



# Native Americans in the 21st Century: Nation Building I

HKS DEV-501, GSE EDU A101, and HSPH ID247

## Fall 2025

**Faculty:** Prof. Randall Akee he/him (rakee@hks.harvard.edu)  
 Prof. Miriam Jorgensen (mjorgen@hks.harvard.edu)

**Days & Room:** Wednesdays, 4:30 pm – 7:30 pm, Starr Auditorium

**Course Assistant:** Velika Yasay, velikayasay@hks.harvard.edu

**Faculty Assistant:** Julia McNicholas, jmcnicholas@hks.harvard.edu

**Canvas Course Website:** [DEV 501: Native Americans in the 21st Century: Nation Building I](#)

### Office Hours Schedule

Faculty & Teaching Fellows / Course Assistants	Day / Time (ET)	Location (Office / Zoom)
Prof. Randall Akee	Wednesdays 2 pm-3 pm	124 Mt. Auburn, Ash 264
Prof. Miriam Jorgensen	Tuesdays 2 pm-3 pm	124 Mt. Auburn

### Communication Norms

Office hours are from 2-3 pm on Wednesdays for Dr. Akee and on Tuesdays from 2-3 pm for Dr. Jorgensen. These office hours can be used to clarify questions or concerns from previous classes and lectures. It can also be used to discuss projects or to continue discussion on topics from earlier classes as well. Office Hours will be held on the second floor of the 124 Mt. Auburn Building in the Ash Center offices.

Students may also reach us by email if they have a question they think could be answered by email. We will respond to your email within two business days. However, weekend messages will

be returned on Tuesday. Please email us directly via HKS email and not through Canvas. We will use your HKS email accounts.

## Course Description / Overview

The course will provide a broad overview of the current economic and political standing of Indigenous Tribal Nations (primarily in the US). The course will explore the legal, political and social institutions that have shaped and guided the formation and development of Indigenous Nations in the US. Special focus will emphasize current and emerging trends in Tribal Nations. The course starts out with an overview of the current conditions for Indigenous Peoples in the US in terms of demographic and economic outcomes. We then turn to the historical legal and political conditions that laid the foundations for the current systems. We explore the concepts of sovereignty and settler colonialism. We transition to a discussion of self-governance and the creation of tribal constitutions and changes over time. In the next section of the course, we explore how property rights affect investment and tribal development. We also explore how self-governance has expanded the capabilities and opportunities for tribal nations in the modern era. The third section of the course focuses on various aspects of economic development including natural resources, tribally-owned business enterprises and the impact that increased revenue flows has had on tribal nations. We then turn to education and examine the role that innovation has played in increasing and inspiring new forms of educational activities and language-revitalization. This section also invites discussion on emerging topics and areas that are being developed and expanded in Indigenous communities worldwide. We examine health outcomes and health care systems in the following section of the course. The purpose is to tie this area to the foundations of nation-building. We discuss existing research and areas for additional analysis. The last section of the course examines some of the diverse innovations already occurring in Tribal Nations via the Honoring Nations case studies. The final class will be spent discussing emerging issues and challenges for Indigenous Peoples including the prevalence of artificial intelligence, trademark infringement, Indigenous data sovereignty and climate change.

The course will assume little to no prior knowledge about these topics in the Indigenous Peoples' context. We will provide summaries for most of these areas and topics and we will include additional materials and readings which will be optional and will provide additional depth on certain topics. We intend to bring in several guest speakers throughout the course who can speak at length about their own direct experiences in Indigenous and Tribal Nation Building.

We will use the latest research and findings in our lectures and class discussions. Students will be exposed to a wide range of disciplines and methodologies (some of which may be completely novel to them). We will not, however, expect students to have mastery of the methods but we will expect an understanding of the basic research design and the research outcomes or findings. We will spend a significant amount of time discussing the benefits and downsides to existing research and ways to improve it. Our intention is to motivate interest in research in this area.

## **Course Learning Goals / Objectives**

To introduce students to the concept of tribal governments as governing entities that are part of the governing in North America; to clarify the socioeconomic status of both US-based tribal citizens and AIANNH populations generally; to show evidence of the ways that "Indigenous nation building" (the process of strengthening an Indigenous nation's foundational capacity for self-governance and self-determination) is the basis of tribes' contemporary success; and to introduce students to a variety of Indigenous leaders, communities, and governance innovations that deepen their knowledge of these points.

Understand the historical origins of the political and legal institutions that have set the foundations of Indigenous Nations in the US. Students should be able to explain the main determinants of current conditions in Indigenous and Tribal Nations today; this would include the origin of political and legal status of Indigenous Peoples in the US. Additionally, this also includes explaining the origin and the functioning of key tribal, federal and local institutions and agencies.

Critically examine and discuss research focused on Indigenous Peoples' wellbeing, political development and economic conditions. In particular, students will be exposed to different methods, data and research on these topics; students should be comfortable identifying the strengths and weaknesses of those research approaches, assumptions and conclusions.

Explain on-going obstacles and concerns for Indigenous Peoples in the US (and perhaps elsewhere) that have adversely affected economic, political or social development. Students should be able to explain the origin of these issues and discuss what methods have been undertaken to remedy or improve these situations.

## **Course Organization and Pedagogical Approach**

### **Course Organization & Workload Expectations**

Each class will generally be comprised of three sections (approximately one hour each). In general, the first hour will provide some overview of the topic and existing literature and current conditions. The second hour will often contain a group project or discussion on a related topic. In some classes, we will invite a guest speaker(s) either in person or via Zoom. These speakers will provide some relevant context and experiences for the topic being discussed. The third hour will often serve as a group discussion, continuation of lectures or the presentation of group or individual in-class research.

We expect the class reading to have been completed prior to each course for the given day. This helps in the discussion for that particular day. Individuals who are having difficulties accessing the reading materials should get in touch with the course Teaching Fellow as soon as possible. Additionally, if there are questions on the reading and the findings, methods or implications this can be discussed with the professors or the Teaching Fellow.

## Instructional Methods

This course provides students with an opportunity to develop their own knowledge of Indigenous Peoples' social, political and economic conditions in the US. In order to achieve this goal, this course will employ multiple instructional methods:

- **Required reading and exercises:** the readings selected will apply to a specific topic or area. We will discuss these readings, their results and implications in the class. Other readings will be simply foundational and provide some context for more in-depth class discussions. Finally, we will include additional optional materials for interested individuals.
- **Assigned Videos:** we will also assign short videos that we expect students to review prior to attending the next class. These videos will provide additional information or context for our course.
- **Class discussions:** class sessions will allow students to be active participants in their learning experience and growth and will give students the tools to articulate their own (and others') research into coherent arguments. To hear from all students in the room, the professor may "soft call" on students.
- **Interaction with Guest Speakers:** we will also invite, where possible, guest speakers with relevant experience or insight on specific class topics. Students will be able to listen directly to experienced individuals discussing their history and perspectives on the course topics. We also expect students will be able to pose their own questions to speakers or with the class and faculty members in later class discussion.
- **Frequent writing:** there will be written assignments and a final exam that requires students to provide well-considered theories and applications.

## Course Materials

There are two required texts for the course and they are available at the Harvard Coop Bookstore:

Henson, Eric and Jonathan B. Taylor , Catherine E. A. Curtis , Stephen Cornell, Kenneth W. Grant, Miriam R. Jorgensen, Joseph P. Kalt, Andrew J. Lee. *The State of the Native Nations: Conditions under U.S. Policies of Self-Determination*. Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development. 2007.

Wilkins, David E. and Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiik Stark (2017). *American Indian Politics and the American Political System*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

There will be additional readings that will be uploaded to the course website on Canvas.

## Grading and Assignments

### Grading

Grading will be based on four assignments which are worth 15% of the total grade each, for a total of 60% of the overall grade. There will be 10% allocated for class participation and discussion. The final take home exam will be worth 30% of the total grade.

Category	% of course letter grade
Four (4) Assignments	15% for each = 60% Total
Class Participation	10% Total
Final Take Home Exam	30% Total

## Assignments & Exams

There are four assignments that will be spread out throughout the course. These assignments will focus on specific topics and examples for a given class or series of classes. Students will be expected to work on these assignments on their own or with group members when appropriate. These assignments will require the students to apply concepts and theories to existing or novel problems in Tribal governance. Students will not need to use advanced statistical methods or regression analysis in completing these assignments. There will be one final take-home exam that will be due on the last day of class. We will provide additional information about the format of the final exam and the topics that will be covered.

## Class Participation

In order to critically examine and discuss research focused on Indigenous Peoples' wellbeing, political development and economic conditions, students will be required to participate in class discussions. The in-class discussion efforts will help to clarify students' own thinking and articulation of their own points of view and insights. This will also serve to help them, and others in the course, understand key concepts and issues facing Indigenous Peoples in the US. Class participation will be 10 % of the total grade.

Therefore, we expect there to be meaningful, considerate class participation.

- We expect there to be respect, curiosity, and trust in the classroom.
- Please consider sharing your pronouns and proper pronunciation of your name. Please feel free to remind us of these things if they are forgotten.
- All students are expected to participate in class discussions and asked to contribute in ways that clarify their thoughts, engage others' insights, and propel the conversation forward, observing Community norms.
- Finishing all of the readings in advance of the relevant class is important as we will be looking for you to add your own interpretation and/or insight in the class discussion.
- The CA will take attendance and track contributions in class through Teachly. This serves to document and credit students' substantive contributions and listening ability, as well as to provide us with information about inclusivity and equity in class discussion spaces.
- If you have concerns or reservations about your willingness or ability to contribute in class, please arrange to meet with one of us during office hours to discuss strategies that advance your learning and growth.

## Course Policies

### Attendance & Classroom Conduct

This course will cover a wide breadth and depth of technical topics over a short period; hence every class represents a unique opportunity to further develop the skills necessary for a particular policy challenge. Therefore, **attendance is expected for every scheduled class meeting.** Students are expected to participate in class actively, as class participation is essential to your own learning and the learning of your classmates.

### Engagement in class

Students should give their opinion on the topic/case being discussed using frameworks and theories from social sciences, especially economics, and backing their opinions with data. Students are encouraged to think independently, permitting themselves to disagree with classmates or the faculty. Additionally, students should engage respectfully with all guest speakers and other contributors to the course.

### Respect for different opinions

Students must commit to a respectful and collaborative learning environment. There is much to learn from your peers and the teaching team, so even though discussions are expected to be intense, and disagreement is encouraged, expressing a different opinion and contradicting others should be done very respectfully, limiting the arguments to the specific discussion, not personal characteristics. Offensive language or attitudes would be penalized.

### Listening to other points of view

Students are encouraged to actively listen to the arguments presented by the rest of the class and evaluate the merits of the arguments in terms of the theoretical and empirical merits. In cases where a student changes their mind by listening to others, it is encouraged to express it. This means “stepping up” to participate actively and “stepping back” to contemplate and listen attentively.

## **Non-Attribution Rule**

All HKS events are, unless otherwise explicitly stated, not for attribution. This means you can share in a general way what you learned, but not who said what, without expressed permission. We do this to maintain a culture of mutual respect and trust within our community, and to ensure that we can learn from candid discussion about a wide range of perspectives and experiences.

- In this classroom, we follow the non-attribution rule+. You can share in a general way what you learned, but not who was here or who said what, without expressed permission.

The non-attribution rule does not supersede the university's Title IX, Discrimination, and Bullying Policies. If you have a concern about a potential policy violation, please share your concern with the appropriate official at the Kennedy School.

## **Use of Personal Technology in the Classroom Policy**

Evidence suggests laptops can be disruptive in lecture and that students learn less when they use computers or tablets during lectures. See [this article](#). We strongly urge you not to use your laptop or tablet during class and instead to take notes using a paper and pencil/pen. However, there will be some instances where we will ask you to bring your laptop to class to facilitate group projects and other discussions points. If you have a disability and require the use of a laptop, please see the faculty member to discuss this further.

## **Academic Integrity**

Students are allowed to work together unless stated otherwise on a particular assignment. In general, collaboration is encouraged, however, there is an expectation that certain assignments and presentations will be presented or completed by the student themselves. We will make this explicitly clear for assignments. We expect you to turn in assignments or presentations that represent your own work (or work that you have collaborated on with others whom you have properly identified). All of your individual work that is drawn from others must be cited appropriately; please see the [Student Handbook](#) specifically, the section on Academic Code. If you have any additional questions, please see the faculty members or the course assistant.

## **Generative Artificial Intelligence AI**

Generative Artificial Intelligence (AI) will likely influence the way you work in your future careers. We encourage you to spend some time at HKS learning to use this powerful new tool to work more productively and learn more effectively. Note that these are the Kennedy School Regulations pertaining to Generative AI, for further information please see the [Student Handbook](#).

For your academic work at HKS, Generative AI can help you learn but can also hinder your development. You could use this technology to complete class assignments while doing little work yourself, but doing so would rob you of the learning experiences you came to HKS for. Working through the course assignments will help you develop your thinking and skills, a key goal of an HKS education. At its best, generative AI can be like an instructor with unlimited time to work with you one-on-one. This virtual instructor should be used to help you learn rather than to do the work for you.

The guidelines below are designed to help you use generative AI to maximize your HKS experience.

1. It is generally acceptable to use generative AI to find information and solidify your knowledge of the course content. For instance, it is acceptable to use AI-powered web search and to have “conversations” with tools like ChatGPT to help you explore ideas, refine your thinking, identify examples, and better understand the course material. However, unless otherwise specified, it violates the HKS Academic Code to incorporate into your coursework text produced predominantly by generative AI — similar to copying from a book or article. For example, it would be inappropriate to rewrite an AI-generated draft.
2. Generative AI can produce false or misleading information. You are ultimately responsible for the accuracy of any work you submit.

Given the range of learning goals at HKS, individual instructors may create course-specific policies that differ from these general guidelines. If you need clarification on whether a specific use of generative AI is permitted for an assignment or course, you should discuss it with your instructor before using it.

### **Inclusive Citation**

Students are expected to seek out a range of academic (peer-reviewed) and non-academic sources (reports, analysis, original sources, and op-eds) over the course of the semester.

### **Accessibility & Accommodations for Student Learning**

Harvard University values inclusive excellence and providing equal educational opportunities for all students. Our goal is to remove barriers for disabled students related to inaccessible elements of instruction or design in this course. If reasonable accommodations are necessary to provide access, please contact the local disability coordinator, Melissa Wojciechowski St. John ([melissa\\_wojciechowski@hks.harvard.edu](mailto:melissa_wojciechowski@hks.harvard.edu)). She is the [Senior Director of Student Services](#) in the HKS Office of Student Services. Accommodations do not alter fundamental requirements of the course and are not retroactive. Students should request accommodations as early as possible, since they may take time to implement. Students should notify Melissa at any time during the semester if adjustments to their communicated accommodation plan are needed.

### **Student Support Services**

Any students experiencing difficulties around an academic, personal, or mental health issue are encouraged to connect with [Jimmy Kane, Senior Associate Director of Student Support Services](#). Jimmy’s role is to support students and connect them to resources/individuals so they can continue being successful. He will also provide outreach and support to students when someone in the HKS community has expressed a concern for them.

If students are experiencing any distress and would like to connect with a counselor over the phone, in the evenings, late at night or on the weekends, students are strongly urged to call 617-495-2042 to speak with a [CAMHS Cares Counselor](#).

## Respect for Diversity and Commitment to Inclusion

### Course Diversity Statement

Harvard Kennedy School is committed to advancing the public interest by training enlightened leaders and solving public problems through world-class scholarship and active engagement with practitioners and decision makers. This commitment, we believe, includes teaching our students to lead effectively across lines of difference.

Our faculty, students, and staff are exposed to and learn to understand a broad array of ideas, insights, and cultures. Gaining this exposure involves attracting outstanding people from diverse backgrounds and traditions. The Kennedy School does not discriminate against any person on the basis of race, color, creed, national or ethnic origin, age, sex, gender identity, sexual orientation, marital or parental status, disability, source of income, or status as a veteran in admission to, access to, treatment in, or employment in its programs and activities.

In our course, we will pursue the expansion and maintenance of an atmosphere that welcomes new ideas—even unpopular and controversial ones—and encourages an effective and active exchange of views in an environment of mutual respect. Different aspects of the course itself may deal directly with issues of diversity and we encourage students and faculty to talk openly and effectively about difficult and highly charged issues.

### Personal Pronoun Usage

We will gladly honor any request to address you by an alternate name and/or gender pronoun. Please advise the teaching team of your preferences as soon as possible so that we can make appropriate changes to our records. If your name and/or gender pronoun changes during the semester, we are also happy to accommodate this.

### Land Acknowledgement

Harvard University is located on the traditional and ancestral land of the Massachusett, the original inhabitants of what is now known as Boston and Cambridge. We pay respect to the people of the Massachusetts Tribe, past and present, and honor the land itself, which remains sacred to the Massachusett People.

### Content Advisory

The topics covered in this course may, at times, be emotionally and culturally challenging. We will do our best to engage these topics with respect and consideration for phenomena and events that may have had a large effect on various peoples and populations in the past and into the current period. Our intention is to create a safe space for learning and discussion. If you have any concerns, please feel free to reach out to the faculty members in advance or if something arises during the semester.

# Schedule of Class Meetings, Readings, and Assignments

## Part I: Introduction to Native Nation Building

### Class 1 / September 10 – Introduction to Native Nation Building

#### First hour – Intro

- Introduction to Indigenous Peoples/people – basic definitions of Indigenous Peoples in the US and a few other countries, including definitions and concepts used throughout the course (tribe, Native nation, Indigenous People/s)
- “State of the Native nations” – political and historical standing of tribes, mention in US constitution, diagrams of multiple governing authorities operating within the US overall, plus basic descriptive statistics for AIAN on tribal lands and those off tribal lands, introduce ideas of citizenship versus self-identification
- Contend: the last 50 years of US history have been marked by a transformation of the Indigenous experience made possible by self-determination through self-governance – we will be studying an approach we term Native nation building. Brief presentation of nation building model.

#### Second hour – Applied example

- Speaker: Guest Speaker to discuss the story of the nation’s transformation from poverty and loss to health and impact.
- Q&A

#### Third hour – the broader context & closing

- Why learning about Indigenous governance and economics matters:
  - Tribal governments as key players in the overall American context
  - The value of cooperation and collaboration
  - Public policy research and interesting outcomes (e.g., UBI and recent NYT article on child accounts, <https://www.nytimes.com/2025/07/28/us/politics/cash-payments-poor-families-child-development.html>)
  - Complement to and criticism of important 21<sup>st</sup> century economic development work (Pritchett, AJR)
  - Warning: Slots and sloths
- End class with overview of the course and requirements

#### Readings

##### Required

Akee, Randall and Jonathan Taylor. 2014. *Social & Economic Change on American Indian Reservations: A Databook of the US Censuses and the American Community Survey 1990 – 2010*. Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development. <https://nnigovernance.arizona.edu/social-and-economic-change-american-indian-reservations-databook-us-censuses-and-american-community>

Cornell, Stephen and Joseph P. Kalt. 2007. “Chapter 1: Two Approaches to the Development of Native Nations: One Works, the Other Doesn’t.” In Miriam Jorgensen (ed.), *Rebuilding Native Nations: Strategies for Governance and Development*. Tucson, AZ: University of

- Arizona Press. Pp. 3-33.
- “Gambling and Poverty: Of Slots and Sloth.” *The Economist*. January 17, 2015.
- Henson, Eric with Jonathan B. Taylor, Catherine E. A. Curtis, Stephen Cornell, Kenneth W. Grant, Miriam R. Jorgensen, Joseph P. Kalt, and Andrew J. Lee. 2008. “Introduction.” In *The State of the Native Nations: Conditions under U.S. Policies of Self-Determination*. New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. 1-14.
- Mashantucket Pequot Tribal Nation. 2025. “Our History.” <https://www.mptn-nsn.gov/history/>
- United Nations. 2007. *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*. New York and Geneva: United Nations.
- [https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/wp-content/uploads/sites/19/2018/11/UNDRIP\\_E\\_web.pdf](https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/wp-content/uploads/sites/19/2018/11/UNDRIP_E_web.pdf)
- Wilkins, David E. and Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiik Stark. 2017. “Chapter 1: A Tour of Native Peoples and Native Lands.” In *American Indian Politics and the American Political System*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. Chapter 1. Pp. 22-54.

### **Optional**

- Acemoglu, Daron, Simon Johnson, and James A. Robinson. 2001. “The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: An Empirical Investigation.” *American Economic Review* 91 (5): 1369–1401.
- Henson, Eric with Jonathan B. Taylor, Catherine E. A. Curtis, Stephen Cornell, Kenneth W. Grant, Miriam R. Jorgensen, Joseph P. Kalt, and Andrew J. Lee. 2008. “Tribal Government.” In *The State of the Native Nations: Conditions under U.S. Policies of Self-Determination*. New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. 17-36.
- Johnston, Britnee, Miriam Jorgensen, Kyra James, and Stephen Cornell. 2024. *The Employment Situation of Native Americans* [Policy Brief]. Tucson, AZ: Native Nations Institute, University of Arizona. <https://nnigovernance.arizona.edu/employment-situation-native-americans>
- Pritchett, Lant. 2022. “National Development Delivers: And How! And How?” *Economic Modelling* 107: 105717.
- Pritchett, Lant. 2018. *Alleviating Global Poverty: Labor Mobility, Direct Assistance, and Economic Growth* [Working Paper 479]. Washington, DC: Center for Global Development. <https://www.cgdev.org/publication/alleviating-global-poverty-labor-mobility-direct-assistance-and-economic-growth>

### **Assignment #1 (due 9/17) Native Nation Socioeconomic Data Memo**

## Part II: Political and Legal Development - Historical and Current

### Class 2 / September 17 -- The Persistence of Indigenous Political Collectives

#### First hour – Settler colonialism in the US context

- The US federal policy pendulum: government-to-government, to reservation and removal, to assimilation, to allotment, to IRA, to termination, to the reprise of collective self-determination and self-government
- Important legal doctrines and court decisions that determined the status of AIANNH
- The short- and long-term negative consequences of settler-colonialism in the US (bison paper as an example, boarding schools, land loss)
- Colonization as an ongoing phenomenon
- The persistence of culturally distinct Indigenous political collectives (i.e., Indigenous *nations*)

#### Second hour – Applied example

- Speaker: Guest Speaker to discuss their tribal nation work.
- Brief Q&A

#### Third hour – Cultural match connections

- The importance of Indigenous nation governance as a means of resistance
- The importance of cultural match in governing for Indigenous nation success

#### Readings

##### Required

- Cornell, Stephen E. and Joseph P. Kalt. 2000. "Where's the Glue: Institutional Bases of American Indian Economic Development." *Journal of Socio-Economics* 29: 443-470.
- Duthu, Bruce. 2008. "Chapter 1: The Dignity of Tribal Governments." In *American Indians and the Law*. New York: Penguin. Pp. 3-15.
- Duthu, Bruce. 2008. "Chapter 2: 1978—A Watershed Year in Indian Law." In *American Indians and the Law*. New York: Penguin. Pp.16 -34.
- Feir, Donn L., Rob Gillezeau, and Maggie EC Jones. 2024. "The slaughter of the bison and reversal of fortunes on the Great Plains." *Review of Economic Studies* 91(3): 1634-1670.
- Wilkins, David E. and Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiik Stark. 2017. "Chapter 2: Indigenous Peoples are Nations, Not Minorities." In *American Indian Politics and the American Political System*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield. Pp. 55-72.
- Wilkins, David E. and Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiik Stark. 2017. "Chapter 5: A History of Federal Indian Policy." *American Indian Politics and the American Political System*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield. Pp. 149-164.
- Wolfe, Patrick. 2006. "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native." *Journal of Genocide Research*, 8(4): 387-409.

##### Optional

- Cornell, Stephen and Joseph P. Kalt. 1995. "Where Does Economic Development Really Come From? Constitutional Rule Among the Contemporary Sioux and Apache."

*Economic Inquiry* 33(3): 402-426.

- \_\_\_\_\_. 1997. "Successful Economic Development and Heterogeneity of Governmental Form on American Indian Reservations." In M.S. Grindle (ed.), *Getting Good Government: Capacity Building in the Public Sectors of Developing Countries*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Institute for International Development. Pp. 257-296.
- Merriam, Lewis, Ray A. Brown, Henry R. Cloud, Edward E. Dale, Emma Duke, Herbert R. Edwards, Rayette A. McKenzie, Mary L. Mark, W. Carson Ryan, Jr., and William J. Spillman. 1928. "Chapter 1: General Summary of Findings and Recommendations." In *The Problem of Indian Administration*. Baltimore, MD: Institute for Government Research & Johns Hopkins Press. Pp. 1-51 (skim at least through p. 21).

### Class 3 / September 24 – Tribal Constitutions and Tribal Governance

#### First hour – Overview of Tribal Constitutions and Changes Over Time

- Political constitutions defined, constitutions as a verb, not just "western," intergenerational instructions and aspirations
- Unwritten and written documents, pros and cons, changing demands on Indigenous nations shift toward written forms
- Length of constitutions
- Changes over time
- Several examples of tribal organizational structure we see today

#### Second hour – Work in class on reading documents

- The class will be split the class up into several groups, and each group will be provided with 3-4 tribal constitutions.
- Each group will gather comparison information from the constitutions to report back to the class
- Group topical assignments are follows, with suggestive analytic questions; more ideas may arise in your group (i.e., be led by the questions not constrained by them):
- Group 1: **Preambles and peoplehood** (How does the political collective define itself? What is the role of history, land, language, religion/spirituality, the creation story, relationality, etc., in defining the people?)
- Group 2: **Jurisdiction** (What claims are made to personal, territorial, and issue jurisdiction? What, specifically, is claimed? Does the constitution provide mechanisms to support these claims? If the claims are not enforceable, why might a nation make them?)
- Group 3: **Separations of responsibility** (How concentrated are the various players in government? How are responsibilities and powers distributed? What "separations of power" do you see?)
- Group 4: **Courts and dispute resolution** (Is the dispute resolution function visible in the document? What authorities fall under this function? What parties can resolve disputes? Is there a specified appeals body?)
- Group 5: **Citizenship** (How does someone become a citizen or member of this community? How restrictive is the rule? What rights and responsibilities do citizens of the nation have?)

### Third hour – Groups report back

#### Videos

##### Required

Native Nations Institute. Constitutions Resource Center. <https://nnconstitutions.arizona.edu/>  
(Explore the site, watch some videos, follow links to issues that interest you; try to spend at least 30 minutes in the site.)

#### Readings

##### Required

Constitution and Bylaws of the Pueblo of Laguna

Constitution of the Osage Nation

Constitution of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe

Gitanyowayookxw: The Constitution of the Gitanyow Nation

Kialegee Tribal Town Constitution

Lemont, Eric D. (ed.). 2009. "First-hand Accounts: Why Engage in Constitutional Reform?" In *American Indian Constitutional Reform and the Rebuilding of Native Nations*. Austin: University of Texas Press. Pp. 83-104.

Lemont, Eric D. (ed.). 2009. "First-hand Accounts: Membership and Citizenship?" In *American Indian Constitutional Reform and the Rebuilding of Native Nations*. Austin: University of Texas Press. Pp. 166-183.

Tatum, Melissa, Miriam Jorgensen, Mary E. Guss, and Sarah Deer. 2014. "Part 1: Background." Los Angeles: UCAL American Indian Studies. Pp. 1-36.

Wilkins, David E. and Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiiik Stark. 2010. "Chapter 3: Indigenous Governments Past, Present and Future." In *American Indian Politics and the American Political System*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. Pp. 73-106.

##### Optional

Akee, Randall, Miriam Jorgensen, and Uwe Sunde. 2015. "Critical junctures and economic development: Evidence from the adoption of constitutions among American Indian Nations." *Journal of Comparative Economics* 43: 844-861.

Doerfler, Jill. 2009. "An Anishinaabe Tribalography: Investigating and Interweaving Conceptions of Identity during the 1910s on the White Earth Reservation." *American Indian Quarterly* 33(3): 295-324.

Kalt, Joseph P. 2007. "Chapter 4: The Role of Constitutions in Native Nation Building." In Miriam Jorgensen (ed.), *Rebuilding Nation Nations: Strategies for Governance and Development*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. Pp. 78-114.

Rodriguez-Lonebear, Desi. 2020. "The Blood Line: Racialized Boundary Making and Citizenship among Native Nations." *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 7(4): 527-542.

Wilkins, David. 2009. "Seasons of Change: Of Reforms, Melees, and Revolutions in Indian Country." In Eric D. Lemont (ed.). *American Indian Constitutional Reform and the Rebuilding of Native Nations*. Austin: University of Texas Press. Pp. 35-48.

## **Assignment #2 (due 10/1) Tribal Government and Constitutional Change Proposal**

### **Class 4 / October 1 – Jurisdiction and Dispute Resolution**

#### **First hour – The Jurisdictional Landscape in Indian Country**

- Jurisdictional complexity born of colonization (Crow Dog and the Major Crimes Act, the Indian Reorganization Act and modest tribal courts, Public Law 83-280, The Indian Civils Rights Act, Oliphant Decision & Duro fix, Lara, Tribal Law and Order Act, VAWA and prosecution of non-Indigenous offenders, McGirt and Castro-Huerta)
- What the “West” cannot see—custom and tradition as the law of the land

#### **Second hour – Guest Speaker**

- Importance of tribal courts/dispute resolution mechanisms to contemporary tribal nations
- Challenges of asserting rule of “new laws”
- Why tribal law jurisdiction matters
- Challenges of promulgating tribal law and exercising tribal jurisdiction
- Q&A

#### **Third hour – Institutions and Native Nation Building**

- What does the nation building literature tell us about Indigenous dispute resolution?
  - Reliable dispute resolution mechanisms—anywhere—aid development
  - Given a choice between tribal courts and state courts, tribal courts are associated with improved economic outcomes and less crime
  - Tribal courts are fair to non-Indigenous parties
- Describe assignment for next week on property rights

#### **Readings**

##### **Required**

Anderson, T. L. and Domonic P. Parker. 2008. “Sovereignty, Credible Commitments, and Economic Prosperity on American Indian Reservations.” *Journal of Law and Economics* 51(4): 641-666.

Dimitrova-Grajzl, Valentina, Peter Grajzl, and A. Joseph Guse. 2014. “Jurisdiction, Crime and Development: The Impact of Public Law 280 in Indian Country.” *Law & Society Review* 48(1): 127–160.

Fletcher, Matthew L.M. 2025. “Justice, the Colonizer, and the Michigan Anishinaabek.” Exploring Native Justice essay series, First Nations Development Institute. <https://www.firstnations.org/gallery/matthew-l-m-fletcher/>

Henson, Eric with Jonathan B. Taylor, Catherine E. A. Curtis, Stephen Cornell, Kenneth W. Grant, Miriam R. Jorgensen, Joseph P. Kalt, and Andrew J. Lee. 2008. “Tribal Jurisdiction.” In *The State of the Native Nations: Conditions under U.S. Policies of Self-Determination*. New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. 37-51.

Indian Law and Order Commission. 2012. “Chapter 1: Jurisdiction.” Pp. 1-30. [https://www.aisc.ucla.edu/iloc/report/files/Chapter\\_1\\_Jurisdiction.pdf](https://www.aisc.ucla.edu/iloc/report/files/Chapter_1_Jurisdiction.pdf)

Native Governance Center. 2022. “Oklahoma v. Castro-Huerta: Bad Facts Make Bad Law.” <https://nativegov.org/news/castro-huerta/>

Native Governance Center. 2020. "McGirt v. Oklahoma and Our Region."

<https://nativegov.org/news/mcgirt-v-oklahoma-and-our-region/>

Wilkins (Chapter 3 pp on tribal courts plus case of Crow Court 2010 edition 70 is case study and 73 is other 6 pp)

### **Optional**

Berger, Bethany R. 2005. "Justice and the Outsider: Jurisdiction over Nonmembers in Tribal Legal Systems." *Arizona State Law Journal* 37: 1047-1125.

Fletcher, Matthew L.M. 2025. "The Three Lives of Mamengwaa: Toward an Indigenous Canon of Construction." *Yale Law Journal* 134(3): 696-778.

Flies-Away, Joseph T., Carrie Garrow, and Miriam Jorgensen. 2007. "Chapter 5: Native Nation Courts—Key Players in Nation Rebuilding." In Miriam Jorgensen *Rebuilding Native Nations: Strategies for Governance and Development*. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press. Pp. 115-145.

Goldberg, Carole, and Duane Champagne. 2006. Is Public Law 280 Fit for the Twenty-First Century? Some Data at Last. *Connecticut Law Review* 38: 697-729.

Nesper, Larry. 2018. "Native Nation Building: The Long Emergence of the Oneida Nation Judiciary." *American Indian Quarterly* 42(1): 87-116.

### **Assignment #3 with Recommendations for Land Purchases by Tribal Nations #3 (Group Project) (Class Presentation on Week 5. Written Document Due on Week 6)**

#### **Class 5 / October 8 – Property Rights**

##### **First hour – Overview of Allotment, Trust Land, and the Property Rights Doctrine**

- Allotment in Indian Country—policy aimed at assimilation, land appropriation, and asset stripping
- Stopped through Indian Reorganization Act and creation of trust land (tribal and individual)
  - Curbs the losses
  - Installs federal government as (overly disinterested) trustee
  - Highly similar system established much later in Hawaii
- Trust land as a complication for development
  - Fractionalization
  - Complex jurisdiction
  - Collateralization concerns
  - Locke & the Mystery of Capital versus long-term leases, contracting solutions, and mythologies about private property
- Sum: Communal property: What is it? Is it good or bad? What's the debate?

##### **Second hour – Applied example**

- Possible speakers:
  - Case study of Ho-Chunk Village

##### **Third hour – Student Presentations from Assignment #3**

## Readings

### Required

- Anderson, Terry L., and Dean Lueck. 1992. Land Tenure and Agricultural Productivity on Indian Reservations. *Journal of Law and Economics* 35:427–54.
- Akee, Randall. 2020. “Land Titles and Dispossession: Allotment on American Indian Reservations.” *Journal of Economics, Race, and Policy* 3(May): 123-143.
- Akee, Randall. 2009. “Checkerboards and Coase: Transactions Costs and Efficiency in Land Markets.” *Journal of Law and Economics* 52.
- Duthu, N. Bruce. 2008. “Chapter 4: Identifying the Contours of Indian Country.” In *American Indians and the Law*. New York: Penguin. Pp. 65-90.
- Henson, Eric with Jonathan B. Taylor, Catherine E. A. Curtis, Stephen Cornell, Kenneth W. Grant, Miriam R. Jorgensen, Joseph P. Kalt, and Andrew J. Lee. 2008. “Native Lands.” In *The State of the Native Nations: Conditions under U.S. Policies of Self-Determination*. New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. 95-109.
- Miller, Grant, Jack Shane, and C. Matthew Snipp. "The impact of US assimilation and allotment policy on American Indian mortality." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 122, no. 28 (2025): e2418836122.

### Optional

- Taylor, Laura and Miriam Jorgensen. 2021. “Considerations for Federal and State Landbank.” Landbank Policy Briefs, Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development. [https://ash.harvard.edu/wp-content/uploads/2024/02/land\\_back\\_policy\\_brief180.pdf](https://ash.harvard.edu/wp-content/uploads/2024/02/land_back_policy_brief180.pdf)
- U.S. Department of the Interior. 2015. *2015 Status Report: Land Buy-Back Program for Tribal Nations*. Washington, DC. [https://www.doi.gov/sites/doi.gov/files/uploads/Buy-Back\\_Program\\_2015\\_Status\\_Report.pdf](https://www.doi.gov/sites/doi.gov/files/uploads/Buy-Back_Program_2015_Status_Report.pdf)

## Part III: The Fruits of Self-Determination

### Class 6 / October 15 – Self-Determination through Self-Governance, with a special focus on Natural Resource Management

#### First hour – Overview

- PL 93-638 – what it is & what it did
- Related laws—self-governance, NAHASDA, Treatment in a Similar Manner as a State, Endangered Species Ecosystems management—and their impact

#### Second hour – Guest Lecture

- Guest Speaker
- Brief Q&A

#### Third hour – The Promise in Additional “Driver’s Seat” Control

- HPIGD work for Christensen Fund on Indigenous conservation
- Land back data

- Natural resource personhood
- Mitigation results and responses to climate change
- Honoring Nations awardees

## Video

Ian Record. 2010. *Return of the Red Lake Walleye (Ogaag bii azhe giiwewag)*. Tucson, AZ: Native Nations Institute, The University of Arizona.  
<https://nnigovernance.arizona.edu/return-red-lake-walleye-ogaag-bii-azhe-giiwewag>

## Readings

### Required

- Duthu, N. Bruce. 2008. "Chapter 5: Stewards of the Natural World." *American Indians and the Law*. Penguin. Pp. 91-115.
- Henson, Eric with Jonathan B. Taylor, Catherine E. A. Curtis, Stephen Cornell, Kenneth W. Grant, Miriam R. Jorgensen, Joseph P. Kalt, and Andrew J. Lee. 2008. "Chapter 3: Tribal-Federal Relations." In *The State of the Native Nations: Conditions under U.S. Policies of Self-Determination*. New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. 53-68.
- Henson, Eric with Jonathan B. Taylor, Catherine E. A. Curtis, Stephen Cornell, Kenneth W. Grant, Miriam R. Jorgensen, Joseph P. Kalt, and Andrew J. Lee. 2008. "Chapter 6: Native Lands." In *The State of the Native Nations: Conditions under U.S. Policies of Self-Determination*. New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. 95-109.
- Henson, Eric with Jonathan B. Taylor, Catherine E. A. Curtis, Stephen Cornell, Kenneth W. Grant, Miriam R. Jorgensen, Joseph P. Kalt, and Andrew J. Lee. 2008. "Chapter 9: Natural Resources." In *The State of the Native Nations: Conditions under U.S. Policies of Self-Determination*. New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. 159-176.
- Jorgensen, M., Pemberton, A., Brown, P., and Conners, D. (2021). The Red Lake walleye recovery project: Tribal governance for sustainable success. In D.E. Smith, A. Wighton, S. Cornell & R. Joseph (Eds.), *Indigenous Governance, Indigenous Development: International Case Studies of Common Futures and Common Pathways*. Australian National University Press, Canberra. Pp. 251-270.
- Wilkins, David E. and Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiiik Stark. 2017. "Chapter 4: Actors in Native Politics." *American Indian Politics and the American Political System*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. Pp. 107-148.

### Optional

- Berry, Alison. 2009. "Two Forests Under the Big Sky: Tribal v. Federal Management." PERC Policy Series No. 45. Bozeman, MT: Property and Environment Research Center.
- Haider, Mellie and Manuel P. Teodoro. 2020. "Environmental Federalism in Indian Country: Sovereignty, Primacy, and Environmental Protection." *Policy Studies Journal*. 49(3): 887-908.
- Kalt, Joseph P., Amy Besaw Medford, and Jonathan B. Taylor. 2022. "Economic and Social Impacts of Restrictions on the Applicability of Federal Indian Policies to the Wabanaki Nations in Maine." December 2. <https://bit.ly/3usOGkQ>.
- Krepps, Matthew B. 1992. "Can Tribes Manage Their Own Resources? A Study of American

Indian Forestry and the 638 Program.” In S. Cornell and J.P. Kalt (eds.), *What Can Tribes Do? Strategies and Institutions in American Indian Economic Development*. Los Angeles: UCLA American Indian Studies Center. Pp. 179-203.

Krepps, Matthew B., and Richard E. Caves. 1994. “Bureaucrats and Indians: Principal-Agent Relations and Efficient Management of Tribal Forest Resources.” *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization* 24(July): 133-151.

## **Class 7 / October 22 – State Owned Enterprises; Business Practices; Tribal Gaming and Its Long-Run Effects**

### **First hour – Overview and Basic Data**

- Introduction to existing state-owned enterprises by tribal governments. Describe the wide range of industries.
- The tribal institutional requirements for effective state-owned enterprise management
- Discuss the start of the Indian Gaming industry after the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act of 1988. Discuss some of the basic effects, the empirical data and what has been learned.
- Courts paper (Valentina) and Gaming Resources are used expansively.
- Expand the discussion to explain how Tribal Enterprises may be maximizing employment and not necessarily profits. Discuss how this contrasts with standard analyses. Provide some empirical evidence over the Great Recession.

### **Second hour – Applied Example**

- Speaker: Tribal Chair will discuss their tribal nation’s work and success in this area. Addressing the issue of working within local county and state governments over time.
- Brief Q&A

### **Third hour - Public Finance and Borrowing and Capital. CDFI Discussion.**

- Discuss basic issues with borrowing constraints and existing obstacles.
- Explain standard methods of public finance in governments (taxation, fees, borrowing)
- Highlight differences for Tribal Nations
- Discuss some of the solutions: CDFIs, Bonds, Native American banks.

### **Readings**

#### **Required**

Akee, Randall K.Q., Katherine A. Spilde, and Jonathan B. Taylor. 2015. “The Indian Gaming Regulatory Act and Its Effects on American Indian Economic Development.” *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 29(3): 185-208.

Akee, Randall and Maggie R. Jones and Emilia Simeonova. 2024. “Tribal Casinos and Identifying Who Moves to Opportunity.” *AEA Papers and Proceedings* 114: 435–441.

Akee, Randall and Maggie R. Jones and Emilia Simeonova. 2021. “Gaming Opportunities: American Indian Casinos, Cash Transfers, and Income Mobility on the Reservation.” *AEA Papers and Proceedings* 111: 221-226.

Akee, Randall, Elton Mykerezi, and Richard Todd. 2020. *Business Dynamics on American Indian Reservations: Evidence from Longitudinal Datasets*. No. 20-38. 2020.

- Brashares, Edith and Siobahn O’Keefe. 2013. Indian Tribal Government Access to Tax-Exempt Bond Financing. <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2370079>
- Jorgensen, Miriam and Randall K.Q. Akee. 2017. *Access to Capital and Credit in Native Communities: A Data Review*. Tucson, AZ: Native Nations Institute, The University of Arizona. <https://nnigovernance.arizona.edu/access-capital-and-credit-native-communities-data-review>
- Wilkins, David E. and Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiik Stark. 2017. “Chapter 6: Tribal Political Economy.” In *American Indian Politics and the American Political System*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. Pp. 165-197.
- Henson, Eric with Jonathan B. Taylor, Catherine E. A. Curtis, Stephen Cornell, Kenneth W. Grant, Miriam R. Jorgensen, Joseph P. Kalt, and Andrew J. Lee. 2008. “Chapter 7: Chapter Economic Development.” In *The State of the Native Nations: Conditions under U.S. Policies of Self-Determination*. New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. 111-143

### Optional

- Akee, Randall and Elton Mykerezi and Richard Todd. 2019. “Opportunities to Diversify: Reservation Workplaces and Job Numbers Compared to Nearby County Areas.” In Robert Miller, Miriam Jorgensen, and Daniel Steward (eds.). *Creating Private Sector Economies in Native America: Sustainable Development through Entrepreneurship*. Cambridge University Press. Pp.
- Chiarenza, Gabriella. 2024. “Investing from Within: Native CDFIs Help Their People Find Home.” Fed Communities, Federal Reserve Bank Board of Governors. <https://fedcommunities.org/stories/investing-native-cdfis-help-people-find-home/>
- Duthu, N. Bruce. 2008. “Chapter 6. Revitalizing Tribal Economies.” In *American Indians and the Law*. New York: Penguin. Pp. 116-136.
- Grant, Kenneth and Jonathan B. Taylor. 2007. “Chapter 7: Managing the Boundary between Business and Politics.” In Miriam Jorgensen (ed.), *Rebuilding Native Nations: Strategies for Governance and Development*. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press. Pp. 175-196.
- Henson, Eric with Jonathan B. Taylor, Catherine E. A. Curtis, Stephen Cornell, Kenneth W. Grant, Miriam R. Jorgensen, Joseph P. Kalt, and Andrew J. Lee. 2008. “Chapter 8: Gaming.” In *The State of the Native Nations: Conditions under U.S. Policies of Self-Determination*. New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. 53-68.
- Jorgensen, M. (2016). *Access to Capital and Credit in Native Communities: Study Report*. Report to the U.S. Department of the Treasury Community Development Financial Institutions (CDFI) Fund (pp. 25-33). Tucson, AZ: Native Nations Institute, The University of Arizona. <https://nnigovernance.arizona.edu/access-capital-and-credit-native-communities>
- Jorgensen, Miriam and Jonathan B. Taylor. 2015. *New Paths Home: The Impact of Four Directions Development Corporation on Indian Island, Maine, 2001-2014*. Sarasota, FL: Taylor Policy Group.

## Part IV: Social Impacts

## Class 8 / October 29 – Education, Human Capital, and Nation Building

### First hour – AIANNH Educational Attainment

- Overview of educational attainment data for AIANNH
- Historical obstacles to education
- Data gaps and counting problems

### Second hour – Existing and New Research

- Native students and universal pre-K
- The impacts on Native students' achievement through modest increases to basic income
- Donn Feir on Boarding Schools

### Third hour – Education and Nation Building

- Education, human capital, and wellbeing
  - The role education & human capital play in economic development and wellbeing, some of the broader literature on human capital
  - Growth literature linkages (education as a factor in productivity, e.g.)
- Relate to Indigenous communities
  - The drag of low human capital balanced against the fact that these definitions may not measure all types of human capital
  - If time: an in-class exercise to think about the types of human capital not taken account of by western measures
- Role of education in Native nation building
- Conflicting factors push and pull factors that limit or increase Indigenous community education levels
  - Exit to get education
  - Tribal colleges and tribally controlled schools to retain

### Readings

#### Required

- Akee, Randall, and Leah R. Clark. *Preschool Lottery Admissions and Its Effects on Long-Run Earnings and Outcomes*. No. w32570. National Bureau of Economic Research, 2024.
- Akee, Randall, William Copeland, Gordon Keeler, Adrian Angold, and E. Jane Costello. 2010. "Parent's Incomes and Children's Outcomes: A Quasi-Experiment with Casinos on American Indian Reservations." *American Economics Journal: Applied Economics* 2(1): 86-115.
- Akee, Randall and Jonathan Taylor. 2014. "High School Degree or Equivalent" and "College Graduates or More." *Social & Economic Change on American Indian Reservations: A Databook of the US Censuses and the American Community Survey 1990 – 2010*. Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development. Pp. 56-59.
- Burnette, Jeffrey D. 2021. "Why Is the Total Enrollment of American Indian and Alaska Native Precollegiates Such a Difficult Number to Find?" *Journal of American Indian Education* 60(1-2): 162-186.
- Burnette, Jeffrey D., Jason T. Younker, and David P. Wick. 2021. "Statistical Termination or Fewer Self-Identified Students: What Is Causing the Decline in American Indian and

- Alaska Native College Enrollments?" *Journal of Economics, Race, and Policy* 4(4): 162-186.
- Cornell, Stephen and Miriam Jorgensen. 2020. "Indigenous Nations in Post-Racial America: Rethinking Social Inclusion." *Review of Black Political Economy* 49(2): 111-129.
- Feir, Donn. 2016. "The Long-Term Effects of Forcible Assimilation Policy: The Case of Indian Boarding Schools." *Canadian Journal of Economics/Revue canadienne d'economique* 49(2):433–80.
- Fischer, Stefanie and Christiana Stoddard. 2013. "The Academic Achievement of American Indians." *Economics of Education Review* 36(C): 135-152.
- Henson, Eric with Jonathan B. Taylor, Catherine E. A. Curtis, Stephen Cornell, Kenneth W. Grant, Miriam R. Jorgensen, Joseph P. Kalt, and Andrew J. Lee. 2008. "Chapter 11: Education." In *The State of the Native Nations: Conditions under U.S. Policies of Self-Determination*. New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. 199-218.

### **Assignment #4—Applying an Honoring Nations Example (Due on November 5)**

## **Class 9 / November 5 – Education, Indigenous Identity, and Strengthened Political Collectives**

### **First 0.5 hours – Education and Tribal Control**

- Boarding schools as colonial policy—hugely negative effect that we are still learning about and coming to terms with
- PL 93-638 rooted in control of education (Ramah, Rough Rock)
- Increasingly recognition that tribal control of education is necessary to sustain tribal nations
- New opportunities to do this well: tribal colleges movement, providing better answers to "Head Start to where?", Yazzie v. New Mexico, success of language immersion schools in Aotearoa and Hawaii, recognition of the success of Menominee and Jemez schools.
- Indigenous languages legislation at federal and state levels

### **Second 1.5 hours – Panel Presentation on Innovations in Indigenous Education**

- Guest Speaker Panel on Native Languages
- Q&A

### **Third hour – Indigenously controlled education and nation building**

- Identify, organize, act as processes of Indigenous nationhood
- Tribal control of education is a part of the "identify as nation" process
- Culture and language as key components of tribal civics

### **Readings**

- Akee, Randall and Tarajeau Yazzie-Mintz. 2011. "'Counting Experience' Among the Least Counted: The Role of Cultural and Community Engagement on Educational Outcomes for American Indian, Alaska Native and Native Hawaiian Students." *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 35(3): 119-150.

- Commission on Native Children. 2024. "Education." *The Way Forward: Report of the Alyce Spotted Bear & Walter Soboleff Commission on Native Children*. Washington, DC: Commission on Native Children. Pp. 33-51 (also see the discussions of supporting research on pp. 133-158). <https://nni.arizona.edu/commission-native-children-archives/report> (click on "Full Report").
- Cornell, Stephen. 2015. "Processes of Native Nationhood: The Indigenous Politics of Self-Government." *International Indigenous Policy Journal* 6(4): Article 4.
- McCarty, Teresa L., Sheilah E. Nicholas, and Leisy T. Wyman. 2015. "50 (0) years out and counting: Native American language education and the four Rs." *International Multilingual Research Journal* 9(4): 227-252.

### **Class 10 / November 12 – Public Health and Long-Run Outcomes**

Discussion of health care coverage and its impacts on overall health and outcomes. Describe the importance of a healthy population in Nation Building. What does that mean? Does it differ for different groups? Are we able to capture the correct measures? Indigenous Peoples and COVID 19. This will also cover data and analysis on on-going research public health threats. Racism off reservation. Trauma and research. Disparate treatment. MMIW Analysis. Race and justice issues to all tribal members; to protect those people.

#### **First hour – Overview and Basic Data on Indian Health Service and Coverage Areas.**

This section will provide some basic information and statistics, but will also cover some of the emerging areas of interest and research. We will discuss counts and measures of mortality and identifying Indigenous Peoples in health statistics data.

- Healthcare coverage and access
- Data Issues and Shortcomings; Categorization and Identification
- Mortality, Suicide and Mental Health Outcomes
- Murdered and Missing Indigenous Women and Girls

#### **Second hour – Discussion on Public Health, Racism and COVID-19**

- Initial Responses to the High Rates of COVID-19 infection from neighboring towns
- Data Collection Efforts, Disaggregation and Indigenous Data Sovereignty
- Tribal Reservation Closures and Tribal Lands

#### **Third hour – Group Discussion of Emerging Tribal Government Role in Provision of Health Care Locally and Regionally**

- Honoring Nations Awardee Discussion
- ACA and Impact on Tribal Health Provision; Fon Du Lac and others

### **Readings**

## Required

- Chandler, Michael J., and Christopher Lalonde. "Cultural continuity as a hedge against suicide in Canada's First Nations." *Transcultural psychiatry* 35, no. 2 (1998): 191-219.
- Shelton BL. Dixon M. Roubideaux Y. Mather D. Smith-Mala C. Tribal perspectives on Indian self-determination and self-governance in health care management. Executive summary. National Indian Health Board, 1385 S Colorado Boulevard, Suite A-707, Denver, CO 80222. 1998.
- Friedman, Joseph, Helena Hansen, and Joseph P. Gone. "Deaths of despair and Indigenous data genocide." *The Lancet* 401, no. 10379 (2023): 874-876.
- Akee, Randall, William Copeland, and Emilia Simeonova. "Child mental health, family circumstance, and long-term success: the effect of household income." *Journal of Human Resources* 59, no. S (2024): S77-S107.
- Molina, Teresa, Tetine Sentell, Randall Q. Akee, Alvin Onaka, Timothy J. Halliday, and Brian Horiuchi. "The mortality effects of reduced Medicaid coverage among international migrants in Hawaii: 2012–2018." *American journal of public health* 110, no. 8 (2020): 1205-1207.
- Mpofu, Jonetta J., Alex Crosby, Michael A. Flynn, Teresa LaFromboise, John Iskander, Jeffrey E. Hall, Ana Penman-Aguilar, and Phoebe Thorpe. "Preventing suicidal behavior among American Indian and Alaska Native adolescents and young adults." *Public Health Reports* 138, no. 4 (2023): 593-601.
- Horse, Aggie J. Yellow, Francesco Acciai, and Kimberly R. Huyser. "The missing and murdered indigenous relatives crisis and the life expectancy gap for Native Americans, 2010–2019." *Epidemiology* 33, no. 5 (2022): 739-746.
- Akee, Randall and with L. Quintero and E. Simeonova "Pandemic Protocols, Native Nutrition: Grocery-Store Access from American Indian Reservations During COVID-19," *AEA Papers and Proceedings*, vol. 111, pp. 602-06. 2021.
- Ford, C.L.; Amani, B.; Harawa, N.T.; Gee, G.C.; Sarrafzadeh, M.; Abotsi-Kowu, C.; Fazeli, S.; Le, C.; Nwankwo, E.; Akee, R. "Adequacy of Existing Surveillance Systems to Monitor Racism, Social Stigma and COVID Inequities: A Detailed Assessment and Recommendations." *Int. J. Environ. Res. Public Health* 2021, 18, 13099. <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph182413099>
- Akee, R. and D. Rodriguez-Lonebear, N. E. Barceló, S. R. Carroll. "American Indian Reservations and COVID-19: Correlates of Early Infection Rates in the Pandemic." *Journal of Public Health Management and Practice*, Volume 26, No. 4, July/August 2020.
- Watson, Tara, 2006. "Public Health Investments and the Infant Mortality Gap: Evidence from Federal Sanitation Interventions on U.S. Indian Reservations." *Journal of Public Economics* 90: 1537-1560.
- Phippen, J. Weston. "Bordering on Desperation." *Rolling Stone*. June 18, 2020. <https://www.rollingstone.com/culture/culture-features/navajo-covid-racism-homelessness-1016763/>

Jernigan, Valarie B.B., et al. 2019. "A Healthy Retail Intervention in Native American Convenience Stores: The THRIVE Community-Based Participatory Research Study." *American Journal of Public Health* 109(1):132-139.

### Optional

Akee, Randall and Donn Feir. "Estimating Institutionalization and Homelessness for Status First Nations in Canada: A Method and Implications," 2018. *International Indigenous Policy Journal*, October, 9(4): Article 2.

Stephanie Russo Carroll, Pyrou Chung, Donna Cormack, Tahu Kukutai, Randall Akee, Raymond Lovett, Michele Suina, Robyn Rowe "Indigenous Peoples' Data During COVID-19: From External to Internal," *Frontiers in Sociology* 6 (2021): 62.

Wang, Scarlett Sijia, Randall Akee, Emilia Simeonova, and Sherry Glied. "Disparities in infectious disease-related health care utilization between Medicaid-enrolled American Indians and non-Hispanic Whites—Lessons from the first 16 months of coronavirus disease 2019 and a decade of flu seasons." *Health Services Research* 60, no. 1 (2025): e14389.

Akee, Randall, Donn L. Feir, Marina Mileo Gorzig, and Samuel Myers Jr. "Native American "deaths of despair" and economic conditions." *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility* 89 (2024): 100880.

Akee, Randall and KJ Ward. "Missed opportunities to understand racism in the COVID-19 era." Brookings Commentary. May 13, 2021. <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/missed-opportunities-to-understand-the-prevalence-of-racism-in-the-u-s-in-the-covid-19-era/>

Akee, Randall and Sarah Reber. "American Indians and Alaska Natives are dying of COVID-19 at shocking rates." Brookings Research. February 18, 2021. <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/american-indians-and-alaska-natives-are-dying-of-covid-19-at-shocking-rates/>

Gartner DR, Maples C, Nash M, Howard-Bobiwash H. Misracialization of Indigenous people in population health and mortality studies: a scoping review to establish promising practices. *Epidemiol Rev.* 2023 Dec 20;45(1):63-81. doi: 10.1093/epirev/mxad001. PMID: 37022309; PMCID: PMC10748801.

Akee, Randall and Donn Feir. "First People Lost: Determining the State of Status First Nations Mortality in Canada using Administrative Data," 2019, *Canadian Journal of Economics/Revue canadienne d'économique*, 52(2), 490-525.

Henson, Eric with Jonathan B. Taylor, Catherine E. A. Curtis, Stephen Cornell, Kenneth W. Grant, Miriam R. Jorgensen, Joseph P. Kalt, and Andrew J. Lee. 2008. "Chapter 12: Health." In *The State of the Native Nations: Conditions under U.S. Policies of Self-Determination*. New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. 219-233.

Commission on Native Children. 2024. "Education." *The Way Forward: Report of the Alyce Spotted Bear & Walter Soboleff Commission on Native Children*. Washington, DC: Commission on Native Children. Pp. 53-70 (also see the discussions of supporting research on pp. 159-185). <https://nni.arizona.edu/commission-native-children-archives/report> (click on "Full Report").

- Small-Rodriguez, Desi and Randall Akee. "Native Populations Using Tribally Disaggregated Vital Statistics and Health Survey Data." *American Journal of Public Health* 111, no. S2 (2021): S126-S132.
- Akee, Randall and Vickie M. Mays, Abigail Echo-Hawk, Susan D. Cochran. "Data Equity in American Indian/Alaska Native Populations: Respecting Sovereign Nations' Right to Meaningful and Usable COVID-19 Data." *American Journal of Public Health*, 2022, 112, 1416-1420.
- Akee, Randall and Timothy Halliday. "The Impact of Medicaid on Medical Utilization in a Vulnerable Population: Evidence from COFA Migrants." *Health Economics*, 2020, Volume 29, pp. 1231-1250.

## Part V: Topical and Emerging Issues

### Class 11 / November 19 – Innovations in Intergovernmental Relations

#### First hour – Tribal-state relations and tribal innovations in intergovernmental relations

- Why are tribal-state relations needed? What about tribe-country or tribe-municipality?
- What are some innovations in these spaces? (Grand Ronde governmental affairs, Southern CA tribal chairman's association and county relationships, Sitka child welfare, cross-deputization)
- State-recognized tribes, non-recognized tribes

#### Second hour – State-tribal engagement + Examples from CA and OR of Indigenous innovation

#### Third hour – Questions of recognition, state-recognized tribes, and non-recognized tribes

- State-recognized tribes, non-recognized tribes and controversies in the US
- The experience of termination and the importance of Indigenous organizations (Menominee, e.g.)
- Australia (Gunditjmarra, Ngarrindjeri), Canada (Ktunaxa), Aotearoa (iwi and hapu and the challenges of large numbers)
- Native Hawaiian Nationhood, the State of Hawaii and the Hawaiian Kingdom

#### Readings

##### Required

- Henson, Eric with Jonathan B. Taylor, Catherine E. A. Curtis, Stephen Cornell, Kenneth W. Grant, Miriam R. Jorgensen, Joseph P. Kalt, and Andrew J. Lee. 2008. "Chapter 4: Tribal-State Relations." In *The State of the Native Nations: Conditions under U.S. Policies of Self-Determination*. New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. 69-81.
- Hicks, Sarah. 2007. "Chapter 10: Intergovernmental Relationships." In Miriam Jorgensen (ed.), *Rebuilding Native Nations: Strategies for Governance and Development*. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press. Pp. 246-274.
- Rigney, Daryle, Damein Bell, Miriam Jorgensen, Alison Vivian, Steve Hemming, Stephen Cornell, and Larissa Behrendt. 2025. "Chapter 6: (Re)Building Indigenous Nation Governments." In Rigney, et al. London: Bloomsbury. Pp. 163-192.

## November 26 – Thanksgiving Holiday, No Class

### Class 12 / December 3 – Future Trends and Emerging Issues and Summary

#### **First Hour – Professional Applied Example**

- Guest Speaker to discuss some of their recent work on emerging issues
- Q&A

#### **Second and Third Hour – Student Applied Examples**

- This is a relatively unplanned session for discuss emerging issues such as data sovereignty, trademark and copyright issues, artificial intelligence and large language models, patents and cultural considerations, personhood for elements of the natural environment (rivers, mountains), etc.
- Prior to class, each student should conduct a minimal amount of research on a topic they care about that we haven't yet spent much time discussing; if the class is large, they might do this in small groups.
- We will host a discussion on these topics or split into groups with related topics; the specific way this plays out will depend on the size of the class.

#### **Final Take Home Exam Due on Last Day of Class**