Worker Co-ops? There's an App for That," *In These Times*, April 2016.

85. Union Cab Coop: A Worker Cooperative, <http://unioncab.com>, accessed April 8, 2016.

86. Sarah Anderson and John Cavanaugh, and David Ranney, *NAFTA's First Two Years: The Myths and Realities* (Washington, DC: The Institute for Policy Studies, 1996); and Timothy A. Wise and Kevin P. Gallagher in *Foreign Policy in Focus*, October 24, 2002.

87. Wise and Gallagher in *Foreign Policy in Focus*; and pp. 40-41; and Ginger Thompson, "Nafta to open Foodgates, engulfing Rural Mexico" *The New York Times, International*, December 19, 2002.

88. Hartmann, *The Crash of 2016*, pp. 82-91. Except where otherwise indicated, the sources and references for information discussed below concerning the shift in U.S. trade policy and its results are from Hartmann.

89. Louis D. Johnston, "History lessons: Understanding the decline in manufacturing," *MinnPost*, February 2, 2012, <http://www.minnpost.com/macro-micro-minnesota/2012/02/history-lessons-understanding-decline-manufacturing#sourcernote>. This piece while making a very important point about long term trends in shifts from manufacturing to service in the U.S. economy, is a good example of the reductionism of neoliberal economics, particularly in regard to free trade, in focusing almost entirely on one pair of factors, increasing productivity and rising demand for services, while briefly mentioning another, rising competition from China and Japan (failing to mention the slowness of much of American manufacturing to meet foreign competition, particularly in automobiles, to shift sufficiently, and quickly enough to meet it in terms of improving quality and productivity, and meeting consumer wants), while saying nothing of the major factor, discussed below, the impact of neoliberal free trade policies. Indeed, with no examination of them, the article simply dismisses trade policy as not relevant: "New ideas for reviving American manufacturing seem to appear every day. Many of these notions have merit, but most are built on a flawed premise: that the decline in U.S. factory jobs is a recent occurrence, one that can be reversed through tax cuts or trade policy."

90. For example: "On the government role in guiding business development in Asian economies: *Economic Development in East Asia*, The Saylor Foundation, 2013, <http://www.saylor.org/site/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/HIST103-10.2.2-AsianEconomicDevt-FINAL.pdf>; and James Fallows, *Looking at the Sun: The Rise of a New East Asian Economic and Political System* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995). Concerning barriers to imports by Asian governments (while promoting exports), "3. Barriers to trade," *china.org*, 2006, <http://www.china.org.cn/english/features/fmar/168390.htm>, lists a variety of barriers to imports to Japan reported by Chinese companies. See also: Glen S. Fukushima, "Removing Japan's barriers to trade and investment," East Asia Forum, November 17, 2012, <http://www.eastasiaforum.org/2012/11/17/removing-japans-barriers-to-trade-and-investment/>; and Jae Wan Chung, *The Political Economy of U.S. Trade: U.S. Trade Laws, Policy, and Social Cost* (Lanham, Lexington Books, 2006), particularly Ch. 8. Report From the Commission to the European Council: Trade and Investment Barriers Report 2014, March 12, 2014, http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2014/march/tradoc_152272.pdf, by giving a list of negotiations and actions taken in 2013 concerning trade barriers in various countries gives some idea of what some of these have been.

91. GATT Digital Library: 1997-1994, <https://gatt.stanford.edu/page/home>; and *World Trade Organization*, https://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/gatt_e/gatt_e.htm.

92. Hartmann, *The Crash of 2016*, pp. 77-87. Note that the neoliberal economics begun by Reagan in the U.S., but accelerated by Clinton, also brought about reductions in investment in human

capital, including cuts in support for education and training, and reductions in the safety net, along with moves to privatize as much of government as possible (pp. 22, 43, and 51).

93. Anderson, Cavanaugh, and Ranney, *NAFTA's First Two Years: The Myths and Realities*, p. 1; and Elliot Spagat (Associated Press), "Power sites in Mexico under fire: Critics' suit claims plants at border that sell power to West coast avert U.S. controls," *Indianapolis Star*, June 15, 2003, P D1, D6.

94. Anderson, Cavanaugh, and Ranney, *NAFTA's First Two Years: The Myths and Realities*.

95. For an analysis of the transition to the market programs in East Europe, see Rusmich and Sachs, *Lessons from the Failure*, Part III, particularly Ch. 11.

96. Rusmich and Sachs, *Lessons from the Failure*, p. 264, N 42.

97. Rusmich and Sachs, *Lessons from the Failure*, pp. 300-301; and John B. Judis, "World Bank: Japanese officials think Western austerity measures are the wrong medicine for Eastern Europe," *In These Times*, December 13, 1993, pp. 14-15.

98. For example, see, Stephen M. Sachs, "We Need International Pressure On Climate Change," *Indigenous Policy*, Vol. XXV, No. 3, Winter 2014-15, <http://www.indigenouspolicy.org>, which argues that higher tariffs and or other penalties ought to be assessed against nations that refuse to do their share in lowering global warming causing emissions in the pursuit of economic development, as an incentive to undertake development responsibly (i.e. sufficiently penalizing them to remove the economic incentive to pollute destructively).

99. Americas Program, <http://www.americaspolicy.org/citizen-action/voices/2004/0402coffee.html>, also reachable through Z-net: <http://www.zmag.org>.

100. The problems of large projects destructive to people and the environment are discussed in the "Environmental Activities," "International Activities," "Environmental Developments," and "International Developments" sections of every issue of *Indigenous Policy*, at least since 2008, at www.indigenouspolicy.org. The problems of extractions impacting Indigenous Peoples have been discussed at every annual session of the United Nations Forum on Indigenous Issues, with reports of the meetings and access to forum reports, including on extraction, available through: undesadspd.org/indigenouspeoples.aspx.

101. China has been suffering from a variety of serious environmental problems as a result of undertaking a series of very large projects, including building a large number of dams, and from engaging in a rapid industrialization program involving building and utilizing a large number of coal power plants. Among the many reports on the resulting problems are, Edward Wong, "Cost of Environmental Damage in China Growing Rapidly Amid Industrialization," *The New York Times*, March 29, 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/03/30/world/asia/cost-of-environmental-degradation-in-china-is-growing.html>; Beina Xu, "China's Environmental Crisis," Council on Foreign Relations, April 25, 2014, [http://www.cfr.org/china/chinas-environmental-crisis/p12608;V,Smil,Environmental Degradation in China \(Armonk: Zed Press, 1984\); and Mara Hvistendahl,](http://www.cfr.org/china/chinas-environmental-crisis/p12608;V,Smil,Environmental%20Degradation%20in%20China%20(Armonk:%20Zed%20Press,%201984);%20and%20Mara%20Hvistendahl)

"China's Three Gorges Dam: An Environmental Catastrophe? Even the Chinese government suspects the massive dam may cause significant environmental damage," *Scientific American*, March 25, 2008, <http://www.scientificamerican.com/article/chinas-three-gorges-dam-disaster/>. It should be noted that in more recent years, China has become increasingly concerned about the environmental degradation that its policies have been causing, and slowly has been taking steps to enact and enforce environmental regulation ("Environmental Developments," *Nonviolent Change*, Vol. XXX, No. 2, Winter 2015, www.nonviolentchangejournal.org).

102. See Chris Strohm, "Deaf Ears: No Thanks, World Bank says to critical study," *In These Times*, June 24, 2002, pp. 5-6. The countries studied included Bangladesh, Ecuador, Hungary, Mexico and Ghana. Also worth looking at is the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) *Trade and Development Report 2003*, which in October, found unequivocally that neoliberal economic policies of globalization, leaving development to the market (with minimal government services and regulation) for two decades has left subSaharan Africa in an economic wasteland, while declining shares of manufacturing output and employment ("deindustrialization") have accompanied rapid liberalization in many Latin American nations. Under neoliberal economic policies, "enclaves" of industrialization linked to international production chains have dotted this landscape, without in most cases translating into more broad-based investment, value added and productivity growth. The study reports an urgent need for global economic institutions and governments rethink policies and return to carefully designed, vigorous government intervention to provide necessary economic stimulus and guidance, and to create and preserve an appropriate climate for development. The report concluded that the policies pursued to eliminate inflation and downsize the public sector have often undermined growth and hampered technological progress. As a result, "the current economic landscape in the developing world has an uncanny resemblance to conditions prevailing in the early 1980s", when many countries slipped into deep crisis. The target level of investment for catch-up growth - estimated by the Report to be in the range of 20-to-25% of GDP - has eluded most countries undergoing rapid market reforms. By contrast, active state participation in the economy in East Asia after the debt crisis produced a strong investment performance, growing manufacturing value added and employment and a rising share of manufacturing exports, with productivity and technology gaps with leading industrial countries rapidly closing.. Elsewhere, the Report finds a less encouraging record: Industrial progress has halted in much of the developing world; only eight of 26 selected countries succeeded in raising the share of manufacturing value added in GDP between 1980 and the 1990s, together with a rising share of investment; In economies with lagging industrialization and a declining share of investment, the share of manufactures in total exports has also been stagnant or falling, while exchange rate depreciation and wage restraint have been the basis for bolstering trade performance; The production structure in much of Latin America and Africa has seen a notable shift away from sectors with the greatest potential for productivity growth towards those producing and processing raw materials; and Where trade and investment have risen in the context of international production networks, the tendency has been for an apparent increase in the technology content of exports without a similar increase in domestic value added. Similarly, a study released in January 2004 found that, when taken as a group, all of the less-developed countries that depend on exporting oil, have seen the living standards of their populations drop--and drop dramatically ("World Developments," *Nonviolent Change*, Vo.l XVIII, No. 2, Winter 2004).

103. Deirdre Fulton, "Global Inequality Reaches Levels Not Seen in Nearly 200 Years: Growing

wealth gap 'one of the most significant—and worrying—features of the development of the world economy' since early-19th century, OECD says," *Common Dreams*, October 02, 2014, <http://www.commondreams.org/news/2014/10/02/global-inequality-reaches-levels-not-seen-nearly-200-years>.

104. There are numerous cases where this aggressive nationalism has involved internal imperialism and conflict. For example China has been carrying out an internal imperialism against non-Han Chinese groups, exemplified by its Tibetan and Uighar policies, which have led to demonstration by the ethnic population, followed by Chinese government repression, moving into ongoing conflict. Overviews of China-Tibetan relations can be found at: "Tibet profile: A chronology of key events," BBC News, November 13, 2014, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-pacific-17046222>; and "Chronology of Tibetan-Chinese Relations, 1979 to 2013," International Campaign for Tibet, 2015, <http://www.savetibet.org/policy-center/chronology-of-tibetan-chinese-relations-1979-to-2013/>. An example of the conflict with the Uighars in the Chinese province of Xinjiang is, Michael Forsyth, "Suicide Bomber Kills Up to 8 in Xinjiang, Radio Free Asia Reports," *The New York Times*, February 17, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/02/18/world/asia/suicide-bomber-kills-up-to-8-in-xinjiang-radio-free-asia-reports.html?ref=todayspaper>. The government of Myanmar is currently involved in similar conflict with a number of ethnic groups. For example, it was reported that Fighting erupted between the Army of Myanmar and an ethnic Kokang force, the Myanmar National Democratic Alliance Army, February 9, 2015, near the Chinese border, which by February 17 had left at least 47 government troops and 26 Kokang soldiers dead, as the President of Myanmar declared a three month period of martial law in the area ("Myanmar: Martial Law Imposed in Area Near China," *The New York Times*, February 17, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/02/18/world/asia/myanmar-martial-law-imposed-in-area-near-china.html?ref=todayspaper>). And there are other examples.

105 96. Stephen M. Sachs, "Circling the Circles: Indigenous Movements Towards An Alternative, Appropriate Globalization," *Indigenous Policy*, Vol. XV, No. 2, Summer 2004. One of these organizations is Advancement of Global Indigeneity (AGI), founded by Americans for Indian Opportunity (AIO) and Advancement of Maori Opportunity (AMO), Americans for Indian Opportunity, http://www.aio.org/projects/international_indigenous_network; and *Harris, Sachs and Morris, Recreating the Circle*, Ch. 6, Section 1.

106. Much of the less developed world has been rushing to develop, causing huge pollution problems for people and the environment at home, and beyond, including increasing global warming and climate change. To a significant extent, these nations have refused to heed calls from the west to cut back on using fossil fuels, especially coal, which have been fueling their development. A number of analysts are calling for a different approach to curbing global warming while allowing for development in poorer nations and regions. They call for international investment in solar panels and nuclear energy with increased safety in developing nations. They assert that poorer countries will not stop development and cease using coal and natural gas to obtain it unless they are given a viable alternative. The proponents argue that carbon free methods do not require much land, needed for food production, and that with international investment, solar and nuclear power present a viable alternative to increasing carbon fueled power production. Discussing these environmental proposals, Eduardo Porter, "A Call to Look Past Sustainable Development," *The New York Times*, April 14, 2015,

<http://www.nytimes.com/2015/04/15/business/an-environmentalist-call-to-look-past-sustainable-development.html?ref=todayspaper> reported,

The average citizen of Nepal consumes about 100 kilowatt-hours of electricity in a year. Cambodians make do with 160. Bangladeshis are better off, consuming, on average, 260.

Then there is the fridge in your kitchen. A typical 20-cubic-foot refrigerator — Energy Star-certified, to fit our environmentally conscious times — runs through 300 to 600 kilowatt-hours a year.

American diplomats are upset that dozens of countries — including Nepal, Cambodia and Bangladesh — have flocked to join China's new infrastructure investment bank, a potential rival to the World Bank and other financial institutions backed by the United States.

The primary reason for this is the west's development limiting environmental policies.

While the authors of this book do not favor expansion of nuclear power, because of its extreme dangers, we find assisting development through clean energy and low power technology an important policy approach.

Bibliography

"3. Barriers to trade," *china.org*, 2006, <http://www.china.org.cn/english/features/fmar/168390.htm>.

The 2007 National Index of Violence and Harm — a project of the Manchester College Peace Studies Institute and the Bentley Alliance for Ethics and Social Responsibility — released on December 17, 2007, <http://www.manchester.edu/links/violenceindex/2007/2007Overview.pdf>.

Akerlof, G.A. and P.M. Romer, (1993). "Looting: The Economic Underworld of Bankruptcy for Profit". *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity* Vol. 2, 1993, pp. 1–73.

Americans for Indian Opportunity, http://www.aio.org/projects/international_indigenous_network.

Altuna Gabilondo, Larraitz. 2008. *La Experiencia cooperativa de Mondragon*. Oñati: Lanki-Huhezi.

Americas Program, March 2004, <http://www.americaspolicy.org/citizen-action/voices/2004/0402coffee.html>, also reachable through Z-net: <http://www.zmag.org>.

Anderson, Sarah and John Cavanaugh, and David Ranney, *NAFTA's First Two Years: The Myths and Realities*. Washington, DC: The Institute for Policy Studies, 1996.

Bernstein, Paul, *Workplace Democratization: Its Internal Dynamics*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1980.

Blinder, Alan S., ed., *Paying for Productivity: A Look at the Evidence*. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1990.

Campante, Filipe R. and Davin Chor, "Why was the Arab World Poised for Revolution? Schooling, Economic Opportunities, and the Arab Spring," *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Vol. 26, No. 2, Spring 2012, pp. 167-187, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41495309>.

Cecchetti, Stephen G, and Enisse Kharroubi, "Why does financial sector growth crowd out real economic growth?," Bank for International Settlements, February 2015, <http://www.bis.org/publ/work490.htm>. Gretchen Morgenson, "Smothered by a Boom in Banking," *The New York Times*, February 28, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/03/01/business/economy/smothered-by-a-boom-in-banking.html?ref=todayspaper>.

"Chronology of Tibetan-Chinese Relations, 1979 to 2013," International Campaign for Tibet, 2015, <http://www.savetibet.org/policy-center/chronology-of-tibetan-chinese-relations-1979-to-2013/>.

Chung, Jae Wan, *The Political Economy of U.S. Trade: U.S. Trade Laws, Policy, and Social Cost*. Lanham, Lexington Books, 2006.

Clamp, Christina A. 1986. "Managing Cooperation at Mondragon." *Dissertation*. Boston: Boston College, Department of Sociology.

The Congressional Budget Office, <https://www.cbo.gov/>, accessed February 21, 2015.

Curry T., and L. Shibut, "The Cost of the Savings and Loan Crisis;" *FDIC Banking Review*, Vol. 13, No. 2, 2000.

De Chantel, Francesca, "The Role of Droughty and Climate Change in the Syrian Uprising Untangling the Triggers of the Revolution," *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 50. No 4, January 18, 2016.

"Environmental Developments," *Nonviolent Change*, Vol. XXX, No. 2, Winter 2015, www.nonviolentchangejournal.org).

"Equal Access Participatory Monitoring and Evaluation Toolkit," http://betterevaluation.org/sites/default/files/EA_PM%26E_toolkit_module_2_objectives%26indicators_for_publication.pdf, accessed June 28, 2015.

Fallows, James, *Looking at the Sun: The Rise of a New East Asian Economic and Political System*. New York: Vintage Books, 1995.

"Fuel Economy: Regulations and Standards," EPA: United States Environmental Protection Agency, <https://www3.epa.gov/fueleconomy/regulations.htm>.

Fukushima, Glen S., "Removing Japan's barriers to trade and investment," East Asia Forum, November 17, 2012, <http://www.eastasiaforum.org/2012/11/17/removing-japans-barriers-to-trade-and-investment/>.

Fulton, Deirdre, "Global Inequality Reaches Levels Not Seen in Nearly 200 Years: Growing wealth gap 'one of the most significant—and worrying—features of the development of the world economy' since early-19th century, OECD says," *Common Dreams*, October 02, 2014, <http://www.commondreams.org/news/2014/10/02/global-inequality-reaches-levels-not-seen-nearly-200-years>.

Galbraith, John Kenneth, *American Capitalism: The Concept of Countervailing Power* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1952.

_____, *The Anatomy of Power*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1983.

_____, *Economics and Public Purpose*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1973.

_____, *The Nature of Mass Poverty*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979.

_____. *The New Industrial State*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967.

Geng, Yong, Joseph Sarkis and Sergio Ulgiati, "Sustainability, Wellbeing, and the Circular Economy in China and World Wide," *Pushing the boundaries of scientific research: 120 years of addressing global issues*, a Sponsored Supplement to *Science* (Washington, DC: Science/The American Association for the Advancement of Science, 2016), pp. 73-76.

Gleick, Perer H. "Water, Drought, Climate Change, and Conflict in Syria," *Weather, Climate, and Society*, Vol. 6, No. 3, July 2014, <http://journals.ametsoc.org/doi/abs/10.1175/WCAS-D-13-00059.1>.

The Government Accountability Office: GAO Missions and Operations: GAO: Summary of Performance and Financial Information Fiscal Year 2014, GAO-15-2SP: Published: Feb 17, 2015. Publicly Released: Feb 18, 2015, <http://www.gao.gov/products/GAO-15-2SP>.

Grubsky, David B., Bruce Western and Christopher Wimer, eds., *The Great Recession* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2011).

Harris, LaDonna, Stephen M. Sachs and Barbara Morris, *Recreating the Circle: The Renewal of American Indian Self Determination*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2011).

Hartmann, Thom, *The Crash of 2016*. New York, Twelve, 2013.

Heiberg, Marianne. 1989. *The Making of the Basque Nation*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Higgins, Andrew, " Europe Facing More Pressure to Reconsider Cuts as a Cure," *The New York Times*, April 26, 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/04/27/world/europe/eu-is-pressed-to-reconsider-cuts-as-economic-cure.html>.

Hirschman, Albert O., *The Passions and the Interests* Princeton: *Political Arguments for Capitalism before Its Triumph* Princeton University Press, 2013.

_____, *Essays in Trespassing: Economics to Politics and Beyond*. Cambridge University Press, 1981.

"Hitler's rise to power," *Bitsize*, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/schools/gcsebitesize/history/mwh/germany/hitlerpowerrev1.shtml>, p. 1, accessed February 22, 2015.

Hussain, Muzammil M. and Philip N. Howard, "What Best Explains Successful Protest Cascades? ICTs and the Fuzzy Causes of the Arab Spring" *International Studies Review*, Vo. 15, No. 1, March 2013, <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/misr.12020/full>.

"Indian and Indigenous Developments: U.S. Developments: Economic Developments", *Indigenous Policy*, 14, no. 2, Fall 2003.

The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, <http://ipcc.ch>.

The International Cooperative Alliance. 2016. *Co-operative identity, values & principles*. January 5. <http://ica.coop/en/whats-co-op/co-operative-identity-values-principles>.

"International Developments," in *Indigenous Policy*. Vol. XXVII, No. 1 Summer 2015, <http://www.indigenouspolicy.org>.

Johnston, Louis D., "History lessons: Understanding the decline in manufacturing," *MinnPost*, February 2, 2012, <http://www.minnpost.com/macro-micro-minnesota/2012/02/history-lessons-understanding-decline-manufacturing#sourcernote>.

Judis, John b., "World Bunk: Japanese officials think Western austerity measures are the wrong medicine for Eastern Europe," *In Theses Times*, December 13, 1993, pp. 14-15.

Kain, Edward L., Theodore C. Wagenaar, and Carla B. Howary, "Models and Best Practices For Joint Sociology-Anthropology Departments," A project of the ASA's Academic and Professional Affairs Program, 2006, http://www.asanet.org/documents/teaching/pdfs/Sociology_and_Anthropology_Joint_Departments.pdf.

Kaynes, John Maynard. *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*. London: Macmillan, 1936 and 2007.

Klass, Garry M. *Just Plain Data Analysis: Finding, Presenting, and Interpreting Social Science Data* (Lanham, MD: Roman and Littlefield, 2008).

Nika Knight, "New Report Details Big Oil's \$500 Million Annual Climate Obstructionism," *Common Dreams*, April 7, 2016, <http://www.commondreams.org/news/2016/04/07/new-report-details-big-oils-500-million-annual-climate-obstructionism>.

Krugman, Paul, "Europe's Greek Test," *The New York Times*, January 30, 2015; and The European Debt Crisis, *The New York Times*, http://topics.nytimes.com/top/reference/timestopics/subjects/e/european_sovereign_debt_crisis/index.html?8qa, accessed February 22, 2015.

_____, "How Much Of The World Is In a Liquidity Trap?," *The New York Times*, March 17, 2010, http://krugman.blogs.nytimes.com/2010/03/17/how-much-of-the-world-is-in-a-liquidity-trap/?_r=0.

_____, *The Return of Depression Economics and the Crisis of 2008*. New York: W.W. Norton Company Limited, 2009.

Ladendorf, Tom, "Worker Co-ops? There's an App for That," *In These Times*, April 2016.

Lawler III, Edward E., Susan Albers Mohrman and Gerald E. Ledford, Jr., *Employee Involvement and Total Quality Management: Practices and Results in Fortune 1000 Companies*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1992.

Marín, Lucas, unpublished paper, 1988.

Martínez-Granado, Maite, Patxi Greño, and Mercedes. 2012. "The Basque Country, Spain: Self-Evaluation Report." *OECD Reviews of Higher Education in Regional*. Accessed July 24, 2015.

Measure for America a Project of the Social Science Research Council, <http://www.measureofamerica.org>, accessed February 19, 2015.

Mills, Charles W. and Tom Mills , "Racism and the Political Economy of Dominion," *New Left Project*, first published April 12, 2012, http://www.newleftproject.org/index.php/site/article_comments/racism_and_the_political_economy_of_domination.

Minder, Raphael, "Bailout Is Over for Portugal, but Side Effects Will Linger," *The New York Times*, May 5, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/05/06/business/international/bailout-is-over-for-portugal-but-side-effects-will-linger.html>.

Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians: <http://www.choctaw.org>.

Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, *Choctaw Industrial Park*. Philadelphia, MS: Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, 1982.

Mondragon Cooperative Corporation website <http://www.mondragon-corporation.com/eng/co-operative-experience/faqs/>.

Morgenson, Gretchen, "Smothered by a Boom in Banking," *The New York Times*, February 28, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/03/01/business/economy/smothered-by-a-boom-in-banking.html?ref=todayspaper>.

National Index of Violence and Harm (NIVAH), a project of the Manchester College Peace Studies Institute and the Bentley Alliance for Ethics and Social Responsibility, December 18, 2007, <http://www.manchester.edu/links/violenceindex/>.

Nuñez, Luis C., 1977. *Clases sociales en Euskadi*. San Sebastian : Ed. Txertoa.

O'Brien, Sharon *American Indian Tribal Governments*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989).

"On the government role in guiding business development in Asian economies: *Economic Development in East Asia*, The Saylor Foundation, 2013, <http://www.saylor.org/site/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/HIST103-10.2.2-AsianEconomicDevt-FINAL.pdf>.

Opportunity Nation, <http://opportunitynation.org/opportunity-index/>, accessed, February 20, 2015.

Ormaetxea, José María. 1993. *The Mondragon Cooperative Experience*. Mondragon: Mondragon Corporacion Cooperativa.

Peterson, Jr., John H., "Three Efforts at Development Among the Choctaws of Mississippi," in Walter L. Williams, Ed., *Southeastern Indians Since the Removal Er*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1979.

Philippon, Thomas and Ariell Reshef, "Wages and Human Capital in the U.S. Financial Industry, 1909-2006," National Bureau of Economic Research, Working Paper 14644, January 2009, <http://www.nber.org/papers/w14644>.

Pizzigati, Sam. 2015. "Too Much." *Institute for Policy Studies*. June 1. <http://toomuchonline.org/this-business-manufactures-inequality/>.

Porter, Eduardo, "A Call to Look Past Sustainable Development," *The New York Times*, April 14, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/04/15/business/an-environmentalist-call-to-look-past-sustainable-development.html?ref=todayspaper>.

Producer Cooperative Association, <http://producerscooperative.com>, accessed March 30, 2016.

"Producer Cooperatives," *Grassroots Economic Organizing*, <http://www.geo.coop/taxonomy/term/139>, accessed March 30, 2016.

Reich, Michel, *A Political Economy of Racism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981.

"Renewable Energy Standards," SEIA: Solar Industries Association, <http://www.seia.org/policy/renewable-energy-deployment/renewable-energy-standards>.

Report from the Commission to the European Council: Trade and Investment Barriers Report 2014, March 12, 2014, http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2014/march/tradoc_152272.pdf.

Rusmich, Ladislov and Stephen M. Sachs, *Lessons From the Failure of the Communist Economic System*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2003.

Sachs, Stephen M., "Circling the Circles: Indigenous Movements Towards An Alternative, Aropriate Globalizationn," *Indigenous Policy*, Vol. XV, No. 2, Summer 2004.

-----, "Renewing the Circle: Thoughts on Preserving Indigenous Traditional Knowledge," *Proceedings of the 2015 Western Social Science Association American Indian Studies Section*, in *Indigenous Policy*, Vol. XXVII, No. 2, Fall 2015.

-----, "We Need International Pressure On Climate Change," *Indigenous Policy*, Vol. XXV, No. 3, Winter 2014-15, <http://www.indigenouspolicy.org>.

San Jose State University Department of Economics, *The Economic History of the United States, applet-magic*, <http://www.sjsu.edu/faculty/watkins/useconhist.htm#DEPRESSIONS>, accessed February 23, 2015.

Santos-Granero, Fernando, Ed., *Images of Public Wealth or the Anatomy of Well-Being in Indigenous Amazonia* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2015);

"Savings and Loan Scandal," *In the 80s*, <http://www.inthe80s.com/sandl.shtml>, accessed February 22, 2015.

Screpanti, Ernesto and Stefano Zambagni, *An Outline of the History of Economic Thought*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Smil, V., *Environmental Degradation in China* (Armonk: Zed Press, 1984); and Mara Hvistendahl, "China's Three Gorges Dam: An Environmental Catastrophe? Even the Chinese government suspects the massive dam may cause significant environmental damage," *Scientific American*, March 25, 3008, <http://www.scientificamerican.com/article/chinas-three-gorges-dam-disaster/>.

Spagat, Elliot (Associated Press), "Power sites in Mexico under fire: Critics' suit claims plants at border that sell power to West coast avert U.S. controls," *Indianapolis Star*, June 15, 2003.

Stein, Barry, *Size, Efficiency, and Community Enterprise* (Madison: The Center for Community Economic Development, 1974)

Stiglitz, Joseph E., *Rewriting the Rules of the American Economy: An Agenda for Growth and Shared Prosperity* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2015).

Strohm, Chris, "Deaf Ears: No Thanks, World Bank says to critical study," *In These Times*, June 24, 2002.

Thomas, Jr., Landon, "Europe Fears Bailout of Spain Would Strain Its Resources," *The New York Times*, May 30, 2012, <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/05/31/business/global/if-spain-is-rescued-who-foots-the-bill.html>.

Thompson, Ginger, "Nafta to open Foodgates, engulfing Rural Mexico" *The New York Times, International*, December 19, 2002.

"Tibet profile: A chronology of key events," BBC News, November 13, 2014, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-pacific-17046222>.

Timeline of the Great Recession, http://www.hyperhistory.com/online_n2/connections_n2/great_depression.html, visited February 22, 2015.

"Types of cooperatives," Nebraska Cooperative Development Center, <http://ncdc.unl.edu/typescooperatives.shtml>, accessed March 39, 2016.

Ulgor Sociedad Cooperativa Industrial. 1975. "Estatutos Sociales." Mondragon: Ulgor, January 1.

Union Cab Coop: A Worker Cooperative, <http://unioncab.com>, accessed April 8, 2016.

United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) *Trade and Development Report 2003*.

United Nations Forum on Indigenous Issues, undesadspd.org/indigenouspeoples.aspx, and United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII), on the 8th and 9th meetings, April 24, 2015, <http://www.un.org/press/en/2015/hr5247.doc.htm>.

United States Government Accountability Office (GAO), Report to Congressional Requesters, *Poverty in America: Economic Research Shows Adverse Impacts on Health Status and Other Social Conditions as well as the Economic Growth Rate*, January 2007, <http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d07344.pdf>.

"What are Sociology and Anthropology?" Gustavus Adolphus College, <https://gustavus.edu/soc-anthro/sociologyandanthropology.php>, accessed May 26, 2015.

Williams, Ed., Walter L., *Southeastern Indians Since the Removal Er.* Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1979.

Wise, Timothy A. and Kevin P. Gallagher in *Foreign Policy in Focus*, October 24, 2002.

Wong, Edward, "Cost of Environmental Damage in China Growing Rapidly Amid Industrialization," *The New York Times*, March 29, 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/03/30/world/asia/cost-of-environmental-degradation-in-china-is-growing.html>.

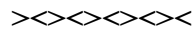
"World Developments," *Nonviolent Change*, Vol. XVIII, No. 2, Winter 2004.

Xu, Beina, "China's Environmental Crisis," Council on Foreign Relations, April 25, 2014, <http://www.cfr.org/china/chinas-environmental-crisis/p12608>;

Yellen, Janet L., "A Minsky Meltdown: Lessons for Central Bankers," Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco, April 16, 2009, <http://www.frbsf.org/our-district/press/presidents-speeches/yellen-speeches/2009/april/yellen-minsky-meltdown-central-bankers/>.

Grethen Morgenson, "Smothered by a Boom in Banking," *The New York Times*, February 28, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/03/01/business/economy/smothered-by-a-boom-in-banking.html?ref=todayspaper>.

Zingales, Luigi, *A Capitalism for the People: Recapturing the Lost Genius of American Prosperity* (New York: Basic Books, 2012).



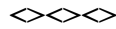
Ph.D. Dissertations from Universities Around the World on Topics Relating to Indians in the Americas, Compiled from *Dissertation Abstracts*

Jonathon Erlen, Ph.D., History of Medicine Librarian, Health Sciences Library System
University of Pittsburgh, erlen@pitt.edu

and

Jay Toth, M.A., Professor of Anthropology, SUNY Fredonia, jtoth@atlanticbb.net

IPJ hosts a regularly updated data base of American Indian related Ph.D. from 2006 – the present. The dissertation coverage includes all languages and is international in scope as far as *Dissertation Abstracts* covers. This includes most European universities, South African universities, and a few in the Far East. They do not cover all the universities in the world, but do a pretty good job covering first world universities. There is no coverage of Latin American universities' dissertations. The data base is updated in each Winter and Summer issue of *IPJ*, and sometimes between issues. Since ProQuest, the proviser of the lists of dissertations from which Jonathan and Jay find Indigenous dissertations, no longer goes by months/years there will be titles from various years added in the updates.



Useful Web Sites

Environmental Web Sites

Indigenous Environmental Network serves as an Indigenous voice on environmental issues, at: <http://www.ienearth.org/>.

UN NGO Climate Change Caucus, with numerous task forces, is at: <http://climatecaucus.net>.

On the Frontlines of Climate Change: A global forum for indigenous peoples, small islands and vulnerable communities can be subscribed to at: <http://www.climatefrontlines.org/lists/?p=subscribe>. See postings on the website at: <http://www.climatefrontlines.org/en-GB/node/148>.

350.org works around the world on climate change related issues, at: www.350.org.

Greenpeace engages on many environmental concerns, at: greenpeace.org/usa/ and greenpeace.org/.

Friends of the Earth is involved world wide in environmental advocacy, at: foei.org.

The **Union of Concerned Scientists (UCS)** works on a variety of environmental, as well as other, issues, at: www.ucsusa.org.

Environmental Action is active on numerous environmental issues, at: environmental-action.org.

Environment America works on environmental issues in the U.S. at: <https://environmentamerica.webaction.org>.

Food and Water Watch is active on a variety of issues relating to water and food, at: <https://www.foodandwaterwatch.org> and <https://secure.foodandwaterwatch.org>.

The Wilderness Society works on environmental issues, particularly concerning preserving "wild places." at: wilderness.org.

Ocean River Institute works on river and other water issues, at: oceanriver.org.

The National Wildlife Federation, at: nwf.org, and **The National Wildlife Federation Action Fund**, at: <https://online.nwf.org/site/SPageNavigator/ActionCenter>, are concerned with environmental issues involving wildlife in the U.S.

The Nuclear Information and Resource Service includes in its work nuclear environmental issues, at: nirs.org.

The National Parks Conservation Association (NPCA) includes in its concerns environmental issues relating to U.S. national parks, at: npca.org and <https://secure.npca.org/>

Earth Policy Institute, dedicated to building a sustainable future as well as providing a plan of how to get from here to there: www.earthpolicy.org.

Wiser Earth lists more than 10,700 environmental and environmental justice organizations at: <http://www.wiserearth.org/organization/>

Earthwatch, the world's largest environmental volunteer organization, founded in 1971, works globally to help the people of the planet volunteer realize a sustainable environment: <http://www.earthwatch.org/>.

Avaaz.org works internationally on environmental and peace and justice issues: <http://www.avaaz.org>.

The Environmental Defense Fund works on a variety of environmental issues and policy, including global warming induced climate change, primarily in the U.S.: <http://edf.org>.

Earthjustice focuses on environmental issues and action: <http://action.earthjustice.org>.

The Sierra Club works on environmental issues in the United States: <http://action.sierraclub.org>.

SaveOurEnvironemnt.org, a coalition of environmental organizations acting politically in the U.S.: http://ga3.org/campaign/0908_endangered_species/xuninw84p7m8mxxm.

The **National Resources Defense Council** works on a variety of environmental issues in the U.S.: [NRhttp://www.nrdconline.org/](http://www.nrdconline.org/)

Care 2 is concerned about a variety of issues, including the environment: <http://www.care2.com/>.

Rainmakers Oceania studies possibilities for restoring the natural environment and humanity's rightful place in it, at: <http://rainmakers-ozeania.com/0annexanchorc/about-rainmakers.html>.

Green Ships, in fall 2008, was asking Congress to act to speed the development of new energy efficient ships that can take thousands of trucks off Atlantic and Pacific Coast highways, moving freight up and down the costs with far less carbon emissions and more cheaply: <http://www.greenships.org>.

Carbon Fund Blog carries climate change news, links to green blogs, and a green resource list, at: <http://carbonfund.blogspot.com/2008/03/sky-is-falling.html>. Carbon Fund is certifying carbon free products at: <http://www.carbonfund.org/site/pages/businesses/category/CarbonFree>.

Grist carries environmental news and commentary: <http://www.grist.org/news/>,

Green Inc. is a new blog from *The New York Times* devoted to energy and the environment at: greeninc.blogs.nytimes.com.

Planting Peace is, "A Resource Center for news and activities that seek to build a powerful coalition to bring about cooperation and synergy between the peace movement, the climate crisis movement, and the organic community." Their web site includes extensive links to organizations, articles, videos and books that make the connections, at: <http://organicconsumers.org/plantingpeace/index.cfm>, Planting Peace is sponsored by the **Organic Consumers Association:** <http://organicconsumers.org/>.

The Global Climate Change Campaign: <http://www.globalclimatecampaign.org/>.

The **Audubon Society** reports on and works on issues focused on birds, at: audubon.org.

Peace & Security Funding Index: An Analysis of Global Foundation Grantmaking is available at: <http://peaceandsecurityindex.org>.

The center for defense information now carries **regular reports** on **Global Warming & International Security** at: <http://www.cdi.org>.

American Indian and International Indigenous Web Sites

CELANEN: A Journal of Indigenous Governance is produced by the Indigenous Governance Program at the University of Victoria, at: <http://web.uvic.ca/igov/research/journal/index.htm>. CELANEN (pronounced CHEL-LANG-GEN) is a Saanich word for "our birthright, our ancestry, sovereignty" and sets the tone for this annual publication containing articles, poetry, and commentary.

Native Research Network is now at: www.nativeresearchnetwork.org. Its vision statement is: "A leadership community of American Indian, Alaska Native, Kanaka Maoli, and Canadian Aboriginal persons promoting integrity and excellence in research". Its mission is "To provide a pro-active network of American Indian, Alaska Native, Kanaka Maoli, and Canadian Aboriginal persons to promote and advocate for high quality research that is collaborative, supportive and builds capacity, and to promote an environment for research that operates on the principles of integrity, respect, trust, ethics, cooperation and open communication in multidisciplinary fields". The Native Research Network (NRN) provides networking and mentoring opportunities, a forum to share research expertise, sponsorship of research events, assistance to communities and tribes, and enhanced research communication. The NRN places a special emphasis on ensuring that research with Indigenous people is conducted in a culturally sensitive and respectful manner. Its Member List serve: NRN@lists.apa.org.

The American Journal of Indigenous Studies is a quarterly journal by the American Scholarly Research Association (ASRA), at: www.ASRAresearch.or.

The Enduring Legacies Native Cases Initiative began in 2006 as a partnership between The Evergreen State College, Northwest Indian College, Salish Kootenai College, and Grays Harbor College. Our goal is to develop and widely disseminate culturally relevant curriculum and teaching resources in the form of case studies on key issues in Indian Country: <http://nativecases.evergreen.edu/about.html>.

The National Indian Housing Council offers a number of reports at: <http://www.naihc.indian.com/>.

The American Indian Studies Consortium is at: <http://www.cic.uiuc.edu/programs/AmericanIndianStudiesConsortium/>.

Some news sources that have been useful in putting the issues of Indigenous Policy together are:
For reports of U.S. government legislation, agency action, and court decisions: **Hobbs, Straus, Dean and Walker, LLP**, 2120 L Street NW, Suite 700, Washington, DC 20037, <http://www.hobbsstraus.com>.

Indian Country Today: <http://www.indiancountry.com/index.cfm?key=15>.

News from Indian Country: <http://www.indiancountrynews.com/>.

The Navajo Times: <http://www.navajotimes.com/>.

IndianZ.com: <http://www.indianz.com>.

Pechanga Net: <http://www.pechanga.net/NativeNews.html>

Survival International: <http://www.survival-international.org/>.

Cultural Survival: <http://209.200.101.189/publications/win/>, or <http://www.cs.org/>.

Censored (in Indian Country): <http://bsnorrell.blogspot.com/>.

ArizonaNativeNet is a virtual university outreach and distance learning telecommunications center devoted to the higher educational needs of Native Nations in Arizona, the United States and the world through the utilization of the worldwide web and the knowledge-based and technical resources and expertise of the University of Arizona, providing resources for Native Nations nation-building, at: www.arizonanativenet.com

The Forum for 'friends of Peoples close to Nature' is a movement of groups and individuals, concerned with the survival of Tribal peoples and their culture, in particular hunter-gatherers: <http://ipwp.org/how.html>.

Tebtebba (Indigenous Peoples' International Centre for Policy Research and Education), with lists of projects and publications, and reports of numerous Indigenous meetings: <http://www.tebtebba.org/>.

Andre Cramblit (andreakar@ncidc.org) has begun a new Native news blog continuing his former Native list serve to provide information pertinent to the American Indian community. The blog contains news of interest to Native Americans, Hawaiian Natives and Alaskan Natives. It is a briefing of items that he comes across that are of broad interest to American Indians. News and action requests are posted as are the occasional humorous entry. The newsletter is designed to inform you, make you think and keep a pipeline of information that is outside the mainstream media. "I try and post to it as often as my schedule permits I scan a wide range of sources on the net to get a different perspective on Native issues and try not to post stuff that is already posted on multiple sources such as websites or other lists". **To subscribe to go to:** <http://andreakaruk.posterous.com/>.

Sacred Places Convention For Indigenous Peoples provides resources for protecting sacred places world wide. Including, news, journals, books and publishing online Weekly News and providing an E-mail list serve, as well as holding conferences. For information go to: <http://www.indigenouspeoplesissues.com>.

Mark Trahant Blog, Trahant Reports, is at: http://www.marktrahant.org/marktrahant.org/Mark_Trahant.html

UANativeNet, formerly Arizona NativeNet, is a resource of topics relevant to tribal nations and Indigenous Peoples, particularly on matters of law and governance.

The Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development offers a number of reports and its “**Honoring Indian Nations**” at: http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/hpaied/res_main.htm.

The Seventh generation Fund online Media Center: www.7genfund.org

Native Earthworks Preservation, an organization committed to preserving American Indian sacred sites, is at: <http://nativeearthworkspreservation.org/>.

Indianz.Com has posted Version 2.0 of the Federal Recognition Database, an online version of the Acknowledgment Decision Compilation (ADC), a record of documents that the Bureau of Indian Affairs has on file for dozens of groups that have made it through the federal recognition process. The ADC contains over 750 MB of documents -- up from over 600MB in version 1.2 -- that were scanned in and cataloged by the agency's Office of Federal Acknowledgment. The new version includes has additional documents and is easier to use. It is available at: <http://www.indianz.com/adc20/adc20.html>.

Tribal Link has an online blog at: <http://triballinknewsonline.blogspot.com>.

The National Indian Education Association: <http://www.niea.org/>.

Climate Frontlines is a **global forum for indigenous peoples, small islands and vulnerable communities, running discussions, conferences and field projects:** <http://www.climatefrontlines.org/>.

Cry of the Native Refugee web site, <http://cryofthenativererefugee.com>, is dedicated to “The True Native American History.”

First Peoples World Wide, focuses "on funding local development projects in Indigenous communities all over the world while creating bridges between our communities and corporations, governments, academics, NGOs and investors in their regions. We facilitate the use of traditional Indigenous knowledge in solving today’s challenges, including climate change, food security, medicine, governance and sustainable development:" <http://firstpeoples.org>

The **RaceProject has a Facebook Page** that is a forum for the dissemination and discussion of contemporary Race and Politics issues. It includes a continuing archive of news stories, editorial opinion, audio, video and pointed exchanges between academics, graduate students and members

of the lay-public. Those interested can visit and sign up to the page at: <http://www.facebook.com/RaceProject>.

Rainmakers Oceania studies possibilities for restoring the natural environment and humanity's rightful place in it, at: <http://rainmakers-ozeania.com/0annexanchorc/about-rainmakers.html>.

Oxfam America's interactive website: <http://adapt.oxfamamerica.org> shows how social vulnerability and climate variability impact each county in the U.S. Southwest region. The methodology exposes how social vulnerability, not science, determines the human risk to climate change.

The International Institute for Indigenous Resource Management is at: <http://tinyurl.com/yaykznz>.

The **Newberry Library** received a grant in August, 2007, from the National Endowment for the Humanities to fund "**Indians of the Midwest and Contemporary Issues.**" The **McNickle Center will construct this multimedia website designed to marry the Library's rich collections on Native American history with state-of-the art interactive web capabilities to reveal the cultural and historical roots of controversial issues involving Native Americans today.** These include conflicts over gaming and casinos, fishing and hunting rights, the disposition of Indian artifacts and archeological sites, and the use of Indian images in the media. In addition to historical collections, the site will also feature interviews with contemporary Native Americans, interactive maps, links to tribal and other websites, and social networking. For more information contact Céline Swicegood, swicegoodc@newberry.org.

The site www.pressdisplay.com has scanned and searchable versions of thousands of newspapers daily from around the world. These are not truncated "online versions". You can view the actual pages of the paper published for that day. There are also 100's of US papers included daily. The service also allows you to set search terms or search particular papers daily. The service will also translate papers into English.

Native Voice Network (NVN: www.NativeVoiceNetwork.org), is a national alliance of Organizations interested in collaborative advocacy on issues impacting Native people locally and nationally.

The Northern California Indian Development Council has a web-based archive of traditional images and sounds at: <http://www.ncidc.org/>.

Resource sites in the Indian Child Welfare Act (ICWA): National Indian Child Welfare Association: <http://www.nicwa.org>, offers include publications, a library, information packets, policy information and research. NICWA's Publication Catalog is at: [Http://www.nicwa.org/resources/catalog/index.asp](http://www.nicwa.org/resources/catalog/index.asp)' Information Packets are at: <http://www.nicwa.org/resources/infopackets/index.asp>. Online ICWA Courses are at: <http://www.nicwa.org/services/icwa/index.asp>. *The Indian Child Welfare Act: An Examination of State Compliance*, from the Casey Foundation is at:

<http://www.casey.org/Resources/Publications/NICWAComplianceInArizona.htm>. Tribal Court Clearinghouse ICWA Pages, with a brief review of ICWA and links to many valuable resources including Federal agencies and Native organizations. <http://www.tribal-institute.org/lists/icwa.htm>. Other resource sources are: the Indian Law Resource Center: www.indianlaw.org, the National Indian Justice Center: www.nijc.indian.com. Other sites can be found through internet search engines such as Google. Some research web sites for ICWA include: http://www.calindian.org/legalcenter_icwa.htm, <http://www.narf.org/nill/resources/indianchildwelfare.htm>, <http://www.tribal-institute.org/lists/icwa.htm>, <http://www.nicwa.org/library/library.htm>, <http://www.nationalcasa.org/JudgesPage/Newsletter-4-04.htm>, http://www.dlncoalition.org/dln_issues/2003_icwaresolution.htm, <http://www.helpstartshere.org/Default.aspx?PageID=401>, http://cbexpress.acf.hhs.gov/articles.cfm?section_id=2&issue_id=2001-0, <http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/z?i104:I04296:i104HUGHES.html>, <http://nccrest.edreform.net/resource/13704>, <http://www.naicja.org>, <http://www.tribal-institute.org/>.

Tribal College Journal (TCJ) provides to news related to American Indian higher education: tribalcollegejournal.org.

American Indian Graduate Center: <http://www.aigcs.org>.

The Minneapolis American Indian Center's Native Path To Wellness Project of the Golden Eagle Program has developed a publication, *Intergenerational Activities from a Native American Perspective* that has been accepted by Penn State for their Intergenerational Web site: <http://intergenerational.cas.psu.edu/Global.html>.

The *Indigenous Nations and Peoples Law, Legal Scholarship Journal* has recently been created on line by the Social Science Research Network, with sponsorship by the Center for Indigenous Law, Governance & Citizenship at Syracuse University College of Law. Subscription to the journal is free, by clicking on: <http://hq.ssrn.com/>.

The **National Council Of Urban Indian Health** is at: <http://www.ncuih.org/>.

A web site dedicated to tribal finance, www.tribalfinance.org.

Lessons In Tribal Sovereignty, at: <http://sorrel.humboldt.edu/~go1/kellogg/intro.html>, features *Welcome to American Indian Issues: An Introductory and Curricular Guide for Educators*. The contents were made possible by the American Indian Civics Project (AICP), a project initially funded by the W.K. Kellogg Foundation's Native American Higher Education Initiative, The primary goal of the AICP is to provide educators with the tools to educate secondary students - Indian and non-Native alike - about the historical and contemporary political, economic, and social characteristics of sovereign tribal nations throughout the United States.

The Columbia River Inter-Tribal Fish Commission (CRITFC) has a blog as part of its Celilo Legacy project, serving as a clearinghouse for public discourse, information, events, activities, and

memorials. The blog is accessible by going to www.critfc.org and clicking on the "Celilo Legacy blog" image, or by simply entering: www.critfc.org/celilo.

The **Coeur d'Alene Tribe** of Idaho has **Rezkast, a Web site of Native affairs and culture** at: www.rezkast.com.

A listing of the different Alaska Native groups' values and other traditional information is on the **Alaska Native Knowledge website** at: www.ankn.uaf.edu.

Red Nation Web Television: www.rednation.com.

A list of Indigenous Language Conferences is kept at the **Teaching Indigenous Languages** web site at Northern Arizona University: <http://www2.nau.edu/jar/Conf.html>.

UNESCO Interactive Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger is at <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?pg=00206>. For a detailed cautionary note about the usefulness of the UNESCO Atlas, see Peter K. Austin's comments. He is the Marit Rausing chair in field linguistics and director of linguistics at SOAS in the UK: http://blogs.usyd.edu.au/elac/2009/02/unescos_atlas_of_the_worlds_la_1.ht

The **Council of Elders, the governing authority of the Government Katalla-Chilkat Tlingit** (provisional government): Kaliakh Nation (Region XVII) has initiated a **web site in order to expose crimes against humanity committed upon the original inhabitants of Alaska**, at: <http://www.katalla-chilkat-tingit.com/>.

An interactive website, www.cherokee.org/allotment, **focuses on the Allotment Era in Cherokee History during the period from 1887 to 1934**, when Congress divided American Indian reservation lands into privately owned parcels that could be (and widely were) sold to non Indians, threatening tribal existence.

The **Blue Lake Rancheria** of California launched a web site, Fall 2007, featuring the nation's history, philosophy, economic enterprise, community involvement, and other topics, with many links. One purpose of the site is to make tribal operations transparent. It is at: www.bluelakerancheria-nsn.gov.

UN Secretariat of the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues: www.un.org/indigenous, The newsletter **Message Stick** highlighting the activities of the **United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII)** and its Secretariat 05 is available at: http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/news/quarterlynewsle_home1.htm.

Indigenous Rights Quarterly can be accessed at: <http://www.aitpn.org/irq.htm>.

NGO Society for Threatened Peoples International, in consultative status to the United Nations ECOSOC, and in participatory status with the Council of Europe, Indigenous Peoples Department, USA: <http://www.gfbv.de>.

The **Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO)**: <http://www.unpo.org/>.

The **Native Studies Research Network**, UK, University of East Anglia, Norwich is at:
<http://www.nsrn-uk.org/>.

The **World Indigenous Higher Education Consortium (WINHEC)** and its Journal are online at:
<http://www.win-hec.org/>. (See the Ongoing Activities Section for more on WINHEC). The WINHEC site includes links to other Indigenous organizations and institutions.

A link on Latin American Indigenous Peoples:

<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/COUNTRIES/LACEXT/0,,contentMDK:20505834~menuPK:258559~pagePK:146736~piPK:226340~theSitePK:258554,00.html>

The **Asian Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Network** produces occasional papers and reports at:
<http://www.aitpn.org/Issues/II-08-07.htm>.

>>>-----((((+))))-----<<<

-+--+--+<:~::~>◇◇◇◇◇(+)<◇◇◇◇◇<:~::~>+--+--+